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Let Me Show You I'm Not Biased! Demonstrating Non-Prejudiced Opinions while Navigating the Topic of Race

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Let Me Show You I'm Not Biased! Demonstrating Non-Prejudiced Opinions while

Navigating the Topic of Race

By

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Accepted in Partial Completion
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

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MASTER'S THESIS

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Emily Stafford

May 26, 2017

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A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

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Emily Stafford
May 2017

Abstract

Research suggests that during interracial interactions, it is effective for both people to foster commonalities in order to form positive impressions of one another. However, when the topic of race and race-related issues are brought up in a cross-group setting, research indicates that Whites who have a strong desire to appear non-biased and non-prejudiced to others tend to avoid mentioning race. Other research suggests that when interacting with a Black individual, Whites may claim to understand the Black person's racial experiences (thus attempting to establish similarities) in order to demonstrate that they are non-prejudiced. This study examines how Whites' concern with being perceived as prejudiced affects how they interact, and are perceived by, a person of color. Participants interacted with a confederate (Black or White) for a student interest survey, and were instructed to report their opinions regarding both race-neutral and racially-based statements. Confederates provided scripted responses demonstrating their opinion on diversity (pro-diversity or anti-diversity). Whites consistently reported pro-diversity attitudes regardless of their interaction partner's opinion on diversity. Furthermore, Whites reported more pro-diversity opinions when their interaction partner was Black, compared to White. Implications for interpersonal approaches to intergroup relations are discussed.

KEY WORDS: interracial interactions, prejudice, diversity, attitudes

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In 2014, MTV collaborated with David Binder Research in order to conduct an online

study surveying 2,000 millennials ranging 14 to 24 years old regarding their ideas about bias and

how they are affected by, responding to and experiencing bias (David Binder Research, 2014).

Respondents included both Whites and people of color (POC). Only 30 % of White respondents

reported being raised by families that talked about race, and half the respondents reported that it

is wrong to draw attention to race no matter what the context may be (47% for Whites, 50%

POC). Whites who have a strong desire to appear non-biased and non-prejudiced to others are

especially prone to avoiding mentioning race during interracial interactions (Plant & Devine,

1998). Alternatively, if a Black individual draws attention to race and racial experiences, Whites

may attempt to demonstrate that they are non-prejudiced by claiming to understand the Black

person's experiences (Holoien, Libby, & Shelton, 2015; Holoien, 2016). This thesis aims to

address the question of how people can talk about race in a constructive way during an interracial

interaction. Moreover, the present study explores the extent to which a White person's

motivation to appear non-prejudiced may affect their tendency to demonstrate similarity to their

racial minority partner's opinions and experiences when talking about race. This study seeks to

determine when fostering commonalities is effective during a conversation, and when this

approach is not effective. In addition, this study explores how the interaction partners'

impressions of each other may vary depending on the White partner's motivation to appear non-

prejudice.

Similarities and Friendship: Commonalities Creating Favorable Attitudes

People are quick to categorize others into social groups, namely ingroup and outgroup

membership, based on automatic judgements regarding their similarity to themselves (Dovidio,

Gaertner & Saguy, 2007). By exploring how people categorize others and develop a group identity, Dovidio and colleagues found that people experience feelings of closeness and connection when communicating with similar others, and are quick to develop in-group favoritism. Moreover, people feel positive affect when they converse with those whom they believe to be share similar attitudes, particularly attitudes regarding important life domains such as work and family (Berscheid & Walster, 1969).

A White individual who is able to establish similarities with a racial minority may allow for both people to surpass ingroup boundaries imposed by different group memberships based on racial identities. Literature examining prejudice reduction techniques often identifies the common in-group identity model as means to create positive interracial relations (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2012). The common in-group identity model posits that members of different groups can re-categorize each other as members of an all-inclusive superordinate group when there is a similar identity (e.g., sharing a university identity) that requires everyone to be part of the same "team" and work towards a shared goal or outcome. Essentially, a former outgroup member will be re-categorized as a new in-group member. The cognitive process of re-categorizing former outgroup members to in-group members reduces intergroup bias and conflict by awarding the former outgroup member with pro-in-group biases. Importantly, this model suggests that focusing on similarities rather than differences can be an important step for conducting positive interracial interactions.

Perceived similarity can pave the way for forming a strong connection between two people by heightening the positive affect experienced by both individuals when discovering commonalities. West, Pearson, Dovidio, Shelton and Trail (2009) explored the process of friendship formation between same-race and interracial roommate pairs and concluded that

strong perceived similarities resulted in consistently high reports of friendships among both dyads. In addition, racial minority participants with White roommates who expressed perceptions of a strong common identity reported feelings of friendship that did not decrease over time. This study suggests that initial perceptions of commonality can indeed pave the way for consistently positive interactions.

Furthermore, it has been found that perceptions of commonality can be established within a short time frame as long as similarities between two people are the main focus of conversation. Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton and Tropp (2008) designed a study based on the Fast Friends procedure outlined by Wright and his colleagues (see Wright, Aron, & Tropp, 2002), in which cross-group or same-group dyads met once a week for three consecutive weeks and engaged in a series of closeness-building tasks. For the first two meetings, the partners took turns asking and answering each other's question prompts eliciting self-disclosure, and in the third and final meeting, the partners played Hasbro's Jenga, a game that requires strategizing and cooperation. Participants' mood and attitudes were assessed after each interaction. In the original Fast Friends procedure conducted by Wright and colleagues, the assessments only included self-report measures, but Page-Gould and colleague's edition, both self-report and physiological measures were considered. The results of these tasks demonstrated a decrease in participants' anxiety (both self-report and physiological) and an increase in closeness with their partner following each interaction. Page-Gould and colleagues found that participants high in implicit prejudice as well as participants high in race-based rejection sensitivity experienced significant decreases in physiological stress reactions over the course of the three cross-group meetings.

An important element of the Fast Friends procedure to consider is that the researchers structured the content of the cross-group tasks with the intention of minimizing participants'

opportunities to discuss ethnicity-related issues. The researchers were concerned that discussing

group processes (e.g., racism or stigmatization) would deter bonding between the cross-group

partners (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Wright, Aron, & Tropp, 2002). Due to lack of certainty of

the outcome of these conversations in regard to positive interaction, the researchers entirely

avoided involving racially-salient topics in questions given to dyads in the Fast Friends

paradigm.

Problems with Ignoring or Avoiding Distinction

The literature investigating peoples' preference for others perceived to be similar to

themselves demonstrates that fostering commonalities can facilitate positive same-race and

cross-race interactions. However, focusing on similarities alone may not always be the best

approach to an intergroup situation. By minimizing or completely avoiding important

distinctions between individuals, approaches to fostering similarities may be unsuccessful due to

the lack of recognition for individual experiences and identities.

One approach to fostering similarities in an intergroup setting that may not result in a

positive interaction occurs when people ignore racial differences entirely. Those who adopt a

colorblind approach downplay the salience and importance of race by focusing on the

commonalities people share (Holoien & Shelton, 2012). Endorsing a colorblind perspective

promotes the value that cultural differences should have no impact on decisions, ideas and

beliefs about individuals. Within a colorblind framework, there is an assumption that ignoring

racial identities and racial differences by focusing on similarities will effectively thwart any

prejudice and discrimination from occurring. That is, if people do not focus on racial differences,

theoretically they should not be able to act in a racially biased manner. In reality, this is not

necessarily the case. An online "diversity eliminate survey" conducted by Plaut, Thomas, and

Goren (2009) surveying 4,915 employees in an U.S. health care organization (79% White, 21% POC) demonstrated that Whites' belief in colorblindness had tangible, negative implications for minorities' psychological engagement. Plaut and colleagues found that Whites' support for colorblindness in the workplace (e.g., reporting agreement for statements such as "*Employees should downplay their racial and ethnic differences.*") negatively predicted minorities' engagement at work (e.g., reporting disagreement for statements such as "*Doing well in my job tasks and duties is very important to me.*"), demonstrating that minimization of group differences may in fact be lowering morale for minority employees. This may be due in part by the fact that, relative to diversity-enhancing frameworks, a colorblind perspective leads to greater levels of automatic racial bias among Whites (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). For instance, under the guise of examining the current state of interethnic relations in the U.S., Richeson and Nussbaum found that subjects primed with an ideological prompt promoting colorblindness exhibited greater racially-biased attitudes (measured by response latency on the race IAT) relative to subjects exposed to a multicultural prompt. Thus, advocates of a colorblind approach to intergroup relations generally do not yield positive outcomes in contact situations.

