

**Personality, Political Values, and Attitudes
about Ethnic Minorities in Canada**

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Paper prepared for Canadian Political Science Association Annual Meeting, June 4-6, 2013 in Victoria, BC. The author would like to thank Fred Cutler and Antje Ellerman for their helpful comments.

Decades of research in psychology have built the consensus that personality influences prejudice. Recent breakthroughs in the so-called Big Five personality factors refine this idea by establishing that the personality dimensions *Openness to Experience* and *Agreeableness* consistently influence attitudes toward others perceived as different (Duckitt 2001). What has not been established is how personality influences attitudes toward public policies regulating ethnic relations. Past research has identified numerous determinants that shape political attitudes about these policies, such as values, material self-interest, political sophistication, and media consumption. But, the fact that political attitudes are fundamentally shaped by personality is often overlooked in the political science literature. As Mondak (2010) states, citizens are not simply “blank slates” onto which political determinants imprint. Personalities influence how these political determinants shape the attitudes political scientists investigate. The focus of the current paper is on the influence of Openness to Experience and Agreeableness personality dimensions on individual ethnic attitudes. Is their influence as predicted in the smaller-scale, more intimate scenarios examined by psychologists? Are personality traits stable influences on ethnic policy attitudes or can they be overridden? What happens when negative stereotypes are encountered? Are personalities predisposed to tolerance able to disregard stereotypes? Or do stereotypes affect these personalities in a similar manner as personalities predisposed to intolerance? What other determinants might help these typically tolerant individuals overcome any negative reactions to express positive ethnic attitudes more aligned with their personalities?

Research on citizens’ attitudes about policies related to ethnic relations rarely looks at the link between citizens’ personality and their policy preferences. This study endeavors to do so in a Canadian setting. Amongst Western democracies, Canada is a particularly interesting case where ethnic diversity policies are concerned. The country has been *de facto* ethnically diverse since its inception in 1867, with sizable English, French, and Aboriginal populations. In 1971, *de facto* ethnic diversity became a political reality when Canada became the first country to adopt an official policy of multiculturalism. Since then, millions of tax dollars have been dedicated annually to federal multiculturalism programs, and a large policy framework has been built with the objective of interethnic understanding, civic participation, and interaction between Canada’s disparate ethnic groups (Abu-Laban and Stasiulis 1992). Moreover, it is widely acknowledged that Canadians are proud of their multicultural society, and a normative consensus has emerged amongst the public and political leaders about the value of ethnic diversity (e.g., Adams 2007; Bilodeau et al. 2012). However, cracks in the consensus exist (e.g., Bissoondath 1994; Seidle 2008). So, the Canadian context is highly relevant for an analysis attempting to untangle the effects of personality on ethnic diversity policy preferences.

The theoretical and empirical focus here is about the complex relationship between political attitudes and personality traits. The analysis hopes to contribute to the academic debate in two ways. First, it asks if the personality traits that consistently predict prejudice in small-scale psychological studies predict ethnic policy attitudes in a large national study of Canadians in their everyday lives. The analysis finds that the insights of psychological experiments can only go so far. When a controversial symbol of ethnic difference – the Muslim hijab – is primed, personality traits no longer predict tolerant and intolerant policy attitudes. The typical gap between personalities prone to

prejudice and personalities prone to tolerance closes. The second goal of the paper is to investigate how this gap can be opened again – how might individuals with personalities prone to tolerance overcome negative reactions to controversial ethnic symbols and support ethnic policy as they should, given the evidence from experimental psychology? That is, how can they achieve attitude-personality consistency? The analysis demonstrates that people with tolerant personalities can achieve attitudinal coherence if they subscribe to liberal egalitarian political values. Liberal egalitarian values, or valuing the equality of groups, the welfare of others, etc., can override exclusionary reactions of typically tolerant individuals. The analysis finds that other typical determinants of political attitudes cannot.

An important insight of the analysis, then, is that attitudes expressed by people with tolerant personalities have a dual source: their personality and their values. When the former fails to produce ethnic tolerance, the latter can do so. Egalitarian values act as buttress for tolerance when a negative stereotype triggers a mismatch between typically tolerant personalities and ethnic attitudes. This insight ties into ground-breaking psychological research on the dual-process of behaviour.

The data for the empirical analysis come from the 2011 Canadian Election Study (CES). The national public opinion survey contains a unique experiment on multicultural policy attitudes and ethnic cues. The CES also includes measures of the Big Five personality dimensions – a rarity in Canadian public opinion polls. Together, along with a host of typical indicators of political attitudes, these measures allow a statistical analysis of dual nature of ethnic attitudes, driven by personality and political values and shaped by highly salient ethnic cues.

The paper begins with a review of the psychological research on personality and prejudice. Then, social psychological insights about how negative stereotypes can override personality compulsions toward ethnic tolerance are discussed. The role of political values as attitudinal determinants follows. An empirical analysis of the relationship between personality and values in the face of a controversial ethnic cue is then conducted with multivariate regression analysis. I conclude with a discussion of the implications for explaining the terrain of ethnic attitudes in Canada and elsewhere.

Psychology and Prejudice

Numerous factors influence how people respond to circumstances they encounter every day. The psychology literature identifies factors that, due to their deep and broad influence, lay the foundation for many social and political attitudes. The literature is divided into several branches, but two are particularly relevant to the study of prejudice. Personality psychology looks at specific personality traits that predispose individuals to various attitudes, including prejudice. Social psychology, on the other hand, looks at the interaction between an individual's perception of the self and the perception of her environment. They each provide important insights into the “faulty and inflexible” generalizations that are the core of prejudice (Allport 1954). I will treat each briefly in turn.

Personality and Prejudice

Rooted in biology and, thus, influencing people's fundamental worldviews, the impact of personality predates the social and political factors typically used in explanations of individual attitudes (Bergeman et al. 1993; Costa and McCrae 1992; McCrae and Costa

2008; Sniderman 1975).¹ Personality psychology research shows that people reacting to situations are not simply “blank slates” on which social and political influences imprint (Mondak 2010, p. 2). Instead, their attitudes and behaviour are both directly and indirectly influenced by their psychological nature.

Personality psychology made an indelible mark on psychological explanations of prejudice in the 1950s, when Adorno et al.’s (1950) *The Authoritarian Personality* was published. Until then, much of the focus in psychology was on processes that resulted in antipathy against groups, such as scapegoating or projection (Duckitt 1992). Adorno and his colleagues drew attention to the role of individual traits to explain the actions of Nazis and the complicity of their sympathizers. Criticisms of Adorno’s work soon appeared (e.g., Stewart and Houlst 1959; Titus and Hollander 1957) and explanations of prejudice that focused on personality traits fell out of theoretical favour.

In the 1980s, breakthroughs in personality psychology research renewed interest in the relationship between personality types and prejudice. The Five Factor Model, or the Big Five, dominates theories of this relationship. The model proposes that the universe of personalities can be principally explained with five factors (e.g., McCrae and John 1992). The factors – Openness to Experience, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, and Emotional Stability – combine with external influences (e.g., culture, life events) to produce the observable aspect of personality, or the so-called “characteristic adaptations” (e.g., self-esteem, habits, interests, motives, etc.) (McCrae and Costa 2008). The five factors are thought to be universal across cultures (McCrae and Terracciano 2005) and remain relatively stable across lifespans (Srivastava et al. 2003).

Numerous studies consistently linked two factors – Agreeableness and Openness to Experience (hereafter Openness) – to prejudiced attitudes (e.g., Sibley and Duckitt 2008). Personalities high in Agreeableness tend to be modest, cooperative, and altruistic. Conversely, personalities low in Agreeableness tend to be egocentric, antagonistic, and critical (Costa and McCrae 1992; Goldberg 1990). These people tend to be more prejudiced because their critical and antagonistic nature often results in quick, negative judgments of others. Their egocentrism results in the degradation of people or groups perceived to be lower in social status, such as many ethnic minority groups.

On the other hand, personalities high in Openness are described as intellectually curious, open to new information, and self-reflective; low in Openness is described as traditional, conventional, and comfortable in familiar routines (Flynn 2005). Personalities low in Openness are associated with prejudiced attitudes because of their reliance on convention and tradition for psychological well-being: people or groups who are perceived as violating convention or tradition are regarded as threatening. Minority groups are often differentiated by how they lie at the margins of convention and tradition. So, people low in Openness view these groups as dangerous and a threat to society’s order and stability, which is a gross violation of their psychological security.

