SOCIAL DOMINANCE ORIENTATION AND IDEOLOGICAL ASYMMETRY IN RELATION TO INTERRACIAL DATING AND TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION IN CANADA

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This study examines the relation between social dominance orientation (SDO) and three hierarchy-attenuating beliefs (attitude toward and openness to personally engaging in interracial dating and attitude toward transracial adoption) and two hierarchy-enhancing beliefs (stereotyping of interracial relationships and racial identity concerns in transracial adoption). Participants were 77 Black and 142 White Canadians from the Toronto area. SDO was significantly negatively related to the three hierarchy-attenuating beliefs and positively to the two hierarchy-enhancing beliefs for Whites, whereas no significant relationships were found for Blacks. The relation between SDO and the outcome variables for Blacks and Whites differed significantly with the exception of openness to interracial dating. Interracial dating experience moderated the relation between race, SDO, and openness to become personally involved in interracial dating. Results support and extend previous research by Fang, Sidanius, and Pratto. Their social implications are discussed.

Keywords: social dominance; interracial dating; transracial adoption; interracial relationships

Traditionally, intergroup theories have focused on conflicts across cultural groups (see Hogg & Abrams, 2001). Recently, however, researchers have expanded the scope of these theories by exploring interpersonal contexts of intergroup relations such as friendship (Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003) and intimate relationships (e.g., Fang, Sidanius, & Pratto, 1998) that cut across cultural groups. The social boundaries between cultural groups defined by race, especially between Blacks and Whites, can hamper the establishment and maintenance of close relationships across these cultural groups.

Previous research by Fang et al. (1998) explored opposition to interracial romantic relationships and suggested that social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) could offer a valuable framework for the study of these types of relationships. The current study expands on the work of Fang et al. (1998) and Pratto (1996). We explored cross-cultural differences in the relationship between social dominance orientation (SDO) and the attitude toward and openness to personally engaging in interracial dating. In addition, a measure of the stereotypes of interracial relationships was developed to look at its relationship with SDO. The scope of relationship types also was expanded by examining attitudes toward transracial adoption and concerns for racial identity development within these adoptions. Transracial adoption has largely been ignored by cross-cultural and social

psychologists. Finally, the study examined these variables by comparing Black and White samples in a Canadian context, where race relations have been characterized as somewhat more positive than those in the United States.

SOCIAL DOMINANCE THEORY

Psychology offers a variety of perspectives on attitude and behavior differences in intergroup and intercultural relations. The perspective selected for the current study was social dominance theory (see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004). This theory proposes that humans have a predisposition to form group-based social hierarchies that are maintained by social policies and practices as well as by the cooperative activities of both high- and low-status group members. A key variable in this theoretical model is SDO, an individual-difference variable that assesses "the extent to which one desires that one's in-group dominate and be superior to out-groups" (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994, p. 742). In accordance with the theory, research has demonstrated positive relationships between SDO and support of hierarchy-enhancing beliefs (e.g., opposition to immigration) and negative relationships between SDO and hierarchy-attenuating beliefs (e.g., support of affirmative action). These hierarchy-related beliefs are reflected in social policies (e.g., Mitchell & Sidanius, 1995), stereotypes (e.g., Dambrun, Guimond, & Duarte, 2002), social roles (e.g., Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius, & Siers, 1997), and behaviors (e.g., Pratto & Espinoza, 2001) that tend to be supported or opposed by higher status group members because they, respectively, enhance or attenuate existing social hierarchies.

The relationship between SDO and hierarchy-enhancing or hierarchy-attenuating beliefs is not symmetrical across social groups in a hierarchy. The theory assumes that compared to low-status group members, high-status group members are more motivated to preserve both the current social structure and their own position within it (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Thus, the relationship between SDO and support of hierarchy-enhancing (or opposition to hierarchy-attenuating) beliefs should be stronger for high-status group members than low-status group members. This asymmetry has been referred to as the ideological asymmetry hypothesis (Sidanius, Pratto, & Rabinowitz, 1994). This hypothesis proposes two types of asymmetries. Isotropic asymmetry occurs when the correlations between SDO and a belief are significant and in the same direction for both high- and low-status group members, although it is stronger for the high-status group. Anisotropic asymmetry occurs when the correlations between SDO and a belief are significant and in opposite directions for high- and low-status group members.

ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE AND INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Fang et al. (1998) further explored these asymmetries by examining the degree of opposition to interracial marriage as a hierarchy-enhancing belief in a random sample from Los Angeles. Four groups of respondents (Asians, Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites) were asked about their views concerning interracial marriage with other respective groups. The results generally supported the anisotropic ideological asymmetry hypothesis: The relationship between SDO and opposition to interracial marriage between a high- and low-status group member was positive for higher status group members and negative for lower status group members. Moreover, support for this type of asymmetry was clearest for Black–White

marriages. There was a significant positive relationship between SDO and opposition to intermarriage for Whites and a significant negative relationship for Blacks. These correlations differed significantly from each other.

Asymmetry also appears to characterize the opposition to intergroup marriage (i.e., willingness to have a close relative marry a person from a different race) at the group level of analysis. Sidanius and Pratto (1999) found that opposition to White and Black intermarriage was higher among Euro-Americans than among African Americans.

There are, of course, other factors that will influence an individual's attitude toward interracial marriage and dating. One factor that is particularly pertinent to Blacks relates to their identity concerns. In their Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, Sellers and his colleagues (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) identified endogamy as one of the items of their nationalist ideology scale (i.e., "Black people should not marry interracially"). Their model of African American racial identity proposes that individuals who hold a nationalist perspective on race relations will be less likely to favor interracial dating and transracial adoption. This aspect of Black identity was explored in the current study.

STEREOTYPE OF BLACK–WHITE INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS

With the increase of Black and White close relationships in the United States and in Canada, stereotypes associated with these relationships have developed. For example, one stereotypic view is that individuals enter interracial relationships out of a desire to experience sex with someone of a different race (Yancey, 2003), an idea that was explored by Spike Lee in his film *Jungle Fever* (see Kennedy, 2004). Other examples of stereotypes or myths regarding interracial relationships is that Blacks marry Whites for status and that Whites marry Blacks as an expression of neurotic conflict (Foeman & Nance, 1999). Although many examples of such stereotypes are often found in popular literature (e.g., Norment, 1999), no empirical study has directly examined the stereotypes of Black and White romantic relationships. Given that interracial relationships are viewed as different from other relationships (i.e., the assumed endogamous norm), stereotypes of interracial relationships can be seen as pathologizing love across the racial divide. Stereotyping interracial relationships, therefore, can be seen as hierarchy enhancing from the perspective of social dominance theory.

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION

Another type of close interpersonal interracial relationship can be found between parents and their adopted children. Transracial adoption involves the legal adoption of children of one race by a family of a different race, usually the adoption of a non-White child by a White family (Adamec & Pierce, 1991). Whereas public attitudes concerning transracial adoption are generally positive in the United States (e.g., Hollingsworth, 2000) and in Canada (e.g., de Groh, 1993), some professionals involved in adoption programs strongly disapprove of such adoptions (see de Groh, 1993; Kirton, 1999). It has been argued that cultural gaps could impair the healthy development of racial identification for these children (e.g., Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990). Others, however, believe that children should be taken out of a social service system as soon as possible and integrated in a nurturing family environment. They argue that the gains provided by such an environment outweigh the cost of cultural gaps (see Alexander & Curtis, 1996; Bradley & Hawkins-Léon, 2002; Lee, 2003).

From a social dominance perspective, research by Pratto (1996) found that SDO was negatively associated with respondents' willingness to adopt children who were not their biological offspring. In support of the ideological asymmetry hypothesis, this relation was stronger for men than women. Given the controversy surrounding transracial adoption, it seems appropriate to study this issue in relation to SDO. Support for transracial adoption can be seen as hierarchy attenuating, whereas opposition can be seen as hierarchy enhancing.

THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF BLACKS IN CANADA

Whereas both Canadian research and social policies have tended to explicitly emphasize ethnicity over race, skin color (i.e., race) plays an undeniable role in the experiences of Black Canadians. Boatswain and Lalonde (2000) found that *Black* was the preferred group label in comparison to other labels (e.g., *African Canadian*) in a sample of Black Canadian students; one of their stated reasons for this choice was its explicit reference to race and skin color. Moreover, racial discrimination is abundantly evident in Canada: Milan and Tran (2004), for example, found that the average salaries of Blacks are lower and their rates of unemployment are higher than among other Canadians, even within the same educational level.

Although there are parallels between experiences of racial discrimination in the United States and Canada, Canadian race politics remain somewhat different from the politics of race found in the United States (Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink, 2004). Despite Canada's brief history of Black slavery, slavery has not played an integral role in the development of the Canadian economy, and neither has it been a central factor in the formation and definition of racial relations in Canada. Moreover, the multicultural perspective frequently adopted in Canadian research and social policy aims to reduce racial, ethnic, and cultural inequalities while maintaining ethnic and cultural diversity. Although multiculturalism does have its critics (e.g., Bissoondath, 1994), it is an integral aspect of Canadian identity that is positively valued (Lalonde, 2002). Within the context of interracial relationships, Michalos (1982) summarized survey data from the 1960s and 1970s indicating that Canadians display more favorable attitudes toward interracial marriage than do Americans, and Bibby (1995) provided data indicating that these attitudes improved in Canada from 1975 through 1995, with an approval rating exceeding 80%.

The Black population in Canada is a very heterogeneous group. The most frequently reported ethnic origins of Blacks in Toronto, for example, are Jamaican, West Indian, Guyanese, African, and Trinidadian/Tobagonian. Only a small percentage of Black Canadians can trace their roots to English Loyalists or American ex-slaves (see Walker, 1985). Blacks currently represent about 2% of the country's population and 17% of its visible minority population. They are the third largest visible minority group after Chinese and South Asians. Given that more than a third of Toronto's population is made up of visible minorities, it comes as no surprise to find that interracial relationships are on the rise in Canada. According to the 2001 census, more than 3% of the population was involved in a mixed union (Milan & Hamm, 2004), and about 43% of these mixed couples included a Black person. Furthermore, young urban dwellers were most likely to be involved in mixed unions. More than 10% of 20- to 29-year-olds in Toronto were involved in a mixed union (Milan & Hamm, 2004).

CURRENT STUDY

This study explored attitudes toward interracial dating, interracial dating stereotypes, personal openness to involvement in an interracial relationship, and support for transracial adoption. In the area of same-generation (or horizontal) interracial relationships, social

dominance theory would frame interracial dating as group boundary attenuating, and interracial relationship stereotypes are group boundary enhancing. Within the domain of cross-generational (or vertical) interracial relationship, transracial adoption would be viewed as boundary attenuating, whereas identity concerns in transracial adoption would be boundary enhancing.

Social dominance theory's ideological asymmetry hypothesis predicts that among Whites, SDO should be negatively associated with support of hierarchy-attenuating beliefs (i.e., interracial dating, openness to becoming involved in an interracial relationship, and transracial adoption) and positively associated with hierarchy-enhancing beliefs (i.e., stereotyping of interracial relationships and expression of identity concerns in transracial adoptions). For Blacks, however, these relations should either be weaker or in the opposite direction. In addition, social identification was assumed to play an important role in the beliefs of Blacks. It was expected that Blacks endorsing a nationalist ideology regarding race relations would be more likely to support attitudes and beliefs that maintained group boundaries because they would be less identity threatening.

