Ideology is a Double-Edged Sword: The Role of Ideology in Helping and Hindering the Interactive Development of Support for Social Change

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Declaration

This thesis describes original research undertaken in the Department of Psychology at The Australian National University. Apart from the usual support and advice provided by my supervisors, Prof. Craig McGarty and Dr. Ken Mavor, the ideas and research detailed in this thesis are solely my own, except where otherwise indicated. To the best of my knowledge, any theories and techniques that are not my own have been appropriately acknowledged within the text. The work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree at any other institution

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Abstract

The research presented in this thesis explores the role of ideology in shaping group members' responses to social inequality with a particular focus on the interactive development of support for social change. This research employs a predominantly social identity based approach to explaining how advantaged members of society who nominally support social change become more willing to collectively act to achieve that change. In particular, I focus on how the opinion-based group interaction method can be harnessed to energise different aspects of supporters' identification with an opinion-based group formed around support for Reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians and how this can in turn influence their support for normatively aligned attitudes and behaviours.

Utilising the opinion-based group interaction methodology enables me to manipulate the ideological content present during interaction to determine what impact this content may have on the interactive development of support for social change. Based on a theoretical review of the literature, I propose that this role may be two fold. On the one hand, where consensus around an ideology that favours social change is achieved then this will energise the normative alignment of a social change identity formed around support for action, positive attitudes and beliefs, which will consequently result in more sustainable support for social change. On the other hand, where consensus fails to materialise or forms around ideologies which discourage social change, then this normative alignment will be compromised, and will undermine support for social change.

The first two studies investigate the impact of imposed ideological understandings of the intergroup context upon the effectiveness of the opinion-based group interaction method in promoting more active support for social

change. Thus, in Study 1, I manipulated the perceived stability of Indigenous disadvantage in order to determine the effect of changing perceptions of the stability of the intergroup context upon aspects of identification as an opinion-based group member and support for collective action following interaction. The results showed that in the absence of any imposed meaning group members showed a stronger sense of connection to their group and willingness to engage in action following interaction when compared to a non-interacting baseline control. However, when Indigenous disadvantage was framed as unstable for interacting groups this enhanced ingroup ties as expected but undermined action intentions whilst framing this disadvantage as stable had little to no effect. These results appeared to be related to perceptions of consensus among the discussion groups.

The role of consensus in this process was therefore followed up in Study 2 where the framing imposed on discussion groups was related to a government apology as a necessary first step on the path to achieving Reconciliation. While this manipulation did not evoke collective guilt among group members it did result in reduced support for action and less perceived consensus, and produced a stronger sense of connection to the group following interaction. Unlike in Study 1, however, when the interaction was not framed then discussion had no impact on the different aspects of identification or on action intentions rather than the expected increase despite higher levels of perceived consensus.

In order to determine whether the imposition of ideological content was undermining the ability of discussion groups in the framed conditions to achieve consensus, Study 3 was designed to allow group members to select their own framing. Thus, in this study, interactions were framed with content that group

members had endorsed prior to participating regarding which approach to Reconciliation was best, either a social justice or a social cohesion approach. This study demonstrated the enervating effects of consensus around an ideology which minimises the role of social change in reducing intergroup inequality. More specifically, group members who interacted with a social cohesion frame saw their identity as supporters as less central and had lower levels of support for collective action following interaction, although, interaction did lead to an increased sense of connection to the group. In contrast, consensus around a social justice ideology, which favours social change as a means of redressing intergroup inequality, did provide some support for the energising role of ideological consensus. However these results must be viewed with some caution due to a very small sample size.

The data from these interaction-based studies was then aggregated to enable a stronger test of the potentially negative impact of ideology on the normative alignment of identity relevant attitudes and behaviours. The results show that for highly contentious issues even interaction with like minded others has the potential to undermine the alignment of a social change identity and that this enervation can be further exacerbated by ideological dissensus or consensus around an ideology which opposes social change.

A fourth study was conducted in order to follow up on the associations between particular ideological content, specifically right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, as predictors of support for social change as well as how the different aspects of identification as a supporter of Reconciliation may relate to the endorsement of identity relevant attitudes and behavioural intentions. This study revealed that ingroup affect and centrality, the two aspects of identification that remained largely unaffected by interaction,

provided the strongest predictors of identity relevant attitudes and action intentions. However, both social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism improved the prediction of these variables, suggesting that even among supporters of social change, endorsement of these ideological beliefs may help to fine-tune predictions of just who will and who will not engage in collective action to bring about social change.

In conclusion, this thesis provides support for the double-edged role of ideology in the interactive development of support for social change. This suggests that for social movements on contentious issues, bringing supporters together in order to build support for and commitment to action is not automatically beneficial for forming sustainable social change identities. Discussion may be important, but discussion without the resolution of ideological differences is not a panacea for a lack of progress.

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Chapter 1

Ideology and Support for Social Change: Introduction and Overview

> FRANCIS: … As empires go, this is the big one, so we've got to get up
> off our arses and stop just talking about it!
>
> COMMANDOS: Hear! Hear!
>
> LORETTA: I agree. It's action that counts, not words, and we need action
> now.
>
> COMMANDOS: Hear! Hear!
>
> …
>
> JUDITH: They've arrested Brian!
>
> REG: What?
>
> COMMANDOS: What?
>
> JUDITH: They've dragged him off! They're going to crucify him!
>
> REG: Right! This calls for immediate discussion!
>
> *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (Goldstone & Jones, 1979)

Introduction and Aims

When do social movements fail to get going? Or put another way, why

are some collectives less likely to take collective action than others? Recent

social psychological treatments have focused to good effect on barriers and

hurdles to action and on the role of pathways to collective action. Put simply,

people may fail to act collectively where they fail to see good reasons to act or

where they are insufficiently committed or motivated to act. The work by

Klandermans (1984, 1997), Simon et al. (1998) and van Zomeren and

colleagues (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; van Zomeren, Spears,

Fischer, & Leach, 2004) neatly exemplifies these ideas.

In earlier research, Klandermans (1984) suggested that people choose to

act based upon a weighing up of the costs and benefits of participation and act

according to the relative values they place on each. Rather than focusing purely on material costs and benefits, which he termed the reward motive, Klandermans also noted the importance of both the collective motive and the social motive. These were defined correspondingly as the value of the goal being sought coupled with how likely it was that a person's participation would bring about its achievement and as how significant others would react to a person's decision on whether or not to participate.

Although these motives were found to be useful predictors of behaviour, work by Simon et al. (1998) suggested that the relative costs and benefits associated with these motives represented just one pathway via which people would seek to engage in collective action. The second pathway was via identification with what they termed a social movement organization or more specifically identification with a politicized group dedicated to collective action on behalf of members of a disadvantaged social category (Simon et al., 1998). This latter finding is of particular relevance to the present research and suggests the involvement of social identity, and more specifically of self-categorization as a member of a social movement, as important underlying processes in converting sympathy with a cause into action on behalf of that cause. Van Zomeren and colleagues (van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2004) have developed different models (that we discuss in more detail later) but also agree that social identification is an important predictor of action. It seems reasonable then that a lack of willingness to take action may reflect a weakness of these drivers, or motivators, of action. This thesis, however, explores another reason as to why action could fail to materialise.

This is the idea that a failure to act may reflect not just a hesitancy or lack of motivation on the part of the members of groups but disagreements

within those groups. After all, action to produce social change is inherently political action, and debate and disagreement, including disagreements that reflect ideologies is the stuff of politics. However, as Wright (2009) observes, the role of ideology in collective action has been underexplored.

In this thesis I seek to determine the role ideology may play in explaining this dilemma and how specific ideological beliefs may become associated with particular group identities and how this link can either energise or enervate support for collective action directed at achieving social change. Thus, the initial thesis explored here is *whether or not ideological beliefs about inequality and understandings of the intergroup context within which that inequality occurs work to promote or impede support for collective action aimed at bringing an end to that inequality*. An integral part of this pursuit is determining how ideological beliefs and understandings may be related to a person's level of identification with particular groups and their subsequent willingness to engage in action in support of these groups' aims.

The concept of opinion-based groups is one means that can be deployed to explore the link between ideology and collective action within this thesis as it enables the creation of identities which see collective action as a normative and essential part of the identity. Opinion-based groups are defined as psychologically meaningful groups that are formed around a shared opinion (Bliuc, McGarty, Reynolds, & Muntele, 2007). Opinion-based groups typically revolve around support or opposition to a specific issue, such as the death penalty, whereby you could arguably have a group strongly in favour of the death penalty and one vehemently opposed to it. Once such a group has formed then members will tend to act in line with the norms associated with that membership in situations where this identity is salient. If those norms favour

support for positive social change, then identification with such an opinion-based group (to the extent that it leads to increased group membership salience) is more likely to produce support for positive social change in group members. Positive social change is defined here as change in the direction favoured by the majority within a moral community – whether this community is at a local, national or international level. As such, what some groups would consider positive social change may for other groups represent negative social change.

The opinion-based group interaction method outlined by Gee, Khalaf, and McGarty (2007) and demonstrated by Thomas and McGarty (2009) provides a potential testing ground for the influence of ideological beliefs on generating or undermining support for collective action. In other words, it allows for an exploration of the ways particular ideologies become associated with particular group identities and how these different ideologies serve to facilitate or inhibit active support for those social movements. It is hoped that the reintroduction of ideology into the study of support for social change will enable the clarification of its role in explaining the dilemma of collective action.

Overview of Chapters

In order to address this question, I will begin by reviewing the literature dealing with how disadvantaged and advantaged group members' respond to unequal intergroup relations in Chapter 2. Theories from both the individual-difference and group-level approaches will be covered with a view toward determining which elements from each approach might need to be incorporated into the current investigation. The way in which ideology has been dealt with in the theories reviewed will be explored as well as how it has been or might be related to support for social change within each theoretical framework.

Chapter 3 details the main experimental approach, the opinion-based group interaction method, and explicates the process underlying the utility and successful application of this method as an analogue of societal processes to small group laboratory research. This chapter outlines how this methodology enables different aspects of identification to develop in opinion-based group identities that are then crystallised around a normative alignment of attitudes, efficacy beliefs, and action intentions through interaction. It also illustrates how this process can be used to test the ideas gleaned from the collective action literature regarding the role of ideology in promoting or attenuating support for social change and posits an argument as to what that role may be.

In Chapter 4 I briefly address the way in which the opinion-based group interaction method will be used empirically in this thesis. In particular, I describe the most topical and well-known intergroup inequality within Australia which will be the focus of the studies run. Specifically, I outline the disadvantage of Indigenous Australians within Australian society and the role of the Reconciliation movement in efforts to alleviate that disadvantage. I also detail the ways in which the impact of ideology can be studied within the opinion-based group interaction method with alternative techniques.

Chapter 5 summarizes the findings from Studies 1 and 2. These initial investigations into the research question were designed as an attempt to directly manipulate the ideological understandings of participants. Thus, the first study represented an effort to impose understandings of how Indigenous disadvantage should be perceived to determine how this would affect people's commitment to supporting efforts to bring about social change. The second study assessed how people's willingness to engage in collective action was

influenced by ideological understandings of what Reconciliation should entail in order to be successful.

A different approach to manipulating the ideological understandings of participants was taken in Study 3, the results of which are summarized in Chapter 6. In this study, participants selected their own ideological framing of what approach to Reconciliation was best. By allowing participants to select their own framing of the situation, it was possible to get a clearer sense of the ways in which interaction might crystallise this ideology and whether that would lead to a stronger or weaker commitment to collective action.

Chapter 7 provides an aggregated analysis of these three interaction based studies in order to assess the impact of the opinion-based interaction method on people's willingness to engage in collective action and how this process might be hindered or helped by ideological content. In addition, a test of the extended normative alignment model was conducted.

Chapter 8 summarizes the results of a correlational analysis of participants' ideological positions and their attitudinal and behavioural responses to intergroup inequality. This analysis allows us to take a step back from the question of whether or not ideological understandings and beliefs can be harnessed to energise or enervate people's willingness to support social change and establish the ways in which these variables may be related. It also provides an opportunity to explore some of the ways in which support for Reconciliation and attitudes toward Indigenous Australians may have shifted over time in response to social changes in the intergroup context.

In Chapter 9, I summarize the literature reviews and empirical findings from this thesis and draw conclusions about the role of ideology in helping and hindering the interactive development of support for social change. This final

chapter shows that in order to fully understand the reasons why people may support social change but nonetheless fail to collectively act on behalf of that change it is necessary to take ideology into account. I explain this as arising from the fact that support for social change is a complicated interaction between competing ideological beliefs and understandings and that social interaction can crystallise around either positive or negative attitudes and behavioural intentions. This chapter also addresses the implications of these findings and proposes future directions for research which can help to expand our understanding of the role of ideology in support for social change.

Chapter 2

The Ideology of Social Change: How Attitudes and Beliefs Shape

Supporters and Non-Supporters Actions in Response to Injustice

Introduction

An oft-neglected aspect of the collective action literature is the role that ideological beliefs play in shaping people's responses to unequal intergroup relations (Wright, 2009). This is surprising because a long tradition of relative deprivation research (see e.g., Walker & H. J. Smith, 2002) establishes that the way that people understand injustice and disadvantage will influence their attitudes and behavioural responses to inequality between groups, and ideology would be expected to be an important source of those understandings.

Arguably the neglect of the ideological in collective action takes two forms. First, although there has been a theoretical effort to explicate the role of ideology, this role has not been as well explored in empirical research (Wright, 2009). Second, there has been an understandable interest in the factors that motivate disadvantaged group members' responses to their disadvantage but, until recently the ideology and action of advantaged group members have been largely overlooked by researchers (Iyer & Leach, 2009; Leach, Snyder, & Iyer, 2002; van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). This chapter will therefore provide a review of the theoretical and empirical literature which addresses what factors may influence advantaged and disadvantaged group members' willingness to support collective action designed to challenge or maintain group-based inequality.

Two Approaches to Dealing with Unequal Intergroup Relations

There are two major approaches to explaining responses to unequal intergroup relations, specifically an individual-level and a group-level

perspective (Iyer & Leach, 2009). Most of this research has tended to focus on explaining either, the negative attitudes held by advantaged group members about disadvantaged group members, or the factors which motivate disadvantaged group members to act collectively to end their disadvantage (Wright & Lubensky, 2008). While recent research has tended to blur these distinctions, the following review will first look at the role of ideology in individual-level approaches to prejudice reduction and action intentions, followed by a review of its role in group-level approaches, before discussing how this research applies to the current thesis.

<div align="center">**Individual-Level Approaches**</div>

Initially, efforts to address the role of ideological beliefs in dictating peoples' responses to unequal intergroup relations focused on individual attitudes and actions. These efforts stemmed from a desire to explain the destructive group-based actions of the Second World War. As such, they tended to focus on explaining the prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviours of advantaged group members. This focus can be seen most clearly in the early work of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, and Sanford (1950) who utilised a Freudian analysis to isolate and illustrate the drives and motives of the prejudiced individual from data gathered from questionnaires and structured interviews.

The Authoritarian Personality

Adorno et al. (1950) developed a number of measures of negative attitudes and related ideological beliefs. These included, but were not limited to, the fascism scale (or F-Scale), which was designed to measure participants' adherence to anti-democratic ideologies, and the ethnocentrism scale, designed to measure generalised negative attitudes toward minority group members.

Based on questionnaire responses from just over 2000 individuals these researchers selected a subset of respondents (25% from both the high and low extremes of the ethnocentrism scale) to interview in more depth. From these interviews, they identified 6 syndromes or types of prejudiced personality and 5 types among non-prejudiced individuals. These personality syndromes were characterised by specific underlying psychological motivations (based upon a Freudian psychoanalytic analysis) for the particular patterns of positive or negative opinion found and the types of justifications given by the interviewees. Of these, the most well-known and well-researched was the authoritarian personality. As described by Adorno and colleagues the "authoritarian syndrome" represented the typical high scorer who showed both an unquestioning adherence to authority and a willingness to discriminate against those whom the authority endorsed as targets or scapegoats.

In response to several methodological criticisms of Adorno and colleagues' F-scale, Altemeyer (1981) set out to refine the understanding and measurement of the authoritarian personality in a series of studies. In Altemeyer's conceptualization right-wing authoritarians (measured using the RWA scale) are highly submissive to established authorities, aggressive toward those who are deemed acceptable targets and are extremely conventional. According to Altemeyer, if one or more of these facets is not present, then the individual in question is not a right-wing authoritarian. Despite this view, however, the scale Altemeyer developed is continuous and those who score highly are treated as right-wing authoritarians regardless of their pattern of responses on the different subscales (Martin, 2001).

Social Dominance Theory and System Justification Theory

In contrast, two individual-level approaches that have built on these earlier understandings of the role of ideology in people's attitudes and responses to disadvantage in society while avoiding their monocular focus are social dominance theory (SDT; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and system justification theory (SJT; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004).

Social dominance theory sees unequal intergroup relations as a routine and almost ubiquitous aspect of the organization of societies, by containing as its core assumption that the formation of hierarchies is a natural outcome of all human societies and that this form of social structure inevitably leads to discriminatory beliefs and practices which reinforce this hierarchical structure (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This approach reverses the explanatory burden, making it necessary to explain why people would support equality and why they do *not* hold negative opinions about the members of those groups who are lower in the social hierarchy (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

According to SDT, humans have an innate predisposition toward creating social hierarchies and the extent to which these hierarchies exist and are maintained in society is dependent upon the contrasting strength of hierarchy-enhancing or hierarchy-attenuating forces (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In order to determine the strength of people's support for social hierarchies Sidanius and Pratto developed the social dominance orientation (SDO) scale which is a generalised measure of the value individuals place on dominance within society. As such, individual support for collective action to challenge or maintain inequality between social groups will be dependent on the extent to which

hierarchy-attenuating or hierarchy-enhancing forces are in ascendance and the strength of their social dominance orientation.

In a similar vein, system justification theory suggests that people are not only motivated to view themselves (ego-justification) and their fellow group members (group-justification) positively but also the society within which they live (system justification; Jost & Banaji, 1994). As these three competing motives are viewed as individual difference variables, people will have varying levels of each (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2004; Jost & Hunyady, 2002, 2005). Thus, members of both advantaged and disadvantaged groups will generally be motivated to support the status quo to the extent that their motive for system justification outweighs their motive for group-justification.

Of the various individual-difference measures of negative attitudes toward members of minority or disadvantaged groups, a meta-analysis conducted by Sibley and Duckitt (2008) demonstrated the utility of both Altemeyer's right-wing authoritarianism scale and Sidanius and Pratto's social dominance orientation as predictors of prejudice. Their meta-analysis revealed that these two measures accounted for around half the variance in an individual's level of prejudice which partially or fully mediated the effects of personality variables. Similarly, a review of numerous research studies by Altemeyer (1998) showed that when combined RWA and SDO could account for more than half of the variance in prejudice despite being only weakly correlated with each other.

Thus, the individual-level approaches to negative intergroup relations tend to focus on personality-based or innate tendencies toward discrimination and support for the status quo. RWA and SDO have been found to have the strongest links with levels of prejudice toward minority or disadvantaged group

members. As a consequence support for social change aimed at challenging unequal or unjust intergroup relations will be motivated by low levels of these tendencies whilst action aimed at maintaining such relations will be driven by high levels of the same tendencies.

Group-Level Approaches

An alternative way of approaching the issue of how ideology relates to people's responses to injustice and disadvantage focuses on the specific group memberships of the people involved and the intergroup relations within which they interact. This focus on groups and the intergroup context was developed as a counter to the more individualised approach of Adorno et al. (1950) and was initially epitomised not only by the work of Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star, and Williams (1949) in their exploration of the adjustment of American soldiers but also on the work of Mustafer Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & C. W. Sherif (1961|1988) in the series of experiments they ran at Robbers Cave.

Relative Deprivation Theory

In a four year study, evaluating the adjustment of soldiers to army life during World War II, Stouffer et al. (1949) found that among African-American soldiers, adjustment differed between those soldiers stationed in the North and those stationed in the South. This led to the suggestion by Stouffer and colleagues that what might be important was the "relative status" afforded to these men as African-American soldiers compared to the status of those African-Americans who had remained civilians. Specifically, the treatment of African-American civilians in the South was still extremely prejudicial and driven by the antiquated and segregationist Jim Crow policies which severely restricted the freedoms afforded to African-Americans living in the south. As such, whilst the army was segregated, African-Americans from the southern United States

received much fairer treatment than they saw their civilian counterparts receiving and were thus more satisfied with, and adjusted more readily to, life in the army. In contrast, the treatment of African-American civilians in the North was on a much more equal footing with the treatment of white civilians and as such the segregation practices of the army were a step backwards and consequently their adjustment to army life was more difficult as they found themselves being treated more unfairly than their civilian counterparts. They also made a similar argument based on this notion of "relative deprivation" for the differential adjustment of varied classes of white soldiers, for example, married men versus non-married men and educated versus non-educated soldiers.

These findings and the suggested explanation given by Stouffer and colleagues led to the development of relative deprivation theory, which was first described by Merton and Kitt (1950) and first codified by Davis (1959). In a series of propositions, Davis made a distinction between intragroup comparisons between oneself and a more or less deprived ingroup member and intergroup comparisons between oneself and a more or less deprived outgroup member. The former comparison would lead to feelings of either relative gratification or deprivation whilst the latter would lead to relative superiority or subordination depending on the relative status of the target of comparison.

Building on this work, Runciman's (1961, 1966) research amongst the British working class resulted in the clarification of relative deprivation and the suggestion that these two types of comparisons had different behavioural outcomes. Runciman (1966) argued that an intragroup comparison could lead to a feeling of egoistic deprivation whilst an intergroup comparison could lead to a sense of fraternal deprivation and it was only in the latter case that one would

be motivated to act collectively to improve their own groups' outcomes. This assertion has received strong support from empirical research (e.g. Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Walker & Pettigrew, 1994).

Runciman (1961) also suggested the notion of relative deprivation on behalf of others whereby parents (or advantaged group members) would experience a sense of relative deprivation in response to their children's deprivation (or that of disadvantaged group members within society) despite not being relatively deprived themselves. This idea has been followed up in the work of Tougas and Beaton (2002) that found that men were more likely to work to maintain the status quo if they experienced group based relative deprivation on their own behalf (after comparing their current status to some imagined future state where men and women had achieved equality). However, where men experienced relative deprivation on behalf of women they were more likely to support affirmative action programs. However, the focus of relative deprivation research has been on explaining when and why disadvantaged group members will act collectively to overcome their own disadvantage (Pettigrew, 2002; Walker & H. J. Smith, 2002; Wright & Tropp, 2002) and it is generally considered to be less useful for, and has been applied less often to, explaining why advantaged group members might act collectively to end their own advantage (Tougas & Beaton, 2002).

Although the advantaged have received less attention in the literature, relative deprivation theory suggests that the advantaged are more likely to experience relative gratification when they compare themselves to those who are disadvantaged along the dimension of comparison (Runciman, 1961). Recent research by Guimond and colleagues (Dambrun, Guimond, & Taylor, 2006; Guimond & Dambrun, 2002, Guimond, Dif, & Aupy, 2002) has explored

the impact of relative gratification on intergroup attitudes. This research has shown that where group members experience relative gratification this can lead to an increase in negative attitudes toward members of the comparison group but not an increase in positive evaluations of their own group (Guimond et al., 2002) and this has implications for the support of negative action intentions (Guimond & Dambrun, 2002). A review by Dambrun et al. (2006) suggests that these negative attitudes are not limited to the comparison group but can extend to any low status group that is perceived to be a threat to one's advantage and, as with relative deprivation it is the group level comparison that drives these outcomes not a personal level comparison.

A review of the literature regarding the responses of the fortunate to their own advantage conducted by Leach et al. (2002) led to the suggestion of a typology of responses that are available to the advantaged depending on the legitimacy and stability of their advantage as well as whether the fortunate are focused on their own advantage or the disadvantage of the other and whether they think the disadvantaged have contributed to their own disadvantage or not. They determined that only when the relative advantage is perceived as both illegitimate and unstable and the advantaged are focused on the plight of the disadvantaged, who are in that position through no fault of their own, would this lead to an emotional response, namely moral outrage, which would then be conducive to motivating support for collective action. In the main though, their review illustrated that under most situations the advantaged are unlikely to be motivated to engage in collective action to assist the disadvantaged and are more likely to work to maintain it or to act individually to undermine it. As a result, given that relative deprivation is more useful in determining the responses of the disadvantaged and this thesis is focused on explaining when

advantaged group members will act collectively on behalf of a disadvantaged group this concept will not be explored further.

Realistic Group Conflict Theory

Another early group-level approach to explaining the collective action intentions of both disadvantaged and advantaged group members began with a series of studies conducted at Robbers Cave. The findings from these studies led to the development of the realistic group conflict theory wherein Sherif and colleagues (Sherif, 1966; M. Sherif et al., 1961|1988) argue that negative attitudes arise out of competitive intergroup relations which occur when two groups are in direct competition over scarce resources. As such, rather than prejudicial attitudes and behaviour being the result of inherent personality traits, they are believed to develop in response to actual conflict between groups. Ideological beliefs area an intrinsic part of this process as they provide the supporting framework that justifies and perpetuates this intergroup conflict.

To change these negative attitudes and behaviours, Sherif et al. (1961|1988) demonstrated that what was needed was a change from a conflictual intergroup relationship to a cooperative one. In their Robbers Cave studies they showed that it was possible to ameliorate and even eliminate negative attitudes and behaviours by providing the two groups with superordinate goals which prompted cooperation as they could only be achieved if both groups worked together. However, this cooperation needed to be maintained over a series of tasks in order for the new more positive attitudes and behavioural responses to become normative for both groups.

Unfortunately, while Sherif and colleagues suggested a means by which intergroup relations could be transformed from negative to positive they did not propose a mechanism by which this process would be initiated (Jackson, 1993).

Thus, realistic group conflict theory does not address the process by which support for that form of social change is created. Instead, Sherif and colleagues argue that positive attitudes follow from changes in intergroup relations following cooperative endeavours; however, in the absence of "experimenters" setting superordinate goals where the impetus for cooperation comes from is unclear. In other words, under this theory, as noted by Jackson (1993) and by Oakes, Haslam and Reynolds (1999), more positive attitudes and behaviours only arise following positive structural changes in society.

Another problematic feature of the Robbers Cave experiments and one that is not explained within realistic group conflict theory is that the mere presence of two groups was enough to produce negative attitudes (Jackson, 1993). This finding was reproduced in research using the minimal group paradigm. In this research, experimenters demonstrated that when individuals were arbitrarily split into two meaningless groups (i.e. simply by assigning participants to either group A or group B) which had no prior history or basis in social reality this was sufficient to produce intergroup discrimination (*cf* Tajfel & Billig, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Thus while Sherif and colleagues' argument that conflict over objective distributions of resources is important for understanding intergroup relations there is also a subjective element.

Social Identity Theory

Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) proposed social identity theory (SIT) as an explanation as to why it is not necessary for there to be an actual conflict of interest over resources between groups in order for negative attitudes and behaviours to exist. Instead, according to SIT, all that is needed is a subjective intergroup conflict which justifies the establishment of ideological beliefs that support negative views of the outgroup. Thus, according to SIT, individuals are

motivated to hold positive group identities that are obtained by comparing one's own group with a less valued but contextually relevant outgroup. If a positive social identity cannot be achieved in this way, then individuals will either seek out a new social identity which is more positively favourable (i.e. they will engage in individual mobility) or they will seek to improve the evaluation of their current social identity by changing either the comparative context (i.e. they will engage in social creativity) or the social context (i.e. they will engage in social competition). Which response is chosen as optimal depends largely on the interplay between three ideological factors, namely the permeability of intergroup boundaries, the legitimacy of the intergroup relations and the stability of those relations.

This role of ideological beliefs in maintaining or challenging negative intergroup relations is well developed in SIT with respect to disadvantaged group members. As with most theories and early approaches to this issue the assumption has usually been that advantaged group members will be inactive or work to maintain the system, as it is to their group's advantage to do so, whilst any calls for social change will be generated from within the disadvantaged group (Wright, 2001; see also Iyer & Leach, 2009 for a review).

According to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner, 1999; Turner & Reynolds, 2001), low status group members who do not strongly identify with their ingroup will attempt to change their circumstances through individual mobility from their own less positively evaluated group to a more positively evaluated group. However, where the boundaries between these groups are impermeable, then individuals will favour collective responses to disadvantage. In choosing between collective strategies, individuals will tend to favour social creativity when intergroup relations are stable and/or legitimate but will opt for

social competition, or support for collective action to bring about social change, when these relations are unstable and/or illegitimate.

More specifically, a legitimate system of disadvantage demands no challenge whilst one that is stable is enervating as individuals are unable to foresee how their actions can possibly hope to achieve change (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). An integral part of the problem with stable disadvantage is that in order to maintain its stability an ideological justification of that unequal structure develops in order to make it legitimate. Thus, it is only rarely that a stable intergroup inequality exists without some form of legitimating ideology and where it does that inequality will eventually be rendered unstable by its lack (Tajfel, 1969; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986).

In a related way, Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) suggest that advantaged group members will respond in a similar fashion to disadvantaged group members when their own group is negatively evaluated: especially when their advantage is illegitimate. As such, does SIT allow (albeit indirectly) for the possibility that advantaged group members may challenge their own advantage if the morality or justification of that advantage is challenged on a comparative dimension integral to the high status groups' identity.

Wright and colleagues (Wright & Taylor, 1998, 1999; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990) have shown the ways that advantaged groups can circumvent the action intentions of disadvantaged group members by playing into the meritocratic ideology of modern Western societies. In a series of studies they demonstrated that the use of tokenistic practices, whereby a limited number of the disadvantaged group are permitted to move into the advantaged group based on individual merit. They found that even when participants were aware of the discriminating nature of the tokenism (i.e. that only 2% of the

disadvantaged group could advance) they preferred to challenge this inequality with non-normative individual responses, such as individually protesting their exclusion, rather than support or engage in collective action designed to bring about social change. Even those who had advanced on the basis of tokenism were disinclined to challenge this practice on behalf of their fellow group members (Wright & Taylor, 1999). Thus, providing even a limited opportunity for individual mobility will undermine support for collective action amongst the disadvantaged.

Work by Kessler and colleagues (Kessler & Harth, 2009; Kessler & Mummendey, 2002; Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999) suggests that combining SIT with relative deprivation theory allows for a greater level of accuracy in predicting disadvantaged group members choice of identity management strategy. Mummendey et al. (1999) took advantage of the reunification of Germany to explore the identity management responses of the lower status East Germans. Based on an integration of these two approaches, they found that components from relative deprivation theory were most useful in predicting collective responses while those based on SIT were most able to predict individual strategies. This was found to be a more dynamic and systemic process which could not be explained using a sequential ordering of the relevant variables (Kessler & Mummendey, 2002). As such, if one aspect of a low status group member's system of beliefs is activated then this will tend to activate the entire system or, conversely, if information is missing from the system then they will be able to fill in this missing knowledge based on the information they have access to (Kessler & Harth, 2009)

Of particular relevance to the current thesis is SIT's analysis of when people will or will not engage in collective action aimed at achieving social

change and how this willingness can be energised or diminished by group

processes. Whilst this latter process will be explored in more detail in Chapter 3,

for SIT the willingness itself is dependent on a specific combination of three

factors all of which are shaped by ideologically informed views. Specifically, as

mentioned above, where group boundaries are impermeable, such that

individual mobility is not a feasible option, and the structural disadvantage is

both unstable and illegitimate then disadvantaged group members are more

likely to challenge the injustice they experience (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986).

Self-Categorization Theory

Whilst SIT specified how individuals would respond to negatively valued

group identities depending on the ideological context within which that injustice

is experienced, Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) did not specify the process by

which particular identities would become salient (Turner & Reynolds, 2001).

Self-categorization theory (SCT) was thus developed by Turner and colleagues

(Turner, 1999; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner &

Oakes, 1989) in order to specify the cognitive processes by which individuals

came to psychologically identify with particular social groups and under what

circumstances their level of identification would shift from a personal to a social

level of self-categorization. From this theoretical perspective, individuals will

self-categorize as a group member and act according to that social identity

when it becomes salient, that is, when a shared group membership becomes

psychologically operative (Turner, 1999; Turner et al., 1987; Turner & Oakes,

1989; Turner & Reynolds, 2001). The identity which is most salient in a given

context is a function of perceiver readiness (initially referred to as accessibility

by Oakes, 1987; Turner et al., 1987) and fit, a process which is further

separated into comparative and normative fit (Oakes, 1987; Turner & Oakes, 1989).

Although the term "ideology" is not mentioned in the formal statements of SCT (Turner et al., 1987), we should expect ideology to relate to the ways in which identities become salient in a number of ways. An understanding of particular intergroup relations is likely to be related to perceiver readiness as the choice of comparison group is likely to be affected by ideological beliefs about how the world works which will dictate the intergroup comparison that is deemed most meaningful in a given context. A similar ideological influence may also be exerted over understanding of a group's identity and how it differs from one's own group's identity which would in turn influence our judgments of normative fit.

However, SCT clearly explains the willingness to support collective action to bring about social change due to its distinction between personal and group identity and how this influences adherence to group norms (Turner et al., 1987). Thus, according to SCT, individuals are going to be more or less likely to act in terms of their social identity depending on whether a social identity or a personal identity is salient. As such, support for collective action to bring about social change will be determined by what the norms of a particular social (or personal) identity are and whether or not that specific identity is salient. Thus, SCT allows for any psychologically meaningful group membership to lead to inaction or action to bring about either positive or negative social change.

As a consequence of this focus, ideological beliefs have become more explicitly tied to SCT through research related to group norms, particularly in the area of efficacy beliefs (Hornsey et al., 2006; van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2004). Whilst simply identifying with a group can improve an

individual's belief in the utility of collective action in achieving social change (C. Kelly, 1993; Simon, 1998), social identity can also shape the particular forms of action that are perceived as feasible (Hopkins & Reicher, 1996; Wright, 2001; Wright & Tropp, 2002) and the emotional response that is elicited in response to injustice (Iyer & Leach, 2008, 2009; Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007; Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006; E. R. Smith, 1993).

Ideology as Social Identity Content

Over time, social identities come to be associated with particular content and imbued with particular meanings due to the historical experience of specific intergroup relations (Livingstone & Haslam, 2008). As such, the way in which, and the extent to which, a group identity will be associated with certain attitudes and behaviours is a function of the normative content of that group identity. In essence, whether you become more or less committed to social change when a specific group membership is salient will be dependent on whether this is consistent with the normative meaning of the salient group identity.

Livingstone and Haslam (2008) demonstrated this relationship in two studies conducted in a setting of chronic negative intergroup relations. These studies found that where the religious identity content in Northern Ireland had come to emphasise an antagonistic relationship between Catholics and Protestants then identification was predictive of negative action intentions irrespective of religious affiliation. However, where the content of the identity did not contain this emphasis then identification was less predictive of intergroup antagonism.

Similarly, a study conducted by Subašić and Reynolds (2009) demonstrated that in the context of Reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, engagement in political action in support of

Reconciliation among non-Indigenous Australians was less likely to manifest when Indigenous disadvantage was seen as irrelevant to the meaning of who we are as group members. In other words, only when the continuation of Indigenous disadvantage had ramifications for the meaning of non-Indigenous Australian identity were group members more likely to endorse social change to redress this inequality.

However, the content or meaning associated with an identity is by no means a fixed or static thing. As Hopkins (2008) argues, identities are contested through discussions with other group members as well as with non-group members and the daily practice of an identity can also shape its meaning. The practice or enactment of identity can also be influenced by the context within which that practice takes place (Reicher, 1995, 2000). Specifically, Reicher argues that the enactment of an identity is dependent not only on constraints imposed by the outgroup audience but also by other ingroup members who may contest one's right to claim that identity as one's own. Also, research on crowd behaviour has demonstrated that these constraints upon identity enactment can shift dynamically in response to interactions with powerful outgroups who hold a different understanding of the meaning of that identity (Drury & Reicher, 2000; Reicher, 1996).

In their political solidarity model, Subašić, Reynolds and Turner (2008) argue that it is this contestation over identity meaning that results in a willingness to engage in action to bring about social change. Specifically, they argue that when a disadvantaged minority contests the meaning of a higher order identity that they share with both an authority and a spectator majority, then both the minority and the authority will seek to define this shared identity in a way that appeals to the majority. In other words, if the minority can convince

the majority that their understanding of the meaning of the higher order identity that they share is compatible with the majority's then the majority group members will be more likely to perceive themselves as sharing cause or solidarity with the minority rather than the authority and join them in challenging the authority. If, however, the authority is more convincing, then they will be able to maintain the support of the majority who will consequently be less likely to help the minority challenge the authority.

As such, the meaning or content of an identity can have a strong impact on whether or not that identity will be useful in maintaining or challenging the status quo. However, there is another way in which ideology can be conceptualised and that is as a group-based norm.

Ideology as Group-Based Norms

In recent research, van Zomeren and colleagues (van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2004), following a review of the collective action literature related to disadvantaged group members, proposed a model based on the coping literature. They identified two pathways via which disadvantaged group members could come to participate in collective action and argued that these were representative of two different coping styles that were available to low status group members for dealing with their devalued position within society. These coping strategies follow research by Lazarus (1991) into individual problem-focused and emotion-focused coping which, in the group domain, are equivalent to group efficacy and group based anger.

Thus, according to the van Zomeren and colleagues' model, disadvantaged group members can either become collectively active as they perceive this action will be effective in reducing their own disadvantage (i.e. group efficacy beliefs) or due to anger at their treatment within society (i.e.

group-based anger). The extent to which a group member identifies with this disadvantaged group membership will determine the strength of the connections between these two coping mechanisms and willingness to act on behalf of their own group.

The link between normative emotions and willingness to participate in collective action to bring about social change has been investigated from both sides of the intergroup conflict (*cf.* Iyer & Leach, 2009, Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009b). This work is based on the intergroup emotions theory developed by E. R. Smith (1993) which grew out of appraisal theories of emotion and self-categorization theory. Based on this theory, our perception of an intergroup conflict will depend on our level of self-categorization and this identification will shape the emotional response to specific group-based disadvantage which will in turn motivate a specific behavioural response. This approach has been applied prominently in the van Zomeren and colleagues' model wherein they show that, for disadvantaged group members, group-based anger is the best predictor of willingness to engage in collective action. However, work by Kessler and Hollbach (2005) suggests that the experience of group-based emotions also has an impact on identification with the ingroup, such that happiness about one's own group and anger about an outgroup will increase one's identification with their ingroup. Conversely, feeling happiness about an outgroup and anger about one's own group will reduce identification with one's ingroup.

Both Iyer and Leach (2008, 2009) and Thomas et al. (2009b) have applied the intergroup emotions approach to advantage group members' willingness to participate in collective action and found that moral outrage is the most useful emotional response in motivating active engagement. Although guilt has also been suggested as a predictor of high status group members'

involvement in social movements, this link is far more fragile and becomes problematic for high national identifiers for whom collective guilt is threatening to the positive distinctiveness of their identity (*cf.* Leach et al., 2002, for a review). Thus, research by Harth, Kessler and Leach (2008) found that while group members do experience existential guilt when they have an illegitimate advantage over another group this emotional experience is unable to predict behavioural responses to that advantage. However, the experience of a negative group-based emotion such as anger does predict the expression of negative attitudes toward the outgroup (Schütte & Kessler, 2007).

A study by Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, and Swim (2008) exploring the role of guilt demonstrated that when advantaged group members spontaneously put themselves in the shoes of disadvantaged group members they experienced higher levels of collective guilt as well as a greater willingness to engage in collective action on their behalf. However, if this perspective taking was forced then high identifiers were more likely to protect their identity by rejecting the experience of collective guilt and consequently showing a reduced inclination to act, although the experience of collective guilt did still predict action intentions.

Looking at the available behavioural responses to disadvantage, Wright, Taylor, and Moghaddam (1990) developed a model based on level of identification and perceptions of the variables highlighted in social identity theory which was further elaborated by Wright (2001). Their argument is that the behavioural response that disadvantaged group members' will engage in depends on how they view the permeability of group boundaries, as well as how they perceive the legitimacy and stability of their own disadvantage. According to their model, people will respond to inequality with inaction, or grudging

acceptance, if they value their disadvantaged social identity or if this inequality is stable and legitimate. If, on the other hand, their social identity is a source of negative evaluations then they will respond individually to redress their low status if the group boundaries are either wholly or partly permeable, but will respond with some form of collective action if they are impermeable.

Wright and colleagues (Wright, 2001; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990; Wright & Tropp, 2002) make a further distinction between normative and non-normative collective action, positing that where impermeable group disadvantage is viewed as legitimate and unstable or when normative collective responses are available then they will opt to deploy them. However, when normative collective responses are unavailable and inequality is illegitimate and unstable then people will choose to engage in non-normative collective actions. As Wright, Taylor, and Moghaddam (1990) make clear, the judgement as to the normativity of the collective response is based upon whether or not it breaches social conventions and as such does not rest on the subjective opinion of the activist.

Work by Simon (2009) may also help to clarify when an activist may be more likely to engage in normative as opposed to non-normative collective action. Specifically, Simon argues that where activists have a high level of identification with both the disadvantaged group and a higher level of identity that includes both sides of the inequality then this dual identity will result in a tendency to engage in protests that are directed at influencing the broader social group to end this injustice. However, where their identification is of a separatist form such that they are strongly identified with the disadvantaged group but only weakly with the broader social group, then activists are more

likely to radicalize and engage in collective responses aimed at overthrowing the current system rather than just changing it.

Critiques of social dominance orientation raise the point that this variable also acts as a group norm (Dambrun, Duarte, & Guimond, 2004; Guimond, Dambrun, Michinov, & Duarte, 2003; Turner & Reynolds, 2003) rather than being a stable and innate trait of the person as suggested by social dominance theory (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In a number of studies Guimond and colleagues (Dambrun et al., 2004; Guimond et al., 2003) showed that SDO is higher among members of more dominant or higher status groups. This effect cannot be explained by self-selection, whereby those with higher levels of SDO opt for jobs or groups which are more dominant within society, as these higher levels of SDO are not present among those who have only just taken on this identity but only manifest after three years of socialization into the relevant group identity has occurred (Guimond et al., 2003). Turner and Reynolds (2003) take this criticism further arguing that the tendency of social dominance theorists to ascribe group membership on the basis of social category membership rather than psychological group membership problematises the conclusions being drawn with respect to low status group members endorsement of the status quo. However, to the extent that group identity has norms in favour of social dominance then identification with that identity will result in higher levels of SDO and this has implications for attitudes and behaviour.

As a result of this focus on group norms about the utility of collective action, the appropriate emotional response to disadvantage, the types of action that should be undertaken to overcome inequality, and beliefs about social

dominance, the issue of which collective identity is most useful to promoting (or impeding) support for collective action becomes especially important.

Where is the Group?

Research by Hinkle, Fox-Cardamone, Haseleu, Brown, and Irwin (1996), Kelly and colleagues (C. Kelly, 1993; C. Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995, 1996; C. Kelly & J. Kelly, 1994), and Simon and colleagues (Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Stürmer, 2003; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Stürmer, Simon, & Loewy, 2008) has clearly demonstrated that simply identifying with a disadvantaged group is insufficient to predicting when people will engage in collective action. In studies looking at movement participation across a variety of causes (e.g. trade unions, women's movement, fat acceptance movement, gay movement, etc), research has found that of more use to predicting activism among sympathisers is identification with a specific politicized social identity.

This notion of a specific politicized group identity grew out of work that explored identification with a disadvantaged social category and action intentions and found the link between them was, more often than not, tenuous at best. Specifically, research has found that identification with, for example, the elderly (Simon et al., 1998, study 1), homosexuals (Simon et al., 1998, study 2; Stürmer & Simon, 2004), and women (C. Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995, 1996) was only weakly correlated with collective action on behalf of these social categories. However, when identification with an activist group associated with improving conditions for one of these social categories, such as the Grey Panthers (Simon et al., 1998) or the fat acceptance movement (Stürmer, Simon, Loewy, & Jörger, 2003), or a politicized identity, such as Feminists (C. Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995, 1996), was measured this was found to be strongly associated with the intention to act on behalf of that movement.

The notion of an activist or politicized collective identity was formalized by Simon and Klandermans (2001). They argue that an identity is politicized to the extent that its' members are consciously engaged in a struggle for power with an authority which might have broader implications beyond the position of their own group within society. According to Simon and Klandermans, this politicization occurs in response to a growing sense of shared grievances amongst group members, an oppositional antagonism toward another group or authority seen as responsible for this grievance, and an effort to force other groups within society to align themselves according to this oppositional intergroup context. As a consequence of identification with such a politicized identity, group members will be more likely to act collectively to bring about social change.

Exploring identification with such an activist identity also enables the role of the advantaged group member in these movements to be explored as being a member of the disadvantaged group is not a prerequisite for identification with a specific activist identity. Despite this, this literature still tends to focus on politicising a disadvantaged identity in order to seek redress for a shared grievance (*cf.* Simon & Klandermans, 2001). The idea that a shared grievance provides the basis for the formation of a politicized identity means that for advantaged group members the motivation for forming such an identity will be the result of a perceived need to defend their status rather than a desire to dismantle it.

Other identity-based approaches to explaining why advantaged group members might aid disadvantaged group members focus on changing the level of self-categorization that is salient in order to change the intergroup context to an intragroup one. As such, the particular group identity that is considered

important to achieving the outcome is at a higher level of abstraction to the intergroup context around which the system of inequality is based. For example, the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasion, Bachman, & Rust, 1993) operates on the notion that recategorizing at a higher or superordinate level of identification can transform an "us versus them" intergroup conflict into an intragroup "we". This effectively makes the disadvantages and prejudices suffered by the lower status group the concern of the higher status group as at this level of categorization they are now "our" group's disadvantages and prejudices.

However, this approach can be problematic as the opposing social categories may not necessarily have an inclusive higher level of categorization (*cf.* McGarty, 2006). Additionally, while short-term laboratory based studies have demonstrated a reduction in negative attitudes toward the former outgroup following such a recategorization (Gaertner et al., 1993), research by Kessler and Mummendey (2001) shows that it may also shift the focus of the negative attitudes toward an outgroup of this higher level categorisation. Moreover, research has not found evidence of a concomitant boost in support for collective action (Wright & Lubensky, 2008) nor of long lasting effects (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001; Hewstone, 1996).

On the one hand, the lack of flow-on effects from reductions in prejudice to increased support for social change is likely the result of the opposing motivations for these two approaches to intergroup relations. As argued by Wright and Lubensky (2008), the pattern of factors which lead to support for reducing prejudice are the reverse of that which leads to increased willingness to engage in collective action. As such, efforts to reduce prejudice are likely to

undermine support for collective action whilst attempts to boost support for social change will tend to heighten intergroup prejudice.

The transient nature of the prejudice reduction effect, on the other hand, is most likely a result of the relative salience of this superordinate level of categorization compared with subordinate levels of identification and the reality of intergroup relations in society. More specifically, once participants leave the laboratory setting, maintaining the salience of this superordinate level of identification is more difficult and when faced with the reality of a society within which the intergroup context at the subordinate level of identification is made constantly salient through media representations of the plight of minority or disadvantaged groups it is perhaps not surprising that the "us versus them" mentality returns.

However, recent research into opinion-based group identities offers a way of combining these two approaches to the role of identity in collective action and negative attitudes to disadvantaged groups (Bliuc et al., 2007; Gee et al., 2007; McGarty, Bliuc, Thomas, & Bongiorno, 2009; Musgrove & McGarty, 2008; O'Brien & McGarty, 2009; Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas et al., 2009a, 2009b). An opinion-based group can form around any shared opinion that becomes psychologically meaningful for those who hold it such that when that identity is salient it has attitudinal and behavioural ramifications for group members (Bliuc et al., 2007). This approach is particularly useful within the social change domain as it allows for both advantaged and disadvantaged group members to share a common group identity about how they would like future relations between their societally opposed group memberships to be. In addition, as McGarty et al. (2009) note, opinion-based groups avoid confusing

social category membership with psychological group membership, which is a problematic aspect of some of the research within the social identity literature.

