

INTERRACIAL INTERACTIONS: A RELATIONAL APPROACH

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The term social interaction conjures up images that involve at least two people. These two people are likely to have beliefs about one another, beliefs about how the other person views them, and beliefs about the interaction. Moreover, these beliefs are likely to influence both individuals' experiences during the interaction. Although interconnectedness of this type has been pursued in examinations of interpersonal interactions (e.g., Baldwin, 1992; Darley & Fazio, 1980), research on interracial interactions has tended to adopt a more individualistic approach. Similar to interpersonal interactions, individuals' experiences in interracial interactions are often shaped by the beliefs individuals have about one another and their beliefs about how they will be perceived by their interaction partners. In this chapter we examine interracial interactions from a perspective that highlights the interconnectedness that is often at the core of interpersonal interactions between members of different racial groups. This perspective highlights that there are *two* people involved in dyadic interracial interactions and these two people influence each other's outcomes and experiences.

I. Conceptual Approaches to Study Interracial Interactions

The nature of interracial interactions allows researchers to explore how interpersonal perceptions and behaviors can be shaped by the presence of group boundaries. As has been recently suggested, however, to be such an *interpersonal* phenomenon, an overwhelming abundance of research on

interracial contact has been quite *intrapersonal* in nature (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Hebl & Dovidio, 2005; Shelton, 2000). There is considerable research that shows that when social psychologists investigate intergroup interactions, we tend to rely on an individualistic approach. We approach the interaction as if only one person is present in the situation. Moreover, the focus tends to be on one individual's impressions of other people, with the majority of this research focusing on Whites' beliefs about Blacks (Fiske, 1998; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). For example, researchers have examined the extent to which Whites' racial beliefs influence their judgments about Blacks. Although the implicit assumption is that these racial beliefs and judgments have implications for Blacks' experiences during the interaction, Blacks' actual experiences are often left unexamined. The individualistic approach has undoubtedly been fueled by the important research on prejudice reduction (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). We venture to add that social psychologists' emphasis on how cognitive underpinnings, specifically stereotypes, influence social perception and interactions has obscured our understanding of the interpersonal reality of interracial interactions. In this chapter we offer a framework that is grounded in the belief that in order to obtain an understanding of interracial interactions that reflects social reality, it is necessary to take a more relational approach.

A. PARADIGM SHIFT

Adopting a relational approach represents a paradigm shift in the way social psychology attempts to understand the dynamics of interracial contact. Specifically, research will need to extend beyond the typical processes associated with person perception (i.e., stereotyping) and begin to consider *meta-perceptual processes*. Such an extension is not trivial, given the differences between the person perception and meta-perceptual frameworks. In person perception research, for instance, the focus is on individuals' perceptions of and feelings about others (e.g., Whites' beliefs about Blacks). The psychological analysis is primarily about *intrasubjectivity*, and the self (the perceiver) is conceptualized as separate and distinct from the other (often the target). In contrast, in meta-perception research the focus is on individuals' perceptions of and feelings about how others view them (e.g., Whites' perceptions of Blacks' beliefs about Whites). The psychological analysis is primarily about *intersubjectivity*, and both the self and other are conceptualized as interconnected in important ways. Consistent with Baldwin's (1992, p. 468) research on relational schemas, our approach to interracial interaction maintains that "as well as observing the external behaviors of self and other, an individual in an interaction will be aware of his or her own internal states

and also quite likely will be inferring something about the internal state of the other person."

The proposed framework also requires a careful rethinking of the ways in which Whites and ethnic minorities are included as research participants. The majority on studies of interracial contact adopt a distinctly individualistic approach. That is, the dominant paradigm of this research includes only one individual. In its purest form, the relational approach is reflected in methodologies that include both Whites and ethnic minorities as participants in the same study. Our review of the literature revealed that this quintessential relational methodology has been underutilized (for the exception see Hyers & Swim, 1998; Ickes, 1984; Shelton, 2003; Vorauer & Kumhry, 2001; see also Hebl & Dovidio, 2005 for a similar argument), resulting in the neglect of interesting and important research questions that can only be examined with a relational lens. For example, Do Whites and ethnic minorities share similar experiences during interracial interactions? Whose beliefs, Whites' or ethnic minorities', are most influential for individuals' affective, cognitive, and behavioral outcomes during interracial interactions? Do Whites' and ethnic minorities' beliefs interact to influence individuals' experiences in a manner that differs from the independent effects of each person's beliefs?

Although a two-participant methodology affords the most ecologically valid benefits of a relational approach, it can be a logistical nightmare, contributing to why researchers often shy away from employing it. Admittedly, we do not always utilize this methodology in our research. We argue, however, that taking a relational perspective to the study of interracial interactions is largely independent of the particular methodology employed. For instance, a relational perspective can easily be adopted through the use of confederates. The use of confederates allows for greater experimental control than studies with two naïve participants, while continuing to allow for the intersubjectivity of the interaction to be highlighted and influential. When facing an interaction with an actual person of a different race, albeit a confederate, in other words, participants are less likely to focus on their own perceptions of the other person exclusively, but, rather, to consider what the other person in the interaction might be thinking about them as well.

Furthermore, even in situations in which contact with either actual naïve participants or with confederates is not possible, a relational approach can still be adopted. For instance, the relational approach can be embodied in the types of questions asked of participants, irrespective of whether they interact with another individual. Specifically, a relational spirit is captured by the fact that participants are not only asked to evaluate an outgroup "target," but they are also asked to think about how the outgroup "target" is likely to evaluate them. In other words, participants' attention to the self as both a perceiver and target

of the outgroup emphasizes the notion that the participant is not in the interaction alone—the essence of a relational perspective.

B. CLASSICS REVISITED

In some ways, this shift from an individualistic to a relational approach to studying interracial interactions could be considered a call for social psychology to revisit the classic analyses of stigma and race relations. Goffman (1963) and Jones et al. (1984) placed the management of stigma in social interactions at the forefront of their discussion of stigma. They emphasized the importance of considering the experiences of both nonstigmatized and stigmatized individuals in interactions. In addition, although the topic of interracial contact was tangential to the broader issue of attitude–behavior consistency, LaPiere's (1934) classic study shows the utility of the relational approach when studying interactions. LaPiere discovered that when he asked in a written letter whether or not an establishment would provide service to a Chinese couple, the overwhelming majority of responses were a definitive no. However, when he and the Chinese couple arrived at the establishment, the couple was provided service more often than not. LaPiere eloquently noted that the written letter required people to respond to an entirely symbolic situation. What was missing in the symbolic situation was the intersubjectivity of the situation. In the symbolic situation, people failed to think about how concerned they would be about being evaluated by others, including outgroup members, in the situation. Additionally, in the symbolic situation, people did not have to consider characteristics of outgroup individuals that might alter their decision. Consequently, the symbolic situation was unable to map on to the realities of actual interracial contact.

The classic study by Word, Zanna, and Cooper (1974) also emphasized a relational approach when exploring the dynamics of interracial interactions. Word et al. (1974) examined interactions between Whites and Blacks in the context of a job interview setting. In Study 1, they found that naïve, White interviewers displayed less friendly nonverbal behaviors toward Black interviewees than toward White interviewees (the interviewees were trained confederates). In Study 2, Word et al. (1974) trained White interviewers (confederates) to display either friendly or unfriendly nonverbal behaviors toward naïve, White interviewees. Word et al. (1974) found that the naïve, White interviewees who were the target of unfriendly nonverbal behaviors performed worse during the interview than those who were the target of friendly nonverbal behaviors. This classic study shows the importance of taking a relational approach when studying interracial interactions by exploring the interaction from the perspective of both individuals in the interaction. Not only

was it important to demonstrate that Whites behaved in a more negative manner toward Blacks than Whites, but it was also important to demonstrate how these behaviors influenced the other interactant.

The goal for exploring interracial interactions from a relational approach is not to reveal one specific psychological phenomenon. Instead the goal is to demonstrate that the approach may generate novel findings that can lead to a more ecologically valid understanding of the dynamics of interracial interactions. Because of differences in sociocultural perspectives, the psychological experience of an interracial interaction may differ for Whites and ethnic minorities. It is only by examining both individuals' perspectives that we are able to uncover, and begin to understand, these differences.

C. OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

What follows is a description of research from our and others' laboratories on interracial interactions derived from, or consistent with, a relational approach. We focus on two issues to illustrate what a relational approach can contribute to the study of interracial interactions. First, we consider the ways in which individuals' beliefs regarding how their interaction partner is likely to view them influence the avoidance of interracial contact. Second, we examine the dynamics of interracial interactions, focusing on the consequences that individuals' beliefs have for their own and their partner's experiences during the interaction. Before we turn to these two issues, however, we provide a general background about intergroup meta-perceptions.

II. Intergroup Meta-Perceptions

Meta-perceptions are individuals' beliefs about another person's impression of them (Kenny & DePaulo, 1993). Theories, such as symbolic interaction theory, attachment theory, and self-verification theory, suggest that individuals give considerable thought to understanding others' reactions to them (Vorauer, 2001). Consistent with research on general meta-perceptions, Whites and ethnic minorities also think about how others might view them during interracial interactions, and these meta-perceptions shape their interaction experiences. Indeed, research assessing cultural stereotypes shows that Whites and ethnic minorities are aware of the stereotypes associated with their ingroup and outgroup (Krueger, 1996; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997). For instance, Wout, Shih, and Jackson (2005) examined Blacks' perceptions of how they are viewed by both Whites and Blacks. They found that Blacks expect Whites more than other Blacks to view Blacks as a group as

untrustworthy, athletic, aggressive, and not hardworking, and to apply those stereotypes during interracial contact experiences.

The majority of research on meta-perception in an intergroup context has been inspired by the study of Vorauer and her colleagues. In one study, Whites listed the stereotypes they thought that First Nations have about Whites (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). Results revealed that Whites believe that First Nations perceive Whites as being prejudiced, selfish, and closed-minded. In subsequent research, Vorauer, Hunter, Main, and Roy (2000) found that when Whites imagined (Study 1) or anticipated (Study 2) having an interaction with a First Nations person, these meta-stereotypes (i.e., prejudiced, selfish, closed-minded) were activated as measured by a word fragment completion task and a lexical decision-making task. Importantly, exposure to a First Nations person whom Whites did not expect to interact with was not associated with an increase in meta-stereotype activation. Consistent with research employing the person perception model, such exposure was associated with increased activation of negative stereotypes about First Nations individuals. Taken together, research on meta-perceptions suggests that the context of an interracial interaction often activates concerns about being judged negatively in both Whites and ethnic minorities—a *relational facet of interracial contact that is unlikely to be revealed by more individualistic approaches to prejudice, stereotyping, and interracial contact.*

Contemporary models and theories of prejudice have begun to incorporate these meta-perceptions. Largely, this research suggests that Whites and ethnic minorities wrestle with these meta-perceptions during interracial interactions, and these meta-perceptions manifest as interpersonal concerns that individuals have regarding interracial interactions. Most models and theories propose that Whites are often concerned with appearing prejudiced (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Monin & Miller, 2001; Monteith, 1993; Plant & Devine, 1998) and ethnic minorities are often concerned with being treated negatively because of prejudice during interracial interactions (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002; Miller & Meyers, 1998). Whites' and ethnic minorities' meta-perceptions, and resultant interpersonal concerns, are similar and different in important ways. The similarity lies in the fact that both individuals are concerned that outgroup members will perceive them in a way that threatens their true identity (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002) and outgroup members will ultimately reject them during interracial interactions.

The fundamental difference between Whites' and ethnic minorities' meta-perceptions is that Whites' concerns during interracial interactions are primarily self-focused, whereas ethnic minorities' concerns focus on both the self and their White interaction partners. Specifically, Whites are often concerned about maintaining their self-image as egalitarian, unbiased people during the interaction. Ethnic minorities do not want to be perceived in a

stereotypical manner, and they do not want to be the target of biased, unfair treatment from Whites. Essentially, therefore, both Whites and Blacks are concerned that the White interaction partner will behave in prejudiced ways during their interactions with one another. These concerns have implications for individuals' experiences during actual interactions, and as we demonstrate in the next section, contribute to whether interracial interactions occur at all.

III. Avoiding Interracial Interactions

On many occasions, people have control over the types of social interactions they engage in. When given the opportunity, people typically choose situations and interaction partners that are consistent with their personal preferences (Ickes, Snyder, & Garcia, 1997). Research shows that when choosing situations people tend to avoid interethnic interactions (Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2003). Building on the notion that Whites and ethnic minorities hold intergroup meta-perceptions, we began to explore how these meta-perceptions might influence the extent to which individuals choose to avoid interacting with outgroup members. Specifically, we began by addressing the influence of meta-perceptions on individuals' explanations for why they and outgroup members avoid interracial interactions. Individuals are likely to avoid such contact in part because they are concerned with how they will be viewed by outgroup members; more specifically, they are concerned that outgroup members will reject them because of their social identity. To what extent, however, do people believe that outgroup members have similar interpersonal concerns about interracial interactions? Is it possible that individuals fail to recognize that outgroup members' avoidance of interracial contact reflects the same interpersonal concerns—being perceived stereotypically and fears of rejection because of their social identity—as their own?

We started to address this question by first illustrating that Whites and ethnic minorities believe they, as well as their ingroup, are more interested in engaging in interracial contact than outgroup members (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). In our first study, we asked White and Black students to indicate their interest in having more outgroup friends, as well as having more contact with outgroup individuals in general. In addition, we asked these same students to indicate to what extent they thought the average White and Black student was interested in having more outgroup friends, as well as having more contact in general with outgroup members. As predicted, both racial groups perceived that they wanted to have more outgroup friends and interracial contact than the average outgroup student.

For example, Whites reported that they wanted to have more contact with Blacks, but that Blacks did not want to have more contact with them (see Tropp & Anderson, 2003 for a similar pattern of results).