Social Psychology and Prejudice

Social psychology looks beyond personality to environmental factors that shape people’s mental state. The social psychological theory of social identity, especially, demonstrates how an individual’s sense of self and her perceptions of the world around her interact to

¹ Gosling and colleagues have found similar personality dimensions in animals as in humans, bolstering the case for biological roots of personality. See Gosling and John 1999; Gosling et al. 2003.

shape attitudes and behaviour (e.g., Tajfel and Turner 1979). The most relevant aspect of social identity theory with respect to the formation of prejudice is the idea of social categorization. The theory states that individuals categorize themselves and others into ingroups and outgroups to simplify the complexity of their social environment (Macrae et al. 1994). Importantly, social categorization leads to intergroup competition. Because individuals have a basic need for positive self-esteem, they look to bolster the status of their ingroup and undermine the status of outgroups (e.g., Turner et al. 1979). They pursue this need through intergroup comparisons in which they exaggerate comparisons that favour the ingroup and minimize the comparisons that favour the outgroup. These evaluative comparisons prompt individuals compete on behalf of their ingroup with the ultimate goal of psychological security and self-worth.

Social psychology posits that stereotypes are a product of social categorization and shape competition between ingroups and outgroups (e.g., Brown 2010; Greenwald and Banaji 1995). As part of the cognitive component of attitudes, stereotypes influence the subjective understanding of what is true or not about a target. Individuals use them to categorize people into groups as part of the social identity formation process. The evaluation of stereotypes, part of the affective component of attitudes, generates the negative or positive generalizations associated with prejudice. Stereotypes exert considerable influence on attitudes because they do not require much cognitive effort to access (Brewer 1988; Devine 1989; Fiske and Neuberg 1990). Moreover, they are learned early on in life, are repeatedly encountered, and thus are deeply embedded in the cognitive structure people access for information when interacting with their daily environment.

According to social identity theory, intergroup competition is triggered when a particular group parameter is salient. Stereotypes help define these parameters. Ethnicity is a salient parameter in virtually all societies (Mullen 2001; Verkuyten 2005). Stereotypes about ethnic groups fuel intergroup competition as they are used as a shortcut for information about outgroups. As will be demonstrated, the Muslim hijab invokes a powerful stereotype about Muslim group difference in Canada and certainly elsewhere. The mere depiction of it is enough for negative, exclusionary reactions to be elicited not only from a pool of respondents with personalities prone to prejudice, but from respondents across the board.

Political Values and Prejudice

Stereotypes are only one instrument that people use to assess others and decide on subsequent behaviour. Political values also shape the way a person understands and approaches experiences in her everyday life. The rigorous study of political values can be traced to Rokeach's *The Nature of Human Values* (1973). Values are cognitive exemplifications of abstract goals. They are transsituational, desirable, and act to motivate behaviour (Bilsky and Schwartz 1994). As mentioned, stereotypes are powerful constraints on attitudes because they are part of the fundamental identity formation process and, thus, undergird much of an individual's cognitive structure. Political values, on the other hand, are less embedded in the cognitive structure because they are acquired later on in life. They are not 'overlearned' (or automatic) like stereotypes, but take effort by the perceiver to influence attitudes relative to stereotypes (Devine 1989; Monteith 1993). Some values are learned as children when parents, consciously or not, transmit their own ideals and goals (Hughes et al. 2006). Bubeck and Bilsky (2004) find that the

ten universal values identified by Schwartz (1992) can be already found amongst value systems in adolescents. But, compared to stereotypes, which start to take root in infancy, values are relatively new in the cognitive structure (Eichstedt et al. 2002; Serbin et al. 2001).

The function of values also makes them less constraining on attitudes, relative to stereotypes. Values are prescriptive abstractions, informing desirable goals and modes of conduct (Schwartz 1994). Stereotypes, conversely, are heuristics, giving people a shortcut to making sense of the world (Bodenhausen and Wyer 1985; Macrae et al. 1994). They are reductive, rather than idealized. The cognitive component of stereotypes gives them the potential for more sway on an individual's attitude formation than values. That is, it is relatively easy for an individual to rely on stereotypes, rather than values, when making judgments. Still, values are important behavioural motivators because they prescribe goals and modes of conduct, which can generate self-esteem (Tesser 2000). They create a behavioural standard that individuals will try to achieve and so will have an important role in forming attitudes. The question of the present analysis is whether values are influential enough to overcome weight of stereotypes.

Why might values work together with personality traits to overcome deep-seated psychological impulses? Theoretical and empirical work have offered evidence that values are closely related to an individual's personality. For example, McCrae and Costa's (2008) personality system theory links values with personality by arguing that values are produced by the confluence of basic psychological tendencies (i.e., the Big Five personality factors) and environmental influences. So, values emerge at the crossroads of nature (i.e., personality) and nurture (i.e., environment) (Olver and Mooradian 2003). Empirically, values and personality have also been correlated (Dollinger et al. 1996; Luk and Bond 1993). Roccas et al. (2002), for example, find that the Neuroticism personality trait correlates with stimulation and tradition values. The Extraversion trait, on the other hand, correlates with achievement and hedonism values.

Importantly, however, analysis of the relationship between values and personality insist on their theoretical and empirical independence. They may overlap, but they are distinct attitudinal determinants. Personality traits explain attitudes through a lens of a general pattern, whereas values explain attitudes by the goal for which it strives (Winter et al. 1998). Also, because values are idealized goals, they are generally positive. Personality traits, on the other hand, can be positive and negative (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004). Concrete examples of the difference between personality and values include the individual who is predisposed to physical aggression (e.g., high in Neuroticism), but values harmonious interpersonal relationships. Or, an individual who is a social butterfly (high in Extraversion), but values peace and solitude. Indeed, the data used in the current study provides additional examples of this distinction. The 2011 Canadian Election Study (CES) demonstrates that people high in Openness or Agreeableness do not always hold values congruent with their personalities. For example, people high in Agreeableness are thought to be especially trusting. But in the CES data, there is no significant difference between respondents high in Agreeableness who say "most people can be trusted" and people "need to be very careful" when dealing with others.² So, while their personalities predispose them to be trusting, they do not always exhibit trust

² The question is: "Generally speaking would you say that most people can be trusted, or, that you need to be very careful when dealing with people?"

in hypothetical scenarios. Also, people high in Openness are more likely to be independent-minded and unconventional. Yet, no significant difference exists between respondents high in Openness who think it is more important for children to learn independence as opposed to respect for authority.³ So, while they may be closely related, values and personality should be treated as independent influences on ethnic attitudes.

What are the values that influence attitudes about ethnic diversity? Scholars disagree on the number of basic value dimensions people use when formulating attitudes (e.g., Rokeach 1973; Braithwaite 1997; Schwartz 1994). However, they do agree that one dimension can be described with the values of liberal egalitarianism, which stresses the liberty and equality of all people. The concept of the individual is debated within this philosophy, having implications for individual and group rights in democratic societies. But, the liberal egalitarian emphasis on equality should result increase positive attitudes about people who may be perceived as different. This association is in contrast to values that have been previously linked to prejudice. Conservative values, such as individualism, self-reliance, moral traditionalism, and deference of authority, have been implicated as underpinning ethnic and racial tensions, either through a principled commitment to these values or through so-called symbolic racism (e.g., Kinder and Sears 1981; Sniderman and Hagen 1985). The emphasis of the present analysis, however, is about the reformulation of ethnic attitudes by individuals who are psychologically predisposed to ethnic tolerance. Liberal egalitarian values seem like a good candidate to do just that, as a commitment to valuing all people should help an individual overcome negative attitudinal triggers. In fact, the present analytic approach supports other work arguing that the focus in values research should be on egalitarian rather than individualistic values (Hurwitz and Peffley 1992; Sears et al 1999). Also, in response to the critique that group rights and recognitions are contrary to liberal tenets, Kymlicka (1989) asserts that a commitment to liberal egalitarianism requires a commitment to multiculturalism if cultural membership is understood as largely involuntary yet central to individual fulfillment. Normatively, then, it is the hope that liberal egalitarianism can result in positive interethnic relations. Canada's political and normative multiculturalism is, at least in part, about protecting ethnic identity and creating a sense of belonging for ethnic minorities. As such, liberal egalitarian values have the potential to shape attitudes about ethnic minorities above and beyond the deep-seated influences of personality traits and stereotypes triggered by an individual's context. Moreover, it is the goal of Canadian multiculturalism that these values have a positive impact.