In accordance with social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), gender and racial differences in support for these beliefs also were expected. The invariance hypothesis suggests that men should have higher SDO scores than should women. In terms of race, it was expected that there would be group differences in levels of support for hierarchy-attenuating and hierarchy-enhancing attitudes. Whites in comparison to Blacks should show less support for hierarchy-attenuating attitudes and more support for hierarchy-enhancing attitudes.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

In all, 301 participants were recruited in the Toronto area through undergraduate courses and convenience sampling. Toronto is home to almost half of Canada's Black population. Data from 2 Black participants were excluded (one had an SDO score that was 3.98 standard deviations above the mean and the other had excessive missing data). The data from Black ($n = 77$; 43 women and 34 men) and White participants ($n = 142$; 98 women and 44 men) younger than the age of 30 were retained. The age cutoff was chosen because the goal of the study was to examine young adults. The racial groups differed in mean age (Black $M = 23$, $SD = 3.01$; White $M = 19$, $SD = 1.55$), $t(217) = 13.61$, $p < .001$. A total of 37 Black and 66 White participants were or had been involved in an intimate interracial relationship. Of the self-identified cultural backgrounds of Black participants, 48 specified a Caribbean origin, 3 African, and 3 Asian. Of the self-identified cultural backgrounds of White participants, 39 specified an ethnicity that was West European, 10 East European, 8 Jewish, and 8 Canadian.

PROCEDURE AND MEASURES

A brief survey contained the primary measures of this study. All items were rated using 5-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Each measure was presented in a different section of the survey.

Social dominance orientation. A 14-item version of the SDO scale (Pratto et al., 1994) was used. An example item is "It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top

and other groups are at the bottom." A higher score indicated a stronger belief in natural social hierarchies (α_{Black} = .80; α_{White} = .89).

Attitude toward interracial relationships. Items were developed for this study or taken from Mwamwenda (1998) and Knox, Zusman, Buffington, and Hemphill (2000). Only those items that focused on (a) general attitudes toward interracial relationships (e.g., "I think it is wrong for Black people to date White people") and (b) a personal openness to interracial relationships (e.g., "I would date someone of another race") were considered. The 15 items were factor analyzed using principal-axis factoring for the entire sample and then separately for each group. All scree plots called for two-factor solutions. The full sample solution with an oblique rotation indicated that all items designed to measure the general attitude toward interracial relationships loaded on the same factor (with one exception, which was dropped), whereas items designed to measure personal openness to interracial relationships loaded on the other factor. This solution accounted for 65% of the variance. The distributions of factor loadings were equivalent for both cultural groups. The general attitude measure consisted of 8 items (5 negative) that were averaged such that high scores indicated a more favorable attitude (α_{Black} = .90; α_{White} = .90) and the personal openness measure consisted of 6 items (1 negative), where high scores indicated more openness (α_{Black} = .90; α_{White} = .90).

Interracial dating stereotype. A 15-item measure was developed on the basis of discussions between the authors and another researcher from the area of interracial relationships (see appendix). Items were factor analyzed using principal-axis factoring, first with the entire sample and then separately for each group. All scree plots indicated the appropriateness of a single-factor solution. The full sample solution accounted for 54% the variance. A higher score indicates more agreement with the popular stereotypes of individuals involved in interracial relationships (α_{Black} = .90; α_{White} = .92).

Attitude toward transracial adoption. Items were created or adapted from de Groh (1993), Hollingsworth (2000), and Kirton (1999). Only items focusing on attitudes toward transracial adoption (e.g., "A couple should be allowed to adopt a child of a different race") and concerns toward racial identity development (e.g., "You need to experience racism yourself in order to help an adoptive child cope with it") were considered. The 7 attitude (4 negative) and 7 development (6 negative) items were factor analyzed using principal-axis factoring, first with the entire sample and then separately for each group. Scree plots suggested the appropriateness of two-factor solutions. An oblique rotation was applied. One attitude item moderately cross-loaded with the development factor, and one development item marginally loaded on its factor. Both items were retained in their scales. The items distribution for each group matched the one for the entire sample. The full sample solution accounted for 43% of the variance. Higher mean scores were indicative of a more favorable attitude toward transracial adoption (α_{Black} = .85; α_{White} = .86) or more concern for the development of racial identity (α_{Black} = .67; α_{White} = .65).

Black nationalist ideology. The Black sample was given the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1998). The mean score on the nationalist ideology scale was calculated on the basis of eight of nine items (e.g., "Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values"); the endogamy item was excluded. A higher score indicated greater support for the belief that Blacks should separately control their own destiny (α = .76).

