



A Diverse Community

The Science of Resilience

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Definition

Engagement with people from various backgrounds and cultures plays a significant role in enhancing resilience, particularly in the context of globalization and diverse society. Being present in a diverse environment allows a person to experience frequent intergroup contact. Diversity is defined as:

Cultural differences in values, beliefs, and behaviours learned and shared by groups of interacting people defined by nationality, ethnicity, gender, age, physical characteristics, sexual orientation, economic status, education, profession, religion, organizational affiliation, and any other grouping that generates identifiable pattern. (Bennett & Bennett, 2004, p. 150)

Cultural differences can be found in the form of objective or subjective culture, as classified by Berger and Luckmann (1966). Objective culture is the institutional aspects of culture (e.g. arts, music, rituals, ceremonies, and cuisine); subjective culture is people's worldviews, which usually shows in their attitudes and behaviours (Bennett & Bennett, 2004). Frequent intergroup contacts can result in acculturation or cultural change in one or more groups. Adaptation, or the changes and outcomes from acculturation, can result in psychological, sociocultural, and economic changes (Berry, 1997). Intercultural engagement fosters openness, cultural intelligence, and competence, which builds personal growth and resilience in the long-term.

Intercultural competence, intercultural sensitivity, and cross-cultural competence refer to "an ability to encounter cultural differences in a positive way" (Jokikokko, 2005, p. 70). Bennett and Bennett (2004) define intercultural competence as "the ability to communicate effectively in cross-cultural situations and to relate appropriately in a variety of cultural contexts" (p. 149). Intercultural competence includes knowledge and awareness of different worldviews, which shows in the person's flexible behaviours (Schwarzenthal, 2019). Ang et al. (2007) argue that cultural intelligence differs from cultural competence. Cultural intelligence is cultural-free, while cultural competence covers various concepts and models related to a person's traits, attitudes, values, and capabilities in an intercultural context. Ang et al. (2007) define cultural intelligence as "a general set of capabilities that facilitate one's effectiveness across different cultural and in multicultural environment" (p. 3).

Frequent contact and immersions in other cultures reduces ethnocentrism, in-group bias and anxiety, and improves positive intergroup relations (Abbott & Cameron, 2014). Abbott and Cameron (2014) define in-group bias as preferences toward people from one's group and less toward members of other groups. In-group bias triggers and increases intergroup anxiety and prejudice between groups. Ethnocentrism is defined as "the tendency to perceive one's own cultural group as the only reality and to judge everything based on its cultural values" (Randall-David, 1989, p. 2). However, frequent intercultural contact in diversity can also cause cultural mixing. Cheon (2019) defines cultural mixing as "a pattern of intercultural contact

resulting in representations and elements of distinct cultures occupying the same space at the same time” (p. 94). Cultural mixing creates frustration from the loss of original cultures. A deep understanding of intercultural contact and cultural mixing is needed to create more open and resilient societies (Cheon, 2019).

Acculturation

Frequent intergroup contacts resulted in acculturation in one or more than one group. Acculturation occurs voluntarily or involuntarily and permanently or temporarily (e.g., international students and workers). It can happen through mobilization (e.g. immigration) or when another culture came to them (indigenous group) (Berry, 1997). Although acculturation triggers changes in both groups, the non-dominant cultures are less likely to influence others (Ungar, 2015). There are four types of acculturation: *assimilation*, *reactive* (resulting in changes in both groups), *creative* (creating new cultural forms), and *delayed* (changes appear after the interaction) (Berry, 1997).

Berry (1997) explains four broad acculturation strategies taken to maintain one’s own culture when having contact with other groups:

- *marginalization* (neither realizing one’s own culture nor wanting to make intergroup contacts)
- *separation* (realizing one’s own culture but avoiding intergroup contact)
- *assimilation* (realizing one’s own culture and looking for intergroup contacts)
- *integration* (willingness to maintain one’s own culture and to have intergroup contacts)

Recent research argues that the four strategies are insufficient in describing acculturation and its applications (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001; Nigbur et al., 2008). Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh (2001) argue that Berry’s definition of marginalization is not adequate. Marginalization is not a strategy people chose but a failure to belong to the preferred group. The preference to be outside both dominant and non-dominant cultures is a realization of multiculturalism and self-actualization. The four strategies also do not explain the cognitive, social, and emotional processes of acculturation (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001).

The interactive acculturation model shows a systematic model of intergroup acculturation attitudes (Bourhis et al., 1997). The model is based on Berry’s (1997) four acculturation strategies. The interactive acculturation model depends on the relative fit between preferences of the dominant and non-dominant group and is divided into three levels: consensual, problematic, and conflictual (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). When engaging with people from other groups, a person will consider whether it is beneficial to maintain their cultural identity and if it is beneficial to maintain the relationships. A person who rejects both cultures will be anomie and utilize individualism as their strategy. A person integrates when they have the willingness to maintain their culture and adopt another cultural identity at the same time. Assimilation happens if the person erases their own cultural identity to adopt another cultural

identity. Separation is a strategy used when a person chooses to maintain their cultural identity and distance themselves from other groups (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Zagefka and Brown (2002; Brown & Zagefka, 2011) argue that the lack of fit between the desire for cultural maintenance and contact is the absolute discrepancy in acculturation. The discrepancy occurs between a person's attitudes and perceived group attitudes. An individual's psychological response is based on their subjective realities. The discrepancy between their preferred and perceived strategies may be more beneficial for analyzing intergroup relations (Zagefka & Brown, 2011).

Cultural intelligence and cultural competence as psychological adaptations to acculturation

Individuals may experience acculturative stress when adapting to a new context (Berry, 1997). The ability to effectively engage with people from different backgrounds is built on two constructs: cultural intelligence and intercultural competence (Li, 2020). Cultural intelligence, or individuals' awareness and ability to identify cultural differences, is derived from multiple components. Early and Ang (2003) explains that cultural intelligence involves: (a) *metacognitive intelligence*, which shows as the awareness of cultural differences and the ability to bridge between cultures; (b) *cognitive intelligence*, or the ability to identify similarities and differences between cultures; (c) *motivational intelligence*, or the willingness to learn about different cultures to understand and recognize similarities and differences between different cultures; and (d) *behavioural intelligence*, or one's ability to adapt their behaviour based on another person's culture with whom they interact.