Past psychological research on the link between values and personality traits adds to the appeal of investigating liberal egalitarian values, rather than the absence of individualistic or conservative values, as a way to overcome negative situational triggers specifically with the personality traits under scrutiny here. McCrae (1996) has found that Openness to Experience, one of the two personality dimensions consistently linked to general prejudice, is associated with preferences for particular political value systems. He asserts that personalities high in Openness are more likely to adhere to liberal values and, conversely, personalities low in Openness are more likely to adhere to conservative ones (also Trapnell 1994; but see Saucier 1994). Van Hiel et al. (2000) find similar

³ The question is: "Now some questions about your values. Here are some qualities that children can be encouraged to learn. Which one do you think is more important? Independence, or respect for authority?"

evidence in Belgium and Poland. They add that the Values component of a disaggregated Openness index (defined as a “readiness to re-examine own values and those of authority figures”⁴) has the highest negative correlation with right-wing political ideologies. In contrast, the components of Ideas, Actions, and Fantasy have considerably smaller correlations; the components Aesthetics and Feelings perform relatively poorly. Using the Rokeach Values Survey (RVS), Dollinger et al. (1996) find that that Openness correlates with values such as “world of beauty”, “imaginative”, and “broad-mindedness”. Personalities characterized by high Openness, then, should be more likely to question their own ethnic prejudices and the prejudices they see in their environment, which suggests that their idealized goals motivating their attitudes are likely egalitarian.

Agreeableness, too, correlates with values that should shape ethnic attitudes. Dollinger et al. (1996) find that Agreeableness is correlated with the RVS values of being “helpful”, “cheerful”, and “loving”. Individuals who subscribe to these values may also subscribe more broadly to egalitarian ones, since egalitarianism is, in part, about helping others. The authors also find that Agreeableness negatively correlates with the value of “social recognition”, which could influence the strength of an individual’s social identity and her reliance on stereotypes to make judgments. Devaluing social recognition likely reduces the individual need to demarcate one’s ingroup from others, which is at the core of stereotype usage (Turner et al. 1979). That is, the individual may still have a psychological need for social recognition, but she does not value it. Luk and Bond’s (1993) study of Chinese students observes that Agreeableness is strongly correlated with values related to benevolence and restricting one’s impulses. They posit that these values would be attractive to personalities high in Agreeableness because the values would create a happy and peaceful environment. Again, this empirical link suggests that it makes good sense for the present investigation of liberal egalitarian values and their role in moderating negative ethnic stereotypes for personalities predisposed to tolerance.

Personality, Stereotypes, Values, and Prejudice against Muslims

This study examines how personality traits, negative stereotypes, and liberal egalitarian values work together to shape attitudes about ethnic diversity. Past research has found that values can override personality impulses when it comes to attitudes about minority groups. Devine’s (1989) study of American adults, for example, finds that low prejudiced individuals agreeing with egalitarian principles about race are aware of negative stereotypes about Blacks but make an effort to reject these stereotypes (also see Fazio and Dunton 1997; Monteith 1993). Her ground-breaking study demonstrated the dual process of “automatic” (i.e., personality) and “controlled” (i.e., principles) aspects of stereotypes. While these studies show how values can override negative stereotypes about Blacks, they make no claims about how values might override negative stereotypes about other ethnic minorities. It is possible that the case of Black-White race relations in America is not generalizable to other ethnic minority experience. There is a mainstream consensus against anti-Black prejudice, even if the consensus is only lip-service (e.g., Kinder and Sears 1981; Kinder and Sanders 1996). This mainstream consensus does not exist, at least not to the same extent, for other ethnic minorities. Still, Devine’s study suggests that investigating the possible role of values in controlling negative reactions to ethnic minorities is a good analytical point of departure.

⁴ From the authoritative NEO Personality Inventory-Revised manual (Costa and McCrae 2008).

Currently, the most salient ethnic minority target of negative attitudes in the West is the Arab Muslim community. Even before the high profile terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent “War on Terror”, the stereotype of Arab Muslims as terrorists or extremists was pervasive (Shaheen 1997; Strabac and Listhaug 2008). Not surprisingly, social psychologists have found evidence that negative stereotypes and symbolic threats to identity are important predictors of prejudice against Arab Muslims (Kalkan et al. 2009; Kam and Kinder 2007; Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007). In fact, simple intergroup divisions based on negative stereotypes of Arab Muslims occurs with children as young as four years old (Bar-Tal 1996; Teichman 2001). Visual cues have been found to trigger anti-Muslim hostility (Unkelbach et al., 2008; but see Harrell et al. 2012), but contact with Muslims can mitigate negative attitudes (Gonzales et al. 2008).

There has been little research on personality type and anti-Muslim prejudice. Evidence does link Social Dominance Orientation and anti-Arab prejudice (Pratto et al 1994) and Right-Wing Authoritarianism and anti-Muslim prejudice (Echebarria-Echabe and Guede 2007). However, these individual-level orientations are not currently viewed as personality traits, but as worldviews (Duckitt 2001). Still, they theoretically mediate between traits and attitudes. Social Dominance Orientation is thought to mediate personalities low in Agreeableness, and Right-wing Authoritarianism mediates personalities low in Openness to Experience, to produce prejudice (Sibley and Duckitt 2008). So, it is likely that, similar to studies of other types of prejudice, low Agreeableness and low Openness produce negative attitudes about Muslims in Canada.

The literature examining the relationship between political values and prejudice against Muslims is also slight. Sniderman and his colleagues find that authoritarian values are a powerful predictor of anti-Muslim attitudes (Sniderman et al 2004; Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007). They admit, though, that their theoretical conception of authoritarian values is vague, but their empirical measure includes items that reflect politically conservative values (e.g., “It is better to live in an orderly society in which the laws are vigorously enforced than to give people too much freedom.”). Others find that education can reduce anti-Muslim prejudice by instilling democratic norms of tolerance in the individual (Fetzer and Soper 2003; Strabac and Listhaug’s 2008). So, values do shape attitudes about Muslims and, thus, liberal egalitarian values may help override anti-Muslim stereotypes.

Data and Methods

The current analysis investigates the relationship between personality traits, stereotypes, political values, and attitudes about Muslims in Canada. The purpose of the analysis is three-fold. First, I look at the role of personality traits in shaping attitudes about ethnic diversity. Does the relationship between personality and ethnic attitudes consistently predicted in the psychology literature appear in the case of Muslims in the Canadian context? Second, the role of negative stereotypes in shaping attitudes about ethnic diversity is examined. How do negative stereotypes mediate the relationship between personality traits and ethnic attitudes? Finally, the role of political values, specifically liberal egalitarianism, is considered. Can political values overcome triggered responses driven by negative stereotypes so attitude-personality coherence can be achieved?

The data come from the 2011 Canadian Elections Study (CES). The study embedded an experiment in its web-based questionnaire, which was the fourth and final wave. The dependent variables here are the respondent’s attitudes captured by this

experiment. The experiment solicited responses to one of two randomly assigned conditions.⁵ The number of respondents for each condition is no more than 370, but this is sufficient for the present analysis. Respondents were asked to read a short text about a woman named “Fatma”. Fatma is said to represent the Canadian Turkish-Muslim Action Network, a religious outreach organization. The text states that Fatma is applying for \$80 000 from the federal Multiculturalism Grants and Contributions Program. A picture of the woman ostensibly applying for the public grant accompanies each text.

The conditions are exactly the same except for one crucial difference. In the first condition, the picture is of a woman wearing Western dress. In the second condition, the picture is of the same woman, except that she is wearing a hijab. The hijab leaves the woman’s face exposed, but covers her hair and shoulders. The respondent is asked if they support or oppose the government funding the grant application. The dependent variables – called Fatma 1 and Fatma 2 – are four-category ordinal variables where the highest score indicates the respondent “strongly opposes” the application (all question wording can be found in the appendix). For Fatma 1, about 26 percent of respondents strongly oppose, 30 percent oppose, 36 percent support, and 9 percent strongly support. For Fatma 2, about 23 percent strongly oppose, 33 percent oppose, 39 percent support, and 5 percent strongly support.