RESULTS

Hypotheses were examined using both correlational analyses and ANOVA. Because the groups differed in age, analyses controlling for age also were conducted. Because the pattern of results was the same when controlling for age, only the results without age control are presented.

IDEOLOGICAL ASYMMETRY HYPOTHESIS

To test the ideological asymmetry hypothesis, correlations between SDO and beliefs were computed separately for Blacks and Whites. These are presented in Table 1. The correlations between SDO and the hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating beliefs were all significant for Whites. Specifically, SDO was negatively related to support of interracial dating, openness to personal involvement in interracial relationship, and support of transracial adoption. SDO also was positively related to the hierarchy-enhancing beliefs: support of interracial relation stereotypes and racial identity concerns in transracial adoption. Among Blacks, correlations between SDO and beliefs were all nonsignificant. Correlations for Black and White samples were compared using z tests as reported in Table 1. All comparisons were significant, with the exception of personal openness to engage in interracial dating. Overall, the results indicate an ideological asymmetry, with the exception of openness to interracial dating.

RELATIONSHIP EXPERIENCE AND IDEOLOGICAL ASYMMETRY

To determine whether the relations between SDO, race, and attitudes/openness to interracial dating were moderated by experience with interracial intimate relationships, correlations between SDO and the two attitude measures were compared across racial groups and by interracial dating experience (yes, no). Table 2 presents these correlations together with the between-group comparisons. For attitudes toward interracial dating, correlations were in the direction predicted by the ideological asymmetry hypothesis, regardless of interracial dating experience. The correlations, however, did not differ significantly between racial groups.

The pattern of results was somewhat different when it came to the personal openness to interracial dating measure. First, it can be seen in Table 2 that the ideological asymmetry hypothesis was clearly supported for individuals who had interracial dating experience; the correlation with SDO was negative and significant for Whites and nonsignificant for Blacks. In the case of individuals having no interracial dating experience, however, there was somewhat of a reversal; the negative correlation between SDO and personal openness to interracial dating was stronger for Blacks than for Whites, although this difference was not significant. The ideological asymmetry hypothesis therefore was not supported for individuals without interracial dating experience.

CORRELATIONS WITH NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY

Correlations between the Black nationalist ideology measure and the remaining measures were calculated for the Black sample. It was found that the stronger the nationalist ideology of Black individuals, the less favorable were their attitudes toward interracial relationships, $r(63) = -.39$, $p < .001$, and transracial adoption, $r(62) = -.46$, $p < .001$, and the less open they were to interracial dating, $r(63) = -.49$, $p < .001$. A stronger nationalist

TABLE 1
Correlations Between Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) and Attitude and Belief Measures Along With *z* Tests Comparing Correlations Between Groups

	SDO			
	Black	*White*	*z Test*	*p*
Attitude toward interracial dating	−.15	−.45***	2.32	.019
Openness to interracial dating	−.18	−.27***	0.66	.517
Interracial relationship stereotype	−.01	.36***	2.69	.007
Attitude toward transracial adoption	−.04	−.38***	2.50	.012
Identity concerns for transracial adoption	−.07	.32***	2.79	.006

***$p < .01$.

TABLE 2
Comparisons of Correlation Between Social Dominance Orientation and Attitude Toward and Openness to Interracial Dating by Racial Groups and Interracial Dating Experience

	No Experience			Experience		
	White	*Black*	*z*	*White*	*Black*	*z*
Attitude	−.45****	−.11	1.83*	−.46****	−.23*	1.24
Openness	−.23**	−.40****	0.94	−.38***	.05	2.09**

*$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .01$. ****$p < .001$.

ideology also was related to more stereotypic beliefs about interracial relationships, $r(63) = .54$, $p < .001$, and to greater racial identity concerns in transracial adoption, $r(62) = .64$, $p < .001$. Black nationalist ideology was unrelated to SDO, $r(63) = .08$, $p = .52$.