Metacognition is a person's awareness of their cognitive behaviour when planning and utilizing cognitive strategies (Bennett & Bennett, 2004). High meta-cognitive intelligence improves cognitive processes and increases creativity (Chua et al., 2012). A person's cognitive process brings values as the focus of attention, which helps in preventing undesirable responses and selecting the best strategies for the situation. People who do not get distracted by unimportant information (e.g. bias and stereotyping) are more flexible and capable of focusing on utilizing their cognitive resources. These traits help them find different and new strategies to achieve their goals (Bennett & Bennett, 2004).

Addler (1975) explains five transitional phases of cultural awareness: contact, disintegration, reintegration, autonomy, and independence.

- *Contact*: a person experiences initial contact with a second culture. They are more attuned to similarities than differences and still are ethnocentric. Thus, they will try to validate their own cultural behaviour.
- *Disintegration*: a person starts to notice the differences in values, attitudes, and behaviours. These create identity confusion.

- *Reintegration*: they reject the second culture through stereotyping, generalization, and judgmental behaviour
- *Autonomy*: after a while, they obtain the knowledge and understanding of a second culture. They can move in and out of the second culture. They develop personal flexibility and adaptive coping skills.
- *Independence*: they have a deeper understanding of diversity, see themselves as a person who is influenced by that culture and utilize their knowledge.

Thomas (2006) postulates different stages of cultural intelligence development based on developmental psychology.

1. Stage 1: in this stage, people unconsciously utilize their cultural values to respond to external stimuli. They have no interest in other cultures nor recognize cultural differences.
2. Stage 2: in this stage, people recognize other cultural values and are motivated to learn about them. People show interest in other cultures and form simple values based on their culture and their knowledge about them.
3. Stage 3: in this stage, people no longer utilize simple rules/values to guide their behaviours. They have a deeper understanding of cultural values and aware that the values varied based on contexts. Therefore, they are capable of adapting their behaviours according to the situation they are facing. However, adaptive behaviours require efforts.
4. Stage 4: in this stage, assimilation of diverse norms from various cultures occurred, which constructs people's alternate behaviours.
5. Stage 5: people can proactively change and adjust their behaviours based on social cues and nuance.

Bennett and Bennet (2004) developed the developmental model of intercultural sensitivity framework, which shows six stages of cultural sensitivity development. The first three stages (denial, defence, and minimization stage) fall under the ethnocentrism phase, in which the focus of a person's reality is their own culture. The next three stages are under the *ethnorelatives* phase, in which a person can analyze their own culture from other cultural perspectives. The three stages of the ethnorelatives phase are acceptance (acknowledging other cultures but still in a different reality), adaptation (can shift focus between worldviews), and integration (people have multicultural identities and become marginal to the cultures). Individuals who experience cultural differences will develop a more sophisticated worldview and intercultural competence that shows in their attitudes and behaviours (Bennett and Bennett, 2004).

Factors influencing acculturation

A person with high cultural intelligence possesses content and process knowledge about cultural values, beliefs, identities, attitudes, and how they all affect people's behaviour

cognitively and motivationally. These increase greater predictability and more accurate responses in cross-cultural engagement (Thomas, 2006). Social categories, ethnic identity, and acculturation affect psychological construct and adaptation in children and adolescents. Acculturation in early childhood usually appears with minimal conflicts due to the on-going cultural learning process, better flexibility, and adaptability at a younger age (Berry, 1997). The processes can be more varied and complicated in adolescents. Berry (1997) argues that adolescents experience more conflicts between their original culture and cultures from other groups. They are also at the age where they experience life transitions between childhood and adulthood. All these create identity confusion. However, Chavous et al. (2008) found that adolescents with stronger identity (origin culture) and motivations are more resilient and adaptive to cultural changes.

Other factors that influence the acculturation process are gender, education, pre-acculturation status, motivations for engagement, people's coping resources and strategies, personality, and the length of the engagement (Berry, 1997). Openness, proactive personality, motivation, and creativity improve cultural intelligence (Chavous et al., 2008; Abbott & Cameron, 2014; Hu et al., 2020). A person with these traits is more likely to engage with the outgroups and take some initiative to change. They are also more flexible, thus are more likely to succeed in task performance, adaptation, and goal attainment (Hu et al., 2020). Another trait that influences a person's cultural intelligence is mindfulness. Mindfulness, or attention to the present reality, is one of the metacognitive strategies to regulate cognition. It helps people to identify new knowledge and utilize them in future interactions (Bennett & Bennett, 2004). Nigbur et al. (2008) also found that differences between cultures (cultural distance) affects people's ability for acculturation.

By having better cultural intelligence, a person can direct their attention and focus on a situation with higher intrinsic motivation and self-efficacy. Both traits influence a person's perseverance to overcome cultural difficulties and challenges. Better ability to interpret and utilize verbal and nonverbal cues when interacting with a diverse group of people helps them to be more flexible in adjusting their behaviour when interacting with other people (Hu et al., 2020).

Relationship to Resilience

In society, cultures influence one another through socialization (Ungar, 2015). Frequent intercultural contacts increase the effectiveness and the chance to succeed in coping with negative events (Reichard et al., 2013). Effective intercultural engagements improve task performance, flexibility, creativity, cross-cultural judgement, and physical and mental health. They also help in widening perspectives in analyzing complicated matters; general and interactional adjustment; increasing the chance for goal attainment; and lowering the use of

avoidance coping and stereotyping (Chiu & Hong, 2005; Ang et al., 2007; Abbe et al., 2007; Maddux & Galinsky, 2009; Duff, Tahbaz, & Chan, 2012).