For example, whereas social change in intergroup relations in the United States of America might be seen as a conflict between African-Americans and European-Americans, it is also true that the conflict involves opinion-based groups formed around support for ending the disadvantage of African-Americans or around support for equal opportunity for all Americans. Where this approach has an advantage over models based on a common ingroup or politicized identity is that it provides a way of reinterpreting traditionally hostile intergroup relations without a call to a superordinate identity that disadvantaged group members may have been historically excluded from (Thomas et al., 2009a). Also, as McGarty et al. (2009) point out, given the focus is on future intergroup relations the reality of current negative intergroup relations is not as disruptive, as the goals of one's group are to overcome this conflictual relationship. As such the reality is more likely to energise the opinion-based group identity as it reaffirms the necessity of the group's existence and reinforces how much work still needs to be done before intergroup harmony is achieved.

McGarty et al. (2009) present a strong version of the argument for the usefulness of opinion-based groups as a means of capturing the most relevant and broadly encompassing identities within the collective action domain as they are particularly useful in that they provide a valuable precursor step to politicized identities. As a consequence, this allows both sides of an intergroup conflict or group-based structural inequality to determine where the source of this conflict or inequality lies and what may be the most advantageous way to achieve equality within society. This approach also circumvents the issues

raised by Wright and Lubensky (2008) about the competing aims and motivations for collective action and prejudice reduction. Specifically, by circumventing identification with the disadvantaged group it is possible to sever the opposing motivational forces associated with these two approaches to achieving positive intergroup relations and allow for support for one to bolster rather than undermine support for the other. Thus, opinion-based groups provide a useful identity with which to explore the role of ideology in the formation of support for, or opposition to, social change due to its flexible, interactively formed nature.

Crystallizing Opinion-Based Group Identification around Normative Content

In order to take advantage of these aforementioned benefits of opinion-based groups the opinion-based interaction method (OBGIM) was developed as a way to heighten and crystallise this identity around the action orientation implied in the future focused nature of the identity itself. As described by Gee et al. (2007), OBGIM gives people the opportunity to self-categorise as supporters of an opinion-based group and then engage in a planning session with other group members to generate specific strategies for achieving the aims of the group. Following engagement in such a planning session, Gee et al. found that within the domain of mental health advocacy participants had higher levels of opinion-based group identification and an increased willingness to engage in collective action to bring about the aims of the group.

As will be argued in more detail in Chapter 3, OBGIM is based on the application of Lewin's (1947a, 1947b) work on social interaction and group dynamics as well as the polarization (*cf.* Moscovici & Zavalloni, 1969) and small group interaction (*cf.* Postmes, Haslam & Swaab, 2005) literature to the

collective action domain. By allowing participants to interact within a small group setting their sense of identification as opinion-based group members is given the chance to develop and crystallize around norms of collective action to achieve the goals of that group. This is in accordance with Postmes and colleagues' (Postmes, Haslam, et al., 2005; Postmes, Spears, Lee, & Novak, 2005) interactive model of identity formation which posits that group identities are formed both deductively and inductively in an iterative cycle. More specifically, deductive identity formation occurs through the acceptance and internalization of identity content from the social environment. Inductive identity formation, on the other hand, occurs through argumentation and negotiation over the meaning of that identity with other ingroup members. Although this model largely views inductive identity formation as an intragroup communicative process, this process can also occur as a means of refuting outgroup or external conceptualizations of the ingroup identity or through interaction with outgroup members as a means of differentiating the ingroup identity from that of the outgroup.

OBGIM allows for the use of both of these routes to identity formation as the method enables the moderator of the interaction to deductively establish identity content prior to interaction as well as to direct the discussion group to focus its efforts on inductively establishing specific normative content. The work by Gee et al. (2007) in the domain of mental health advocacy as well as the work of Thomas and colleagues (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas et al., 2009a, 2009b) in the area of support for international aid suggests both processes successfully reinforce each other within OBGIM. For example, Thomas and McGarty (2009) demonstrated that in the absence of normative content, supporters of the UN's Water for Life program were more likely to

endorse collective action to bring about the aims of this group and were more committed to their identity as supporters following OBGIM then those who had not interacted. However, where supporters were encourage to develop strategies that would evoke moral outrage from the wider community then they were even more strongly committed to both their identity as supporters and to participating in action to bring about social change.

Based on this work Thomas et al. (2009a) proposed the normative alignment model as an explanation of how sustainable social change identities are created within OBGIM. Specifically, they argue that interaction enables normative content related to action intentions, efficacy and emotional response to be aligned with a social change identity and it is this system of coherent beliefs that creates a sustainable social change identity. As I argue in more detail in the next chapter, the role of ideology within this model is likely be manifested in the strengthening or weakening of the interconnections between the different components of this coherent and normatively aligned identity system.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have sought to provide an update on recent developments in individual and group level treatments of the social psychological treatments of ideology for social change. Based on this review of the literature a number of key factors from both the individual and group level approaches emerge as possible avenues for exploring the role of ideology in motivating support for social change among advantaged group members.

On the one hand, the individual-level approaches suggest that both right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation are related to negative intergroup attitudes that could potentially demotivate support for action among

advantaged group members. The group level approaches, on the other hand, suggest that it is perceptions of the intergroup context, which are influenced by one's membership in and identification with particular social groups such as opinion-based groups, that may be critical to understanding when people will or will not act collectively. In addition, work with opinion-based groups provides a methodology that may be useful for testing the role of ideology in the interactive development of social change as well as a model that may provide insight into the role of ideology within this process. These latter two points are addressed more fully in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

Experimenting in Society: A conceptual model for the promotion of

sustainable social change through social interaction

Introduction

In this chapter, which is being prepared for publication, the opinion-based group interaction method which will provide the basis of the test of the thesis question is described and the role of this method in enabling the exploration of societal processes in laboratory settings is discussed. In addition an extension and refinement of Thomas et al.'s (2009a) normative alignment model, which provides an argument for how OBGIM produces sustainable social change identities, is proposed to account for the role of ideology within this process.

Experimenting in Society

In this chapter I propose an experimental analogy of the process of social change. In order to develop this analogy I assume that an important part of social change is the formation and solidification of the different aspects of identification in new social identities through actual social interaction in small groups. To the extent that this analogy is successful in stimulating experimental research using actual social interaction in a small group, this work can be seen as part of a broader attempt to repair a number of broken lines in the scientific legacy of Kurt Lewin.

I say this because Lewin is widely considered to be the founder of modern social psychology. Part of the power of Lewin's contribution was that he showed that scientific methods drawn from the natural and physical sciences could help us to understand issues of human social relations that affected people in society such as styles of leadership and social change. Lewin and colleagues were able to do this by theorising behavior to be an outcome of a

system involving interactions between people and their environment and by applying the keystone method of the natural and physical sciences, the controlled experiment, to study actual social interaction between people.

Lewin (1947a, 1947b) was also the founder of another tradition that has been less warmly embraced by mainstream social psychology. Action research was defined by Lewin (1947b, p. 150) as "research on the conditions and effects of various forms of social action, and research leading to social action". This second tradition is vigorously pursued in fields such as education, business, international development and sociology. The extent of the alienation from social psychology is so complete that the key journal *Action Research* does not list psychology as one of the fields within the journal's scope (http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdAims.nav?prodId=Journal201642 accessed May 20, 2009).

The alienation between Lewin's heritage as one of the founders of an experimental approach to social psychology and the founder of action research is easy to understand at one level. Experimental social psychology as with most other quantitative social sciences that reflect dispassionate, objective, scientific detachment (Mohman, 2010). Action researchers tend to reject the ideal of scientific detachment and instead explicitly focus on ways in which their research can contribute to particular social changes (Mohman, 2010).

There is, however, yet another way in which social psychology is partially alienated from the Lewinian heritage. Although social psychology has adopted the experiment as the most prestigious method, the Lewinian focus on understanding group processes through the study of actual social interaction has declined. This point is illustrated in Haslam and McGarty's (2001) survey of the presence of actual social interaction in articles published in the field's

leading empirical journal the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. They showed that between 1969 and 1999 there was a massive decline in the number of studies involving actual interaction between people (as opposed to implied or anticipated interaction). Specialist social psychological journals that focus on group processes also continue to be of lower visibility with only *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* (at number 16) ranked in the top 20 for the field by 5 year impact factor (ISI 2008 Journal Citation Report, Social Science Edition).

The present paper is an attempt to add to the middle ground. Can we have our cake and eat it too by using the methodological form of the psychological experiment to explore social change in much the way that Lewin pioneered? I propose that this is indeed possible but there are three barriers to overcome.

The first, which is not focused on here, is the methodological barrier of studying actual social interaction. In line with the decline noted by Haslam and McGarty (2001) in studies of actual social interaction, Mason, Conrey and E. R. Smith (2007) recently observed that a great deal of research on social influence in groups has been carried out in other fields (ranging from economics to physics) without reference to social psychological findings. This points to the danger that social psychology may be detaching itself from some of its core business. Some of the decline might be explained by the vexed statistical problems in analysing non-independent observations. Instead of actual social interaction, experimentalists have used implied, imagined or anticipated social interaction in their studies but as Kenny (1996) points out this can involve eliminating what is of most interest in social behaviour. It is very much like studying fire without heat. It is hoped that recent statistical techniques will serve

to overcome these problems (Kenny, Mannetti, Pierro, Livi, & Kashy, 2002; McGarty & Smithson, 2005) and increase the use of appropriate statistical techniques (though some of these are mathematically complex).

The second problem is ethical. It is difficult to do social psychological experiments on social change because we all share an ethical obligation not to change people. As such, it is problematic to experimentally manipulate variables that are likely to have significant and enduring impacts on people or their environments. A case in point here is the highly cited paper by Myers and Bishop (1970, 1971). This group polarization study unintentionally produced an average shift *towards* increased prejudice against African Americans in European American high school students. First we must do no harm.

The third problem is conceptual. If we are to use social psychological experiments to model actual social change we need to be able to specify the conditions that exist in the world that might be changed through our experimental manipulations. In other words, we need a model of the processes of social change that involves elements that can be tested in the social psychological laboratory. I will argue that if social psychology is to make progress in this regard it needs to refocus close attention on the processes of interaction between people. Collective action rests on consensus and it is difficult to achieve consensus without people interacting to find ways that they can come to agree.

To foreshadow the central elements of this model I follow Postmes et al. (2005) in seeking to reground the understanding of the laboratory-based phenomenon of group polarization as an analogy for the processes of actual social change. I further follow the lead of these authors by arguing that understanding social change involves understanding the way that identities form

dynamically during social interaction. My analysis refines (perhaps restricts) the interactive model of identity formation by considering the formation of a particular type of group, the opinion-based group (Bliuc et al., 2007; McGarty et al., 2009) and also specific aspects of social identity. In the latter, the work of Cameron (2004) who proposed that social identification is a multifactor construct that includes ingroup ties, centrality, and ingroup affect, is followed. My own contribution focuses on the formation of these aspects of social identity by arguing that a particular adaptation of the group polarization paradigm, the opinion-based group interaction method (OBGIM; Gee et al., 2007; Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas et al., 2009a) is particularly useful for exploring changes within the different components of an identity.

Given the empirical focus on social change another class of theoretical resources we inevitably use is drawn from the social psychology (and sociology) of collective action, especially the work of Klandermans and Simon and their respective colleagues (Klandermans, 1997; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; Oegema & Klandermans, 1994; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Stürmer, 2003; Stürmer & Simon, 2004, 2009; Stürmer et al., 2003) and of van Zomeren, Spears and colleagues (van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2004). New synergistic connections are drawn between the social identity and (what could be termed following Klandermans, 1997, usage) the collective identity literatures. It is to this diverse set of theoretical resources that I now turn.

Theoretical Resources

During and immediately after the cataclysmic events associated with World War II there were several scientific breakthroughs that illuminated the role of social psychological processes in producing social change. These

included Allport's (1954) argument that intergroup contact, under the right conditions, could reduce prejudice. M. Sherif and Hovland's (1961) account of how communication could change attitudes and Sherif and colleagues' summer camp studies (M. Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & C. W. Sherif, 1961|1954) showed how intra and intergroup interaction could produce both conflict and cooperation. The group dynamic work of Lewin (1947a, 1947b) and colleagues suggested that food preferences could be changed by commitment to new standards through interaction in groups. It is important to note that the first three of these breakthroughs helped to stimulate rich and enduring traditions in social psychology (and beyond) in relation to intergroup contact (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), persuasive communication (Eagly & Chaiken, 1984; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), intergroup relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner et al., 1987) and superordinate group formation (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner et al., 1993) but as I suggested earlier the Lewinian idea of fostering change through group interaction has been left on the vine in mainstream social psychology even though it has been vigorously pursued in action research derived from the Lewinian tradition in numerous disciplines outside of social psychology.

Our model draws upon the broad social psychological traditions that were stimulated by key scientific breakthroughs of the 1940s and 1950s particularly by returning to the Lewinian emphasis on dynamic social interaction in small groups. In this respect research on group polarization (Moscovici & Zavalloni, 1969) as recently exemplified in the interactive model of identity formation (Postmes et al., 2005) and in work on group-based interaction (Gee et al, 2007; Thomas & McGarty, 2009) and the normative alignment model (Thomas et al., 2009a) is useful.

Before discussing the normative alignment model and my proposed expansion it is first useful to consider the background of the social psychology of social change and collective action.

Collective Action and Social Change

There is a long tradition in the literature on collective action, that finding large support for a cause within a population does not necessarily translate into large numbers of people participating in activities designed to further that cause. Klandermans (2002, p. 887) suggests that the reason for this may be the collective nature of the goals sought by activists and the limited impact of any one person on the achievement of those goals, which is often referred to as "the social dilemma of protest". In other words, given that the aims of the protesters once obtained are equally available to everybody and it is difficult to see how one's own individual participation is vital to success, many people instead choose not to engage in collective action in support of a cause irrespective of their level of support for that cause. However, as noted by Klandermans (2002), this account does little to explain the behaviour of those people who, in spite of this dilemma, nonetheless do choose to participate in collective action.

In earlier research, Klandermans (1984) suggested that people overcome this dilemma by weighing up the costs and benefits of participation and acting according to the relative values they place on each. Rather than focusing purely on material costs and benefits, which he termed the reward motive, Klandermans (1984) also noted the importance of both the collective motive and the social motive. These were defined correspondingly as the value of the goal being sought coupled with how likely a person's participation will bring about its achievement and as how significant others will react to a person's decision on whether or not to participate (Klandermans, 1984).

Further studies into the willingness of individuals to engage in collective action explored a number of different potential predictors in order to try and determine the best way of overcoming the aforementioned dilemma of collective action. In line with the predictions of self-categorization theory many researchers tried to link the level of identification with a particular social identity to engagement in collective action designed to address the disadvantages suffered by members of that social group. However, the link between identification and willingness to engage in collective action has proven to be less straightforward (Bliuc et al., 2007; Klandermans, 2002). More specifically, research shows that it is identification with a particular activist or social movement organization that is a better predictor of engagement in collective action than identification with the broader social group that organization might represent (C. Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995; Simon et al., 1998; Stürmer et al., 2003). Thus, as an example, C. Kelly and Breinlinger (1995) found that gender identity was less useful as a predictor of women's willingness to engage in collective action than their identification as an activist. This finding has been consistently replicated in other domains in which not all members of a social group are willing to participate in collective action on behalf of other group members (Simon et al., 1998; Stürmer et al., 2003).

However, work by Simon and colleagues (Simon et al., 1998; Stürmer & Simon, 2004) suggested that what motivated people to engage in collective action could be found in a combination of these two lines of research. Thus, they proposed a dual-pathway model in which the relative costs and benefits associated with participation represented just one pathway via which people seek to engage in collective action. The second pathway was via identification with what they termed a social movement organization or more specifically

identification with a politicized group dedicated to collective action on behalf of members of a disadvantaged social category.

The first of two alternative dual pathway models was proposed by van Zomeren and colleagues (van Zomeren et al., 2004) whereby group efficacy and group-based anger comprised the two pathways toward engagement in collective action. Drawing on research into coping strategies, they argue that engaging in collective action enables disadvantaged individuals to confront, and thus cope with, their disadvantage. As with Lazarus's (1991) research into individual coping styles, van Zomeren and colleagues suggest there are two types of coping available at the group level, problem-focused and emotion-focused coping, and that these two coping styles map onto group efficacy and group-based anger, respectively.

Building on this work, van Zomeren et al. (2008) proposed the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) as a multi-pathway synthesis of collective action research to date. In their model, social identity plays a crucial role as both a direct predictor of engagement in collective action and as an indirect predictor via two other pathways, specifically injustice and efficacy. They argue, that for disadvantaged group members, their social identity acts, not only as a motivator of collective action in its own right, but also as a lens through which group members evaluate both the injustice of their disadvantage and the efficacy of their group to challenge that disadvantage.

A common thread throughout the literature on collective action reviewed so far is that it is most often interested in explaining when disadvantaged group members will act collectively to overcome their own disadvantage. However, what is also of interest here is when advantaged group members will engage in collective action to help overcome the disadvantage of others. Research

conducted by Thomas and colleagues (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas et al., 2009a) has demonstrated that the dual-pathway and SIMCA models of van Zomeren and colleagues can be adapted to explaining when advantaged group members will act. However, another model which can also help to answer this question has previously been suggested in work by Klandermans and Oegema (1987; Oegema & Klandermans, 1994).

The stage model of the mobilisation of social movements identified by Klandermans and Oegema (1987; Oegema & Klandermans, 1994) is particularly relevant to explaining when both advantaged and disadvantaged individuals will become participants in collective action. These authors suggest that action mobilization involves four phases (a) becoming sympathetic to a cause (or part of the mobilisation potential for a cause), (b) becoming a target for mobilization attempts, (c) becoming motivated to participate, and (d) overcoming barriers to participation.

In order to become engaged in collective action, Klandermans and Oegema (1987; Oegema & Klandermans, 1994) argue that in phase (b) movement sympathisers must first be identified and/or reached by campaign efforts. In other words, before people can become involved in action they must first know what action is being organised. As such, movements need to have access to multiple networks with widespread contacts so as to raise awareness of upcoming events or campaigns amongst the maximum number of people. To ensure that the largest possible proportion of those contacted feel motivated to participate, this process of awareness raising at phase (c) needs to be tailored to the cost/benefit calculations of the people being targeted. This process arguably involves a delicate balancing act between highlighting the benefits of engagement to the individual and society as well as the existential costs of non-

participation, while simultaneously downplaying the personal costs involved in that participation.

Although, as Klandermans and Oegema (1987; Oegema & Klandermans, 1994) point out, before people will actually become involved in collective action in phase (d) this process of downplaying personal costs has to continue until the event being organised has taken place to ensure that the cost/benefit calculations do not change in favour of non-participation. Thus, organisers need to be aware of any obstacles that might arise before the event that might prevent participation and find ways to either remove these barriers or make certain that people's level of motivation is such that these barriers can be readily overcome. One of the benefits of their model is that it outlines the means by which individuals become engaged in collective action regardless of their motivation for supporting the movement and as such can be applied to both advantaged and disadvantaged group members' mobilisation as activists. However, the maintenance of this mobilisation potential is also important to the long term success of most social movements. As such, research into group polarization as discussed below provides a possible means by which peoples' support for a cause can be extremitized and then solidified at high enough levels to sustain this mobilisation potential.

However, the approaches discussed so far tend to posit causal models whereby one or more variables combine additively or interactively to predict peoples' willingness to engage in collective action to bring about social change. A challenge to this approach is suggested by the work of Guimond and Palmer (1996) on socialization and of Kessler and Mummendey (2002) on identity management strategies and is more recently reflected in the normative alignment model of Thomas et al. (2009a).

A longitudinal study by Guimond and Palmer (1996) explored socialization among social science and commerce students. Of particular interest were their findings in regard to the pattern of associations among social science students. While they found no change in the degree to which these students will blame the system for their negative circumstances between first year and third year students they did find a normative shift in the degree to which their willingness to blame the system is correlated with their willingness to blame the person. More precisely, while first year social science students' willingness to blame the system or the person for poverty are unrelated, among their third year peers, these two tendencies have become negatively correlated in line with the ideological beliefs of their discipline. This shift is not found among commerce students. Similarly, a negative association between the evaluations of capitalists and socialists was also found among third year social science students, which is not present in either first year social science students or commerce students. This again suggests that socialization into a particular identity leads to the formation of normative associations between variables such that while the mean levels may not change over time the interconnections between them will take on meaningful and identity-relevant patterns.

In another longitudinal study, Kessler and Mummendey (2002) explored the choice of identity management strategy among East and West Germans following the unification of Germany based on an integration of social identity theory and relative deprivation theory. They found that the choice of identity management strategy was not linearly related to the measured variables. Rather, the choice of strategy was related to the system, or configuration, of relevant beliefs such as identification, action intentions, and perceptions of socio-structural variables, threat and opportunity. Kessler and Mummendey

suggest that making a particular intergroup relationship salient will produce parallel activation in the entire system of beliefs associated with that relationship. As such, what might be important in determining a specific response to disadvantage will be the system of beliefs associated with the relevant intergroup relationship rather than a specific level of response on one or more variables.

A similar idea has been developed in the domain of collective action and codified in the normative alignment model posited by Thomas et al. (2009a). Based on research conducted with the opinion-based group interaction method, Thomas and colleagues argue that a social change identity is sustainable to the extent that action intentions, emotions and beliefs become normatively aligned with a relevant opinion-based group identity. In research conducted with an opinion-based group based around support for the UN's 'Water for Life' program, Thomas and McGarty (2009) asked people to self-categorise as supporters or non-supporters of the 'Water for Life' program and then had people either complete a questionnaire or participate in a planning session with other supporters in which they were asked to devise strategies for the attainment of the aims of their group with or without additional normative content. They demonstrated that people who participated in a planning session showed increased support for collective action as well as boosted efficacy beliefs and stronger identification compared to those who merely self-categorised as supporters. However, when these discussion groups were asked to devise strategies which would specifically aim to evoke moral outrage in others then the impact of this interaction was intensified across all outcome measures. In other words, aligning the opinion-based group identity with a system of normative content related to action intentions, efficacy beliefs and

emotional content enabled the formation of a more sustainable social change identity.

Thus, if such system models are more reflective of the reality of the formation of sustainable identities then this formation should create coherent links between identification, action and other normative content, especially beliefs about efficacy and the appropriate emotional response. In addition, I would argue that it is the alignment of this content with a specific type of group that is especially relevant to mass social change. Thus I turn now to a discussion of opinion-based groups.

Opinion-Based Groups

Opinion-based groups were defined by Bliuc and colleagues (Bliuc et al., 2007, p. 20) as psychological groups that involve "a social identity based on a shared opinion". Opinion-based groups typically involve support or opposition for a specific position in relation to a social issue. For example, it is possible in principle to form groups both for and against the death penalty. When beliefs such as these form part of a person's social identity such that they "perceive their support not just as an opinion that they hold but as a group membership" then this is sufficient for the formation of an opinion-based group (Bliuc et al., 2007, p. 21). Once such a group has formed then members will tend to act in line with the system of normatively aligned content associated with that membership in situations where this identity is salient, as with any other salient group identity. If those norms favour support for positive social change, then identification with such an opinion-based group is more likely to produce a sustainable social change identity.

The predictive strength of this relationship was first demonstrated by Bliuc and colleagues (Bliuc, et al, 2007) in their research into opinion-based

groups and political behavioural intentions in Romania and Australia. They found that identification with a relevant opinion-based group was very strongly related to political behavioural intentions in both the Romanian (R^2 = .56) and Australian (R^2 = .65) samples and that this predictive strength was, in some/many cases, more than twice that found in previous research using different types of social identities.

Equally strong evidence has been generated by a number of experiments across a broad range of OBG's including support for mental health advocacy (Gee, et al,2007), support for water for life (Thomas & McGarty, 2008), support for Reconciliation (Blink, Mavor, & McGarty, 2010, see also Appendix D) and support for or against the War on Terror (Musgrove & McGarty, 2008). Thus showing that people do identify with these OBGs and that this identification is meaningfully related to action intentions and other group related outcomes. In combination, this research provides strong evidence for the utility of boosting identification with an OBG as a means of increasing support for collective action to bring about the aims of that OBG (see also O'Brien & McGarty, 2009).

McGarty et al. (2009) argue that opinion-based groups are especially useful for capturing the fault lines of mass political action. In fact, these authors go so far as to suggest that collective action can be understood as the material expression of opinion-based group memberships. While this is not a new idea per se (see for example, minority influence research), as far as I am aware this is the first time that such an idea has been applied in the collective action and social change domains.

To harness the power of these opinion-based groups, Khalaf (see Gee et al., 2007; Thomas & McGarty, 2009) designed a methodology which is centred

on identification with a relevant opinion-based group, specifically one committed

to positive social change, followed by a planning session designed to develop

strategies which can help to achieve the aims of the group. More specifically,

the method involves recruiting individuals who are at least nominally

sympathetic to the cause or position represented by the opinion-based group.

This is important for two reasons, primarily as it avoids the negative

consequences of Myers and Bishop's (1971) study where individuals became

more prejudiced following group discussion. Secondly, by focusing on people

who are sympathetic but not active in a cause you are far more likely to affect

positive social change as you create a more constructive environment by

encouraging individuals to take a more active stance in the fight against

discrimination and prejudice.

Bringing three to six sympathisers together, the opinion-based group

interaction method initially has group members self-categorize or define

themselves as supporters or non-supporters of the relevant opinion-based

group. The particular OBG discussants are given the option of identifying with

depends on the specific positive outcome a social movement is hoping to

achieve and involves an orientation toward that future state (e.g., supporter of

positive relations between two groups; supporter of gay marriage). Once

participants have signed on to the OBG, they are then asked to engage in a

planning session to develop ideas for how the goals of that group can be

achieved. This planning session can be anywhere between 20-40 minutes but

should allow enough time for participants to consensualise upon strategies for

achieving the aims of the OBG.

In research described by Gee et al. (2007), support for this methodology

as a means of boosting support for mental health advocacy was found in two

studies. They demonstrated that signing on as a member of the OBG aimed at supporting Mental Health Advocacy and then engaging in a planning session for around 20-40 minutes with other supporters boosted participants endorsement of collective action. In the first study this boost in support was made over and above that resulting from the provision of information about the Mental Health Advocacy movement, while in the second study reported these gains were in comparison to a group that did not participate in interaction with other supporters. They also established that these gains in support for action were not ephemeral but were maintained up to two to five weeks later. In other words, a sustainable social change identity had been created. A related study by Thomas and McGarty (2009) described earlier provides additional encouraging support for the OBGIM as a means of increasing identification with an OBG and consequently boosting the normative alignment of action intentions, efficacy beliefs and support for specific emotional responses.

However, identification is a multidimensional construct and as such, this raises the possibility that the opinion-based group interaction method may be allowing for the formation of particular aspects of identity. Before developing this argument further it is first necessary to look not only at the research related to opinion-based groups but at how identification has been conceptualised and measured.

Social Identification as a Multidimensional Construct

The notion of social identity as a multidimensional construct has been around for over twenty years however, it has only been in the past decade or so that the measurement of social identity has sought to capture this complexity (Leach et al., 2008). Initially, the call for the measurement of different aspect of identification grew out of work by Sellers and colleagues (Sellers, Rowley,

Chavous, Shelton, & M. A. Smith, 1997; Sellers, M. A. Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) who argued that due to the unique properties of African American identification a multi-dimensional model of racial identity was needed. They found support for the idea that the distinctive experiences of African Americans had resulted in a complex pattern of identification composed of four dimensions which they specified as centrality, ideology, regard and salience (Sellers et al, 1998).

In a similar vein, Ellemers, Kortekaas and Ouwerkerk (1999) suggest a need to conceptualise and measure three aspects of social identification more generally. They argue that self-categorisation, commitment to the group as well as group self-esteem comprise three distinct components of social identity. Ellemers and colleagues found that these three aspects of identification were affected differently by certain features of the group such as status, size and group formation and that this had flow on effects in only one case. Specifically, only changes to the group commitment facet of identification influenced displays of ingroup favouritism. Thus, not only are separate components of social identification influenced by the group environment but these components also have unique predictive properties for specific group-related behaviours.

In line with the original formulation of group identity, work by Jackson (2002) establishes the three dimensions described by Tajfel (1981), namely affective, cognitive and evaluative elements as distinct constructs that are both differentially influenced and influential. Earlier work by Jackson and E. R. Smith (1999) argues that there are also two types of group identification, secure and insecure, and it is the affective dimension alone that plays a crucial role in determining which type of identity a person experiences and what impact this has on their intra- and inter-group behaviour.

Bringing together much of this earlier research on the multidimensionality of social identity, Cameron (2004) proposed a three factor model consisting of centrality, ingroup affect and ingroup ties. In this formulation, ingroup ties measures group members' sense of belongingness with and similarity to other group members. Centrality, on the other hand, taps into the relative importance of this identity to one's sense of self as well as its accessibility. Ingroup affect, is a more evaluative aspect of identification and represents the positive feeling that flows from being a member of a social group. In a series of studies Cameron (2004) demonstrated that these three factors were jointly predictive of overall group relevant variables and uniquely predictive of specific outcomes and variables.

More recently, Leach et al. (2008) presented a comprehensive synthesis of this earlier research in proposing their hierarchical, multicomponent model of identification. Consisting of two higher order dimensions and five lower order components their model provides a definitive measure of group level identification. The first dimension is group-level self-definition which assesses the extent to which group members define themselves in terms of that group membership. In Leach and colleagues model this dimension consists of the extent to which individuals see themselves as possessing characteristics that are typical of group members (referred to as individual self-stereotyping) and the extent to which they view group members as sharing specific characteristics (ingroup homogeneity).

The second dimension of the multicomponent model proposed by Leach and colleagues is group-level self-investment which is a measure of an individual's psychological commitment to their group and is associated with the importance of that group membership in a person's life and the satisfaction they

derive from it. In their model it is comprised of three elements, namely centrality (the importance of the group membership to an individual), satisfaction (positive feelings about being a group member) and solidarity (their sense of connection to the group).

Leach and colleagues conducted seven studies to demonstrate the validity of their recommended measure across a variety of group identities. These studies established that their model allows a more detailed analysis of how these different aspects of social identity influence perceptions of and attitudes toward outgroups. They also showed that their conceptualisation of the hierarchical nature of identification as the specific configuration of five lower-level components factoring into the two higher order dimensions of self-definition and self-investment was a better fit for the data than previous models specifying an affective and a cognitive factor.

Although there has been important progress in understanding the multidimensional nature of social identity there has, to my knowledge, been no research on the formation of the specific components. My proposed refinement is that social interaction may be especially important for the development of one or more of the different components of identification as a group member with a specific focus on the Cameron formulation within this thesis. I believe that it is entirely possible for people to develop a sense of connectedness or solidarity with other group members, to feel good about their group membership, and to see that identity as central to self without interacting with other group members but this must be very difficult to achieve (with the important caveat being that negative social interactions with ingroup members would powerfully undermine these aspects of identification).

The Formation of Social Identity

At first glance, very little exists on the formation of specific aspects of social identity. However, recent work with the interactive model of identity formation, building on group polarization work, provides an explanation of identity formation as an interactional process. The interactive model of identity formation proposed by Postmes, Haslam et al. (2005) draws on ideas from both social identity theory and self-categorisation theory. However, before discussing that model it is important to look at additional research which this model draws upon, specifically the work on group polarization.

Group polarization (Moscovici & Zavalloni, 1969; originally termed "risky shift" by Stoner, 1961) is the well established finding that following group discussion individual attitudes will shift to a more extreme position in the direction that group members' initial opinions are tending towards, whether that involves more or less endorsement of risk (Isenberg, 1986; Moscovici & Zavalloni, 1969; Turner, 1991). In a series of studies, Moscovici and Zavalloni (1969) established that the polarization effect was bidirectional and demonstrated that the privately held opinion of participants was altered by group discussion when polarization occurred, not just their publicly expressed views. They also established that this effect was not limited to instances where risk was involved but also manifested in situations where group interaction involved normative commitment of some kind.

Myers and Bishop (1970) conducted a similar experiment in which participants rated their position on a number of racial attitude measures. Based on their responses they were then split into high, moderate, and low prejudice groups and asked to discuss their responses on these same items for two minutes. Following the discussion of each item participants made a second

rating for that item before moving on to the next item. Control participants also engaged in discussion but on unrelated dilemmas before making a second rating for each item. They found that even such a brief interaction led to more negative attitudes among the high and moderately prejudiced groups and more positive attitudes among the low prejudiced groups. In other words, the high and low prejudiced groups polarized more strongly toward the normative attitudes of their discussion groups. A follow-up study determined that this normative shift was unrelated to knowledge of other discussion group members' responses to the items (Myers & Bishop, 1971).

We draw out two key implications from research on group polarization. The first is that the replicability of the phenomenon represents a process whereby social interaction produces robust changes in opinions. If the changes in opinion are robust across situations then it is also possible that the changes are enduring and that they may translate into changes in behaviour. The second key implication is that group polarization is a process by which norms form (see Moscovici, 1985). This is especially relevant for my extension of the normative alignment model as the opinions that are frequently the subject of group polarization experiments are very much the type of highly contested opinions that map on to conflicts in the broader societies in which the experiments are conducted.

The theoretical extension that I wish to make here is that group polarization represents a point of interface between group processes and broader collectives in society. In other words, I propose that participants in group polarization experiments can act simultaneously both as members of small groups and in terms of membership of psychological groups that extend

well beyond the boundaries of the laboratory. As discussed above I refer to these broader collectives as *opinion-based groups* (Bliuc et al., 2007).

The analysis of group polarization has been utilised and extended recently by the interactive model of identity formation (IMIF) proposed by Postmes and colleagues (Postmes, Haslam et al., 2005; Postmes, Spears et al., 2005) which preesents a theoretical model of group formation. In their interactive model, Postmes and colleagues argue that group formation is a process which occurs both inductively and deductively. That is, group processes are influenced deductively by existing social identities which become internalized, while intragroup communication allows for the inductive creation of a shared group identity in the absence of an intergroup context.

As Postmes, Haslam, et al. (2005) argue, when group members are engaged in a collective activity that is geared toward the realisation of a shared goal, it has consequences for identity formation. Engagement in group interaction of any kind may be the key to crystallising and strengthening individuals' identification as group members as it helps them define for themselves and each other what it means to be an active group member. If this inductive process fails to lead to the formulation of shared or consensual goals for action or it does not result in a sense of shared understanding about what the group means then it will destabilise the identity formation process. This destabilisation is likely to reduce people's identification as group members as well as their willingness to engage in group relevant behaviour.

One important aspect of IMIF is that it takes as its central proposition the idea that identities and the meaning attached to those identities is not static but involves an iterative cycle from deductive to inductive identity formation and back again while acknowledging that identity formation can begin from any point

in this cycle (Postmes, Haslam, et al., 2005; Postmes, Spears, et al., 2005). In other words, while we can take on group identities deductively through socialisation, our enactment of that identity can shape the meaning of that identity. This in turn can lead to a renegotiation of the meaning of that identity inductively through our interactions with other group members, whether we are explicitly negotiating that meaning or not. Then this new meaning can be deductively disseminated to existing group members.

Alternatively, through interaction with like-minded others we can begin to form and negotiate new identities inductively through recognition of our similarities and common cause which we then pass on to other potential group members deductively by promoting the aims and meaning of that new identity to them. At which point these new recruits can begin to reshape that identity through their enactment of it and their interactions with other group members.

As such, the opinion-based group interaction method which brings like-minded people together to interactively engage with the meaning of their identity, provides a useful testing ground to explore the formation of the different aspects of identification in a social identity discussed above while the normative alignment model suggests how this formation of identity can then result in sustainable social change identities.

Refining and Specifying the Normative Alignment Model

Based on the above literature review, I propose a refinement and specification of Thomas et al.'s (2009a) normative alignment model. The specification arises as I redefine how the normative content Thomas and colleagues posit as central is associated with a relevant social change identity while the refinement relates to the place of ideology within this model.

As mentioned above, identification can be more clearly understood as a multidimensional and multifaceted construct. As such, it is seems reasonable to view the alignment of normative content with a social change identity as being a multifaceted process. Thus, as can be seen in Figure 3.1, I propose that the connections between the various components of the alignment model are analogous to ropes tying each component to the identity.
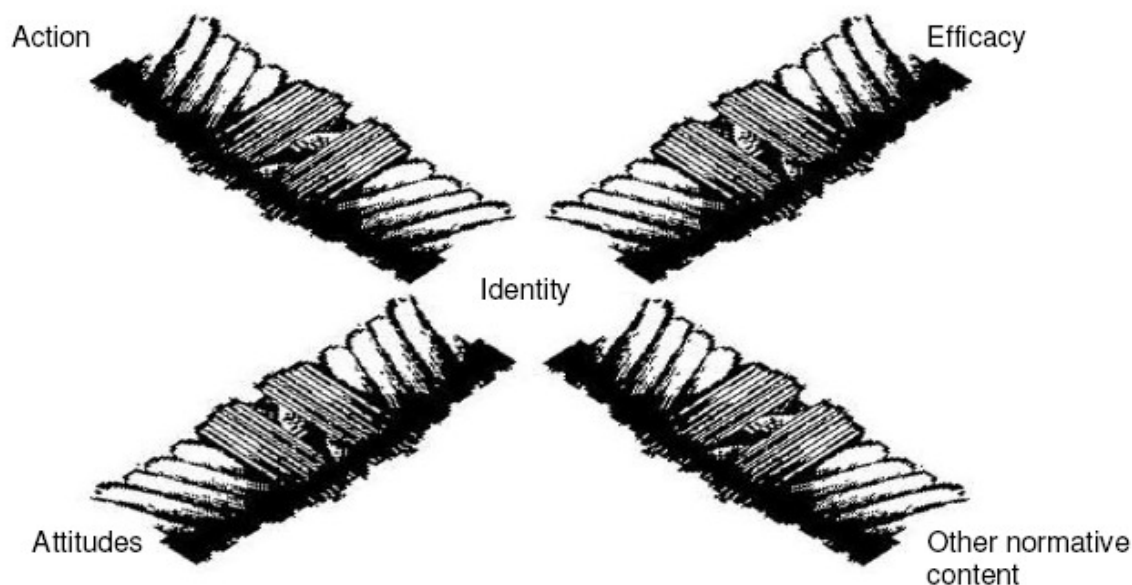
Figure 3.1. Reformulated normative alignment model showing ropes connecting identity with action, efficacy, attitudes, and other normative content.

Taking this reformulation one step further, as Figure 3.2 illustrates, I suggest that this rope is composed of three separate strands representing the three Cameron (2004) factors of identification. Thus, the interconnecting rope that binds the elements within the normative alignment model together are made up of these three strands wound together. By reformulating the model in this way, it becomes possible to investigate a more nuanced understanding of the interconnections between the elements within this model and determine whether or not it is the strengthening of particular aspects of identification which

bind some elements more strongly to an identity. It also enables us to more fully

account for the effects within the opinion-based group interaction method in that

where interaction may fail to result in an energising of the entire system this

may be the result of the severing of specific strands rather than a severing of

the overall connection.
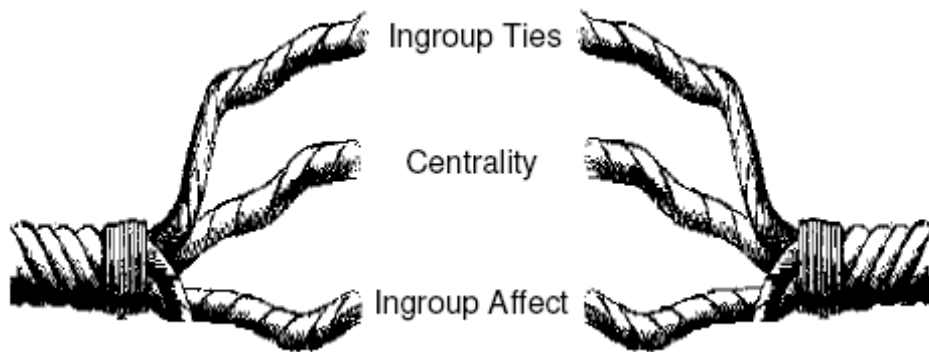
Figure 3.2. Magnification of the rope connecting elements within the

reformulated normative alignment model to show the three aspects of

identification that bind the normative elements to the identity.

In other words, I suggest that the interconnections within this model

operate in a similar fashion to those which maintain the structural integrity of a

suspension bridge. With a suspension bridge, one or more strands or

connections which hold the bridge in place can be cut without compromising the

structural integrity of the bridge. However, if a critical number of connections is

severed then the bridge will fail. In a similar fashion, it may be possible that one

or more strands within the normative alignment model can also be severed

without undermining the coherence of the identity; although it may work less

efficiently or be less sustainable the overall system will still hold together.

However, while I would argue that certain strands may be more critical to

maintaining the connections between different components within this system,

all of these interconnections will nonetheless be comprised of all three strands.

In addition, while these strands may be present to varying degrees they will be simultaneously relevant, rather than one being causally privileged over another as a chain metaphor would suggest.

The opinion-based group interaction method provides a means by which this normatively aligned system can be energised. In other words, any meaningful identity should consist of some system of attitudes and behaviour that are associated with it, even if only nominally. Interaction with other group members in an environment which encourages consensualization around normative content can then either energise this system or enervate it, depending on whether or not consensus is achieved. However, there is another set of interfering factors which may also serve to strengthen or weaken the interconnections within such a system, namely ideological beliefs.

Thus, along with my further specification of the normative alignment model, I also propose a refinement be made to allow for the role of ideology to be more fully elucidated. As can be seen in Figure 3.3, I argue that ideology feeds into all of the interconnections between the components. As such, my argument is that ideological beliefs can either energise or enervate the different strands within these interconnections depending upon whether they are a source of consensus or dissensus among interacting group members. However, more importantly, ideological beliefs can energise these connections to the extent that they justify the particular normative alignment associated with a specific social change identity, thus making group members more likely to act on behalf of their group. Conversely, if the ideological beliefs of discussion participants challenge these interconnections then some of these strands will be broken and the system can fall apart, consequently reducing the likelihood that group members will act collectively.
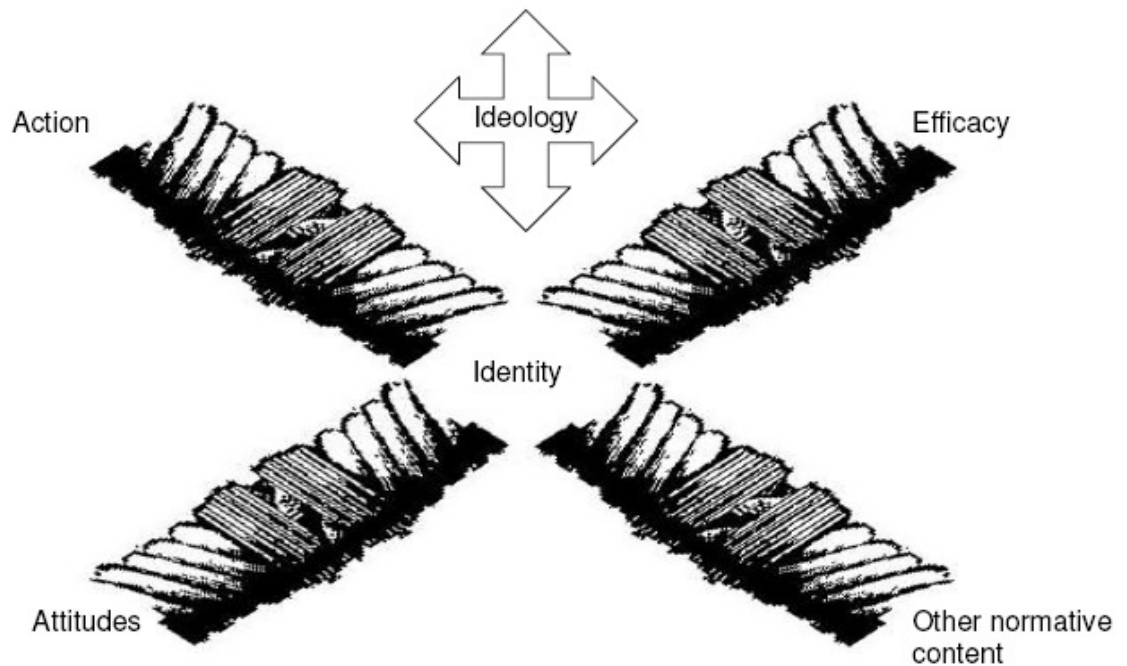
Figure 3.3. Proposed extension to the reformulated normative alignment model.

However, while this role of ideology is explored empirically in this thesis, it is possible to suggest how some of the strands of these interconnections may be strengthened or undermined through interaction.

Energising the Interconnections between Components

In this section I consider some ways in which I expect actual social interaction to positively contribute to the drivers of commitment to collective action. I focus in detail on how the components of identification may become more strongly tied to action and efficacy and in less detail on the other normative content within the extended normative alignment model.

Given that the opinion-based group interaction method has been shown to boost identification as measured by the Cameron scale (e.g., Gee et al, 2007; Thomas & McGarty, 2009) it can be argued that this method consequently allows for the formation and crystallisation of these three different aspects of identification.

Ingroup Ties

To the extent that the social interaction enables or supports a sense of consensus about the cause this should build a sense of ingroup ties or connectedness to the group. Such a consensus may relate to relatively ideological features or more mechanical forms of action and procedure. It is difficult to feel connected to, or solidarity with, other group members if you do not have a shared sense of what the group you belong to represents. In Klandermans and Oegama's (1987) terms, being part of the mobilisation potential is a precondition for taking action. If social interaction serves to build this sense of connection it should contribute to commitment to action but if it creates doubts or undermines the sense of consensus it should undermine ingroup ties (and thus reduce commitment to action and endorsement of other normative content). Indeed the idea is perhaps made most easily in counterpoint. If social interaction demonstrates conclusively that there is no consensus within the group then it is very unlikely that group members will see themselves as being similar to other group members. Indeed a profound lack of consensus to the point that group members have fundamentally conflicting views of what the group means has been identified as a precondition for schism (Sani & Reicher, 1998).

The importance of consensus for emerging ingroup ties is underscored by research on shared cognition conducted by Swaab, Postmes, van Beest and Spears (2007). In a series of studies, Swaab et al. (2007) showed how shared cognition and social identification are reciprocally related and that the presence of both assists in achieving positive negotiation outcomes. They found that a sense of shared cognition increased identification with the interaction group and that, conversely, a shared identity increased the likelihood that a sense of

shared cognition would develop over the course of a group negotiation. This suggests that a sense of a shared ideological understanding about the group to which participants belong will help to boost identification with that group and thus subsequently increase the links between identification, support for collective action, and other normative content. However, it also suggests that this shared identity increases the likelihood that social interaction will itself lead to participants developing a clearer sense that they do in fact share this ideological understanding of the cause, thus helping to crystallise and strengthen the interconnections within the normatively aligned system.

Further evidence for the importance of prior ideological consensus about the cause comes from work on frame alignment by Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford (1986). They argue that social movement organisations need to align their own interpretive framework of their activities and goals with individual's own values and beliefs in order to create a potential for mobilization which can then be tapped at a later date for movement participants. In other words, people need to be convinced that their own values are represented by the cause and activity of a particular social movement before they are likely to be open to recruitment or mobilisation by those movements. It is this persuasion process that Snow et al. (1986) refer to as frame alignment and they describe four such alignment methods which can be employed, namely, frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation. This is important to the refinement of the normative alignment model as it suggests a means by which a shared opinion, as represented by the endorsement of an OBG, can be politically imbued and transformed into support of a particular social movement. Thus, prior ideological consensus about a cause lays the groundwork for identification with a relevant OBG, particularly through ingroup ties, to be

converted into social activism through the OBGIM as it allows the crystallisation of this shared understanding and the awareness of common cause with social movements to surface and be strengthened through increased identification with the OBG.