Aside from those who intentionally support and promote a colorblind perspective, in general, many people tend to avoid acknowledging that they are able to "see" race and racial differences at all. Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, and Ariely (2006) demonstrated that upon being given a photo recognition task (including photos of both Black and White faces), many White participants would not mention the race of the individual in the photo, even when they knew that their performance on this task would benefit from acknowledging race. Specifically, this tendency to elude the topic of race was most evident when the White participant was paired

with a Black partner. It is likely that these participants circumvented the topic of race in order to avoid being perceived as prejudiced and biased by their Blacker partner.

Whites' desire to be perceived as non-prejudiced may depend on distinct motivational factors: some may be concerned about appearing prejudiced because they do not want to view themselves as a prejudiced person, while others may be apprehensive about appearing prejudiced to others (particularly non-White others). Plant and Devine (1998) created distinct measures of motivation that influence a person's efforts to respond in a non-prejudiced manner, the Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice scales (IMS/EMS). IMS scores are likely to reflect internalized, personal standards to avoid being prejudiced and being perceived prejudiced, whereas EMS scores are likely to reflect social desirability concerns regarding how others will react to the appearance of bias. Without any social pressure to respond without bias, Whites scoring highly in external motivation could theoretically be able to convey their prejudiced opinions.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that Whites scoring high in EMS are likely to strategically avoid acknowledging race during interracial interactions due to their desire to be perceived as non-prejudiced by their racial minority partner (Apfelbuam, Norton, & Sommers, 2008). Apfelbuam and colleagues found that White participants particularly concerned with how others would react to the appearance of prejudice were most likely to adopt a colorblind approach when interacting with a Black partner, particularly when the Black partner established a colorblind norm by not mentioning race themselves. Additionally, due to high-EMS Whites' belief that those who acknowledge race are more prejudiced than those who elude the topic of race, these subjects' EMS scores predicted positive impressions (e.g., perceiving the interaction went smoothly) of colorblindness during an interracial interaction.

Desire for Positive Interaction but Not Knowing How

When the topic of race is at the forefront of an interracial interaction, Whites' social tactic of following the conversational norm regarding race established by the racial minority may be reflective of Whites' desire to connect with their minority partner in a way they believe is conducive to discovering commonalities without emphasizing differential racial experiences. The method of focusing on similarities and circumventing differences may go hand-in-hand with Whites' desire to demonstrate their non-prejudiced attitudes, namely in a social setting where race is salient. Holoien (2016) found that Whites' desire to affiliate with their Black partner positively correlated with perceived understanding of their partner, but only when the White individuals may have felt that they could be perceived as prejudiced (e.g., discussing a racially-based topic). The more the White individual reported wanting to affiliate with their Black partner, the more they claimed to understand their partner's response to race-salient questions.

In interracial interactions, Whites desire to be seen as likable and warm by racial minorities (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). This is due to the fact that most Whites are cognizant of racial minorities perceiving them to be biased, prejudiced, and narrow-minded. Whites concerned with this negative perception may attempt to correct their behavior (e.g., adjust what they are saying in light of racially-based topics) in order to appear non-prejudiced. Previous research on impression management demonstrated that Whites may respond to a Black individual in a manner they believe is conducive to being liked by this individual when the conversation is race-salient, but may report different opinions/attitudes when race is not salient, or when interacting with another White individual (Stafford, Temple, & Czopp, 2016). In this study, when race and culture were made salient in an interview situation, participants reported greater enjoyment of soul food (and in particular black-eyed peas and collard greens) when

interacting with a Black interviewer than a White interviewer. The same patterns were not observed when race and culture were not made salient (i.e., the control condition) nor when reporting preferences for foods that were not directly related to race-based motivations (i.e., Italian food dishes). This is consistent with the theory that people are strongly motivated to appear non-prejudiced and open-minded when interacting with racial minorities and use a number of impression management strategies, including adjusting their liking of culturally distinct foods, to convey this impression.

Summary and Hypotheses

The present study examines how Whites manage their self-presentation when discussing both race-neutral and race-salient topics with a person of color. In their attempt to appear amiable, I predict that Whites will attempt to foster commonalities with a Black person posing as a confederate more so than a White person posing as a confederate. This prediction is based on research demonstrating Whites' desire to be liked and be perceived as non-prejudiced by racial minorities (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). Whites scoring high in EMS are more likely to strategically avoid acknowledging race during interracial interactions (compared to high-IMS or low-EMS), and believe that eluding the topic of race demonstrates non-prejudice (Apfelbuam, Norton, & Sommers, 2008). It is hypothesized that high-EMS Whites will be more likely to align their survey responses with their Black partner's responses compared to low-EMS Whites due to their belief that any expression of race on their end would demonstrate prejudice. In order to determine whether the White subject is agreeing with their Black partner's stance on race-salient topics -- regardless of what their partner is actually saying about the topic at hand -- separate conditions represented the confederate's stance on diversity. In one condition, the confederates demonstrated a pro-diversity attitude in which they expressed the need for greater campus support for students of color, and discussed the

discomfort of witnessing prejudice in classroom settings. In another condition, the confederates demonstrated an anti-diversity attitude, in which they claimed that students of color are well supported on campus, and downplayed the significance of possible prejudice experienced in a classroom setting. Thus, regardless of what the Black partner is actually saying in light of race-salient topics (i.e., pro-diversity attitude or anti-diversity attitude), high-EMS participants will report similar scores as a way to appear amiable and non-prejudiced.

Further, I predict that there will be an interaction between EMS scores and confederate race (Black), such that White subjects' interview score will more closely resemble the Black confederate when the White subjects also scored highly in EMS. Alternatively, if the White confederate is documenting the White subject's survey responses, these strategic self-presentational goals will not be enacted, because the White subject will not experience the same evaluative concerns of being perceived as prejudiced. It is hypothesized that in this condition, the White subject will not respond to race-salient survey items in a manner that demonstrates non-prejudice. That is, the White subject will respond more freely according to their own self-interests to all survey items.

Method

Participants

Data were collected from 91 White undergraduate students at Western Washington University (WWU). Students were recruited through the WWU online study recruitment system (SONA) and received partial credit to fulfill a course requirement. The study was presented as an interview activity crafted by Western's administrative members to explore student interests, because administration is interested in strengthening comradery and school spirit among the student body. It was stated in the cover story that implementing an interview activity allows

administration to have accurate representations of students' true personalities, experiences, and attitudes. Additionally, the cover story stated that interviewing one another in a lab setting allows students to converse openly in a safe space, and possibly create a connection with a person they may not have encountered in their everyday campus routines.

Procedure

Participants first completed simple demographic information (age, sex, race) through SONA. Participants were randomly assigned to either a White confederate or a Black female confederate as their interview activity partner. The dyads were directed to a small room by the researcher and were seated in chairs in the center of the room. The researcher explained that the two would be interviewing one another by having the interviewer read a list of statements from a "student interest survey" and the interviewee verbally indicated the extent to which they agreed (or disagreed) with a brief justification of why they rated the statement as such, with the interviewer documenting the interviewee's responses. The researcher explained that the interview session would be recorded so that it could be delivered to administration. Next, the researcher directed the two partners to draw from a hat in order to determine who would be interviewed first and who would be interviewed second. In reality, both slips in the hat stated "second" so that the White subject was always interviewed second, and the confederate always said aloud that they drew the slip that says "first". The confederate was always interviewed first by the White subject because this allowed the confederate to "set the tone" for the activity based on their scripted responses: the White subject was cognizant of the confederate's opinion and attitude toward each statement, and could decide whether or not to adjust his or her own responses accordingly when it was their turn to be interviewed.