A. DIVERGENT ATTRIBUTIONS

Given this discrepancy in individuals' perception of their own and outgroup members' interest in having contact, we reasoned that individuals may rationalize that lack of interest is a more likely explanation for why outgroup members avoid interracial contact than those outgroup members' concerns about being rejected. Thus, in the next set of studies (Shelton & Richeson, 2005, Studies 3–5) we examined the extent to which Whites and Blacks make divergent attributions about their own and an outgroup member's explanation for avoiding interracial interactions. We predicted that when explaining why interracial contact fails to occur, Whites and Blacks would attribute their own failure to initiate contact to concerns with being rejected because of their race, whereas they would attribute an outgroup member's failure to initiate contact to lack of interest. For our initial test of this prediction we asked Whites and Blacks to imagine the following situation: You enter the dining hall for dinner. You are alone because your close friends are in a review session. As you look around the dining hall for a place to sit, you notice several White (Black) students who live near you sitting together. These students also notice you. However, neither of you explicitly makes a move to sit together.

Approximately half of the White and Black participants imagined that the targeted students were White, and the other half imagined that the targeted students were Black. After imagining the situation participants answered the following questions: How likely is it that fear of being rejected because of your race would inhibit you from sitting with these students; how likely is it that your lack of interest in getting to know the students would inhibit you from sitting with them; how likely is that fear of being rejected because of their race would inhibit the students from inviting you over; and how likely is that the other students' lack of interest in getting to know you would inhibit them from inviting you over?

The findings supported our predictions, revealing that both racial groups believed different psychological states were underlying their own and the outgroup members' motivations for not initiating interracial contact (Fig. 1 contains data for Blacks). Specifically, Whites and Blacks indicated that fear of rejection because of their race would be a more likely explanation for their own inaction than for the outgroup members' inaction. Conversely, both Whites and Blacks indicated that lack of interest would be a more likely

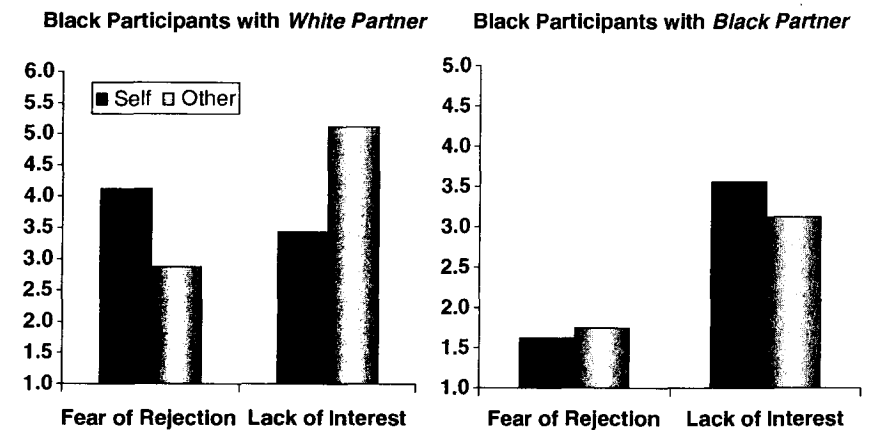


Fig. 1. Attributions for why Blacks avoid interracial contact.

explanation for the outgroup members' inaction than for their own. Additionally, when considering the attributions behind the outgroup members' failure to establish interracial contact, individuals believed that the outgroup members' lack of interest was a more likely attribution than their fear of being rejected. Conversely, when considering the reasons behind their own failure to establish interracial contact, individuals tended to report that fear of rejection was a better attribution than lack of interest.

B. DIVERGENT ATTRIBUTIONS AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

In subsequent research, we assessed the extent to which these divergent attributions are moderated by Whites' racial attitudes (under review). In order to examine this question, we administered the attitudes toward Blacks scale (Brigham, 1993) to a group of White students during a pretesting session and several weeks later invited them to participate in a second session on social perception and friendship development. During the second session, the experimenter informed participants that they would have an interaction with another student. Furthermore, in order to encourage a sense of interdependence, the experimenter explained that if the two students decided they could be friends, then they would work on additional tasks together. Immediately prior to the supposed interaction, the experimenter explained that in order to facilitate the discussion, participants would exchange background information and a picture with their partner. Participants received a same-sex photograph of either a White or Black student (confederate). After the participants had the opportunity to view

the photograph and read the background information sheet, they completed a preinteraction questionnaire. Specifically, participants indicated how interested they were in being friends with their partner, how interested they thought their partner was in being friends, how concerned they were that the other student would accept them as a friend, and how concerned they thought the other student was about being accepted as a friend.

Results revealed that all participants reported the self–other discrepancy in their attributions when their partner was Black but not when their partner was White. That is, all participants indicated that they were more interested in becoming friends and more concerned about being accepted than the other student. However, low-prejudice Whites were especially likely to make these divergent attributions. Although this result may seem counterintuitive, it is consistent with previous research on meta-stereotypes. Specifically, Vorauer et al. (1998) found that low-prejudice Whites believe that racial minorities will contrast them against the meta-stereotype that they are prejudiced, whereas high-prejudice Whites believe that racial minorities will assimilate them to the meta-stereotype. If low-prejudice Whites do not expect Blacks to think that they are prejudiced, then they are also particularly likely to underestimate the extent to which a Black interaction partner might be concerned that they will reject them. Moreover, once low-prejudice Whites take fear of rejection off the table as a possible explanation for why a Black individual might not want to pursue a friendship with them, then they are left with the possibility that the Black individual is simply not interested in interacting with them. By denying the possibility that fear of rejection may motivate potential interaction partners, while simultaneously harboring concerns about being rejected themselves, low-prejudice Whites exaggerate the self–other bias we obtained in our original study.

Collectively, our findings suggest that individuals are concerned about how they will be viewed and treated by outgroup members during interracial interactions. In addition, perhaps because they are focused on themselves, individuals have a difficult time realizing that outgroup members may also be concerned with how they will be viewed and treated. In fact, individuals tend to (mis)perceive outgroup members as not being interested in pursuing interracial contact.

C. IMPLICATIONS OF DIVERGENT ATTRIBUTIONS

One implication of a self–other bias in which outgroup members are thought to avoid interracial contact because of lack of interest but ingroup members avoid contact because they are concerned about rejection is the

possibility that individuals will simply avoid interracial contact all together. We set out to explore this possibility empirically. We examined whether individuals' proclivity to generate the self–other bias, when considering why interracial contact does not occur, influences the probability that they will engage in interracial interactions in the future (Shelton & Richeson, 2005, Study 6). At an initial testing session during the 2nd week of the academic year, White students responded to the interracial contact vignette (i.e., imagine you enter a dining hall and notice Black students) and the associated attribution questions described previously. In addition, we asked these students to report the approximate percentage of their social interactions that occurs with other White individuals and the approximate percentage that occurs with Blacks. Approximately 7 weeks later, we asked these same White students to report how much contact they had had with Whites and Blacks since the beginning of the school year. Consistent with predictions, the more Whites believed that fear of rejection because of their race was a better explanation for their own inaction in the scenario (i.e., their unwillingness to pursue interracial contact) compared to the Black students' inaction, the less contact they had with Blacks over the course of the first semester of school. In other words, Whites' disproportionate focus on their own susceptibility of being rejected by Blacks in a hypothetical scenario seemed to influence the frequency with which they engaged in interracial contact over time.

Although our data speak specifically to the comparison of self and other regarding the avoidance of interracial contact, several other studies show that meta-perceptions alone influence the extent to which individuals avoid interracial contact. Building on theory on rejection sensitivity in close relationships, Mendoza-Denton, Purdie, Downey, Davis, and Pietrzak (2002) developed a measure of race-based rejection sensitivity for Blacks in which participants are asked to rate the extent to which they would be concerned about and expect to be the target of racial prejudice across several scenarios. For example, participants are asked: Imagine you have just finished shopping, and you are leaving the store carrying several bags. It is closing time, and several people are filing out of the store at once. Suddenly, the alarm begins to sound, and a security guard comes over to investigate. Next, participants rate how concerned or anxious they would be that the guard might stop them because of their race/ethnicity. In addition, participants rate how much they would expect that the guard might stop them because of their race/ethnicity. According to the rejection-sensitivity theory, Blacks who are high in race-based rejection sensitivity anxiously expect to be rejected because of their race because of previous experiences with discrimination and awareness of stereotypes associated with their group. Mendoza-Denton et al. (2002) found that Blacks high in race-based rejection sensitivity had

fewer Whites friends and interacted with professors and teaching assistants less compared to students low in race-based rejection sensitivity.¹ Race-based rejection sensitivity, however, was unrelated to the number of Black friends participants reported having demonstrating that Blacks higher in race-based rejection sensitivity are likely to avoid only those they feel are most likely to reject them on the basis of race.

Research on a related construct, stigma consciousness, also provides support for the notion that individuals' perceptions of how outgroup members will perceive them predict their avoidance of intergroup settings. Pinel's (1999) research on stigma consciousness reveals that individuals are aware that their social identity is a pivotal factor in how people interact with them. People high in stigma consciousness expect to be viewed through the lenses of stereotypes associated with their group, and these expectations prompt them to avoid situations in which the possibility that they could be stereotyped is high. For example, Pinel (1999, Study 6) found that when women were required to have an interaction with men during a game of "jeopardy," the higher women scored on an individual difference measure of stigma consciousness the more likely they were to avoid stereotypically male topics. For example, women high in stigma consciousness avoided selected topics such as automobile names and the military. Thus, although not in the context of interracial interactions, these findings corroborate our claims that individuals' meta-perceptions regarding outgroup members impact their wariness regarding intergroup settings in which there is the potential to become the victim of prejudice.

D. RECONVERGING THE ATTRIBUTIONS

Considered as a whole, the research suggests that individuals' meta-perceptions influence their own behavior, but individuals often fail to see how similar concerns might impact the behavior of outgroup members. As other researchers have argued with respect to self-other biases in general (Prentice & Miller, 1996; Pronin, Gilovich, & Ross, 2004; Vorauer, 2001), the divergent attributions regarding why people avoid interracial interactions are likely a result of a difference in individuals' access to private self-knowledge. As actors, individuals have access to their inner feelings and beliefs. Because these feelings and beliefs are salient to them, actors assume they must be transparent to others as well. As observers, however,

¹The professors and teaching assistants are most likely to be White because the institution where this study was conducted is predominately White.

individuals are not privy to others' inner feelings and beliefs. Instead, they only see others' behavior, which they take as reflecting their true selves. Thus, as actors, Whites and Blacks are aware of their interpersonal concerns with prejudice and are likely to use them when making judgments about why they avoid interracial encounters. As observers, however, Whites and Blacks are not privy to how outgroup individuals are feeling; instead, they are only privy to the outgroup individuals' behavior.

Although access to private knowledge and feelings is certain to contribute to the divergent attributions, we offer an additional possibility. Individuals might also make divergent attributions about why they and outgroup members avoid interracial contact because outgroup members are not included as part of their sense of self (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992). Research suggests that individuals include ingroup members (but not outgroup members) in the self (Smith & Henry, 1996; Smith, Coats, & Walling, 1999; Tropp & Wright, 2001). Because of this inclusion of other in the self, individuals grow to feel and think as if the other person is a part of the self and vice versa. With the inclusion of other in the self, characteristics of the other are considered to be part of the self, and, furthermore, individuals' self-representations include the other. That is, there is a perception and feeling of interconnectedness between the self and other. Because of this interconnectedness, individuals are able to empathize with ingroup members' concerns, fears, and problems, whereas they are relatively unable (or unlikely) to do so with outgroup members' concerns, fears, and problems. If outgroup members were included in the self, however, individuals would be more likely to consider their concerns and fears and recognize that they are identical to their own. Specific to our study, if outgroup members were included in the self, then individuals should not make divergent attributions about the self and other because they should believe that the same forces driving their own behaviors are also driving the behaviors of outgroup members.

We tested our belief that inclusion of the other in the self contributes to the self-other bias regarding the avoidance of interracial interactions (Shelton & Richeson, 2005, Study 7). Similar to our other studies on this topic, we asked half of the White students in our sample to imagine the dining hall scenario, described previously, in which neither they nor a group of Black (or White) students "make a move to sit together." We asked the other half not only to imagine the same scenario, but also to imagine that, "You don't know these students well, but your best friend enjoys hanging out with them." Why ask participants to imagine that their best friend enjoys socializing with these outgroup members? According to the extended contact effect (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997), when people are aware that an ingroup member has a close relationship with an outgroup

member, they tend to include the outgroup member in the self. Because individuals in a close relationship are perceived as a single representation (Sedikides, Olsen, & Reis, 1993) the outgroup member is now linked to the ingroup member, who is already included in the self. Therefore, by asking participants to imagine that their best friend, who is most likely to be an ingroup member, enjoys hanging out with the outgroup individuals in the scenario, we are encouraging them to include these outgroup members in the self.

After reading the scenario, participants answered the following questions: How likely is it that fear of being rejected because of your race would inhibit you from sitting with these students; how likely is it that your lack of interest in getting to know the students would inhibit you from sitting with them; how likely is it that fear of being rejected because of their race would inhibit the students from inviting you over; and how likely is it that the other students' lack of interest in getting to know you would inhibit them from inviting you over?