Frequent and long-term intercultural contact builds acculturative resilience and personal growth (Gaerert & Demoulin, 2013). Intercultural interactions provide a chance for people to realize their cultural open-mindedness (Abbott & Cameron, 2014; Chavous et al., 2008). Gaerert and Demoulin (2013) explain that in early contact with other cultures, people experience transient acculturative stress. Acculturative stress acts as a challenging experience that triggers coping and adaptation, which in the long-term increases resources and strategies for problem-solving and decision-making in the form of cultural intelligence and competence. Cultural intelligence, which reflects in a person's attitudes and behaviours, is needed to meet environmental demands (Hu et al., 2020). Intrapersonal traits (e.g. personality, motivation, psychological adjustment), interpersonal supports (from a close social network), and intergroup factors (cultural competence) are the three factors that influence acculturative stress. These factors also help to build a new identity from another culture while maintaining one's original culture at the same time (Gaerert & Demoulin, 2013). A person with goal orientation is better at cultural adjustment (Gong & Fan, 2006).

Cakir and Guneri (2011) found that acculturation stress experienced by Turkish migrant women in the UK and their perception of social support are strong predictors of their empowerment. Women who experience difficulties in engaging with people from the host country and have higher perceived discrimination experience worse psychological distress. Higher social support and educational background may help them in buffering the effect of perceived discrimination in the host country. Yakunina et al. (2013) found that multicultural and personal strengths help international students to cope with stress and adjustment. Students with some personal growth initiatives and a universal-diverse orientation are better at adjusting to the new environment. They experience more positive mental health and lower distress.

Abbe et al. (2007) list some variables that influence cross-cultural competence in unknown and uncertain situations:

- Antecedent variables: personality and biographical, e.g. agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability and regulation, extraversion, gender, previous experiences
- Self and identity variables: bicultural identity, self-efficacy
- Knowledge and cognition variables, for example, cultural awareness, cross-cultural schema, cognitive complexity
- Affect and motivation variables: attitudes and initiatives, empathy, need for closure, non-ethnocentrism
- Skills: interpersonal skill, self-regulation, flexibility
- Situational variables: cultural distance

Intercultural contact is an important factor in building cultural competence and resilience. It also helps people's decision-making and problem-solving (Chiu and Hong, 2005). For example, effective engagement with people from different cultures helps military leaders and personnel deployed in Afghanistan and Iraq to adapt to the new environment and work effectively (Abbe et al., 2007). Students who took a culturally engaged course also reported some benefits they experienced after signing up for a cultural-oriented course. They engaged with community partners from diverse groups to learn about their culture utilized better strategies to work with the community and meet their assignments. These interactions improve one's cultural effectiveness. The knowledge of how people should act toward diverse populations helps them to navigate in the societal network (Hess, Lanig, & Vaughan, 2007).

Intercultural contact also builds understanding and expands knowledge about other cultures, which empower people. Frequent contact with people from the host country helps immigrants and students to face challenges and deal with their anxiety and uncertainty while adjusting to the new environment (Hu et al., 2020). Maddux and Galinsky (2009) found that people who engage and immerse themselves in other cultures are more creative (have more ideas and creative inputs), have broader problem-solving strategies, are more flexible, and less fixated on one idea. Cultural competence also helps people from the dominant culture in interacting with non-dominants. Androulakis et al. (2015) found that cultural knowledge and competence helps English as a second language teachers interact with and teach immigrant more effectively. Cultural knowledge and competence also help nurses in understanding and building better alliances with patients and improves their empathy (Bhui et al., 2007).

Cultural competence also helps people to fulfill their social identity needs and found equal footing in intercultural contacts (Chiu & Hong, 2015). Understanding of one's culture and intragroup variations lead to ethnic minority adjustment. For example, understanding the expectations, treatments and rules for African American children helps them analyze and respond to racial discrimination they are facing at school and social settings (Chavous et al., 2008). Chavous et al. (2008) found that older adolescents with knowledge of cultural differences and strong cultural identity have higher motivation achievement in education. Understanding cultural differences and barriers helps them to identify strategies to improve their achievements in school and society.

Cultural competence also reduces intergroup tensions (Chiu and Hong, 2015). Dominant and marginalized cultures engage in discursive power to make sense of their pathways and values. However, the more marginalized a culture is, the less capable they are of influencing others (Ungar, 2015). Matera et al. (2020) found that immigrants who engage with people from the host country and show their willingness to learn about the culture are considered less threatening. In contrast, people who demonstrate a strong disposition for cultural maintenance are seen as more threatening by the host group. Frequent intergroup interactions lower in-group bias and increase the chance for people to help others in need (Abbott & Cameron, 2014). Abbott and Cameron (2014) analyzed the relationships between intergroup contacts

with bystander intentions. They concluded that frequent contact with diverse group influence intentions and attitudes toward people from outside their group. A lower in-group bias increases the urge to help other people and decrease their perceived cost of helping behaviour. Both intergroup contact and in-group bias are crucial factors in positive intergroup relations.

Social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism are related to lower intergroup engagement. Groups that are culturally and psychologically distant are less likely to be inclusive and more likely to perceive others as threats (Sam Nariman et al., 2020). Intergroup interactions need to be on equal footing, interpersonal, cooperative and rewarding for both sides to reduce prejudice and create positive intergroup contact (Berryman-Fink, 2006). The Phunoy in Laos, an oppressed ethnicity, utilize acculturation as a way to cope with the dominance and gain advantage from it (Bouté, 2006). Bouté (2006) found that acculturation is used by the Phunoy in Laos by inserting their culture into the Lao worldview to face the dominant group on an equal footing. This strategy aims to gain leadership and higher positions in the local government.