GROUP-LEVEL RACE AND GENDER EFFECTS

The effects of gender and race were examined at the group level of analysis using a series of ANOVAs. Table 3 summarizes the descriptive statistics for each of the measured variables by racial group and gender. In accordance with the invariance hypothesis, men ($M = 2.15$) scored higher than women ($M = 1.87$) on SDO, $F(1, 214) = 12.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .05$. This was the only significant effect for SDO.

For attitude toward interracial dating, it can be seen in Table 3 that responses were quite favorable given that the maximum score was 5. Main effects were nonetheless observed. The race effect, $F(1, 214) = 26.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .11$, indicated that Blacks ($M = 4.01$) were less favorable toward interracial dating than Whites ($M = 4.58$), and the gender effect, $F(1, 214) = 6.85$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .03$, indicated that men ($M = 4.15$) were less favorable toward interracial dating than were women ($M = 4.51$). For personal openness to interracial relationship, the only significant effect was for race, $F(1, 214) = 24.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$. Blacks ($M = 3.54$) were less willing to become involved in an interracial relationship than Whites ($M = 4.20$).

TABLE 3
**Means and Standard Deviations for Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)
and Attitude and Belief Measures by Racial Group and Gender**

	Black		White	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Social dominance orientation	1.77 (.48)	2.08 (.58)	1.91 (.64)	2.21 (.60)
Attitude toward interracial dating	4.06 (.82)	3.94 (.80)	4.70 (.48)	4.31 (.74)
Personal openness to interracial dating	3.63 (.98)	3.44 (1.18)	4.20 (.90)	4.20 (.68)
Interracial relationship stereotypes	2.93 (.80)	3.01 (.66)	1.82 (.59)	2.37 (.73)
Attitude toward transracial adoption	3.43 (.86)	3.08 (.88)	3.91 (.84)	3.79 (.72)
Identity concerns toward transracial adoption	3.25 (.70)	3.15 (.73)	2.69 (.67)	2.92 (.65)

Note: Standard deviations are in parenthesis.

The degree of stereotyping of interracial relationships was associated with significant effects for race, $F(1, 214) = 78.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .27$, and gender, $F(1, 214) = 9.74$, $p < .002$, $\eta^2 = .05$, which were qualified by a significant race by gender interaction, $F(1, 214) = 5.60$, $p < .02$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that White men ($M = 2.37$) agreed with the stereotypes more than did White women ($M = 1.82$), $F(1, 214) = 19.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$; no gender difference was observed for Blacks, who clearly endorsed the stereotypes more than did Whites.

Support of transracial adoption was associated with a race effect, $F(1, 213) = 24.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$, which indicated that Blacks ($M = 3.28$) were less favorable than Whites ($M = 3.88$), and a gender effect, $F(1, 213) = 3.70$, $p < .06$, $\eta^2 = .02$, which indicated that women ($M = 3.77$) were more favorable than were men ($M = 3.49$). The only effect for racial identity concerns in transracial adoption was for race, $F(1, 213) = 15.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$: Blacks ($M = 3.20$) expressed higher level of racial identity development concerns than Whites ($M = 2.76$).

DISCUSSION

IDEOLOGICAL ASYMMETRY HYPOTHESIS

The current study examined different attitudes and beliefs regarding interracial dating and transracial adoption among Black and White Canadians from a social dominance theory perspective (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The central hypothesis was that of ideological asymmetry. This hypothesis suggests that SDO at an individual difference level should be positively related to beliefs and practices that maintain the social hierarchy and negatively related to beliefs and practices that attenuate social hierarchy. More important, this relation was expected to hold for high-status groups, whereas no relationship or the reverse relationship was expected for low-status groups. Overall, this asymmetry hypothesis was supported by the current results.

Specifically, the relation between SDO and the hierarchy-attenuating beliefs, support of interracial dating and transracial adoption, was negative for Whites, whereas no significant relation was observed for Blacks; moreover, the correlations from the White and Black

samples were significantly different from each other. The results for the hierarchy-enhancing beliefs were also in line with the ideological asymmetry hypothesis. The relation between SDO and stereotypes of interracial relationships and racial identity concerns for transracial adoption was significant and positive for Whites, whereas no significant relation was observed for Blacks; again, the correlations in the Black and White samples differed significantly from each other.