Centrality

The next component of identification addressed is centrality. My claim here is that where the context and character of the social interaction serves to create or build a sense that it is a legitimate activity of the social movement or cause it should contribute to an emerging sense that the group is important. Again the point is made most compellingly in the obverse. It is difficult for a group to be seen as anything other than peripheral to the self if its activities are seen to be bogus.

The group value model developed by Tyler and colleagues (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler, Degoey, & H. Smith, 1996; Tyler & Lind, 1992) provides an intragroup framework for understanding how group authorities are viewed and evaluated by other group members and the implications this has for group related behaviour. This is an important consideration where social interaction is studied in social psychological experiments and where the experimenter in this context plays a role as an authority. If participants believe that an experimenter (or other facilitator) is manipulating or deceiving them then we could expect this to undermine their sense of connection to the group. In their review of the relevant literature Tyler and Lind (1992) argue that the key element in authorities being viewed as legitimate is their use of fair procedures and thus this is one way in which the experimenter can ensure the legitimacy of their authority and of the interaction.

This idea forms the basis of the group value model which explains why the use of fair procedures by the authorities of a group matters to group members (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler et al., 1996; Tyler & Lind, 1992). According to the group value model, fair procedures are important and have positive effects as the use of such procedures informs group members that not only are they respected members of their group but also that their group is worth being a part of (Lind & Tyler, 1988). In their test of the underlying mechanisms of this model Tyler et al. (1996) demonstrated that judgements about the procedural fairness of ingroup authorities had their impact on commitment to the group and compliance to group rules among other related behaviours via their effect on feelings of group pride and how respected they felt by the group. Despite showing some contextual variation, they generally found that where authorities were perceived to have employed fair procedures participants felt they were more respected by their group and felt more proud of their group. These feelings in turn led to a greater willingness to engage in extrarole behaviour, more compliance with group rules and more commitment to the group. Thus, by ensuring that participants see the experimenter as an ingroup authority, feel that the interaction is conducted fairly and feel the product of that interaction will also be treated fairly, then those engaged in the interaction should be highly identified and experience a concomitant boost in their willingness to support collective action on behalf of their group.

Although I have focused on the role of the experimenter in the discussion of legitimacy to this point similar arguments can be made about the interaction partners. If participants come to believe that the group members are not legitimate members of their group (e.g., because they are confederates of the experimenter playing a predetermined role) then this could undermine

legitimacy. In this case I would also expect concomitant effects on ingroup ties rather than centrality.

Ingroup Affect

In addition, I expect that people will feel better about their group to the extent that the social interaction provides a positive validating experience. As mentioned above, according to the group value model group members derive information about their value to the group from how they are treated by group authorities (Lind & Tyler, 1988). However, this also applies to treatment by other group members. Building upon this idea, is the work by Simon, Stürmer and colleagues (Simon & Stürmer, 2003; Stürmer et al., 2008) on intragroup respect. In a series of studies, Simon and Stürmer (2003) found that respectful treatment by other group members increases the likelihood that participants will engage in behaviours to promote the goals of that group in the short term as well as producing a weaker but still positive boost in these behaviours over the longer term. They also demonstrated that positive evaluations by other group members only had an impact on longer term behaviours aimed at promoting the goals of the group. Taken together, these results suggest that validation of participants' contribution to the group as indicated by their evaluation and treatment by other group members helps to boost their willingness to engage in collective action to further the aims of the group. In later research, this relationship was found to be mediated by group identification, such that feeling respected by other group members increased participants' identification with the group and this in turn increased their willingness to engage in group-related behaviours (Stürmer et al., 2008). I expect this general relationship for social identification found by Sturmer et al. (2008) to be specifically directed through the ingroup affect path of self-investment.

Efficacy

Oegema and Klandermans's (1994) fourth stage is the idea of overcoming barriers to participation. This relates squarely to the concept of collective efficacy. Bandura (1997, p. 477) defines collective efficacy as "a group's shared belief in its conjoint capabilities to organise and execute the courses of action required to produce given levels of attainment", where "interactive dynamics create an emergent property that is more than the sum of the individual attributes". The implications of this concept for social interaction are straightforward: social interaction cannot galvanise commitment to change where members of the group come to doubt that their cause can achieve its goals.

One complexity in relation to efficacy is the various subjective loci of efficacy. Bandura and others have distinguished personal from collective efficacy but there is a need to acknowledge here that there are different levels of collective identity. Collective efficacy at the level of the interacting group is very close to the concept of legitimacy (believing that the group cannot make a difference) and is thus very different from collective efficacy in terms of the broader opinion-based group.

Similarly van Zomeren et al.'s (2004) model of collective action identifies efficacy as a part of a problem-based coping strategy derived from appraisals of social support. In particular, these are appraisals of perceived behavioural consensus. These are, in particular, perceptions that other ingroup members are going to take the same action. If this argument is valid I would expect some overlap between efficacy and consensus (we argued that the latter supported an emerging sense of ingroup ties).

Other Normative Content

Based on work on appraisal theories of emotion that suggest that different emotions will lead individuals to specific actions and self-categorisation theory which argues that a salient group identity has implications for an individual's emotional and motivational state, E. R. Smith (1993), proposed the intergroup emotion theory. He effectively argues that the same pattern that holds at an individual level according to appraisal theories of emotion will also hold at a group level based on self-categorisation theory. In other words, depending on how we perceive our group in relation to another when enacting our group identity, then we will experience different group-based emotions and it is the particular emotional response that will determine the specific action we are likely to take.

Evidence for the specificity of this behavioural response was clearly demonstrated in a series of studies by Mackie, Devos, & E. R. Smith (2000). They found that when people who identified with a group defined by support for or opposition to specific attitudes experienced anger they were more likely to support collective action to counter their opponents. However, when they were contemptuous of their opposition, then they wanted to distance themselves from those opponents rather than confront them. This notion of different group-based emotions leading to specific behavioural responses also forms the basis of both the dual-pathway and SIMCA models of collective action posited by van Zomeren and colleagues (van Zomeren, et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2004) as well as the previously discussed alignment model suggested by Thomas and colleagues (Thomas et al., 2009a). However, in the context of the current thesis, emotional content was not explored due to the greater contextual

malleability of this content and the contestable nature of their role within the Reconciliation movement.

Conclusion

As noted throughout this discussion of my proposed reformulation and expansion of the normative alignment model, the opinion-based group interaction method provides a means to strengthen the connections between the different aspects of participants' identification with the OBG they have committed themselves to and the normatively related system of attitudes, efficacy and action intentions. Thus, if a critical component or strand of identification fails to materialise or is undermined by interaction with other group members then this normatively aligned system will be enervated and a sustainable social change identity is unlikely to form. However, when all of these strands are energised and tied together successfully then the resultant positive boosts in the different aspects of identification, support for collective action, efficacy, and attitudes will not only be strong but will also have the potential to be sustained over a long period of time.

Chapter 4

Narrowing the Gap between Theory and Experimentation about Ideology

and Social Change

Introduction

As argued in Chapter 3, the opinion-based group interaction method (OBGIM) may be a useful analogue for the processes of social interaction that enable identity formation and allow us to study these processes in situ. OBGIM provides a testing ground for studying the effect of a number of different variables on this process and the implications this might have for adherence to normative attitudinal and behavioural responses. Given the focus of this thesis is on the impact of ideology on the interactive development of support for social change among advantaged group members, the issue of Indigenous disadvantage and support for Reconciliation within Australia provide a fertile environment for testing ideas about the role of ideology in motivating or undermining support for collective action.

Opinion-Based Group Interaction Method

As described earlier (see Gee et al., 2007; McGarty et al., 2009; Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas et al., 2009a), OBGIM is an experimental device for studying group processes in a controlled experimental environment. This method is relatively straight-forward to employ, with the initial step allowing individuals to self-categorize as supporters or non-supporters of a particular cause. In other words, it provides people with the opportunity to align their social identity with a particular opinion-based group (OBG) which is defined in terms of support or non-support for a specific cause or future state of intergroup relations (e.g., a supporter of Reconciliation, a non-supporter of improved

relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, a supporter of improving attitudes toward Indigenous Australians, etc.).

As opinion-based group members, participants are then given the opportunity to act as a part of a "steering committee" for their OBG, spending 30 minutes devising strategies that will enable the cause of their group to be advanced. More specifically, they are asked to discuss ideas about specific tactics which can be employed to encourage the wider community to become involved in the cause with a particular emphasis placed on coming to an agreement about which of the possible strategies discussed will be effective in achieving the aims of their OBG. Discussion group members are also told that their strategies will be summarized and posted online or in some other community forum.

As discussed earlier, this method has been successful in boosting commitment to a cause and increasing intentions to act on behalf of that cause across a number of domains, including mental health advocacy (Gee et al., 2007), international development (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas et al., 2009a), and climate change (McGarty, 2010).

The Issue of Indigenous Disadvantage and Reconciliation

For the current thesis, the issue of Reconciliation within Australia was chosen as a fertile ground for exploring the role of ideology in promoting support for collective action aimed at achieving positive social change. There has been an ongoing debate about the historical treatment and current position of Indigenous Australians (i. e., Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders) within Australian society. Indigenous Australians represent a small minority of the population of Australia but have experienced colonial dispossession and extended racial discrimination that was encapsulated in official government

policies that encouraged the forcible removal of many Indigenous children from their parents into the 1970s (the Stolen Generations; Manne, 2001). Indigenous Australians have lower life expectancy than other Australians and are massively overrepresented in the criminal justice system (Australian Bureau of Statistics & Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2008).

Since 1997 there has been a growing movement within Australian society to support Reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. This movement involves many Indigenous leaders and voices although the focus here is on the non-Indigenous population. The key political elements of a program of Reconciliation that have attracted debate are a formal apology to the Stolen Generations by the Australian Government (formally recommended in 1997 but only delivered in 2008), land rights (formalised in the 1993 *Native Title Act*, which is an ongoing source of tension), compensation for past harm (rejected by past and current Australian Governments), a formal treaty between the Australian Government and Indigenous Australian peoples, and a program of government action to reduce Indigenous disadvantage (launched in 2008 under the title "Close the Gap" referring to the gaps in life expectancy, infant mortality, morbidity, and educational and employment outcomes).

Thus, while there has been some progress made in alleviating the disadvantage of Indigenous Australians, there is still a great deal that needs to be done and a general awareness of this need within Australian society. Given that most Australians are knowledgeable about the issues surrounding Indigenous Australians they should be able to self-categorise as supporters or non-supporters of Reconciliation. However, there is also a great deal of diversity in people's understandings of what exactly Reconciliation means, what it should

involve, and how it should be achieved, making this an ideal opinion-based group for exploring the role of ideological beliefs in support for social change.

Exploring the Role of Ideology

Based on the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, there are a number of ideological avenues which can be explored within OBGIM that relate to advantaged group members willingness to support the plight of disadvantaged group members. Some of the more potentially useful discussed earlier are the role of right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation and social identity related variables such as identification with a relevant opinion-based group, beliefs about the legitimacy and stability of intergroup disadvantage, and collective guilt acceptance.

There are two ways in which the role of these potential ideological variables can be assessed within OBGIM. One is through the experimental manipulation of the content of the discussion within OBGIM followed by an evaluation of the impact of this manipulation upon relevant outcome variables, such as identification with the opinion-based group, support for collective action and attitudes toward Indigenous Australians. The second method is to measure the relevant ideological constructs and correlationally analyse the relationship between these variables and the relevant attitudinal and behavioural measures.

The experimental manipulation approach to exploring the role of ideological beliefs can also be handled in two ways. The first is via the experimenter imposed manipulation of the relevant constructs such as beliefs about the stability of intergroup relations (see Chapter 5, Study 1) and the necessity of a national apology for the success of Reconciliation (see Chapter 5, Study 2). However, this has the potential to create reactance among participants as they may already hold strong beliefs about the best approach to

Reconciliation. Consequently, a second approach to experimental manipulation is to try and utilise people's pre-existing ideological beliefs regarding how best to achieve Reconciliation by allowing participants to self select a manipulation about whether a social justice approach or a social cohesion approach to Reconciliation is best prior to their engagement in OBGIM (see Chapter 6).

However, utilising experimental manipulation to determine the role of ideology may be more difficult as the effect sizes may be small or the attitudes I am trying to manipulate may be stable and difficult to influence. As such, the analyses for the individual interaction studies focused on overall mean increases in relevant outcome variables following interaction with or without an ideological frame based on a comparison with a non-interacting control group. However, given my interest is ultimately in testing an extension of Thomas et al.'s (2009a) normative alignment model, as discussed in Chapter 3, an aggregated analysis of all interaction studies was also conducted (see Chapter 7).

In addition, a study which focused on measuring potentially relevant constructs and correlationally exploring the relationships between these variables was also included as this may provide a more viable alternative approach to studying the role of ideology (see Chapter 8). If for instance, ideological beliefs are less open to manipulation then it may be more important to know which ideologies group members subscribe to prior to engaging them in interaction with others who nominally share their group membership as they may undermine the groups' ability to reach a consensus on the issue.

Conclusion

Thus, the empirical studies discussed in the following chapters will utilise these differing approaches to assess the role of ideology in energising or

enervating the interconnections between people's self-investment in their group

identity, as well as their attitudes, efficacy beliefs and intentions to act

collectively to achieve or forestall support for positive social change.

Chapter 5

The Impact of Imposed Understandings of Intergroup Disadvantage and

Where the Road to Reconciliation Should Begin: Studies 1 and 2

Introduction

This chapter presents two initial studies which were developed to explore the role of imposed ideological understandings on the effectiveness of the opinion-based group interaction method (OBGIM) in increasing commitment to action and strengthening self-investment aspects of identification as an opinion-based group member. As mentioned in Chapter 4, given these studies were run within Australia, these ideas were explored in the context of Reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. My focus in these studies was on providing particular ideological content about the issue of Indigenous disadvantage in Study 1 and about where the road to Reconciliation should begin in Study 2. In particular, I was interested in the impact of this content on the interactive development of different aspects of non-Indigenous supporters' identification as opinion-based group members and their endorsement of identity relevant normative content.

Study 1

The first study was specifically designed as a way to test some general ideas, informed by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). As mentioned in Chapter 2, social identity theory argues that support for social change derives from understandings of the intergroup relationship such that where groups exist in an unequal status hierarchy and movement between groups is not possible (e.g. in the context of race), how group members seek to protect their group's positive identity and distinctiveness will depend largely on their perceptions of the legitimacy and stability of that hierarchy (Tajfel & Turner,

1979, 1986; Turner & Reynolds 2003). As such, support for social change is most likely to be found under conditions where the status hierarchy is viewed as both illegitimate and unstable. Given that a legitimate system does not demand the need for change (except perhaps amongst those who seek to establish injustice) this belief was not manipulated in the first study. Instead, the illegitimacy of Indigenous disadvantage was kept constant while the stability of that disadvantage was manipulated, and in particular we explored the power of emerging consensus about the perceived instability of disadvantage to galvanise support for change. We manipulated this factor by framing the group interaction with information that would either facilitate or inhibit support for action to overcome disadvantage.

It was anticipated that this shared belief about the instability of Indigenous disadvantage would create the potential for normative consensus to emerge on attitudinal and behavioural responses. In particular, I expected more support for collective action where groups agreed that the system was unstable (a facilitatory frame) as this would suggest to participants that any action undertaken now would have the potential to achieve positive social change in line with the goals of their salient group identity. Conversely, in a context which suggests that the aims of their group are unlikely to be achievable, as is the case when groups reach a consensus that Indigenous disadvantage is stable (an inhibitory frame), then this should undermine endorsement of group-normative behaviour.

From the analysis above I derive two hypotheses. Firstly, that interaction will increase the different self-investment aspects of identification as a pro-change opinion-based group member and consequently increase commitment to pro-change attitudes and behaviour. Secondly, to the extent that groups

reach an ideological consensus, these effects will be undermined by the presence of an inhibitory (stability) frame and enhanced by the presence of a facilitatory (instability) frame prior to the interaction.

Method

Participants

The participants consisted of 104 students at The Australian National University of whom 58 were female and 46 were male. Participants were between the ages of 17 and 47 ($M = 21.43$, $SD = 5.65$). Given my interest is in exploring the impact of ideological beliefs on advantaged group members support for social change attitudes and behaviours, 8 participants were removed from this study for either failing to state their ethnicity (2), identifying as an Indigenous Australian (1) or self-categorising as a non-supporter (5).

This research was conducted over an eight week period during August, September and October of 2006 through the use of an advertisement placed around campus (see Appendix A). All participants were asked to sign-up for a follow-up session to be conducted four weeks after their initial participation. While 75% of the people who initially participated expressed an interest in taking part in this follow-up session, only 33.65% returned and completed the second questionnaire. These 35 follow-up participants were between the ages of 18 and 43 ($M = 21.60$, $SD = 5.35$), with 17 female and 18 male participants returning. Of these, 4 participants were excluded at time 1, while an additional 2 participants were excluded due to a change in opinion-based group membership from supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation at time 1 to non-supporter at time 2. All participants signed a consent form prior to the commencement of the study but only those who returned received the

information sheet and a full debriefing (see Appendix A for information and consent forms).

Design

This study involved three interaction conditions (no frame, illegitimate-stable frame, and illegitimate-unstable frame) with an additional brainstorming, or non-interacting, control condition included to provide a baseline for the relevant outcomes. Participants were randomly assigned to conditions with the exception that where less than three people attended a session (too few for an interacting group) these people were assigned to the non-interacting condition (thus assuming that the number of people attending a session was itself a random factor). Of those excluded above at time 1, four participated in the non-interaction condition, while three participated in the unstable frame interaction condition and one in the stable frame interaction condition. Both participants excluded at time 2 were in the unstable frame interaction condition. The sample sizes used in the analysis of the initial data are shown in Table 5.1, while those used in the follow-up analysis can be found in Table 5.2.

Materials and Procedure

Prior to the group interaction participants in the two framed conditions were given a brief statement about 'The current state of affairs' with respect to the existing approach to Reconciliation and Indigenous disadvantage within Australia. This was followed by a series of statements that presented the situation as illegitimate and was either stable or unstable. These statements were as follows (with the stability manipulation in italics and the alternate form for the unstable frame encased in square brackets):

The prevailing approach to Reconciliation within Australia ignores the rights of Indigenous Australians. Rather than addressing the

imbalance and division that exists within Australia today, this focus

serves only to increase rather than reduce the disadvantage of

Indigenous Australians. *Although this is an unacceptable state of*

affairs there is not really much prospect of this situation changing

for the better in the near future. [Recognising this is an

unacceptable state of affairs there are now excellent prospects for

changing this situation for the better in the near future.]

These statements, in the framed conditions, were then followed by three

questions designed to assess whether this information successfully manipulated

perceptions of illegitimacy and stability/instability, prefaced by the following

statement:

Thinking about this passage, please read the following statements

and circle the number that best reflects the extent to which you

agree/disagree with them

The manipulation checks were: 'The arguments made suggest that the

current situation is unlikely to change', 'The arguments made suggest that the

current situation is legitimate and fair' and 'This passage represents a fair

reflection of the current state of affairs in Australia'. All participants then

received the following instructions about the task they were to complete either

individually (non-interaction condition) or as a group (interaction conditions)

under the heading 'The present study'. The additional instructions for the

OBGIM conditions are shown in italics:

At the Australian National University, we are interested in

investigating ways that our local community can help with greater

efforts to promote Reconciliation. Your task for the next 15 [*30*]

minutes is to come up with strategies that can be implemented

locally to help with this cause. That is, you need [*your group*

needs] to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to

support greater efforts to promote Reconciliation within Australia

and then write them on the sheet provided. [*During your*

discussion a number of issues and possibilities are likely to be

raised, but it is important that you come to an agreement on

strategies that you all believe will be effective and then write them

on the sheet provided].

Once participants in the interaction conditions had finished answering

any questions and reading the information provided the researcher reiterated

the instructions to ensure they had been understood by all group members. The

experimenter then left the room in order to give groups 25-30 minutes to

discuss strategies. Although every effort was made to keep the length of the

discussion consistent, time constraints created by participants turning up to a

session late meant that the time given to discuss the issue for some groups was

shortened to ensure that participants had enough time to complete the post-

discussion questionnaire.

After the allotted time had elapsed participants' suggestions were

collected and they were handed the post-task questionnaire. As participants

finished this questionnaire, they were asked if they would like to sign-up for a

follow-up session which would be conducted in four weeks time. If they agreed

to participate, they were handed a clipboard with a sheet of paper with space for

their name and email address. After four weeks, those participants who had

signed up were sent an email inviting them to return to complete the follow-up

questionnaire. They were given the choice of having the questionnaire emailed

to them or making a time to complete the questionnaire in the experimenter's

office. A number of measures were included on both questionnaires as a means of exploring the relationship between aspects of identification as a supporter and support for collective action, modern racism, and efficacy. Only those most relevant to the following analyses will be discussed here, for copies of the complete questionnaires and all other study material, see Appendix B.

Attitudinal and behavioural measures. Five items were used to assess willingness to support collective action (α = .90) and were adapted from similar measures used by Bliuc et al. (2007). An example of these is: 'I would like to participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation'. These items, as with all others mentioned here, were measured on the same nine-point Likert scales (from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 9 = *strongly agree*). A three item measure of efficacy adapted from van Zomeren et al. (2004) was also included (e.g., 'Supporting Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, α = .77).

The seven item modern racism scale (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981) has been previously converted from the original American scale in order to better reflect the Australian context, with the focus being either Aborigines (Augoustinos, Ahrens, & Innes, 1994; Pedersen & Walker, 1997) or Indigenous Australians (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003). Given that Reconciliation is aimed at uniting both Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders with non-Indigenous Australians the latter version was used in this thesis (e.g., 'Indigenous Australians should not push themselves in where they are not wanted', α = .82).

Identification measures. Self-categorization into the relevant opinion-based group identity occurred following the discussion (or the individual task for participants in the control condition), when participants were asked to tick the box categorizing themselves as either a "supporter" or "non-supporter" of

greater efforts to promote Reconciliation. Participants were asked to remember which opinion-based group they had identified with earlier and to keep that identity in mind as they responded to the identification items. Identification was measured using Cameron's (2004) three factor model adapted to the present study which has four items for each factor. This measure has been shown to have validity and includes three subscales used to measure ingroup affect (e.g., 'In general, I'm glad to be a person who supports greater efforts to promote Reconciliation', $\alpha = .67$), ingroup ties (e.g., 'I feel strong ties with other people who support greater efforts to promote Reconciliation', $\alpha = .75$) and centrality (e.g., 'I often think about the fact that I am a person who supports greater efforts to promote Reconciliation', $\alpha = .72$). Given my interest is in how ideology and OBGIM influence the different aspects of identification, the results reported will focus on these three factors rather than the unitary construct ($\alpha = .82$). A set of items measuring identification as a non-supporter appeared next to these items for the people who identified as such.

Participants in the interaction conditions were also asked two questions developed specifically for this study in order to assess the perceived degree of consensus among discussion group members ($r = .713$, $p < .001$). These were: 'My group did not share the same views' (*reverse scored*) and 'My group reached an agreement about the issues'.

Measures included in follow-up Questionnaire. The follow-up questionnaire included the same items measuring support for collective action ($\alpha = .90$), efficacy ($\alpha = .76$), modern racism ($\alpha = .82$), ingroup affect ($\alpha = .60$), ingroup ties ($\alpha = .66$), and centrality ($\alpha = .87$).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Following confirmation of the reliability of scales, scale items were averaged to form the main dependent measures. If less than half the scale items were missing values then an average of those provided was calculated instead. Where more than half the scale items were not completed by participants the dependent measures for those scales were left as missing values. This approach for dealing with missing data was employed in all studies.
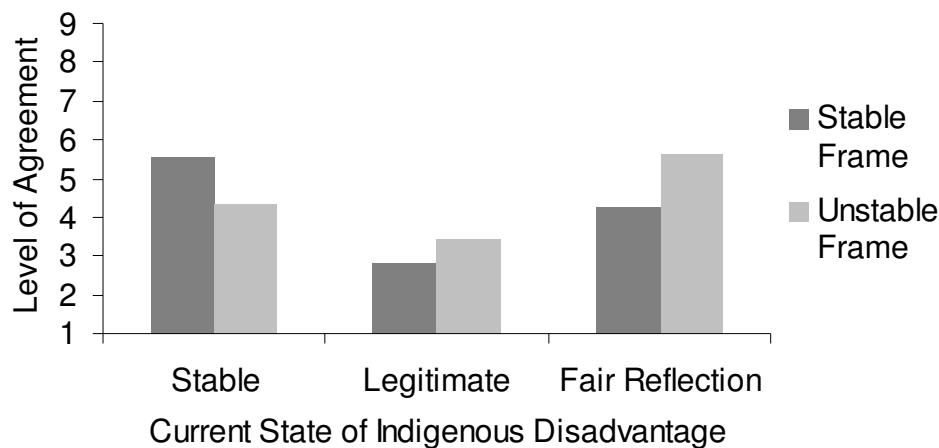
Figure 5.1. Study 1 framed interaction participants' level of agreement with statements regarding the current state of affairs with respect to Indigenous disadvantage.

In order to ensure that the frame manipulations were successful, the manipulation check questions were assessed using ANOVA. As can be seen in Figure 5.1 and as expected, participants in both the stable ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 2.24$) and unstable ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 2.68$) interaction conditions perceived the situation as equally illegitimate, $F(1, 29) < 1$. Although participants in each of these two conditions fell on either side of the mid-point, suggesting that participants neither accepted nor rejected the framing, those in the stable

condition (*M* = 4.24, *SD* = 2.46) did not significantly differ from those in the

unstable condition (*M* = 5.64, *SD* = 1.98) in their belief that the frame

represented a fair reflection of the current state of affairs, $F(1, 29) = 2.98$, *p* =

.10. However, while agreement was trending in the right direction participants in

the stable frame interaction condition (*M* = 5.53, *SD* = 2.24) did not perceive the

current situation as more stable than participants in the unstable frame

interaction condition (*M* = 4.36, *SD* = 1.98), $F(1, 29) = 2.33$, *p* = .14, suggesting

that the primary manipulation failed.

Main Analyses

Although participants completed all questionnaires separately, the fact

that some participants interacted prior to completing most measures means that

their responses should not be treated as independent and, as a result, many of

the standard statistical techniques for analysing this data cannot be used due to

its non-independence (Kenny & Judd, 1986; Kenny et al., 2002; McGarty &

Smithson, 2005). As a result, the effect of the participant's condition on the

dependent variables was assessed using McGarty and Smithson's (2005)

binomial method, which assesses the proportion of positive differences between

the participants' score on a dependent variable in one condition and the mean

of the condition against which you wish to compare it. This proportion is then

compared with what would be expected to occur by chance (i.e. 50% of

difference scores being positive) to assess significance.

Table 5.1 provides a summary of the means, standard deviations, and

binomial results as a function of condition for the key dependent variables. In

line with my first hypothesis, and as can be seen in Figure 5.2, group members

were more willing to take action following an unframed interaction but there

were no significant differences on modern racism, efficacy beliefs, or ingroup

affect. Contrary to expectations, rather than increasing group members' action intentions the unstable frame actually led to a reduced willingness to engage in collective action, although this difference was non-significant. The stable frame had no impact on action intentions compared to baseline.

Table 5.1.

Summary of means (standard deviations) and binomial results for Study 1 as a function of condition for the key dependent variables

Measures	Non-Interaction Condition ($n = 45$)	Unframed Interaction Condition ($n = 18$)	Stable Interaction Condition ($n = 17$)	Unstable Interaction Condition ($n = 14$)
Support for Collective Action	6.17$_a$ (1.65)	7.02$_b$ (1.63)	6.26$_{a, b}$ (1.46)	5.76$_a$ (1.37)
Modern Racism	3.25$_a$ (1.28)	3.06$_a$ (1.24)	3.47$_a$ (1.38)	3.34$_a$ (1.47)
Efficacy	7.30$_a$ (1.17)	7.50$_a$ (0.97)	7.06$_a$ (1.87)	7.26$_a$ (0.98)
Ingroup Ties	4.90$_a$ (1.52)	5.90$_b$ (1.47)	5.34$_{a, b}$ (1.53)	5.50$_b$ (1.24)
Centrality	4.03$_a$ (1.71)	4.71$_a$ (1.42)	3.76$_a$ (1.25)	4.46$_a$ (1.16)
Ingroup Affect	7.01$_a$ (1.25)	7.18$_a$ (1.08)	6.87$_a$ (0.86)	7.13$_a$ (0.91)
Discussion Consensus		7.75$_a$ (1.10)	6.29$_b$ (2.28)	6.57$_b$ (1.81)

Note. Means that share a subscript within a row do not differ according to binomial analyses with $p < .05$ (Bonferroni adjusted).

Figure 5.2. Study 1 means for collective action support as a function of

interaction frame (reference line represents the non-interaction control or
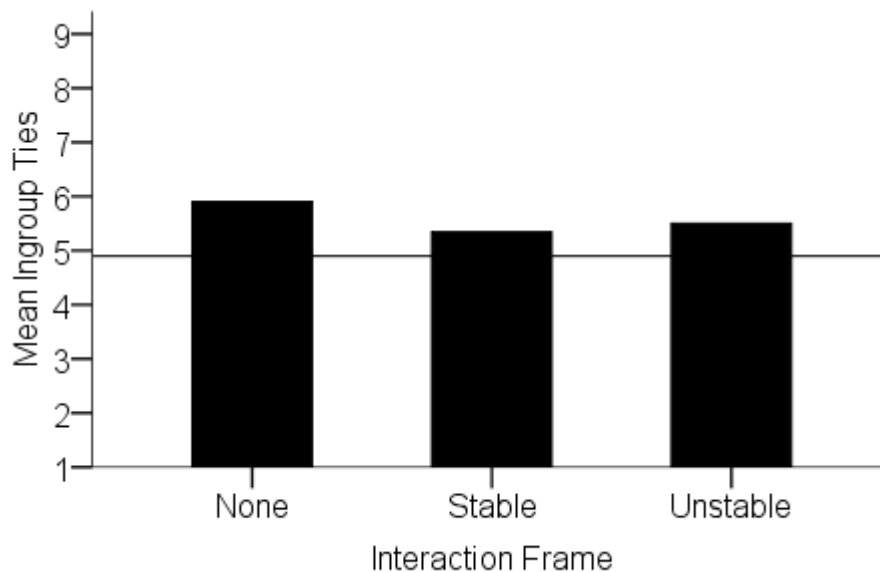
baseline mean).

Figure 5.3. Study 1 means for ingroup ties as a function of interaction frame

(reference line represents the non-interaction control or baseline mean).

The pattern of results for ingroup ties can be seen in Figure 5.3 where

the impact of interaction appears to have strengthened group member's sense

of connection to their group and fellow group members. However, as Table 5.1

confirms, this increased sense of connection was only significant for those in the unframed and unstable framed interactions which was as predicted. Although, the unstable framed interaction did not lead to the predicted enhancement of this effect of interaction.
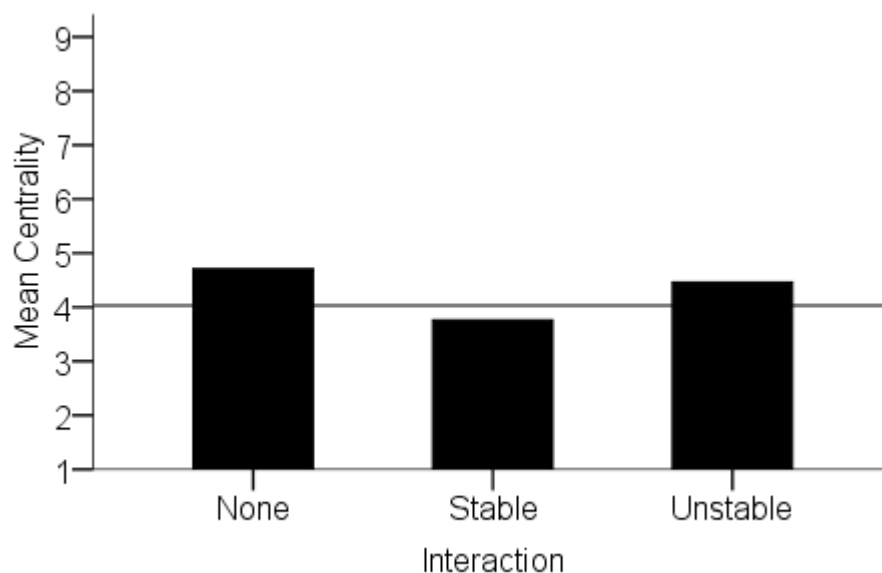
Figure 5.4. Study 1 means for centrality as a function of interaction frame (reference line represents the non-interaction control or baseline mean).

In terms of the centrality of the opinion-based group identity, as can be seen more clearly in Figure 5.4, mean levels in both the unframed and unstable interactions fell above the baseline while the stable interaction group members fell below. However, as confirmed by Table 5.2 none of these differences from the non-interacting control group were significant. Although the pattern of results for the three interaction conditions were in line with the hypothesis, these differences were also non-significant.
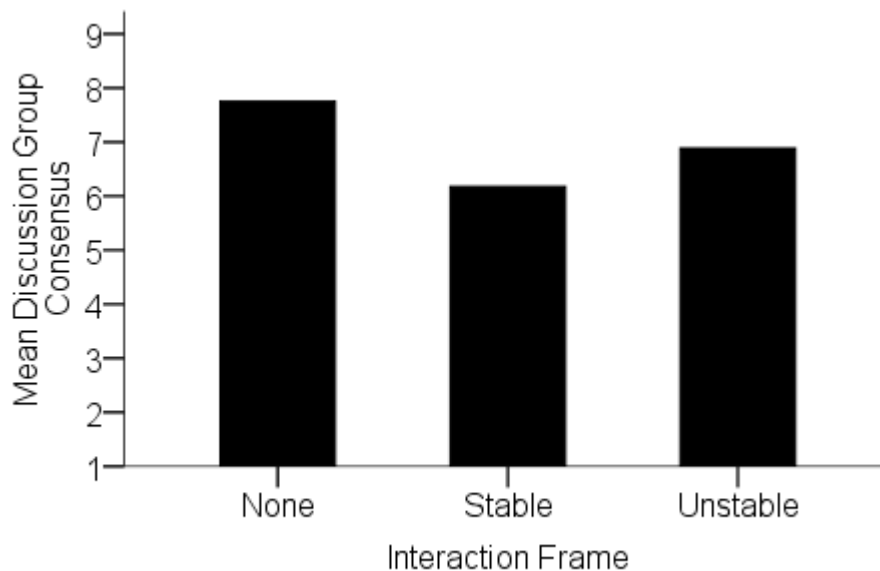
Figure 5.5. Study 1 means for discussion group consensus as a function of interaction frame

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The results related to the interaction participants' perceptions of the degree of consensus reached by their discussion group are particularly interesting. As can be seen in Figure 5.5 and as confirmed by Table 5.1, group members in the unframed interaction condition rated their groups as having a greater level of consensus than did participants in either the stable or unstable framed conditions. However, the two framed interaction conditions did not result in differing levels of consensus. These findings together lend weight to the qualification made to hypothesis two, that the expected facilitatory and inhibitory effects of the frames would only occur to the extent that participant's could reach a consensus. Thus, while group members in both framed interaction conditions perceived their groups as having reached a consensus this was not to the same degree as those in the unframed interaction conditions.

Analyses of Follow-Up Data

In order to analyse the follow-up data, the participant sample was first divided by time into two groups, specifically, those who did not return (T1 Only)

and those who did (T1, T2). Non-independence of data was still an issue at time two, both due to participants having interacted at time one and as participants' own responses at time two are not independent from their responses at time one, thus the data was analysed using McGarty and Smithson's (2005) binomial method. Using this method, three sets of comparisons were made. First, responses on the key dependent measures at time one within each condition for those who did not return were compared with those who did. Second, the responses of those who did return at time one within each condition were compared with their responses at time two. Third, the responses of participants at time two were compared across the four conditions.

A summary of the means, standard deviations and binomial results as a function of condition and time for the key dependent variables can be found in Table 5.2. Although this analysis needs to be viewed with caution due to the low sample sizes, there are still some interesting and suggestive patterns which emerged.

As can be seen in Table 5.2, when comparing the response of those who returned with those who did not at time one, there were no consistent differences on any of the variables. For example, while the centrality of the opinion-based group identity was significantly higher among those participants who returned from the non-interaction control condition as well as the stable framed interaction condition, centrality was significantly lower for those who returned from the unstable framed interaction condition.

Table 5.2.

Summary of means (standard deviations) and binomial results for Study 1 as a function of time and condition for the key dependent variables

Measures	Non-Interaction			Unframed Interaction			Stable Interaction			Unstable Interaction		
	T1 Only ($n = 31$)	T1 ($n = 16$)	T2	T1 Only ($n = 12$)	T1 ($n = 6$)	T2	T1 Only ($n = 12$)	T1 ($n = 5$)	T2	T1 Only ($n = 10$)	T1 ($n = 2$)	T2
Support for	6.13	6.25	6.45_1	7.25	6.57	6.17_2	6.33	6.08	$4.56_{1,2}$	5.86	5.70	6.60
Collective Action	(1.79)	(1.39)	(1.14)	(1.66)	(1.60)	(1.37)	(1.65)	(0.97)	(2.18)	(1.58)	(0.71)	(0.85)
Modern Racism	3.28	3.19	3.19	3.12	2.95	2.98_1	3.14_a	4.26_a	3.87_1	3.37	4.07	3.14
	(1.23)	(1.43)	(1.43)	(1.45)	(0.74)	(0.67)	(1.51)	(0.54)	(1.20)	(1.58)	(0.91)	(1.21)
Efficacy	7.13	7.63	7.79_1	7.78_a	6.94_a	6.72_2	6.67	8.00_i	$6.40_{i;1,2}$	7.43_b	6.17_b	7.17
	(1.32)	(0.73)	(1.00)	(0.83)	(1.06)	(1.20)	(2.08)	(0.67)	(1.19)	(0.98)	(0.71)	(0.24)
Ingroup Ties	1.48	5.73	6.06	5.96	5.79	5.33	5.11	5.85	5.00	5.55	4.50	5.75
	(1.50)	(1.24)	(1.19)	(1.64)	(1.19)	(0.90)	(1.42)	(1.81)	(1.31)	(1.36)	(0.00)	(1.77)
Centrality	3.66_a	$4.73_{a;i}$	$7.33_{i;1,2,3}$	4.54	5.04	6.63_1	3.67_b	4.00_b	6.40_2	4.90_c	3.25_c	6.75_3
	(1.57)	(1.80)	(1.63)	(1.72)	(0.33)	(1.78)	(0.82)	(2.08)	(1.87)	(0.99)	(1.41)	(2.65)
Ingroup Affect	6.81_a	7.38_a	5.20	7.29	6.96	3.71	6.94_b	6.70_b	3.75	7.23	6.50	3.38
	(1.33)	(1.01)	(1.09)	(1.11)	(1.10)	(0.67)	(0.75)	(1.16)	(1.21)	(0.96)	(1.06)	(0.71)

Note. Letter subscripts within a row indicate T1 Only and T1 means differ significantly according to binomial analyses with $p < .05$.
Roman numeral subscripts within a row indicate T1 and T2 means differ significantly according to binomial analyses with $p < .05$.
Number subscripts within a row indicate T2 means differ significantly according to binomial analyses with $p < .05$ (Bonferroni adjusted).

In addition, while those who returned from the unframed and unstable interaction conditions had significantly lower levels of perceived efficacy, those in the non-interaction and stable framed interaction conditions had non-significantly higher levels. Thus, for the most part, there appear to be few major differences between these two groups to explain why some participants returned and some did not.

In terms of changes from time one to time two, the pattern though interesting is, once again, inconclusive due largely to the limited sample. Of particular interest is the non-significant attenuation of ingroup affect, which is even more pronounced for participants in the three interacting conditions. Conversely, participants in all conditions rated the centrality of their OBG identity higher at time two, although only for non-interaction participants was this increase significant. In terms of the other key variables, the changes from time one to time two are less consistent. However, these changes become more informative when comparing the views at time two across conditions.

The pattern of differences at time two across most of the key variables of interest with respect to the three interaction conditions conforms to what was expected in my second hypothesis. Thus, in general, as predicted participants in the stable framed condition have lower levels of identification, in terms of ingroup ties and centrality, and are consequently less willing to engage in collective action on behalf of their group, perceive any action taken will be less effective, and have more negative attitudes toward Indigenous Australians. In contrast and also as predicted, those in the unstable framed interaction condition show the reverse pattern with participants in the unframed interaction condition falling somewhere in-between across all variables except modern racism, where they had slightly more positive attitudes than those in the

unstable framed interaction condition. Ingroup affect was an exception to this pattern with those in the unframed and stable framed interaction conditions reporting slightly more positive feelings about their OBG membership. However, as Table 5.2 shows, the majority of these differences are non-significant, thus this pattern is suggestive only of support for my second hypothesis.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 build on previous research findings discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, and provide additional support for the utility of the standard OBGIM in boosting one aspect of opinion-based group identification as well as support for collective action in line with that identity. More specifically, unframed interaction led to the hypothesised increase in group members' sense of connection to the group but had no impact on the importance of this group membership to their sense of self or on positive affect associated with that group membership. This was coupled by the hypothesised boost in willingness to act in line with the norms of that group but there was no concomitant positive impact on other identity normative attitudes or beliefs.

The effect of framing on these outcomes immediately following the interaction, however, provided no support for our second hypothesis. In particular, while the unstable framed interaction did lead to the anticipated increase in group members' sense of connection to their group, this increase was less than that provided by participation in an unframed interaction. The unstable framing also had no impact on group members' positive feelings about group membership or on the importance of that opinion-based group identity compared to the unframed interaction condition. In addition, participation in an unstable framed interaction led to no change in willingness to act as opposed to the anticipated increase and had no impact on support for other normative

content. In contrast, group members in the stable framed interactions, although not different from the non-interaction control condition on any measure, did show a non-significant reduction in their sense of the importance of this identity compared to both the unframed and the unstable framed interaction conditions. However, once again, the predicted reductions in support for other normative content did not manifest.

These results also provide some suggestive evidence for the proposed importance of consensus to the impact of the framing manipulation. In that, group members in both framed interaction conditions, perceived a lower degree of consensus within their discussion groups compared to those in the standard interaction condition. This suggests, that where such content becomes a source of dissensus, or undermines the ability of group members to perceive themselves as sharing similar ideological beliefs about the situation their group is trying to redress, then it is less likely that group members will see themselves as connected to each other or they may come to see that identity as less central to their sense of self. These shifts in certain aspects of their identification with the opinion-based group will then have consequences for group members' willingness to engage in group normative behaviours and may influence the extent to which they endorse normative attitudes and beliefs.

However, alternative explanations for the source of this dissensus are also possible. The first explanation is related to the manipulation used to frame the stable and unstable conditions. Specifically, the first two statements designed to keep the illegitimacy of Indigenous disadvantage consistent across these two conditions may have inadvertently led some participants to believe that it was Reconciliation itself which was illegitimate rather than the government of the time's approach towards Reconciliation. As such, this

miscommunication may have decreased participants' ability to reach a consensus thus undermining the expected effects of the framing. Alternatively, this miscommunication may have had a more direct negative impact on certain aspects of identification as a supporter or led participants to identify as non-supporters instead if they interpreted these statements as saying their opinion-based group was illegitimate. In addition, given that manipulation of the stability of Indigenous disadvantage was not that effective in shifting participants' views about the changeability of the situation it is also possible that the veracity of this statement provided another source of contention among group members.

The other two explanations are related to the fact that of the groups who took part in the interaction with some form of framing, four contained a single non-supporter in the discussion group. Thus, it is possible that the mere presence of non-supporters served to undermine aspects of these participants' identification as opinion-based group members by exposing them to a dissenting voice. Specifically given the situation suggested that this dissenting voice shared their identity and as such any opinions expressed which were contrary to the other supporters' views of what that identity should represent may have been enough to undermine certain aspects of the supporters' identification with their group.

A second, related explanation is that some individuals brought with them into the experimental situation particular ideologies which were incompatible with the goals of the opinion-based group they were asked to sign on to. This may have led to a contamination of the group discussion and an undermining of the group's ability to reach a consensus around a coherent, normatively aligned identity.

In contrast to the results immediately following interaction, those obtained from participants 4 weeks later suggested that the framing had the expected result. With the passage of time, participants in the stable framed interaction showed less commitment to their OBG identity and consequently less willingness to support collective action on behalf of their group, less belief in the effectiveness of any action taken and higher levels of modern racism. Conversely, those in the unstable framed interaction condition felt more closely connected to other group members and saw their OBG identity as having more importance to their sense of self and, as such, were more likely to act collectively on behalf of their group, saw any action as being more likely to be efficacious and held more positive attitudes toward Indigenous Australians.

This suggests that, while imposing a definition of the mutability of the situation with respect to Indigenous disadvantage on interaction participants may have an undermining effect on the success of that interaction in producing support for positive social change, the negative impact of this framing may be attenuated over time. As such, the impact of the framing itself on participants' level of identification and their associated attitudes may require time to be effective. However, this can only be conjecture given the limited number of participants who returned, particularly in the interaction conditions.

In terms of the facets of identification as an opinion-based group member, what was interesting about the results from the follow-up analysis was that, although mostly non-significant, time appeared to improve the extent to which one saw the OBG identity as being central to oneself, while undermining one's positive feelings about that group membership. However, once again the limited sample size prevents too many strong conclusions being drawn from these findings it does suggest that the positive feelings about one's group

membership engendered by participation in a group discussion appear to be an ephemeral outcome of that discussion. The importance of that group membership, on the other hand, may become more deeply engrained as time passes. This latter finding may be due to the nature of the OBG participants are being asked to sign on to, in that it is a self-categorisation that many may not have considered prior to their participation in this study. As such, while its importance to their sense of self may not have been felt strongly at the time of their initial participation, once they had categorised themselves as a supporter, time allowed this new identity to become a more important part of their identity.

Study 2

The second study was designed to untangle some of the results from the first by exploring a few of the potential underlying processes involved in the success of the opinion-based group interaction method with a specific focus on gauging the relative importance of consensus to the success of the opinion-based group interaction method. In order to boost the power of comparisons between cells, Study 2 involved three conditions, a non-interaction control condition, an unframed interaction condition and a disruptive, or highly contestable, framed interaction condition.

It was predicted that the disruptive frame would undermine the effectiveness of the method in increasing the different aspects of identification and support for identity normative attitudes and behaviours by preventing the emergence of consensus, undermining the participants' enjoyment of the discussion and increasing their frustration with the interaction process. As this study was run ten years after the Reconciliation Convention at which, Prime Minister John Howard refused to apologise for past mistreatment of Indigenous Australians on behalf of the Australian Government, a national apology was still

seen as a contentious issue and a policy not readily endorsed by supporters of Reconciliation (Manne, 2005). As such the necessity of an apology to the success of the Reconciliation movement was utilised as the highly contestable issue for the disruptive frame.

Method

Participants

The participants consisted of 88 university students of whom 57 were female and 31 were male. Participants were between the ages of 17 and 63 ($M = 20.52$, $SD = 6.49$) and were recruited from a first-year psychology course. Once again three participants were removed from the analysis due to their either self-categorizing as non-supporters of Reconciliation (2) or identifying as an Indigenous Australian (1).