However, there is also a downside to engagement in a highly diverse environment. Halualani (2008) argues that frequent intercultural interactions reduce people's motivation to seek and realize actual intercultural experiences. People assume that the interactions happen with the flow and take it for granted. Some may even lose the abstraction of diversity and stop viewing others as intercultural. By perceiving outgroup interactions as a typical interaction, they lose the advantage of the situation, such as knowledge-gathering, attitude changes and lowering cultural stereotypes (Halualani, 2008). Cultural mixing also creates problems because it changes the original culture used as buffers to cope with psychological threats (Cheong, 2019). Sensitivity to differences and issues related to diversity is needed to realize intercultural competence. A balance between acknowledging differences and essentialism is needed as ethical orientation (ways of thinking and acting) and as a way to cope with various situations (Jokikokko, 2005).

Improving Intercultural Engagement

Below are some strategies to improve intercultural engagement (Gaertner et al., 1993; Bennett & Bennett, 2004; Zierkel, 2008; Sanner et al., 2010; Tausch et al., 2015; Schwarzenhal, 2019).

- *Ask questions, suspends judgement*, and look for alternative explanations/behaviours when engaging with people from other cultures. Being “colour-evasive” usually goes along with ignoring inequalities and discrimination. It may cause you to miss some important information and knowledge that may be crucial for your interactions
- *Join cultural and diversity training, forums, lectures, and interactive sessions*. They can be in the form of open discussions with diversity experts, lecture presentations, or small group interactional activities with people from different cultures

- *Do activities with common goals.* Working on a common goal will increase intergroup relations
- *The capital culture approach,* such as eating ethnic food, holding, or attending dedicated month for cultural appreciation.
- *Broaden the “we-ness”* and reduce in-group bias by spreading out common categories and in-group identity. Recategorization and building a stronger single group that covers smaller different groups with common identity will also reduce intergroup anxiety, bias, and stereotyping
- *Prolong activities and intergroup contact*
- *Recognize and obliterate the negative effect of the -ism* (racism, sexism, ageism) and homophobia, for example, by openly discuss racial and ethnic issues
- *Learn about the people from different culture,* e.g. by listening to their story and try to perceive history from their perspectives, will increase empathy, positive behaviours, and intergroup contacts
- *Build a strong racial and ethnic identity* to help people meet on an equal footing. Equality is pivotal for positive intergroup relations.

Randall-David (1989) proposed intercultural engagement strategies that are based on (a) an awareness of your cultural values and beliefs and a recognition of how they influence your attitudes and behaviours and (b) an understanding of other people’s cultural values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours.

- Acknowledge your cultural heritage (see Appendix A for exercise questions)
 - Acknowledge which ethnic group, socioeconomic class, religion, age group and community you belong to
 - Analyze your previous engagements with people whose background is different from yours.
- Explore people’s specific values and attitudes that may be different or the same as yours
- Think about how well you relate to various groups of people in society by thinking whether:
 - you can greet the person warmly
 - accept them as they are and be comfortable around them
 - help them when they need help (although the problem may be caused by the label-stereotype given to them)
 - feel that you have enough knowledge background about them
 - honestly advocate for them (see Appendix A for Exercise Checklist: How Do You Relate to Various Group of People in the Society?)
- Get in touch with your own identity and analyze assumptions that may hinder you from engaging with people from a different background (see Appendix A for Examples of Assumptions).

- Treat other people with openness and count them as individuals: some people can help, some have their hang-ups, some have “soul”, and some do their own thing. Treat people on a one-on-one basis.
- Show interest in understanding other points of view.
- Accept honest expression of acceptance and friendship.
- Support people's self-initiated move.
- Listen without interrupting them.
- Stay with and stand by them through difficult situations.
- Taking a risk and confront your cultural differences.

Interventions

Several meta-analyses showed that contact-based programs (direct or indirect) between different social group members significantly influence intergroup attitudes regardless of age (adult, adolescents, or children age 8 and under), cultures, and social conditions (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Paluck & Green, 2009; Aboud et al., 2012; Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014). Other approaches of interventions that aim to reduce prejudice and discriminations are socialization about some out-groups; media/instruction-based; cooperative learning techniques, social-cognitive development; multicultural, diversity, and antibias training programs; categorization and recategorization; and identity and social cognitive training (Roseth et al., 2008; Paluck & Green, 2009; Aboud et al., 2012). However, Beelmann and Heinemann (2014) debate the effectiveness of categorization and recategorization training in improving intergroup attitudes. They found that recategorizing social categorization does not have any effect or may have negative effects on attitude changes. This may be caused by the disconnection between classification skills and prejudiced attitude; increased sensitivity in categorization after training; or vague recategorization (Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014).

Beelmann & Heinemann (2014) argue that although the improvements are relatively small compared to other prevention programs in general, standardized prejudice prevention and educational training programs are possible to improve intergroup attitudes and reduce prejudice. They found that programs that focus on direct contact and training empathy have promising results than indirect contact. For example, programs that initiate personal friendship between group members are effective in mediating intergroup relations (Aboud & Levy, 2000; Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014). Below are some interventions approaches that are supported by experimental evidence from the field and laboratory.

Cooperative learning

Meta-analyses show the effect of cooperative learning in improving peer relationships and helpfulness (Paluck & Green, 2009; Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014). Slavin and Cooper (1999) reviewed eight cooperative learning procedures to analyze the effectiveness of these

programs in facilitating intergroup contact in children and adolescents at school. Cooperative learning is based on social interdependence theory. The strategy is designed to make students teach and learn from one another (Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014). By teaching and learning from one another, students will have a better chance to be friends on an equal footing, thus lowering their prejudices toward each other. Slavin and Cooper (1999) listed eight principles of cooperative learning methods: student teams-achievement divisions (STAD); teams-games-tournament (TGT); team-assisted individualization (TAI); cooperative integrated reading and composition (CIRC); jigsaw teaching, group investigation; Johnson methods; group investigation; and Weigel et al method. Below is an explanation of some of them.