After the interviewer/interviewee roles switched (i.e., subject was interviewed by confederate) and the interview portion of the study was complete, the researcher directed the confederate and the subject to their own room within AIC 193 for privacy purposes and gave each person a post-interview questionnaire. This questionnaire contained items addressing the person's impressions of their partner and the interview activity as a whole. The confederates rated each of their interview experiences and impressions of their partners individually, thus the confederate responses for the post-interview questionnaire were not standardized and reflected the confederate's true opinions about their experience. In half of the conditions, the participants were directed to measures from the Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice scales (IMS/EMS) before they participated in the interview activity. In the other half of the conditions, the IMS/EMS and multiculturalism questionnaire were part of the post-interview questionnaire. These measures can be found in the appendices.

The confederates completed a five-week training, which was a dynamic process between the researcher and the two of them in creating scripted responses for the student interview activity. Training involved daily rehearsal of scripted responses to ensure that their tone, demeanor, inflections and verbal fillers were identical across conditions and similar to one another. Each confederate learned two scripts. One script demonstrated pro-diversity attitudes for race-salient questions, the other demonstrating anti-diversity attitudes for race-salient questions. Responses for race-neutral conditions were identical for each script. Both confederates were blind to the hypotheses of the experiment.

Measures

Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice scale. The Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice scale is comprised of two subscales that

measure participants' motivation to appear non-prejudiced in everyday life (Plant & Devine, 1998). The Internal Motivation To Respond Without Prejudice scale (IMS) ($a = .71$) is a five-item subscale used to assess internal motivation to be non-prejudiced in everyday interactions. Participants reported on a nine-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree,* 9 = *strongly agree*) the degree to which they experienced internal motivation to be non-prejudiced, with items such as "I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways toward people because it is personally important to me." The External Motivation To Respond Without Prejudice scale (EMS) ($a = .72$) is a five-item subscale used to assess external motivation to appear non-prejudiced in everyday interactions. Participants reported on a nine-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree,* 9 = *strongly agree*) the degree to which they experienced external motivation to be non-prejudiced, with items such as "I try to act non-prejudiced because of pressure from others."

Student Interest Survey. The student interest survey consisted of six statements that the interviewees verbally responded to on a ten-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 10 = *strongly agree*). The survey included three race-neutral items (e.g., *I am satisfied with the quality of the food in the campus dining halls*) representing aspects of campus life that can be relatable to all students, and three race-salient items (e.g., *I believe our campus is supportive of its diverse student body*) representing aspects of campus life that involve the consideration of race and diversity-related issues. The confederates responded to each item according to a memorized script justifying their responses to each of the questions. Depending on the condition, the responses demonstrated the confederates' pro-diversity attitudes or anti-diversity attitudes for the race-salient items (survey questions two, three and six). Confederates' numerical responses were reflective of their scripted stance on diversity. For item two, which measured participants' opinion regarding the status quo of diversity on campus (i.e., *I believe our campus is supportive*

of its diverse student body), the confederates responded in the pro-diversity attitude condition as follows:

> *Hmmm…3. I think Western could have more programs and activities especially for students of color. It just seems like there isn't enough representation for students who aren't White.*

This response indicated that there is a need for more support for students of color (SOC), which demonstrated the desire for better representation for a diverse student body. Participants who responded with lower numbers to this item demonstrated more disagreement with the status quo of diversity on campus (e.g., the current state of affairs for SOC could be improved), thus supported a more pro-diversity stance. Alternatively, in the anti-diversity attitude condition, confederates responded item two (measuring status quo) with the following script:

> *Hmmm...7. I think Western has a lot of programs and activities especially for students of color. It seems like there is a lot of representation for students who aren't White.*

This response indicated that Western has enough representation for SOC, and that there is enough representation for diversity. Participants who responded with higher numbers to this item demonstrated more agreement with the status quo of diversity on campus (e.g., the current state of affairs for SOC is just fine as it is), thus supported an anti-diversity (or less diverse) stance. For item three, which measures participants' opinion regarding allocation of resources on campus (i.e., *I support the AS student body's proposed expansion of the Ethnic Student Center (ESC) into a larger space*), confederates responded in the pro-diversity attitude condition as follows:

I'd say 8. If the ESC was given a larger space, it would be more visible and probably

attract more students. They definitely deserve more room and I think it would be good

for Western.

This response indicated that there is a need for more support for students of color (SOC) by

expanding the ESC. Participants who responded with higher numbers to this item demonstrated

more agreement with the reallocation of resources in order to expand the ESC, thus supported a

more pro-diversity stance. Alternatively, in the anti-diversity attitude condition, confederates

responded to item three (measuring the allocation of resources) with the following script:

I'd say 2. I think that if every club that wanted more space was given it, there

wouldn't be room for new clubs, and it would crowd out other clubs.

This response indicated that Western does not need to expand the ESC, and that there should not

be special treatment for one club over another, thus diminishing the importance of ESC

representation overall. Participants who responded with lower numbers to this item demonstrated

more disagreement with the reallocation of resources in order to expand the ESC, thus supported

an anti-diversity (or less diverse) stance. For item six, which measures participants' personal

experiences with stereotypes (i.e., *I have been in a classroom setting where a classmate used*

stereotypes in a derogatory manner when talking to another classmate) confederates responded

in the pro-diversity attitude condition as follows:

Um…probably a 7. It's really uncomfortable when it happens and I've definitely heard

classmates use stereotypes with language like "they" and "them" about different groups

of people.

This response indicated experience with stereotypes in classroom environments, and

acknowledgement that the use of stereotypes is not comfortable or appropriate. Participants who

responded with higher numbers to this item demonstrated more acknowledgement of experience

with stereotypes, thus support for a more pro-diversity stance. Alternatively, in the anti-diversity

attitude condition, confederates responded to item six (measuring experience with stereotypes)

with the following script:

> *Um…probably a 3. I think if people use stereotypes when talking to other people, it isn't*
>
> *meant to offend anyone so it shouldn't be taken like that.*

This response indicated lack of experience with and acknowledgement of negative stereotypes

in classroom environments, and that in general, the use of stereotypes is not offensive or

problematic. Participants who responded with lower numbers to this item demonstrated more

disagreement with experience of stereotypes, thus support of an anti-diversity (or less diverse)

stance. All confederate responses to race-neutral items (survey questions one, four and five) were

the same in both pro- and anti-diversity attitude conditions. The scripts for both opinion

conditions can be found in the Appendix.

Post-Interview Questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of fifteen items measuring

positive impressions of participants ($a = .85$) and confederates ($a = .89$). Items were measured on

a Likert-scale ranging from 1-5, with higher scores indicating a higher agreement with the item.

Overall positive impression was measured by how likeable they found their partner to be (e.g.,

How friendly did you find your partner to be?), level of interaction during the interview activity

(e.g., *How interested were you in getting to know your partner?*), judgment regarding the extent

to which their partner appeared to be prejudiced (e.g., *Do you think your partner is biased?*),

how the participant felt their partner responded to their statements (e.g., *How supported do you*

feel by your partner?), and the extent to which the participants felt their conversation was

conducive to future conversation about intergroup relations with others (e.g., *How comfortable*

would you feel having future conversations that are similar in nature to this activity?) as well as

each other (e.g., *How likely is it that you two would continue talking to one another outside of*

the study?). Items seven (*Do you think your partner is biased?*) and eight (*Did you partner use*

language indicative of stereotyping?) were reverse coded to reflect a positive experience with the

interaction (e.g., higher scores demonstrate less bias).

Results

Examination of the data revealed that differences scores (i.e., the numerical value indicating the

difference between a participant's response and confederate's response to the same item) created

artificial effects of confederate opinion condition, thus participant responses were analyzed as

independent values. Therefore the construct being measured was no longer similarity/conformity

with the confederate's opinion, but rather the participant's opinion regarding each statement on

the student interest survey. See Table 1 for means and standard deviations for all variables.