Our findings revealed that for Whites who did not have knowledge of their best friend's opinion, the now familiar pattern of divergent attributions emerged when the targeted students were Black, but not when the targeted students were White. That is, Whites reported that fear of rejection because of their race explained their inaction more than the Black students' inaction, whereas lack of interest explained the Black students' inaction more than their own. However, Whites who had information that their best friend enjoys socializing with the targeted Black students did not reveal the same pattern of divergent attributions. In fact, Whites who had information about their best friend's opinion reported that the Black targeted students were just as likely to be inhibited by fears of rejection because of their race as they themselves were. Likewise, there was no difference in the extent to which Whites reported that lack of interest influenced their own and the targeted Black students' behavior. A closer examination of the pattern of results revealed that appearances of outgroup acceptance by knowing about a cross-race friendship reduce Whites' fears of rejection. Taken together, these findings suggest that expanding the self to include outgroup members may be an effective strategy for reducing biased perceptions of why ingroup and outgroup members avoid interacting with one another, and, by extension, may serve to increase the extent to which individuals actually engage in interracial interactions.

These two explanations, one based on differential access to internal feelings and the other on the (lack of) inclusion of the other in the self, both offer reasonable accounts for the divergent attributions individuals make regarding why they and members of outgroups avoid interracial interactions. Of course, future research is needed in order to explore additional factors that

lead to divergent attributions that undermine both the quality and quantity of interracial interactions.

1. Summary

When examining why interracial contact occurs so rarely, researchers have focused on individuals' beliefs about others. Research that has taken a more relational approach has shifted the focus from person perception to meta-perception. In doing so, researchers have learned that interracial interactions may occur so rarely because people are concerned with how they are being perceived by the outgroup not just because they dislike the outgroup.

IV. Dynamics of Interracial Contact: A View from Both Sides

One of the original goals of the "contact hypothesis" was to understand the conditions under which contact between members of different groups would improve intergroup attitudes (Allport, 1954). Although the improvement of attitudes remains an extremely important outcome for research on intergroup contact, recent research has begun to explore immediate experiences and outcomes of intergroup contact. In our relational approach to study interracial interactions, we have focused on how both Whites' and ethnic minorities' interpersonal concerns with prejudice and their racial attitudes influence affective, cognitive, and behavioral outcomes for the self and one's partner during interracial interactions.

V. Interpersonal Concerns with Prejudice and Interracial Contact

A. WHITES' PREJUDICE CONCERNS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SELF

Given that Whites are often concerned with appearing prejudiced during interactions, we set out to document affective, cognitive, and behavioral consequences of these concerns for both Whites and their ethnic minority partners during interracial interactions. We began by exploring how Whites' concerns with appearing prejudiced influence cognitive functioning for the self. Specifically, we considered the extent to which harboring concerns about prejudice during an interracial interaction may deplete Whites of important cognitive resources, resulting in their underperformance on

subsequent cognitive tasks. This possibility stems from research showing that individuals carefully monitor their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors during interracial interactions in order to avoid being perceived as prejudiced (Devine et al., 1996; Monteith, 1993). Such regulation and monitoring of thoughts, feelings, and behavior are cognitively demanding, however, resulting in the temporary depletion of important cognitive resources (Engle, Conway, Tuholski, & Shisler, 1995; Muraven & Baumeister, 2000). Thus, this study suggests that concerns about prejudice will leave Whites cognitively exhausted.

In order to examine this possibility, we activated the prejudice concerns of White participants just prior to an interracial interaction (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005, Study 1). After the interaction, these same participants' extent of cognitive depletion was tested using the Stroop color-naming paradigm. We predicted that compared to a control group of White participants for whom prejudice concerns were not heightened, participants whose concerns were triggered would reveal greater evidence of cognitive disruption after the interaction. Specifically, we asked participants to take part in a study presumably examining "serial cognition." We told them that we were interested in the influence of one cognitive task on a subsequent task when there is a delay between the two. For the first cognitive task, participants completed the race version of the Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), which is a measure of automatic racial bias. Immediately after completing the IAT, participants received one of two types of feedback. In the prejudice concern condition, the experimenter told participants, "Several studies have used this task to study racial bias. These studies show that most people are more prejudiced than they think they are." In the control condition, performance concerns were activated by telling participants, "Several studies have used this task to study category associations. These studies show that most people perform worse than they think they did." Based on previous research (Dutton & Lake, 1973; Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Czopp, 2002), the prejudice concern feedback, but not the performance concern feedback, was expected to prompt participants to engage in the regulation of their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors during the interracial interaction, and, ultimately to the depletion of cognitive resources.

Immediately after receiving the feedback, participants went to a different room where they engaged in an ostensibly unrelated session with either a Black or a White experimenter. During this "delay task," the experimenter remained in the room and videotaped the participants for approximately 8 minutes providing their opinions on several topics, including one race-related topic (e.g., campus diversity). After this task, participants returned to the room with the original experimenter and completed the second cognitive

task—the Stroop color-naming task, which measures inhibitory performance. The more cognitively depleted participants were, the worse they were expected to perform on the Stroop task. Consistent with our predictions, results revealed that in the interracial interaction (i.e., when the second experimenter was Black), Whites who received the prejudice feedback performed significantly worse on the Stroop task than Whites who received the general performance feedback. The feedback did not influence Whites' performance on the Stroop task in the same-race interaction (i.e., when the second experimenter was White).

In a subsequent study, Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced were allayed rather than elevated (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005, Study 2). Specifically, Whites were asked to have an interaction with either a Black or White confederate during which they were videotaped responding to a question about the costs and benefits of racial profiling. For most Whites, prejudice concerns will be active during such an interaction, especially with the Black confederate. In order to reduce these concerns, however, the confederate provided half of the participants with a written response to the question that they were allowed to use as a guide during the interaction. Thus, Whites could attribute any of their comments that could be perceived as controversial or potentially biased to the script, rather than to their own opinion. Consequently, Whites who were provided with the script were expected to be less concerned about appearing prejudiced, and, therefore, less likely to engage in effortful self-regulation in order to maintain a nonprejudiced self-image. After the interaction, participants completed the Stroop task in order to assess the extent to which the interaction left them depleted of cognitive resources. Consistent with predictions, participants who were provided with the script performed as well on the Stroop task as participants who interacted with the White confederate, all of whom performed better on the Stroop task than participants who interacted with the Black confederate without the script. Considered in tandem with the previous experiment, this study underscores the potential for prejudice concerns to result in relatively negative outcomes for the self.

Whites' interpersonal concerns with prejudice are likely to influence more than cognitive outcomes during interracial interactions. Research has illustrated that interracial contact fosters negative affective reactions (e.g., Britt, Boniecki, Vescio, Biernat, & Brown, 1996; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Whites' concerns with appearing prejudiced may add to the affective distress they experience. Therefore, our next goal was to examine whether harboring concerns with appearing prejudiced results in negative affect for Whites during interracial interactions (Shelton, 2003). In this study, Whites and Blacks engaged in a get-to-know-you interaction with one another. Prior to the interaction, the experimenter told all of the White participants that

they would be interacting with a Black student. In addition, the experimenter told half of the White participants that "previous psychological research has shown that during interracial interactions Whites' impressions of Blacks are often biased by racial stereotypes, which often make them appear as prejudiced individuals. You should try not to be prejudiced during this interaction." The experimenter did not provide this information to the other half of the White participants. After receiving this information, participants met their partner and engaged in an approximately 15-minute interaction, which was videotaped. In order to facilitate the discussion, the experimenter gave participants eight discussion topics. The first four topics were race neutral (e.g., discuss your hobbies) and the last four were race relevant (e.g., discuss campus race relations). Next, participants completed various questionnaires, including items to assess how much anxiety they experienced during the interaction (e.g., nervous, anxious, tense, worry). As predicted, Whites who were instructed to try not to be prejudiced reported experiencing more anxiety compared to those who were not given these instructions.

Additional research supports the notion that Whites' concerns with prejudice yield negative affective reactions during interracial encounters (Devine et al., 1996; Ickes, 1984; Plant & Devine, 1998, 2003). For instance, Plant and Butz (2004, Study 1) led non-Black participants to be concerned with being perceived as prejudiced by manipulating their expectations about their self-efficacy for facilitating pleasant interracial interactions. They found that non-Black participants who were provided feedback that they are likely to experience difficulty when interacting with Blacks experienced more anxiety about an anticipated interaction with a Black person, compared to participants who did not receive feedback. In a subsequent study, Plant and Butz (2004, Study 2) found that non-Blacks who received negative feedback experienced more anxiety, anger, and general negative self-directed emotions about the anticipated interaction with a Black person, compared to participants who received positive efficacy feedback. Moreover, individuals who received the negative, rather than the positive, feedback were more anxious during the interaction, as measured by self-report and coders' ratings.

In a related study, Vorauer et al. (1998, Study 2) found that the more Whites expected a First Nations interaction partner to view them as consistent with the stereotypes associated with their group (e.g., unfair, prejudiced, close-minded), the less they expected to enjoy an interracial interaction and the more they expected to have negative feelings during the interaction. Moreover, research suggests that Whites' perceptions regarding how they will be viewed in an interracial interaction can even have negative implications for their mental health. Specifically, the more Whites believed that their First Nations interaction partner perceived them in a stereotypical manner, the lower their self-esteem and self-concept clarity after the interaction

(Vorauer et al., 1998, Study 3). Together, these findings illustrate that Whites' beliefs that they might be viewed negatively by their interaction partners can have deleterious consequences for their affective experiences both in anticipation of, during, as well as after, interracial interactions.

B. WHITES' PREJUDICE CONCERNS: IMPLICATIONS FOR PARTNER

Given our relational approach to studying interracial interactions, it was important for us also to explore how Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced might impact ethnic minorities during interracial interactions. How might Whites' concerns with prejudice influence their ethnic minority partner's experiences during an interracial interaction? If the negative affect and cognitive disruption resulting from Whites' preoccupation with how they are being perceived is apparent in the interaction, then it is easy to imagine that ethnic minorities are likely to have a negative experience. It is also possible, however, that under certain conditions Whites who are concerned with appearing prejudiced will engage in strategies to facilitate a smooth interaction. Indeed, research finds that when individuals are aware that an interaction partner might perceive them negatively, they often pursue compensatory strategies designed to elicit more favorable responses from their interaction partners (Hilton & Darley, 1985; Ickes, Patterson, Rajecski, & Tanford, 1982; Swann, 1987; Swann & Ely, 1984; Swann & Read, 1981). Ickes et al. (1982), for example, illustrated that perceivers who were led to believe that a target who they would interact with was unfriendly, compared to perceivers without any expectations about the target, engaged in more affiliative behaviors (e.g., directed eye gaze, smiling, and laughing) during the interaction. More pertinent to this discussion, targets rated perceivers who had the unfriendly expectation as more trustworthy and sincere, as well as friendlier than perceivers who did not have any expectations. In addition, targets displayed more affiliative behaviors with perceivers who had the unfriendly expectations than perceivers without any expectations.

Whites who are concerned about appearing prejudiced during interracial interactions face an analogous predicament. Essentially, Whites who are concerned with appearing prejudiced have a negative expectation—they expect ethnic minorities to perceive them negatively. As a result, Whites may engage in compensatory strategies to counter those expectations, which, in turn, could result in their ethnic minority interaction partners having relatively positive perceptions and experiences. We tested the prediction that ethnic minorities would have more favorable impressions of Whites who are concerned with appearing prejudiced than Whites who are not concerned. In

the Shelton (2003) study described previously, Whites and Blacks engaged in a “get-to-know-you” interaction with one another in which they discussed four neutral and four racially sensitive topics. Recall that prior to the interaction half of the White participants were explicitly told to try not to be prejudiced. In addition to completing the anxiety measure noted before, participants indicated how much they liked their partner. Consistent with previous research on compensatory strategies, the Black participants in this study liked White partners who were instructed not to be prejudiced more than Whites who were not told to avoid prejudice (see also Wetzel, Blalock, & Bolger, 2004 for similar results).

1. Summary

Whites' concerns with prejudice can result in paradoxical findings for their own and ethnic minorities' experiences during interracial interactions. The evidence is clear that Whites' concerns with prejudice usurp their cognitive resources and negatively influence their affective states during interracial interactions. However, it may be necessary for Whites to be concerned with appearing prejudiced, to a certain level, because this concern can create a more pleasant atmosphere for ethnic minorities, at least as indicated by ethnic minorities' impressions of Whites. Moreover, these divergent experiences—that is, negative outcomes for Whites, but relatively positive outcomes for Blacks—could have only been revealed by a relational approach to the study of interracial contact.

C. ETHNIC MINORITIES' PREJUDICE CONCERNS: IMPLICATIONS FOR SELF

Ethnic minorities' concerns that others harbor prejudices against their group are likely to influence their affective, cognitive, and behavioral outcomes during interracial interactions. Indeed, recent research finds that placing ethnic minorities in a situation in which there is a heightened threat that they could be the target of prejudice negatively influences their affective reactions about an anticipated interaction, and their feelings about future interethnic interactions. Tropp (2003) led Latino and Asian-American participants to believe that they had been “randomly” assigned to have an interaction with a White student (confederate). Prior to the ostensible interaction, participants overheard a scripted conversation between the confederate and experimenter. Half of the participants heard the confederate tell the experimenter that he would prefer to switch partners because he would rather not interact with a Latino/Asian person. The other half heard the

confederate ask the experimenter about the length of the study because he did want to be late for class. Immediately after overhearing the conversation, participants completed an affective measure regarding the anticipated interaction and a questionnaire regarding their expectations about future interactions with outgroup members. Results revealed that ethnic minorities who overheard the confederate say he would rather not interact with a Latino/Asian person reported feeling more hostile and anxious about the anticipated interaction, and marginally less positive about interacting with outgroup members in general, compared to those who overheard the confederate make the race-neutral comment. Thus, these results suggest that the expectation that one could be the target of prejudice has negative implications for individuals' experiences in anticipation of interracial interactions.