Student Teams-Achievement Divisions (STAD):

- Slavin (1979) formed groups of second to eighths graders that consisted of four to five students, varied in gender, ethnicity, and school performance in each group. They met for two-40 min periods each week for ten weeks to discuss English language arts. They got a weekly individual quiz and were encouraged to help each other to learn the material. All group assignments were evaluated and scored. A group reward is given by assessing each student's contribution *as a function of the weekly test score pro-rated in comparison with his or her achievement division* to ensure equal contributions from each student (Slavin & Cooper, 1999, p. 651).
- Another STAD method is by presenting a lesson and grouping students in four-member teams to study the worksheets. The students are given individual quizzes. The degree of individual improvements is computed as the team scores. After 10-12 weeks, students reported an increase in cross-racial friendships (Slavin & Cooper, 1999).

Team-Games-Tournament (TGT):

- In TGT, students take part in a tournament of skill-testing games. It has a similar method as STAD but replaces quizzes with games/ tournaments. Each student competes to represent their group against similar level students from other groups to ensure fair performances. After the intervention, students reported an increased number of friends from different racial groups (Slavin & Cooper, 1999).

Team-Assisted Individualization (TAI):

- Group of four-five students are given self-instructional mathematics materials at their own levels and rates. Each student has the responsibility to check, manage, and help each other with problems. If all team members achieve the standards, the team is rewarded with certificates (Slavin & Cooper, 1999).

Jigsaw:

- Students were assigned to heterogeneous six-member groups. Each member had particular information to be discussed in expert groups, which consist of students from

different teams with the same information. The experts convey the information to their teammates. All members are quizzed and received individual grades (Slavin & Cooper, 1999).

- In Jigsaw II, students work in a group of four or five. All students read a chapter, but each student gets a different topic to learn and then discuss the information with their team members. The quiz is scored in team scores (Slavin & Cooper, 1999).

Media Entertainment

Media is one of the factors of bias development. Media shapes prejudice through two ways: spreading inaccurate information about a particular group of people and stereotypes and by informing how people should act toward them. American media content shapes people's perceptions and prejudice by: "(1) making concepts and associations more readily accessible in memory, (2) cultivating inaccurate perceptions of social groups in the real world, and (3) providing examples by which audience members may learn what behaviours and opinions are socially acceptable" (Bissett and Parrott, 2013, p. 254-255).

Lewandowski et al. (2012) wrote specific recommendations for debunking misinformation, for example, from the media:

- Just retracting the information from the media will not be enough. Three factors can help to increase the effectiveness of retractions: "(a) warnings at the time of the initial exposure to misinformation, (b) repetition of the retraction, and (c) corrections that tell an alternative story that fills the coherence gap otherwise left by the retractions" (p. 116).
- Debiasing messages need to align with the audiences' worldview. Change messages wording to be less threatening for people's worldview, for example, by presenting climate challenge as a business opportunity to people who oppose it.
- Couple the messages with a chance for people to do self-affirmation. Ask them to write about the time when they acted on values important to them and how that made them felt good in a few sentences.
- Be (healthily) skeptic.

Solutions and good practice to the problems associated with misinformation (Lewandowski et al., 2012; see Appendix B for a graphical summary of findings):

- Consider what gaps in people's mental event models are created by debunking and fill them using an alternative explanation.
- Use repeated retractions to reduce the influence of misinformation but note that the risk of a backfire effect increases when the original misinformation is repeated in retractions and thereby rendered more familiar.

- To avoid making people more familiar with misinformation (and thus risking a familiarity backfire effect), emphasize the facts you wish to communicate rather than the myth.
- Provide an explicit warning before mentioning a myth, to ensure that people are cognitively on guard and less likely to be influenced by the misinformation.
- Ensure that your material is simple and brief. Use clear language and graphs where appropriate. If the myth is simpler and more compelling than your debunking, it will be cognitively more attractive, and you will risk an overkill backfire effect.
- Consider whether your content may be threatening to the worldview and values of your audience. If so, you risk a worldview backfire effect, which is strongest among those with firmly held beliefs. The most receptive people will be those who are not strongly fixed in their views.
- If you must present evidence that is threatening to the audience's worldview, you may be able to reduce the worldview backfire effect by presenting your content in a worldview-affirming manner (e.g., by focusing on opportunities and potential benefits rather than risks and threats) and/or by encouraging self-affirmation.
- You can also circumvent the role of the audience's worldview by focusing on behavioural techniques, such as the design of choice architectures, rather than overt debiasing. (Lewandowski et al., 2012, p. 123)

Books form public opinion and have the ability to bring people together or extend intergroup contact. Paluck and Green (2009) found that reading about people of another culture and race and frequent contacts between children from different races brought positive attitudes toward intergroup friendship from 17 field experiments. Reading communicates social norms, encourages perspective-taking and empathy, and provides a space for children to learn about people and the world from different perspectives.

Just like reading books, the media also influences people's empathy, perspective-taking, and social norms (Paluck & Green, 2009). Paluck (2009) examines the impact of a radio soap opera in reducing prejudice and bias as a way to understand media roles in shaping prejudiced attitudes and behaviours. Radio, as the most important form of mass media in Rwanda, addresses the crisis in Rwanda by bringing up issues of mistrust, lack of communications, and trauma after the genocide. The story explains how basic psychological needs and violence are caused by various factors, such as critical thinking and intergroup connections. The story also conveys changes in social norms. Paluck (2009) found that the show changed people's perceptions of social norms, such as cooperation, active negotiations, and openness. The show also triggered empathy that was translated into real-life events.

Peer influence/discussion/ dialogue

Open dialogue and discussions about intergroup relations influences other people's attitudes and reduces prejudice (Paluck & Green, 2009). Students with positive intergroup

contact attitudes have similar-minded friends more likely to engage with the outgroups and improve other students' intergroup contact attitudes in the long-term (Rivas-Drake, 2018).