Our results not only replicate the research conducted by Fang et al. (1998) and Pratto (1996) but also expand the scope of their results. New supportive evidence for the ideological asymmetry hypothesis is provided in the areas of transracial adoption and the stereotyping of interracial relationships. Young White Canadians who were predisposed to favor a hierarchical organization of social groups (i.e., high SDOs) were more likely to express concern about the identity development of Black children in transracial adoption and to endorse the stereotypes associated with interracial relationships. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study to offer and test a measure of interracial relationship stereotypes. Respondents may have been more likely to endorse the interracial relationship stereotype because they are not supportive of a social climate that is conducive to such relationships or because they do not want to go beyond a superficial analysis of such relationships. A similar argument could be made regarding support for identity concerns in transracial adoption. High-SDO Whites might not genuinely agree with these concerns but see them as an argument to prevent interracial adoption. Future research on interracial relationship stereotypes and transracial adoption attitudes may be able to uncover the mechanisms underlying these beliefs.

There were two differences of note between our results and those of Fang et al. (1998). First, exploratory analyses within our study revealed that previous experience in interracial dating moderated the effect of SDO on personal openness toward interracial dating. Although the ideological asymmetry hypothesis was supported for individuals with experience in interracial dating (i.e., a significant negative relationship between SDO and openness for Whites and a nonsignificant relationship for Blacks), the pattern of results was reversed for individuals who had no experience with interracial dating. When Blacks had no interracial dating experience, greater SDO was associated with less openness to interracial dating. Although this negative correlation held for the noninterracial dating White sample, it was weaker. It appears that Blacks who have had no interracial relationship experiences in the past and who are more supportive of "natural" social hierarchies (i.e., high SDOs) may be less inclined to become personally involved in an intimate interracial relationship. Although this relationship runs counter to the ideological asymmetry hypothesis, it can be explained in part from the perspective of social identity threat, an idea that will be addressed in the discussion of the observed group-level differences.

A second difference between our and Fang et al.'s (1998) findings is their reported significant negative relationship between SDO and opposition to intermarriage for African Americans. In the current study, the correlations between SDO and interracial dating attitudes and beliefs were not significant for Black Canadians. It is possible that SDO may play a different role for Blacks in Canada because their social reality differs from that of African Americans. First, the proportion of Blacks in Los Angeles County (Fang et al., 1998) is larger and more segregated than the Black population of Toronto, making the risk of assimilation and cultural identity threat potentially greater for Black Canadians than African Americans. Assimilation, moreover, fits somewhat better within the American normative model of acculturation than it does in Canada, which tends to espouse a pluralist model with cultural identity retention (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Thus,

factors other than SDO may be stronger within multicultural Toronto and may be attenu-ating its potential effects. The difference in correlational results between the two studies, however, may simply have emerged because they assessed somewhat different constructs with different measures (i.e., attitude and openness toward interracial dating with multiple items vs. opposition to interracial marriage with one item). Further cross-cultural research comparing the experiences of Blacks in Canada and the United States could disentangle the role of SDO within these two cultural contexts.

RACIAL GROUP DIFFERENCES

The interpretation of the correlational results in this study must be tempered by the group-level differences that were observed. Compared to White Canadians, Black Canadians were less favorable and open to interracial dating and transracial adoption and were more likely to stereotype interracial relationships and to display identity concerns in adoption. This pattern of results is somewhat surprising from a social dominance perspective when these beliefs are construed as hierarchy attenuating or hierarchy enhancing (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). They also contradict the results of Fang et al. (1998), who found that Whites opposed interracial marriage with Blacks more than Blacks opposed interracial marriage with Whites, and the results of Knox et al. (2000), who found that African American students had a more favor-able attitude toward interracial dating than did White students.