Interview Responses

Using hierarchical regression analyses, I regressed participants' responses to each of the

race-salient student interest survey scores on subjects' standardized EMS scores, the race of the

confederate (dummy-coded White = 1, Black = 0), and confederate opinion condition (dummy-

coded 1 = pro-diversity, 0 = anti-diversity) entered at the first level, two-way interactions entered

second, and the three-way interaction entered third. See Table 2 for correlations. Analyses were

also conducted by using participants' responses to each of the race-neutral student interest survey

scores as the dependent variable, but there were no statistically significant findings. Separate

analyses included standardized IMS scores as a continuous predictor (replacing EMS), but there

were no statistically significant findings.

For the question measuring participants' opinion regarding the status quo of diversity on campus (i.e., "*I believe our campus is supportive of its diverse student body*"), there were no main effects of any of the predictors (see Table 3 for full analyses). There was a marginally significant two-way interaction between participants' EMS scores and confederate race ($p = .069$). See Figure 1. Simple slope analyses within each confederate race condition indicated that when the confederate was Black, EMS scores were positively related to participants' belief that WWU supports students of color (SOC), $\beta = .371$, $t(87) = 2.59$, $p = .011$. This suggests that people with greater external motivation to respond without prejudice were more likely to report that campus is supportive of students of color (SOC), thus demonstrating greater satisfaction with the status quo of diversity on campus. However, when the confederate was White, EMS scores were unrelated to participants' belief that WWU supports SOC, $\beta = -.024$, $t(87) = 0.17$ $p = .867$. This suggests that people's external motivation to respond without prejudice did not relate to their opinion regarding status quo of diversity on campus. No other variables or interactions were statistically significant predictors of participants' reported support for SOC.

For the question measuring participants' opinion regarding allocation of resources on campus (i.e., "*I support the AS student body's proposed expansion of the Ethnic Student Center (ESC) into a larger space*"), there was a main effect of participants' EMS score ($p = .041$) as well as a marginally significant main effect of confederate race ($p = .054$). See Table 4 for full analyses. Participants' EMS scores were negatively related to participants' support for the expansion of the ESC ($\beta = -.212$) indicating that people with greater external motivation to respond without prejudice were less likely to support the expansion of the ESC, thus demonstrating less agreement with re-allocating resources to further support SOC. Additionally, participants were more likely to report support for the expansion of the ESC (thus more support

for reallocation of resources for SOC) when the confederate was Black ($M = 7.08$, $SD = 2.36$) than when the confederate was White ($M = 6.09$, $SD = 2.41$) ($\beta = -.200$). No other variables or interactions were statistically significant predictors of participants' reported support for the expansion of the ESC.

For the question measuring participants' personal experiences with stereotypes (i.e., "*I have been in a classroom setting where a classmate used stereotypes in a derogatory manner when talking to another classmate*"), there were no main effects of any of the predictors (see Table 5 for full analyses). There was a significant three-way interaction between participants' EMS scores, confederate race and confederate opinion condition ($p = .023$). See Figure 2. Simple slope analyses within each confederate opinion condition indicated that in the pro-diversity opinion condition, EMS scores did not relate to participants' reported experience with stereotypes when the confederate was Black, $\beta = -.071$, $t(44) = -0.36$, $p = .720$. However, when the confederate was White in the pro-diversity opinion condition, participants' EMS scores were positively related to their reported experience with stereotypes in classroom environments, $\beta = .422$, $t(44) = 2.18$, $p = .035$. In the anti-diversity script condition, EMS scores did not relate to participants' responses when the confederate was Black, $\beta = .264$, $t(39) = 1.15$, $p = .259$, nor when the confederate was White, $\beta = -.207$, $t(39) = -0.95$, $p = .35$. No other variables or interactions were statistically significant predictors of participants' reported experience with stereotypes in classroom environments.

Interaction Ratings

Using hierarchical regression analyses, I analyzed participants' positive impression scores (reflecting their impressions of the confederate they interacted with) on subjects' standardized EMS scores, the race of the confederate (dummy-coded White = 1, Black = 0), and

confederate opinion condition (dummy-coded 1 = pro-diversity, 0 = anti-diversity) entered at the first level, two-way interactions entered second, and the three-way interaction entered third (see Table 6 for full analyses). There were no significant findings for the participants' positive impression scores. Additional analyses were conducted using confederates' positive impression scores (reflecting their impressions of the participant they interacted with) as the dependent variable (see Table 7 for full analyses). There were no significant findings for the confederates' positive impression scores.

Order Effects

Further analysis of data demonstrated an order effect of when the IMS/EMS was completed such that participants who completed the IMS/EMS prior to the student interview activity responded differently to some measures compared to those who completed the IMS/EMS after the interview activity. To examine IMS/EMS order effects, participants' responses to race-salient questions on the student interest survey were analyzed in separate 2 (IMS/EMS order: first or last) x 2 (diversity condition: pro-diversity script or anti-diversity script) x 2 (race of confederate: Black or White) between subjects ANOVAs. Separate analyses for order effects of IMS/EMS on race-neutral items were conducted, but there were no statistically significant findings, suggesting that order effects were only influencing participants' responses for race-related items. Additionally, order effects for IMS and EMS scores were analyzed, but there were no statistically significant findings, suggesting that the order in which the IMS/EMS was taken did not affect participants' IMS scores, $t(89) = -1.15$, $p = .251$, or EMS scores, $t(89) = -1.66$, $p = .10$. The marginal effect of order effects for EMS scores indicated that participants who completed the IMS/EMS before the interview activity reported less external motivation to

respond without prejudice ($M = 5.47$, $SD = 1.53$) compared to participants who completed the IMS/EMS after the interview activity ($M = 6.01$, $SD = 1.59$).

For the question measuring participants' opinion regarding the status quo of diversity on campus (i.e., "*I believe our campus is supportive of its diverse student body*"), there was a main effect of order of IMS/EMS such that when participants completed the IMS/EMS first, they provided lower scores/less agreement with the item (indicating the current state of affairs for SOC could be improved) than those who completed the IMS/EMS last, $F(1, 83) = 78.16$, $p <$ .001, $\eta^2 = .47$. When participants completed the IMS/EMS first, they were more likely to report that campus support for SOC could be improved/less satisfaction with status quo for diversity on campus ($M = 5.25$, $SD = 1.37$) than those who completed the IMS/EMS last ($M = 7.35$, $SD =$ .88). Additionally, there was a marginally statistically significant interaction of order of IMS/EMS and confederate race, $F(1, 83) = 3.47$, $p = .066$, $\eta^2 = .02$. Participants who completed the IMS/EMS first were more likely to report that campus support for SOC could be improved/ less satisfaction with status quo for diversity on campus when the confederate was Black ($M =$ 4.78, $SD = .90$) than when the confederate was White ($M = 5.67$, $SD = 1.59$), $F(1, 42) = 5.05$, $p =$ .03. However, this effect disappeared when participants completed the IMS/EMS last, as participants reported that there was a good amount of support for SOC/greater satisfaction with status quo for diversity on campus regardless of whether the confederate was Black ($M = 7.36$, $SD = .73$) or White ($M = 7.34$, $SD = 1.02$), $F(1, 45) = 0.01$, $p = .928$. No other main effects or interactions were statistically significant.

For the question measuring participants' opinion regarding the allocation of resources on campus (i.e., "*I support the AS student body's proposed expansion of the Ethnic Student Center (ESC) into a larger space*"), there was a main effect of order of IMS/EMS, $F(1, 83) = 125.01$ $p <$

.001, $\eta^2 = .56$. Participants who completed the IMS/EMS first reported greater support for the expansion of the ESC/reallocation of resources to support SOC ($M = 8.45$, $SD = 1.49$) compared to those who completed the IMS/EMS last, ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.68$). There was also a statistically significant main effect of confederate race, $F(1, 83) = 8.22$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .04$ such that participants reported more support for the expansion of the ESC/reallocation of resources to support SOC when the confederate was Black ($M = 7.08$, $SD = 2.36$) than when the confederate was White ($M = 6.09$, $SD = 2.41$). No other main effects or interactions were statistically significant.