Liebkind and McAlister (1999) designed an intervention by pairing domestic students with international students. There were two groups of students: same age students who shared their stories for attitude change through printed materials and older university students who wanted to support intergroup relations. International students told their stories and positive experiences in building personal friendships with outgroup members.

The intervention also included group discussions to influence norms and perceptions and peer modelling to trigger attitude change. It consisted of two communication sessions with 30 students, in which they read seven printed first-person stories and pictures from foreigners. Students read and discussed the printed materials provided. They were randomly asked to read the stories out loud and gave their comments. Positive comments were praised, and negative comments were ignored. During the sessions, the university students showed their supports to the students in the stories (Liebkind and McAlister, 1999).

After the intervention, Liebkind and McAlister (1999) found that intergroup contact with *high acquaintance potential*, on an equal footing, and with positive attitude improved and extend intergroup contact (Liebkind and McAlister, 1999).

Diversity training

Diversity training is a common intervention that aims to improve intergroup attitudes and reduce prejudice (Ehrke et al., 2014). Ehrke et al. (2014) analyze two kinds of diversity intervention: a short 2-hour training and a 1-day diversity training. The short diversity intervention included four activities (two are get-to-know activities) that promote contact among students:

- In one of the activities, participants drew a sheep from one angle. Then, an experimenter drew a sheep from different angles (above, rear, or below) and asked if he/she has drawn a similar sheep. The activity was followed by a discussion regarding the common fixation on drawing sheep from one angle and how the phenomenon can be translated into a social group setting. This activity aims to show people that when doing stereotyping, people do not consider the intragroup variances.
- The experimenter then introduced a group competition. "After speaking about stereotypes and discussing that stereotypes cause us to neglect differences within groups, now we are going to play a game that should remind us of such differences within groups" (p. 196). Participants were divided into groups and had to identify different categories to distinguish people within their group. They had the 30s each round to collect as many alternatives as they could and wrote them down. The competition/game ended with a discussion about individual variations within groups.

After a two-hour diversity training, they found that students showed an improvement in perceived diversity and feeling towards gender outgroups. They also analyzed one-day diversity and gender training which involved discussions, exercises, group work, games, and information distributions. The training covered issues such as stereotyping, social categorization, and discrimination. They found that both the 2-hour and the one-day training were successful in improving perceived diversity and feeling toward gender outgroups and reducing sexism.

Assessment

Various measurements can be used to analyze people's attitudes toward intergroup contact and their orientation to diversity.

Barret's strength of identification and the trait attribution task (Barrett & Oppenheimer, 2006; see Appendix C)

- A scale to measure the strength of cultural identification in children and adolescents
- Two formats: interview for 5-11 years old; questionnaire format for 11-16 years old
- A low level of scores represents low levels of identification. A high score represents high levels of identification.

Barret's trait attribution task (Barrett & Oppenheimer, 2006; see Appendix C)

- Measures a person's (children and adolescents) attitude to ingroups and outgroups
- Measures on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1= "dislike a lot" to 5= "like a lot"

Intergroup attitude measure (Cameron et al., 2007; Abbott & Cameron, 2014)

- Measure attitudes toward the in-group and the out-group in ten positive (good, kind, nice, friendly, unselfish/sharing, happy, helpful, hardworking, polite and clean) and ten negative attributes (bad, nasty, dirty, unhelpful, unkind, sad, selfish, rude, lazy, unfriendly)
- Participants (children) indicate how many in-group and out-group people have those attributes.
- "Now, can you think about [one group], and can you also think about [another group]? I want to ask you some questions about [both groups]. Let's talk about [one group] first/ now [dependeig upon order of administration]. Can you point to the picture [representing 1-4 stick people] which show how many [group] people you think are...[trait]"
- Each item is measured on a 4-point scale (1= *all*, 2=*some*, 3=*most*, and 4=*none*) that is represented by different numbers of stick people
- Cronbach's alpha: out-group positive (.85), out-group negative (.84), in-group positive (.64), in-group negative (.65)

Intergroup anxiety (Stephan and Stephan, 1985; Britt et al., 1996)

- 10-items measurement, focus on intergroup anxiety on people from different racial or ethnic groups
- The scale consists of the following questions:
- “If you were the only member of your ethnic group and you were interacting with people from a different racial or ethnic group (e.g. talking with them, working on a project with them), how would you feel compared to occasion when you are interacting with people from your own ethnic group?”
- Consists of 7 negative affect items (awkward, suspicious, embarrassed, defensive, anxious, careful, self-conscious) and three positive items (happy, comfortable, and confident)
- Each item is measured on a 10-point scale (1=*not at all* to 10=*very much*)

The Cultural Intelligence Scale (Ang et al., 2007; see Appendix D)

- Measures four dimensions of cultural intelligence: metacognitive (4 items), cognitive (6 items), motivational (5 items), and behavioural intelligence (5 items)
- Items are measured on a 7-point scale (1=*strongly disagree* to 7=*strongly agree*)
- Cronbach’s alpha: .88 (metacognitive), .89 (cognitive), .81 (motivational), and .86 (behavioural)

Openness to Diversity and Challenge Scale (Pascarella et al., 1996; see Appendix E)

- An eight-item scale measures people openness to diversity and challenges
- Measured on a 5 point scale (1= “*strongly disagree*” to 5= “*strongly agree*”)
- Cronbach’s alpha: .83 and .84

The intercultural Development Inventory (IDI, Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003; Hammer, 2011)

- A 50 items measurement that aims to measure orientations toward cultural differences based on the DMIS
- The inventory is measured on a 5-point scale
- Measured in five dimensions: denial-defence (DD, 13 items), reversal (nine items), minimization (M, nine items), acceptance and adaptation (AA, 14 items), and integration (EM, five items)
- Cronbach’s alpha: .86 (DD), .802 (R), .762 (M), .816 (AA), and .702 (EM)

Strength of Identification Scale (Cameron, 2004; Obst & White, 2005; see Appendix F)