Design

This study involved a three cell design with an unframed, or standard, interaction condition ($N = 21$), a framed interaction condition ($N = 17$) and a non-interaction control (brainstorming) condition ($N = 49$). Of those excluded, two participated in the non-interaction control condition while one engaged in the unframed interaction condition. The sample sizes used in the analysis can be found in Table 5.3.

Materials and Procedure

Research was conducted over a twelve week period between March and June of 2007. The materials and procedure were very similar to those from Study 1 with the main difference being in the wording used for the disruptive frame condition. Participants in the framed condition, read the following brief statement about how Reconciliation could be achieved within Australia:

One common view is that the way forward for Reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within Australia is for the federal government to apologise to Indigenous Australians for the Stolen Generations and for the past treatment of Indigenous Australians.

This statement was followed by two questions which asked whether participants agreed with this view and if it conflicted with their own stance on Reconciliation circling yes or no in response. This led to the exclusion of two participants, one of whom stated that this view conflicted with their own stance on Reconciliation while the other stated that they did not agree with this view.

There were then three manipulation check questions which assessed their level of agreement with the position expressed in the statement ($\alpha = .80$). These were 'I think a national apology is an important part of Reconciliation', 'I don't think Reconciliation can be achieved without a national apology', and 'This passage represents a fair reflection of the current state of affairs in Australia'. A follow-up manipulation check was included in the post-discussion questionnaire which consisted of the single question: 'The Federal Government should apologise for past wrongs committed against Indigenous Australians' (*reverse scored)*. The interaction conditions then proceeded as outlined for Study 1.

Normative content measures. As in the previous study, both interacting and non-interacting participants completed a post-task questionnaire (see Appendix B). The same items were included to measure ingroup ties ($\alpha = .57$), centrality ($\alpha = .72$), ingroup affect ($\alpha = .77$), support for collective action ($\alpha = .90$), modern racism ($\alpha = .85$), and efficacy ($\alpha = .78$). In order to ensure that the apology frame did not influence the outcomes via its impact on collective guilt, a measure of collective guilt was included. This 5 item measure ($\alpha = .83$) was

adapted from Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kaplan (2004). An example item is: 'I feel regret for non-Indigenous Australians harmful past actions toward Indigenous Australians'.

Process measures. In order to untangle the results of the first study, more detailed questions relating to consensus were included in the post-discussion questionnaire that interacting participants received in the second study. These five items formed a reliable scale ($\alpha = .65$). They were: 'How much did the other members of your group agree with you about this issue' (from 1 = *not at all* to 9 = *completely*); 'My group was unable to reach a consensus' (*reverse scored*); 'Was your group able to build a consensus around this issue' (from 1 = *not at all* to 9 = *completely*); 'There were issues raised during the discussion which the group was unable to agree on'; and 'I do not agree with the ideas put forward by my group on Reconciliation' *(reverse scored).*

Also included were four items assessing participants' belief in the positive effect of their group's ideas on others ($\alpha = .84$; e.g., 'The views expressed by my group should be seriously considered by other people'), four items assessing their perceptions of how frustrating they found the interaction ($\alpha = .57$; e.g., 'There were points in the discussion when I felt frustrated about being able to freely share my views') and 2 items measuring how enjoyable they found the group discussion ($r = .451$, $p = .005$; e.g., 'I found the discussion interesting').

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Given the nonindependence of the data the results were once again analysed using Smithson and McGarty's (2005) binomial method and the single

participant in the non-interaction condition who self-categorised as a non-supporter of Reconciliation was removed from further analysis.
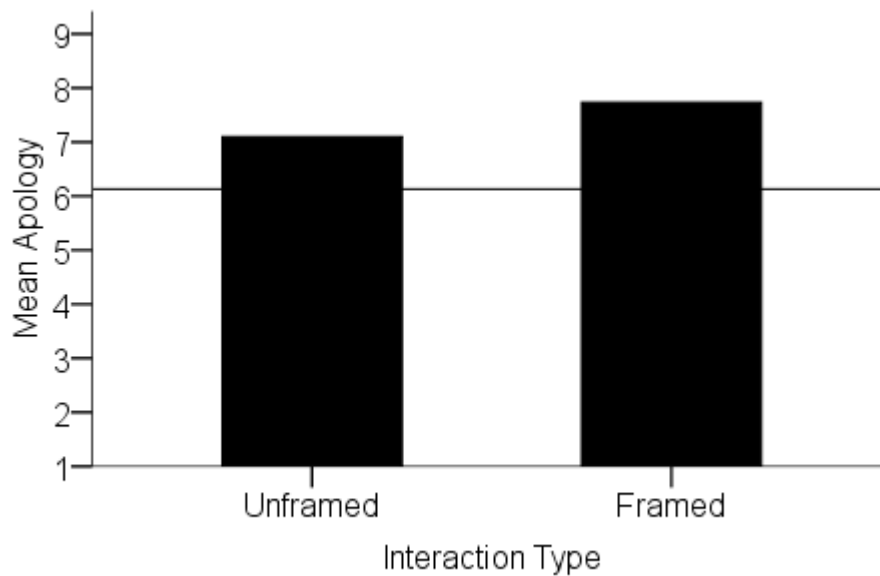

Figure 5.6. Study 2 means for endorsement of apology as a function of interaction type (reference line represents the non-interaction control mean).

As can be seen in Figure 5.6, the post-discussion manipulation check revealed that while participants in the apology frame condition agreed that an apology to Indigenous Australians was more essential to the success of Reconciliation (M = 7.73, SD = 1.44) than did participants in the standard interaction condition (M = 7.10, SD = 1.65), this difference was only approaching significance (p = .074). This suggests that the wording used in the framed condition was not uniquely contentious to those interactions in that apology may well have been an issue that arose as a natural part of any discussion related to Reconciliation at the time the study was conducted. The finding that support for an apology as an essential part of the success of Reconciliation was significantly lower in the non-interaction control condition (M = 6.13, SD = 2.86) compared to both the unframed and the framed interaction conditions (both p's = .001) would seem to support this possibility. However, as

Figure 5.7 shows, this increased support for a government apology in the two interaction conditions was not accompanied by increased feelings of collective guilt after interaction (all p's > .05).
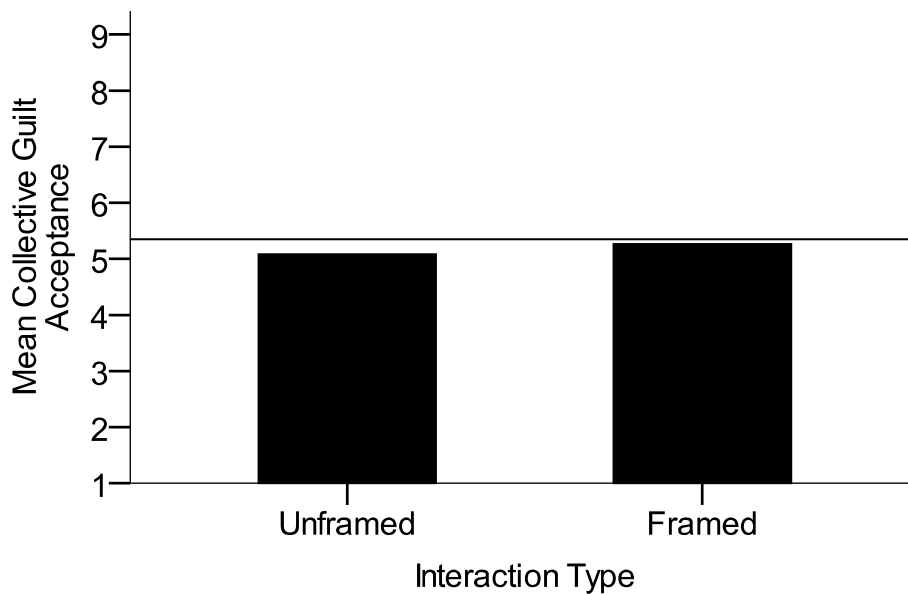
Figure 5.7. Study 2 means for collective guilt acceptance as a function of interaction type (reference line represents the non-interaction control mean).

Main Analyses

Table 5.3 shows the means (standard deviations) and binomial results as a function of condition for the key dependent measures. From this table it can be seen that, contrary to the predictions made, there were no differences on prejudice toward Indigenous Australians, centrality of the opinion-based group identity, or ingroup affect. Also contrary to expectations as Figure 5.8 shows more clearly, the unframed interaction led to a non-significant decrease in support for collective action, while support for action remained unaffected by the apology frame.

Table 5.3.

Summary of means (standard deviations) and binomial results for Study 2 as a

function of condition for the key dependent variables

Measures	Non-Interaction Condition ($n = 48$)	Unframed Interaction Condition ($n = 20$)	Framed Interaction Condition ($n = 17$)
Support for Collective Action	5.88$_a$ (2.07)	5.51$_a$ (1.52)	5.96$_a$ (1.48)
Modern Racism	3.16$_a$ (1.39)	3.55$_a$ (1.33)	3.11$_a$ (1.49)
Efficacy	7.02$_a$ (1.57)	7.17$_{a,b}$ (0.86)	7.78b$_b$ (1.00)
Ingroup Ties	5.00$_a$ (1.31)	5.29$_{a, b}$ (0.96)	5.58$_b$ (0.79)
Centrality	3.98$_a$ (1.60)	3.81$_a$ (1.11)	4.25$_a$ (1.22)
Ingroup Affect	7.18$_a$ (1.15)	7.25$_a$ (1.03)	7.37$_a$ (1.05)

Note. Means that share a subscript within a row do not differ according to binomial

analyses with $p < .05$ (Bonferroni adjusted).
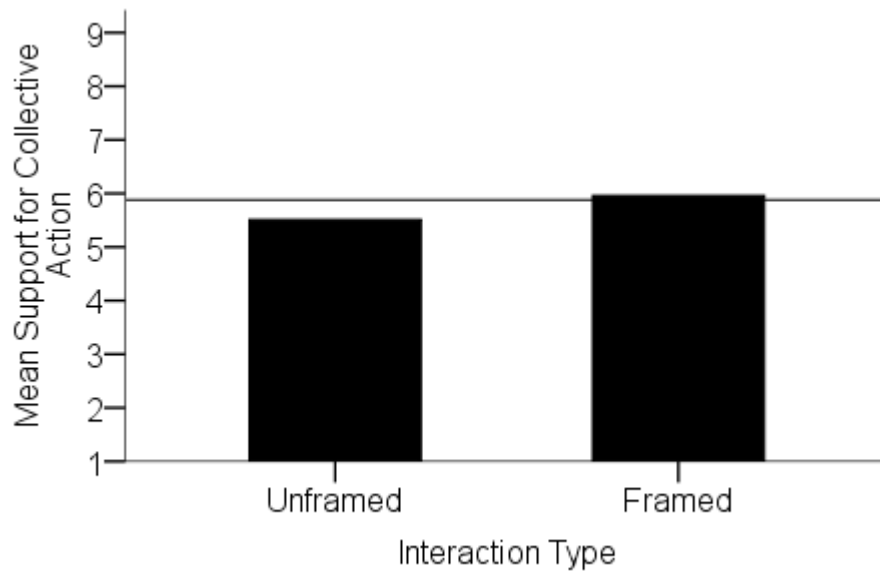
Figure 5.8. Study 2 means for support for collective action as a function of interaction type (reference line represents the non-interaction control mean).
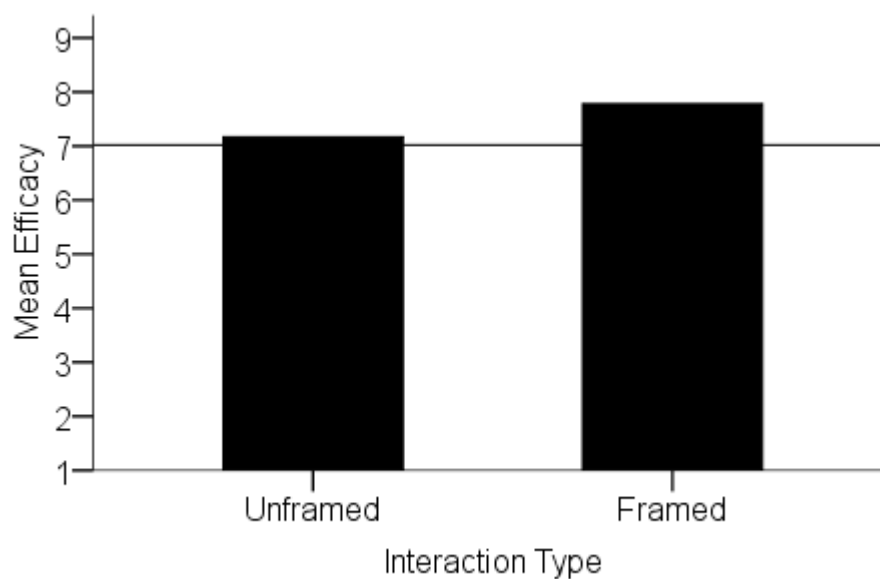
Figure 5.9. Study 2 means for efficacy as a function of interaction type (reference line represents the non-interaction control mean).

As can be seen in Figure 5.9 and is confirmed by the results in Table 5.3, the unframed interaction did not lead to a greater sense of efficacy among supporters of Reconciliation. However, discussion with an apology frame did increase group members' belief in the effectiveness of their actions. Similarly,

the same pattern of results can be found for group member's ties to their group identity. As Figure 5.10 demonstrates, interaction with an apology frame led to an increased sense of connection to the opinion-based group whilst interaction without a frame had no such impact on ingroup ties.
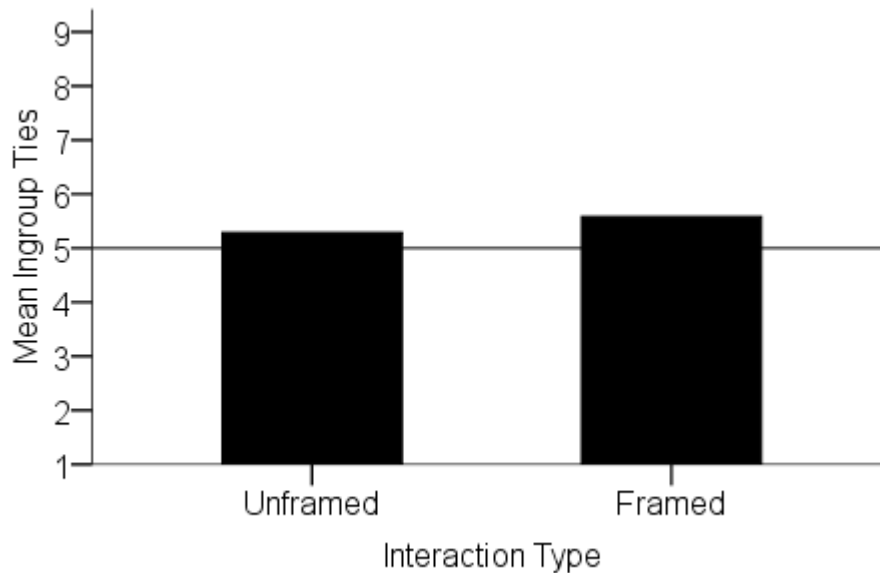
Figure 5.10. Study 2 means for ingroup ties as a function of interaction type (reference line represents the non-interaction control mean).

The means (standard deviations) and binomial results as a function of condition for the key process measures can be seen in Table 5.4. As this table shows, there were no differences in two of the process measures. Specifically, participants in both interaction conditions had generally low levels of frustration in response to their groups' discussion whilst also having equally moderate belief in the positive effect of their groups' ideas on others.

However, as Table 5.4 shows, participants in the unframed interaction condition did perceive their group as having reached a greater degree of consensus than did participants in the framed condition, although this difference was non-significant. However, participants in the framed condition enjoyed the interaction more than did those in the unframed interaction condition and had a

stronger belief in the positive effect of their groups' ideas on others but this difference was not significant.

Table 5.4.

Summary of means (standard deviations) and binomial results for Study 2 as a function of condition for the key process variables

Process Measures	Unframed Interaction Condition	Framed Interaction Condition
Discussion Consensus	7.55_a	6.88_a
	(1.25)	(0.96)
Discussion Enjoyment	5.91_a	7.40_b
	(1.47)	(0.85)
Frustration with	2.33_a	2.38_a
Discussion	(1.24)	(1.07)
Belief in Positive Effect of	6.21_a	7.13_a
Group Ideas on Others	(1.58)	(0.74)

Note. Means that share a subscript within a row do not differ according to binomial analyses with $p < .05$ (Bonferroni adjusted).

Discussion

The results of this study did not replicate the standard OBGIM effect and actually showed a non-significant reduction in collective action support following participation in an unframed interaction, thus failing to support my hypothesis. In addition, contrary to expectations, the apology frame led to increased efficacy beliefs among supporters and an increased sense of ingroup ties following interaction. One possible explanation for this failure of the unframed interaction may be a result of the timing of this study. In that, after ten years under the

Coalition government led by Prime Minister John Howard and in line with their policies, Reconciliation had been effectively minimised as an important issue for the Australian people to debate and work collectively towards achieving. Thus, while support for Reconciliation as a principle may have remained relatively strong, views about what strategies might be the most useful for achieving Reconciliation may well have become more diverse and less coherently linked to the relevant opinion-based group identity.

Whilst the inability to reproduce the success of the opinion-based group interaction method in the standard interaction hampers our ability to draw strong conclusions from the current results, nevertheless, some tentative suggestions can be made regarding their meaning with respect to at least two of the process variables included. Specifically, while perceptions of group consensus were non-significantly different and discussion enjoyment was significantly different between the two interaction conditions these differences occurred in different directions for the two variables. Specifically, perceived consensus was higher in the standard interaction condition while discussion enjoyment was only moderate, and this pattern was reversed in the framed interaction condition. As such, it may be that both consensus and discussion enjoyment are necessary for the opinion-based group identity to lead to normative changes on the relevant attitudinal and behavioural measures.

Follow-up Analysis of Group Suggestions

In an effort to make sense of the discrepancies between the findings of Studies 1 and 2, the suggestions that groups recorded during their discussions were examined and coded using the coding categories in Table 5.5 (examples from all interaction studies conducted as part of this thesis are also provided; the suggestions from all interacting groups can be found in Appendix C).

Table 5.5

The Coding Categories Used for Analysing the Group Suggestions with an Example of Each (All Examples are from Study 2 Groups Unless Otherwise Specified)

Coding Category	Example from Group Suggestions
1. Assimilation policies	**Try to encourage more integration between white Australians and Aboriginals**
2. Symbolic gestures, e.g., apology	There should be a public apology made by the Australian government to the Aboriginal people about the stolen generation
3. Public information campaigns for non-Indigenous	Using TV programs/ads to promote acceptance and reconciliation
4. Public information campaigns for Indigenous	Promote understanding of Australian law among Aborigines to reduce misunderstanding (from Study 3)
5. Indigenous rights such as Native Title	Acknowledgement of Indigenous Rights (from Study 1)
6. Indigenous welfare	Handouts
7. Indigenous economic development	Specific job opportunities, apprenticeships, etc
8. Negotiation between Indigenous/non-Indigenous	Communication between Government + Indigenous Leaders (from Study 1)
9. Intercultural contact and awareness	Provide more opportunities for cultural interaction

Table 5.5 (cont.)

Coding Category	Example from Group Suggestions
10. Indigenous control of resources, e.g., treaty	Treaties, similar to those seen in New Zealand and America
11. Public health interventions	Putting funding (government) into Aboriginal health programs
12. Compensation for harm	Raising funds, donations
13. Education for Indigenous	**Educate the Indigenous Australians on pragmatism, e.g. it was the "past" westerners that really need to apologise than "present" other Australians**
14. Education for non-Indigenous	Include syllabus to extend knowledge of the Aboriginal culture, e.g. how to greet them; to educate them of cultural awareness

My reasoning here was that the group discussions may have generated problematizing content that may have in some cases undermined progress towards consensus and a commitment to social change. The first example in Table 5.5 makes the point neatly. Participants in one group in Study 2 seemed to endorse straightforward assimilation policies: policies that have been rejected by all levels of Australian government and are deeply offensive to almost all Indigenous Australians. Another group argued directly for a denial of responsibility: they advocated programs of education for Indigenous Australians on pragmatism that "it was 'past' westerners that really needed to apologise" and "not 'present' other Australians".

The point in drawing out these examples is not that it is in any sense surprising that such views would be present (or indeed) common in Australian society. Rather it is worth considering that such views were probably offered as positive contributions towards promoting Reconciliation but that they also probably reflect an ideological commitment to the continuing domination by and advantage of the non-Indigenous majority. The fact that they could not only be offered but recorded as putatively part of a consensus within the group therefore suggests that they were not seen to be problematic or that they were seen as problematic and not contested (or at least not rejected) by the rest of the group. Neither dynamic is likely to be consistent with the formation of a group consensus that is likely to energise social change.

Comparing Study 1 and 2 we see that potentially problematic content was generated in both studies but it does appear that some notably problematic statements were generated in Study 2 (marked in bold in Table 5.5). Given that this content is inconsistent with the force of many other contributions made it does appear that the group interaction may have provided a basis for the commitment to change to rebound. In other words, there was certainly potential for ideological interference that may have been a more or less random product of the views brought into the discussions rather than the experimental manipulations used.

General Discussion

These results when combined with those from Study 1 do allow for some preliminary conclusions to be drawn about the role of ideology in the successful application of the opinion-based group interaction. Specifically, both studies suggest that imposing ideological understandings upon participants is unlikely to be helpful in the formation of sustainable social change identities at least in

the short term. Although, the analysis of the follow-up data from Study 1 suggests these negative effects may be temporary, except where the framing itself is detrimental, the results with respect to the more immediate impact of framing are clearer. In both studies, the lowest levels of perceived consensus among group members were found in those conditions where groups were given content about either the stability of Indigenous disadvantage or what might be a necessary first step to achieving Reconciliation before engaging in group interaction. Thus, it seems that providing information about a widely contested and historically debated issue is insufficient for creating ideological consensus among interacting group members. As such, the next study was designed with this in mind.

Chapter 6

The Role of Ideological Choice in the Success of the Opinion-Based

Group Interaction Method: Study 3

Introduction

This chapter presents the third interaction study, which follows up on the earlier findings from the first two studies that suggest that very different kinds of externally imposed framing may undermine the effectiveness of the opinion-based group interaction method. While this provides no support for that part of my model which posits that ideological consensus helps to integrate aspects of social identification, support for collective action and other identity-normative content it does suggest that ideological dissensus can serve to reduce that integration.

As such, this study was developed to further explore the impact of ideological framing following interaction but this time where that framing was self-selected and known to be shared with other participants present in the interacting group. In other words, participants were given a choice as to which of two ideological framings of the issue of Reconciliation they preferred prior to participating in either the non-interaction or interaction tasks used previously. The aim of this study was to establish whether framing of any sort is detrimental to the potential positive outcomes of group interaction or whether it is the imposition of that framing that is problematic.

Study 3

Study 3 was planned as an experimental test of the role of ideology in my extension of Thomas et al.'s (2009a) normative alignment model. As such, it is designed to create groups which nominally share not only the same opinion-based group identity but also the same ideological content as part of that

shared identity in order to assess the relative impact of shared consensus on the effectiveness of the opinion-based group interaction method. Recent work by Wright and Lubensky (2008) provides a distinction that is helpful here and allows us to explore some additional interesting relationships.

Wright and Lubensky (2008) argue that the conditions that make disadvantaged group members more willing to engage in collective action to redress social inequality are incompatible with the conditions that tend to make advantaged group members less prejudiced. Their analysis explains these contradictions by reference to two different approaches to the problem of addressing disadvantage in society. Specifically, they argue that the focus for prejudice reduction strategies is on the minimisation of intergroup conflict (often through the denial or negation of group membership) and that this approach reflects a theme or ideology of *social cohesion*. On the other hand, the collective action literature views intergroup conflict, and the recognition of group membership, as an essential part of identifying and confronting social inequality and is thus more closely aligned with a *social justice* focus or ideology.

Based on Wright and Lubensky's work, Study 3 uses descriptions of these two different approaches in order to allow participants to stream themselves according to which approach they most agree with. This allows interactions to be run with groups whose members share the same broad ideological beliefs, thus providing us with a test of the role of ideology that is endorsed by participants rather than imposed on them.

I expected people who endorsed the social justice approach to identify more strongly as supporters of Reconciliation and to be more supportive of collective action than people who endorsed the social cohesion approach but I also hypothesised that the differences would be intensified by group interaction.

Given the putative linkage between social cohesion and prejudice reduction, weaker differences were expected for the modern racism scale. The responses of participants who selected the two frames were compared more broadly to the responses of participants who did not select either.

Method

Participants

The participants consisted of 136 university students of whom 104 were female and 32 were male. Participants were between the ages of 16 and 60 ($M = 21.79$, $SD = 7.59$). Five participants were removed from the analysis as they identified themselves as Indigenous Australians.

Design

This research was conducted over a 15 month period from March, 2008 until June, 2009. This study involved a 2 (type of task: non-interaction, interaction) x 3 (frame selected: no frame, social justice frame, social cohesion frame) factorial design. Given this study introduced self-selection, it was possible that participants may have streamed themselves predominantly into one of the two frames. However, while there were a larger number of participants in the unframed conditions ($n = 56$), the participants split themselves evenly into the social justice ($n = 40$) and social cohesion ($n = 40$) framed conditions.

Assignment into the framed conditions occurred prior to participants' arrival at the experimental setting and was not random to ensure that those present at each session shared similar ideological beliefs thus pre-establishing ideological consensus. Consequently, both interaction and non-interaction conditions were framed, as assignment into the type of task was once again dependent upon the number of people who arrived at any one session. This led

to an imbalance in the sample sizes between interacting and non-interacting sessions for the unframed (n = 12 and 44, respectively), social justice frame (n = 6 and 34, respectively) and social cohesion frame (n = 15 and 25, respectively) conditions. Of those excluded, one participated in the unframed brainstorming task, two in the social justice framed brainstorming task, one in the social cohesion framed brainstorming task and one in the unframed interaction condition. The sample sizes used in the analysis are shown in Table 6.1.

Materials and Procedure

Given the need to stream participants prior to their participation in the study, recruitment advertisements were placed around campus and on the first-year notice board. These flyers directed students to a web site where they could sign up for the main study after completing the streaming questionnaire (both a screen shot of the web-based questionnaire and a copy of this questionnaire can be found in Appendix B). This streaming questionnaire provided information about the 'Contrasting Approaches to Reconciliation' and included the following brief explanation of its purpose along with two statements which outlined the two potential approaches that can be taken with regard to Reconciliation:

> When we think about Reconciliation between Indigenous and other Australians there are two broad philosophical approaches that different people tend to take. I am interested to know which of these you are more comfortable with so that I can place you into a discussion group with people who adopt broadly the same perspective that you do:
>
> 1. One approach is what we can call the **social cohesion approach**. In this view the most important objective is to promote harmony between Indigenous and other Australians.

In pursuing this objective it is important to avoid or at least reduce conflict and dispute within society. We need to work to protect people's rights as citizens within our society and ensure that Australia's legal and political system is upheld in order to promote harmony.

2. Another approach can be called the **social justice approach**. In this view the most important objective is to promote social change to overcome the disadvantage experienced by Indigenous Australians relative to other Australians. In pursuing this objective it is important to accept that conflict and dispute within society may be necessary to help produce change. We need to work to protect the rights of disadvantaged groups, and ensure that Australia's legal and political system is reformed to promote equality.

Participants were then asked to indicate which one of a series of four dyads they thought was most important with one option from each dyad being inline with the social justice approach and the other with the social cohesion approach. Based on their responses to these statements they were sent an email which offered a series of session times that had been set aside for the particular approach they most broadly agreed with. The four statements were: 'Key objective – Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation OR Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation'; 'View of conflict – Conflict or dispute within society is undesirable OR Conflict or dispute within society may be a useful part of the process of achieving change'; 'Focus on rights – We need to focus on protecting the rights of individuals OR We need to focus on protecting the rights

of groups of people'; 'Legal and political system – Australia's legal and political system should be upheld OR Australia's legal and political system should be reformed'. If their responses were evenly split (n = 29) or they did not complete this questionnaire (n = 14) then they were assigned to the unframed conditions (this did not have an impact on any of the outcome measures, p > .05).

Once participants reached the experimental setting, the description of the approach they chose was once again shown to all participants in attendance and they were asked to indicate whether or not they still endorsed this approach. This served as a reminder to participants of the approach they had agreed to previously and as an indication that the others present held similar ideological beliefs. For those in the unframed conditions the information about the two approaches was not mentioned.

Prior to the discussion or individual task, participants rated their agreement with the dyad statements which they were previously forced to choose between. Although the reliability for both the social cohesion ($α$ = .55) and social justice ($α$ = .46) items was low they were averaged into two separate scales with the concomitant loss of reliability. These questions were followed by a brief description of the task, as outlined in detail in Chapter 5 for Study 1, and the study followed the procedure shown there.

The same items were included in the post-task questionnaire to measure ingroup ties ($α$ = .76), centrality ($α$ = .81), ingroup affect ($α$ = .80), modern racism ($α$ = .78), action intentions ($α$ = .90), and efficacy ($α$ = .67). To further explore the proposed process model, alongside the consensus ($α$ = .63) and enjoyment measures (discussion: r = .759, p < .001), four questions were included to assess participants' perceptions of the discussion group as a legitimate instantiation of their shared opinion-based group membership ($α$ =

.75). An example item is: 'The other members of my group were committed to Reconciliation'. All materials used in this study can be found in Appendix B.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

A series of *t*-tests and ANOVAs was conducted to confirm that the pattern of support for the social justice and social cohesion ideas matched what was expected. As these measures were taken prior to the discussion/brainstorming task, the results were collapsed across this variable. The mean level of support for social justice and social cohesion are shown in Figure 6.1 as a function of the frame selected.
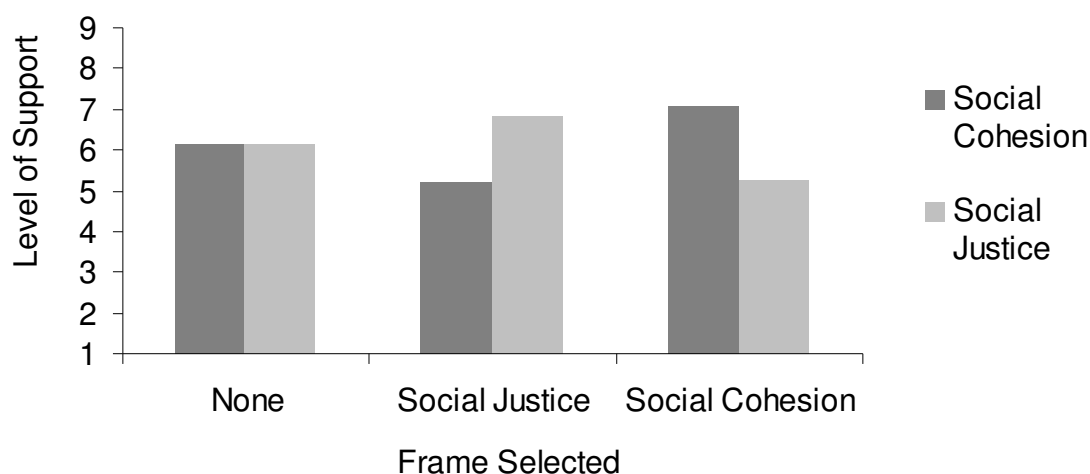
Figure 6.1. Study 3 mean level of support for social justice and social cohesion ideas as a function of frame selected.

As can be seen in Figure 6.1, there was no significant difference between support for social cohesion ideas (*M* = 6.17, *SD* = 1.04) and social justice ideas (*M* = 6.14, *SD* = 0.85) in the unframed conditions, $t(52) = 0.149$, $p = .882$. However, participants in the social justice framing conditions were more likely to support social justice ideas (*M* = 6.84, *SD* = 1.01) than participants in

either the social cohesion framing conditions ($M = 5.25$, $SD = 0.97$), $t(74.642) = 7.055$, $p < .001$, or the unframed conditions $t(70.816) = 3.470$, $p = .001$. They were also more likely to endorse social justice than social cohesion ideas ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 0.95$), $t(37) = 6.602$, $p < .000$. Similarly, participants in the social cohesion framing conditions were more likely to endorse social cohesion than social justice ideas, $t(38) = 9.127$, $p < .001$ and were more supportive of social cohesion ideas ($M = 7.08$, $SD = 0.78$) than participants in either the unframed conditions $t(89.964) = 4.791$, $p < .001$, or the social justice framing conditions, $t(71.564) = 9.299$, $p < .001$. These results confirm the differences suggested by the self-selection and given the low internal consistency of the measures we can be all the more confident of these differences.

Main Analyses

Given the nonindependence of the data the post-discussion results were once again analysed using Smithson and McGarty's (2005) binomial method. A summary of the means and standard deviations for the key dependent variables and the binomial results for the differences between the two unframed conditions can be found in Table 6.1.

As can be seen from these results, the unframed interaction led to increased support for collective action and boosts in the ingroup ties and centrality aspects of identification as an opinion-based group member compared to the brainstorming task. However, only the increase in centrality was significant.

Table 6.1

Summary of Means (Standard Deviations) and Binomial Results for Study 3 as a Function of Task and Frame for the Key Dependent Variables and Process Measures.

Measure	Non-Interaction Task			Interaction Task		
	None ($n = 43$)	Social Justice ($n = 32$)	Social Cohesion ($n = 24$)	None ($n = 11$)	Social Justice ($n = 6$)	Social Cohesion ($n = 15$)
Collective Action	5.74_a (1.77)	6.52_b (1.58)	6.13_b (1.55)	$6.33_{a, c}$ (2.03)	6.83_b (1.36)	4.96_c (1.74)
Modern Racism	$3.14_{a,b,d}$ (1.12)	2.79_a (1.05)	$3.75_{b,d}$ (1.02)	$3.13_{a,c,d}$ (1.38)	1.76_c (0.80)	3.57_d (1.20)
Efficacy	7.31_a (1.15)	7.50_a (0.95)	7.46_b (0.90)	$7.70_{a,b,c}$ (1.04)	8.22_c (0.98)	$7.62_{a,b}$ (1.03)
Ingroup Ties	$5.01_{a,b}$ (1.59)	$5.34_{a,b}$ (1.31)	$5.80_{b,c}$ (1.10)	$5.30_{b,c}$ (1.12)	6.42_c (1.79)	5.43_b (0.95)
Centrality	$3.70_{a,c}$ (1.72)	$4.48_{a,d}$ (1.44)	$4.20_{a,d,c}$ (1.45)	$4.59_{b,c,d}$ (1.70)	5.46_b (1.33)	3.03_c (1.38)
Ingroup Affect	7.37_a (1.25)	7.65_a (0.95)	7.29_a (1.10)	$7.78_{a,b}$ (1.17)	8.25_b (0.87)	7.20_a (1.19)
Discussion Enjoyment				$7.09_{a, b}$ (1.17)	7.77_a (1.49)	7.40_b (0.84)
Discussion Consensus				7.09_a (1.51)	8.58_a (0.38)	7.30_a (1.40)
Discussion Legitimacy				6.14_a (1.38)	7.80_b (0.87)	6.13_a (1.42)

Note. Means that share a subscript within a row do not differ according to binomial analyses with $p < .05$ (Bonferroni adjusted).

However, different patterns applied for the social justice and social cohesion conditions. As can be seen in Figure 6.2, interaction had no effect on support for collective action for those who supported the social justice ideas. That is, interaction between people who endorsed a social justice frame did not facilitate any increase in their already high level of support for collective action. Second, interaction with the social cohesion frame led to a reduction in support for collective action.
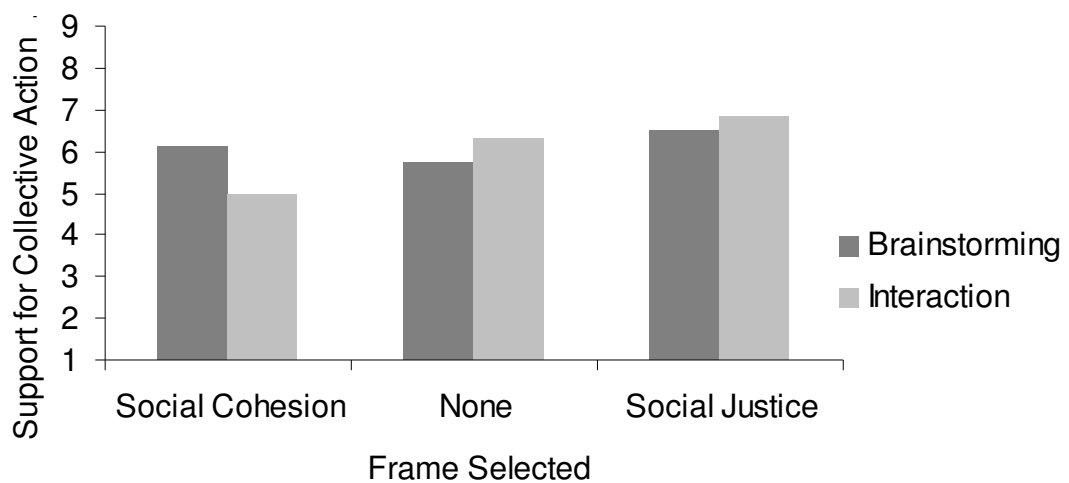
Figure 6.2. Study 3 means for support for collective action as a function of frame and task.

As can be seen in Figure 6.3, the results for modern racism are similarly varied. While interaction had no effect on levels of modern racism when participants were in the unframed conditions or in the social cohesion framed conditions it did have an unexpectedly positive effect for participants in the social justice framed conditions. Intriguingly, the levels of modern racism were actually higher for participants who endorsed the social cohesion approach than for the other two framing conditions. However, as Table 6.1 shows, these levels were only significantly higher for social cohesion framed participants when

compared to those participants who engaged in one of the two social justice

framed conditions.
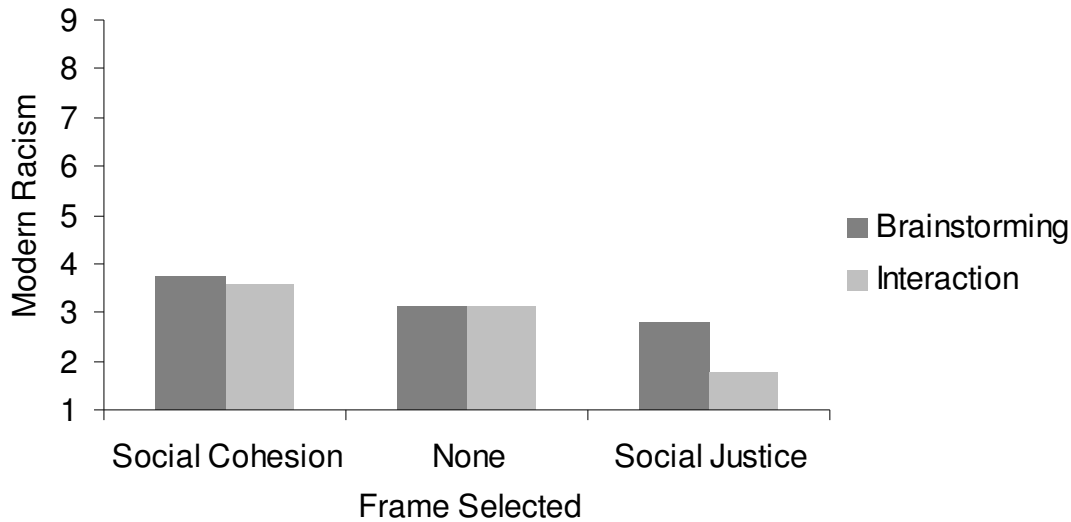
Figure 6.3. Study 3 means for modern racism as a function of frame and task.

The pattern of results for the different aspects of identification was also

intriguing. As Figure 6.4 shows, the social justice framed interaction increased

ingroup ties but the other two framing conditions did not differ from each other

nor were they different from the social justice brainstorming participants or

those who engaged in the unframed interaction.
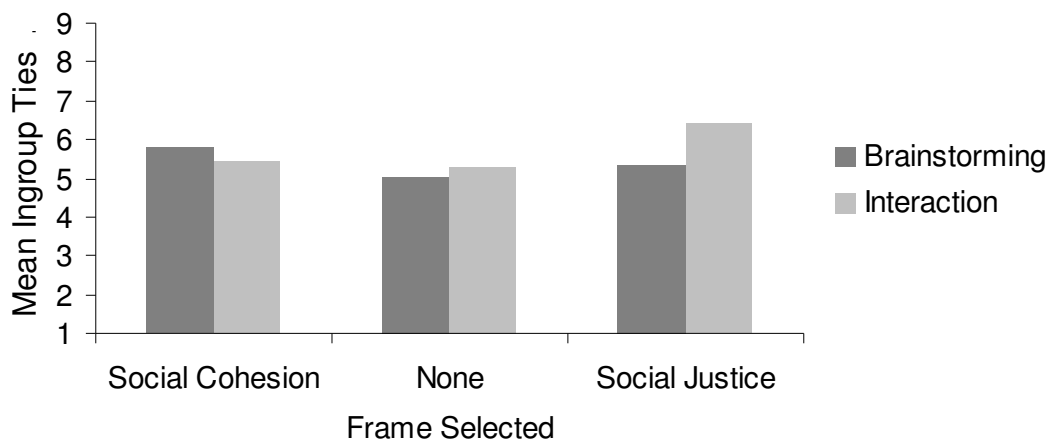
Figure 6.4. Study 3 means for ingroup ties as a function of frame and task.

As Figure 6.5 shows, interaction boosted identity centrality for the social justice framing and unframed interaction conditions but reduced it for those in the social cohesions framed interaction condition. Although this reduction was only significant when compared with the two social justice framed conditions.
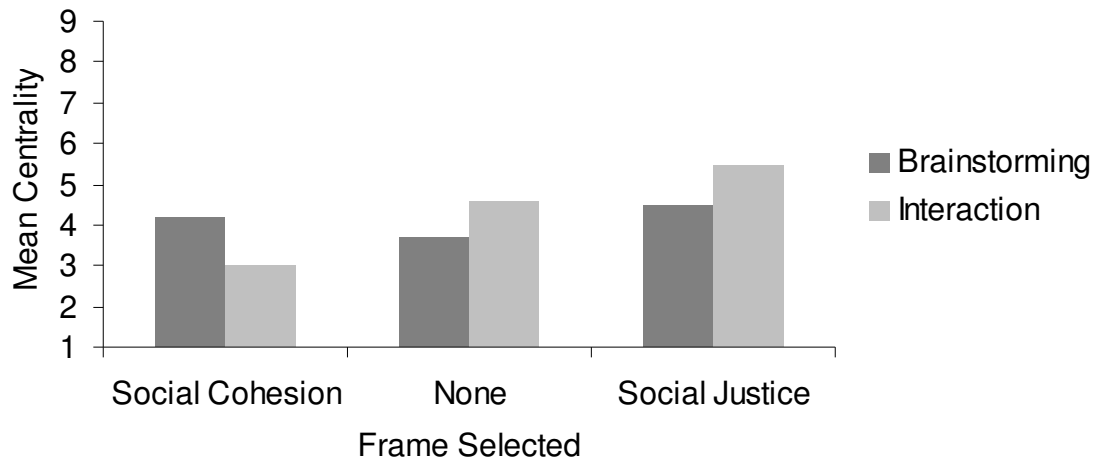
Figure 6.5. Study 3 means for centrality as a function of frame and task.

For ingroup affect, as illustrated in Figure 6.6 and as predicted, interaction boosted affect for the social justice framing. There were no other significant effects.
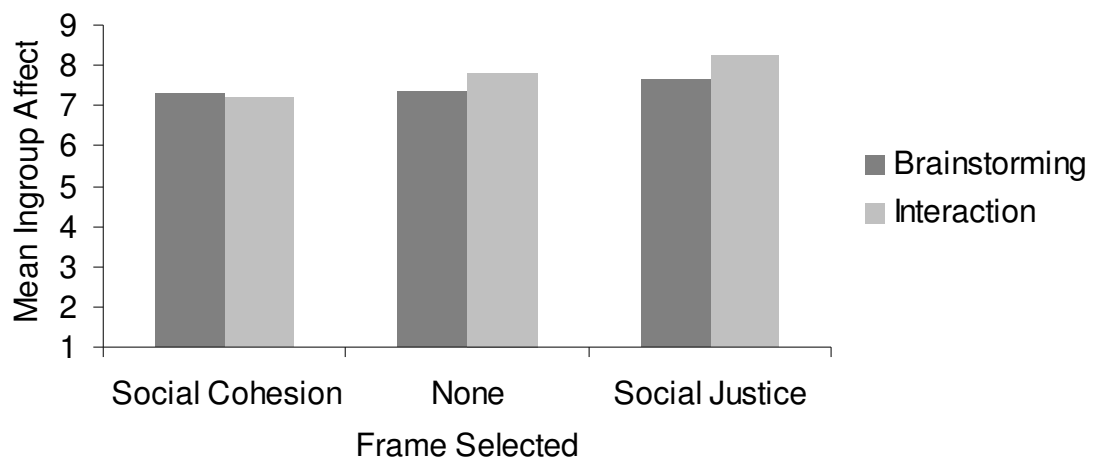
Figure 6.6. Study 3 means for ingroup affect as a function of frame and task.

For the process measures (necessarily only measured in the interaction conditions), the pattern shown in Figure 6.7 is also interesting. Participants in the social justice framing perceived more consensus, enjoyed the discussion more, and saw it as more legitimate.
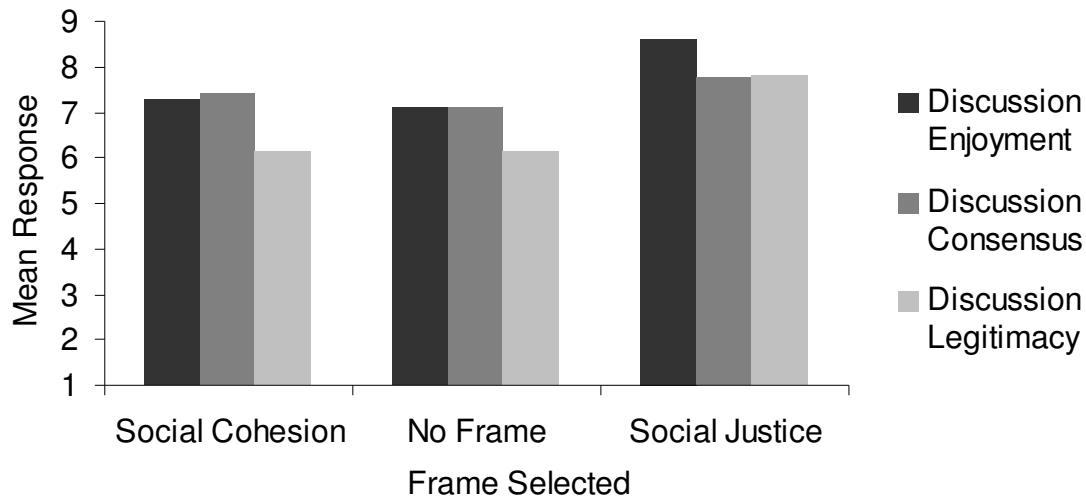
Figure 6.7. Study 3 means for process measures as a function of interaction frame.

Follow-up Analysis of Group Suggestions

Once again, the suggestions recorded by the groups during their discussions were examined and coded based on the coding categories used in Chapter 5 (see Table 5.4 for the categories used and some examples for each category; all suggestions made by groups in Study 3 can be found in Appendix C).