Taken at its face, the distribution of responses shows little difference between the conditions. Over-all distributions, however, reveal little about the sub-groups of respondents who make up the different response categories. The present paper is interested in how personality dimensions influence ethnic attitudes, particularly when negative stereotypes are primed. The embedded experiment suggests how negative stereotypes can push typically tolerant personalities to become reactionary. There are several ethnic cues in the experiment that could trigger negative stereotypes of Arab Muslims. Both experimental conditions include the woman’s name (Fatma) and religion (Islam) as cues. These cues may be enough to trigger exclusionary responses not just from personalities predisposed to intolerance, but from across the board. The cues may also be relatively benign and fail to elicit a negative reaction (e.g., Harell et al. 2012). The depiction of the hijab in the second condition, however, may amplify the effect of ethnic cues in a way “Fatma” or “Muslim” do not. In the discourse around ethnic diversity in Canada and elsewhere in the West, the hijab is more than just a head covering. It is a potent symbol of ethnic difference (e.g., Bullock and Jafri 2001; Strabac and Listhaug 2008; Unkelbach et al. 2010). So, comparing responses to both conditions can shed light on the role that negative stereotypes – and *which* negative stereotypes – play in shaping attitudes.

Before examining the influence of egalitarian values, an initial investigation was performed on the direct relationship between personality variables and the dependent variables. That is, whether or not the respondent’s personality is associated with her support or opposition to Fatma’s multiculturalism grant application in the assigned condition. Looking at the direct relationship tests the influence of personality versus the influence of negative stereotypes rooted in one’s social identity. For the first time, the CES data contains measures of the Big Five personality dimensions, using the Ten Item Personality Index (TIPI). Developed by Gosling et al. (2003), TIPI is a brief measure of the Big Five that taps each dimension with four traits. Two traits are from the low end of

⁵ A third condition about a Portuguese Catholic woman has been omitted from the current study.

the dimensions' spectrum and two are from the high end. For each side of the spectrum for each personality dimension, the respondent is asked whether agrees or disagrees if the traits apply to her. This results in ten questions in total. The index of the TIPI personality traits is outlined in Table 1. Respondents are asked the extent to which they agree or disagree that the pair of traits describes their personalities. The scores are reversed where necessary and summed to create measures of individual personality. High scores indicate a personality high in the given dimension.

As mentioned, the consensus in the personality psychology literature is that the dimensions of Openness to Experience and Agreeableness independently and consistently predict prejudice against others perceived as different. The experiment here only partially supports this consensus. Table 2 displays the results of an OLS regression for each of the simple models testing the direct relationship between personality and attitudes toward multiculturalism spending as measured by the dependent variable.⁶ The first estimation using respondents who saw the woman *not* wearing a hijab (Fatma 1) is in line with previous personality psychology research. Namely, a unit increase in Openness results in a .43 unit decrease in the dependent variable; a unit increase in Agreeableness results in a .27 unit decrease. This reflects the expectation that respondents higher in these personality traits are less likely to oppose Fatma's grant application. Also as expected, the other personality traits have no impact on the results. In the second model, for respondents who saw Fatma wearing a hijab, none of the personality variables are significant.

Clearly, the visual cue of the hijab has had an impact on attitudes toward multicultural grants. The association between the personality traits and the dependent variable vanishes in the second experimental condition. The precise nature of the impact is unclear, though. Linear predictions can clarify the influence of the hijab's negative stereotype by isolating the relationships between specific values of the independent variables. Figure 1 isolates the predicted effect of the hijab on individuals with personalities that predispose them to ethnic tolerance, that is, personalities high in Openness and high in Agreeableness.⁷ All other variables are set to their means. The x-axis indicates linear predictions for the two experimental conditions (Fatma 1 and Fatma 2). The difference between the personality dimensions is not statistically significant, meaning that respondents high in Openness and respondents high in Agreeableness hold essentially the same attitudes. However, the differences between the conditions are statistically significant (p.05). So, the upward slant of both trend lines clearly demonstrates the hijab's negative effect. Table 2 establishes that the cues of the woman's name and her religion, present in the first condition, are not enough to provoke individuals either high in Openness or Agreeableness to express attitudes indistinguishable from individuals low in these traits. Figure 1, however, shows how the depiction of the hijab pushes these individuals to express more negative attitudes until they are indistinguishable from personalities low on these two dimensions.⁸ As such, the

⁶ OLS estimation is used here even though the dependent variable is ordinal. Initial analysis used ordered logit, but the maximum likelihood estimation could not properly predict one variable of interest in the second analysis (*socialize*). Since OLS produced virtually the same results for the rest of the independent variables, and produced reasonable results for *socialize*, the analysis proceeded thusly.

⁷ Linear predictions are calculated with Stata's margins command.

⁸ Individuals low in Agreeableness and Openness are also affected by the depiction of the hijab. Surprisingly, though, their linear prediction was the opposite of their more tolerant counterparts. Their

attitudinal gap present in the first condition closes because the stereotype of the hijab was cued.

The exclusionary reaction in the second group prompts further questions about potential sources of support if individuals with personality traits that are assumed to be more accepting of ethnic difference fail to exhibit positive attitudes. That is, what might motivate people with typically tolerant personalities to look positively on Fatma 2's grant application if their personalities do not produce expected attitudes? The hypothesis here is that political values, particularly liberal egalitarian ones, are able to override negative attitudes triggered by the simple depiction of a hijab. If this is the case, the support for ethnic policies expressed by individuals high in Openness or Agreeableness has a dual source: the "automatic" source of their personality traits and the "controlled" source of their liberal egalitarian values (Devine 1989).

A second analysis to investigate this hypothesis was performed with an expanded model and a new dependent variable. The dependent variable – *grant* – combines the responses of respondents who saw Fatma 1 and Fatma 2 into a single variable, allowing comparisons between the two conditions. The variable still indicates whether the respondent supports or opposes the multiculturalism grant application with the highest score measuring strong opposition. A control variable called *condition* indicates the respondent's assigned condition: 0 is Fatma 1 (without hijab) and 1 is Fatma 2 (with hijab).

The independent variable measuring liberal egalitarian values is an index, which I call *egalitarian*. It contains three variables that tap separate elements of the broad umbrella of egalitarian values, without explicitly mentioning ethnic minorities. The first variable in the index asks respondents if the government should "leave people to get ahead on their own" or "see to it that everyone has a decent standard of living". The latter response suggests that the individual values the idea of equality of outcome that is part of egalitarianism. The second variable asks if the most important element of a democracy is "letting the majority decide" or "protecting the needs and rights of minorities". This measure is about the use of political processes to ensure equality of disadvantaged groups. It cues the idea of minorities, though it does not mention which minority is the subject of the question. The third variable asks if respondents agree or disagree that the welfare state makes people less willing to look after themselves. This is similar to the first measure in that it refers to some people needing more help than others. However, it is specifically about individuals who are on the extreme end of the economic spectrum, rather than the relatively vague subject in the first measure. The index sums scores on each variable, so lower scores measure low egalitarian values and higher scores measure higher egalitarian values.

Variables capturing common alternative explanations for political attitudes and behaviour have also been added to the model. The first slate of variables measures objective and subjective material self-interest. It could be that respondents view particular ethnic minority groups as materially threatening (e.g., Bobo 1983; Kluegel and Smith 1983; Palmer 1996). Minority groups that are beneficiaries of governmental programs may be perceived as benefitting unfairly from government largesse. So, individuals in vulnerable economic circumstances (perceived or real) may transform this

attitudes are predicted to become more favourable to Fatma's grant application when the hijab is depicted. This finding is provocative and deserves further investigation.

vulnerability into resentment against minority groups. To capture this possible effect, I include three measures of material self-interest. The objective measures – *household* and *job* – indicate the reported household income and employment status of the respondent, respectively: high scores indicate high household income and that the respondent is employed. The subjective measure – *security* – is an index combining two questions related to the respondent’s economic prospects. The first question asks about the chances the respondent will lose their main source of income in the next year. The second question asks how hard or easy it would be for the respondent to replace this income if lost. High scores indicates high economic insecurity, or if the respondent thinks there is a high chance of losing her main source of income and that it would be difficult to replace this income.

Because of its agenda-setting powers, exposure to mass media is believed to have an effect on attitudes (e.g., Bartels 1993; McCombs et al. 1997). As such, media consumption may shape attitudes about Muslims and multicultural funding. Studies have shown that the media’s portrayal of Muslims is largely composed of negative stereotypes (e.g., Saeed 2007). The CES survey asks respondents about their weekly news consumption over a number of different platforms, encompassing both traditional and new media. I separate the two, since the survey does not specify if the new media is mainstream or alternative. Alternative media is likely less restrained in negative portrayals of Muslims. New media is concentrated on the internet, as is alternative media. As such, my new media variable – or a sum of weekly usage of the internet for news consumption – is its own measure called *new media*. The variable I call *traditional media* sums the weekly usage of television, radio, and newspaper specifically for news.