- Measures social inclusion of an interest group
- Consists of three subscales: centrality (4 items), in-group affects (3 items) and in-group ties (4 items)

- All items are measured on a 7-point scale (1= "*strongly disagree*" to 7= "*strongly agree*")
- Cronbach's alpha: .83 to .91 for total scale; .75 to .85 for centrality, .70 to .82 for ingroup affect), and .78 to .87 for ingroup ties

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Appendix A: Activities

Acknowledging your cultural heritage

Randall-David (1989, p. 5)

1. What ethnic group, socioeconomic class, religion, age group and community do you belong to?
2. What experiences have you had with people from ethnic groups, socioeconomic classes, religions, age groups, or communities different from your own?
3. What were those experiences like? How did you feel about them?
4. When you were growing up, what did your parents and significant others say about people who were different from your family?
5. What about your ethnic group, socioeconomic class, religion, age, or community do you find embarrassing or wish you could change? Why?
6. What sociocultural factors in your background might contribute to being rejected by members of other cultures?
7. What personal qualities do you have that will help you establish interpersonal relationships with persons from other cultural groups? What personal qualities may be detrimental?

How do you relate to various groups of people in the society?

Randall-David (1989, p. 7-9)

Described below are different levels of response you might have toward a person.

Level of Response:

1. *Greet*: I feel I can *greet* this person warmly and welcome him or her sincerely.
2. *Accept*: I feel I can honestly *accept* this person as he or she is and be comfortable enough to listen to his or her problems.
3. *Help*: I feel I would genuinely try to *help* this person with their problems as they might relate to or arise from the label-stereotype given to them.
4. *Background*: I feel I have the *background* of knowledge and/or experience to be able to help this person.
5. *Advocate*: I feel I could honestly be an *advocate* for this person.

The following is a list of individuals. Read down the list and place a check mark by anyone you would **NOT** “greet” or would hesitate to “greet”. Then move to response level 2, “accept” and follow the same procedure. Try to respond honestly, not as you think might be socially or professionally desirable. Your answers are only for your personal you in clarifying your initial reactions to different people.

Individual	1 Greet	2 Accept	3 Help	4 Background	5 Advocate
Haitian					
Child abuser					
Jew					
Person with hemophilia					
Neo-Nazi					
Mexican American					
IV drug user					
Catholic					
Senile, elderly person					
Teamster union member					
Native American					
Prostitute					
Jehovah's witness					
Cerebral palsied person					
E.R.A proponent					
Vietnamese American					
Gay/Lesbian					
Atheist					
Person with AIDS					
Communist					
Black American					
Unmarried expectant teenager					
Protestant					
Amputee					
Ku Klux Klansman					
White Anglo-Saxon					
Alcoholic					
Amish person					
Person with cancer					
Nuclear armament proponent					

Scoring guide: the previous activity may help you anticipate difficulty in working with some people at various levels. The thirty types of individuals can be grouped into five categories: ethnic/racial, social issues/problems, religious, physically/mentally handicapped, and political. Transfer your check marks to the following form. If you have a concentration of checks within a specific category of individuals or at specific levels, this may indicate a conflict that hinder you from rendering effective work.

Individual	1 Greet	2 Accept	3 Help	4 Background	5 Advocate
Ethnic					
Haitian					
Mexican American					
Native American					

White Anglo-Saxon					
Gay/Lesbian					
Black American					
Vietnamese American					
Social issues/problems					
Prostitute					
Child abuser					
IV drug user					
Unmarried expectant teenager					
Alcoholic					
Religious					
Jew					
Protestant					
Catholic					
Jehovah's witness					
Amish person					
Atheist					
Physically/mentally handicapped					
Person with hemophilia					
Person with cancer					
Amputee					
Person with AIDS					
Cerebral palsied person					
Senile, elderly person					
Political					
E.R.A proponent					
Communist					
Ku Klux Klansman					
Nuclear armament proponent					
Teamster union member					
Neo-Nazi					

Examples of assumptions

Randall-David (1989)

Assumptions that whites make which block authentic relations

1. Color is unimportant in interpersonal relations
2. Blacks will always welcome and appreciate inclusion in white society
3. Open recognition of color may embarrass blacks
4. People of colors are trying to use whites
5. People of color can be stereotyped
6. White society is superior
7. "Liberal" whites are free of racism










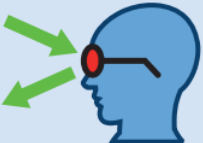


8. All people of colors are alike in their attitudes and behaviour
9. People of color are oversensitive
10. People of color must be controlled

Assumptions that people of color make which block authentic relations

1. All whites are alike
2. There are no “soul brothers and sisters” among whites
3. They have all the power
4. They are always trying to use people of colours
5. They are united in their attitude toward people of colors
6. All white are racists
7. White are not really trying to understand the situation of the people of color

Appendix B: Misinformation Problems, Solutions, and Good Practice

A graphical summary of findings on the cognitive problems associated with misinformation, the solutions, and good practice (from Lewandowsky et al., 2012, p. 122).

Problem	Solutions and Good Practice	
<p>Continued Influence Effect Despite a retraction, people continue to rely on misinformation</p> 	<p>Alternative Account Alternative explanation fills gap left by retracting misinformation</p> 	<p>Repeated Retraction Strengthen retraction through repetition (without reinforcing myth)</p> 
<p>Familiarity Backfire Effect Repeating the myth increases familiarity, reinforcing it</p> 	<p>Emphasis on Facts Avoid repetition of the myth; reinforce the correct facts instead</p> 	<p>Preexposure Warning Warn upfront that misleading information is coming</p> 
<p>Overkill Backfire Effect Simple myths are more cognitively attractive than complicated refutations</p> 	<p>Simple, Brief Rebuttal Use fewer arguments in refuting the myth — less is more</p> 	<p>Foster Healthy Skepticism Skepticism about information source reduces influence of misinformation</p> 
<p>Worldview Backfire Effect Evidence that threatens worldview can strengthen initially held beliefs</p> 	<p>Affirm Worldview Frame evidence in worldview-affirming manner by endorsing values of audience</p> 	<p>Affirm Identity Self-affirmation of personal values increases receptivity to evidence</p> 