In our research, we extended these findings to actual interactions, as well as to the behavioral consequences of being concerned that others harbor prejudice against one's group (Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005). With respect to affective outcomes, we expected to find results similar to Tropp (2003). With respect to behavioral outcomes, however, we expected to find a different pattern of findings. Similar to Whites who harbor concerns about appearing prejudiced during interracial interactions, we predicted that ethnic minorities who expect to be the target of prejudice would engage in compensatory strategies to deflect the negative expectancy. Specifically, we expected ethnic minorities who are concerned about being the target of prejudice to display more positive, socially engaging behaviors than those who are not concerned. Consistent with this idea, Miller and Meyers (1998) reasoned that stigmatized individuals are able to reduce the threat posed by prejudice by engaging in behaviors that enable them to achieve desired outcomes in spite of their stigma. Specifically, Miller and her colleagues found that obese women who were visible to their interaction partners (and, thus, vulnerable to prejudice) behaved in a more socially skillful manner, compared to obese women who were not visible, during interactions with normal weight individuals in order to prevent the interaction from being negative (Miller, Rothblum, Barbour, Brand, & Felicio, 1990; Miller, Rothblum, Felicio, & Brand, 1995). Thus, we predicted that although ethnic minorities who expect to be the target of prejudice will have negative affective experiences during interethnic interactions, this would occur in tandem with an increase in socially engaging behaviors, perhaps as a means to reduce the threat posed by the prejudiced tainted situation.

In our first study (Shelton et al., 2005), we examined how ethnic minorities' concerns with being the target of prejudice influence their affect during daily interactions with a White or an ethnic minority roommate. During the first week of the academic year, we invited ethnic minority freshmen to participate in a study on freshmen roommates and their college

experiences. Approximately half of our participants had a White roommate whereas the other half had an ethnic minority roommate, though we did not inform them that the study was about interethnic roommate interactions. The students attended an orientation session in which they completed a variety of questionnaires, including the Stigma Consciousness Scale-Race (Pinel, 1999), which assesses the extent to which individuals expect to be stereotyped because of their ethnicity. During the next 3 weeks, participants completed a daily questionnaire regarding the dynamics of their roommate interactions. On each questionnaire, participants responded to items that tapped into how much they liked their roommate (e.g., I feel less close/more negative toward my roommate today) and the extent to which they experienced negative affect (e.g., tense, anxious, frustrated) during their interactions and/or when they thought about their roommate.

We were also interested in how authentic ethnic minorities felt during their interactions with their roommate. Ethnic minorities who expect to be the target of prejudice are likely to be concerned that their behaviors are being perceived through the lenses of stereotypes. For example, the Black student who listens to rap music or the Mexican student who misses class may fear that his or her behaviors may be seen as stereotypical of their racial groups, rather than indicative of a personal preference. In essence, expecting others to harbor prejudiced beliefs about one's group may inhibit ethnic minorities from feeling comfortable presenting their true self during social interactions. In fact, one compensatory strategy may be to change oneself to fit in with one's White roommate so as not to be perceived in a stereotypical manner. To test this prediction, participants answered questions regarding how authentic they felt with their roommate each day (e.g., I felt I had to change myself to fit in with my roommate today).

Finally, based on previous research on compensatory strategies, we surmised that self-disclosure might be used by ethnic minorities who expect to be the target of prejudice as a means to facilitate harmony in social interactions. Indeed, self-disclosure has been found to promote relational harmony and positive affect within close relationships (Reis & Shaver, 1988). Ethnic minorities who expect to be the target of prejudice may use self-disclosure to facilitate smooth interactions with their White roommates. To test this idea, participants answered questions regarding how much they self-disclosed to their roommate each day (e.g., How much personal information about yourself did you disclose to your roommate today?). Disclosing information may also foster feelings of inauthenticity because individuals may feel that they can only select information that counteracts the stereotypes about their group.

As a whole, the results from this study were consistent with our predictions. We found that the more ethnic minorities expected to be the target of

prejudice, the more negative affect they experienced during interactions with a White roommate. However, the more ethnic minorities expected to be the target of prejudice, the less negative affect they experienced during interactions with an ethnic minority roommate. In addition, the more ethnic minorities expected to be the target of prejudice, the less authentic they felt during interactions with a White roommate but not with an ethnic minority roommate. Finally, the more ethnic minorities expected to be the target of prejudice, the more they self-disclosed during interactions with White, but not ethnic minority, roommates, reflecting, perhaps, the strategic employment of compensatory strategies. Unfortunately, inconsistent with our predictions, prejudice expectations were unrelated to how much participants liked their roommate, regardless of the roommate's ethnicity. Nevertheless, taken together, these findings suggest that ethnic minorities' prejudice concerns have negative implications for their affective experiences and views of the self during interracial interactions.

Conclusions drawn from this first study are tentative because of the limitations associated with correlational designs. In addition, the findings were limited to ethnic minorities who are dispositionally high in prejudice expectations. In a second study (Shelton et al., 2005, Study 2), we created a situation in which most ethnic minorities, regardless of their dispositional tendency, would expect to be the target of prejudice, then examined their behavior during, and affect after, an interracial interaction.

Specifically, we told participants that they would participate in two (ostensibly) unrelated studies. In the first study, participants read three short newspaper articles and answered questions about them. For half of the ethnic minority participants, two articles were prejudice-neutral and one article discussed pervasive prejudice and discrimination directed toward ethnic minorities. For the other half (i.e., control participants), two articles were prejudice-neutral and one article discussed pervasive prejudice and discrimination directed toward elderly individuals. After reading and answering questions about the articles, we asked participants if they would help us out with another study. We explained that the study was on first impressions and they would have a brief (10 minute) interaction with another participant who was down the hall and then complete some questionnaires about the interaction. After participants signed a new consent form, we took them to a new location where they met a White participant. The White participant had also read three newspaper articles prior to this interaction—the two neutral articles and the article about elderly prejudice. Immediately following the interaction, participants were taken to different rooms, where they completed several questionnaires.

Similar to the first study, participants indicated how much they liked their partner, how much negative affect they experienced, how much they enjoyed

the interaction, and how authentic they felt during the interaction. In addition, as a measure of compensatory strategies, participants indicated how socially engaged they felt they were during the interaction. In addition, we videotaped each participant separately and had coders, who were blind to the experimental manipulation, evaluate participants' verbal behaviors from the audiotape and nonverbal behaviors from the silent videotape of the interaction. For example, coders rated the extent to which participants leaned toward their partner, held their arms in an open/inviting manner, smiled, asked their partner questions about themselves, elaborated on their own thoughts/feelings, appeared engaged in the interaction, and talked. These behaviors have been found in previous study to facilitate smooth, harmonious social interactions. Consistent with predictions, compared to participants in the control condition, ethnic minorities who were primed to expect racial prejudice liked their partner less, experienced more negative affect, and felt less authentic during the interaction. In addition, as indicated by self-report measures as well as coders' ratings, ethnic minorities who were primed to expect racial prejudice were more socially engaged during the interaction than control participants.

Although the findings from Shelton et al. (2005) and Tropp (2003) provide converging evidence that ethnic minorities' prejudice concerns result in negative affective outcomes, Shelton (2003) found a different pattern of results. Black participants engaged in an interaction with either a White participant who they were told "might be prejudiced against Blacks" or with a White participant about whom they were provided with no expectancy. Contrary to her predictions, as well as the Shelton et al. (2005) and Tropp (2003) studies, the prejudice expectation manipulation had no effect on Blacks' level of anxiety. More astonishingly, Blacks reported that they enjoyed the interaction more when they expected their partner to be prejudiced than when they did not. However, coders' who rated Blacks' nonverbal behaviors indicated that Blacks who expected their partner to be prejudiced fidgeted more than Blacks who did not have this expectation. If fidgeting is interpreted as a sign of discomfort, as it often is in research on prejudice, then Blacks' "true" feelings in this study may be more consistent with the self-report findings from Shelton et al. (2005) and Tropp (2003). However, it is possible that Shelton's (2003) self-report findings may differ from the other two studies because of methodological differences (see section below on Methodological Considerations for additional issues). For example, it is possible that the specific expectation that one's partner is prejudiced combined with an actual interaction, as used in the Shelton (2003) study, increases enjoyment for Blacks during interracial interactions because it reduces uncertainty in managing the interaction. In the other two studies, the operationalizations involved general primes that prejudice is

pervasive in the world (Shelton et al., 2005) or an anticipated interaction with a prejudiced person (Tropp, 2003). Determining the condition under which ethnic minorities' prejudice concerns result in negative or positive implications for the self constitutes an interesting avenue for future inquiry.

D. ETHNIC MINORITIES' PREJUDICE CONCERNS: IMPLICATIONS FOR PARTNER

There are two types of reactions that Whites might have as a result of interacting with an ethnic minority who expects them to be prejudiced. First, Whites could consider the situation stressful, resulting in anxiety and discomfort. This stress may translate into Whites having negative experiences with ethnic minorities who expect them to be prejudiced. At first blush, this may seem like the most logical reaction. On further consideration, however, it becomes clear that the situation may not be too stressful for Whites who interact with ethnic minorities who expect them to be prejudiced. Recall that ethnic minorities who expect to be the target of prejudice often engage in strategies to create harmonious interactions. If their strategies are successful, then Whites may benefit and, ironically, have a more positive perception of interactions involving ethnic minorities who expect them to be prejudiced.

We set out to test the prediction that ethnic minorities' concerns with being the target of prejudice would yield positive affective reactions for Whites during social interactions (Shelton, 2003; Shelton et al., 2005). Consistent with our prediction, Shelton (2003) found that Whites experienced less anxiety when their Black partner expected them to be prejudiced compared to when their partner did not have this expectation. In addition, Whites enjoyed the interaction more when their Black partner expected them to be prejudiced compared to when their partner did not have this expectation. Similarly, Shelton et al. (2005, Study 2) found that Whites who interacted with an ethnic minority individual who was primed to expect racial prejudice liked their partner more, experienced less negative affect, and enjoyed the interaction more than Whites who interacted with an ethnic minority who was primed to expect prejudice against elderly individuals. Thus, as opposed to yielding a stressful situation for Whites and perpetuating intergroup tension, ethnic minorities' prejudice concerns can cause Whites to have pleasant experiences during interethnic interactions. This is most likely the result of ethnic minorities' positive engagement in the interaction—a compensatory strategy designed to undermine the likelihood of becoming the target of prejudice.

Related research on intergroup contact involving gender dyads suggests, however, that stigmatized individuals' prejudiced expectations can be

disruptive for intergroup interactions. Pinel (2002) had women, who were either high or low in stigma consciousness (i.e., dispositionally prone to expect to be the target of prejudice) work with males on a task in which they decided on a winner for a journalism prize. The women received information (ostensibly) from their male partner indicating that he was either sexist or nonsexist or received information irrelevant to their partner's attitudes. Participants made evaluations of the candidates for the prize. Next, they had the opportunity to read one another's evaluations and rate one another. Results revealed that women high in stigma consciousness who thought they were communicating with a sexist male rated the male's argument more negatively than women in the other conditions. Men who were working with women high in stigma consciousness who thought they were sexist, in turn, rated their partner's evaluations more negatively.

On the surface, these findings suggest that stigmatized individuals' prejudice expectations yield negative experiences for their partners—men provided the women with more critical ratings probably because they were upset—which contradicts our study as well as others' (e.g., Hilton & Darley, 1985; Miller & Myers, 1998). On further reflection, however, it appears that facets of Pinel's paradigm that differ in important ways from our own are responsible for the seemingly contradictory pattern of results. The women in Pinel's study never thought they were going to interact with their male partner, and the women in the sexist condition were led to believe that their partner had extremely unfavorable attitudes toward women. Given that women did not actually interact (nor did they anticipate interacting with their partner) and the cues in the situation were quite clear that their partners were sexist, it is not surprising that women high in stigma consciousness behaved in a negative manner toward their partners (as opposed to attempting to compensate in order to facilitate a smooth interaction). When participants expect that prejudice may be a possible, rather than a definite, factor in an interracial interaction, we believe that they are likely to adopt the compensatory approach, resulting in positive outcomes for their interaction partners.

1. Summary

By examining interracial interactions from a relational approach, it is clear to see that ethnic minorities' concerns with prejudice have implications for the self and partner during interracial interactions. The majority of research illustrates that prejudice expectancies result in negative affective experiences and perceptions for ethnic minorities' during interracial interaction. However, perhaps as a means of preventing the negative consequences associated with actually being a victim of prejudice, ethnic minorities who

expect to be the target of prejudice engage in intimacy building behaviors. Additional research suggests that Whites are sensitive to these behaviors and, in turn, have more positive affective experiences when they interact with ethnic minorities who expect to be the target of prejudice. Collectively, these findings show that the positivity of Whites' experiences during interracial interactions may, at times, rest on the shoulders of their ethnic minority interaction partners.

VI. Racial Attitudes and Interracial Contact

Prejudice reduction has been the primary goal of the majority of research on racial attitudes and intergroup contact. A review of that literature is beyond the scope of this chapter; however, we briefly highlight recent research exploring the link between interracial contact and prejudice reduction later (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). The research we selected is that in which researchers have focused on the perspectives of both Whites and ethnic minorities. Then we turn to what has been at the center of our research—the implications of racial attitudes for immediate, often subtle, experiences during interracial interactions.

In a recent longitudinal study of college students, van Laar, Levin, Sinclair, and Sidanius (2005) examined whether or not exposure to roommates of different ethnic outgroups improves Whites' and ethnic minorities' racial attitudes about and behaviors towards outgroups. Consistent with contact theory, van Laar et al. (2005) found that ethnic heterogeneity of roommate contact—living with individuals from a range of different ethnic groups—was positively related to intergroup attitudes and behaviors during the first year of college when students are randomly assigned to roommates. Specifically, for Whites, Asian Americans, Blacks, and Latinos, roommate ethnic heterogeneity increased positive affect toward all four ethnic groups, increased perceived competence in interethnic interactions, decreased anti-miscegenation attitudes, and tended to decrease symbolic racism. However, results revealed that for Whites and Blacks, exposure to Asian-American roommates resulted in negative intergroup attitudes and behaviors. Thus, in general, these data suggest that intimate interethnic contact that occurs in living arrangements can improve intergroup relations. The ethnicity of the individuals involved, however, may have unique effects that are important to explore.