Political sophistication is another possible source of attitudes about Muslims and multicultural funding (e.g., Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Luskin 1987). Sophisticates should be more aware of the norms of tolerance in society and at least pay lip service to them, if not fully incorporate them into their ideological frameworks. Also, sophisticates are influenced by political ideas rather than affective judgments, so their public positions on matters of ethnic diversity should reflect reasoned positions and not prejudice. The variable *sophistication* is a composite of three questions that ask if the respondent can recall the name of their provincial premier, the federal Minister of Finance, and the last Governor General. This combination is a typical measure of political sophistication. The correct answers are summed and divided by three so a score of 1 means the respondent answered all three questions correct, and thus is classified as highly sophisticated.

Contact with outgroups has been shown to positively influence ethnic attitudes (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). In the CES data, respondents are asked whether or not some of the people they socialize with are Muslims. The dichotomous measure, *socialize*, is included in the model so that “yes” is 1. Intergroup contact that produces positive attitudes is conditional on several factors, such as intergroup cooperation, shared goals, and equal status between the groups (Allport 1954). Because socializing implies voluntary contact, it is a good candidate for being a source of positive ethnic attitudes.

Each of the independent variables measuring rival explanations have been interacted with the condition and the measures of Agreeableness (*agreeable*) and Openness to Experience (*open*). It is the hypothesis here that the influence of egalitarian values depends on the experimental condition and on the personality of the respondent. The influence of the rival explanations should be interactive in a similar manner. For

example, contact with Muslims, as measured with *socialize*, may depend on the respondent's personality. It may be individuals high in Openness and Agreeableness may simply be more likely to socialize with ethnic outgroups. The same is true for, say, political sophistication – individuals high in Openness and Agreeableness may be more likely to use their sophistication to devalue negative stereotypes.

Finally, the respondent's gender, age, and ethnicity are added as standard controls in the model. Numerous studies have shown that men tend to display more prejudiced attitudes than women, particularly when the target is seen as a threat to the social hierarchy (Altemeyer 1998; Whitley 1999). Age should also be associated with attitudes toward multicultural funding. Older respondents may be more likely to view ethnic diversity as threatening because it is relatively recent demographic development. Younger people, by contrast, have grown up with Canada's multicultural norm and thus will be more likely to be at ease with ethnic diversification.

The measure of ethnicity is from the CES self-reported ethnicity question. I recoded it as a binary, called *white*. It indicates if the respondent identifies as coming from a predominantly white society or not. The variable is less than ideal. The response options are mostly countries (e.g., Greek, Filipino, etc.) with a few ethnic group categories mixed in (e.g., Jewish, Mennonite, etc.). A judgment was made as to which countries and ethnicities were predominantly white and which ones were not. Fortunately, most of the classifications are straightforward. The stakes of multicultural funding should be considerably different for whites and non-whites, since this ethnic group division is what Canada's multiculturalism norm and policy highlights.

Table 3a and 3b display the results of two OLS regressions for the expanded model. The analysis has separated the personality traits, so that the first table investigates the role of Openness and the second table investigates the role of Agreeableness. To keep the analysis manageable, each estimation includes only one of the three-way interactions. So, there are eight new estimations in total. As a reminder, the dependent variable runs from 1 to 4, with 4 being strong opposition to funding.

Not surprisingly, the table does not offer much insight about respondents with high scores on the personality variables. There are some large main effects, namely the measures of egalitarian values (*egalitarian*), socialization with Muslims (*socialize*), and to a lesser degree, subjective economic security (*security*). As expected, each of these has a negative association with the dependent variable. So, increases in these determinants are associated with decreases in the dependent variable (or, more favourable attitudes about the funding application). However, the present analysis is concerned only with the high end of the personality scales. So, the coefficients provide little insight into the ways in which people with these ostensibly tolerant personalities override negative reactions to the hijab.

Linear predictions are again used to untangle this question, and the results are displayed in Figures 2a-2h. The figures illustrate the *differences* between the experimental conditions at different levels of the independent variables for respondents with personalities high in Openness. (Personalities high in Agreeableness are omitted for the sake of space and will be discussed below.) Recall that Table 2 shows that these people should be predisposed to be favourable toward the grant but that the hijab seems to quash this personality influence. Evidence that high Openness individuals are positively influenced to be more favourable by a particular independent variable can be

detected through significant differences at the low end of the independent variable and nonsignificant differences at the high end – in other words, a line sloping downward to zero. A downward slope signifies a closing gap between high Openness individuals in each condition due to the specific independent variable. This will indicate that the determinant in question prompts the individual to overcome her negative reaction to the hijab.

The only variable that reflects this pattern is the variable measuring liberal egalitarian values (Figure 2a). This determinant is the only one related to increasing support for Fatma's grant application in the experimental condition depicting the hijab. The predicted differences, which decrease to zero at the highest level of egalitarian values (i.e., the right side of the x-axis), show that respondents high in Openness with high egalitarian values have similar attitudes about the grant application in both experimental conditions – that is, regardless of the hijab cue. At the left-hand side of the x-axis, or low liberal egalitarian values, the differences between high Openness individuals across the two experimental conditions is considerable (about .67, $p < .05$). So, a high Openness respondent with low liberal egalitarian values is predicted to have a different attitude about Fatma's grant application depending on the experimental condition.

The actual attitudinal change is illustrated in Figure 3. The conditions are now separated and, here, we can see clearly how liberal egalitarian values shapes support amongst respondents high in Openness. The negative effect of the hijab is stronger for these individuals if they have low liberal egalitarian values. Specifically, respondents high in Openness with low liberal egalitarian values who are exposed to the hijab are predicted to score 3.6 on the dependent variable's four-point scale. These same respondents, but in the non-hijab condition, are predicted to score 2.9. Respondents high in Openness with either medium or high liberal egalitarian values have the same predicted response, regardless of condition. This is a clear demonstration of the power of the negative stereotype around the hijab. And, it shows how liberal egalitarian values can override negative reactions to this stereotype so responses to both conditions are the same.

Virtually none of the rival explanations have the same moderating function on exclusionary responses as liberal egalitarian values do. Respondents high in Openness express similar attitudes regardless of their material self-interest, political sophistication, and media consumption. There is no interactive effect propelling these usually tolerant personalities to overcome their negative reaction to the hijab. However, the variable measuring socializing with Muslims is suggestive. The difference between individuals who do and do not socialize with Muslims is close to statistical significance using 90% confidence intervals. This suggests that, for respondents high in Openness, having no social contact with Muslims may be associated with opposition to the grant application if Fatma is shown with a hijab. Conversely, having social contact with Muslims seems to close this gap so that individuals high in Openness express support at almost the same rate as individuals not exposed to the hijab cue.

For individuals high in Agreeableness, the results are different. The hijab effect initially observed in Table 2 is washed out once the moderators and controls are included. None of the determinants tested here have an interactive effect with respondents high in Agreeableness. There are direct effects, as observed in Table 3b, and in linear predictions (not shown). For example, liberal egalitarian values substantially improve

attitudes toward Fatma's grant application, but this improvement is observed in both conditions. Further tests revealed that adding the moderators and controls to the expanded model diminished any effects Agreeableness had on the dependent variable. The models were rerun without any interactions, separated by experimental condition (not shown). Openness still functioned as before: it predicted attitudes in Fatma 1 and failed to predict in Fatma 2. Agreeableness also failed to predict in Fatma 2, as before. But, in Fatma 1, it narrowly missed statistical significance ($p < .2$). So, the gap observed between low and high Agreeableness individuals in Table 2 failed to materialize once other attitudinal determinants were added. The implications of this finding will be discussed below.

Discussion

Research has suggested that Openness to Experience and Agreeableness influences prejudice. Their influence specifically on ethnic prejudice has only been recently investigated. The present analysis contributes to this debate by showing that one of these personality dimensions – Openness to Experience – does influence prejudice toward Muslims in terms of preferences about funding multiculturalism projects. The study goes further by demonstrating how negative stereotypes alter this expected relationship between personality and prejudice. The depiction of the hijab – a potent ethnic symbol – spurred individuals with personalities predisposed to tolerance to increase their opposition of multiculturalism funding. If liberal egalitarian values are held, however, the analysis showed how individuals high in Openness can overcome the exclusionary reaction that the hijab triggers.