Appendix C: Barrett's Strength of Identification Scale and Trait Attribution Task

Barrett's Strength of Identification Scale (Barrett and Oppenheimer, 2006)

1. Degree of identification
 - Question: Which one of these do you think best describes you?
 - Response options: very X, quite X, a little bit X, not at all X
2. Pride
 - Question: How proud are you of being X?
 - Response options: very proud, quite proud, a little bit proud, not at all proud
3. Importance
 - Question: How important is it to you that you are X?
 - Response options: very important, quite important, not very important, not important at all
4. Feeling
 - Question: How do you feel about being X?
 - Response options: very happy, quite happy, neutral, quite sad, very sad (administered using a set of five 'smiley' faces)
5. Negative internalization
 - Question: How you would feel if someone said something bad about X people?
 - Response options: very happy, quite happy, neutral, quite sad, very sad (administered using a set of five 'smiley' faces)
6. Positive internalization
 - Question: How you would feel if someone said something good about X people?
 - Response options: very happy, quite happy, neutral, quite sad, very sad (administered using a set of five 'smiley' faces)

Barrett's Trait Attribution Task (Barrett and Oppenheimer, 2006)

- The task uses a set of 12 cards, with different traits written on each of them: clean, dirty, friendly, unfriendly, smart, stupid, hardworking, lazy, happy, sad, honest, and dishonest.
- Each participant gets a set of cards, randomly ordered, with the first trait shown to them
- Examiners provide this instruction: *"Here are some cards with words on them that describe people. So, we can say that some people are [word on first card]"*.
- Remove first card and show the second card. *"And some people are [word on second card]"*.
- remove the second card. *"And some people are [word on third card]"*. *Right? Now, what I want you to do is to go through all these words one by one, and I want you to sort out*

those words which you think can be used to describe X [X is particular target group]. Can you do that for me please?"

- Participants get a complete set of cards. *"Sort out the words which you think describe X people. Do you like or dislike X people?"*
- Based on participants' answer, ask them: *"how much? Do you like/dislike them a lot or a little?"*
- Start on the second group by asking the participants: *"right now, let's do the same thing again, but this time thinking about Y [the next target group] people. Can you sort out for me those words which you can think can be used to describe X people?"*

Note: The total number of positive traits and negative traits are counted to get a quantitative score. The response for the affect questions were scored on a 5-point scale (1= "dislike a lot" to 5= "like a lot")

Appendix D: The Cultural Intelligence Scale

Ang et al. (2007)

Instruction: Select the answer that BEST describes you AS YOU REALLY ARE (1= strongly disagree; 7= strongly agree)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
<i>Metacognitive CQ</i>							
I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with people with different cultural backgrounds.							
I adjust my cultural knowledge as I interact with people from a culture that is unfamiliar to me.							
I am conscious of the cultural knowledge I apply to cross-cultural interactions.							
I check the accuracy of my cultural knowledge as I interact with people from different cultures.							
<i>Cognitive CQ</i>							
I know the legal and economic systems of other cultures.							
I know the rules (e.g., vocabulary, grammar) of other languages.							
I know the cultural values and religious beliefs of other cultures.							
I know the marriage systems of other cultures.							
I know the arts and crafts of other cultures.							
I know the rules for expressing nonverbal behaviors in other cultures.							
<i>Motivational CQ</i>							
I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures.							
I am confident that I can socialize with locals in a culture that is unfamiliar to me.							
I am sure I can deal with the stresses of adjusting to a culture that is new to me.							
I enjoy living in cultures that are unfamiliar to me.							
I am confident that I can get accustomed to the shopping conditions in a different culture.							

<i>Behavioural CQ</i>							
I change my verbal behavior (e.g., accent, tone) when a cross-cultural interaction requires it.							
I use pause and silence differently to suit different cross-cultural situations.							
I vary the rate of my speaking when a cross-cultural situation requires it.							
I change my nonverbal behavior when a cross-cultural situation requires it.							
I alter my facial expressions when a cross-cultural interaction requires it.							

Appendix E: Openness to Diversity/Challenge Scale

Pascarella et al. (1996)

Scale/ Item	1 Strongly disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neutral	4 Agree	5 Strongly agree
I enjoy having discussions with people whose ideas and values are different from my own					
The real value of a college education lies in being introduced to different values.					
I enjoy talking with people who have values different from mine because it helps me understand myself and my values better.					
Learning about people from different cultures is a very important part of my college education.					
I enjoy taking courses that challenge my beliefs and values.					
The courses I enjoy the most are those that make me think about things from a different perspective.					
Contact with individuals whose background (e.g. race, national origin, sexual orientation) is different from my own is an essential part of my education.					
I enjoy courses that are intellectually challenging					

Appendix F: Strength of Identification Scale

Cameron (2004); Obst and White (2005)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Strongly disagree						Strongly agree
<i>Centrality</i>							
I often think about being an [ingroup member]							
Being an [ingroup member] has little to do with how I feel about myself in general							
Being an [ingroup member] is an important part of my self image							
The fact I am an [ingroup member] rarely enters my mind							
<i>Ingroup affect</i>							
In general, I'm glad to be an [ingroup member]							
I often regret being [ingroup member]							
Generally, I feel good about myself when I think about being an [ingroup member]							
I don't feel good about being an [ingroup member]							
<i>Ingroup ties</i>							
I have a lot in common with other [ingroup members]							
I feel strong ties to other [ingroup members]							
I find it difficult to form a bond with other [ingroup members]							
I don't feel a strong sense of being connected to [ingroup members]							



For more information about R2 or to discover how you can bring the program to your organization, business or educational setting, please contact us.

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