Comparing the different conditions, there appears to be far more problematic content being raised by groups in the social cohesion framed interaction condition. For example, one group refers to the need to "Acknowledge the mistakes of the past but not responsibility (not our actions)". A suggestion which was made after a government apology had been issued

and supported by a majority of Australians. In contrast, the suggestions made by groups in the unframed and social justice framed discussions were more focused on the provision of education programs for non-Indigenous Australians to increase knowledge of Indigenous culture and to dispel negative stereotypes.

Discussion

As the results show, without framing the standard opinion-based group interaction method produced the hypothesised increase in one of the three aspects of identification, namely centrality, but did not boost support for collective action. However, with framing interaction produced very different results. Put simply, interaction with the social cohesion framing reduced both social identification and commitment to action. Interaction powerfully undermined those participants' pre-existing commitment to the issue. It is important to note here that these participants were not hostile to, or even (ostensibly) neutral about, the issue or the cause but nevertheless group interaction among these ideologically self-selected participants compromised the existing commitment. As we discuss below, these results echo those of Myers and Bishop (1970) who found group polarization towards increased prejudice amongst prejudiced high school students.

On the other hand, there was some suggestion that interaction between those who endorsed the social justice ideology empowered or engaged some effects. This conclusion needs to be qualified substantially by the small sample size and the fact that no effect was shown on support for collective action.

The process measures qualify this further. Even though participants in the social justice framed condition enjoyed the discussion more, saw it as more legitimate and perceived more consensus I cannot argue that these perceptions were related to greater positive effects of interaction. Again it seems clear that

ideological consensus is not directly and unproblematically connected to mobilisation for social change.

The results also suggest qualifications in relation to the ideas of Wright and Lubensky (2008). For the participants who supported a social cohesion approach, levels of prejudice were moderately high, although still below the mid-point of the scale, this sits oddly with Wright and Lubensky's plausible suggestion that reducing prejudice is associated with a social cohesion ideology.

This inconsistency may be more apparent than real. While the social cohesion ideology may be compatible at face value with reducing prejudice (leading to rhetorical questions of the form "Why can't we all just get along?") but a social cohesion ideology can also cover for attitudes that sustain or even condone prejudice. Just as a bigot may assert "Some of my best friends are black", I also find problematic ideas being presented as outcomes of group discussions. The findings in general, however, are in line with those of Myers and Bishop (1970), and indicate that interaction with like-minded people may serve to exacerbate and crystallise pre-existing tendencies in either direction.

On the other hand and as predicted by Wright and Lubensky (2008), supporters of the social justice approach showed a higher willingness to engage in collective action. However this was boosted by interaction. Thus, although the social justice ideology among members of the advantaged group may be compatible with social change I cannot demonstrate that bringing together people who endorse that change is of itself likely to energise commitment to such changes. Again it seems easier to enervate than to energise through ideological consensus.

Another point to bear in mind when evaluating the findings from this study is that participants self-selected their own framing. Thus, the interpretation of these findings should be viewed with some caution. However, in general, the findings from this study and the fact that some ideological beliefs, such as support for social cohesion or social justice, can form quite early, suggests there may be inherent problems in failing to take these beliefs into account in future research.

However, given the relatively limited sample sizes in the interaction conditions for the first three studies an aggregated analysis was conducted to explore these ideas further. This is reported in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Ideological Interference in Generating Opinion-Based Group Support for

Collective Action: Analysis and Review of Aggregated Interaction Study

Data

Introduction

Given the variability in the results of the three interaction studies run and

the limited power within each study, the data from all three were combined in

order to determine if an increase in power would help clarify what effect

ideological framing and interaction had on the key dependent variables, to

enable a test of the normative alignment model and to explore possible causes

of any effects found.

Method

Participants

Initially, 328 participants took part in these studies. Of these, 9

participants were removed from the analysis as they either identified

themselves as Indigenous Australians ($n = 7$) or did not provide information

about their ethnicity ($n = 2$). A further 7 participants were removed as they

categorised themselves as non-supporters of Reconciliation.

The focus of this thesis is on the impact of interaction on the facets of

identification as a supporter, action intentions, efficacy beliefs, and attitudes

toward Indigenous Australians and the role of ideology in this process. As such,

the 56 non-interacting participants who engaged in the brainstorming task after

being exposed to an ideological frame were excluded from this analysis. An

additional 6 participants who engaged in the social justice framed interaction as

part of Study 3 were also removed. These participants were a small sample

who displayed a clearly distinctive pattern of results and would, therefore, be

outliers if combined with the other framed interacting participants. As such their results were also excluded from this analysis to avoid distorting the findings. The remaining participants consisted of 250 university students of whom 167 were female and 88 were male. These participants were between the ages of 17 and 63 ($M = 21.05$, $SD = 6.20$).

This research was conducted over a three year period between August, 2006 and June, 2009 in three separate studies. As such, data from 96 participants was collected in Study 1, data from an additional 85 participants was obtained in Study 2 and a further 69 participants provided data as part of Study 3.

Design

Given all three studies involved a baseline non-interaction control condition ($n = 138$) and an unframed interaction condition ($n = 49$), these participants were simply combined and remained coded into these conditions. However, while all three studies utilised different frames, none of these frames resulted in an increase in positive attitudes, either showing no change from the baseline condition or a decrease in positive attitudes and behavioural intentions. As such, these 4 conditions were collapsed and recoded into the same framed interaction condition ($n = 63$).

Materials and Procedure

For further information about the specific materials and procedures used in each individual study please refer to Chapters 5 and 6.

<div align="center">

Results

</div>

Preliminary Analyses

As there were differences in the mean levels of the key variables from study to study and we were interested in the impact of framed and unframed

interaction on participants' attitudes and behavioural intentions as compared to a baseline provided by non-interacting participants, deviation scores were created for the key measures for each study using the control mean for that study as a baseline. This was done separately for each study by taking the mean of the non-interaction control participants for each of the key variables of interest and then subtracting this value from all the participants' individual scores on that variable. To be clear: these deviations are not difference scores (differences between scores for the same participant on two different variables and which are argued to create analytic and measurement problems) but linear transformations of the mean.

Main Analyses

The analysis was conducted as before utilising Smithson and McGarty's (2005) binomial method to control for the nonindependence of the data. In each case, the binomial comparison made was between the participants' individual scores and the average of the condition of interest which had the smaller sample size to ensure sufficient power. Thus, the individuals in the non-interaction control condition were compared with the averages of the two interaction conditions while the individuals in the unframed interaction condition were compared to the means of the framed interaction condition.

Table 7.1 provides a summary of the means (standard deviations) and binomial results for the change variables for the unframed and framed interaction conditions for the key dependent measures and the means (standard deviations) and binomial results of the process variables which were measured similarly across the three studies.

The aggregated results are straightforward. Interaction boosted ingroup ties for both framed and unframed conditions but it undermined support for collective action in the framed condition.

Table 7.1

Summary of Means (Standard Deviations) and Binomial Results for the Average Deviation from Baseline for the Key Dependent Measures and the Means (Standard Deviations) and Binomial Results for the Process Variables as a Function of Interaction Type.

Measure	Unframed (n = 49)	Framed (n = 63)
Support for Collective Action	0.32_a (1.75)	-0.28_b (1.59)
Modern Racism	0.31_a (1.33)	0.22_a (1.42)
Efficacy	0.23_a (0.93)	0.16_a (1.33)
Ingroup Ties	0.55_b (1.23)	0.48_b (1.14)
Centrality	0.38_a (1.42)	-0.08_a (1.31)
Ingroup Affect	0.20_a (1.07)	0.00_a (1.00)
Discussion Consensus	7.52_b (1.17)	6.76_c (1.57)
Discussion Enjoyment	6.51_b (1.69)	6.95_c (1.59)

Note. Means that share a subscript within a row do not differ according to binomial analyses with $p < .05$ (Bonferroni adjusted). Where the subscript is an 'a' this indicates that the means do not differ from baseline.

Framing also had an effect on the process variables. In particular, perceived consensus was higher in the unframed interaction. Thus, although groups who engaged in a framed interaction did perceive their groups as reaching a consensus, the presence of ideological material prior to and during their discussion seems to have attenuated this sense of agreement to some

extent when compared to those participating in the unframed interactions. Conversely, participants in the framed interaction conditions found the discussion more enjoyable than those in the unframed interaction conditions.

Testing the Normative Alignment Model

In order to test the normative alignment model, a correlational analysis was run between the six key dependent measures for each condition. As Table 7.2 illustrates the interconnections between the attitudinal and behavioural variables and the different aspects of identification are moderate to strong, suggesting that the opinion-based group identity is normatively aligned with identity relevant content prior to interaction. In other words, as can be seen in Figure 7.1, the resting state of this identity system is one of generalised connections between the variables.

Table 7.2

Pattern of Intercorrelations between the Key Dependent Measures for Participants in the Non-Interaction Brainstorming Task

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Collective Action	—					
2. Modern Racism	-.549***	—				
3. Efficacy	.607***	-.472***	—			
4. Ingroup Ties	.467***	-.289**	.414***	—		
5. Centrality	.542***	-.234**	.328***	.482***	—	
6. Ingroup Affect	.555***	-.517***	.558***	.526***	.364***	—

Note. ** < .01. *** < .001.
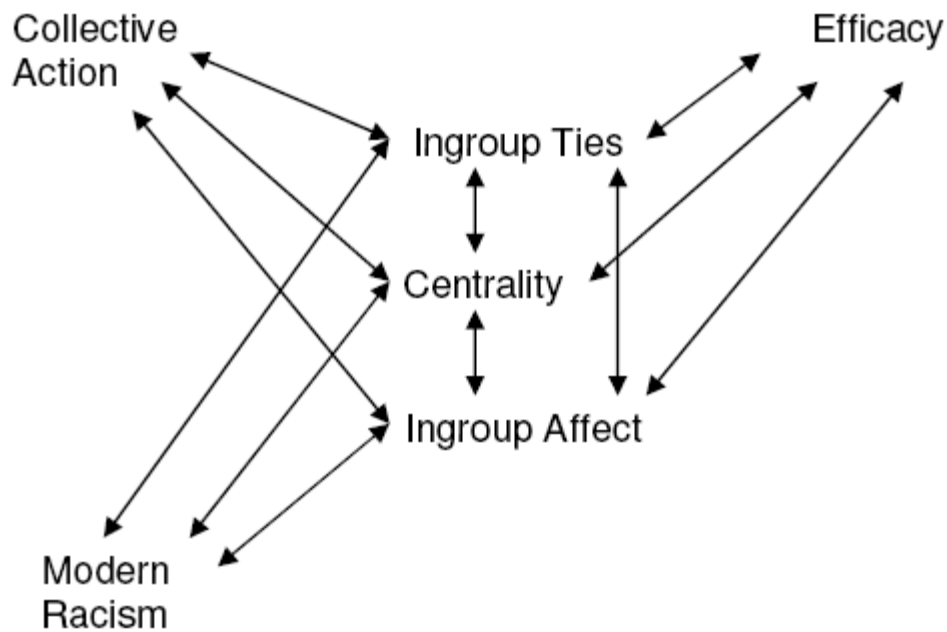
Figure 7.1. Resting state of identity system (with moderate to strong connections shown with solid arrows).

However, following interaction without framing, as shown above the diagonal in Table 7.3, while some interconnections have been strengthened, there are a number of links that have been weakened or in some cases even severed by interaction with fellow group members, and this disconnection has been exacerbated by interaction with a frame, as shown below the diagonal in Table 7.3.

Thus, as Figure 7.2 more clearly illustrates, for group members who participated in either a framed or an unframed interaction, efficacy beliefs and levels of prejudice toward Indigenous Australians have become disconnected from the centrality of group members' identity as supporters whilst the link between prejudice and ingroup ties has also been severed. Perhaps more disturbing, is that in both interaction conditions, feelings of ingroup affect have become disengaged from both ingroup ties and centrality.

Table 7.3

Pattern of Intercorrelations between the Key Dependent Measures for Participants in the Unframed (Above the Diagonal) and Framed (Below the Diagonal) Interaction Tasks (p Values Should be Treated with Caution)

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Collective Action	—	-.325*	.636***	.602***	.485***	.469**
2. Modern Racism	-.283*	—	-.334*	-.042	-.237	-.651***
3. Efficacy	.469***	-.393**	—	.348*	.269	.584***
4. Ingroup Ties	.236	-.012	.306*	—	.445**	.231
5. Centrality	.291*	.035	.079	.384**	—	.174
6. Ingroup Affect	.353**	-.526***	.553***	.119	.141	—

Note. * < .05. ** < .01. *** < .001.
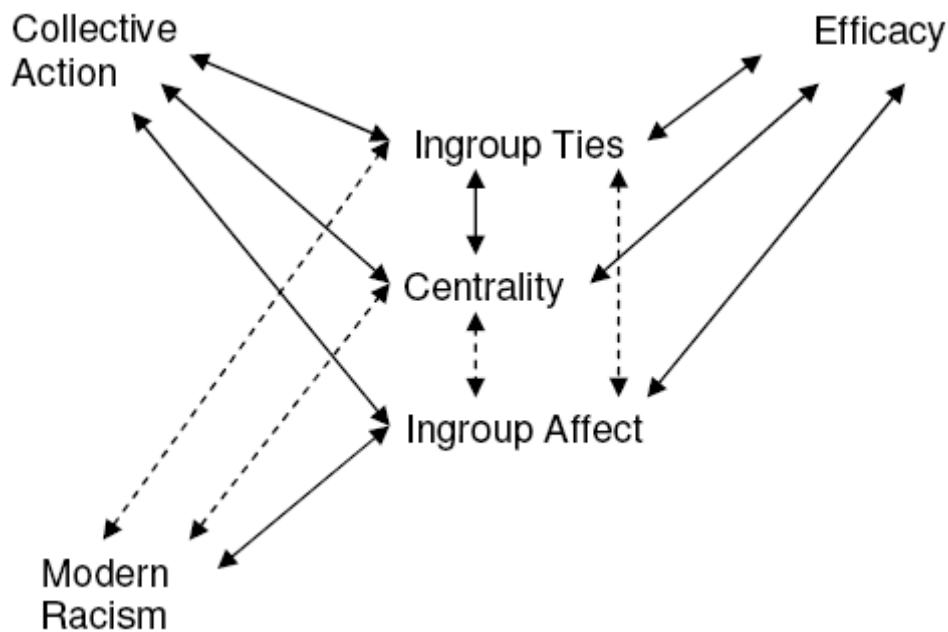
Figure 7.2. Identity system following unframed interaction (solid arrows indicate moderate to strong connections, dotted arrows indicate a severed connection).

In addition, while the connection between ingroup ties and support for collective action has been energised by participation in an unframed interaction

with fellow group members, as Figure 7.3 shows, for those in the framed interaction this link has been severed.
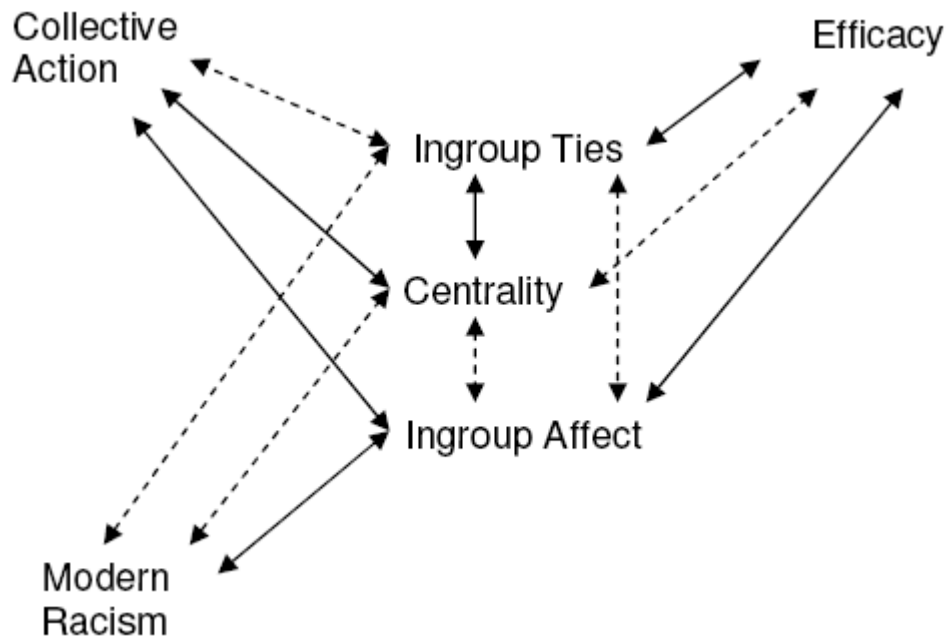

Figure 7.3. Identity system following framed interaction (solid arrows indicate moderate to strong connections, dotted arrows indicate a severed connection).

In order to follow up on these findings a series of linear regressions were run which utilised group members' responses on modern racism, efficacy, and the three identification measures to predict action intentions for each condition. Given the non-independence of these data, statistical inferences from these models should be treated with some caution, however they are nonetheless informative. This analysis revealed that this model could predict 58.3% of the variance in support for collective action among non-interacting participants, $F (5, 132) = 36.84$, $p < .001$, and 62.1% of this variance for those in the unframed interaction condition, $F (5, 41) = 13.42$, $p < .001$. However, for those in the framed interaction conditions, the amount of variance this model could account for fell to 29.4%, $F (5, 56) = 4.67$, $p = .001$.

Discussion

Only in the case of ingroup ties were the changes in the expected direction for group members in the unframed interaction, although they also reported a marginally higher willingness to support collective action compared to the non-interaction control participants. However, while framing the interaction led to a significant decrease in support for action which was also significantly lower than action intentions in the unframed interaction condition, this was combined with an equally strong boost in ingroup ties. In addition, interaction had no effect on prejudice toward Indigenous Australians, efficacy beliefs, centrality or ingroup affect, regardless of whether the planning session was framed or not.

One possible explanation for these variable results lies in the contrary findings on the two possible process measures included in all three studies. In particular, while participants in the framed interaction found their group's discussion significantly more enjoyable than participants in the unframed interactions, participants were more likely to perceive that their group had reached a consensus when the interaction was unframed. However, these results need to be viewed cautiously as all interacting groups, regardless of type of interaction, had high levels of perceived consensus and discussion enjoyment and as such levels of these two process variables may have been sufficiently high to result in positive outcomes. Particularly given that perceived consensus failed to significantly predict any of the key variables of interest.

Another possible explanation is revealed by the analysis of normative alignment which revealed that some aspects of group member's identification as supporters of Reconciliation became decoupled from each other and from the normative attitudinal and behavioural content of that identity. In particular,

ingroup affect became dissociated from ingroup ties and centrality in both interaction conditions possibly due to the suggestion of strategies for achieving Reconciliation which were contentious or arguably in opposition to the aims of this opinion-based group identity.

As discussed in earlier chapters, one possible explanation of the disconnection is that the content of the discussions may have exposed group members to ideas that they would reject. The effect of this may be to ambiguate the situation and lead to doubt about the group identity and what it represents. The group interaction may also serve to concentrate attention on what the group has failed to achieve and may introduce issues relating to the larger societal debate about Reconciliation that have yet to be resolved in this broader political context. Framing the interaction may produce a more extreme form of this problematization of the opinion-based group identity through the introduction of more contentious ideas that are less easily agreed on, particularly if this framing has been imposed rather than agreed upon prior to interaction. The suggestions made by those in the non-interaction conditions are unlikely to pose these same difficulties. Completing the task alone, these participants are not going to be exposed to novel content which may contradict their own ideological understandings of the situation.

However, what remains unclear from these studies is whether certain aspects of identification as a supporter of Reconciliation are useful predictors of normative attitudes and action intentions in this arena and, if identification is not useful, then what other factors may be motivating supporters to act? These issues are explored in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8

How Ideology Shapes the Attitudinal and Behavioural Responses of the

Advantaged to Inequality: Study 4

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from data collected from non-interacting participants on a variety of measures as part of the first three studies combined with some supplemental data collected from an additional, questionnaire only, study that was run. This study was designed primarily to establish the ideological content that is most closely associated with strong support for Reconciliation and thus most likely to be helpful to a successful opinion-based group interaction.

A secondary aim was the exploration of the relationships between key variables of interest to determine whether group-based variables or individual-difference measures are the better predictors of prejudice and willingness to engage in collective action or whether you need a combination of the two.

Also, due to a fortuitous change in government during the first and last two phases of data collection, Study 4 also allowed us to explore some of the implications of that structural change on people's attitudes and support for collective action.

Study 4

An important part of understanding the role of ideology in our proposed extension of the Thomas et al. (2009a) normative alignment model is the particular ideological content which can and will be meaningfully linked to a particular opinion-based group identity. If this ideological content is not meaningfully linked to the social change identity then it is more likely to enervate rather than energise the interconnections between the attitudinal and

behavioural content and that relevant identity. Thus, study 4 was a correlational study designed to explore what ideological content may be associated with a pro-Reconciliation opinion-based group and how this is then linked to outcome measures such as prejudice towards Indigenous Australians and willingness to support collective action on behalf of the Reconciliation movement.

A secondary aim of this study was to explore the relative contribution of the different aspects of identification as an opinion-based group member, specifically ingroup ties, centrality and ingroup affect, as predictors of modern racism and support for collective action compared to more personality-based predictors, such as right-wing authoritarianism. Of interest was whether or not the different aspects of identification predict unique variance beyond that which can be explained by personality-based predictors. Additionally, these aspects of identification may be able to predict significant amounts of variance in certain variables which personality-based measures are unable to predict.

Study 4 will thus help to establish what type of ideologies supporters of Reconciliation may be expected to share. This will help clarify the role of ideology within the normative alignment model proposed by Thomas et al. (2009a) and the relative ease with which this sense of a shared ideology may be undone if participants in the opinion-based group interaction method are not streamed prior to their arrival.

Study 4 also enables us to explore the impact of an unexpected history effect that occurred between the first two phases of data collection and the last two phases that was of particular relevance to the issue of Reconciliation within Australia. Namely, after 11 years under the conservative government of then Prime Minister John Howard and the Liberal Party of Australia, the national election in November, 2007 resulted in a change to the more liberal government

of the current Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and his Australian Labor Party. Among
one of the first parliamentary acts of the new leadership was an apology from
the federal government on behalf of the nation to Indigenous Australians for
past injustices and mistreatment.

In particular, the government apologised for the Stolen Generations,
where a series of government policies endorsed the forcible removal of young
Indigenous Australians from their families and their placement in the care of the
state (Manne, 2005). Policies which were at one time directed toward
"'breed[ing] out' the colour:" (Manne, 2005, p. 241) and for which John Howard
continually refused to apologise on behalf of the nation, although he was willing
to personally apologise and acknowledge that the policies were wrong and that
they continued to have negative consequences for those affected (Manne,
2005).

Howard's initial stance at the 1997 Reconciliation Convention held in
May of that year was that "Australians of this generation should not be required
to accept guilt and blame for past actions and policies over which they had no
control" (Howard, Australian Reconciliation Convention 1997, para. 52). This
position was tempered somewhat in August, of 1999 when he made a motion in
parliament which constituted an expression of regret for these practices of
"past" generations (Augoustinos, LeCouteur, & Soyland, 2002). However, this
parliamentary motion still failed to explicitly apologise for these policies and this
situation was not rectified until Kevin Rudd apologised in Parliament in February
of 2008 on behalf of the nation.

Method

Participants and Design

Initially, 252 participants took part in this correlational study. Given our interest is in what leads advantaged group members to assist disadvantaged group members, 12 participants were removed from the analysis as they either identified themselves as Indigenous Australians ($n = 9$) or did not provide information about their ethnicity ($n = 3$). A further 3 participants were removed as they categorised themselves as non-supporters of Reconciliation. The remaining participants consisted of 237 university students of whom 160 were female and 77 were male. These participants were between the ages of 16 and 59 ($M = 21.13$, $SD = 6.48$).

This research was conducted over a three year period between August, 2006 and June, 2009 and data was predominantly collected from non-interacting participants who provided baseline information as part of a larger study. As such, data from 47 participants was collected as part of Study 1, while data from an additional 48 participants was obtained during Study 2 and a further 99 participants provided data as part of Study 3. The remaining 43 participants completed questionnaires in a separate round of data collection in order to supplement this data.

Materials and Procedure

Self-categorization as a supporter of Reconciliation occurred at the beginning of each questionnaire when participants were asked to tick the box categorizing themselves as either a "supporter" or "non-supporter" of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation (in Study 1) and as a "supporter" or non-supporter" of Reconciliation (in all other studies). Participants were then asked to remember which opinion-based group they identified with and keep that in

mind as they completed the identification measures. These items were placed

beside items which measured identification as a non-supporter to establish an

inter-group context as well as to allow for the possibility that people might

identify themselves as such.

Identification was measured using the three factor model of identification

(α = .84) compiled by Cameron (2004) and used in the three previous

interaction-based studies. The three factors, which each consist of four items,

include ingroup ties (α = .73), centrality (α = .77), and ingroup affect (α = .80).

Three key dependent variables were used in all questionnaires. These

included a five item measure of support for collective action (α = .91) adapted

from Bliuc et al.'s (2007) measure. An example item is: 'I would like to

participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of

Reconciliation'. As Reconciliation is aimed at uniting both Aborigines and Torres

Strait Islanders with non-Indigenous Australians, the 7-item Modern Racism

Scale (α = .81) was used as the key measure of prejudice toward Indigenous

Australians generally. This scale was initially converted from the original

American scale (McConahay et al., 1981) to better reflect the specific Australian

context with the focus of racist attitudes being either Aborigines (Augoustinos et

al., 1994; Pedersen & Walker, 1997) or Indigenous Australians (Heaven & St.

Quintin, 2003). An example item from this scale is: 'Indigenous Australians

should not push themselves in where they are not wanted'.

A 3-item measure of efficacy (α = .73), adapted from that used by van

Zomeren et al. (2004), was included in all questionnaires. An example item is:

'Supporting Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between

Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians'. Two items were included in all

questionnaires to assess participants support for Reconciliation (r = .631$, p <$

.001; e.g. 'Reconciliation should be a collaborative effort involving all Australians') and an additional two items assessed how much they knew and had thought about the issue of Reconciliation prior to their participation ($r = .612$, $p < .001$; e.g. 'How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia'). Included in three of the four questionnaires ($n = 136$) were five items developed by Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kappen (2004) to measure collective guilt acceptance ($α = .86$). An example item is: 'I feel regret for non-Indigenous Australians harmful past actions toward Indigenous Australians'.

Also included in three of the four questionnaires ($n = 189$) were measures of Social Dominance Orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1998, 2004). The 16-item measure of Social Dominance Orientation ($α = .81$) was the counterbalanced, two factor version derived from the original by Jost and Thompson (2000). Example items from the two factors are: 'To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups' (Group Based Dominance; $α = .67$) and 'Group equality is not a worthwhile ideal' (Opposition to Equality; $α = .74$).

The shortened 9-item Right-Wing Authoritarianism ($α = .75$) measure included was that suggested by A. G. Smith and Winter (2002) based on a three factor solution of the original Altemeyer (1988) 30-item measure. Example items include: 'What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path' (Aggression, $α = .78$); 'Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else' (reversed, Conventionalism; $α = .64$); and, 'It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds' (Submission; $α = .54$).

In the last two questionnaires ($n = 142$), eight items were included to assess peoples' support for two different approaches to disadvantage proposed by Wright and Lubensky (2008), namely social cohesion ($\alpha = .57$) and social justice ($\alpha = .48$). An example of each is: 'Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation' (social cohesion) and 'Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation' (social justice).

Demographic information, specifically age, gender and ethnicity, was also requested in all questionnaires. To assess ethnicity participants were asked 'Do you consider yourself to be an Indigenous Australian', those who answered yes were excluded from further analysis. Participants were given the following definition of left and right wing adapted from the definition given by Greenberg and Jonas (2005) and asked to place themselves on a scale anchored with 'extremely left wing' (1) and 'extremely right wing' (9):

> If left wing represents a strong belief in a government-drive economy, communal responsibility and equality, and right wing represents a strong belief in a free-market economy, individual responsibility and equity, where would you place yourself on the following scale

Results

Preliminary Analyses

The means and standard deviations for all of the key measures included in some or all of the questionnaires can be found in Table 8.1 as well as the percentage of participants who scored on or above the scale midpoint (4.50) for each variable. As recruitment was targeted at individuals who were in favour of Reconciliation and those who self-identified as non-supporters were excluded

from further analysis the number of participants scoring high on support for Reconciliation and low on prejudice is expected. Participants were also generally quite strongly identified with their fellow supporters and had low levels of SDO and RWA.

Table 8.1

Descriptive Statistics for the Key Variables

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*%*	*n*
Ingroup Ties	5.16	1.44	75.5	237
Centrality	4.07	1.63	42.6	237
Ingroup Affect	7.32	1.19	99.2	237
Support for Social Cohesion	6.34	1.23	93.0	142
Support for Social Justice	6.10	1.16	93.0	142
Support for Collective Action	6.04	1.83	80.1	237
Efficacy	7.31	1.26	96.6	236
Modern Racism	3.12	1.24	14.8	236
Collective Guilt Acceptance	5.79	1.88	77.2	136
Social Dominance Orientation	2.58	0.96	3.7	188
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	3.17	1.26	14.9	188
Prior Knowledge about Reconciliation	5.09	1.76	67.1	225
Left/Right Wing	5.19	1.94	64.4	236

Given the different wording of the opinion-based group identity between Study 1 and the remaining studies a one way ANOVA was conducted between identification as a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation in Study 1 and identification as a supporter of Reconciliation in Study 2. This analysis did

not include identification as a supporter of Reconciliation in Studies 3 and 4 as

any significant difference may have had more to do with history effects

associated with the government apology to Indigenous Australians than with the

change in opinion-based group identity itself. A planned comparison revealed

no significant difference between level of identification in Study 1 (M = 5.31, SD

= 1.23) and Study 2 (M = 5.39, SD = 1.07), t(233) = 0.313, p = .754, suggesting

that these two opinion-based group identities are comparable and have similar

levels of support within the population sampled.

Analysis of Ideological Content Endorsed by Supporters of Reconciliation

Given the majority of participants were strong supporters of

Reconciliation and as such were highly identified as supporters, more likely to

engage in collective action as well as holding strong beliefs in the efficacy of

any action taken and having more positive attitudes toward Indigenous

Australians, they were split into two groups across these four variables.

Specifically, participants were split into two groups based on the mean for each

variable with one group being made up of those participants scoring below the

mean of the relevant variable (-1) and the second group consisting of those

participants on or above the relevant mean (1). For modern racism, this coding

was then reversed so that, as with the other three variables, a positive coding

indicated more positive attitudes. An average of these four coded variables was

then calculated and based on this value two profiles were created on which a

discriminant analysis could be conducted.

This profile considered only those participants who had an average of -1

(called the negative identity profile) or 1 (positive identity profile). In other words,

this profile only included participants who were above the mean on all four

positively coded variables or below the mean on these four variables. A

discriminant analysis was then conducted to determine which ideological content was able to more clearly differentiate the two groups of this profile and enable the most accurate group classification. The means and standard deviations of the critical variables for the positive and negative aspects of the two profiles analysed can be found in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2

Group Means (and Standard Deviations) for Significant Discriminant Variables for Negative and Positive Identity Profiles

Variables	Negative Identity Profile ($n = 28$)	Positive Identity Profile ($n = 34$)
Social Cohesion	6.10 (1.32)	6.35 (1.26)
Social Justice	5.44 (1.11)	6.73 (1.11)
SDO	3.27 (0.93)	1.97 (0.76)
RWA	3.43 (1.29)	3.03 (1.17)
LRW	5.14 (1.86)	5.51 (2.31)
Classification (% Correct)	92.9	76.5

As a first step all possible ideological variables that were measured in studies three and four, namely social cohesion, social justice, SDO, RWA and LRW, were included. Non-significant variables (i.e. those with equal group means) were excluded and a determination was made as to which combination of the remaining significant variables was best able to accurately classify participants into the positive or negative identity profile group.

The initial analysis revealed that including all variables allowed 83.9% of the original grouped cases ($n = 62$) to be correctly classified. However, neither social cohesion nor LRW had significantly different group means (both Fs < 1)

and were thus removed as discriminating variables. Once removed, social justice, SDO and RWA were still able to accurately discriminate 83.9% of participants into a positive and negative identity group. Removing RWA, which did not significantly differ between the two groups, had no impact on accuracy and as such it was also excluded. Of the two remaining variables, SDO alone was capable of accurately predicting 78.8% of cases compared to the 66.7% of those accurately predicted by Social Justice alone. Excluding Social Justice did, however, improve the relative accuracy in predicting group membership from 89.3% for the negative identity profile and 79.4% for the positive identity profile to 81.1% and 76.7% respectively. Thus it would appear that, of those variables measured, SDO is the more important ideological factor in determining who, among supporters of Reconciliation, is more likely to, on average, be more willing to engage in collective action, believe that action will be effective, hold more positive attitudes toward Indigenous Australians and who will more strongly identify with other supporters of Reconciliation.

Comparative Analyses of Group- and Individual-Level Predictors

A series of hierarchical regressions was conducted with the data from studies 1, 3 and 4 ($n = 189$) to evaluate the relative predictive power of individual-difference variables compared to group-level predictors for the three key dependent variables used in this study. The data collected as a part of Study 2 were excluded from this analysis as SDO and RWA were not measured. Two hierarchical regressions were conducted for each dependent variable to evaluate the added benefit of including individual-difference variables, such as RWA and SDO, over group-level variables, such as aspects of identification with a relevant collective, and vice versa. The following analyses also demonstrate the utility of evaluating the effect of identification at

the subscale level (i.e., ingroup ties, centrality, and ingroup affect) rather than at

a more general level. The pattern of results reported does not change when the

effect, if any, of gender, age and political orientation (LRW) is controlled for.

Table 8.3

Hierarchical Regression Results Comparing Individual- and Group-Level

Variables as Predictors of Support for Collective Action

Predictor	Step 1		Step 2	
	β	*p*	β	*p*
Individual-Level Predictors First				
RWA	-.043	.542	-.069	.258
SDO	-.352	< .001	-.173	.007
Ingroup Ties			.058	.419
Centrality			.356	< .001
Ingroup Affect			.281	< .001
ΔR^2	.133		.291	
Group-Level Predictors First				
Ingroup Ties	.087	.227	.058	.419
Centrality	.321	< .001	.356	< .001
Ingroup Affect	.365	< .001	.281	< .001
RWA			-.069	.258
SDO			-.173	.007
ΔR^2	.392		.032	

As shown in Table 8.3, in the case of support for collective action, neither

RWA nor ingroup ties are significant predictors at Step 2. However, while SDO

is a strong negative predictor accounting for 13.3% of the variance in action

intentions among supporters when included in the model first, centrality and ingroup affect help explain an additional 29.1% of its variance. Of the identification subscales and only at Step 2, centrality is the stronger positive predictor of action intentions although ingroup affect also contributes to the prediction of support for collective action. In the case of support for collective action, the inclusion of the identification subscales reduced the predictive capacity of SDO to a moderate yet still significant predictor.

However, entering the identification subscales first explains 39.2% of the variance, with the individual-difference variables explaining an additional 3.2%. The inclusion of SDO and RWA at step 2 reduces the strength of ingroup affect as a predictor from a strong to moderate one, while revealing slightly more of the predictive capacity of centrality. Thus, our final model explains 42.4% of the variance in support for collective action, $F(5, 180) = 26.47$, $p < .001$.

In the case of efficacy, as shown for Step 2 in Table 8.4, RWA, ingroup ties and centrality are once again non-significant predictors of efficacy among supporters. Additionally, while SDO is a strong negative predictor explaining 19.9% of the variance in perceived efficacy when included first, ingroup affect is also a strong positive predictor which explains a further 22.8% of this variance. Including the identification subscales at step 2, attenuated the predictive capacity of SDO, although, it remained a strong and significant predictor. When included in reverse order, the group-level predictors explain 38.3% of the variance, while SDO explained only a further 4.4% of the variance attenuating the effect of ingroup affect slightly. Thus, our final model explains 42.7% of the variance, $F(5, 180) = 26.87$, $p < .001$, regardless of which level of predictor is included first.

Table 8.4

Hierarchical Regression Results Comparing Individual- and Group-Level

Variables as Predictors of Efficacy

	Step 1		Step 2	
Predictor	β	*P*	B	*p*
Individual-Level Predictors First				
RWA	-.059	.384	-.011	.860
SDO	-.429	< .001	-.232	< .001
Ingroup Ties			.032	.649
Centrality			.088	.189
Ingroup Affect			.465	< .001
ΔR^2	.199		.228	
Group-Level Predictors First				
Ingroup Ties	.072	.321	.032	.649
Centrality	.057	.396	.088	.189
Ingroup Affect	.554	< .001	.465	< .001
RWA			-.011	.860
SDO			-.232	< .001
ΔR^2	.383		.044	

The pattern of results for Modern Racism shown in Table 8.5 reverses

the direction of the relationships and unlike with the previously discussed

variables only centrality has limited to no predictive power for supporters at step

2. For this variable, when added first, both RWA and SDO are significant and

strong positive predictors which explain 29.5% of the variance between them.

The three identification subscales, however, once again provide a significant

contribution to predicting prejudiced attitudes explaining a further 16.1% of the variance. While ingroup affect is a more significant and stronger negative predictor when added second, centrality does provide a marginally significant and moderate contribution to negatively predicting prejudice toward Indigenous Australians.

Table 8.5

Hierarchical Regression Results Comparing Individual- and Group-Level Variables as Predictors of Modern Racism

Predictor	Step 1		Step 2	
	β	*p*	β	*p*
Individual-Level Predictors First				
RWA	.319	< .001	.271	< .001
SDO	.373	< .001	.231	< .001
Ingroup Ties			.100	.152
Centrality			-.115	.079
Ingroup Affect			-.424	< .001
ΔR^2	.295		.161	
Group-Level Predictors First				
Ingroup Ties	.073	.331	.100	.152
Centrality	-.025	.721	-.115	.079
Ingroup Affect	-.600	< .001	-.424	< .001
RWA			.271	< .001
SDO			.231	< .001
ΔR^2	.330		.125	

However, as Table 8.5 shows that, while they remain significant and strong predictors of prejudice, the inclusion of the identification subscales at step 2, reduces the effectiveness of both SDO and RWA. On the other hand, by adding the group-level predictors at step 1, they are able to explain 33% of the variance with the additional contribution of 12.5% explained by the individual-level predictors added at step 2. Adding the individual predictors second attenuates considerably the effectiveness of ingroup affect as a predictor, although it remains significant and strong. Thus, the final model is able to explain 45.6% of the variance in modern racism, $F(5, 180) = 30.14$, $p < .001$, irrespective of which variables are included first.

A separate series of hierarchical regressions were run to assess the impact of the interaction between identification and SDO. This analyses revealed, that only in the case of predicting modern racism were these interaction terms able to add significantly to the prediction of the outcome measure. In particular, the interaction between SDO and ingroup ties was a significant predictor, $t(177) = -2.447$, $p = .015$, while the interaction between ingroup affect and SDO was marginally significant, $t(177) = 1.905$, $p = .058$. Follow up analyses revealed that the interaction between SDO and ingroup ties was the result of an attenuated link between racism and SDO for those with strong ingroup ties. While the significant interaction between ingroup affect and SDO was due to a slightly weaker relationship between prejudice and SDO for those who felt only moderately good about their group membership.

Analyses of Attitude Change Following the Government Apology

In order to assess the impact of the apology on the attitudes of participants it was first necessary to create a new variable which coded all participants from studies 1 and 2 as "before the apology" (-1) and all

participants involved in studies 3 and 4 as "after the apology" (1). The means, standard deviations and sample sizes for each group are shown in Table 8.6.

Table 8.6

Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables Before and After the Apology

Variable	Before the Apology			After the Apology		
	M	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*
Reconciliation Support	7.98	1.37	84	7.77	1.15	141
Modern Racism	3.21	1.35	94	3.06	1.18	140
Support for Collective Action	6.09	1.86	84	6.05	1.82	140
Efficacy	7.19	1.40	84	7.42	1.17	140
Ingroup Ties	5.06	1.29	84	5.30	1.46	141
Centrality	4.08	1.63	84	4.11	1.63	141
Ingroup Affect	7.12	1.16	84	7.47	1.17	141
Collective Guilt Acceptance	5.54	1.81	84	6.52	1.79	40
Age	21.67	6.47	84	21.14	6.73	141
Gender	0.29	0.96	84	0.40	0.92	141
SDO	2.79	0.88	36	2.47	0.94	140
RWA	3.38	1.63	35	3.12	1.17	141
LRW	4.81	1.88	84	5.42	1.94	141
Prior Knowledge About Reconciliation	4.57	1.76	84	5.40	1.70	141

Note. Gender has been coded as follows: Female (1), Male (-1).

As Table 8.6 shows, there were some notable changes in attitudes following the government's apology. Despite a slight drop in support for

Reconciliation participants showed a general improvement in their level of Identification as a supporter, willingness to participate in collective action, efficacy and collective guilt following the apology. There was also a trend in the sample to less negative attitudes toward Indigenous Australians, less support for social hierarchies and less endorsement of right-wing authoritarian beliefs. Although the demographic makeup of the two samples was quite similar, there was a trend toward higher support for right-wing economic policies and greater knowledge about Reconciliation.

One-way ANOVAs were run on all variables with Apology as the only independent variable. Of most concern, were the significant differences found on LRW, $F(5, 180) = 30.14$, $p < .001$, and prior knowledge about Reconciliation, $F(5, 180) = 30.14$, $p < .001$. As such, to rule out the possibility that any significant differences arising from the apology were the result of a more economically right-wing sample that possessed more background knowledge about Reconciliation, these two variables were first controlled for before evaluating the effectiveness of the apology in changing people's attitudes about Indigenous Australians and their support for Reconciliation.

A series of hierarchical regressions were conducted in which LRW and prior knowledge about Reconciliation were included at step 1 before apology was added at step 2. A summary of the relevant results can be found in Table 8.7. As can be seen from this table, the apology had no effect on any aspect of participants' level of identification as a supporter, their prejudice toward Indigenous Australians, support for collective action or their sense of efficacy, once the effect of the other two variables had been controlled for. The apology did, however, decrease participant's support for Reconciliation and led to a marginal increase in non-Indigenous Australians' acceptance of collective guilt.

Table 8.7

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses of the Impact of the Government Apology (Step 2) on key dependent variables after controlling for LRW and Prior Knowledge of Reconciliation (Entered at Step 1)

Dependent Variable	Step 1		Step 2 (Effect of Apology)		
	ΔR^2	p	ΔR^2	$\beta_{Apology}$	p
Reconciliation Support	.130	< .001	.027	-.170	.009
Modern Racism	.221	< .001	.000	.000	.995
Support for Collective Action	.155	< .001	.006	-.081	.210
Efficacy	.055	.002	.001	.038	.578
Ingroup Ties	.073	< .001	.000	.017	.801
Centrality	.119	< .001	.004	-.067	.309
Ingroup Affect	.155	< .001	.005	.071	.273
Collective Guilt Acceptance	.075	.009	.025	.179	.073

Discussion

Our exploratory analyses revealed a number of interesting findings. In terms of ideological content (and prediction of outcomes) among supporters, an individual's social dominance orientation was found to be crucial to their approach to the issue of Reconciliation. However, in terms of those who were moderate to strong supporters of Reconciliation, the strength of their endorsement of certain social justice ideas was also important. Identification as a supporter, particularly one's feelings about their group membership, was also found to be critical in predicting outcomes such as support for Reconciliation, action intentions, efficacy, and prejudice toward Indigenous Australians. There was also some indication that the Federal Government's apology to Indigenous

Australians lowered support for Reconciliation while increasing non-Indigenous Australians' acceptance of collective guilt.

The discriminant analysis clearly revealed the role of social dominance orientation in differentiating moderate to strong supporters of Reconciliation from those who are more weakly committed to this cause. By dividing participants in terms of their level of support for collective action, efficacy beliefs, the strength of their identification as supporters and the weakness of their negative attitudes toward Indigenous Australians it was possible to identify a cluster of ideological beliefs that map onto this positive orientation toward overcoming the disadvantage of minority groups. Thus, low social dominance orientation appeared to suffice in accurately differentiating very strong from very weak supporters, despite the fact that the majority of participants who took part in this research were already below the midpoint on this scale. Suggesting that, in line with findings from research conducted by Louis, Mavor and Terry (2003), the greatest predictive capacity of SDO may come from the tail ends of its distribution rather than over its entire range.

As a consequence, the greatest potential for shifting participants from weak to strong supporters who are more likely to engage in collective action on behalf of their group may lie with a focus on further undermining people's already low levels of SDO. While SDO at the higher extremes may be difficult to change, as unlikely as making a member of the Ku Klux Klan more accepting of minorities, shifting someone who is already low in SDO even lower is more likely to be successful. Thus, for supporters of this cause who at least categorically, if not psychologically, belong to the majority population of Australia it would appear that a low social dominance orientation is the key to a

positive approach to overcoming the disadvantage of minority group members and a more active role in challenging their discrimination in society.

In terms of the findings related to the accurate prediction of the outcome measures included in these studies, the inclusion of group-level variables added considerably to the explanatory power of any model, over and above that afforded by individual-difference variables alone. Hierarchical regressions revealed that while SDO was far more versatile a predictor than RWA, being able to significantly predict support for Reconciliation, action intentions and efficacy as well as prejudice towards Indigenous Australians, identification as a supporter significantly improved the amount of variance that could be explained for each of these variables. More specifically, it was the feelings individual's held about their group membership that was the most crucial aspect of identification in predicting support for Reconciliation, collective action intentions, efficacy and prejudice. Although the centrality of that identity became more important to predicting support for collective action once the effects of RWA and SDO were accounted for. In addition, the link between SDO and racism was influenced by aspects of group members' identification, namely their sense of connection to the group and their feelings about their group membership. Thus, enhancing these aspects of identification, particularly ingroup ties, may reduce the impact of people's social dominance orientation on their levels of prejudice.

An interesting aspect of the comparative utility of group- and individual-level predictors was that the order of their inclusion in the model had more bearing on the influence of the individual-level predictors than the group-level ones. More precisely, the range of the variance that could be explained by the group-level predictors when included first was 27.5% to 39.2% which fell to

16.1% to 29.1% when these variables were added second. For the individual-level predictors the picture was far more problematic.

Although both types of predictor lost between 10% and 17% of their explanatory power when added to each model second, this loss had a far greater impact on the ability of the individual-level predictors to explain the variance in the outcome measures. Specifically, when added first, the individual-level variables were able to explain between 12.1% and 29.5% of the total variance in each outcome variable. When added second, however, for three of these outcomes, the explanatory power of the individual-difference predictors dropped to less than 5% of the total variance explained. Only in the case of prejudice were these variables capable of explaining more, although the amount explained was still only 12.5% of the total. Thus, it would seem that while measuring both individual- and group-level variables are important in accurately predicting support for Reconciliation, action intentions, efficacy and prejudice among supporters, the order of their inclusion has a far more detrimental impact on the explanatory power of the individual-level predictors.

The results from this study were also useful in allowing us to explore the possible impact a government apology for past mistreatment of its Indigenous people might have on the attitudes of the majority, non-Indigenous population. While the results of this analysis need to be viewed with some caution, given differences between the two samples on support for right-wing versus left-wing economic policies and knowledge about Reconciliation, they do suggest some interesting effects. The first was a slight, albeit significant, drop in general support for Reconciliation. One possible explanation for this is that, given an apology has now been made many non-Indigenous Australians may feel that this is all that is required for Reconciliation to be achieved. However, given

support was still above the mid-point of the scale following the apology this seems unlikely. Unfortunately, however, the apology does not appear to have had a positive impact in terms of reinvigorating the Reconciliation movement either. Another side effect of the apology was an increase in non-Indigenous Australians acceptance of collective guilt. This result, though, is not as surprising given that an apology on behalf of non-Indigenous Australians is likely to signal that, as a group, they have something to apologise for and consequently something to feel guilty about.