In addition, accumulating evidence suggests that Whites' and ethnic minorities' racial attitudes negatively predict how frequently individuals interact and develop friendships with outgroup members (Ellison & Powers,

1994; Levin, van Laar, Sidanius, 2003; Pettigrew, 1997; Powers & Ellison, 1995). Using data from majority group members in four Western European countries, Pettigrew (1997) found that the Europeans who had more friends of another nationality, race, culture, religion, and social class were less prejudiced toward the minority members in their country. Similarly, Powers and Ellison (1995) found that close interracial friendships led to more positive racial attitudes among African-Americans in the United States. Both Pettigrew (1997) and Powers and Ellison (1995) used statistical analyses that demonstrated that the causal path from more interracial friendship to lower prejudice was stronger than the path from lower prejudice to more friendship. Building on this study, Levin et al. (2003) conducted longitudinal research with Whites and ethnic minorities to examine the friendship-prejudice link. They found that individuals who exhibited more negative racial attitudes at the end of their first year of college had fewer cross-racial friends during their second and third years of college, even after controlling for precollege friendships and other background variables. Additionally, Levin et al. (2003) found that individuals with more cross-racial friends during their second and third years of college exhibited more tolerant racial attitudes at the end of their fourth year in college, even after controlling for prior attitudes, precollege friendships, and background variables. Collectively, these studies illustrate the implications of interethnic interactions on racial attitudes from the perspective of both Whites and ethnic minorities.

A. WHITES' RACIAL ATTITUDES: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SELF

A large proportion of research on interracial relations has focused on Whites' racial attitudes (Fiske, 1998). Most relevant to our study on interracial interactions, scholars have focused on how Whites' racial attitudes shape the everyday experiences of Whites' affective, cognitive, and behavioral outcomes. Outgroup members, compared to ingroup members, often evoke a variety of negative emotions (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000), especially for individuals who hold negative racial attitudes. Consistent with this research, Vorauer and Kumhyr (2001) demonstrated the affective implication of Whites' racial attitudes for the self during interracial interactions. In this study, White Canadian participants, who varied in their racial attitudes, had a 15-minute "get-to-know-you" interaction with either another White Canadian or with a First Nations participant. Results showed that both lower- and higher-prejudiced Whites experienced more negative feelings toward the self (e.g., self-critical, angry at myself) and toward others

(e.g., angry at others, irritated with others) after interacting with a First Nations compared to a White partner. In addition, the researchers found that lower-prejudiced Whites experienced higher levels of positive affect (e.g., friendly, happy, satisfied) after interacting with the First Nations as compared to the White partner. Higher-prejudiced Whites' level of positive affect, however, was not influenced by their partner's ethnicity.

In our research, we explored how Whites' racial attitudes shape their cognitive performance after interracial interactions (Richeson & Shelton, 2003). Previous research has found that humans and animals suffer from cognitive impairments after being exposed to acute stressors (Cohen, 1980). Interacting with a Black person is considered to be a stressor for some Whites (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001), especially those who have little experience with racial minorities or more negative racial attitudes. We predicted that, similar to other stressors, interracial interactions should impair Whites' cognitive functioning. To examine this prediction, we had Whites with lower and higher levels of both explicit and automatic racial bias participate in either an interracial or intraracial interaction. Specifically, we told participants that the study examined "serial cognition," which focused on the effects of completing two cognitive tasks when there is a delay between them. First, participants completed the IAT as a measure of automatic racial bias. During the "delay" portion of the study, a White or Black experimenter videotaped the participants (approximately 5 minutes) providing their opinions on one race-sensitive and one neutral topic. Then participants completed the Stroop color-naming task, our measure of cognitive functioning.

Consistent with predictions, we found that Whites performed worse on the Stroop task after an interracial interaction compared to after a same-race interaction. Furthermore, Whites' racial attitudes (both explicit and automatic) predicted the extent to which they were impaired on the Stroop task after interracial interactions. That is, the more negative their attitudes toward Blacks, relative to Whites, the worse they performed on the cognitive task (Fig. 2).

In addition to influencing affective and cognitive outcomes, Whites' racial attitudes influence their spontaneous, nonverbal behaviors toward ethnic minorities during interracial interactions. Wilson, Damiani, and Shelton (1998), for example, demonstrated that Whites' implicit racial bias toward Blacks was correlated with their nonverbal behavior during a game equivalent to tic-tac-toe. Wilson et al. (1998) found that when playing a game of tic-tac-toe with a Black confederate, higher-prejudiced Whites were more likely to place the pencil on the table compared to handing it to the Black confederate. Although subtle, by placing the pencil on the table compared to handing it to their partner, Whites had less physical contact with their partner.

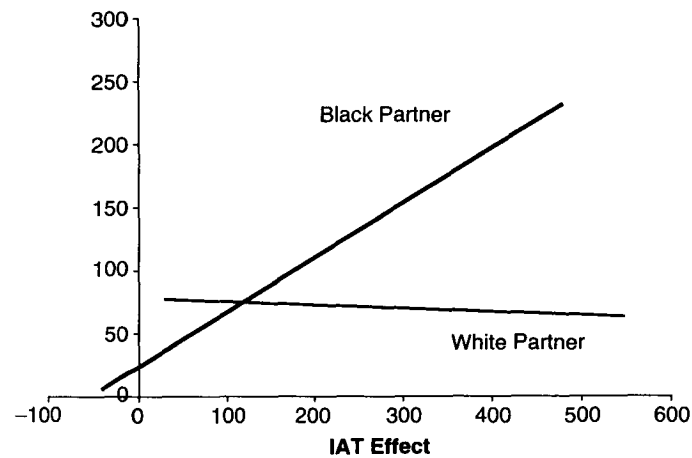


Fig. 2. Predicted Stroop interference as a function of race of interaction partner and implicit racial bias. Figure taken from: Richeson, J. A., & Shelton, J. N. (2003), when prejudice does not pay: Effects of interracial contact on executive function, *Psychological Science*, Blackwell Publishers.

Additional research on Whites' racial attitudes and behavioral implications for interracial interactions suggests that the distinction between implicit and explicit racial attitudes is important to consider. Implicit racial attitudes have been found to predict behaviors that people are relatively less able to monitor and control, whereas explicit racial attitudes have been found to predict behaviors that people are able to monitor and control. Consistent with the study of other researchers (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; McConnell & Leibold, 2001), Dovidio and colleagues have shown that Whites' implicit racial attitudes influence their nonverbal behaviors toward Blacks whereas Whites' explicit racial attitudes are unrelated to these behaviors. For example, Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, and Howard (1997) had White participants who varied in their racial attitudes interact with a Black and a White interviewer in a sequential manner. Coders rated participants' amount of eye contact and blinking, both of which are difficult to monitor and control, from the videotaped interactions. Results revealed that Whites higher in implicit bias toward Blacks, as measured by a response-latency priming technique, had lower levels of visual contact and higher rates of blinking with the Black compared to the White interviewer. Whites' explicit racial bias, as measured by McConahay's (1986) Old-Fashioned Racism and Modern Racism scales, however, was unrelated to these nonverbal behaviors. Instead, Whites' explicit level of prejudice was related to negative self-report judgments about the Black interviewer.

In similar research (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002), White individuals participated in two race-neutral discussions: one with a same-sex Black partner and the other with a same-sex White partner (both confederates). After each interaction, participants and confederates rated one another along traits related to friendliness (i.e., pleasant, cruel, unfriendly, unlikable, and cold). In addition, using these same traits, coders rated the White participants' nonverbal and verbal behaviors from silent videotape and an audiotape of the interaction, respectively. Consistent with previous research, Whites' implicit racial attitudes predicted nonverbal friendliness, such that Whites higher in implicit racial bias behaved in a less friendly nonverbal manner toward the Black compared to the White partner. Whites' implicit racial attitudes, however, were unrelated to their verbal friendliness toward Blacks. In contrast, Whites' explicit level of prejudice predicted verbal but not nonverbal friendliness. Whites higher in explicit racial bias had less favorable verbal behaviors toward the Black compared to the White partner. The distinction between the consequences of implicit and explicit racial attitudes becomes particularly important when studying interracial interactions from a relational approach. As we will illustrate more fully in a subsequent section of the chapter, the consequences of Whites' racial attitudes for their ethnic minority partner's experiences in the interaction may, at times, hinge on the distinction between implicit and explicit attitudes.

Although the aforementioned research demonstrates that Whites' racial attitudes are related to their affective, cognitive, and behavioral outcomes, recent research suggests that their attitudes may interact with evaluative concerns—general evaluative concerns and specific concerns with appearing prejudiced—to influence Whites' outcomes during interracial interactions. Towles-Schwen and Fazio (2003) found that among Whites who were highly concerned about acting prejudiced, those with more negative racial attitudes reported anticipating greater comfort interacting with Blacks than did those with more positive attitudes. As the researchers noted, it is feasible that these findings are the result of social desirability concerns. That is, Whites with relatively negative racial attitudes but who are also concerned with acting prejudiced may attempt to overcorrect for their attitudes by indicating that they would enjoy interacting with Blacks. Vorauer and Turpie's (2004) research, however, suggests that the reported comfort may be more likely than it appears on the surface.

Building on theory and research on choking under pressure, Vorauer and Turpie (2004) examined the implications of Whites' racial attitudes and evaluative concerns for the subtle behaviors expressed during interracial interactions. Vorauer and Turpie (2004) posited that evaluative concerns may result in a "choking effect" for lower-prejudiced Whites but in a

“shining effect” for higher-prejudiced Whites. Choking under pressure occurs when the presence of an evaluative audience causes individuals to become extremely self-focused, and this heightened attention to the self disrupts automatic, routinized responses, resulting in poorer performance than under normal circumstances (Baumeister, 1984; Lewis & Linder, 1997). Because of lower-prejudiced Whites’ egalitarian beliefs, their automatic response is to behave in a positive manner toward ethnic minorities. When evaluative concerns are high, however, these automatic responses are disrupted for lower-prejudiced Whites and it is harder for them to express positive behaviors toward ethnic minorities. When evaluative concerns are high, lower-prejudiced Whites are focusing on how they are coming across in the situation (e.g., Did I just say something racist? Did my comment sound sincere? Did I remember to smile when I greeted him?). As Vorauer and Turpie (2004) note, the heightened self-focus causes lower-prejudiced Whites to become more cautious and they begin to censor their comments and behaviors, which ultimately interferes with their ability to behave in a pleasant manner during the interracial interaction.

Vorauer and Turpie (2004) posit that higher-prejudiced Whites, by contrast, are less likely to have automatic, routinized positive behaviors toward ethnic minorities. As a result, evaluative concerns will not interfere or disrupt positive behaviors for higher-prejudiced Whites during interracial interactions. Moreover, because of external norms and pressures to behave in an egalitarian manner, evaluative concerns should encourage higher-prejudiced Whites to be extremely concerned with behaving in an unprejudiced manner. Thus, evaluative concerns, especially as they relate to issues of racial prejudice, should result in higher-prejudiced Whites expressing more positive behaviors, compared to their normal display of negative behaviors.

Consistent with predictions, Vorauer and Turpie (2004) found that among lower-prejudiced Whites, those with lower evaluative concerns displayed a similar number of intimacy-building behaviors with First Nations and White interaction partners. Lower-prejudiced participants with higher evaluative concerns, however, displayed fewer intimacy-building behaviors toward a First Nations, relative to a White, interaction partner. Among the higher-prejudiced Whites, those with lower evaluative concerns displayed fewer intimacy-building behaviors with First Nations, relative to White, interaction partners; whereas higher-prejudiced Whites with higher evaluative concerns displayed a similar number of intimacy-building behaviors with First Nations and White interaction partners. Taken together, these findings show that evaluative concerns can disrupt individuals’ automatic behaviors toward outgroup members, such that lower-prejudiced Whites appear less friendly and higher-prejudiced Whites appear friendlier than one would predict from their racial attitudes alone.

B. WHITES’ RACIAL ATTITUDES: IMPLICATIONS FOR PARTNER

Lower- and higher-prejudiced Whites do not exist in interracial interactions in isolation. As a result, it is important to examine the impact of Whites’ racial attitudes on the perceptions and experiences of their ethnic minority partner in the interaction. If ethnic minorities are attuned to the behaviors displayed by Whites, then they should have different perceptions of and experiences with lower- and higher-prejudiced Whites during interracial interactions. Research shows that this is indeed the case (Dovidio et al., 2002; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001).

Vorauer and Kumhyr (2001) examined ethnic minorities’ affective reactions and impressions of lower- and higher-prejudiced Whites during an interracial interaction. In this study, White Canadians had a 15-minute “get-to-know-you” interaction with either a White Canadian or a First Nations participant. Results suggested that First Nations partners experienced more discomfort (e.g., tense, frustrated, anxious) after interacting with a higher-prejudiced White individual, compared to a lower-prejudiced White individual. White participants did not feel more uncomfortable interacting with low- compared to high-prejudiced White partners. In addition, after interacting with a high-prejudiced White individual, First Nations partners experienced more negative self-directed affect (e.g., self-critical, annoyed at myself) than White partners did. After interacting with lower-prejudiced White individuals, by contrast, First Nations partners experienced less negative self-directed affect than White partners did. Although the researchers did not examine the actual behaviors of Whites during the interaction, these findings corroborate previous research that lower- and higher-prejudiced Whites behave differently during interracial interactions. More relevant to this discussion, the findings reveal that ethnic minorities are somewhat sensitive to these different behaviors and are influenced accordingly. However, being attuned to Whites’ behaviors did not lead ethnic minorities to label higher-prejudiced Whites as prejudiced or have more negative feelings toward them.