My findings support the argument that political values matter to ethnic attitudes. The respondents here are not simply paying lip service to values. Instead, their values shape their ethnic attitudes in expected ways. The analysis shows that liberal egalitarian values, in particular, are able to override a potent, negative ethnic stereotype. These values are associated with more tolerant attitudes in both experimental conditions for both personality dimensions. But, these values also give respondents high in Openness an extra push to be tolerant of Fatma when she is wearing a hijab. No other common political determinant, such as economic security, political sophistication, media consumption, has the same effect. Socialization with Muslims verges on statistical significance, but does not have the clear association that liberal egalitarian values have. These values seem to buttress attitudes for personalities that should be ethnically tolerant, at least for Openness to Experience: when high Openness individuals display exclusionary reactions toward Fatma, liberal egalitarian values help overcome these reactions and produce the expected links between personality and policy attitudes. This dynamic supports the valuable insights of attitude formation derived from the psychological studies of the “automatic” and “controlled” aspects of stereotypes (Devine 1989; Monteith 1993). But instead of demonstrating this dual process in an experimental condition, the current analysis demonstrates it with people in their every day environments.

The analysis also highlights the differences between the Openness to Experience and Agreeableness personality dimensions. Openness directly predicts attitudes toward Fatma in the first experiment, and interactively predicts attitudes in the second experiment. Any initial influence from Agreeableness, however, is diminished to non-significance once the model is expanded. Considering that Agreeableness is a common

determinant of tolerant attitudes, its failure to predict support for Fatma's grant application in either experimental condition certainly demands future investigation. There is evidence that individuals high in Agreeableness may not be as well equipped to disregard stereotypes as individuals high in Openness, especially in an anonymous survey setting. Personalities high in Openness are curious and open-minded and, thus, are more likely to be attentive to information that disconfirms stereotypes (Flynn 2005; Jost et al 2003). Their open-mindedness would also motivate them to accept ethnic difference on its face, regardless of the setting. In contrast, personalities high in Agreeableness are primarily concerned with the social or experiential life, where interpersonal harmony is critical (John and Srivastava, 1999). In general, this concern for harmony motivates high Agreeableness individuals to be accepting of difference. But, in an anonymous opinion survey where interpersonal harmony is not a factor, the personality impulse toward tolerance may be suppressed by other attitudinal determinants. The influence of Agreeableness, as well as its interaction with liberal egalitarian values, may be different if the experiment took place in a setting where interpersonal relations are emphasized. For example, if the high Agreeableness respondent knew she was being watched, she may be driven more by her desire to create harmony and, thus, be more accepting of Fatma's ethnic difference.

The insights of the study also suggest ways in which policymakers can shore up positive attitudes about ethnic diversity. In countries such as Canada that has comparatively inclusive multiculturalism policies, and where there is no prohibition against the hijab, the current analysis demonstrates how attitudes can become negative simply because this symbol of ethnic difference is observed. The analysis also shows how liberal egalitarian values, with their emphasis on equality can help dampen this negative effect. Given that stereotypes are so deeply rooted and difficult to change, policymakers interested in societal harmony should be encouraged to inculcate liberal egalitarian values to counteract reactionary attitudes. It may be enough to inculcate these values to prompt citizens high in Openness to reject their negative reactions to Muslim stereotypes, creating a sort-of spill-over effect for the management of ethnic relations. Indeed, the analysis shows that individuals do not have to be strident liberal egalitarians. Even moderate liberal egalitarian beliefs seem to be enough to override the hijab effect. In all, the present analysis goes some way to demonstrate the interplay between personalities and political values with the salient issue of ethnic attitudes. The experiment provides a strong test of the influence of personality and values. Admittedly, the test is about a rather particular situation (Muslims and multicultural funding), which could reduce the generalizability of the results. Still, the political environment as it is, especially in Canada, has questions of Muslims, multicultural norms, and the role of public policy in the forefront. Understanding how personalities and political values influence ethnic attitudes seems worthy of further study.

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Table 1: Ten Item Personality Index

Personality Dimension	Low	High
Openness to Experience	Conventional, uncreative	Open to new experiences, complex
Agreeableness	Critical, quarrelsome	Sympathetic, warm
Extraversion	Reserved, quiet	Extraverted, enthusiastic
Emotional Stability	Anxious, easily upset	Calm, emotionally stable
Conscientiousness	Dependable, self-disciplined	Disorganized, careless

Table 2: Personality traits and attitudes toward Fatma’s multicultural grant application, both conditions

	Fatma1	Fatma2
<i>openness</i>	-0.427*** (0.114)	-0.0885 (0.108)
<i>agreeableness</i>	-0.266** (0.105)	0.0433 (0.106)
<i>conscientiousness</i>	0.0538 (0.108)	0.0806 (0.0994)
<i>stability</i>	0.144 (0.100)	0.0779 (0.101)
<i>extraversion</i>	0.0592 (0.0845)	0.0455 (0.0769)
<i>Constant</i>	4.098*** (0.568)	2.215*** (0.488)
<i>Observations</i>	247	259

Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

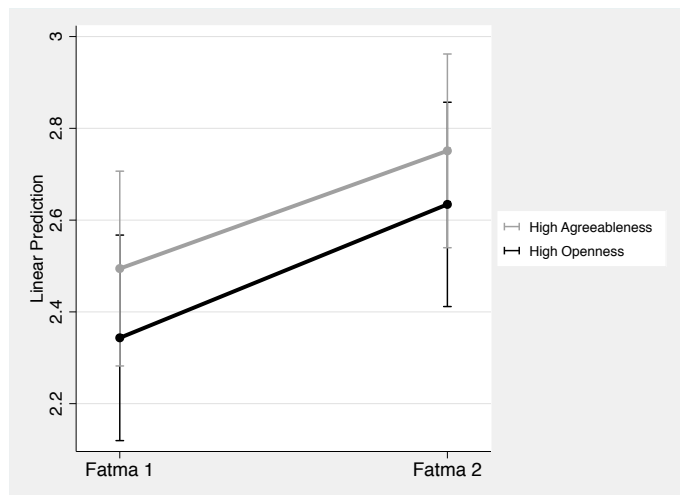
Figure 1: Predicted response to Fatma’s multicultural grant application for high Agreeableness and high Openness, both experimental conditions.

Table 3a-b: Predictors of attitudes toward Fatma’s multiculturalism grant application, combined conditions

a. Openness to Experience Personality Dimension

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
condition	-2.447 (1.710)	-0.347 (1.296)	-0.796 (0.735)	-1.350 (1.594)	-1.978 (1.542)	-1.667** (0.776)	-0.308 (1.265)	-1.136* (0.634)
open	-0.370 (0.396)	0.0543 (0.307)	-0.183 (0.164)	-0.392 (0.385)	-0.469 (0.356)	-0.306* (0.176)	-0.0841 (0.268)	-0.222 (0.143)
egalitarian	-0.193 (0.189)	-0.163*** (0.0250)	-0.165*** (0.0250)	-0.165*** (0.0249)	-0.164*** (0.0250)	-0.165*** (0.0249)	-0.165*** (0.0250)	-0.167*** (0.0250)
condition*open	0.888 (0.553)	0.120 (0.404)	0.280 (0.236)	0.432 (0.499)	0.652 (0.489)	0.510** (0.252)	0.0876 (0.395)	0.362* (0.205)
condition*egalitarian	0.238 (0.266)							
egalitarian*open	0.0188 (0.0611)							
condition*egalitarian*open	-0.0956 (0.0854)							
household	-0.0201 (0.0175)	0.119 (0.135)	-0.0198 (0.0176)	-0.0211 (0.0176)	-0.0211 (0.0175)	-0.0185 (0.0176)	-0.0208 (0.0177)	-0.0208 (0.0175)
condition*household		-0.0784 (0.181)						
household*open		-0.0425 (0.0422)						
condition*household*open		0.0218 (0.0567)						
job	0.144 (0.116)	0.166 (0.116)	0.699 (0.755)	0.164 (0.117)	0.166 (0.117)	0.146 (0.117)	0.165 (0.117)	0.149 (0.117)
condition*job			-0.331 (1.048)					
job*open			-0.134 (0.237)					
condition*job*open			0.0280 (0.334)					
security	-0.0507* (0.0289)	-0.0473 (0.0290)	-0.0508* (0.0290)	-0.144 (0.230)	-0.0485* (0.0292)	-0.0486* (0.0290)	-0.0498* (0.0291)	-0.0478 (0.0290)
condition*security				0.0888 (0.307)				
security*open				0.0322 (0.0730)				
condition*security*open				-0.0315 (0.0965)				
traditional media	-0.0370 (0.0302)	-0.0385 (0.0301)	-0.0360 (0.0301)	-0.0368 (0.0302)	-0.196 (0.240)	-0.0374 (0.0301)	-0.0352 (0.0302)	-0.0344 (0.0301)
condition*traditional media				0.241				