For the question measuring participants' personal experiences with stereotypes (i.e., "*I have been in a classroom setting where a classmate used stereotypes in a derogatory manner when talking to another classmate*"), there was a main effect of order of IMS/EMS, $F(1, 83) = 26.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .22$. Participants reported more experience with stereotypes in class when they completed IMS/EMS prior to the student interest survey ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 2.68$) compared to those who completed IMS/EMS after the survey ($M = 2.69$, $SD = 1.63$). There was also a statistically significant main effect of confederate race, $F(1, 83) = 3.96$, $p = .050$, $\eta^2 = .03$, such that participants reported more experience with stereotypes in a classroom setting when the confederate was Black ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 2.61$) than when the confederate was White ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 2.28$).

A three-way interaction emerged such that the relationship between confederate opinion condition and race of the confederate differed depending on IMS/EMS order, $F(1, 83) = 4.19$, $p = .044$, $\eta^2 = .03$. A simple effects t-test follow up indicated that in the pro-diversity condition, participants who completed the IMS/EMS first reported more experience with stereotypes in a classroom setting when interviewed by the Black confederate ($M = 6.42$, $SD = 2.47$) than the

White confederate ($M = 3.58$, $SD = 2.39$), $t(22) = -2.86$, $p = .009$. However, in the anti-diversity condition, there was no difference in participant responses when the confederate was Black or White, $t(22) = 0.64$, $p = .531$. There were also no statistically significant differences between participants who completed the IMS/EMS after student interest survey when interacting with either confederate in the pro-diversity opinion condition, $t(18) = -0.34$, $p = .741$, nor the anti-diversity opinion condition, $t(22) = -1.22$, $p = .236$. No other main effects or interactions were statistically significant.

Order effects of IMS/EMS were also analyzed for all partner interaction scores (combined into a single composite variable) from subjects and confederates, with higher scores indicating a more positive interaction with the interview partner. Both participants' and confederates' positive interaction scores were analyzed in separate 2 (IMS/EMS order: first or last) x 2 (diversity condition: pro-diversity script or anti-diversity script) x 2 (race of confederate: Black or White) between subjects ANOVAs. A main effect of IMS/EMS order emerged for the confederates' reported positive impressions of participants, $F(1, 83) = 5.80$, $p = .018$, $\eta^2 = .06$. Confederates reported more positive impressions of the participants who completed the IMS/EMS prior to the student interest survey ($M = 3.28$, $SD = .75$) compared to participants who completed the IMS/EMS after the student interest survey ($M = 2.91$, $SD = .70$). No other main effects or interactions were statistically significant, nor were there statistically significant findings for participants' partner interaction scores.

Discussion

This experiment addressed how Whites' motivation to appear non-prejudiced may affect their tendency to establish similarities with their racial minority partner during an interracial interaction, particularly when the conversation involves race. This study demonstrated that

overall, Whites reported pro-diversity attitudes regardless of their interaction partner's opinion on diversity. Furthermore, Whites reported more pro-diversity opinions when their interaction partner was Black, compared to White.

The hypothesis that high-EMS Whites will be more likely than low-EMS Whites to align their survey responses with their Black partner's responses due to their belief that any expression of race on their end would be a demonstration of prejudice was supported in some ways. Subjects reported more pro-diversity responses when interacting with the Black than White confederate in the pro-diversity condition, which could be seen as demonstrating agreement with her opinion on diversity. However, findings were inconsistent with the hypothesis in other ways, such that subjects also reported pro-diversity responses in the anti-diversity opinion condition, which was not a demonstration of agreement with the Black confederate. Overall, Whites reported non-prejudiced attitudes when discussing race-related topics with the Black confederate regardless of what the confederate's vocalized opinion on matters of diversity were. That is, even when the Black confederate had an opinion that established an anti-diversity attitude, Whites continuously responded in a pro-diversity fashion. This finding could be a result of the experimental sample, since Western Washington University (WWU) students tend to support a campus climate of egalitarian values and open-mindedness. Further, WWU has an increasing number of students of color every year, so perhaps in effort to be a representative of a campus climate supportive of a diverse student body, White students clung to pro-diversity attitudes unaltered by the opinion of their interaction partner.

The inconsistency of response patterns for race-salient items may be attributed to the fact that these particular items, which involve the consideration of race and diversity-related issues, evoke differential routes of processing. Furthermore, participants' EMS scores were unrelated to

their responses to the neutral interview questions, thus participants' responses were clearly related to racial factors in some manner. For instance, the fact that the participants reported pro-diversity responses when interacting with their Black partner regardless of her opinion may be indicative of peripheral route processing (e.g., Petty & Cacioppo, 1984). Rather than carefully assessing a source's position for an argument at hand and engaging in deep thought about that particular source's position, people may accept an advocated position for an argument simply because of simple cues that are found to be persuasive, such as the assuming the source is an expert on the topic at hand. It may be that the mere presence of a Black partner resulted in White participants advocating for a pro-diversity stances in order to demonstrate non-prejudice no matter what content of the conversation was. Asking the participants' opinion regarding the status quo of diversity on campus (i.e., *I believe our campus is supportive of its diverse student body*), perhaps allowed for some ambiguity in terms of what the "right" answer would be in order for participants to demonstrate non-prejudice. For instance, perhaps it would be "right" to report agreement with the status quo in order to demonstrate belief that campus is supportive of SOC, thus demonstrating non-prejudice. On the other hand, perhaps it would be "right" to report disagreement with the status quo in order to demonstrate belief that there is room for improvement when it comes to campus supporting SOC, thus demonstrating non-prejudice. Previous research on message processing found that minority members (who are generally considered to be expert sources on racially-related topics) who take unexpected positions on race-based topics creates ambiguity and uncertainty for those evaluating the argument being made (Petty et al., 2001). It is possible that participants interacting with the Black confederate did not know how to properly demonstrate non-prejudice regardless of her stance on this issue of status quo. It was found that Whites' EMS scores were correlated with responding in favor of the

status quo (i.e., agreeing that campus is supportive of SOC) only when their interview partner was Black, which may be indicative of their assumption that this is the "right" answer in terms of demonstrating non-prejudice.

Asking the participants' opinion regarding allocation of resources on campus (i.e., *I support the AS student body's proposed expansion of the Ethnic Student Center (ESC) into a larger space*), EMS scores were correlated with less support for the expansion of the ESC, thereby not supporting the reallocation of resources to benefit SOC. This finding is not consistent with the response patterns found for the item measuring status quo, in which high-EMS participants demonstrated the more "pro-diversity" response: for this item measuring resources, it appears that high-EMS participants responses may be indicative of bias and prejudice, supporting previous research establishing a correlation between EMS and prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998).

Interestingly, when Whites discussed their experience with stereotypes (i.e., referring to groups of people as "they" and "them" in a classroom setting) with a White partner, participants' EMS scores were correlated with more experience with stereotypes compared to those interacting with a Black partner. This finding is more in line with previous research (e.g., Apfelbuam, Norton, & Sommers, 2008) such that Whites who were more strongly externally motivated to avoid prejudice appear to be may have been avoiding the acknowledgement of race and racial bias when talking about their classroom experience in regard to stereotyping with a Black individual, yet admitted experiencing stereotypes (thereby talking about the presence of race and/or racial bias) when interacting with another White person. It may be the case that Whites felt more comfortable expressing their opinions about classroom bias with the White

confederate due to assuming she would not perceive them prejudiced for bringing up the presence of racial bias.

Overall, inconsistent findings of participants' EMS scores correlating with their responses may be indicative of the combination of approach and avoidance methods to that people employ in intergroup settings depending on their motivation respond without prejudice. It has been found that high-IMS individuals tend to approach interracial interactions with approach-oriented motivation (e.g., demonstrating non-prejudice by promoting egalitarian outcomes for the interaction), whereas high-EMS individuals tend to approach interracial interactions with avoidance-oriented motivation with the intention of avoiding negative outcomes such as appearing prejudiced (Plant, Devine, & Peruche, 2010). Generally, internally motivated individuals enact behavioral strategies aimed towards the facilitation of a positive interaction, such as maintaining eye contact, smiling, and sharing personal information, whereas externally motivated individuals enact behavioral strategies aimed towards eluding any detection of prejudice, such as avoiding any topics that may be sensitive and avoiding any behavior that could be perceived as biased. The present study examined participants' behavior that may involve both approach and avoidance strategies when interacting with the Black confederate. When discussing race-related topics, participants may have attempted to demonstrate non-prejudice by avoiding the appearance of bias (e.g., responding in a pro-diversity manner regardless of their partner's opinion on diversity) and simultaneously facilitated positive outcomes for the interaction, such as sharing personal information and enacting pro-social behavior. The combination of approach-oriented and avoidance-oriented behavior in this study highlights the complex, dynamic relationship between these separate yet related strategies employed by Whites during interracial interactions.