A number of points deserve mention regarding the observed group-level differences in this study. First, we believe that our results are specific to the areas of interracial relationships and adoption. In accordance with social dominance theory, we would still expect Black Canadians to be more supportive of racial affirmative action policies than White Canadians. We also believe that one of the central mechanisms underlying Blacks' less favorable views regarding interracial relationships and adoption compared to those of Whites in Canada is that of identity threat (e.g., Kennedy, 2004). Blacks may not view interracial relationships and transracial adoption in terms of their hierarchy-enhancing or hierarchy-attenuating prop-erties but rather in terms of their ability to dilute a treasured social category.

One of the outcomes of both interracial relationships and transracial adoption is the potential risk of racial identity loss. This threat will be particularly salient for Black Canadians, who make up only 2% of the country's population. If Blacks have more to lose in terms of identity, they may be expressing intergroup anxiety (see Stephan & Stephan, 1985) by holding somewhat less favorable views on interracial relationships and transra-cial adoption. It is possible that the less favorable views may be due in part to the expres-sion of anti-White attitudes by some of the Black participants (see Johnson & Lecci, 2003). Some evidence for these interpretations can be drawn from the very strong correla-tions that were found between these views and the Black nationalist ideology scores of the Black sample in this study. In line with Sellers et al.'s (1998) model of Black identity, it was found that Blacks espousing a stronger nationalist ideology had less favorable atti-tudes toward interracial relationships and transracial adoption as well as more stereotypic beliefs about interracial relationships and greater racial identity concerns in transracial adoption. The results for our Black Canadian sample thus indicate that social identity con-cerns are more important than SDO when it comes to the prediction of group-relevant atti-tudes and beliefs (see Schmitt, Branscombe, & Kappen, 2003).

The pattern of our group-level results may also reflect in part the multicultural perspective of Canadian society. The overall pattern of responses regarding interracial

relationships and transracial adoption were quite positive for both Blacks and Whites. The responses of the White Canadians may be somewhat more favorable because they are less threatened by miscegenation and are more likely to belong to families that have been in Canada for a longer time period, thus providing greater opportunities for internalizing the Canadian multicultural message that has been promoted for the past 30 years. In other words, differences in the pattern of results compared with American data (i.e., Fang et al., 1998) may be due to more favorable social attitudes of young White respondents in Canada. Adams (2003), for example, summarized survey data indicating that the attitudes of Canadians (who are White in majority) toward immigration are considerably more favorable than the attitudes of Americans toward immigration both pre- and post-9/11 (see also Bibby, 1995; Michalos, 1982).

CONCLUSIONS

Social policies and demographic trends observed in Canada point to an increase in both interracial dating and transracial adoption. The current study indicated that social dominance theory offers one way to help understand attitudes and beliefs associated with these important social phenomena, at least from an individual difference perspective. In this study, social dominance orientation appears to have operated in the same way for White Canadians as it has for White Americans in U.S. research. We have little evidence to suggest that social dominance orientation played a role, however, for Blacks in Canada. Instead, evidence suggested that racial identification plays a significant role in racial boundary maintenance for Black Canadians. Future research in this area would be well served by considering the ideologies of disadvantaged social groups, such as social identification and nationalism. Finally, any examination of individual difference variables should always be considered within their social context. The results of the current study are certainly limited to an analysis of race relations within an urban Canadian multicultural context.

APPENDIX

1. White women who date Black men are drawn to their physical attributes.
2. Blacks who date Whites typically feel they are better in some way than other Blacks.
3. Black women who date White men have bought into the view that Black men are irresponsible.
4. Black men who date White women have bought into the Western standard of beauty.
5. Black men who date White women have bought into the view that Black women are too aggressive.
6. White men who date Black women view Black women as exotic.
7. Black men who date White women are sending a message to Black women that they are not worthy.
8. A White woman on a Black man's arm is considered by him to be a symbol of his success.
9. White men who date Black women are motivated by a guilt complex.
10. Black men believe that Black women are more materialistic than White women, and hence are unattractive marrying partners.
11. White women believe that sex with a Black man will be wild.
12. Black men date White women because they believe that White women are more sexually permissive.
13. White men date Black women because they believe that Black women are more sexually aggressive.
14. Blacks who date Whites hate themselves.
15. Whites who date Blacks are rebelling against their parents.

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