In similar research, Sekaquaptewa, Espinoza, Thompson, Vargas, and von Hippel (2003) examined whether Whites’ level of implicit stereotyping was related to their partner’s impression of them during an interracial interaction. In this study, White participants played a game equivalent to tic-tac-toe with either a White or a Black confederate. After the interaction, participants completed a measure of implicit stereotyping that assesses the extent to which individuals attribute Black counterstereotypic behavior to external forces (e.g., “Marcellus got a job at Microsoft because he knew someone there”) or internal traits or abilities (e.g., “Marcellus got a job at

Microsoft because he's good with computers"). In addition, after the interaction, the confederate rated his impression of the participant (e.g., I liked the participant), as well as the behaviors the participant exhibited (i.e., The participant looked at me in the eye, spoke to me before or during the game, and maintained a closed posture by crossing his or her arms). The ratings were combined to create a social interaction score. Results revealed that Black confederates rated their partner more negatively when Whites provided external attributions for Black stereotype-inconsistency, whereas they rated their partner more positively when Whites provided internal attributions for Black stereotype-inconsistency. By contrast, White confederates' perceptions were unaffected by the attributions that White participants made. Together with Vorauer and Kumhyr's (2001) study, these findings illustrate that Whites' racial attitudes and stereotypes do not go unrecognized by ethnic minorities during social interactions.

Consistent with this research, Dovidio et al. (2002) also found evidence that ethnic minorities are able to distinguish between low- and high-prejudice White interaction partners by focusing on nonverbal aspects of Whites' behaviors. Recall that Dovidio et al. (2002) found that Whites' implicit prejudice levels were related to observer ratings of Whites' nonverbal friendliness during an interaction. Although the Black confederates had access to both what the White participants said as well as how they behaved, Dovidio et al. (2002) found that Blacks' perceptions of the White participants' friendliness were driven by White participants' nonverbal, but not their verbal, communications. That is, Black confederates' friendliness judgments were correlated with observer ratings of Whites' nonverbal friendliness, but not with observer ratings of Whites' verbal friendliness. This finding suggests that Blacks may perceive Whites' verbal statements to be insincere, and, therefore, they focus their attention on Whites' nonverbal behavior. However, Whites' perceptions of their own friendliness were correlated with observers' ratings of their verbal, but not their nonverbal, friendliness. Consequently, Whites' perceptions of their friendliness were unrelated to Black' perceptions. Dovidio et al.'s (2002) findings underscore the benefits of taking a relational approach to studying interracial interactions. By examining the relationships among Whites' racial attitudes, their perceptions, and their behavior in tandem with Blacks' perceptions of lower- and higher-prejudiced Whites, one can immediately see that Blacks and Whites can easily have completely different experiences during interactions with one another. Given this reality, it becomes clear how interracial interactions can be fraught with communication problems, mistrust, and misperceptions.

Thus far, we have noted the implications of Whites' racial attitudes on ethnic minorities' feelings and thoughts during interracial interactions. As noted previously, Whites' racial attitudes can interact with evaluative

concerns to yield ironic effects on their behavior during interactions with outgroup members (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). Recall that when evaluative concerns are high, lower-prejudiced Whites are likely to exhibit fewer intimacy-building behaviors as compared to higher-prejudiced Whites. What are the implications of Whites' racial attitudes and their evaluative concerns for ethnic minorities' perceptions during the interaction?

If ethnic minorities are sensitive to Whites' behaviors, then they should have a less favorable impression of lower-prejudiced compared to higher-prejudiced Whites when Whites' evaluative concerns are high. We set out to test this prediction in our research (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005). In our study, White participants had a 10-minute conversation with another participant who was either White or Black. After the interaction, participants were taken to separate rooms where they rated how favorably they perceived their partner (e.g., How much do you like your partner?) and how engaged they perceived their partner to be during the interaction (e.g., How involved was your partner during the interaction?). In order to make Whites' evaluative concerns high during the interaction, we introduced three factors. First, immediately before the interaction, Whites completed the race version of the IAT. Research by Frantz, Cuddy, Burnett, Ray, and Hart (2004) suggests that completing the IAT can cause Whites to feel threatened about appearing racist. Second, at the beginning of the interaction, the experimenter told the participants to select a topic from a basket in order to facilitate the discussion. Unbeknownst to the participants all of the topics were identical: Discuss your opinions about race relations (e.g., Discuss your attitudes about racial profiling. How do you feel about affirmative action?). We surmised that the race-sensitive topic would cause Whites to monitor their comments and behaviors because they could appear prejudiced. Finally, we believed the presence of the other person as someone who could provide feedback to the participants during the conversation increased participants' evaluative concerns.

Consistent with predictions, we found that Blacks had a less favorable impression of a White partner with lower levels of automatic racial bias compared to a White partner with higher levels of automatic racial bias during an interracial interaction. By contrast, Whites' perceptions of their White partner were unrelated to their partner's automatic racial bias. Furthermore, Black participants perceived White participants with higher automatic racial bias scores more positively than White participants did, but White and Black participants' perceptions of lower-bias White interaction partners did not differ. Based on Vorauer and Turpie's (2004) findings, we predicted that this ironic effect of Blacks having a less favorable impression of lower-prejudiced Whites than higher-prejudiced Whites would be driven by lower-prejudiced Whites' relative disengagement during the interaction.

Consistent with our prediction, we found that Blacks perceived Whites with higher levels of automatic racial bias as being more engaged during the interaction compared to Whites with lower levels of bias. Moreover, the more Blacks perceived their White partners as being engaged during the interaction, the more positively they evaluated them. Blacks' perceptions of their White partners' engagement during the interaction mediated the relationship between Whites' automatic racial bias and Blacks' favorability ratings. Hence, when evaluative concerns are high, Whites' automatic racial attitudes may influence the dynamics of interracial interactions in ironic ways.

1. Summary

Research taking an individualistic approach to interracial interaction often focuses on prejudice reduction among Whites as the golden outcome of interactions. In contrast, research adopting a relational approach to interracial interaction focuses on how Whites' racial attitudes influence the immediate experiences of both Whites and ethnic minorities during interracial interactions. In general, this research shows that Whites' negative racial attitudes result in negative affective, cognitive, and behavioral outcomes for Whites during interracial interactions. Similarly, Whites' negative racial attitudes result in negative affective experiences and perceptions for ethnic minorities. Whites' evaluative concerns, however, may interact with their racial attitudes to result in ironic effects for Whites and ethnic minorities during interracial interactions, especially when evaluative concerns are high. With a relational lens researchers will be in a better position to predict, as well as understand, even these ironic outcomes.

C. ETHNIC MINORITIES' RACIAL ATTITUDES: IMPLICATIONS FOR SELF

Although the majority of research on racial attitudes and interracial contact has focused on Whites' attitudes, there has been a recent shift to examining ethnic minorities' racial attitudes (Brigham, 1993; Johnson & Leci, 2003; Monteith & Spicer, 2000; Stephan et al., 2002). In our research, we have been interested in examining the relationship between ethnic minorities' racial attitudes and their immediate experiences during interethnic interactions. We began by exploring the relationship between ethnic minorities' racial attitudes and the quality of their experiences with their close friends (Shelton & Richeson, in press, Study 1). We asked a sample of ethnic minority participants to answer questions about the quantity and quality of their interactions with either a close, same-sex White friend or a close, same-sex Black

friend. First, participants indicated how much contact they had with their friend (e.g., How often do you spend leisure time with this friend?). Next, they answered questions that tapped into the general quality of the interactions with the friend (e.g., Relative to all of your friendships, how stressful is this friendship?). Finally, participants indicated how comfortable they were discussing personal information (e.g., I feel comfortable talking about my worst fears) as well as race-related information (e.g., I feel comfortable discussing what it means to be an ethnic/racial minority). We assessed participants' racial attitudes by combining their responses from the General Evaluation scale and the Affective Prejudice scale as designed by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). Results revealed that the more negative ethnic minorities' racial attitudes, the less contact they had with their White friend compared to another ethnic minority friend. In addition, the more negative their attitudes, the less positive they described their contact with their White friend compared to with their ethnic minority friend. Moreover, the more negative ethnic minorities' attitudes toward Whites, the less comfortable they felt discussing both personal and ethnic-minority focused information with White friends.

In addition to examining the relationship between ethnic minorities' racial attitudes and voluntary contact experiences (i.e., friendships), we examined this relationship between attitudes and involuntary contact experiences. We were able to examine involuntary contact situations by exploring the dynamics of freshmen roommate interactions at the beginning of the academic year (Shelton & Richeson, in press, Study 2). To investigate this issue, we invited students to participate in a study examining freshmen roommates. Ethnic minority participants completed a racial attitude measure at the beginning of the semester; then, they kept a daily diary of the quantity and quality of contact experiences with their roommate during the first 3 weeks of school. The roommate was either White or ethnic minority and had been randomly assigned by the university. We found that among ethnic minorities who had a White roommate, those who had negative attitudes toward Whites avoided their roommate more often, felt less close to their roommate, and had less positive affect but more negative affect during interactions with their roommate. Moreover, there was a significant increase in how often ethnic minority students with negative racial attitudes avoided their White roommate, and a significant decrease in how close they felt to their roommate over the 3-week study period. As time went on, these students wanted less contact and felt less close to their roommate. None of these findings were reliable with ethnic minorities who had an ethnic minority roommate.

Taken together, these findings suggest that not only was there a negative relationship between ethnic minorities' racial attitudes and the quality of their roommate interactions, but some aspects of the relationship worsened

over time. In addition to these field studies, we have also examined the relationship between Blacks' racial attitudes and their interracial interaction experiences in the laboratory. In one study, Blacks engaged in a "get to know you" interaction with a same-sex White stranger (Shelton & Richeson, in press, Study 3). Consistent with our previous findings, we found that the more negative Blacks' racial attitudes, the less they liked their White partner and the less they enjoyed interacting with him or her.

Drawing on this result, and previous research examining cognitive outcomes for Whites after interracial contact, we explored whether Blacks' racial attitudes may predict negative cognitive outcomes for the self (Richeson, Trawalter, & Shelton, 2005). If Blacks with negative attitudes toward Whites enjoy interracial interactions less than Blacks with more positive attitudes, then they might be susceptible to the negative cognitive performance effect associated with exposure to acute stressors. In order to test this prediction, we randomly assigned Black participants to engage in a 6–8-minute interaction with either a Black or a White confederate. Participants completed the IAT as a measure of automatic racial bias before the interaction, and they completed the Stroop color-naming task to measure inhibitory control after the interaction. Consistent with predictions, the more negatively Blacks' racial bias toward Whites, the worse they performed on the Stroop task after the interaction with the White confederate. Racial bias was not predictive of Stroop performance after interacting with the Black confederate, however.

Collectively, converging evidence demonstrates that regardless of whether interethnic contact is voluntary contact with close friends, involuntary contact with first-year roommates, or involuntary contact with relative strangers, the more negative ethnic minorities' attitudes toward Whites, the less positive and the more cognitively depleting their interracial contact experiences.

D. ETHNIC MINORITIES' RACIAL ATTITUDES: IMPLICATIONS FOR PARTNER

Do ethnic minorities' racial attitudes negatively influence Whites' affective experiences and perceptions during interracial interactions? Unfortunately, our review of the literature uncovered only one study that has addressed this question. Specifically, as a first step to address this question, Shelton and Richeson (in press, Study 3) had White participants interact with a Black participant who varied in his or her level of negative attitudes toward Whites. Results revealed that Blacks' racial attitudes were unrelated to the

amount of negative affect Whites experienced, how much Whites liked their Black partner, and how much Whites enjoyed the interaction.

At first blush, we were surprised by these null findings. We assumed that, similar to the relationship between Whites' racial attitudes and Blacks' experiences, Blacks' racial attitudes would negatively influence Whites' experiences during the interaction. On further reflection, however, it is possible that because ethnic minorities encounter Whites on a regular basis that they would have discovered ways not to let their racial attitudes "leak" during their interactions in such a way that impacts their partner's experience. That is, ethnic minorities, even those with negative racial attitudes, may believe that in order to have smooth daily interpersonal interactions they must learn not to let Whites know how they feel. If this is the case, then this may explain why Whites were not influenced by ethnic minorities' racial attitudes. Perhaps ethnic minorities' negative attitudes will "leak out" when ethnic minorities are stressed or otherwise under cognitive load. Nevertheless, future research is needed to explore the stability of our null findings. It is possible that ethnic minorities' racial attitudes do impact Whites' affective and cognitive experiences during interracial interactions, but we were unable to detect the relationship in our study.

E. PARADOX OF DIVERGENT EXPERIENCES

When considering the impact of individuals' concerns with prejudice for the self and one's partner, the research suggests that these concerns can *sometimes* lead to divergent experiences during interracial interactions. Accumulating evidence suggests that both concerns about prejudice and racial attitudes can often lead to negative consequences for the self. However, these same concerns with prejudice do not necessarily yield negative consequences for one's partner. In fact, depending on the study, these concerns yield positive or negative consequences for, or have no effect on, one's partner. Thus, the evidence is consistent that interpersonal concerns with prejudice yield negative consequences for the self, but it is somewhat inconsistent regarding the impact of interpersonal concerns with prejudice for one's partner.

In our research, we have been particularly interested in the situations in which interpersonal concerns with prejudice result in Whites and ethnic minorities having divergent experiences in interracial interactions. What might account for these divergent experiences? As we have alluded to previously, self-regulatory processes are likely to account for at least part of the difference. We noted previously, for example, that ethnic minorities who expect others to harbor prejudiced beliefs about their group often engage

in self-regulatory processes to foster smooth interactions with Whites. Next, we provide concrete, experimental evidence to support the claim that individuals' concerns with prejudice are associated with self-regulatory processes, which may account for the divergent experiences Whites and ethnic minorities sometimes have during interracial interactions.