The present study found that the biggest indicator of how positive the overall interaction was perceived can be attributed to the order in which the IMS/EMS was taken, such that both confederates perceived Whites who completed these scales prior to the student interest survey more positively. This finding could be indicative of Whites undergoing impression management (e.g., Schlenker & Pontari, 2000) after completing scales that clued them into the present experiment being associated in some way with prejudice. It may be the case that when primed to consider their own motivation for appearing non-prejudiced, Whites underwent impression management in attempt to control any biased behavior. Controlling for bias may have activated self-presentation goals related to appearing likeable (e.g., Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). This speculation is in line with research conducted by Vorauer and Turpie (2004), in which researchers found that high-prejudice participants, who were concerned about being perceived as prejudiced by their minority conversation partner, engaged in more pro-social behaviors during a video message to their partners, including increased eye contact, more responsiveness, and positive regard. In the present study, the activation of pro-social behavior as a result of completing the IMS/EMS first could be applied to all participants regardless of their level of prejudice (or concern for being perceived as prejudiced).

Further, Shelton and colleagues (2005) demonstrated that high-bias Whites were perceived more positively by their Black interaction partners when discussing race-related topics compared to low-bias Whites, namely because Whites with higher levels of racial bias were perceived as engaged in the conversation. It is likely that conversational engagement was reflective of high-bias Whites' concern with being perceived as prejudiced rather than genuine interest in the topic at hand, but nevertheless, this engagement was received positively by Black interaction partners. In terms of the present study, it is possible that those who completed the

IMS/EMS prior to the interview activity were more psychologically engaged in the subsequent interview due to being cognizant that the experiment was in some way related to prejudice and bias. Perhaps similar to the findings of Shelton and colleagues (2005), even though this conversation engagement may have been a result of participants' desire to appear non-prejudiced, the confederates perceived this engagement in a positive manner.

Limitations and Future Research

It is important to note some limitations of the present study, particularly with regards to utilizing confederates in the interview activity. There was only one confederate per race condition, which means the effects could be specific to those individuals rather than Black/White people in general. Moreover, even though the confederates were blind to hypotheses, both confederates were senior psychology students in the same research lab, therefore they may have figured out the purpose of the study and subtly or unintentionally acted accordingly. Further, there may have been issues with the post-interview partner impression questionnaire. For instance, the Black confederate mentioned that she did not know how to answer some of the questions about the participant, especially in the anti-diversity opinion condition in which she was expressing beliefs contrary to her own (e.g., answering the item *"How supported do you feel by your partner?"* was strange because they are only supporting her script, not her real opinion). Since the confederates had scripted responses, it may have been difficult for them to truly rate their impression of the participant because even the most likeable and agreeable of participants were adhering to a scripted opinion.

To better control for interaction partners' impressions of one another in the future, research should examine interracial interactions in which both individuals are participants (i.e., no confederates involved) in order to explore the potential consequences of Whites who seek to

establish similarities versus important differences when discussing race-related topics, and how Whites' external motivation to appear non-prejudiced plays a role in this interaction. Research conducted by Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawakami (2008) demonstrates that Whites' external and internal racial biases predicted their verbal and non-verbal behavior (respectively) towards their Black partners. The researchers found a mismatch between White participants' perceptions of their own outwardly friendly behavior toward their Black partner and their Black partners' perceptions of the participants' bias and behavior. That is, even if some Whites think they are coming across as friendly and non-biased, their nonverbal behaviors -- indicative of their high levels of implicit bias -- are perceived negatively by their non-White conversation partner. In regard to discussing race-salient topics in an intergroup setting, preliminary research suggests that Blacks may actually prefer for Whites to acknowledge their lack of understanding when discussing racial issues instead of expressing understanding, and that Blacks view Whites unfavorably when they claim to understand their racial problems (Holoien, Libby, & Shelton, 2015). Therefore, future research can explore this interplay between how Whites believe they are coming across to their Black partner when they attempt to establish similarities or differences in light of race-based discussions, and how this attempt to relate (or lack thereof) is being perceived by their Black partner.

Conclusion

This research provides insight as to how Whites' concern with being perceived as prejudiced to others affects how they interact with POC. By examining Whites and confederates as both partners and perceivers, this study provides an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of an interracial interaction in which racially-related matters are discussed. In an attempt to appear non-prejudiced, Whites will indeed adhere to the opinions of a POC when talking about race-

related issues, yet they may demonstrate a different opinion (often a less-diverse opinion) when talking to another White individual. Further, Whites are conveying these pro-diversity attitudes regardless of what their POC conversational partner is expressing. These findings contribute to the literature demonstrating that Whites' good intentions may backfire (e.g., Holoien, Bergsieker, Shelton, & Alegre, 2015), such that Whites' attempt to demonstrate their non-prejudiced attitudes may be at the expense of a positive interracial interaction due to ignoring what their non-White partner is saying about the topic at hand. While talking about racially-related subjects may prompt Whites to undergo impression management, proper conversation etiquette cannot be forgotten in the midst of an interracial interaction: both people need to be heard in order to promote positive intergroup relations.

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Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for All Variables (Predictors and Outcomes)

Variable	M	SD
IMS	8.00	.91
EMS	5.75	1.58
Liking of Campus Food	5.87	1.57
Support for Status Quo for Diversity	6.34	1.55
Allocation of Resources (ESC Expansion)	6.56	2.43
Comfort Sharing Opinions in Class	6.23	1.73
Amount of School Spirit on Campus	6.95	1.86
Personal Experience with Stereotypes	3.81	2.48
Confederates' Positive Impression of Participants	3.95	.46
Participants' Positive Impression of Confederates	3.09	.75

Table 2

Pearson Correlations for Variables in the Regression Analysis (N = 91)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. IMS	--	-0.10	-0.08	0.04	-0.19	0.33*	0.08
2. EMS	0.05	--	0.39*	-0.29	0.04	0.07	-0.01
3. Support for Status Quo for Diversity	-0.05	-0.24	--	-0.67**	-0.42**	-0.16	-0.40**
4. Allocation of Resources (ESC Expansion)	-0.18	-0.15	-0.42**	--	0.45**	0.12	0.48**
5. Personal Experience with Stereotypes	0.15	0.14	-0.38**	0.28	--	0.31	0.64**
6. Confederates' Positive Impression of Participants	-0.14	0.02	-0.01	-0.06	0.08	--	0.17
7. Participants' Positive Impression of Confederates	-0.06	0.03	-0.32**	0.18	0.30*	0.07	--

Note. All values above the diagonal line are indicative of correlations of variables when participant was interacting with the Black confederate. All values below the diagonal line are indicative of correlations of variables when participant was interacting with the White confederate.