condition*traditional media*open					-0.0849 (0.103)			
new media	-0.00294 (0.0170)	-0.00199 (0.0171)	-0.00243 (0.0171)	-0.00242 (0.0171)	-0.00302 (0.0171)	-0.0874 (0.125)	-0.00166 (0.0173)	-0.00322 (0.0172)
condition*new media						0.239 (0.180)		
new media*open						0.0254 (0.0398)		
condition*new media*open						-0.0725 (0.0569)		
knowledge	-0.157 (0.154)	-0.130 (0.156)	-0.125 (0.155)	-0.141 (0.155)	-0.154 (0.155)	-0.168 (0.156)	0.563 (1.177)	-0.128 (0.156)
condition*knowledge							-0.881 (1.658)	
knowledge*open							-0.223 (0.362)	
condition*knowledge*open							0.279 (0.519)	
socialize	-0.270*** (0.103)	-0.271*** (0.104)	-0.272*** (0.104)	-0.262** (0.104)	-0.259** (0.104)	-0.278*** (0.104)	-0.267** (0.104)	-0.121 (0.833)
condition*socialize								0.556 (1.131)
socialize*open								-0.0295 (0.258)
condition*socialize*open								-0.207 (0.354)
age	-0.00819** (0.00414)	-0.00880** (0.00414)	-0.00866** (0.00413)	-0.00850** (0.00414)	-0.00867** (0.00416)	-0.00824** (0.00414)	-0.00834** (0.00417)	-0.00855** (0.00413)
gender	0.00670 (0.0964)	0.00113 (0.0968)	-0.00161 (0.0962)	-0.00147 (0.0965)	-8.39e-05 (0.0961)	-0.00415 (0.0962)	-0.00607 (0.0971)	0.0113 (0.0975)
white	-0.112 (0.229)	-0.125 (0.230)	-0.129 (0.230)	-0.122 (0.230)	-0.130 (0.231)	-0.110 (0.231)	-0.120 (0.231)	-0.114 (0.230)
Constant	21.54** (8.320)	21.53*** (8.157)	22.00*** (8.128)	22.37*** (8.279)	22.95*** (8.269)	21.65*** (8.151)	21.11** (8.278)	21.93*** (8.126)
Observations	324	324	324	324	324	324	324	324
R-squared	0.214	0.210	0.212	0.207	0.208	0.211	0.207	0.209

Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

b. Agreeableness Personality Dimension

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
condition	0.219 (1.705)	0.0782 (1.318)	-0.140 (0.793)	0.0685 (1.671)	0.0781 (1.449)	-0.766 (0.916)	-0.192 (1.375)	0.464 (0.652)
egalitarian	-0.0446 (0.177)	-0.175*** (0.0245)	-0.178*** (0.0244)	-0.172*** (0.0246)	-0.176*** (0.0245)	-0.173*** (0.0245)	-0.175*** (0.0247)	-0.182*** (0.0246)
condition*egalitarian								
agree	-0.118 (0.253)	0.00186	0.0427	-0.00337	-0.421	-0.0787	-0.344*	-0.139
								0.0156

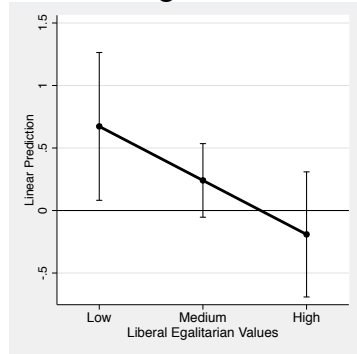
	(0.352)	(0.327)	(0.182)	(0.373)	(0.321)	(0.202)	(0.293)	(0.150)
condition*agree	0.0141	-0.0152	0.0651	0.00162	0.0194	0.197	0.0522	-0.160
	(0.538)	(0.417)	(0.250)	(0.527)	(0.462)	(0.288)	(0.427)	(0.207)
egalitarian*agree	-0.0340							
	(0.0554)							
condition*egalitarian*agree	0.0219							
	(0.0797)							
household	-0.0152	0.0873	-0.0134	-0.0148	-0.0169	-0.0158	-0.0169	-0.0135
	(0.0175)	(0.130)	(0.0175)	(0.0176)	(0.0176)	(0.0178)	(0.0177)	(0.0174)
condition*household		-0.0682						
		(0.171)						
household*agree		-0.0318						
		(0.0409)						
condition*household*agree		0.0186						
		(0.0540)						
job	0.121	0.146	1.195	0.131	0.138	0.131	0.134	0.135
	(0.116)	(0.117)	(0.745)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.117)	(0.115)
condition*job			-0.454					
			(1.043)					
job*agree			-0.312					
			(0.234)					
condition*job*agree			0.0907					
			(0.330)					
security	-0.0557*	-0.0545*	-0.0528*	-0.187	-0.0548*	-0.0486*	-0.0535*	-0.0596**
	(0.0292)	(0.0290)	(0.0289)	(0.227)	(0.0291)	(0.0291)	(0.0295)	(0.0289)
condition*security				-0.115				
				(0.327)				
security*agree				0.0462				
				(0.0720)				
condition*security*agree				0.0293				
				(0.103)				
traditional media	-0.0333	-0.0308	-0.0307	-0.0311	0.0746	-0.0276	-0.0295	-0.0380
	(0.0301)	(0.0300)	(0.0299)	(0.0300)	(0.211)	(0.0301)	(0.0301)	(0.0299)
condition*traditional media					-0.129			
					(0.318)			
traditional media*agree					-0.0279			
					(0.0671)			
condition*traditional media*agree					0.0284			
					(0.100)			
new media	-0.00953	-0.00802	-0.00771	-0.00800	-0.00883	-0.133	-0.00841	-0.00873
	(0.0171)	(0.0173)	(0.0171)	(0.0171)	(0.0172)	(0.136)	(0.0175)	(0.0170)
condition*new media						0.0791		
						(0.183)		
new media*agree						0.0358		
						(0.0438)		
condition*new media*agree						-0.0163		
						(0.0585)		
knowledge	-0.143	-0.142	-0.128	-0.116	-0.136	-0.141	0.124	-0.0885

	(0.154)	(0.154)	(0.154)	(0.155)	(0.154)	(0.156)	(1.253)	(0.155)
condition*knowledge							-0.378	
							(1.788)	
knowledge*agree							-0.0818	
							(0.400)	
condition*knowledge*agree							0.118	
							(0.560)	
socialize	-0.273***	-0.255**	-0.269***	-0.255**	-0.261**	-0.265**	-0.254**	
	(0.104)	(0.104)	(0.103)	(0.104)	(0.104)	(0.103)	(0.104)	
socialize								1.459*
								(0.772)
condition*socialize								-2.498**
								(1.088)
socialize*agree								-0.555**
								(0.245)
condition*socialize*agree								0.799**
								(0.343)
age	-0.00912**	-0.00952**	-0.00989**	-0.00956**	-0.00950**	-0.00852**	-0.00910**	-0.00945**
	(0.00413)	(0.00418)	(0.00414)	(0.00415)	(0.00418)	(0.00415)	(0.00417)	(0.00410)
gender	0.0413	0.0278	0.0187	0.0265	0.0322	0.0254	0.0302	0.0222
	(0.0991)	(0.0976)	(0.0975)	(0.0974)	(0.0981)	(0.0983)	(0.0977)	(0.0968)
white	-0.109	-0.112	-0.0946	-0.0941	-0.137	-0.113	-0.0970	-0.181
	(0.232)	(0.232)	(0.230)	(0.234)	(0.237)	(0.232)	(0.233)	(0.232)
Constant	22.30***	23.06***	23.87***	24.49***	23.38***	22.33***	22.80***	23.15***
	(8.237)	(8.259)	(8.154)	(8.270)	(8.269)	(8.183)	(8.289)	(8.094)
Observations	326	326	326	326	326	326	326	326
R-squared	0.208	0.206	0.213	0.208	0.206	0.208	0.204	0.219

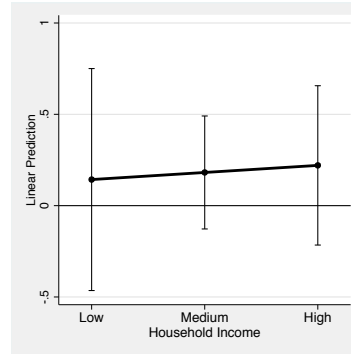
Cell entries are OLS regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; *** p<0.001, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 2a-h: Experimental Treatment Effect of Hijab (Fatma 2) by Moderator Variables with High Openness Personalities