There is ample research to suggest that White individuals often rely on self-regulatory processes in order to avoid behaving in prejudiced ways (e.g., von Hippel, Silver, & Lynch, 2000). Monteith, Devine, and their colleagues (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002; Monteith, 1993; Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998; Monteith et al., 2002) have been at the forefront of suggesting that these self-regulatory processes are integral to the prejudice reduction process. Within the context of an interracial interaction, we have been considering the role of self-regulatory effort in the manifestation of many of the "effects for self" identified in this chapter. For instance, our data suggest that Whites with relatively high racial bias scores and/or Whites who harbor prejudice concerns engage in effortful self-regulation during interracial interaction, which is the actual culprit for the cognitive disruption effect.

In one demonstration of this link, we employed functional magnetic resonance imaging technology (fMRI) to measure the neural activity of a sample White students while they were presented with a series of photographs of Blacks and Whites (Richeson et al., 2003). On average, participants revealed heightened activity in areas of the brain that have been implicated in the exercise of control over automatic or otherwise dominant responses. In other words, the simple presentation of Black, but not White, faces was sufficient to trigger cognitive control—perhaps, as a way to control automatic emotional reactions to these targets. Furthermore, we had tested these same students on the IAT 2 weeks before the neural imaging session and were able to examine the extent to which this neural activity was modulated by racial bias scores. Indeed, racial bias scores were correlated with neural activity to Black, but not to White, faces. Specifically, the greater individuals' level of automatic pro-White racial bias, the greater the neural activity they revealed in these cognitive control regions. In other words, the brains of individuals with greater levels of racial bias seemed to be working harder to control their responses to the Black faces, compared to the brains of Whites with lower levels of automatic racial bias. The imaging results are interesting because they reveal the effort that some Whites engage in when evaluating, perceiving, and, perhaps, interacting with Black individuals (see also Eberhardt, 2005 for a review of research on race and neural imaging).

These neural imaging results also shed light on several of the behavioral studies that we presented previously. If higher-biased Whites are working particularly hard to negotiate interracial interactions, then they should be

relatively more cognitively depleted after the interactions. Indeed, this is exactly what we found (Richeson & Shelton, 2003). Furthermore, in our imaging study, we found that the individuals who were the most disrupted on a cognitive task after an interracial interaction, were the same individuals who revealed the most neural activity in cognitive control brain regions (Richeson et al., 2003). In other words, the same individuals who were "working harder" in the MRI in response to Black faces were also the most cognitively disrupted after interacting with a Black individual. Similarly, our finding that higher-biased White individuals seemed to be engaging in greater cognitive effort in the imaging study is consistent with the results of Shelton et al. (2005), wherein high-biased Whites were more engaged in the interaction compared to lower-biased Whites. And, furthermore, the efforts of these high-biased Whites were not in vain; their Black interaction partners preferred them to low-biased Whites. Taken together, this research suggests that self-regulatory processes may very well be linked to negative outcomes for the self, but those outcomes may come in the service of fostering a positive interaction for one's partner.

F. CREATING COMMON GROUND

When studying interracial interactions from a relational approach, it becomes clear that Whites' interpersonal concerns combined with ethnic minorities' interpersonal concerns produce a unique set of affective and behavioral results. It appears that ethnic minorities will have the most positive experience during interracial interactions when they are not concerned about being the target of prejudice, but their White partner is concerned about appearing prejudiced. The opposite is true for Whites; that is, Whites will have the most positive experience during interracial interactions when they are not concerned about appearing prejudiced but their ethnic minority partner is concerned about being the target of prejudice. When neither individual is concerned about issues of prejudice, the potential for each to have a positive experience may be undermined by their partner's relatively lukewarm (i.e., noncompensatory) behavior. Thus, interpersonal concerns with prejudice may cause interracial interactions to end up being a akin to the tragedy of the commons; individuals are better off if their partners are worried about how they are being perceived but if they, themselves, are not concerned with such evaluation.

This tragedy of the commons—what is good for one individual is not good for the other or the larger collective, in this case, the interaction—is disheartening. Is it possible for both Whites and ethnic minorities to simultaneously have pleasant experiences during interactions when, for example, Whites are

concerned about appearing prejudiced? Some recent research from our lab suggests that modifying individuals' goal pursuit strategies may offer a resolution to this disheartening paradox. Specifically, the regulatory focus that individuals adopt in pursuit of maintaining a nonprejudiced image may influence these divergent outcomes. Similar to the pursuit of any goal, Whites who are concerned with appearing prejudiced may enter interracial interactions with a promotion focus or a prevention focus. Individuals with a promotion focus approach desired end-states by engaging in goal-directed thoughts and behaviors, whereas individuals with a prevention focus avoid undesired end-states by avoiding, withdrawing from, and becoming vigilant to end-state relevant behaviors (Higgins, 1997; Higgins, Roney, Crowe, & Hymes, 1994). Pertinent to interracial interactions, research shows that the strength of individuals' chronic prevention focus predicts their tendency to avoid outgroup members (Shah, Brazy, & Higgins, 2004).

In the majority of studies dealing with Whites' concerns with prejudice, the experimental manipulations are likely to put participants in a prevention focus mindset (e.g., Whites were given explicit instructions to try not to be prejudiced; Whites were given feedback that they are prejudiced). These manipulations require participants to adopt a protective self-presentational style by placing emphasis on preventing the expression of prejudice, which, as we have shown, is related to negative cognitive and affective consequences for the self. But what would happen if Whites entered the interaction with a promotion focus? Would entering an interracial interaction with the goal of simply having a positive interracial exchange (as opposed to trying not to express prejudice) yield more positive cognitive and affective outcomes for the self? In addition, would Black partners continue to have positive outcomes? We began to address these questions by examining how a prevention, compared to a promotion, focus influences the cognitive consequences of interracial interactions (Trawalter & Richeson, *in press*).

In this study, a White experimenter asked participants to help create stimulus materials for a study examining race relations. The experimenter informed participants that they would be videotaped while discussing their opinions on several topics. In addition, all participants were informed that the researchers had noticed that interracial interactions seem relatively unfamiliar for students at the college and students therefore find it difficult to engage in them. Moreover, participants in the "prevention focused" condition were told, "It is important to the study that you avoid appearing prejudiced in any way during the interaction." By contrast, participants in the "promotion focused" condition were told, "It is important to the study that you approach the interaction as an opportunity to have an enjoyable intercultural dialogue." A control group was not given any instructions regarding how to behave during the interaction. Next, the experimenter led

the participants to a different room where they were asked to provide their opinions on several topics, including one race-sensitive topic (e.g., campus diversity), while being videotaped by a Black experimenter. The videotaping session lasted approximately 7 minutes. After this session, participants completed the Stroop color-naming task.

We found that Whites who were given the promotion focus instructions for the interaction performed better on the cognitive task than participants who were given the prevention focus instructions or no instructions. Moreover, Whites who were given no instruction performed just as poorly on the Stroop task as participants in the prevention condition, suggesting that a prevention frame is the default strategy with which Whites typically enter interracial interactions. These data suggest, furthermore, that if Whites are concerned about appearing prejudiced, it may be in their best interest (at least cognitively) to translate their concern into a goal that emphasizes approaching positive outcomes associated with interracial contact, rather than avoiding negative outcomes such as the expression of prejudice.

Additional findings provide some support that a promotion focus also enables Whites' interaction partners to have a pleasant experience during the interaction. Trained coders rated how uncomfortable participants appeared in the videotapes of the interactions with the Black confederate. Specifically, two White coders who were blind to participants' experimental condition rated how tense, uncomfortable, and relaxed (reversed) each participant was during the mid-most 20 seconds of the interaction. Consistent with the cognitive disruption results, participants in the promotion focus condition seemed relatively more comfortable during the interaction, compared to participants in either the control condition or the prevention focus condition. To the extent that participants' own comfort will be communicated successfully to their Black interaction partners, it is possible that shifting individuals' goal pursuit strategy may result in positive outcomes for both the self and the partner.² Consequently, these results are promising as

²Additional research, however, is needed to assess the extent to which Whites' comfort level will be communicated successfully to their Black interaction partner. Recall that Shelton (2003) found that although Whites who were instructed to try not to be prejudiced reported experiencing anxiety, their Black partner liked them, suggesting that Whites' anxiety was either not communicated during the interaction, not detected by their Black partners, or, perhaps, was interpreted as evidence of effort, interest, and/or concern rather than as reflecting negativity. In addition, it is important to keep in mind that naïve coders judged the comfort level of White participants in the study by Trawalter and Richeson (*in press*), and that these participants engaged in an interaction with an experimenter, whereas naïve Black participants gave their impression of their White participant interaction partners in the study by Shelton (2003). As noted in the section on Methodological Considerations, these differences could have significant influences on the results obtained.

they suggest that divergent experiences may not be the only option individuals face as they contemplate how to successfully negotiate interracial interactions.

1. Summary

The empirical research revealing these divergent experiences highlights the importance of studying interracial interactions from a relational approach. These divergent patterns would not have been as evident from research taking an individualistic approach. If only one side of the interaction is examined (e.g., how Whites' concerns with prejudice impact their experiences), then researchers may (erroneously) conclude that certain predictor variables (e.g., prejudice concerns) impact interracial interactions in a certain way (negatively). For instance, because Whites' concerns with prejudice are often associated with negative cognitive outcomes for the self, it is tempting to conclude that such concerns are necessarily damaging to interracial contact. Such a conclusion would be premature, and misleading in some cases, given what we now know about the positive outcomes ethnic minorities often experience during interactions with Whites who are concerned about appearing prejudiced. Furthermore, subsequent research designed to understand the conditions under which these divergent experiences are likely to arise will also require researchers to adopt a relational perspective on interracial interactions.

VII. Methodological Considerations

Conducting studies involving interracial interactions is difficult to do. In addition, as with most research topics, researchers use different paradigms to address their questions. In our review of the literature we have discovered three methodological factors that often vary across studies of interracial interactions that take a relational approach. These methodological differences are likely to play a role in researchers' empirical findings. As a result, we encourage researchers to consider these issues as they design their studies.

A. WHO IS INVOLVED?

It is important for researchers to pay considerable attention to who is involved in the interaction and who is coding the behaviors of the individuals participating in the interaction. When considering who is involved in the

interaction it is important to think about the ethnicity of the individual, or the person's stigmatized status more generally. When considering who is coding the behaviors of the individuals in the interaction it is important to think about whether the coders are naïve participants, naïve observers, or trained observers.

In the classic research on stigma and interactions, researchers often did not include stigmatized individuals in the studies. In some cases this occurred even when the focus was on how stigmatized individuals react to how others treat them. Instead, researchers created situations in the laboratory in which nonstigmatized individuals played the role of a stigmatized individual. For example, nonstigmatized individuals played the role of someone who had a facial scar (Kleck & Strenta, 1980), was physically disabled (Kleck, Ono, & Hastorf, 1966), homosexual (Farina, Allen, & Saul, 1968), or mentally disabled (Farina & Ring, 1965).

A similar methodology has been used in studies on interracial interactions. Instead of including ethnic minorities as participants or confederates, the researchers used Whites for what was considered an interracial interaction. For example, in a study on expectancies and interracial interactions, Chidester (1986) led White participants to believe they were having a phone conversation with either a White or a Black target. The target, however, was always White and unaware that the participant did not know his or her actual race. In addition, the classic study by Word et al. (1974), which we described previously, relied on a similar methodology. In Study 1, Whites interviewed Black and White confederates who were trained to be interviewees. Word et al. (1974) found that the White interviewers displayed less friendly nonverbal behaviors toward Black interviewees than toward White interviewees. Next, Word et al. (1974) trained White confederates to display either friendly or unfriendly nonverbal behaviors toward naïve interviewees in an attempt to understand how the nonverbal behaviors would influence the Black interviewees' performance in Study 1. Because of a priority on experimental control, the naïve interviewees in Study 2 were White. The results would have been even richer had naïve, Black interviewees been involved.³

The problem with not using ethnic minorities in interethnic interaction research is that Whites have little experience negotiating interactions as an ethnic minority. As Miller and Myers (1998, p. 198) noted, "It is perhaps not surprising that the nonstigmatized people who were the recipients of

³Word, Zanna, and Cooper originally planned to include naïve, Black participants in Study 2 (Zanna, personal communications). But, given the fact that there were so few Blacks at Princeton in 1974, it was virtually impossible to do so. The fact that Zanna and colleagues obtained their results with White participants is quite impressive.

prejudice-inspired behavior were at a loss to know what to do. They were being confronted, perhaps for the one of the few times in their lives, with what it is like to be stigmatized." Of course, it is possible that using stigmatized individuals as the actual targets in these studies would have produced similar results. Our research, however, suggests that this may not always be the case (e.g., Shelton, 2003; Shelton et al., 2005). Ethnic minorities, compared to most Whites, are quite adept at coping with being the target of racial prejudice. As a result, they often bring a host of coping strategies with them to interethnic interactions. We acknowledge the difficulty of recruiting ethnic minorities for psychological research. Nevertheless, we encourage researchers to do so because it is only with their inclusion that we will move closer to an ecologically valid understanding of interethnic interactions.