*p < .05, two-tailed; **p < .01, two-tailed

Table 3

Standardized Coefficients of Predictors for Support for Status Quo

Condition	β	t	p
Diversity Condition	.061	.59	.558
Confederate Race	.137	1.31	.192
EMS	.173	1.66	.101
EMS *Diversity Condition	.030	.21	.836
EMS * Confederate Race	-.276	-1.84	.069
Confederate Race *Diversity Condition	.062	.34	.738
EMS * Diversity Condition * Confederate Race	.038	.18	.856

Table 4

Standardized Coefficients of Predictors for Allocation of Resources (ESC Expansion)

Condition	β	t	p
Diversity Condition	.022	.27	.829
Confederate Race	-.200	-1.95	.054
EMS	-.212	-2.07	.041
EMS *Diversity Condition	-.199	-1.41	.164
EMS * Confederate Race	.110	.74	.459
Confederate Race * Diversity Condition	-.091	-.50	.622
Condition EMS * Diversity Condition * Confederate Race	-.004	-.02	.986

Table 5

Standardized Coefficients of Predictors for Personal Experience with Stereotypes

Condition	β	t	p
Diversity Condition	-.040	-.38	.707
Confederate Race	-.191	-1.83	.072
EMS	.085	-.81	.420
EMS *Diversity Condition	-.111	-.76	.449
EMS * Confederate Race	.053	.35	.731
Confederate Race * Diversity Condition	.164	.87	.388
EMS * Diversity Condition * Confederate Race	-.469	-2.31	.023

Table 6

Standardized Coefficients of Predictors for Participants' Positive Impressions of Confederates

Condition	β	t	p
Diversity Condition	.093	.88	.383
Confederate Race	-.121	-1.14	.256
EMS	.042	.39	.695
EMS *Diversity Condition	.087	.59	.555
EMS * Confederate Race	-.024	-.15	.879
Confederate Race * Diversity Condition	.106	.55	.581
Condition EMS * Diversity Condition * Confederate Race	-.200	-.94	.348

Table 7

Standardized Coefficients of Predictors for Confederates' Positive Impressions of Participants

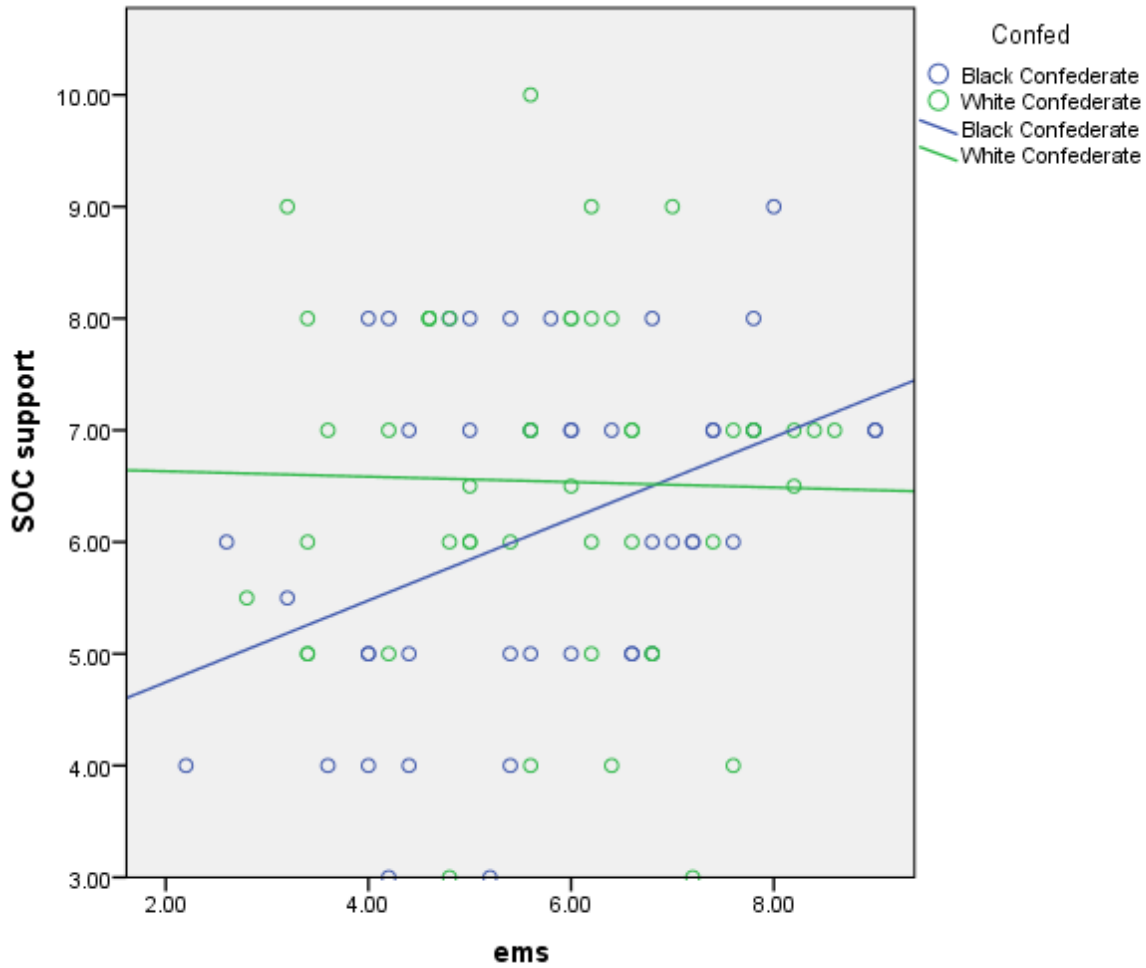| Condition	β	t	p
Diversity Condition	-.057	-.54	.589
Confederate Race	-.176	-1.67	.098
EMS	.020	.19	.852
EMS *Diversity Condition	-.080	-.55	.587
EMS * Confederate Race	.021	.14	.892
Confederate Race * Diversity Condition	-.166	-.87	.387
Condition EMS * Diversity Condition * Confederate Race	-.310	-1.49	.141

Figure 1. Marginally significant two-way interaction between participants' EMS scores and confederate race (*p* = .069) predicting support for the status quo for diversity on campus (i.e., "*I believe our campus is supportive of its diverse student body.*"). When the confederate was Black, EMS scores were positively related to participants' belief that WWU supports students of color (SOC). When the confederate was White, EMS scores were unrelated to participants' belief that WWU supports SOC.
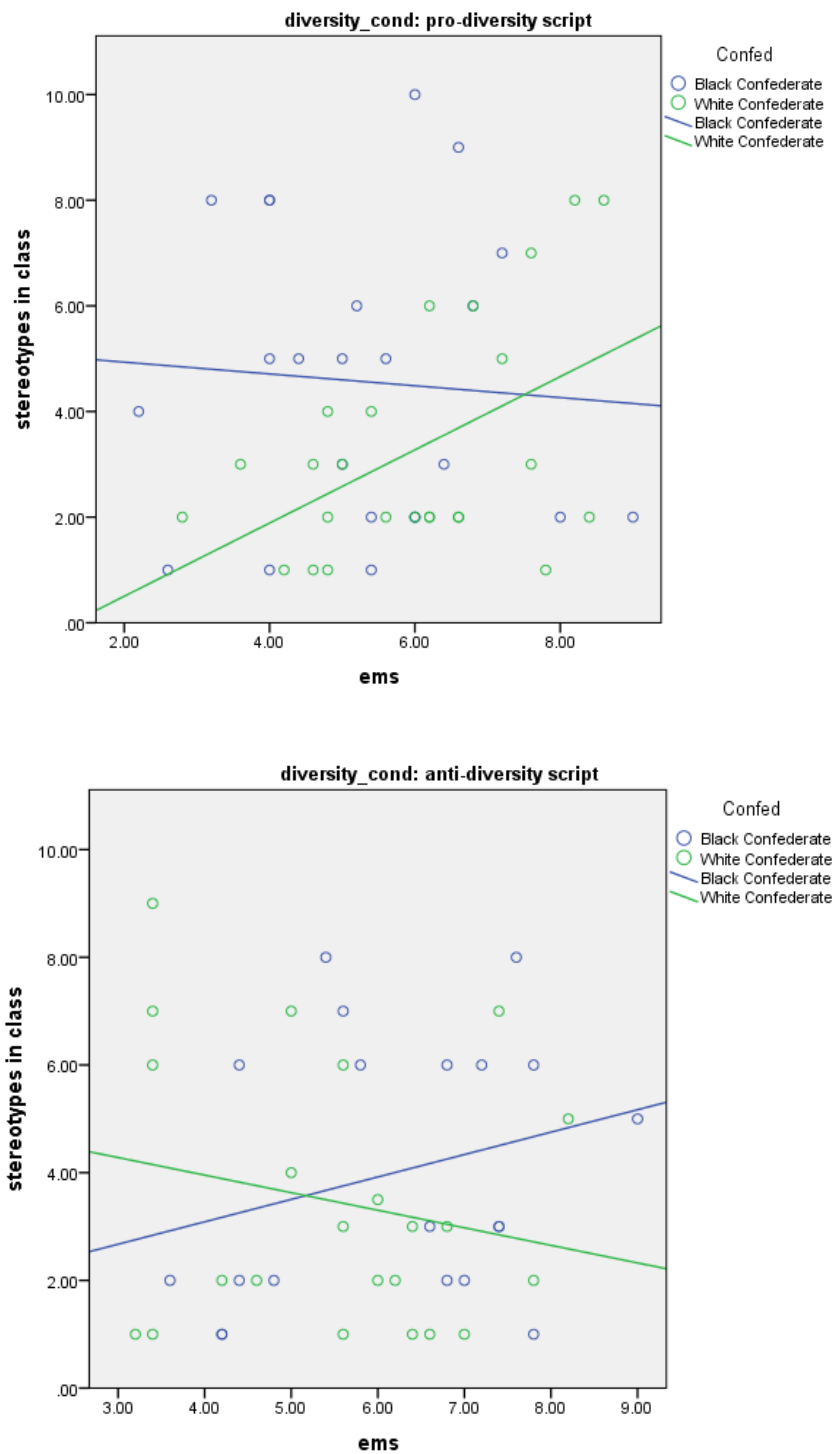
Figure 2. Significant three-way interaction between participants' EMS scores, confederate race and confederate opinion condition (*p* = .023) predicting participants' personal experience with stereotypes (i.e., "*I have been in a classroom setting where a classmate used stereotypes in a*