Chapter 9

Ideology is a Double-Edged Sword – The Role of Ideology in Boosting or

Undermining Support for Collective Action to Achieve Positive Social

Change: General Discussion and Conclusions

Review of Main Question and Summary of Literature Reviews

This thesis is focused on answering the question of *whether or not ideological beliefs about inequality and understandings of the intergroup context within which that inequality occurs work to promote or impede support for collective action aimed at bringing an end to that inequality*. Central to this endeavour is the determination of how ideological beliefs and understandings may be related to aspects of a person's level of identification with particular groups and their willingness to then engage in action in support of these groups' aims.

The initial search for answers to this thesis began with a review of the collective action and prejudice reduction literature with a focus on delineating the place of ideology within the various individual-difference and group-level theories which have been advanced to explain prejudice, social change and support for collective action. This review was aimed at establishing that whilst ideology has oft been given a theoretical place, this role has tended to remain theoretical and the focus has tended to be on disadvantaged group members responses to prejudice and inequality.

The review of the individual-difference theories suggested that the formulation of right-wing authoritarianism proposed by Altemeyer (1981) was particularly useful for predicting levels of prejudice among advantaged group members. Specifically, those people with higher levels of right-wing authoritarianism were also likely to hold the most prejudicial attitudes toward

minority group members. A second individual-difference variable that emerged out of Sidanius and Pratto's (1999; see also Pratto et al., 1994) social dominance theory was a measure of social dominance orientation which evaluates the degree to which people believe that group-based hierarchies are natural and indicative of the existence of superior groups which should dominate inferior groups within society. In this case, people with higher levels of social dominance orientation were not only more likely to hold negative attitudes toward these "inferior" group members but also were more inclined to support the status quo and resist social change. Between them, these two ideological measures were found to account for half the variance in negative attitudes toward minority groups (Altememyer, 1998) and were consequently deemed to be of most interest to the current thesis.

Of the group-level theories explicated, those focusing on identification with the most relevant collective were determined to be of most use to explaining when people were likely to hold negative attitudes toward disadvantaged group members and disinclined to support collective action efforts aimed at bringing about positive social change. Work by Simon and colleagues (Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Stürmer, 2003; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Stürmer et al., 2008) suggested that it was identification with a social movement or politicized identity which was of most relevance to predicting when members of a disadvantaged group would collectively protest their own disadvantage.

However, this focus on the politicization of a disadvantaged group identity does not help to resolve the issue of when an advantaged group member will act to overcome a system of inequality and end their own advantage. Research by McGarty and colleagues (Bliuc et al., 2007; Gee et al.,

2007; McGarty et al., 2009; Musgrove & McGarty, 2008; O'Brien & McGarty, 2009; Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas et al., 2009a, 2009b) into opinion-based group memberships provides one solution to this problem. Opinion-based groups are psychologically meaningful groups formed around a shared opinion. These groups, as with any social identity, have attitudinal and behavioural consequences for those whom identify with such a group when that identity is salient.

This work has led to the development of the opinion-based group interaction method (Gee et al., 2007; Thomas & McGarty, 2009) which allows for the interactive formation of normative content for the opinion-based group identity that participants' self-categorize themselves into prior to discussion with other group members. More specifically, the opinion-based group interaction method enables people's attitudinal and behavioural responses to coalesce around the normative position of their opinion-based group membership through involvement in a planning session with other group members. Research in the domain of mental health advocacy (Gee et al., 2007) and international development (Thomas & McGarty, 2009) has demonstrated the effectiveness of this method in promoting identification with the opinion-based group and willingness to engage in collective action to achieve the aims of that group. Thomas et al. (2009a) proposed the normative alignment model to account for these effects, arguing that it was when engagement in the opinion-based group interaction method led to strong, systemic interconnections between normative content and a relevant identity that it would lead to the formation of sustainable social change identities. Thus, this research suggests a relevant social identity and plausible method within which to test the links between ideology, social identity and support for social change.

This review of the group-level theories also provided direction for the empirical studies by indicating which ideological variables might be open to manipulation and how such manipulations might then impact upon people's attitudes and behavioural responses to inequality. Thus, an overview of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) indicated that three factors were most relevant to determining when disadvantaged group members would challenge intergroup inequality: (a) the permeability of intergroup boundaries and the (b) legitimacy and (c) stability of intergroup disadvantage. More specifically, when low status group members are unable to move into the high status group or the intergroup inequality is unstable or illegitimate then disadvantaged group members will be more likely to act collectively to overcome their unequal status. Thus, the impact of the manipulation of a subset of these variables on the willingness of advantaged group members to act collectively to end their own advantaged seemed worthy of empirical exploration within this thesis.

Following on from this review of the literature to establish which ideological beliefs and understandings might be relevant to this thesis, Chapter 3 presents an argument for refining and extending Thomas et al.'s (2009a) normative alignment model to incorporate a more nuanced role for identification and a possible place for ideology within this model. In this Chapter, I argue that a number of factors need to be present within an opinion-based group interaction in order for that interaction to more closely tie the different aspects of identification as an opinion-based group member with normative behavioural responses in line with that group membership.

In this Chapter, I also argue that beyond boosting opinion-based group members' collective action intentions, the opinion-based group interaction

method can also act as a laboratory analogue for the study of larger societal processes. As such, this method provides an effective technique for the investigation of uncontrollable macro-level processes in a more controlled micro-level laboratory environment. Consequently, the opinion-based group interaction method is a plausible tool for exploring the role of ideology in governing support for or resistance to both positive and negative social change.

I then provided an outline of how this thesis would utilise the opinion-based group interaction method to investigate empirically the role of ideology posited in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. By situating this exploration within the intergroup conflict between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians and focusing on support for Reconciliation as a means of achieving positive social change within Australia it was possible to provide a strong test of the role of ideology in helping and hindering support for collective action in the context of an ongoing social change movement.

Summary of Empirical Results

The empirical exploration of the role of ideology in promoting or undermining support for collective action among advantaged group members began with experimenter imposed ideologically informed understandings of the intergroup conflict and how best to achieve Reconciliation. In the first study reported in Chapter 5, I manipulated the participants' beliefs about the stability of Indigenous disadvantage whilst holding the illegitimacy of that disadvantage constant and avoiding mention of the impermeability of the intergroup boundary. The reason for the focus of this study being on the impact of the stability or instability of Indigenous disadvantage on support for social change among non-Indigenous Australians was due to the fact that this was the only aspect of this intergroup conflict which could be believably manipulated. Given the

circumstances of Indigenous Australians' lives within Australia, as discussed in Chapter 4, it is very difficult to suggest that their disadvantage is in any way legitimate. Also, given the nature of the group boundaries in Australia, it is difficult for Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians to move between the categories by choice.

This first study revealed that imposing an ideological framing of the stability or instability of Indigenous disadvantage seemed to undermine the effects of group-based interaction that were found in the unframed conditions, at least in the short term. Thus, from this initial investigation imposing ideology appeared to interfere with group members' ability to form identities based around active support for social change.

In my second study (reported in Chapter 5), the ideological content was once again imposed on participants. However, in contrast to the first study this content was related to ideological understandings about where the path to Reconciliation should begin. More specifically, the manipulation related to whether or not an apology from the federal government on behalf of the people of Australia was a necessary first step on the road to Reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. This study did not result in the previously observed boost in action intentions and identification among non-Indigenous supporters who engaged in the planning session in the absence of ideological content and is thus more difficult to interpret. However, those who engaged in the framed interaction, although not more strongly in favour of action, did show heightened levels of ingroup ties and a stronger sense of efficacy. These results when combined with those from Study 1, do suggest that imposing ideology-based understandings of an intergroup disadvantage and

how best to resolve it can lead to dissensus among group members thus interfering with the development of a coherent, normatively aligned identity.

As such, Study 3 took a different approach to manipulating the ideological content of the non-Indigenous supporters' planning session. As reported in Chapter 6, rather than imposing an ideological understanding on participants, people were given a choice between two ideologically opposed approaches to Reconciliation, namely a social justice approach and a social cohesion approach. Following a description of what each approach entailed, participants selected between different aspects of each approach and were placed into a social justice framed planning or brainstorming session or a social cohesion framed planning or brainstorming session accordingly. As a consequence, participants self-selected their own manipulation effectively eliminating issues of reactance that may have arisen in the first two studies among participants who did not share the particular ideological understandings of the issue that they were exposed to.

Although the interactive development of support for social change was found to be heightened in the social justice planning session this result needs to be viewed cautiously due to limited sample size in this condition. Despite this, the results from this study do suggest some interesting outcomes regarding the role of ideology in this process. In the absence of ideological content, interaction with other non-Indigenous supporters of Reconciliation produced positive shifts in one aspect of identification as a supporter, namely centrality, as well as a non-significant boost in willingness to engage in collective action. However, where the ideological content was focused on a social cohesion approach to Reconciliation the results suggested that such an ideology was a hindrance to the interactive development of support for social change. In fact, for non-

Indigenous supporters who engaged in a planning session with a social cohesion frame, although this also resulted in a non-significant boost in ingroup ties, their identity was tied to weaker action intentions. Thus, it would appear that the role ideology plays in helping or hindering the interactive development of support for social change depends greatly on whether or not social change, or in deed collective action, is normative for that ideological understanding. Where it is not normative, then interaction will only serve to enervate the link between the opinion-based group identity and support for collective action.

In Chapter 7, I presented an analysis and review of the aggregated data from the interaction studies in which the role of ideology was simplified to present or absent from the planning session and comparisons were based on the amount of change in the outcome variables compared to results obtained from the non-interacting participants from each study. From this analysis, the role ideology plays in the interactive development of support for social change tends toward the problematic. Thus, while interaction appears to strengthen group members' sense of connection to their group, ideology appears to be much more likely to interfere with the development of an opinion-based group identity centred on norms endorsing collective action to achieve Reconciliation.

This was confirmed by the test of the normative alignment model, which indicated that interaction led to a severing of the connections between aspects of identification as an opinion-based group member and its associated attitudinal and behavioural norms. This disconnection was further exacerbated by framing providing some support for the role of ideology in weakening the links between an identity and its related normative content. Thus, it would appear that for highly contested and controversial issues, interaction may expose group members to content which challenges their sense of identity as

supporters of social change and consequently undermines the coherence of the normatively aligned system of attitudes and behavioural intentions which is necessary for the formation of sustainable social change identities.

Given the variable role of ideological content across the three studies and the more promising indicators provided by the social justice framed interaction condition from Study 3, a correlational study was run in which the role of specific ideological variables in promoting a willingness to engage in collective action to achieve social change could be explored. As reported in Chapter 8, Study 4 suggests that identification as a supporter of Reconciliation is central to explaining non-Indigenous Australians willingness to engage in collective action as well as their attitudes toward Indigenous Australians and their belief in the effectiveness of their involvement in the Reconciliation movement. However, this analysis also reveals that both right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, as suggested by the literature review reported in Chapter 2, are also pivotal in explaining non-Indigenous supporters' attitudes toward Indigenous Australians. Perhaps of greater interest is the finding that social dominance orientation is also capable of further differentiating which non-Indigenous supporters are more likely to act collectively to achieve Reconciliation as well as which are more likely to believe that their actions will be effective in achieving the aims of the Reconciliation movement.

Indeed when we consider the issue of ideological dissensus within interacting groups we need to consider that the group members (nominal supporters of Reconciliation) contained a reasonable spread of levels of SDO and RWA. When we remember that these variables were negatively connected to commitment to social change then it is easy to imagine that the attitudes that

co-occur with these orientations would have been very problematic for groups attempting to agree on actual changes. We cannot prove, for example, that the participant in Study 2 who advocated the road to Reconciliation be paved with efforts to teach Indigenous Australians to be "pragmatic" about expecting an apology was high in SDO but we can assume that other members of the group who held such an ideological orientation would be likely to be receptive to such an argument and those who did not would reject it.

This analysis provided further clues for untangling the variable results from the interaction studies. Specifically, Study 4 found that the one aspect of identification that was most relevant to predicting normative attitudinal responses was ingroup affect, which when coupled with centrality, was also most useful in predicting action intentions. However, as the aggregate analysis reported in Chapter 7 illustrated, interaction boosted members' sense of connection to the group regardless of framing but had a much more variable impact on the other two aspects of identification as well as on the other normative content. This implies that in the domain of support for Reconciliation, the opinion-based group interaction method may have had more variable results due to its failure in boosting those aspects of identification that are of most relevance to motivating normative attitudinal and behavioural responses among supporters of Reconciliation.

Implications and Future Directions

Implications for the Normative Alignment Model and Action Intentions

The role of ideology within Thomas et al.'s (2009a) normative alignment model that was posited in Chapter 3 and is shown in Figure 9.1, received some empirical support from the research reported in this thesis. Based on the results of Study 3, it is possible to see some, albeit tentative, evidence for the positive

affect of consensus around a social justice ideology. Specifically, this ideology did appear to energise the interconnections within the opinion-based group identity. However, Study 3 did provide much stronger evidence for the converse, enervating role of ideology within this model, demonstrating that where this consensus is achieved around a social cohesion ideology then interaction is likely to undermine this normative alignment.
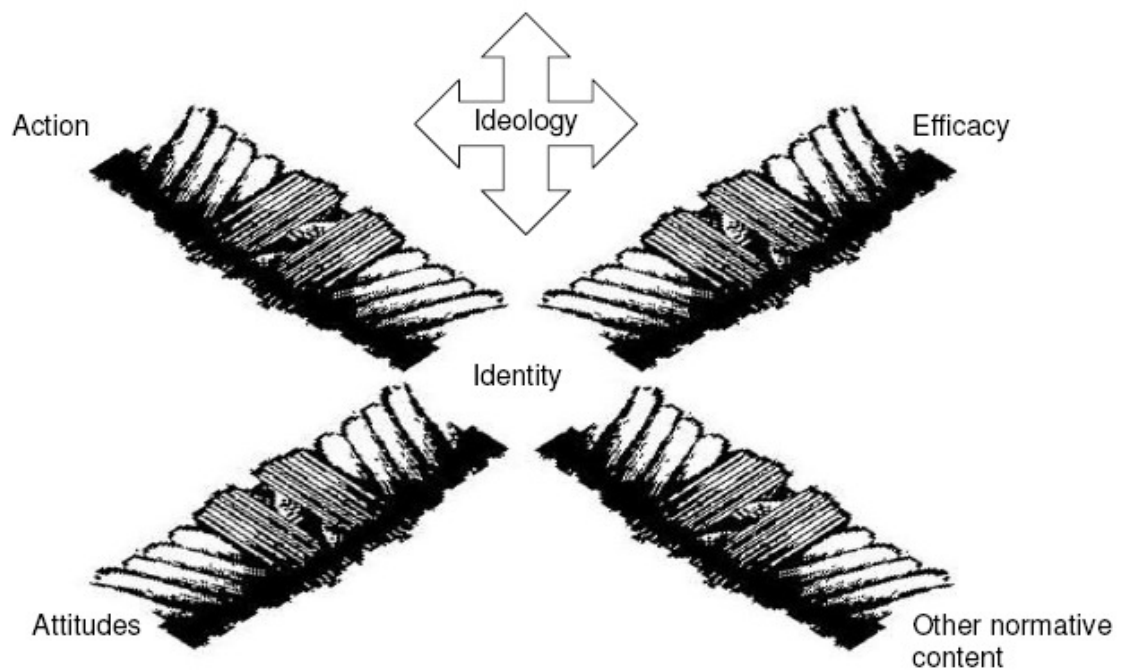

Figure 9.1. Extended normative alignment model.

Similarly, the results from the first two studies suggest that certain ideology-based beliefs and understandings about the intergroup context can lead to dissensus which may also result in a breakdown of the normative alignment necessary to the success of the opinion-based group interaction method in creating sustainable social change identities. This was confirmed by the test of the normative alignment model in Chapter 7, which suggested that for highly contentious issues, such as Reconciliation within Australia, group discussion may do more harm than good and can result in a decoupling of the

normative alignment which may exist within the resting system of this social change identity.

The findings from this thesis also suggest that ideological variables, particularly social dominance orientation, can help to improve predictions about just who will and who will not engage in collective action to bring about social change among those who believe that that change is necessary. As such, future research into collective action may need to begin to incorporate ideological variables into current theoretical models.

The results also suggest the importance of group discussion in dissensualization which is shown here to be at least as likely as consensualization in this context. We cannot know whether this is an outcome of the specific and broader dissensus within Australian society that is papered over under the heading Reconciliation but includes a range of ideologies and political positions. I suspect there are many other issues for which similar perceived consensuses are also paper thin, or where real differences of opinion only become apparent where these are exposed by discussion and argumentation, I anticipate that a deeper understanding of these processes will probably require a closer consideration and observation of the form and content of the discussion and arguments (perhaps adding discursive methodologies).

Implications for Identity Formation

The findings in relation to the differential impact of the opinion-based group interaction method upon the three Cameron (2004) factors of identification lends support to the further specification of the normative alignment proposed in Chapter 3. More importantly, it suggests that nuances in the data may be overlooked if we rely on changes in overall identification as a measure of success. More specifically, we would have missed the fact that this

seemingly unidimensional construct became much more multidimensional with one factor becoming detached from the others following interaction. Based on the recent work by Leach et al. (2008) on a multidimensional, hierarchically organized construct that includes both self-definition and self-investment, it seems prudent to refine this specification further to include the five factors suggested by Leach and colleagues. Thus, the rope analogy can be extended to include the five strands which make up the self-definition and self-investment aspects of identification that they include in their model of identification.

Insofar as the Cameron (2004) three-factor model corresponds with the components of self-investment as formulated by Leach et al. (2008) and that the opinion-based group interaction method has been shown to boost identification as measured by the Cameron scale (e.g., Gee et al, 2007; Thomas & McGarty, 2009), then it would appear that this method allows for the formation and crystallisation of self-investment in an identity as opposed to self-definition. Although self-definition as a group member may also be affirmed by the opinion-based group interaction method our focus is on how it may influence aspects of self-investment, as work outlined below within the minimal group paradigm and self-categorization theory already provides an explanation of how self-definitional aspects may form.

The minimal group paradigm involves the arbitrary assignment of participants into two non-overlapping groups following which they engage in some form of independent resource allocation task (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Research consistently shows that people tend to allocate more resources to members of their own group (i.e., the ingroup) than to members of the other group (i.e., the outgroup), despite having no contact with the other people in their group or any notion of who they are (Stroebe, Spears, & Lodewijkx, 2007).

Although this is by no means a universal behaviour among all participants (Stroebe et al., 2007), what does appear to be important to generating this effect is that one comes to see oneself as a member of that arbitrarily defined group (Turner, 1988). In other words, one needs to accept the self-definition as a group member before that identity will have implications for one's behaviour and this can occur in the absence of interaction with other group members. This idea has been more formally stated in self-categorisation theory in which the formation of self-definition as a group member is clearly explicated as being a function of accessibility and normative and comparative fit (Turner et al., 1987).

The interactive model of identity formation proposed by Postmes, Haslam et al. (2005), although not broken down in this way, can be seen as a means by which both dimensions of identity defined by Leach et al. (2008) form through interaction. Specifically, it suggests that both the self-definitional and self-investment aspects of identity are formed through an iterative and interactive process of engagement with an identity and negotiation between you and the people with whom you share an identity. More specifically, it would appear that interaction with other group members may be a crucial ingredient in the formation of the self-investment aspects of social identity rather than the self-definitional aspects.

It is also likely that social interaction contributes to those factors associated with the self-definition dimension of Leach et al.'s (2008) model but I would expect that the effects would be gradual and highly dependent on the specific content of information provided or perceived during the interaction. If the specific content of the interaction created impressions that there was high diversity in a group on critical issues then this might undermine perceived homogeneity. Similarly, powerful negation of ascribed self-categorization (along

the lines of "You're not one of us") or interaction with people very different to oneself might also undermine individual self-stereotyping. As such the opinion-based group interaction method provides a useful testing ground to more fully explore the formation of self-investment in a social identity.

Limitations

As mentioned previously, the critical limitations of the current thesis revolve around issues relating to group-based research and sample size. In particular, the non-independence of this data and the limited sample sizes obtained make it difficult to draw strong conclusions from these findings, particularly in relation to the positive aspects of ideology in energising a normatively aligned system of attitudes and beliefs around a relevant social change identity.

It is also worth noting that the group discussions that I implemented, and which appeared to be undermined by the framings that I imposed or encouraged them to access were of a very short duration. Participants were asked to address vexed issues that are seen to be intractable by many and occur in many other countries. The social issues that I asked my participants to develop solutions to are those that many great thinkers and political leaders have sought to solve. It is not surprising that participants had difficulty in resolving these and that so many of the discussions backfired when they were made even more complex. Arguably a level of normative alignment that was conducive to social change action was already in place ("not broken") before the ideologically framed interaction was implemented to "fix" it. One thing we do not know is whether participants who had a longer time or access to more external information to work through potential dissensus with would have been able to resolve these arguments. After all, the Australian Parliament took 11 years from

the release of the report on the Stolen Generations to deliver an apology (while ruling out financial reparation). My participants had 30 minutes to comer much the same territory.

Thus, although there is good evidence from this research that ideological dissensus can lead to an enervation of these interconnections we would be wrong to rule out the benefits of genuine pro-change consensus. It is easy to imagine that ideologically framed consensus around an ideology that is in favour of social change would lead to a strengthening of this normatively aligned system and result in a more sustainable social change identity. I would reiterate that such alignments might be easier to facilitate in other social settings and on other issues.

Conclusion

Support for collective action to bring about social change appears to arise from a complex interaction between competing ideological beliefs and understandings, which can have an energising or enervating effect on the interconnected system of attitudes and action intentions that interactively form and crystallise around a relevant social identity. As such, the findings from this thesis suggest that ideology is a double-edged sword, while it can more strongly tie an identity to relevant normative attitudes and behaviours, it can also cause interference and lead to a severance of the interconnections deemed necessary for the formation of sustainable social change identities. The exact impact of this ideology, and whether its effects are additive or multiplicative when energising these connections, for example, will depend not only upon the identity system but also upon the nature of the ideology itself.

So, returning to the scene from *The Life of Brian* from which I drew the opening quote in Chapter 1 of this thesis that, if anything, reinforces the point,

that when groups are confronted with pressing social issues there is a time for

discussion: just not all the time.

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Appendix A

Information Sheets, Consent Forms and Recruitment Flyer

Study 1

Study on Social and Political Issues Information Sheet

This research is concerned with changing attitudes about Reconciliation within the community. The research may involve participating in a small group discussion, where the focus of discussions would be on the development of ideas for promoting greater efforts at Reconciliation in the broader community, as well as completion of a number of questionnaires. The study will take approximately one hour to complete.

The information obtained in the study will be stored and secured at the School of Psychology at the Australian National University.

Thank you for your cooperation.

If you have any questions about this research please contact:

Caroline Blink	Dr. Craig McGarty
School of Psychology	Head, School of Psychology
The Australian National University	The Australian National University
ACT 0200	ACT 0200
Email: u3094164@anu.edu.au	Tel: (02) 6125 3094
	Fax: (02) 6125 0499
	Email: Craig.McGarty@anu.edu.au

If you have any ethical concerns about the research please contact:

Human Ethics Officer
Research Services Office
The Australian National University
ACT 0200
Tel: (02) 6125 2900
Fax: (02) 6125 4807
Email:
Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

You may keep this information sheet for reference.

Study on Social and Political Issues Consent Form

This research is concerned with changing attitudes about Reconciliation within the community. The research may involve participating in a small group discussion, where the focus of discussions would be on the development of ideas for promoting greater efforts at Reconciliation in the broader community, as well as completion of a number of questionnaires. The study will take approximately one hour to complete.

The information obtained in the study will be stored and secured at the School of Psychology at the Australian National University.

I,_____, give my consent to participate in this
            please print name
research, on the understanding that I am free to stop participating at any time

for any reason at all.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

If you have any questions about this research please contact:

Caroline Blink
School of Psychology
The Australian National University
ACT 0200
Email: u3094164@anu.edu.au

Dr. Craig McGarty
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If you have any ethical concerns about the research please contact:

Human Ethics Officer
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The Australian National University
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Studies 2 and 3

Study on Social and Political Issues Information Sheet

This research is concerned with changing attitudes about Reconciliation within the community. The research may involve participating in a small group discussion, where the focus of discussions would be on the development of ideas for promoting greater efforts at Reconciliation in the broader community, as well as completion of a number of questionnaires. The study will take approximately one hour to complete.

The information obtained in the study will be stored and secured at the School of Psychology at the Australian National University.

Thank you for your cooperation.

If you have any questions about this research please contact:

Caroline Blink   Professor Craig McGarty
School of Psychology   School of Psychology
The Australian National University   Murdoch University
ACT 0200   South Street
Email: Caroline.Blink@anu.edu.au   MURDOCH, WA, 6150
                                                             Tel: + 61 (08) 9360 7616
                                                             Fax: + 61 (08) 9360 7615
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If you have any ethical concerns about the research please contact:
Human Ethics Officer
Research Services Office
The Australian National University
ACT 0200
Tel: (02) 6125 2900
Fax: (02) 6125 4807
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

You may keep this information sheet for reference.

Study on Social and Political Issues Consent Form

This research is concerned with changing attitudes about Reconciliation within the community. The research may involve participating in a small group discussion, where the focus of discussions would be on the development of ideas for promoting greater efforts at Reconciliation in the broader community, as well as completion of a number of questionnaires. The study will take approximately one hour to complete.

The information obtained in the study will be stored and secured at the School of Psychology at the Australian National University.

I,_____, give my consent to participate in this
                please print name
research, on the understanding that I am free to stop participating at any time

for any reason at all.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

If you have any questions about this research please contact:

Caroline Blink   Professor Craig McGarty
School of Psychology   School of Psychology
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                                        Tel: + 61 (08) 9360 7616
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If you have any ethical concerns about the research please contact:
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Fax: (02) 6125 4807
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

Study 4

Study on Social and Political Issues Information Sheet

This research is concerned with changing attitudes about Reconciliation within the community. The research involves filling out a questionnaire.

The information obtained in the study will be stored and secured at the School of Psychology at the Australian National University.

Thank you for your cooperation.

You may keep this information sheet for reference and if you have any questions about this research please contact:

Caroline Blink   Dr Ken Mavor
School of Psychology   School of Psychology
The Australian National University   The Australian National University
ACT 0200   ACT 0200
Email: Caroline.Blink@anu.edu.au   Email: Ken.Mavor@anu.edu.au

If you have any ethical concerns about the research please contact:
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Reconciliation Study

Request for Research

Participants
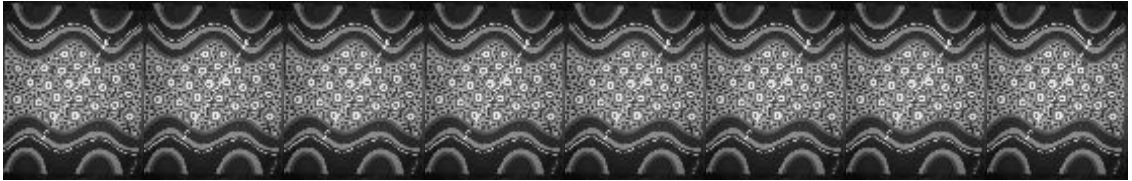
Would you like to participate in a study that aims to develop strategies to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians in the wider community?

… and earn
$10 or 1hr
research credit
for your time

*If so, then sign up
for a 1-hour session*
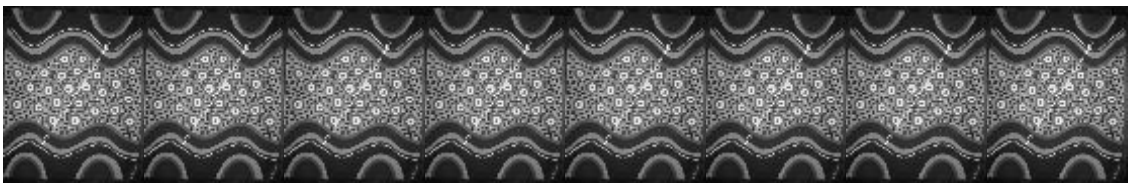
If you are interested in signing up then please contact

Caroline Blink

at **Caroline.Blink@anu.edu.au**

or call 6125 2801

to arrange a time   **Thank you**

Appendix B

Questionnaires

Study 1

Pre-Task Questionnaire – Non-Interaction Condition

<u>Greater efforts to promote Reconciliation and support for Indigenous Australians</u>

Please answer the following questions:

1. Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2. If no, how many years have you lived in Australia? _____

3. Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4. How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

5. How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with greater efforts to promote Reconciliation. Your task for the next 15 minutes is come up with strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, you need to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support greater efforts to promote Reconciliation within Australia and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided you agree, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Pre-Task Questionnaire – Unframed Discussion Condition

<u>Greater efforts to promote Reconciliation and support for Indigenous Australians</u>

Please answer the following questions:

1.   Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2.   If no, how many years have you lived in Australia?
_____

3.   Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?
Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

5.   How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?
Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

The present study

      At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with greater efforts to promote Reconciliation. Your task for the next 30 minutes is come up with strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, your group needs to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support greater efforts to promote Reconciliation within Australia. During your discussion a number of issues and possibilities are likely to be raised, but it is important that you come to an agreement on strategies that you all believe will be effective and then write them on the sheet provided.

      Provided your group agrees, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Pre-Task Questionnaire – Stable Framed Discussion Condition

Greater efforts to promote Reconciliation and support for Indigenous Australians

The current state of affairs:

> The prevailing approach to Reconciliation within Australia ignores the rights of Indigenous Australians. Rather than addressing the imbalance and division that exists within Australia today, this focus serves only to increase rather than reduce the disadvantage of Indigenous Australians. Although this is an unacceptable state of affairs there is not really much prospect of this situation changing for the better in the near future.

Thinking about this passage, please read the following statements and circle the _number_ that best reflects the extent to which you agree/disagree with them

1. The arguments made suggest that the current situation is unlikely to change

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. The arguments made suggest that the current situation is legitimate and fair

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. This passage represents a fair reflection of the current state of affairs in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

Please answer the following questions:

1.   Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2.   If no, how many years have you lived in Australia?

    _____

3.   Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

5.   How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with greater efforts to promote Reconciliation. Your task for the next 30 minutes is come up with strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, your group needs to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support greater efforts to promote Reconciliation within Australia. During your discussion a number of issues and possibilities are likely to be raised, but it is important that you come to an agreement on strategies that you all believe will be effective and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided your group agrees, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Pre-Task Questionnaire – Unstable Framed Discussion Condition

Greater efforts to promote Reconciliation and support for Indigenous Australians

The current state of affairs:

> The prevailing approach to Reconciliation within Australia ignores the rights of Indigenous Australians. Rather than addressing the imbalance and division that exists within Australia today, this focus serves only to increase rather than reduce the disadvantage of Indigenous Australians. Recognising this is an unacceptable state of affairs there are now excellent prospects for changing this situation for the better in the near future.

Thinking about this passage, please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best reflects the extent to which you agree/disagree with them

1.   The arguments made suggest that the current situation is unlikely to change

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   The arguments made suggest that the current situation is legitimate and fair

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   This passage represents a fair reflection of the current state of affairs in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

Please answer the following questions:

1.   Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2.   If no, how many years have you lived in Australia?

        _____

3.   Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

5.   How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with greater efforts to promote Reconciliation. Your task for the next 30 minutes is come up with strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, your group needs to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support greater efforts to promote Reconciliation within Australia. During your discussion a number of issues and possibilities are likely to be raised, but it is important that you come to an agreement on strategies that you all believe will be effective and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided your group agrees, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Task Completion Form – Non-Interaction Condition

Individual Recommendation about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your recommendation for strategies to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

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Task Completion Form – Discussion Conditions

Recommendation of Discussion Group about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your group's recommendation for strategies to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

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Post-Task Questionnaire – Non-Interaction Condition

Thank you for participating in this research. Before you go, we would like you to fill out a questionnaire on attitudes towards greater efforts to promote Reconciliation.

Please indicate your stance on greater efforts to promote Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box

☐   I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

Please rate your agreement with the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position:

1. Reconciliation should focus solely on increased government spending to improve services in Indigenous communities

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. Reconciliation should not involve consultation with Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. Reconciliation should be a collaborative effort involving all Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. Better educational outcomes for Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders are not essential to ensure equality of opportunity with other Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. The Federal Government should apologise for past wrongs committed against Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. The recognition of Native Title is not an important part of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7. Reconciliation involves practical, cultural and spiritual dimensions

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. Australians should recognise that this country was settled without treaty or consent

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Australians should recognise and respect Indigenous laws, beliefs and traditions

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10. Australians should not recognise past injustices committed against Indigenous people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11. Indigenous Australians should not push themselves in where they are not wanted

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12. It is easy to understand the anger of Indigenous Australians in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13. Discrimination against Indigenous Australians is still a major problem in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14. Indigenous Australians are getting too demanding in their push for land rights

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15. Over the past few years, Indigenous Australians have received less than they deserve economically

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16. Indigenous Australians have more influence on government policy than they ought to have

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17. Over the past few years, the government has shown more respect for Indigenous Australians than they deserve

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18. Indigenous Australians would be lost without White Australians in today's society

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

19. Indigenous Australians work as hard as anyone else

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

20. Indigenous Australians are more racist than just about any other group in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21. We should all be working toward better cultural understanding

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

22. Indigenous Australians have no regard for their own or anybody else's property

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

23. Indigenous Australians living within cities are not real Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

24. Indigenous Australians are a proud people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

25. Indigenous Australians really have no sense of what's right and what's wrong

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

26. Indigenous Australians living within cities tend to be pretty hostile

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

27. I respect the creation stories of Indigenous Australians (e.g. Aboriginal Dreaming)

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

28. Indigenous Australians are too vocal and loud about their rights
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

29. Indigenous Australians should try harder to fit in with western society
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

30. The media is often biased against Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

31. Land rights for Indigenous Australians are just a way of them getting more than they deserve
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

32. Indigenous Australians get given more government money than they should
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

33. The only racial discrimination in Australia these days is in favour of Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

34. Politically correct do-gooders allow Indigenous Australians to get away with just about anything
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

35. All Australians need to understand Indigenous history and culture
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

36. I would like to be involved in some way in a community-based group that aims to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

37. I feel committed to engage in further group activities to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

38. I would like to be involved in a group that speaks out about this issue to other people
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

39. I would like to sign a petition in support of Reconciliation
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

40. I would like to participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

41. I see little need to make up for damage done to Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

42. I want to change the policies and practices that have caused suffering for many Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

43. I want to make amends for the harm done to Indigenous Australians by Non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

44. I do not want to stand up to those who have caused many Indigenous Australians to suffer

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

45. I want to apologise for the harm caused to Indigenous Australians by Non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

46. I want to directly oppose those responsible for the current suffering of many Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

47. I want to compensate the Indigenous Australian people for any suffering they have experienced

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1. Do you think non-Indigenous Australians are advantaged, or disadvantaged, compared to Indigenous Australians

Non-Indigenous   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Indigenous
Australians Advantaged   Australians Advantaged

2. How does this make you feel (please indicate the degree to which you feel each emotion):

- Remorseful   not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   extremely
- Angry   not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   extremely
- Outraged   not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   extremely
- Blameworthy   not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   extremely
- Responsible   not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   extremely
- Regretful   not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   extremely
- Indignant   not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   extremely
- Ashamed   not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   extremely
- Hostile   not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   extremely
- Guilty   not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   extremely

Keeping your position on current attitudes towards Reconciliation in mind, please indicate how much you agree with the following statements by circling a <u>number</u>

IMPORTANT:

If you identified yourself as <u>supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>left side</u>

If you identified yourself as <u>not supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>right side</u>

1. I define myself as a supporter of greater efforts to promote reconciliation	1. I define myself as a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
2. I have a lot in common with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation	2. I have a lot in common with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
3. I am confident that being a supporter of greater efforts to promote reconciliation is the best position to hold	3. I am confident that being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation is the best position to hold
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
4. I often think about the fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation	4. I often think about the fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
5. In general, I'm glad to be a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation	5. In general, I'm glad to be a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree

6. I feel strong ties with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

7. I am confident that I am a real supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

8. Overall, being a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

6. I feel strong ties with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

7. I am confident that I am a real non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

8. Overall, being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of no greater efforts to promote Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly
Strongly
Disagree
Agree

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the number that best represents your position

1.   It is important that action be taken now to bring about Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. I feel that together supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation can achieve Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

3. My current involvement is vital to the success of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

4. There is no time limit on achieving Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

5. Supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

6. There is no pressure to take immediate action to bring about Reconciliation

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

7. Being indifferent about Reconciliation is not an option

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

8. Reconciliation can be achieved without my involvement

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

9. Reconciliation within Australia needs to be achieved as soon as possible

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

10. Being apathetic about Reconciliation will not interfere with its success

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

11. Supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation will be a waste of time, effort and money

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

12. I can easily feel guilty for the bad outcomes brought about by non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

13. I feel guilty about the negative things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

14. I feel regret for non-Indigenous Australians harmful past actions toward Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

15. I believe that I should repair the damage caused to Indigenous Australians by non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

16. I feel regret for some of the things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians in the past

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17. It would be good if all groups could be equal

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18. In getting what your own group wants, it should never be necessary to use force against other groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

19. Treating different groups more equally would create more problems than it would solve

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

20. Group equality is not a worthwhile ideal

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

22. No group of people is more worthy than any other

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

23. Increased social equality would be a bad thing

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

24. All groups should be given an equal chance in life

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

25. If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

26. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

27. Superior groups should not seek to dominate inferior groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

28. Inferior groups should stay in their place

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

29. There is no point in trying to make incomes more equal

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

30. It's a real problem that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

31. No one group should dominate in society
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

32. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please read the following situation and indicate your feelings by circling the appropriate <u>number</u> on the scales provided

1. When you think about the Indigenous Australians, how likely would it be that you would feel:

• Nervous	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Enthusiastic	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Distressed	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Determined	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Inspired	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Proud	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Attentive	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Ashamed	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Fearful	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Jittery	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Irritable	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Guilty	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Alert	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Excited	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Active	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Interested	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Hostile	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Scared	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Strong	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely
• Upset	very unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very likely

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7. Our country *needs* free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fibre and traditional beliefs

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Everyone should have their own life-style, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everybody else

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10. The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11. You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority's view by protesting for women's abortion rights, for animal rights, or environmental protection

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12. What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13. Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way things are supposed to be done"

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14. God's laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15. There are many radical, immoral people in our country today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17. Our country will be great if we honour the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18. There is no "ONE right way" to live life; everybody has to create their *own* way

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

19. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy "traditional family values"

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

20. This country would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group's traditional place in society

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

22. What our country needs *most* is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

23. It's better to have trashy magazines and radical pamphlets in our communities than to let the government have the power to censor them

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

24. Once our government leaders give us the "go ahead," it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please answer the following questions in the space provided
1. How would you describe the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. What would you say are the reasons for this current relationship?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3. What do you think of when you hear the term Reconciliation?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. What arguments would you use to support that definition?

_____

_____

_____

_____

5. What do you think of when you hear people call for a national apology for past wrongs committed against Indigenous Australians?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. What arguments would you use to support that definition?

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. What do you think of when you hear the term Stolen Generations?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

8. What arguments would you use to support that definition?

_____

_____

Please complete the following details

1.   Age: _____

2.   Gender: Male / Female (Please circle)

3.   Do you consider yourself to be an Indigenous Australian: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   If left wing represents a strong belief in a government-driven economy, communal responsibility and equality, and right wing represents a strong belief in a free-market economy, individual responsibility and reward for effort, where would you place yourself on the following scale

Extremely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Extremely
Left Wing   Right
Wing

5.   Which political party, if any, are you more likely to support::

_____

6.   How strongly do you support that party

Not at all strongly   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Very strongly

7.   How important is your support of that party to your personal identity

Not at all important   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Very important

8.   What do you think the purpose of this experiment was?

_____

_____

_____

9.   What do you think the experimenter expected you to do in this experiment?

_____

_____

_____

Post-Task Questionnaire – Discussion Conditions

Thank you for participating in this research. Before you go, we would like you to fill out a questionnaire on attitudes towards greater efforts to promote Reconciliation and the group discussion.

Please indicate your stance on greater efforts to promote Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box

☐   I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

Please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best reflects your beliefs

1. The proposition was accepted equally by all the members of my group

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. Thinking about the current situation in relation to Indigenous disadvantage, my group agreed that this situation was unlikely to change for the better any time soon

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. My group did not share the same views

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. The issues raised during the discussion were engaging

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. My group agreed that it was worth doing something to try and challenge the current situation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. I was bored by the discussion

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please rate your agreement with the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position:

1. Reconciliation should focus solely on increased government spending to improve services in Indigenous communities

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. Reconciliation should not involve consultation with Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. Reconciliation should be a collaborative effort involving all Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. Better educational outcomes for Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders are not essential to ensure equality of opportunity with other Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. The Federal Government should apologise for past wrongs committed against Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. The recognition of Native Title is not an important part of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7. Reconciliation involves practical, cultural and spiritual dimensions

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. Australians should recognise that this country was settled without treaty or consent

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Australians should recognise and respect Indigenous laws, beliefs and traditions

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10. Australians should not recognise past injustices committed against Indigenous people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11. Indigenous Australians should not push themselves in where they are not wanted

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12. It is easy to understand the anger of Indigenous Australians in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13. Discrimination against Indigenous Australians is still a major problem in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14. Indigenous Australians are getting too demanding in their push for land rights

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15. Over the past few years, Indigenous Australians have received less than they deserve economically

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16. Indigenous Australians have more influence on government policy than they ought to have

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17. Over the past few years, the government has shown more respect for Indigenous Australians than they deserve

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18. Indigenous Australians would be lost without White Australians in today's society

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

19. Indigenous Australians work as hard as anyone else

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

20. Indigenous Australians are more racist than just about any other group in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21. We should all be working toward better cultural understanding

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

22. Indigenous Australians have no regard for their own or anybody else's property

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

23. Indigenous Australians living within cities are not real Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

24. Indigenous Australians are a proud people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

25. Indigenous Australians really have no sense of what's right and what's wrong

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

26. Indigenous Australians living within cities tend to be pretty hostile

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

27. I respect the creation stories of Indigenous Australians (e.g. Aboriginal Dreaming)

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

28. Indigenous Australians are too vocal and loud about their rights

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

29. Indigenous Australians should try harder to fit in with western society

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

30. The media is often biased against Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

31. Land rights for Indigenous Australians are just a way of them getting more than they deserve

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

32. Indigenous Australians get given more government money than they should

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

33. The only racial discrimination in Australia these days is in favour of Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

34. Politically correct do-gooders allow Indigenous Australians to get away with just about anything

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

35. All Australians need to understand Indigenous history and culture

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

36. I would like to be involved in some way in a community-based group that aims to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

37. I feel committed to engage in further group activities to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

38. I would like to be involved in a group that speaks out about this issue to other people

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

39. I would like to sign a petition in support of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

40. I would like to participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

41. I see little need to make up for damage done to Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

42. I want to change the policies and practices that have caused suffering for many Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

43. I want to make amends for the harm done to Indigenous Australians by Non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

44. I do not want to stand up to those who have caused many Indigenous Australians to suffer

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

45. I want to apologise for the harm caused to Indigenous Australians by Non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

46. I want to directly oppose those responsible for the current suffering of many Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

47. I want to compensate the Indigenous Australian people for any suffering they have experienced

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

48. I found the discussion interesting

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

49. I did not agree with the proposition

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

50. I thought that the issues raised by my group were boring

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

51. My group did not share the same views

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

Please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1. Do you think non-Indigenous Australians are advantaged, or disadvantaged, compared to Indigenous Australians

Non-Indigenous   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Indigenous
Australians Advantaged   Australians Advantaged

2. How does this make you feel (please indicate the degree to which you feel each emotion):

•	Remorseful	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
•	Angry	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
•	Outraged	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
•	Blameworthy	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
•	Responsible	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
•	Regretful	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
•	Indignant	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
•	Ashamed	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
•	Hostile	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
•	Guilty	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely

Keeping your position on current attitudes towards Reconciliation in mind, please indicate how much you agree with the following statements by circling a <u>number</u>

IMPORTANT:

If you identified yourself as <u>supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>left side</u>

If you identified yourself as <u>not supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>right side</u>

Left side	Right side
1. I define myself as a supporter of greater efforts to promote reconciliation	1. I define myself as a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
2. I have a lot in common with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation	2. I have a lot in common with other non- supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
3. I am confident that being a supporter of greater efforts to promote reconciliation is the best position to hold	3. I am confident that being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation is the best position to hold
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
4. I often think about the fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation	4. I often think about the fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
5. In general, I'm glad to be a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation	5. In general, I'm glad to be a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree

6. I feel strong ties with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

7. I am confident that I am a real supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

8. Overall, being a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

9. I often regret that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation are correct

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

6. I feel strong ties with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

7. I am confident that I am a real non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

8. Overall, being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

9. I often regret that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of no greater efforts to promote Reconciliation are correct

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly
Disagree Agree

12. In general, being a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

16. The fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

12. In general, being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

16. The fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly Disagree   Strongly Agree

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the number that best represents your position

1. It is important that action be taken now to bring about Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. I feel that together supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation can achieve Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. My current involvement is vital to the success of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. There is no time limit on achieving Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. Supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. There is no pressure to take immediate action to bring about Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7. Being indifferent about Reconciliation is not an option

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. Reconciliation can be achieved without my involvement

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Reconciliation within Australia needs to be achieved as soon as possible

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10. Being apathetic about Reconciliation will not interfere with its success

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11. Supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation will be a waste of time, effort and money

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12. I can easily feel guilty for the bad outcomes brought about by non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13. I feel guilty about the negative things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14. I feel regret for non-Indigenous Australians harmful past actions toward Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15. I believe that I should repair the damage caused to Indigenous Australians by non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16. I feel regret for some of the things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians in the past

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17. It would be good if all groups could be equal

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18. In getting what your own group wants, it should never be necessary to use force against other groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

19. Treating different groups more equally would create more problems than it would solve

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

20. Group equality is not a worthwhile ideal

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

22. No group of people is more worthy than any other

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

23. Increased social equality would be a bad thing

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

24. All groups should be given an equal chance in life

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

25. If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

26. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

27. Superior groups should not seek to dominate inferior groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

28. Inferior groups should stay in their place

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

29. There is no point in trying to make incomes more equal

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

30. It's a real problem that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

31. No one group should dominate in society

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

32. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please read the following situation and indicate your feelings by circling the appropriate <u>number</u> on the scales provided

1. When you think about Indigenous Australians, how likely would it be that you would feel:

- Nervous   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Enthusiastic   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Distressed   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Determined   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Inspired   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Proud   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Attentive   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Ashamed   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Fearful   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Jittery   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Irritable   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Guilty   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Alert   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Excited   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Active   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Interested   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Hostile   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Scared   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Strong   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Upset   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7. Our country *needs* free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fibre and traditional beliefs

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Everyone should have their own life-style, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everybody else

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10. The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11. You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority's view by protesting for women's abortion rights, for animal rights, or environmental protection

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12. What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13. Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way things are supposed to be done"

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14. God's laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15. There are many radical, immoral people in our country today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past

Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17. Our country will be great if we honour the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18. There is no "ONE right way" to live life; everybody has to create their *own* way

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

19. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy "traditional family values"

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

20. This country would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group's traditional place in society

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

22. What our country needs *most* is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

23. It's better to have trashy magazines and radical pamphlets in our communities than to let the government have the power to censor them

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

24. Once our government leaders give us the "go ahead," it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please answer the following questions in the space provided

1. How would you describe the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians?

2. What would you say are the reasons for this current relationship?

3. What do you think of when you hear the term Reconciliation?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

4. What arguments would you use to support that definition?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

5. What do you think of when you hear people call for a national apology for past wrongs committed against Indigenous Australians?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

6. What arguments would you use to support that definition?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

7. What do you think of when you hear the term Stolen Generations?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

8. What arguments would you use to support that definition?

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

Please complete the following details

1.	There are two main approaches that groups can take to this task, one is making sure the group reaches agreement (agreement focus), the other is making sure everybody expresses their views (discussion focus) On the scale below please circle the <u>number</u> of the position which best reflects the approach taken by your group

Extremely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremely
discussion						Neither						agreement
focused											focused

2.	Age: _____

3.	Gender: Male / Female (Please circle)

4.	Do you consider yourself to be an Indigenous Australian: Yes / No (Please circle)

5.	How many people in your discussion group did you know before today's discussion?

	_____

6.	If left wing represents a strong belief in a government-driven economy, communal responsibility and equality, and right wing represents a strong belief in a free-market economy, individual responsibility and reward for effort, where would you place yourself on the following scale

Extremely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Extremely
Left Wing									Right Wing

7.	Which political party, if any, are you more likely to support::
	_____

8.	How strongly do you support that party

Not at all strongly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Very strongly

9.	How important is your support of that party to your personal identity

Not at all important	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Very important

10.	What do you think the purpose of this experiment was?

_____

_____

_____

11.	What do you think the experimenter expected you to do in this experiment?

_____

_____

Reconciliation Study: Follow-Up Questionnaire

Thank you for participating in this research.