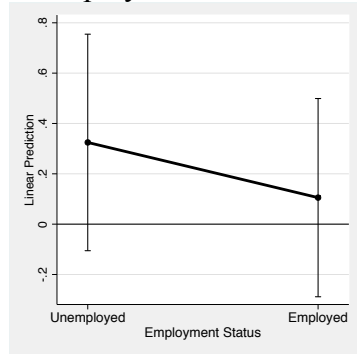
a. Liberal Egalitarian Values



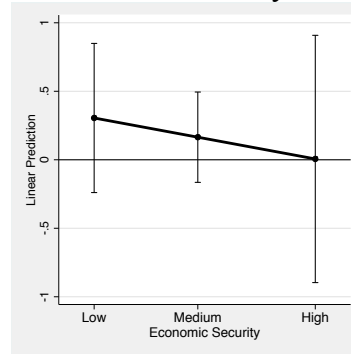
b. Household Income



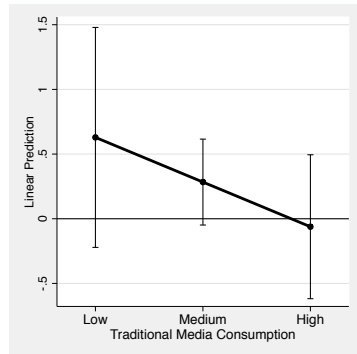
c. Employment Status



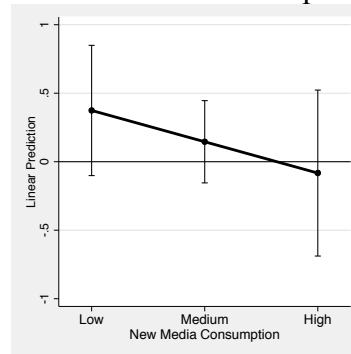
d. Economic Security



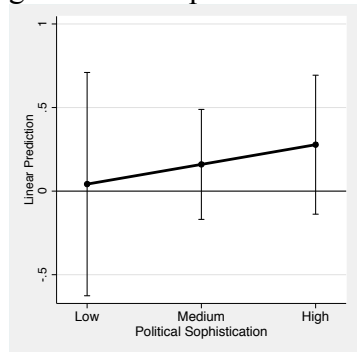
e. Traditional Media Consumption



f. New Media Consumption



g. Political Sophistication



h. Socializing with Muslims

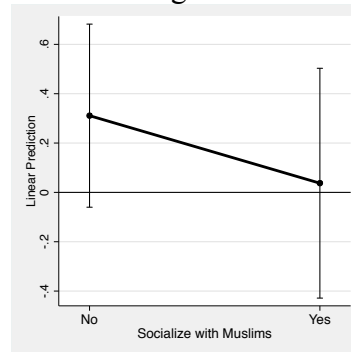
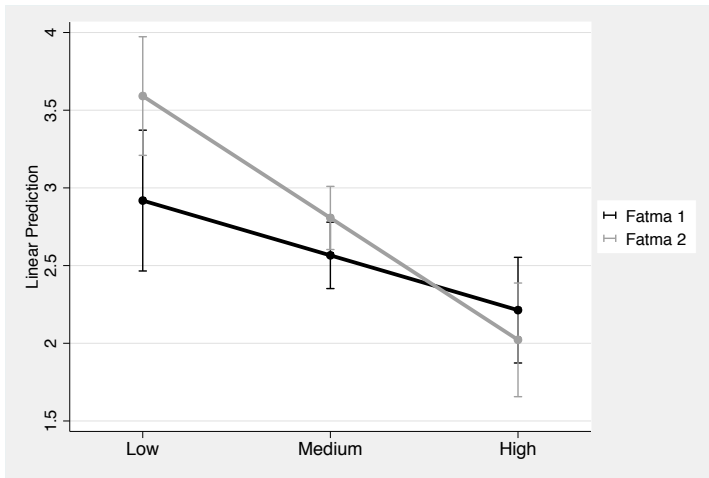


Figure 3: High in Openness and attitudes toward Fatma’s multicultural grant application at different levels of liberal egalitarian values



Appendix

Dependent variable:

Fatma 1/Fatma 2

Now we would like to know what you think about multiculturalism programs in Canada. For example, please consider the following story: Fatma is the president of the Canadian Turkish-Muslim Action Network. Her group has recently applied to Canada's Multiculturalism Grants and Contributions Program for \$80,000 to fund an outreach project to raise awareness of Turkish-Muslim contributions to Canada's culture. Do you support or oppose the government funding Fatma's outreach project?

- 1 strongly support
- 2 somewhat support
- 3 somewhat oppose
- 4 strongly oppose

Independent Variables:

open/agreeable

Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each pair of traits. You should rate the extent to which each pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other. I see myself as ...

[see Table 1 for list of traits]

- 1 strongly agree
- 2 somewhat agree
- 3 somewhat disagree
- 4 strongly disagree

egalitarian [index made from the following:]

The government should:

- 1 See to it that everyone has a decent standard of living
- 2 Leave people to get ahead on their own

Which is more important in a democratic society?

- 1 Letting the majority decide
- 2 Protecting the needs and rights of minorities

The welfare state makes people less willing to look after themselves.

- 1 strongly/somewhat agree
- 2 strongly/somewhat disagree

household

Could you please tell me your total household income before taxes for the year 2010?

- 0 less than \$10 000
- 1 \$10 000 to \$19 999
- 2 \$20 000 to \$29 999
- 3 \$30 000 to \$39 999
- 4 \$40 000 to \$49 999
- 5 \$50 000 to \$59 999

- 6 \$60 000 to \$69 999
- 7 \$70 000 to \$79 999
- 8 \$80 000 to \$89 999
- 9 \$90 000 to \$99 999
- 10 >\$99 999

job

Are you currently self employed, working for pay, retired, unemployed or looking for work, a student, caring for a family, or something else?

[original categories are combined into the following:]

- 0 retired; unemployed/looking for work; student; caring for a family; disabled
- 1 self employed (with or without employees); working for pay (full or part time, includes on paid leave); R volunteers works at two or more jobs; student and working for pay; caring for family and working for pay; retired and working for pay

security [index made from the following:]

How likely is it that this income will be lost in the next year?

- 1 very likely
- 2 somewhat likely
- 3 somewhat unlikely
- 4 very unlikely

If this income were lost, how easy or difficult would it be to find another source of income or a comparable job?

- 1 very easy
- 2 somewhat easy
- 3 somewhat difficult
- 4 very difficult

traditional media [index made of the following:]

Generally speaking, how many days in a week do you do the following things? [Watch the news on TV? Read the news in the newspaper? Listen to news on the radio?]

- 0 none/never
- 1 one
- 2 two
- 3 three
- 4 four
- 5 five
- 6 six
- 7 seven/everyday

new media

Generally speaking, how many days in a week do you do the following things? [Read the news on the internet?]

- 0 none/never
- 1 one

- 2 two
- 3 three
- 4 four
- 5 five
- 6 six
- 7 seven/everyday

sophistication [index made of the following:]

Do you happen to recall the name of the Premier of your Province?

- 0 [incorrect answer]
- 1 [correct answer]

And the name of the federal Minister of Finance?

- 0 [incorrect answer]
- 1 [correct answer]

And the name of the Governor General of Canada who just finished her term last December?

- 0 [incorrect answer]
- 1 [correct answer]

socialize

Now thinking about all the people you socialize with, including close friends as well as others from work or elsewhere, are any of them: [Muslim]

- 0 no
- 1 yes

white

To what ethnic or cultural group do you belong?

0 non-white

Bangladeshi, Black/African, Chinese, Guyanese, Haitian, Indian, Israeli, Jamaican, Japanese, Korean, Lebanese, Pakistani, Filipino, Sikh, Sri Lankan, Tamil, Other Asian, Other South American, Other African, Other Caribbean, Arabic/Middle Eastern, Inuit/Metis/Aboriginal/Native

1 white

Canada, Australian, Austrian, British, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, French, Finnish, German, Greek, Holland, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Jewish/Hebrew, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Scottish, Serbian, Slovakian, Spanish, Swedish, Ukrainian, Welsh, American, Other European, Mennonite, Anglo Saxon/WASP/Caucasian, Acadian, Quebecois/French Canadian/Francophone

[if respondent answered "Canada", she had a chance to provide another ethnicity. This second option is combined in the same manner.]