derogatory manner when talking to another classmate."). In the pro-diversity script condition, EMS scores did not relate to participants' reported awareness of negative stereotypes when the confederate was Black. When the confederate was White, EMS scores were positively related to participants' reported awareness of negative stereotypes in classroom environments. In the anti-diversity script condition, EMS scores did not relate to participants' responses when the confederate was Black or White.

Appendices

Student Interest Survey Questions with Scripted Confederate (Pro-diversity) Responses:

Please respond to the following statements on a 1-10 scale, with *1* indicating strongly disagree and *10* indicating strongly agree.

1. **I am satisfied with the quality of the food in the campus dining halls.**

   I'd say 7. I actually like the food here, even though most people don't. It can be weird sometimes, but it's also kind of comforting too, and I can usually find something I like.

2. **I believe our campus is supportive of its diverse student body.**

   Hmmm…3. I think Western could have more programs and activities especially for students of color. It just seems like there isn't enough representation for students who aren't White.

3. **I support the AS student body's proposed expansion of the Ethnic Student Center (ESC) into a larger space.**

   I'd say 8. If the ESC was given a larger space, it would be more visible and probably attract more students. They definitely deserve more room and I think it would be good for Western.

4. **I feel comfortable expressing my true opinions in classes.**

   I think 5. It really depends on which class I am in and the vibe of it. When I have a class where everyone is really open and engaging, I feel like I can express myself. But in a class where classmates are quiet and don't talk to each other, I kind of just keep to myself.

5. **There is not enough school spirit on campus.**

I'll say 7 for that. There doesn't seem to be a lot of energy when it comes to school spirit. I think people could show more Viking pride, like going to games and wearing Western gear around campus and whatnot.

6. **I have been in a classroom setting where a classmate used stereotypes in a derogatory manner when talking to another classmate.**

Um…probably a 7. It's really uncomfortable when it happens and I've definitely heard classmates use stereotypes with language like "they" and "them" about different groups of people.

Student Interest Survey Questions with Scripted Confederate (Anti-diversity) Responses:

Please respond to the following statements on a 1-10 scale, with *1* indicating strongly disagree and *10* indicating strongly agree.

1. **I am satisfied with the quality of the food in the campus dining halls.**

   I'd say 7. I actually like the food here, even though most people don't. It's definitely weird sometimes but it's kind of comforting too, and I usually find something I like.

2. **I believe our campus is supportive of its diverse student body.**

   Hmmm...7. I think Western has a lot of programs and activities especially for students of color. It seems like there is a lot of representation for students who aren't White.

3. **I support the AS student body's proposed expansion of the Ethnic Student Center (ESC) into a larger space.**

   I'd say 2. I think that if every club that wanted more space was given it, there wouldn't be room for new clubs, and it would crowd out other clubs.

4. **I feel comfortable expressing my true opinions in classes.**

   I think 5. It really depends on which class I am in and the vibe of it. When I have a class where everyone is really open and engaging, I feel like I can express myself. But in a class where classmates are awkward or boring, I just keep to myself.

5. **There is not enough school spirit on campus.**

   I'll say 7 for that. There doesn't seem to be a lot of energy when it comes to school spirit. I think people could show more Viking pride, like going to games and wearing Western gear around campus and whatnot.

6. **I have been in a classroom setting where a classmate used stereotypes in a derogatory manner when talking to another classmate.**

Um…probably a 3. I think if people use stereotypes when talking to other people, it isn't

meant to offend anyone so it shouldn't be taken like that.

Post-Study Questionnaire:

1. How likeable did you find your partner to be? (1= *not likeable at all likeable*, 5 = *very likeable*)

2. How friendly did you find your partner to be? (1 = *not at all friendly*, 5 = *very friendly*)

3. How warm did you find your partner to be? (1 = *not at all warm*, 5 = *very warm*)

4. How interested were you in getting to know your partner? (1= *not at all interested*, 5 = *very interested*)

5. How much did you want to get along with your partner? (1= *not at all*, 5 = *very much*)

6. To what extent did you want to connect with your partner? (1= *not at all*, 5 = *very much*)

7. Do you think your partner is biased? (1 = *definitely not*, 5 = *definitely yes*)

8. Did you partner use language indicative of stereotyping (e.g., making generalizations about groups of people)? (1 = *definitely not*, 5 = *definitely yes*)

9. How comfortable did your partner appear to be when discussing race-based topics? (1 = *not at all comfortable*, 5 = *very comfortable*)

10. How supported do you feel by your partner? (1 = *not at all supported*, 5 = very supported)

11. How much genuine interest do you think your partner had towards you? (1 = not at all genuine, 5 = very genuine)

12. How honest do you think your partner is? (1 = *not at all honest*, 5 = *very honest*)

13. Overall, what was your impression of the conversation dynamic? (1 = *not at all positive*, 5 = *very positive*)

14. How comfortable would you feel having future conversations that are similar in nature to this activity? (*1 = not at all comfortable*, 5 = *very comfortable*)

15. How likely is it that you two would continue talking to one another outside of the study?

(1= *extremely unlikely*, 5 = *extremely likely*)

IMS-EMS

Instructions: The following questions concern various reasons or motivations people might have for trying to respond in nonprejudiced ways toward members of a variety of social groups (e.g., African Americans, women, etc.). Some of the reasons reflect internal-personal motivations, whereas others reflect more external-social motivations. Of course, people may be motivated for both internal and external reasons; we want to emphasize that neither type of motivation is by definition better than the other. In addition, we want to be clear that we are not evaluating you or your individual responses. We are simply trying to get an idea of the types of motivations that students in general have for responding in nonprejudiced ways. If we are to learn anything useful, it is important that you respond to each of the questions openly and honestly.

Please give your response according to the scale below:

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
strongly								**strongly**
disagree								**agree**

_____ 1. I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward people because it is personally important to me.

_____ 2. Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear nonprejudiced.

_____ 3. I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced.

_____ 4. I try to hide any negative thoughts about people different from me in order to avoid negative reactions from others.

_____ 5. Being nonprejudiced is important to my self-concept.

_____ 6. If I acted prejudiced, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.

_____ 7. According to my personal values, using stereotypes is OK.

_____ 8. I attempt to appear nonprejudiced in order to avoid disapproval from others.

_____ 9. I try to act nonprejudiced because of pressure from others.

_____ 10. Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes is wrong.