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year)

Please indicate your stance on greater efforts to promote Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box

☐   I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Please rate your agreement with the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position:

1. Reconciliation should focus solely on increased government spending to improve services in Indigenous communities

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

2. Reconciliation should not involve consultation with Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

3. Reconciliation should be a collaborative effort involving all Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

4. Better educational outcomes for Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders are not essential to ensure equality of opportunity with other Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

5. The Federal Government should apologise for past wrongs committed against Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

6. The recognition of Native Title is not an important part of Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

7. Reconciliation involves practical, cultural and spiritual dimensions

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

8. Australians should recognise that this country was settled without treaty or consent

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

9. Australians should recognise and respect Indigenous laws, beliefs and traditions

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

10. Australians should not recognise past injustices committed against Indigenous people

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

11. Indigenous Australians should not push themselves in where they are not wanted

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

12. It is easy to understand the anger of Indigenous Australians in Australia

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

13. Discrimination against Indigenous Australians is still a major problem in Australia

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

14. Indigenous Australians are getting too demanding in their push for land rights

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

15. Over the past few years, Indigenous Australians have received less than they deserve economically

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

16. Indigenous Australians have more influence on government policy than they ought to have

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

17. Over the past few years, the government has shown more respect for Indigenous Australians than they deserve

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

18. Indigenous Australians would be lost without White Australians in today's society

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

19. Indigenous Australians work as hard as anyone else

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

20. Indigenous Australians are more racist than just about any other group in Australia

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

21. We should all be working toward better cultural understanding

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

22. Indigenous Australians have no regard for their own or anybody else's property

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

23. Indigenous Australians living within cities are not real Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

24. Indigenous Australians are a proud people

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

25. Indigenous Australians really have no sense of what's right and what's wrong

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

26. Indigenous Australians living within cities tend to be pretty hostile

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

27. I respect the creation stories of Indigenous Australians (e.g. Aboriginal Dreaming)

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

28. Indigenous Australians are too vocal and loud about their rights

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

29. Indigenous Australians should try harder to fit in with western society

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

30. The media is often biased against Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

31. Land rights for Indigenous Australians are just a way of them getting more than they deserve

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

32. Indigenous Australians get given more government money than they should

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

33. The only racial discrimination in Australia these days is in favour of Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

34. Politically correct do-gooders allow Indigenous Australians to get away with just about anything

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

35. All Australians need to understand Indigenous history and culture

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

36. I would like to be involved in some way in a community-based group that aims to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

37. I feel committed to engage in further group activities to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

38. I would like to be involved in a group that speaks out about this issue to other people

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

39. I would like to sign a petition in support of Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

40. I would like to participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

41. I see little need to make up for damage done to Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

42. I want to change the policies and practices that have caused suffering for many Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

43. I want to make amends for the harm done to Indigenous Australians by Non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

44. I do not want to stand up to those who have caused many Indigenous Australians to suffer

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

45. I want to apologise for the harm caused to Indigenous Australians by Non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

46. I want to directly oppose those responsible for the current suffering of many Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

47. I want to compensate the Indigenous Australian people for any suffering they have experienced

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

48. Thinking about the prevailing approach to Reconciliation in Australia, the current situation is unlikely to change

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

49. Thinking about the prevailing approach to Reconciliation in Australia, the current situation is legitimate and fair

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

Keeping your position on current attitudes towards Reconciliation in mind, please indicate how much you agree with the following statements by circling a number

IMPORTANT:

If you identified yourself as <u>supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>left side</u>

If you identified yourself as <u>not supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>right side</u>

1. I define myself as a supporter of greater efforts to promote reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

2. I have a lot in common with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

3. I am confident that being a supporter of greater efforts to promote reconciliation is the best position to hold

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

4. I often think about the fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

5. In general, I'm glad to be a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

6. I feel strong ties with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

7. I am confident that I am a real supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

---

1. I define myself as a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

2. I have a lot in common with other non- supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

3. I am confident that being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation is the best position to hold

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

4. I often think about the fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

5. In general, I'm glad to be a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

6. I feel strong ties with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

7. I am confident that I am a real non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

8. Overall, being a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

9. I often regret that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation are correct

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

12. In general, being a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

13. I don't feel good about being a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

16. The fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

8. Overall, being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

9. I often regret that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of no greater efforts to promote Reconciliation are correct

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

12. In general, being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

13. I don't feel good about being a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

16. The fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

Please read the following situation and indicate your feelings by circling the appropriate <u>number</u> on the scales provided

1.   When you think about Indigenous Australians, how likely would it be that you would feel:

- Nervous   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Enthusiastic   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Distressed   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Determined   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Inspired   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Proud   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Attentive   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Ashamed   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Fearful   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Jittery   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Irritable   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Guilty   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Alert   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Excited   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Active   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Interested   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Hostile   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Scared   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Strong   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Upset   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1.   It is important that action be taken now to bring about Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

2.   I feel that together supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation can achieve Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

3.   My current involvement is vital to the success of Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

4.   There is no time limit on achieving Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

5.   Supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

6.   There is no pressure to take immediate action to bring about Reconciliation

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

7.   Being indifferent about Reconciliation is not an option

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

8.   Reconciliation can be achieved without my involvement

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

9. Reconciliation within Australia needs to be achieved as soon as possible

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

10. Being apathetic about Reconciliation will not interfere with its success

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

11. Supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation will be a waste of time, effort and money

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

12. I can easily feel guilty for the bad outcomes brought about by non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

13. I feel guilty about the negative things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

14. I feel regret for non-Indigenous Australians harmful past actions toward Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

15. I believe that I should repair the damage caused to Indigenous Australians by non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

16. I feel regret for some of the things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians in the past

Strongly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly
Disagree   agree

Study 2

Task Questionnaire – Non-Interaction Condition

<u>Reconciliation and support for Indigenous Australians</u>

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box:

☐   I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Please answer the following questions:

1.   Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2.   If no, how many years have you lived in Australia?

    _____

3.   Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   A great deal

5.   How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   A great deal

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with Reconciliation. Your task for the next 15 minutes is to come up with strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, you need to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support Reconciliation within Australia and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided you agree, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Individual Recommendation about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your recommendation for strategies to promote Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

_____

_____

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Task Questionnaire – Unframed Discussion Condition

<u>Reconciliation and support for Indigenous Australians</u>

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box:

☐   I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Please answer the following questions:

1.   Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2.   If no, how many years have you lived in Australia?

     _____

3.   Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   A great deal

5.   How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   A great deal

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with Reconciliation. Your task for the next 30 minutes is to come up with strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, your group needs to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support Reconciliation within Australia. During your discussion a number of issues and possibilities are likely to be raised, but it is important that you come to an agreement on strategies that you all believe will be effective and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided your group agrees, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Thinking about the task you are about to engage in, please read the following statements and circle the number that best reflects your position:

1. How much do you expect the other members of your group to agree with you about this issue

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Completely

2. Do you anticipate that your group will be unable to reach a consensus

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Completely

3. Do you expect your group to be able to build a consensus around this issue

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Completely

Recommendation of Discussion Group about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your group's recommendation for strategies to promote Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

_____

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Task Questionnaire – Framed Discussion Condition

Reconciliation and support for Indigenous Australians

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box:

☐   I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

> One common view is that the way forward for Reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within Australia is for the federal government to apologise to Indigenous Australians for the Stolen Generations and for the past treatment of Indigenous Australians.

Do you agree with this view? (Please circle the appropriate response)

      YES   NO

Does this view conflict with your own stance on Reconciliation? (Please circle the appropriate response)

      YES   NO

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____
(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

Thinking about the previous view, please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best reflects the extent to which you agree/disagree with them:

1.   I think a national apology is an important part of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   I don't think Reconciliation can be achieved without a national apology

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   This passage represents a fair reflection of the current state of affairs in
         Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please answer the following questions:

1.   Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2.   If no, how many years have you lived in Australia?

         _____

3.   Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please
         circle)

4.   How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   A great deal

5.   How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   9   A great deal

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with Reconciliation. Your task for the next 30 minutes is to come up with strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, your group needs to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support Reconciliation within Australia. During your discussion a number of issues and possibilities are likely to be raised, but it is important that you come to an agreement on strategies that you all believe will be effective and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided your group agrees, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Thinking about the task you are about to engage in, please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best reflects your position:

1.   How much do you expect the other members of your group to agree with you about this issue

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Completely

2.   Do you anticipate that your group will be unable to reach a consensus

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Completely

3.   Do you expect your group to be able to build a consensus around this issue

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Completely

Recommendation of Discussion Group about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your group's recommendation for strategies to promote Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

_____

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_____

Post-Task Questionnaire – Non-Interaction Condition

Thank you for participating in this research. Before you go, we would like you to fill out a questionnaire on your attitudes towards Reconciliation.

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box

☐   I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

Please rate your agreement with the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position:

1. Reconciliation should focus solely on increased government spending to improve services in Indigenous communities

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

2. Reconciliation should not involve consultation with Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

3. Reconciliation should be a collaborative effort involving all Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

4. Better educational outcomes for Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders are not essential to ensure equality of opportunity with other Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

5. The Federal Government should apologise for past wrongs committed against Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

6. The recognition of Native Title is not an important part of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

7. Reconciliation involves practical, cultural and spiritual dimensions

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

8. Australians should recognise that this country was settled without treaty or consent

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

9. Australians should recognise and respect Indigenous laws, beliefs and traditions

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

10. Australians should not recognise past injustices committed against Indigenous people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

11. Indigenous Australians should not push themselves in where they are not wanted

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

12. It is easy to understand the anger of Indigenous Australians in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

13. Discrimination against Indigenous Australians is still a major problem in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

14. Indigenous Australians are getting too demanding in their push for land rights

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

15. Over the past few years, Indigenous Australians have received less than they deserve economically

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

16. Indigenous Australians have more influence on government policy than they ought to have

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

17. Over the past few years, the government has shown more respect for Indigenous Australians than they deserve

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

18. Indigenous Australians would be lost without White Australians in today's society

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

19. Indigenous Australians work as hard as anyone else

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

20. Indigenous Australians are more racist than just about any other group in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

21. We should all be working toward better cultural understanding

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

22. Indigenous Australians have no regard for their own or anybody else's property

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

23. Indigenous Australians living within cities are not real Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

24. Indigenous Australians are a proud people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

25. Indigenous Australians really have no sense of what's right and what's wrong

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

26. Indigenous Australians living within cities tend to be pretty hostile

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

27. I respect the creation stories of Indigenous Australians (e.g. Aboriginal Dreaming)

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

28. Indigenous Australians are too vocal and loud about their rights

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

29. Indigenous Australians should try harder to fit in with western society
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

30. The media is often biased against Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

31. Land rights for Indigenous Australians are just a way of them getting more than they deserve
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

32. Indigenous Australians get given more government money than they should
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

33. The only racial discrimination in Australia these days is in favour of Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

34. Politically correct do-gooders allow Indigenous Australians to get away with just about anything
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

35. All Australians need to understand Indigenous history and culture
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

36. I would like to be involved in some way in a community-based group that aims to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

37. I feel committed to engage in further group activities to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

38. I would like to be involved in a group that speaks out about this issue to other people
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

39. I would like to sign a petition in support of Reconciliation
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

40. I would like to participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

41. I see little need to make up for damage done to Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

42. I want to change the policies and practices that have caused suffering for many Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

43. I want to make amends for the harm done to Indigenous Australians by Non-Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

44. I do not want to stand up to those who have caused many Indigenous Australians to suffer

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

45. I want to apologise for the harm caused to Indigenous Australians by Non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

46. I want to directly oppose those responsible for the current suffering of many Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

47. I want to compensate the Indigenous Australian people for any suffering they have experienced

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1. Do you think non-Indigenous Australians are advantaged, or disadvantaged, compared to Indigenous Australians

Non-Indigenous   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Indigenous
Australians Advantaged   Australians Advantaged

2. How does this make you feel (please indicate the degree to which you feel each emotion):

• Remorseful	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
• Angry	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
• Outraged	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
• Blameworthy	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
• Responsible	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
• Regretful	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
• Indignant	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
• Ashamed	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
• Hostile	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely
• Guilty	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	extremely

Keeping your position on current attitudes towards Reconciliation in mind, please indicate how much you agree with the following statements by circling a <u>number</u>

IMPORTANT:

If you identified yourself as <u>supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>left side</u>

If you identified yourself as <u>not supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>right side</u>

Left side	Right side
1. I define myself as a supporter of reconciliation	1. I define myself as a non-supporter of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree
2. I have a lot in common with other supporters of Reconciliation	2. I have a lot in common with other non- supporters of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree
3. I am confident that being a supporter of reconciliation is the best position to hold	3. I am confident that being a non-supporter of Reconciliation is the best position to hold
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree
4. I often think about the fact that I am a supporter of Reconciliation	4. I often think about the fact that I am a non-supporter of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree
5. In general, I'm glad to be a supporter of Reconciliation	5. In general, I'm glad to be a non-supporter of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree
6. I feel strong ties with other supporters of Reconciliation	6. I feel strong ties with other non-supporters Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

7. I am confident that I am a real supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

8. Overall, being a supporter of Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a supporter of Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

7. I am confident that I am a real non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

8. Overall, being a non-supporter of Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8
9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of no Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other non-supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a non-supporter of Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14.   I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16.   The fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14.   I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the number that best represents your position

1.   It is important that action be taken now to bring about Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   I feel that together supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation can achieve Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   My current involvement is vital to the success of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. There is no time limit on achieving Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   Supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   There is no pressure to take immediate action to bring about Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   Being indifferent about Reconciliation is not an option

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   Reconciliation can be achieved without my involvement
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9.   Reconciliation within Australia needs to be achieved as soon as possible
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10.   Being apathetic about Reconciliation will not interfere with its success
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11.   Supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation will be a waste of time, effort and money
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12.   I can easily feel guilty for the bad outcomes brought about by non-Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13.   I feel guilty about the negative things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14.   I feel regret for non-Indigenous Australians harmful past actions toward Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15.   I believe that I should repair the damage caused to Indigenous Australians by non-Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16.   I feel regret for some of the things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians in the past
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17.   I found the task interesting
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18.   I was bored by the task
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please read the following situation and indicate your feelings by circling the appropriate <u>number</u> on the scales provided

1.   When you think about Indigenous Australians, how likely would it be that you would feel:

- Nervous   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Enthusiastic   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Distressed   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Determined   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Inspired   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Proud   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Attentive   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Ashamed   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Fearful   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Jittery   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Irritable   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Guilty   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Alert   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Excited   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Active   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Interested   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Hostile   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Scared   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Strong   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Upset   very unlikely 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely

Please complete the following details

1.   Age: _____

2.   Gender: Male / Female (Please circle)

3.   Do you consider yourself to be an Indigenous Australian: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   If left wing represents a strong belief in a government-driven economy, communal responsibility and equality, and right wing represents a strong belief in a free-market economy, individual responsibility and reward for effort, where would you place yourself on the following scale

Extremely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Extremely
Left Wing   Right Wing

5.   Which political party, if any, are you more likely to support::

_____

6.   How strongly do you support that party
Not at all strongly   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Very strongly

7.   How important is your support of that party to your personal identity
Not at all important 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Very important

8.   What do you think the purpose of this experiment was?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9.   Any other comments?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Study 2: Post-Task Questionnaire –Discussion Conditions

Thank you for participating in this research. Before you go, we would like you to fill out a questionnaire on your attitudes towards Reconciliation and the group discussion.

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box

☐　　I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐　　I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

Please rate your agreement with the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position:

1. Reconciliation should focus solely on increased government spending to improve services in Indigenous communities

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. Reconciliation should not involve consultation with Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. Reconciliation should be a collaborative effort involving all Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. Better educational outcomes for Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders are not essential to ensure equality of opportunity with other Australians

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5. The Federal Government should apologise for past wrongs committed against Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. The recognition of Native Title is not an important part of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7. Reconciliation involves practical, cultural and spiritual dimensions

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. Australians should recognise that this country was settled without treaty or consent

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Australians should recognise and respect Indigenous laws, beliefs and traditions

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11. Indigenous Australians should not push themselves in where they are not wanted

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12. It is easy to understand the anger of Indigenous Australians in Australia

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19. Indigenous Australians work as hard as anyone else

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Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21. We should all be working toward better cultural understanding

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22. Indigenous Australians have no regard for their own or anybody else's property

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26. Indigenous Australians living within cities tend to be pretty hostile

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29. Indigenous Australians should try harder to fit in with western society

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

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40. I would like to participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation

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42. I want to change the policies and practices that have caused suffering for many Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

43. I want to make amends for the harm done to Indigenous Australians by Non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

44. I do not want to stand up to those who have caused many Indigenous Australians to suffer

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

45. I want to apologise for the harm caused to Indigenous Australians by Non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

46. I want to directly oppose those responsible for the current suffering of many Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

47. I want to compensate the Indigenous Australian people for any suffering they have experienced

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Strongly agree

Please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1. Do you think non-Indigenous Australians are advantaged, or disadvantaged, compared to Indigenous Australians

Non-Indigenous   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Indigenous
Australians Advantaged   Australians Advantaged

2. How does this make you feel (please indicate the degree to which you feel each emotion):

•	Remorseful	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 extremely
•	Angry	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 extremely
•	Outraged	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 extremely
•	Blameworthy	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 extremely
•	Responsible	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 extremely
•	Regretful	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 extremely
•	Indignant	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 extremely
•	Ashamed	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 extremely
•	Hostile	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 extremely
•	Guilty	not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 extremely

Keeping your position on current attitudes towards Reconciliation in mind, please indicate how much you agree with the following statements by circling a <u>number</u>

IMPORTANT:

If you identified yourself as <u>supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>left side</u>

If you identified yourself as <u>not supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>right side</u>

1. I define myself as a supporter of reconciliation	1. I define myself as a non-supporter of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
2. I have a lot in common with other supporters of Reconciliation	2. I have a lot in common with other non- supporters of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
3. I am confident that being a supporter of reconciliation is the best position to hold	3. I am confident that being a non-supporter of Reconciliation is the best position to hold
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
4. I often think about the fact that I am a supporter of Reconciliation	4. I often think about the fact that I am a non-supporter of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
5. In general, I'm glad to be a supporter of Reconciliation	5. In general, I'm glad to be a non-supporter of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree
6. I feel strong ties with other supporters of Reconciliation	6. I feel strong ties with other non-supporters Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree	Strongly Strongly Disagree Agree

7. I am confident that I am a real supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

8. Overall, being a supporter of Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a supporter of Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

7. I am confident that I am a real non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

8. Overall, being a non-supporter of Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of no Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other non-supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a non-supporter of Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8
9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other non-supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the number that best represents your position

1. There were points in the discussion when I felt frustrated about being able to freely share my views

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. I do not agree with the ideas put forward by my group on Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. There were times in the discussion when I felt that my contribution wasn't being acknowledged

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. I felt free to express my honest opinion

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. The views expressed by my group reflect what other people, who have thought about this issue, would say

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. How much did the other members of your group agree with you

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Completely

7. I found the discussion interesting

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   The views expressed by my group should be endorsed by other people
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9.   There were issues raised during the discussion which the group was
      unable to agree on
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10.   Was your group able to build a consensus around this issue
Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Completely

11.   People listened to my views when I expressed my honest opinion
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12.   I thought that the issues raised by my group were boring
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13.   The views expressed by my group should be seriously considered by other
      people
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14.   Thinking about the current situation in relation to Indigenous disadvantage,
      my group agreed that a national apology was not essential to achieving
      Reconciliation
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15.   I was bored by the discussion
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16.   I would like other people to be aware of the issues discussed in our group
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17.   My group was unable to reach a consensus
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18.   The issues raised during the discussion were engaging
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

19.   Any other comments about the group discussion?

_____

_____

_____

**Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the
number that best represents your position**

1.   It is important that action be taken now to bring about Reconciliation within
      Australia
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   I feel that together supporters of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation
      can achieve Reconciliation within Australia
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. My current involvement is vital to the success of Reconciliation
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. There is no time limit on achieving Reconciliation within Australia
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. Supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. There is no pressure to take immediate action to bring about Reconciliation
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7. Being indifferent about Reconciliation is not an option
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. Reconciliation can be achieved without my involvement
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Reconciliation within Australia needs to be achieved as soon as possible
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10. Being apathetic about Reconciliation will not interfere with its success
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11. Supporting greater efforts to promote Reconciliation will be a waste of time, effort and money
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12. I can easily feel guilty for the bad outcomes brought about by non-Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13. I feel guilty about the negative things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14. I feel regret for non-Indigenous Australians harmful past actions toward Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15. I believe that I should repair the damage caused to Indigenous Australians by non-Indigenous Australians
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16. I feel regret for some of the things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians in the past
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please read the following situation and indicate your feelings by circling the appropriate <u>number</u> on the scales provided

1. When you think about Indigenous Australians, how likely would it be that you would feel:

- Nervous   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Enthusiastic   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Distressed   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Determined   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Inspired   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Proud   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Attentive   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Ashamed   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Fearful   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Jittery   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Irritable   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Guilty   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Alert   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Excited   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Active   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Interested   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Hostile   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Scared   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Strong   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely
- Upset   very unlikely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   very likely

Please complete the following details

1. There are two main approaches that groups can take to this task, one is making sure the group reaches agreement (agreement focus), the other is making sure everybody expresses their views (discussion focus) On the scale below please circle the <u>number</u> of the position which best reflects the approach taken by your group

Extremely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Extremely
discussion   Neither   agreement
focused   focused

2. Age: _____

3. Gender: Male / Female (Please circle)

4. Do you consider yourself to be an Indigenous Australian: Yes / No (Please circle)

5. How many people in your discussion group did you know before today's discussion?

    _____

6. If left wing represents a strong belief in a government-driven economy, communal responsibility and equality, and right wing represents a strong belief in a free-market economy, individual responsibility and reward for effort, where would you place yourself on the following scale

Extremely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Extremely
Left Wing   Right Wing

7. Which political party, if any, are you more likely to support::

    _____

8. How strongly do you support that party

Not at all strongly   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Very strongly

9. How important is your support of that party to your personal identity

Not at all important   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Very important

10. What do you think the purpose of this experiment was?

    _____

    _____

    _____

11. Any other comments?

    _____

    _____

Study 3

Pre-Task Streaming Questionnaire – All Conditions

Contrasting Approaches to Reconciliation

When we think about Reconciliation between Indigenous and other Australians there are two broad philosophical approaches that different people tend to take. I am interested to know which of these you are more comfortable with so that I can place you into a discussion group with people who adopt broadly the same perspective that you do:

3. One approach is what we can call the **social cohesion approach**. In this view the most important objective is to promote harmony between Indigenous and other Australians. In pursuing this objective it is important to avoid or at least reduce conflict and dispute within society. We need to work to protect people's rights as citizens within our society and ensure that Australia's legal and political system is upheld in order to promote harmony.

4. Another approach can be called the **social justice approach**. In this view the most important objective is to promote social change to overcome the disadvantage experienced by Indigenous Australians relative to other Australians. In pursuing this objective it is important to accept that conflict and dispute within society may be necessary to help produce change. We need to work to protect the rights of disadvantaged groups, and ensure that Australia's legal and political system is reformed to promote equality.

Below we have listed the core ideas from the social cohesion and social justice approaches.

Which of the following principles is more important in achieving progress towards Reconciliation?

You may agree that both are important at different times but, if you were forced to choose, which one would you favour as most important?

Please place a tick in only one box in each line

	Social cohesion ideas		Social justice ideas
Key objective	☐ Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation.	OR	☐ Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation.
View of conflict	☐ Conflict or dispute within society is undesirable.	OR	☐ Conflict or dispute within society may be a useful part of the process of achieving change.
Focus on rights	☐ We need to focus on protecting the rights of individuals.	OR	☐ We need to focus on protecting the rights of groups of people.
Legal and political system	☐ Australia's legal and political system should be upheld.	OR	☐ Australia's legal and political system should be reformed.

Please enter your personal research code in the space provided below before returning this form via email to: Caroline.Blink@anu.edu.au
Personal Research Code: _____
(M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301)

Thank you

Online Pre-Task Streaming Questionnaire – All Conditions

Contrasting Approaches to Reconciliation

When we think about Reconciliation between Indigenous and other Australians there are two broad philosophical approaches that different people tend to take. I am interested to know which of these you are more comfortable with so that I can place you into a discussion group with people who adopt broadly the same perspective that you do:

1. One approach is what we can call the social cohesion approach. In this view the most important objective is to promote harmony between Indigenous and other Australians. In pursuing this objective it is important to avoid or at least reduce conflict and dispute within society. We need to work to protect people's rights as citizens within our society and ensure that Australia's legal and political system is upheld in order to promote harmony.

2. Another approach can be called the social justice approach. In this view the most important objective is to promote social change to overcome the disadvantage experienced by Indigenous Australians relative to other Australians. In pursuing this objective it is important to accept that conflict and dispute within society may be necessary to help produce change. We need to work to protect the rights of disadvantaged groups, and ensure that Australia's legal and political system is reformed to promote equality.

Below we have listed the core ideas from the social cohesion and social justice approaches.

Which of the following principles is more important in achieving progress towards Reconciliation?

You may agree that both are important at different times but, if you were forced to choose, which one would you favour as most important?

Please click on one option from each of the following pairs of statements.

	Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation.	Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation.
Q1. Key objective	○	○
Q2. View of conflict	Conflict or dispute within society is undesirable. ○	Conflict or dispute within society may be a useful part of the process of achieving change. ○
Q3. Focus on rights	We need to focus on protecting the rights of individuals. ○	We need to focus on protecting the rights of groups of people. ○
Q4. Legal and political system	Australia's legal and political system should be upheld. ○	Australia's legal and political system should be reformed. ○

Q5. Please enter your personal research code in the space provided below (You can obtain your personal research code by using the following formula: M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301):

Would you like to participate in the main study? This involves signing up for a one hour session to be held in the School of Psychology building during Semester 1, 2009, for which you will receive one hour of research participation credit. If your answer is 'yes', then...

Q6. Please provide your email address so that we can contact you to organise a time.

Thank you for your time.

Task Questionnaire – Unframed Non-Interaction Condition
RECONCILIATION AND SUPPORT FOR INDIGENOUS
AUSTRALIANS

Please write your personal research code (M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301) **in the space provided below**

Personal Research Code_____

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box:

☐   I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Please answer the following questions:

1.   Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2.   If no, how many years have you lived in Australia? _____

3.   Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

5.   How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

Thinking about your views on achieving Reconciliation, please read the following statements and circle the number that best reflects the extent to which you agree/disagree with them:

1.   Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   Conflict or dispute within society may be a useful part of the process of achieving change

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of individuals

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4.   Australia's legal and political system should be reformed

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   Conflict or dispute within society is undesirable

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of groups of people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   Australia's legal and political system should be upheld

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with Reconciliation. Your task for the next 15 minutes is to come up with concrete and specific strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, you need to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support Reconciliation within Australia and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided you agree, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Individual Recommendation about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your recommendation for strategies to promote Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

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Task Questionnaire – Social Justice Framed Non-Interaction Condition

RECONCILIATION AND SUPPORT FOR INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIANS

Please write your personal research code (M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301) **in the space provided below**

Personal Research Code_____

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box:

☐ I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐ I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Previously, you indicated that you supported the **social justice approach**. In this view the most important objective is to promote social change to overcome the disadvantage experienced by Indigenous Australians relative to other Australians. In pursuing this objective it is important to accept that conflict and dispute within society may be necessary to help produce change. We need to work to protect the rights of disadvantaged groups, and ensure that Australia's legal and political system is reformed to promote equality.

Can you confirm that you still endorse this approach? Yes / No (Please circle the appropriate response)

Please answer the following questions:

1. Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2. If no, how many years have you lived in Australia? _____

3. Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4. How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

5. How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

Thinking about your views on achieving Reconciliation, please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best reflects the extent to which you agree/disagree with them:

1.   Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   Conflict or dispute within society may be a useful part of the process of achieving
        change
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of individuals
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4.   Australia's legal and political system should be reformed
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   Conflict or dispute within society is undesirable
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of groups of people
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   Australia's legal and political system should be upheld
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with Reconciliation. Your task for the next 15 minutes is to come up with concrete and specific strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, you need to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support Reconciliation within Australia and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided you agree, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Individual Recommendation about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your recommendation for strategies to promote Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

_____

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Task Questionnaire – Social Cohesion Framed Non-Interaction Condition

RECONCILIATION AND SUPPORT FOR INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIANS

Please write your personal research code (M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301) **in the space provided below**

Personal Research Code_____

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box:

☐   I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Previously, you indicated that you supported the **social cohesion approach**. In this view the most important objective is to promote harmony between Indigenous and other Australians. In pursuing this objective it is important to avoid or at least reduce conflict and dispute within society. We need to work to protect people's rights as citizens within our society and ensure that Australia's legal and political system is upheld in order to promote harmony.

Can you confirm that you still endorse this approach? Yes / No (Please circle the appropriate response)

Please answer the following questions:

1.   Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2.   If no, how many years have you lived in Australia? _____

3.   Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

5.   How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

Thinking about your views on achieving Reconciliation, please read the following statements and circle the number that best reflects the extent to which you agree/disagree with them:

1.   Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   Conflict or dispute within society may be a useful part of the process of achieving change

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of individuals

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4.   Australia's legal and political system should be reformed

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   Conflict or dispute within society is undesirable

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of groups of people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   Australia's legal and political system should be upheld

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with Reconciliation. Your task for the next 15 minutes is to come up with concrete and specific strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, you need to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support Reconciliation within Australia and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided you agree, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Individual Recommendation about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your recommendation for strategies to promote Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

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Task Questionnaire – Unframed Discussion Condition

RECONCILIATION AND SUPPORT FOR INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIANS

Please write your personal research code (M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301) **in the space provided below**

Personal Research Code_____

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box:

☐ I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐ I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Please answer the following questions:

1. Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2. If no, how many years have you lived in Australia? _____

3. Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4. How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?
Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

5. How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?
Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

Thinking about your views on achieving Reconciliation, please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best reflects the extent to which you agree/disagree with them:

1.   Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Strongly agree

2.   Conflict or dispute within society may be a useful part of the process of achieving change

Strongly disagree   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Strongly agree

3.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of individuals

Strongly disagree   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Strongly agree

4.   Australia's legal and political system should be reformed

Strongly disagree   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Strongly agree

5.   Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Strongly agree

6.   Conflict or dispute within society is undesirable

Strongly disagree   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Strongly agree

7.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of groups of people

Strongly disagree   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Strongly agree

8.   Australia's legal and political system should be upheld

Strongly disagree   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Strongly agree

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with Reconciliation. Your task for the next 30 minutes is to come up with concrete and specific strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, your group needs to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support Reconciliation within Australia. During your discussion a number of issues and possibilities are likely to be raised, but it is important that you come to an agreement on strategies that you all believe will be effective and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided your group agrees, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Recommendation of Discussion Group about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your group's recommendation for strategies to promote Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

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Task Questionnaire – Social Justice Framed Discussion Condition

RECONCILIATION AND SUPPORT FOR INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIANS

Please write your personal research code (M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301) **in the space provided below**

Personal Research Code_____

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box:

☐　　I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐　　I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

　　　　Previously, you indicated that you supported the **social justice approach**. In this view the most important objective is to promote social change to overcome the disadvantage experienced by Indigenous Australians relative to other Australians. In pursuing this objective it is important to accept that conflict and dispute within society may be necessary to help produce change. We need to work to protect the rights of disadvantaged groups, and ensure that Australia's legal and political system is reformed to promote equality.

Can you confirm that you still endorse this approach? Yes / No (Please circle the appropriate response)

Please answer the following questions:

1.　　Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2.　　If no, how many years have you lived in Australia? _____

3.　　Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.　　How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5　　6　　7　　8　　9 A great deal

5.　　How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all　　1　　2　　3　　4　　5　　6　　7　　8　　9 A great deal

Thinking about your views on achieving Reconciliation, please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best reflects the extent to which you agree/disagree with them:

1.   Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   Conflict or dispute within society may be a useful part of the process of achieving change

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of individuals

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4.   Australia's legal and political system should be reformed

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   Conflict or dispute within society is undesirable

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of groups of people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   Australia's legal and political system should be upheld

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with Reconciliation. Your task for the next 30 minutes is to come up with concrete and specific strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, your group needs to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support Reconciliation within Australia. During your discussion a number of issues and possibilities are likely to be raised, but it is important that you come to an agreement on strategies that you all believe will be effective and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided your group agrees, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Thinking about the task you are about to engage in, please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best reflects your position:

1. How much do you expect the other members of your group to agree with you about this issue

Not at all   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Completely

2. Do you anticipate that your group will be unable to reach a consensus

Not at all   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Completely

3. Do you expect your group to be able to build a consensus around this issue

Not at all   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Completely

Recommendation of Discussion Group about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your group's recommendation for strategies to promote Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

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Task Questionnaire – Social Cohesion Framed Discussion Condition

RECONCILIATION AND SUPPORT FOR INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIANS

Please write your personal research code (M for male or F for female, First two letters of your mother's first name, Your birth date excluding the year, eg mine is FMA2301) **in the space provided below**

Personal Research Code_____

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box:

☐ I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐ I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

> Previously, you indicated that you supported the **social cohesion approach**. In this view the most important objective is to promote harmony between Indigenous and other Australians. In pursuing this objective it is important to avoid or at least reduce conflict and dispute within society. We need to work to protect people's rights as citizens within our society and ensure that Australia's legal and political system is upheld in order to promote harmony.

Can you confirm that you still endorse this approach? Yes / No (Please circle the appropriate response)

Please answer the following questions:

1.   Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

2.   If no, how many years have you lived in Australia? _____

3.   Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

5.   How much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 A great deal

Thinking about your views on achieving Reconciliation, please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best reflects the extent to which you agree/disagree with them:

1.   Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   Conflict or dispute within society may be a useful part of the process of achieving change

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of individuals

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4.   Australia's legal and political system should be reformed

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   Conflict or dispute within society is undesirable

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   We need to focus on protecting the rights of groups of people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   Australia's legal and political system should be upheld

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

The present study

At the Australian National University, we are interested in investigating ways that our local community can help with Reconciliation. Your task for the next 30 minutes is to come up with concrete and specific strategies that can be implemented locally to help with this cause. That is, your group needs to suggest strategies that aim to encourage people to support Reconciliation within Australia. During your discussion a number of issues and possibilities are likely to be raised, but it is important that you come to an agreement on strategies that you all believe will be effective and then write them on the sheet provided.

Provided your group agrees, these ideas will then be written up by me and posted on a website linked to the Australian National University.

Recommendation of Discussion Group about Strategies for Reconciliation

On this piece of paper write your group's recommendation for strategies to promote Reconciliation between Indigenous Australians and other Australians within the broader community.

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Post-Task Questionnaire – All Non-Interaction Conditions

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, first two letters of your mother's first name, your birth date excluding the year, for example mine is: FJU3011)

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box

☐   I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Please rate your agreement with the following statements by circling the number that best represents your position:

1.   I consider myself to be a supporter of the Reconciliation movement

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   Reconciliation should be a collaborative effort involving all Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   Indigenous Australians should not push themselves in where they are not wanted

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4.   It is easy to understand the anger of Indigenous Australians in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   Discrimination against Indigenous Australians is still a major problem in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   Indigenous Australians are getting too demanding in their push for land rights

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   Over the past few years, Indigenous Australians have received less than they deserve economically

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   Indigenous Australians have more influence on government policy than they ought to have

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9.   Over the past few years, the government has shown more respect for Indigenous Australians than they deserve

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10.   I would like to be involved in some way in a community-based group that aims to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11.   I feel committed to engage in further group activities to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12.   I would like to be involved in a group that speaks out about this issue to other people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13.   I would like to sign a petition in support of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14.   I would like to participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Keeping your position on current attitudes towards Reconciliation in mind, please indicate how much you agree with the following statements by circling a <u>number</u>

IMPORTANT:

If you identified yourself as <u>supporting Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>left side</u>

If you identified yourself as <u>not supporting Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>right side</u>

1. I define myself as a supporter of Reconciliation	1. I define myself as a non-supporter of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree
2. I have a lot in common with other supporters of Reconciliation	2. I have a lot in common with other non-supporters of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree
3. I am confident that being a supporter Reconciliation is the best position to hold	3. I am confident that being a non-supporter of Reconciliation is the best position to hold
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree
4. I often think about the fact that I am a supporter of Reconciliation	4. I often think about the fact that I am a non-supporter of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree
5. In general, I'm glad to be a supporter of Reconciliation	5. In general, I'm glad to be a non-supporter of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree
6. I feel strong ties with other supporters Reconciliation	6. I feel strong ties with other non-supporters of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree
7. I am confident that I am a real supporter of Reconciliation	7. I am confident that I am a real non-supporter of Reconciliation
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree · · · · · · · · Strongly Agree

8. Overall, being a supporter of Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a supporter of Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

8. Overall, being a non-supporter of Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of no Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other non-supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a non-supporter of Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other non-supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1. I feel that together supporters of Reconciliation can achieve Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

2. I found the task interesting

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

3. Supporting Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

4. I was bored by the task

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

5. Supporting Reconciliation will be a waste of time, effort and money

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

6. It would be good if all groups could be equal

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

7. In getting what your own group wants, it should never be necessary to use force against other groups

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

8. Treating different groups more equally would create more problems than it would solve

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

9. Group equality is not a worthwhile ideal

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

10. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

11. No group of people is more worthy than any other

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

12. Increased social equality would be a bad thing

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

13. All groups should be given an equal chance in life

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

14. If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

15. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

16. Superior groups should not seek to dominate inferior groups

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

17. Inferior groups should stay in their place

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

18. There is no point in trying to make incomes more equal

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

19.   It's a real problem that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

20.   No one group should dominate in society
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21.   Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please read the following situation and indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements by circling the appropriate <u>number</u> on the scales provided

1.   Thinking about how Indigenous Australians have been treated, I feel:

- Angry   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Guilty   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Ashamed   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Outraged   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Sorry   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Fired-up   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Regretful   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Annoyed   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1.   Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4.   Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   Our country *needs* free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fibre and traditional beliefs
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9.   Everyone should have their own life-style, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everybody else

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10.   The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11.   You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority's view by protesting for women's abortion rights, for animal rights, or environmental protection

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12.   What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13.   Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way things are supposed to be done"

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14.   God's laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15.   There are many radical, immoral people in our country today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16.   A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17.   Our country will be great if we honour the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18.   There is no "ONE right way" to live life; everybody has to create their *own* way

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

19.   Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy "traditional family values"

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

20.   This country would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group's traditional place in society

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21.   People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

22.   What our country needs *most* is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

23.   It's better to have trashy magazines and radical pamphlets in our communities than to let the government have the power to censor them

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

24. Once our government leaders give us the "go ahead," it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please complete the following details

1.   Age: _____

2.   Gender: Male / Female (Please circle)

3.   Do you consider yourself to be an Indigenous Australian: Yes / No (Please circle)

4.   If left wing represents a strong belief in a government-driven economy, communal responsibility and equality, and right wing represents a strong belief in a free-market economy, individual responsibility and reward for effort, where would you place yourself on the following scale

Extremely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Extremely
Left Wing   Right Wing

5.   Which political party, if any, are you more likely to support:: _____

6.   How strongly do you support that party

Not at all strongly   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Very strongly

7.   How important is your support of that party to your personal identity

Not at all important   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Very important

8.   Have you participated in a study like this one in the past? Yes / No (Please circle)

9.   Are you currently actively involved in the Reconciliation movement? Yes / No (Please circle)

10.   What do you think the purpose of this experiment was?

_____

_____

_____

11.   Any other comments?

_____

_____

_____

Post-Task Questionnaire – All Discussion Conditions

Please write your personal research code in the space provided below

Personal Research Code_____

(M for male or F for female, first two letters of your mother's first name, your birth date excluding the year, for example mine is: FJU3011)

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box

☐   I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Please rate your agreement with the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position:

1.   I consider myself to be a supporter of the Reconciliation movement

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   Reconciliation should be a collaborative effort involving all Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   Indigenous Australians should not push themselves in where they are not wanted

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4.   It is easy to understand the anger of Indigenous Australians in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   Discrimination against Indigenous Australians is still a major problem in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   Indigenous Australians are getting too demanding in their push for land rights

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   Over the past few years, Indigenous Australians have received less than they deserve economically

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   Indigenous Australians have more influence on government policy than they ought to have

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9.   Over the past few years, the government has shown more respect for Indigenous Australians than they deserve

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10.   I would like to be involved in some way in a community-based group that aims to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11.   I feel committed to engage in further group activities to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12.   I would like to be involved in a group that speaks out about this issue to other people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13.   I would like to sign a petition in support of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14.   I would like to participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Keeping your position on current attitudes towards Reconciliation in mind, please indicate how much you agree with the following statements by circling a <u>number</u>

IMPORTANT:

If you identified yourself as <u>supporting Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>left side</u>

If you identified yourself as <u>not supporting Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>right side</u>

Left side	Right side
1. I define myself as a supporter of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree	1. I define myself as a non-supporter of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree
2. I have a lot in common with other supporters of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree	2. I have a lot in common with other non-supporters of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree
3. I am confident that being a supporter Reconciliation is the best position to hold 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree	3. I am confident that being a non-supporter of Reconciliation is the best position to hold 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree
4. I often think about the fact that I am a supporter of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree	4. I often think about the fact that I am a non-supporter of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree
5. In general, I'm glad to be a supporter of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree	5. In general, I'm glad to be a non-supporter of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree
6. I feel strong ties with other supporters Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree	6. I feel strong ties with other non-supporters of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree
7. I am confident that I am a real supporter of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree	7. I am confident that I am a real non-supporter of Reconciliation 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree — Strongly Agree

8. Overall, being a supporter of Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a supporter of Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

8. Overall, being a non-supporter of Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of no Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other non-supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a non-supporter of Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other non-supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

Please rate your agreement with the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your impressions of the group discussion

1. The other members of my group were committed to Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. I do not agree with the ideas put forward by my group on Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. I see the other members of my group as genuine supporters of the Reconciliation movement

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. I was bored by the discussion

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. Our group seemed more like people having a chat than a group discussing potential action

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. How much did the other members of your group agree with you

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Completely

7. I found the discussion interesting

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. I think the discussion generated useful ideas that should be passed on to other supporters of the Reconciliation movement

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. There were issues raised during the discussion which the group was unable to agree on

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10. Was your group able to build a consensus around this issue

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Completely

11. I saw the discussion as a real practical aspect of the Reconciliation movement

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12. I thought that the issues raised by my group were boring

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13. My group was unable to reach a consensus

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14. The issues raised during the discussion were engaging

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1. I feel that together supporters of Reconciliation can achieve Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. Supporting Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. Supporting Reconciliation will be a waste of time, effort and money

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. It would be good if all groups could be equal

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

5. In getting what your own group wants, it should never be necessary to use force against other groups

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

6. Treating different groups more equally would create more problems than it would solve

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

7. Group equality is not a worthwhile ideal

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

8. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

9. No group of people is more worthy than any other

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

10. Increased social equality would be a bad thing

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

12. If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

13. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

14. Superior groups should not seek to dominate inferior groups

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

15. Inferior groups should stay in their place

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

16. There is no point in trying to make incomes more equal

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

17. It's a real problem that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

18. No one group should dominate in society

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

19. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Strongly agree

Please read the following situation and indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements by circling the appropriate number on the scales provided

1. Thinking about how Indigenous Australians have been treated, I feel:

- Angry   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Guilty   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Ashamed   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Outraged   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Sorry   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Fired-up   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Regretful Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Annoyed   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the number that best represents your position

1. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7. Our country *needs* free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fibre and traditional beliefs

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Everyone should have their own life-style, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everybody else

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10. The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11. You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority's view by protesting for women's abortion rights, for animal rights, or environmental protection

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12. What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13. Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way things are supposed to be done"

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14. God's laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15. There are many radical, immoral people in our country today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17. Our country will be great if we honour the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18. There is no "ONE right way" to live life; everybody has to create their *own* way

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

19. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy "traditional family values"

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

20. This country would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group's traditional place in society

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

22. What our country needs *most* is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

23. It's better to have trashy magazines and radical pamphlets in our communities than to let the government have the power to censor them

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

24. Once our government leaders give us the "go ahead," it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please complete the following details

1. There are two main approaches that groups can take to this task, one is making sure the group reaches agreement (agreement focus), the other is making sure everybody expresses their views (discussion focus) On the scale below please circle the <u>number</u> of the position which best reflects the approach taken by your group

Extremely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Extremely
discussion   Neither   agreement
focused   focused

2. Age: _____

3. Gender: Male / Female (Please circle)

4. Do you consider yourself to be an Indigenous Australian: Yes / No (Please circle)

5. If left wing represents a strong belief in a government-driven economy, communal responsibility and equality, and right wing represents a strong belief in a free-market economy, individual responsibility and reward for effort, where would you place yourself on the following scale

Extremely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9 Extremely
Left Wing   Right Wing

6. Which political party, if any, are you more likely to support:: _____

7. How strongly do you support that party
Not at all strongly   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Very strongly

8. How important is your support of that party to your personal identity
Not at all important   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Very important

9. Have you participated in a study like this one in the past? Yes / No (Please circle)

10. Are you currently actively involved in the Reconciliation movement? Yes / No (Please circle)

11. What do you think the purpose of this experiment was?

_____

_____

_____

12. Any other comments?

_____

_____

_____

Study 4

Questionnaire

Reconciliation Study

Please indicate your stance on Reconciliation below by ticking the appropriate box

☐   I am a supporter of Reconciliation

☐   I am not a supporter of Reconciliation

Please rate your agreement with the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position:

1. I consider myself to be a supporter of the Reconciliation movement

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. Reconciliation should be a collaborative effort involving all Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. Indigenous Australians should not push themselves in where they are not wanted

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. It is easy to understand the anger of Indigenous Australians in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. Discrimination against Indigenous Australians is still a major problem in Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. Indigenous Australians are getting too demanding in their push for land rights

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7. Over the past few years, Indigenous Australians have received less than they deserve economically

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. Indigenous Australians have more influence on government policy than they ought to have

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Over the past few years, the government has shown more respect for Indigenous Australians than they deserve

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10. I would like to be involved in some way in a community-based group that aims to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11. I feel committed to engage in further group activities to promote greater efforts at Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12. I would like to organise a community activity, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13. I would like to be involved in a group that speaks out about this issue to other people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14. I would vote for a candidate who was in favour of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15. I would like to sign a petition in support of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16. I would like to participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Thinking about your views on achieving Reconciliation, please read the following statements and circle the <u>number</u> that best reflects the extent to which you agree/disagree with them:

1. Creating harmony within society is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2. Efforts to achieve Reconciliation should focus on practical benefits for Indigenous Australians (e.g. improvements in health, housing, education, etc)

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3. Conflict or dispute within society may be a useful part of the process of achieving change

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4. I feel that together supporters of Reconciliation can achieve Reconciliation within Australia

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5. A focus on improving services in Indigenous regions is not the most helpful way to achieve Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6. We need to focus on protecting the rights of individuals

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7. Australia's legal and political system should be reformed

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8. Supporting Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Changing society to overcome disadvantage is the best way to promote Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10. Conflict or dispute within society is undesirable

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11. A focus on symbolic gestures, such as an apology for the Stolen Generations, are not helpful in achieving Reconciliation

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12. Supporting Reconciliation will be a waste of time, effort and money

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13. We need to focus on protecting the rights of groups of people

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14. Efforts to achieve Reconciliation should focus on more symbolic efforts (e.g. apology for past mistreatment of Indigenous Australians)

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15. Australia's legal and political system should be upheld

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Keeping your position on current attitudes towards Reconciliation in mind, please indicate how much you agree with the following statements by circling a <u>number</u>

IMPORTANT:

If you identified yourself as <u>supporting Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>left side</u>

If you identified yourself as <u>not supporting Reconciliation</u> please only answer the statements on the <u>right side</u>

---

1. I define myself as a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

2. I have a lot in common with other supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

3. I am confident that being a supporter Reconciliation is the best position to hold

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

4. I often think about the fact that I am a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

5. In general, I'm glad to be a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

6. I feel strong ties with other supporters Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

7. I am confident that I am a real supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

---

1. I define myself as a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

2. I have a lot in common with other non-supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

3. I am confident that being a non-supporter of Reconciliation is the best position to hold

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

4. I often think about the fact that I am a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

5. In general, I'm glad to be a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

6. I feel strong ties with other non-supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

7. I am confident that I am a real non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

8. Overall, being a supporter of Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a supporter of Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly
Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

8. Overall, being a non-supporter of Reconciliation has very little to do with how I feel about myself

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

9. I often regret that I am a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

10. I am confident that my ideas regarding the issue of no Reconciliation are correct

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other non-supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

12. In general, being a non-supporter of Reconciliation is an important part of my self-image

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

13. I don't feel good about being a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

14. I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other non-supporters of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

15. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a non-supporter of Reconciliation

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

16. The fact that I am a non-supporter of greater efforts to promote Reconciliation rarely enters my mind

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the <u>number</u> that best represents your position

1.   I feel regret for non-Indigenous Australians harmful past actions toward Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   It would be good if all groups could be equal

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   I feel guilty about the negative things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4.   In getting what your own group wants, it should never be necessary to use force against other groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   Treating different groups more equally would create more problems than it would solve

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   Group equality is not a worthwhile ideal

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   I feel regret for some of the things non-Indigenous Australians did to Indigenous Australians in the past

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9.   No group of people is more worthy than any other

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

10.   Increased social equality would be a bad thing

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

11.   All groups should be given an equal chance in life

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

12.   I believe that I should repair the damage caused to Indigenous Australians by non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

13.   If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

14.   We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

15.   Superior groups should not seek to dominate inferior groups

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

16.   I can easily feel guilty for the bad outcomes brought about by non-Indigenous Australians

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

17.   Inferior groups should stay in their place

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

18.   There is no point in trying to make incomes more equal

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

19.   It's a real problem that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

20.   No one group should dominate in society
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

21.   Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please read the following situation and indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements by circling the appropriate number on the scales provided

1.   Thinking about how Indigenous Australians have been treated, I feel:

- Angry   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Guilty   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Ashamed   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Outraged   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Sorry   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Fired-up   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Regretful   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree
- Annoyed   Strongly agree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly disagree

Please rate your agreement on the following statements by circling the number that best represents your position

1.   Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

2.   It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

3.   Everyone should have their own life-style, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everybody else
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

4.   What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

5.   There are many radical, immoral people in our country today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

6.   People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

7.   What our country needs *most* is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

8.   It's better to have trashy magazines and radical pamphlets in our communities than to let the government have the power to censor them
Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

9. Once our government leaders give us the "go ahead," it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within

Strongly disagree   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Strongly agree

Please complete the following details

1. Age: _____

2. Gender: Male / Female (Please circle)

3. Were you born in Australia: Yes / No (Please circle)

4. If no, how many years have you lived in Australia? _____

5. Are you from a non-English speaking background: Yes / No (Please circle)

6. Do you consider yourself to be an Indigenous Australian: Yes / No (Please circle)

7. How much do you know about Reconciliation within Australia?

Nothing 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   A great deal

8. Before today, how much have you thought about Reconciliation within Australia?

Not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   A great deal

9. If left wing represents a strong belief in a government-driven economy, communal responsibility and equality, and right wing represents a strong belief in a free-market economy, individual responsibility and reward for effort, where would you place yourself on the following scale

Extremely   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Extremely
Left Wing   Right Wing

10. Which political party, if any, are you more likely to support:: _____

11. How strongly do you support that party

Not at all strongly   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Very strongly

12. How important is your support of that party to your personal identity

Not at all important   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Very important

13. Are you currently actively involved in the Reconciliation movement? Yes / No (Please circle)

14. If yes, what kind of activities have you taken part in as a Reconciliation movement activist?

_____

_____

_____

15. Any other comments?

_____

_____

Thank you for participating in this research!

Appendix C

Strategies Recommended by Interaction Groups

Study 1
Condition: Unframed Interaction

Group Number: 3
Recommendations:
- Shared cultural events with participation from both Indigenous and white Australians.
- Looking at practical solution instead of focusing on guilt.
- Massive funding directed towards societal problems. Not handouts.
- Less symbolism and more practical solutions
- Promoting significance of aboriginal culture, e.g. TEN CANOES
- Give up on apology from John Howard
- Developing pride associated with Aboriginal culture. Acknowledging that the culture continues.
- Identify common ground. Less antagonism or culture of antagonism.

Group Number: 15
Recommendations:
- Educate and promote the positives of Indigenous characteristics, eg:
    o Sport
    o Environmentalists – through early primary programs
    o Promoting community discussions with incentives to participate
    o Organised public event – Reconciliation festival on university campus – annually and nationally

Group Number: 26
Recommendations:
- Aim to raise awareness through:
    o Community interaction between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal. Make opportunities for local Aboriginal community to become more active. Days where you can experience Aboriginal culture, e.g. children learning to do Aboriginal traditional dancing
    o Encourage Aboriginal people to speak their language and teach others in order to try and bring traditional languages back. Allow them to reform an identity.
    o Providing opportunities for white Australians to interact with Aboriginal communities (similar to overseas exchange but within Australia).
    o Radio talkback with Aboriginal community leaders – making it more mainstream
- How do you move things forward without imposing?

Group Number: 28
Recommendations:
- For a start the government should apologise to the Aboriginal peoples. Seems what they are hanging out for.
- Education of young people within Australia in order to show the devastating affects of what happened in order to prevent it occurring again.
- Financial Aid in order to assist the organisations that teach us about Indigenous cultures and way-of-life.

- Better health care provided to increase the life expectancy which at the moment is much lower than other white Australians.
- Increasing training and employment among Indigenous Australians
- Suicides are very high among Aboriginal Australians; help in the form of counselling could assist this problem.
- A national day to celebrate Indigenous Australians and their heritage, stories, food, way of life.

Group Number: 44
Recommendations:
- Greater education about the key issues and dispelling the myths involved
  - More Australian history at a school level with a greater Indigenous focus
- At ANU → faculties declaring Reconciliation as an important issue
- Public forums with both anglo & indigenous Australians
- Greater advertisement of events such as walk for Reconciliation → Promote interaction between Indigenous & other Australians
- More lobbying at Govt at both federal and local level
- More high profile people promoting Reconciliation events
- Looking at the Private Sector for support for large scale events → information meetings/evenings towards the Private Sector to promote awareness & understanding
- "Great Debate" on commercial TV involving Govt officials, Indigenous Australians, etc
- Walk for Reconciliation set up like the Walk Against Want, etc where participants raise sponsorship for walking, which can be put back into Indigenous awareness programs → easier advertising
  - Incentives such as trips to Aboriginal communities & artwork for those that raise the most money & awareness

Condition: Interaction with Stable Frame
Group Number: 1
Recommendations:
- Further education
- Respect for them
- Teach their history (facts rather than opinions)
- Museums know more bout their culture
- Promote culture music esp. at events
- BBQs at schools to promote ideas
- Integrate them more into the community (maybe exchange idea)
- More say we're all Aussies so just accept don't identify them so much as Indigenous
- Create jobs/industries so they aren't just getting aid
- Don't babysit them, make them work for it; but help them get started. This will improve community view of them.
- Involve the community in Indigenous affairs more (don't separate)
- Help improve community views, maybe involve them more in community to help us hang with them.
- Teach them all English to help communication

- Try to get political involvement of Indigenous people
- Make policies formulated acceptable to them, will help integrate into society

Group Number: 10
Recommendations:
- Some good private schools need to provide scholarships to Indigenous Australians. They will have a chance to receive good education.
- Advertise on TV to give a positive attitude about Indigenous Australians
- Professionals give public talks to make people believe that they are the same.
- Improve Indigenous Australia's education and give them better jobs
- Provide a class that specialises in Aboriginal cultures, give people more understanding of Indigenous Australians
- Poster with big handline "We are the same Australians"
- Providing more academic rewards to Indigenous Australians. Therefore to build up their confidence.
- Community activities can make people work together for a common goal. Make them have a closer distance and understanding each other more
- White people should learn more Indigenous Australians' culture and respect them

Group Number: 25
Recommendations:
- Community awareness
- Publicising through different media as a way to promote Reconciliation acts at the moment, e.g. cross marriages between Indigenous Australians & Australians
- Through Rugby League and AFL, that have a population of Indigenous players we can promote more awareness through advertising profiles of Indigenous players for example which tribe they come from, language & background
- Try to encourage schools to promote a more Indigenous perspective when studying Australian history
- Publicising through talks, seminars, publications, people or companies (e.g. mining) that have developed relationships with Indigenous Australians and how they overcame their "fear" of being around around Indigenous Australians
- Through public events like Multicultural Day, Ethnic Schools Day, Indigenous communities should showcase their culture

Group Number: 31
Recommendations:
- Education for white people
- Mixed socio-economic of housing
- Children program
- Community program – common goal in regional areas
- Local council in regional area have festival
- Schools for them
- Contact with Aboriginal people for people who have "fixed" mindset not liking Aboriginal

Condition: Interaction with an Unstable Frame

Group Number: 2
Recommendations:
- Education on the history and current issues for better understanding, e.g., lectures (public lectures), ceremonies & a formal day
- Public debates and discussions (public dialogues)
- Art competition to promote culture & diversity
- Concerts to feature Aboriginal music
- Promote tolerance and understanding
- More promotion and advertise NAIDOC Week

Group Number: 7
Recommendations:
- Promote Indigenous lifestyle
- Awareness of issues of Reconciliation, current situation
- Education through experience
- Cultural promotion within schools
- Emphasis of community unity – focus groups
- Education of community through public lectures
- Lobbying govt for 'day' to promote knowledge of culture → promotion of issues surrounding Reconciliation
- Education within Indigenous communities of options, education
- Plan – awareness → promotion of attitude change

Group Number: 24
Recommendations:
- Encouraging change in communities, particularly in small communities, to overcome racism, bad social habit (drinking/drugs)
- Education in schools to promote awareness of Aboriginal ancient history as well as their history in the context of settlement → builds notion of Aboriginal ownership of land well before us
- Special lectures in Universities for Aboriginal (+ other) students about their own culture, e.g. educate Aboriginal people in relevant ways to encourage deeper level education + understanding
- Incentives promoting Aboriginal workers via training, apprenticeships
- More communication between Aboriginal community wants/ambitions + govt
- Regular community funded celebrations of Aboriginal culture
- Businesses could research tribes native to their area + incorporate views/foster + support relations

Group Number: 34
Recommendations:
- Education
  - Indigenous culture + language
  - Colonization of Indigenous Australia
  - Clarification + in depth education about Australian History
  - Issues surrounding Indigenous Rights
- Acknowledgement of Indigenous Rights
- Take responsibility for European oppression of Indigenous Australians

- Festivals/Exhibitions of Indigenous Culture supporting Indigenous Theatre + Music + Artists/ Funding, etc
- Apologise for Colonisation + The Stolen Generation
- Communication between Government + Indigenous Leaders
- Raise profile of Indigenous Peoples/Lifestyles/Rights in media/Films
- Integration of Indigenous culture/values/language into community/government
- Teaching Indigenous principals of sustainability in schools/businesses/communities
- Recognising Land Rights
- Introduce Indigenous seats in Federal Parliament
- Country awareness of areas – Indigenous perspectives on land, sacred sites

Study 2
Condition: Unframed Interaction

Group Number: 5
Recommendations:
- posters and awareness meetings for non-indigenous australian's on past injustices against indigenous australians so they are able to understand why reconciliation should happen
- hold communal celebrations – same public holidays, etc
- making a sense of national pride
- having public centres where people can learn both about indigenous and non-indigenous cultures
- ways for non-indigenous people to learn about the ways indigenous people contribute to society
- people teaching children from a young age to accept other cultures such as indigenous people
- using tv programs/ads to promote acceptance and reconciliation
- have the government provide more work opportunities where indigenous and non-indigenous australians can work together
- community settlement – trying to even out the ratio of indigenous and non-indigenous australian's who live in an area together

Group Number: 6
Recommendations:
- welfare
- handouts
- isolation – take people out to the places
- education
- advertising
- functions
- empathy
- government involvement
- assimilation – both ways

Group Number: 7
Recommendations:
- annual "reconciliation day" – a day to focus on and acknowledge aboriginal culture and remember the stolen generation
- provide more opportunities for cultural interaction
- more publicity and promotion through popular figures
- treaties, similar to those seen in New Zealand and America
- aim to reduce cultural divisions – i.e., we are all the one nationality that being simply Australian rather than "Indigenous Australians" and "European Australians"

Group Number: 8
Recommendations:
- change community attitudes – relevance?
- reconciliation guidelines to be established
- continual support and education

- reconciliation implemented into school syllabus (history, etc; not biased)
- general consensus towards aboriginal reconciliation – harbour bridge walks
- stereotypes and prejudices within the community of aboriginals – must change
- non-compulsory events
- if prejudices fall away – events that are contemporary; hands on if bridge walk; not just standing around

Group Number: 9
Recommendations:
- providing better support for indigenous australians
- raising funds, donations
- don't let them feel like an outcast
- specific job opportunities, apprenticeships, etc
- respecting their land
- granting land for their culture
- getting more community involved by sporting teams

Group Number: 10
Recommendations:
- education in schools
- encouraging community aboriginal events
- advertising
- anti-bully type anti-racist campaign
- incorporating aboriginal methods and values into western teaching
- acknowledging aboriginal achievements
- aboriginal leaders more involved in schools
- aboriginals being more highly used in media
- government not buying land and selling it back to them
- educating aboriginals against petrol sniffing and alcohol abuse
- providing assistance with aboriginals
- more aboriginal leaders and achievers being noted and seen as prominent individuals and respected and celebrated
- allowing communities/individuals to choose own lifestyle and supporting them in that choice
- promoting aboriginal bands – "unearthed in the alice" – JJJ
- putting funding (govt) into aboriginal health programs

Condition: Framed Interaction
Group Number: 1
Recommendations:
- government issues – policy and programs on a structural and group level; smaller group influence on government for reconciliation
- encourage the indigenous community to feel comfortable regarding their surroundings, integration between communities; not a pre-disposed image of "us and them", equality in society
- implementation of plans, awareness between community groups at a government level

- induction (?) of aboriginal affairs, on a representative level in government
- how indigenous representatives came to their "post" in the first place
- equal funding for indigenous groups
- comparison to other indigenous cultures and groups – native americans, the aboriginal indigenous culture seem to be worse off
- recognising the aboriginal society, appreciating social values – aspects of multiculturalism
- continual education within australian schools regarding acknowledgement of values and beliefs of the aboriginal culture
- stolen generation – was general consensus at that time, 1920s-1930s
- reconciliation and integration varies in different regions of Australia, thus strategies for reconciliation needs to be shaped differently regarding the various indigenous attitudes towards integration

Group Number: 2

Recommendations:
- there should be a public apology made by the australian government to the aboriginal people about the stolen generation
- try to encourage more integration between white australians and aboriginals
- more education in schools about the stolen generation and how it is unacceptable
- more communication between aboriginals and white australians, negotiating to find a happy medium
- teach in schools about the aboriginal way of life and history and the white australian way of life and history
- more support by the government for disadvantaged aboriginal people and more information about where they can receive support
- more job opportunities for the aboriginal people, more support in being able to get the job and maintaining the job
- we need to try to build a respect towards aboriginal people to make australians equal
- get rid of the tent embassy and allow aboriginals to be a part of parliament
- get aboriginals to help us in relation to land management and droughts, etc – they could teach us how to effectively use the land
- encourage mixed racial marriages

Group Number: 3

Recommendations:
- apology necessary
- early education with activities akin to blue-eye/brown-eye test
- stop practices that create further divisions and point out people are different, i.e. repetitively thanking traditional landowners at school events

Group Number: 4

Recommendations:
- educating our western culture to increase tolerance of the indigenous australians
- educate the indigenous australians on pragmatism, e.g. it was the "past" westerners that really need to apologise than "present" other australians

- value the indigenous australians' culture, e.g. make a public holiday for their traditions/culture
- include syllabus to extend knowledge of the aboriginal culture, e.g. how to greet them; to educate them of cultural awareness
- prime minister, representing whole of australia ("past" or "present") should apologise and explain current affairs

Study 3
Condition: Unframed Interaction

Group Number: 48
Recommendations:
- Starting point – changing attitudes, for many Australians, having a disadvantage other (Indigenous Australian) is useful/necessary to own sense of self/worth
- How do we do that?
    o Engage more with Indigenous communities, to understand what they want/need and work together to achieve it
- Reconciliation
    o Tolerance
    o Understanding
    o Equality
- Introduce issue of Reconciliation into education system at earlier point & follow through "social issues". Investigate white/settler history and impact/interaction with Indigenous communities. History look at Aboriginal history
- Support current measures 'social welfare issues' – again need to educate people why these exist/necessary to change attitudes

Group Number: 49
Recommendations:
- Facilitate the Aboriginal community so that it can assemble a coherent narrative about the past + express a vision for the future
- Continue camps and cultural activities that recognise + celebrate Aboriginal culture
- Continue + expand education + health early intervention in remote communities

Group Number: 50
Recommendations:
- Not many people in our group know much about Reconciliation in Australia so we feel the first step would be to incorporate more information on Australian history, Reconciliation struggles and efforts, and hopes for the future into our education system → forcing people to really think about the issue by providing them with knowledge → hold debates
- Government laws could change to promote Reconciliation
- On a more personal level, to increase social Reconciliation, social workers could be allocated to watch over particular geographical regions, with an aim to recognise particular areas of inequalities and an attempt to discover why this remains. Similarly, the areas that seem to have made significant moves towards Reconciliation, examine these and find out what steps have lead to these successful efforts
- Public apologies from individuals and varying community groups so apology comes from 'the people' not seemingly just the Government
- Hearing directly from Aboriginal people
    o News/media
    o Parliament

       o   Schools
- Increased promotion of Harmony Day and similar

Condition: Social Justice Framed Interaction

Group Number: 51

Recommendations:
- More big events like "Sorry Speech" & the walk across the bridge. Ensure this as a major media event.
- Enlist famous Australian sponsors as speakers on behalf of this cause, e.g. Cate Blanchett
- Appeal to the media to promote the success stories of Aboriginals in Australia & show more understanding when exposing the negative
- More promotion of the long-term damages of unacceptable treatment of Aboriginals
- Create more public forums which facilitate Aboriginals expressing their personal stories of disadvantage & hardships, including the long-term effects and how they have overcome these to achieve. This will hopefully engage an emotive reaction at a personal & public level. This could be done in schools, uni, government organisations, large organisations, shopping centres & concert, e.g. live 8
- Clear & upfront figures ($) on how much money Aboriginals are receiving (as there seems to be a myth they are getting alot) in comparison to what the average Australian receives.

Group Number: 54

Recommendations:
- More Aboriginal history taught in schools
- Education on Mabo & Wik cases
- Media promotion and education on what Reconciliation is
- Focus on psychological affects of stolen generation, displacement, dispossession and discrimination
- Breakdown stereotypes of Aboriginal people
- More contact between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in terms of activities, fun things, social programs
- Incorporate Aboriginal flag into the National Australian flag
- Change National anthem to include Aboriginal & Indigenous people
- Provide more scholarships for Aboriginal people in rural communities
- More Aboriginal people represented in Federal Parliament
- More Education for non-Aboriginal Australians on Aboriginal culture and language. Also education for Aboriginal people as well.
- Make "Indigenous Australia Day" not just an "Australia Day"

Condition: Social Cohesion Framed Interaction

Group Number: 52

Recommendations:
- Education in schools to promote tolerance (of differences – not just race)
- Representation on political Indigenous leaders → permanent compulsory seat
- Reform the government spending → food vouchers to be used at supermarkets <u>not</u> McDonalds

- Talk to the Indigenous clan leaders → ask what they want
- Use Indigenous figurehead (e.g. Ernie Dingo) to increase the status of Indigenous Australians and their achievements
- Greater tolerance and integration
  - o Government aid perhaps focusing on low social economic families and <u>not</u> race. Need to stop separation
- Acknowledge the mistakes of the past but not responsibility (not our actions)
- Aboriginal studies → compulsory for 2 years perhaps but make it fun to learn
- "Sister schools"
  - o Primary schools matched with Indigenous schools
  - o Push for Indigenous student quota (not enforced, subtle force to maintain diversity). Create a balance!!
- Teaching tolerance to Indigenous Australians & white Australians
- Aboriginal health centres → physically/genology different, e.g. women's health centres exist, therefore why not Indigenous specializations!!

Group Number: 53
Recommendations:
- Education – Aboriginal studies in primary school curriculum compulsory for all students and both private and public schools
- Concentrate legislative and social reforms at protecting rights of individuals
- Greater allocation of health education and services to remote Aboriginal communities
- Social benefit wage paid in food and health/hygiene products or specific vouchers
- Integration of Reconciliation schemes into public sector (rather than just/or primarily being a political issue)
  - o Schools
  - o Universities
  - o Workplaces
  - o Recreation clubs, etc
- Greater access to higher education for Aboriginal youth
- NOTE: We believe that Reconciliation can only be achieved after social equality has been accomplished.

Group Number: 55
Recommendations:
- Educating people about the need for Reconciliation
- Promoting diversity
- Making people aware of the reasons why Aboriginals are discriminated against
- Increase in Aboriginal history in school syllabus

Group Number: 56
Recommendations:
- Awareness day to promote more interaction and understanding
- Start primary school education to educate the younger generation
- More courses about Aboriginal integrated into school curriculum
- Promote social interactions through sports and other events

- Focus is on the younger generation and maybe this will influence the older generation
- Aboriginal museum built locally to showcase the local history of Aborigines in the area
- Have Aborigines in local councils
- Promote understanding of Australian law among Aborigines to reduce misunderstanding
- National summit with Aboriginal elders and federal leaders to address issues
- Make it easier to claim on Crown land
- Younger and better school system for Aboriginal children

Appendix D

Correlational Paper Based on Study 4 Data

Blink, C., Mavor, K. I., & McGarty, C. M. (2010). Social Identity and Individual

Difference Variables as Predictors of Prejudice and Support for Social Change. In

submission.

Social Identity and Individual Difference Variables as Predictors of Prejudice and Support for

Social Change

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Abstract

The predictors of prejudice and conflictual actions have long been studied but the predictors of opposition to prejudice and intergroup cooperation have received less attention. In this study, we use individual-difference variables and social-identity measures to predict prejudice, collective efficacy beliefs and social change action intentions among 189 non-Indigenous supporters of reconciliation with Indigenous Australians. We found that right wing authoritarianism was a significant predictor of prejudice but social dominance orientation and social identification were significant predictors of prejudice, action intentions and collective efficacy beliefs. The results demonstrate that social dominance orientation has wider applicability than right-wing authoritarianism but social identification adds considerable value to the explanation of opposition to prejudice.

Keywords: collective action, group identification, individual differences, opinion-based groups, right-wing authoritarianism, self-categorization theory, social dominance orientation, social identity theory

Social Identity and Individual Difference Variables as Predictors of Prejudice and Support for Social Change

There are often strong divisions within powerful and privileged groups about how to treat weaker and less privileged groups. Thus some members of high status prestigious groups are prejudiced towards the low status members of society and seek to maintain the status quo. Others seek to atone for past harm and continuing disadvantage through apology or compensation. These or others might also seek to support the advancement of members of the low status group while maintaining social cohesion, or express a desire for social justice and broad ranging reforms of society, and it this last category that is the focus of this paper.

Theorists have long agreed that what we can broadly term political ideology, whether that be based on the politics of race, gender, religion or socio-economics, plays an important part in explaining differences of opinions in the advantaged group (Altemeyer, 1981, 1998; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). There is far less agreement about how best to understand the ideological aspects of society. One tradition of theorists has focused on the individual determinants of ideology. In particular, measures of personality have been proposed as predictors of prejudice and support and opposition for changing relations between social groups. This tradition reached high prominence in the work of Adorno and colleagues (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) and has been continued in quite different ways in research on social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and right wing authoritarianism (RWA; Altemeyer, 1981, 1996). This ongoing interest can be seen most clearly in social dominance theory, which proposes that individuals who are high in social dominance orientation (SDO) will tend to hold attitudes that serve to enhance the existence of hierarchies in society and will work to maintain those hierarchies (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994).

A different view can be seen in the social identity approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner et al., 1987, but was anticipated by Sherif, e.g., M. Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & C. W. Sherif, 1961|1988). This tradition sees hostile stereotypes as a natural consequence of differentiation between social groups arising from an objective conflict of interest over resources (under realistic group conflict theory) or (in the case of the social identity approach) also from subjective or perceived conflicts between the groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). Social identity theorists have devoted far more attention to understanding when minority groups will seek to throw off oppression but Haslam (2001) has also elaborated the circumstances under which members of high status groups are more likely to engage in social competition and/or supremacist ideologising (for an application of this approach to white-power groups see Douglas, McGarty, Bliuc & Lala, 2005).

More generally social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) proposed that specific ideological constructs played the critical mediating role between group membership and support for action to challenge or support the status quo. Specifically, people who believed that social change was possible were more likely (other things being equal) to engage in social competition with the out-group. People who believed that individuals, but not groups, were likely to change their status were less likely to engage in direct competition or conflict. Social perception and social behaviour are both powerfully regulated by social norms that are developed through interaction with in-group members. It follows that these normative products can contain ideological aspects, but it is only recently that researchers in this tradition have begun to specify how this might work. For example, recent work has emphasised the importance of beliefs about collective efficacy (following Bandura, 1986, 1995, 1997, 2000). Broadly speaking, to the extent that some group of people believes that they can successfully bring about change in the world they are more likely to commit to action to support that change. This idea figures centrally in the work of van Zomeren and

colleagues (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004).

This recent interest in ideology extends so far that Wright (2009) identified the reintroduction of ideology as one of the most exciting trends in the new wave of research on collective action. Indeed a good example of a significant contribution to this trend is the discussion of social cohesion and social justice ideologies (Wright & Lubensky, 2008). In this paper we specifically focus on propositions developed by McGarty, Bliuc, Thomas and Bongiorno (2009) that build on Bliuc, McGarty, Reynolds, and Muntele's (2007) work on opinion-based groups (Cameron & Nickerson, 2009; Gee, Khalaf & McGarty, 2007; Musgrove & McGarty, 2008; O'Brien & McGarty, 2009; Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009). This work shows that groups based around a perception of shared opinion represent one way in which the ideological aspects of society can be captured in collective terms.

The approach differs from that of Subašić, et al. (2008) and Livingstone and Haslam (2008) where ideology and identity are seen as separate constructs so that ideology is contained within the content of a particular social identity. As such, any divisions over the meaning of the group identity are perceived as a contest *between* members who hold the *same* group identity. While agreeing that the former is indeed a common form of intragroup dispute, work by McGarty and colleagues (McGarty et al., 2009; Thomas et al., 2009) on opinion-based groups allows the contrasting view that ideology is encapsulated within the opinion-based group identity itself. As such, according to this formulation, a division over the meaning of an opinion-based group identity can become not just a battle within a group but a battle *between* members of two *different* opinion-based groups.

The approach we are taking here is to incorporate both individual-difference predictors and social-identity level predictors in going beyond social movement support to

the specific likelihood of actions in support of change. We consider first the likely role of individual difference measures followed by a consideration of social identity factors.

Individual-Difference Predictors

Sibley and Duckitt (2008) conclude that RWA and SDO are the two best individual-difference predictors of prejudice. RWA was developed by Altemeyer (1981) to capture individual differences in willingness to both submit to the rules and norms of a higher (e.g. political or religious) authority, and to seek to dominate those demonised by that authority. RWA is correlated with prejudice toward a wide range of minority or "deviant" groups (Altemeyer, 1981, 1998; Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003; Pedersen & Walker, 1997; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; Stones, 2006), although, there has been some evidence to suggest that this relationship varies as a result of situation (Reynolds & Turner, 2006; Verkuyten & Hagendoorn, 1998) or type of target group (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007).

SDO, on the other hand, was developed as a measure of support for social hierarchies and unequal relations between groups (Pratto, et al., 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This preference for hierarchy promotes negative attitudes toward disadvantaged or minority groups within society due to a tendency to view these groups as inferior and deserving of their minority status (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Numerous studies have demonstrated the significance and strength of this relationship across a wide range of minority groups (Altemeyer, 1998; Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; Stones, 2006). As with RWA, the relationship varies with situational factors (Reynolds, Turner, Haslam, Ryan, Bizumic, & Subasic, 2007) and type of target group (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007).

These two individual difference variables do not substantially overlap as predictors, suggesting that they each provide a unique contribution to the prediction of negative attitudes towards minority group members (Altemeyer, 1998; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Importantly, no

other individual difference variables have been shown to provide explanatory power over and above these (Altemeyer, 1998; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008).

Social Identity-Related Predictors

Social (sometimes 'in-group') identification is the degree to which someone sees themselves as part of a group. Cameron (2004) argues that social identification is a multidimensional construct based around three factors (but see Leach et al., 2008, who argue for five factors). The three factors specified by Cameron are ingroup affect (feeling good about a group membership), ingroup ties (a sense of connectedness to the group) and centrality (the degree to which the group is important to the self).

A critical question here is what social identity is relevant to rejecting prejudice and supporting reduced disadvantage? Rather than focus on superordinate or social categorical identities based around nation, race, ethnicity or position in society, we focus on identification with opinion-based groups. Opinions about possible changes in the world can themselves form the basis for groups made up of people who see themselves as sharing an identity with other like-minded people. Thus, supporters of a woman's right to choose can (but need not) see themselves as part of a group made up of other pro-choice people and see their group as excluding pro-life advocates. Importantly, those groups are not reducible to categories based on gender, political affiliation, religion, race, or sexual orientation. For example, Catholics are less likely to support a woman's right to choose but Catholic pro-life advocates can find common cause and organize politically with Protestants who have very different religious beliefs. Similarly, male Catholic pro-choice advocates can form common cause with atheist, feminist women. Turning to the issue of community relations: the civil rights movement in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s was made up of both African Americans and other people including many European Americans.

Recent work has shown that opinion-based group identification is an excellent predictor of politically relevant action intentions in relation to partisan politics (Bliuc et al., 2007), the War on Terror (Musgrove & McGarty, 2008) and support for international development (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas, et al., 2009) and anti-globalisation protests (Cameron & Nickerson, 2009), but only the last of these has used the multidimensional conception of social identification advocated by Cameron (2004, or others such as Leach et al., 2008). Our aim is to help fill this gap.

Predicting Commitment to Social Change and Prejudice

In addition to prejudice we were interested in the degree to which members of the advantaged and dominant category are willing to take socio-political action to improve the conditions for members of the low status category. To this end we use a measure of socio-political action intentions based on that of Bliuc et al. (2007). In the domain of intergroup relations, however, it is important also to consider prejudiced attitudes as they might relate to individual practice and interactions with members of the disadvantaged group. Finally, given the ideological overlay of this variable and its importance in recent models (*cf.* van Zomeren, Spears, et al., 2004) we included a measure of collective efficacy.

Current Study

In Australia, there has been an ongoing debate about past harm and the current status of Indigenous Australians (i. e., Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders) in Australian society. Indigenous Australians representing a small minority of the population have experienced colonial dispossession and extended racial discrimination that was encapsulated in official government policies up to the 1970s that encouraged the forcible removal of many Indigenous children from their parents (the Stolen Generations; Manne, 2001). Indigenous Australians die much earlier than other Australians and are massively overrepresented in the

criminal justice system (Australian Bureau of Statistics & Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2008)

Since 1997 there has been a growing movement to support reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. This movement involves many Indigenous leaders and voices but our focus in this paper is on the non-Indigenous population. The key political elements of a program of reconciliation that have attracted debate are a formal apology to the Stolen Generations by the Australian Government (formally recommended in 1997 but only delivered in 2008), land rights (native title an ongoing source of tension), compensation for past harm (rejected by past and current Australian Governments), a formal treaty between the Australian Government and Indigenous Australian peoples, and a program of government action to reduce Indigenous disadvantage (launched in 2008 under the title "Close the Gap" referring to the gaps in life expectancy, infant mortality, morbidity, and educational and employment outcomes).

Our focus here was specifically on supporters of the Reconciliation movement within the non-Indigenous majority. We wished to explore the relative utility of SDO and RWA and social identification as a supporter of Reconciliation as predictors of (rejection of) prejudice and social change action intentions and of collective efficacy. It was hypothesised that both RWA and SDO would be good predictors of prejudice but only SDO would predict action intentions and efficacy. Specifically, given those high in SDO are most supportive of maintaining the status quo, these individuals are also less likely to support social change or believe that collective action can be effective in changing society. As such, it was hypothesised that participants with lower levels of SDO will be more likely to support social change action and believe that this action will be effective. We were also interested in possible overlap between the subscales of social identification and SDO and RWA; in

particular, which components of social identification would add independently to the prediction of prejudice and action intentions.

Method

Participants

One hundred and eighty-nine undergraduate students from an Australian university completed the study (126 female and 63 male; between the ages of 16 and 59, $M = 21.33$, $SD = 6.63$). Given that the focus of the research was on supporters of reconciliation from the majority group (i.e. non-Indigenous Australians), those participants who did not indicate their ethnicity ($n = 3$) or identified themselves as Indigenous Australians ($n = 8$) or non-supporters of Reconciliation ($n = 2$) were removed from the sample.

The data were collected over a three-year period between August, 2006 and June, 2009. Of these, 146 participants signed up to complete a larger set of studies in a laboratory setting and were given course credit or a payment of $10 for their time. To supplement these data, a further 43 participants were approached, and completed the questionnaire as they were waiting to enrol in courses for 2008.

Materials and Procedure

Social Identification.

Participants categorized themselves as a group member at the beginning of the questionnaire by ticking a box to indicate whether they were a "supporter" or "non-supporter" of reconciliation. They were asked to remember this group membership and keep it in mind as they responded to the identification items on the same 9-point Likert scale (from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 9 = *strongly agree*) used for all measures. Identification was measured with Cameron's (2004) three factor measure of social identification, which consists of four items for each factor. Example items include: 'I feel strong ties with other supporters of Reconciliation' (ingroup ties); 'I often think about the fact that I am a supporter of

Reconciliation' (centrality); and 'In general, I'm glad to be a supporter of Reconciliation' (ingroup affect). A parallel set of items appeared on the page which measured identification as a non-supporter of Reconciliation for those who self-categorized as such.

Prejudice and collective action intentions.

The first of three key dependent variables included a five-item measure of support for collective action was also included and was adapted from Bliuc et al.'s (2007) measure. An example item is: 'I would like to participate in a group action, such as a march or rally, in support of Reconciliation'. A 3-item measure of efficacy, adapted from van Zomeren, Spears, et al. (2004), was also included. An example item is: 'Supporting Reconciliation will make a difference to relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians'.

As Reconciliation is aimed at uniting both Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders with non-Indigenous Australians, the Modern Racism Scale was used as the key measure of prejudice toward Indigenous Australians generally. This scale was initially converted from the original American scale (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981) to better reflect the specific Australian context with the focus of racist attitudes being either Aborigines (Augoustinos, Ahrens & Innes, 1994; Pedersen & Walker, 1997) or Indigenous Australians (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003). An example item from this scale is: 'Indigenous Australians should not push themselves in where they are not wanted'.

Individual differences.

Measures of SDO (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and RWA (Altemeyer, 1998) were included as the individual difference variables. The 16-item measure of SDO used was the counterbalanced, two factor version derived from the original by Jost and Thompson (2000). While the subscales were not used independently in the following analyses, an example item from the two factors are: 'To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other

groups' (Group Based Dominance) and 'Group equality is not a worthwhile ideal' (Opposition to Equality).

The 9-item RWA measure included was that suggested by Smith and Winter (2002) based on a face-valid selection of items from underlying components of the original Altemeyer (1998) 30-item measure. An example item is: 'It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds'. Given some concerns over the validity of the subscale selection based on subsequent findings (Mavor, Louis, & Sibley, 2010), the subscales were not used separately in the analyses presented here, but the 9-item measure is nonetheless a good representation of the overall RWA construct.

Demographic Information.

Participants were asked to rate how much they knew about Reconciliation within Australia (from 1 = *nothing* to 9 = *a great deal*) and how much they had thought about Reconciliation within Australia (from 1 = *not at all* to 9 = *a great deal*). Demographic information (age, gender) was also requested. To assess ethnicity participants were asked 'Do you consider yourself to be an Indigenous Australian?'; those who answered yes were excluded from further analysis. Participants were given the following definition of political orientation in terms of left and right wing (LRW) adapted from the definition given by Greenberg and Jonas (2005) and asked to place themselves on a 9-point scale (from 1 = *extremely left wing* to 9 = *extremely right wing*)

<div align="center">Results</div>

Preliminary Analyses

The reliabilities for all scales were acceptable, and can be found in Table 1 along with the means and standard deviations for all of the key measures included in the questionnaire. The correlations between the key variables along with age, gender, political orientation and

measures of how much participants had thought of or knew about Reconciliation can be found in Table 2. These correlations show strong associations between the identification subscales and varying patterns of association with the other variables measured suggesting good discriminant validity.

Main Analyses

We conducted a series of hierarchical regressions to evaluate the relative predictive power of individual-difference variables and social identity predictors for the three key dependent variables used in this study. The individual difference variables were always included in the model first so as to allow us to demonstrate the added utility of social identification, after accounting for RWA and SDO. These analyses also allow us to demonstrate the utility of evaluating the effect of identification at the subscale level (i.e., ingroup ties, centrality and ingroup affect) rather than at a more general level. The pattern of the following reported results did not change when the effects of gender, age and political orientation (LRW) were controlled.

Table 3 shows the analysis of modern racism. For this variable, both RWA and SDO are significant and strong positive predictors that explain 29.5% of the variance between them. The three identification subscales, however, significantly add to predicting prejudiced attitudes explaining a further 16.1% of the variance. Specifically, ingroup affect is a significant negative predictor and is the strongest predictor in the set. Following the inclusion of the identification subscales, SDO and RWA remained significant but weaker predictors of prejudice. The final model explains 45.6% of the variance in modern racism, $F (5, 180) = 30.14, p < .000$.

As can be seen in Table 4, RWA is not a significant predictor of action intentions but SDO is a strong negative predictor accounting for 13.3% of the variance in collective action intentions among supporters. However, centrality and ingroup affect are independent,

significant predictors and explain an additional 29.1% of the variance. SDO remained a significant predictor of moderate size when the other variables were included in the analysis. The final model explains 42.4% of the variance, $F (5, 180) = 26.47$, $p < .000$.

As shown in Table 5, SDO is a strong negative predictor explaining 19.9% of the variance in perceived efficacy. SDO remained a strong and significant predictor of efficacy when the identification variables were added. Ingroup affect was a significant and strong positive predictor and explained a further 22.8% of this variance. The final model explains 42.7% of the variance, $F (5, 180) = 26.87$, $p < .000$.

Discussion

The results show that both RWA and SDO were, as expected, significant and useful predictors of prejudice in this sample of supporters of Reconciliation. This is important to note as prejudice was understandably low but the individual difference variables still made an important contribution in a domain where we might expect that a truncated range would limit their predictive power. However, these results add further to clarifying the relative utility of RWA and SDO. While SDO also impacted on predictions of collective efficacy and action intentions (as predicted based on social dominance theory), RWA did not.

On the other hand, the social identification subscales consistently provided a significant and useful contribution to prediction over and above that made by SDO and RWA (explaining a further 16% to 29% of the total variance). In addition, as expected, the subscales differentially added to the prediction of each variable among supporters. While ingroup ties offered no additional prediction to any of the dependent variables when the other subscales were included, centrality was a strong independent predictor of support for collective action; and ingroup affect significantly added to the prediction of all three outcome variables over and above the other identification, and individual-difference subscales. This finding is most impressive in relation to modern racism as this is the domain where SDO and

RWA have been shown to be excellent predictors in the past; even here ingroup affect significantly added to prediction and was the best single predictor.

It is interesting that SDO was a significant independent predictor of collective action and efficacy. This suggests that people can (perhaps nominally) support a cause such as Reconciliation and also hold ideologies that support the status quo; they are just less likely to take action. This may point to divisions and fault lines that may forestall action in social movements. For example, Wright and Lubensky (2008) distinguish social cohesion and social justice ideologies. We suspect our higher SDO participants supported social cohesion approaches to improving intergroup relations within Australia. According to Wright and Lubensky's (2008) formulation this would make these supporters less likely to engage in collective action as a means of overcoming the disadvantage of Indigenous Australians and more likely to support prejudice reduction strategies.

These results are particularly useful in demonstrating the complementarity of both individual-difference (particularly SDO) and social-identity predictors in explaining prejudice and action intentions among majority supporters of positive relations between the majority and minority group. Even if we are cautious to avoid over-interpreting the relative strengths of the two set of predictors it is still the case that the results show that there are important degrees of overlap and independence between these sets of variables. In particular we can conclude that RWA, SDO and the identification subscales (especially ingroup affect and centrality) are all measuring different things and are useful for different purposes. More generally, if we fail to measure one or more of these constructs then we are likely to fail to predict societally important variables that go beyond generalised attitudes to include the intention to act on behalf of the disadvantaged group.

Conclusions

One of the key strengths of the current study is that it adds to our knowledge of majority supporters of improved relations between a dominant majority and a disadvantaged minority. It allows us to better understand when these supporters will accept and reject prejudiced attitudes and be more likely to act to promote social change. This is important for many causes where there is a silent majority within a population who are in favour of social change but only a minority who are willing to act on that belief.

In addition to demonstrating the utility of measuring group level predictors, such as identification, we have also shown the benefit of a more nuanced evaluation of its influence and the importance of finding the most appropriate and relevant collective identity for a given situation. In the case of Reconciliation supporters, their feelings about this group identity are most important in shaping their attitudes toward Indigenous Australians and their sense of efficacy about the impact of their actions on improving relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. However, it is the centrality of this identity, or how important it is to their sense of self, combined with their feelings about their group identity which are the driving influences behind their willingness to engage in collective action to bring about Reconciliation. The strength of the relationships between the identification subscales and the dependent variables provide solid evidence of the need to look beyond social categories and national identities when evaluating group level predictors as these may not be the most relevant identities for shaping responses to intergroup relations. The evidence from this research demonstrates the importance of these social psychological variables for contemporary political debates and highlights the need to look beyond the personal when examining peoples attitudes and evaluating the likelihood that they will act to bring about positive changes in society.

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Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for the Key Variables

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*% > Midpoint*	α
Ingroup Ties	5.20	1.48	76.2	.74
Centrality	4.09	1.64	42.3	.76
Ingroup Affect	7.36	1.20	98.9	.80
Support for Reconciliation	7.80	1.32	97.9	.77
Support for Collective Action	6.08	1.77	80.9	.90
Efficacy	7.39	1.17	97.3	.67
Modern Racism	3.11	1.21	12.2	.78
Social Dominance Orientation	2.58	0.96	3.7	.81
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	3.17	1.26	14.9	.75
Left-Right Political Orientation	5.26	1.93	66.5	--
Know about Reconciliation	5.19	1.83	65.7	--
Thought of Reconciliation	5.29	2.08	66.7	--

Table 2

Correlations of Key Variables

Variable Name	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
1. Modern Racism	—											
2. Action Intentions	-.51***	—										
3. Efficacy	-.44***	.56***	—									
4. Ingroup Ties	-.24**	.42***	.36***	—								
5. Centrality	-.22**	.51***	.32***	.48***	—							
6. Ingroup Affect	-.56***	.53***	.60***	.50***	.37***	—						
7. SDO	.44***	-.36***	-.44***	-.30***	-.10	-.41***	—					
8. RWA	.41***	-.13	-.16*	-.01	.12	-.23**	.22**	—				
9. Know about Reconciliation	-.30***	.21**	.10	.24**	.26***	.29***	-.20**	-.21**	—			
10. Thought of Reconciliation	-.46***	.50***	.34***	.27***	.44***	.42***	-.26***	-.30***	.61***	—		
11. LRW	.20**	-.10	.09	.06	-.08	-.03	.06	.31***	.06	-.02	—	
12. Gender	-.22**	.18*	.11	.19**	.01	.15*	-.20**	-.08	-.05	.06	-.02	—
13. Age	-.03	.06	-.04	-.10	.16*	-.10	.01	-.19*	.06	.13	-.17*	-.09

* < .05. ** < .01. *** < .001

Table 3

Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Modern Racism From Individual

Difference Variables (Entered at Step 1) and Social Identification Subscales (Entered at

Step 2)

Predictor	ΔR^2	β	*p*	Partial R^2
Step 1	.295			
RWA		.319	< .001	.347
SDO		.373	< .001	.397
Step 2	.161			
RWA		.271	< .001	.323
SDO		.231	< .001	.268
Ingroup Ties		.100	.152	.107
Centrality		-.115	.079	-.131
Ingroup Affect		-.424	< .001	-.408

Note. This pattern of results does not change if the effects of Age, Gender and LRW are controlled for.

Table 4

Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Support for Collective Action From

Individual Difference Variables (Entered at Step 1) and Social Identification Subscales

(Entered at Step 2)

Predictor	ΔR^2	β	p	Partial R^2
Step 1	.133			
RWA		-.043	.542	-.045
SDO		-.352	< .001	-.345
Step 2	.291			
RWA		-.069	.258	-.084
SDO		-.173	.007	-.198
Ingroup Ties		.058	.419	.060
Centrality		.356	< .001	.368
Ingroup Affect		.281	< .001	.276

Note. This pattern of results does not change if the effects of Age, Gender and LRW are controlled for.

Table 5

Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Efficacy From Individual Difference

Variables (Entered at Step 1) and Social Identification Subscales (Entered at Step 2)

Predictor	ΔR^2	β	p	Partial R^2
Step 1	.199			
RWA		-.059	.384	-.064
SDO		-.429	< .001	-.423
Step 2	.228			
RWA		-.011	.860	-.013
SDO		-.232	< .001	-.264
Ingroup Ties		.032	.649	.034
Centrality		.088	.189	.098
Ingroup Affect		.465	< .001	.435

Note. This pattern of results does not change if the effects of Age, Gender and LRW are controlled for.