A second yet related issue to who is involved in research as participants is who is involved as observer and interpreter of participants' behavior during the interaction. There is a tradition in research on interracial interactions to examine how individuals' attitudes and motivations influence their verbal and nonverbal behaviors (e.g., Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Feldman & Donohoe, 1978; Rollman, 1978; Weitz, 1972; see Devine et al., 1996 for ambiguities associated with using nonverbal behavior as a measure of prejudice). When developing these studies, researchers need to give additional thought to who codes and interprets these verbal and nonverbal behaviors. Specifically, will the coders be the other individual in the interaction, untrained naïve observers, or trained observers? The distinction is important because the individual in the interaction and outside observers often have access to different pieces of information. Participants in the interaction often have access to both verbal and nonverbal behaviors whereas trained and untrained observers may only have access to one channel of the behavioral stream (e.g., audio, silent video, tone of voice). In addition, trained observers are often asked to focus on specific behaviors (e.g., number of eye blinks, eye gaze) performed by the individuals in the interaction, whereas interaction participants and naïve observers rarely focus on single behaviors. Similarly, naïve observers and trained coders are typically asked to assess the nonverbal behaviors of more than one participant, whereas the actual participants of studies typically only interact with one other individual, or sometimes two. Finally, participants in the interaction are (presumably) actively involved in the interaction whereas observers make judgments about the interaction from the perspective of an outsider.

There is mixed evidence regarding the extent to which the status of the coders (i.e., participants versus observers) makes a difference in how nonverbal behaviors are interpreted. Some evidence suggests that the verbal and nonverbal behavior ratings of participants involved in the interaction, naïve observers, and trained observers are highly correlated and have similar

predictive validity (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2002; McConnell & Leibold, 2001). For example, McConnell and Leibold (2001) had White participants engage in brief interactions, which were videotaped, with a White and a Black experimenter. Two trained observers coded the White participants' behavior in terms of molar judgments that assessed interaction quality (e.g., participants' friendliness) and specific social behaviors (e.g., number of smiles). In addition, the White and Black experimenters rated the White participants along similar behaviors after the interaction. McConnell and Leibold found that the trained observers' molar judgments were significantly related to the experimenters' molar ratings. In addition, the trained observers' and the experimenters' molar ratings were both predictive of the White participants' level of implicit racial bias. Thus, these results suggest that naïve participants and trained observers show reliable agreement in perceiving and interpreting Whites' nonverbal behaviors during social interactions.

By contrast, other evidence suggests that the verbal and nonverbal behavioral judgments of participants involved in the interaction, naïve observers, and trained observers are not always similar. Additional evidence by McConnell and Leibold (2001), for example, revealed that the experimenters' ratings of the White individual were only related to three of the specific social behaviors the trained judges made. The trained judges' molar ratings, however, were related to four completely different specific social behaviors. Specifically, the experimenters appeared to be sensitive to the extent to which the White participant faced him or her, how far away the participant sat, and how much time the participant talked during the interaction. The judges, on the other hand, appeared to be more sensitive to the openness of the White participant's arms, amount of eye contact made, amount of laughter at jokes, and extemporaneous social comments. Taken together, these findings suggest that naïve participants and trained observers are often focusing on different aspects of nonverbal behavior during interracial interactions. Additional research is needed to explore the predictive utility of ratings made by different types of observers for the vast array of important outcomes often examined during interracial contact studies. Nevertheless, these findings provide further support for the notion that it is important to think about the type of information one might be likely to glean from the judgments of participants themselves, compared to the perceptions of outside observers.

Finally, when researchers are interested in coding the nonverbal behaviors of individuals in interracial interactions, it is worthwhile to consider the race of the coders—be they trained or naïve observers. Recent research in our lab suggests that the race of the coder is an important factor (Richeson & Shelton, 2005; Rollman, 1978). We found that naïve, Black observers were significantly better at predicting White targets' racial bias than were White observers. Although training White and Black observers may have resulted in similar findings for both groups, this study suggests that, at the very least,

it may be worthwhile to include observers of both races when assessing nonverbal behavior in interracial interactions. The inclusion of Black coders, rather than just White coders, has been instrumental in research on Black mother-adolescent interactions (Campione-Barr & Smetana, 2004; Gonzales, Cauce, & Mason, 1996). For example, non-Black coders, compared to Black coders, are more likely to rate Black adolescent-parent interactions as containing more conflict and Black mothers as controlling (Gonzales et al., 1996). Taken together, these findings suggest that ethnic minority coders may bring an important perspective to the evaluation of both White and other ethnic minority individuals' behavior during interracial interaction.

B. WHAT ARE THEY DOING?

A second methodological issue for researchers to contend with when studying interracial interactions is: What are the individuals doing in the interaction? Why do the individuals think they are together? Will the interaction be unstructured or structured? The answers to these questions may make race salient and thus may play a role in shaping participants' experiences.

In unstructured interracial interactions, participants' spontaneous behaviors are assessed without experimental manipulations and little interference of task demands. Oftentimes in this paradigm two participants are left together at the beginning of the study because the research assistant is presumably running late or attempting to locate an ostensibly misplaced questionnaire. During this time, the interaction between the two participants is videotaped. Once the research assistant arrives, he or she informs the participants that the study is half over and the second part of the study consists of completing questionnaires. One of the key features of the unstructured dyadic paradigm is that participants do not think the study has started. The unstructured dyadic paradigm has not been used often in research on interracial interaction (see Ickes, 1984 for an exception). Instead, researchers typically rely on more structured interactions in which they give the participants something to do or discuss during the interaction.

In more structured interracial interactions, contextual factors are apt to have important implications on the quality of the interactions.⁴ One contextual factor that is particularly important is the likelihood that race will be

⁴It is possible, of course, for contextual factors to have important implications for the quality of unstructured, dyad interactions. One can imagine, for example, that an experimenter may leave two participants unattended in a room that is decorated in such a way to make race salient (e.g., ethnic minority art, music, etc.). However, to our knowledge this methodology has not been used in previous studies.

salient. Our review of the literature revealed that the extent to which race is made salient in interracial interactions varies widely across studies. In addition, the salience of race is operationalized in various ways. For example, race is made salient by informing participants that the researchers are explicitly studying interracial interactions or the participants are going to have an interaction with an outgroup member. Other ways race is made salient is by varying the topic of discussion questions given to participants (e.g., discuss affirmative action versus discuss your career goals), the comments made by ethnic minority confederates (e.g., confederates mention that he or she has been the target of ethnic discrimination), and the racial composition of the group when researchers move beyond dyadic interactions (i.e., solo status versus nonsolo status). When race is made salient in interracial interactions, individuals no longer feel and behave as individuals; instead, they become representatives of their racial group (Brewer & Miller, 1998).

The salience of race in interracial interactions may help explain why studies purported to assess similar ideas have produced different findings. This is evident in four recent studies in which researchers have examined Blacks' perceptions of Whites during interracial interactions. In these studies, the White individual completes an implicit measure of racial bias immediately before interacting with a Black individual. After the interaction, the Black individual completes a questionnaire that assesses his or her impression of the White person. In three of these four studies (i.e., Dovidio et al., 1997, 2002; McConnell & Leibold, 2002), the topic of discussion during the interaction was race-neutral (e.g., current dating issues) whereas in the other study (Shelton et al., 2005) the topic was race-sensitive (i.e., race relations in America). When the discussion topic was race-neutral, results revealed that the more Whites' implicit racial scores showed a bias against Blacks, the less favorably Black, compared to White, interaction partners perceived them. Ironically, however, when the discussion topic was race-sensitive, the results were the opposite—Blacks perceived Whites higher in implicit racial bias more favorably than lower-bias Whites. As noted previously, perhaps the sensitive nature of a racial topic caused Whites high in implicit racial bias to be more concerned about appearing prejudiced and caused them to engage in strategies to appear more favorable to their partner. Undoubtedly, many other factors contributed to these different findings. Nevertheless, the discussion topic, which caused race to be salient, is one factor that could account for the contrasting findings. As a result, it is important to take into consideration what participants are doing, particularly if it makes race salient, when designing interracial interaction studies.

In addition to the issue of whether race is salient during the interaction, researchers should also pay some attention to a few other aspects of the interaction context. For instance, what roles do individuals hold during the

interaction? Is there a power difference, and, if so, is it consistent with the typical roles that members of those groups tend to hold in society? For instance, how might the dynamics of the interaction differ between a White supervisor and her Black employee, compared to the dynamics between a Black supervisor and her White employee? Previous research finds that roles influence both automatic attitude activation (e.g., Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001; Richeson & Ambady, 2003) and collective self-esteem (Richeson & Ambady, 2001) during interracial interactions. Roles and status could also influence interracial interactions through the modulation of individuals' interpersonal concerns. For instance, Black supervisors may be less concerned about being the target of prejudice from their White employees, compared to their level of concern with fellow White supervisors, or with their own superiors in the organization. Indeed, research suggests that powerful individuals are less concerned about the feelings, experiences, and realities of their subordinates (e.g., Fiske, 1993; Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson, 2003). In a similar vein, the scripts that individuals have for the interaction may make them less likely to result in negative self-outcomes, insofar as social scripts typically allow for behavior to proceed rather effortlessly (Schank & Abelson, 1977). To the extent that some of the compensatory strategies become automated for individuals, perhaps through practice, or the context itself provides clear guides for appropriate behavior, individuals should find interracial contact less cognitively and emotionally exhausting.

C. HOW LONG IS THE INTERACTION?

Finally, researchers should not take lightly the length of the interaction when they design their studies. In some studies, the interactions have been brief (e.g., 3 minutes; Dovidio et al., 2002; McConnell & Leibold, 2001) whereas in other studies they have been considerably longer (e.g., 10–15 minutes; Shelton et al. 2005; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). The length of the interaction is likely to impact individuals' behaviors. For example, in our research we have found that individuals' concerns with prejudice cause them to engage in relatively positive, intimacy building behaviors during the interaction. Our interactions, however, tend to be 15 minutes or shorter. The same individuals may become fatigued in longer interactions, which, in turn, could reduce their ability to engage in intimacy building behaviors.

In addition, the length of the interaction impacts the amount of information that is available to individuals, which, in turn, can influence individuals' perceptions of the interaction. Remarkably, Richeson and Shelton (2005) found that naïve Black observers were quite accurate in predicting the explicit racial bias scores of Whites during a brief 20-second silent interaction in

which, unbeknownst to the Black observers, the White target was engaged in an interracial interaction. Similarly, Dovidio et al. (1997, 2002) found the number of nervous nonverbal behaviors displayed by Whites during a 3-minute interracial interaction was related to their level of implicit racial bias (for similar findings see Fazio et al., 1995; McConnell & Leibold, 2001). These findings are quite impressive because they reveal that a lot of information about someone can be leaked and detected in a short time frame (Ambady, Bernieri, & Richeson, 2000). One might assume that a longer interaction might yield even stronger findings. Vorauer and Kumhyr (2001), however, found that ethnic minorities who interacted with a White partner for 15 minutes were unable to detect the explicit prejudice levels of the White individual. It is possible that the more time available provides individuals with information that may counter, or even cloud, their initial impression.⁵ In relatively long interactions, individuals may stop viewing outgroup members through the lenses of the group stereotypes, and start viewing them more as individuals.

Evidence from person perception research suggests that the time course of an encounter with outgroup members can have implications for the extent to which stereotypes are activated and applied to individuals (Kunda, Davies, Adams, & Spencer, 2002). Research finds that exposure (even as minimal as 15 seconds) to outgroup members can automatically activate stereotypes associated with the group (e.g., Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Chen & Bargh, 1997; Macrae, Bodenhausen, & Milne, 1995). If applied to the outgroup member, the spontaneous activation of the stereotypes is assumed to have dire consequences for interracial interactions. Kunda et al. (2002) report, however, that with prolonged exposure to an outgroup individual (12 minutes as opposed to 15 seconds) the activated stereotypes dissipate. If the stereotypes have faded away, they are not likely to influence judgments of outgroup members. In other words, it may be inappropriate to extrapolate from brief, initial segments of an interaction to longer slices of the behavioral episode.

Undoubtedly, however, as Kunda and her colleagues note, there are apt to be contextual factors that reactivate the stereotypes, which may cause problems during interracial interactions (Kunda & Spencer, 2003). For example,

⁵Alternatively, it is possible that the difference between the studies could be because Vorauer and Kumhyr focused on participants' perceptions of an interaction partner, rather than experimenters' or outside observers' judgments. Furthermore, unlike the Vorauer and Kumhyr study, most of this other work relied on experimenters' or observers' ratings of nonverbal behaviors associated with prejudice rather than simply making prejudice judgments (but see, again, Richeson & Shelton, 2005). This latter issue suggests that another methodological factor to consider is how judgments of prejudice are operationalized and assessed. See Devine et al. (1996) for further discussion on this issue.

a change in conversation from a race-neutral to race-sensitive topic could trigger the activation, and perhaps application, of stereotypes during a long interracial interaction. What is of most importance to our consideration of the length of the interaction, however, is that individuals' perceptions of and behaviors during brief (less than 3 minutes) interracial interactions may differ from their perceptions of longer (10 minutes or more) interracial interactions. In other words, the amount of time participants spend interacting with someone may be influential to the perceptions and judgments those individuals make about their interaction partners, and, possibly, their feelings about the interactions themselves.

Although we have discussed these methodological factors—who is involved, what are they doing, and the length of the interaction—separately, they often covary across studies. This, of course, makes it difficult to make a clean comparison across studies to determine how each factor may independently influence the results. Thus, we are far from a complete understanding of how these factors influence the subtle dynamics of interracial interactions, and hope that this chapter inspires additional research on the theoretical implications of these methodological considerations for studies of interracial contact.

VIII. Suggestions for Future Directions

Social psychologists have only started to scratch the surface in understanding the dynamics of interracial interactions from a relational approach. Although this approach will shed additional insight into the nature of prejudice, considerable work remains ahead of us. In the following sections we present three points to guide future research.

A. BOUNDARY CONDITIONS

One important avenue for future research is to identify the boundary conditions of the self-regulatory efforts Whites and ethnic minorities employ in order to facilitate pleasant interracial interactions. Two variables that are apt to be important are individuals' levels of (1) motivation and (2) self-efficacy. Whites and ethnic minorities must be motivated to engage in self-regulatory behaviors and believe that they have the skills to do so. In contexts or situations in which the stakes are low, participants may not be motivated to engage in self-regulation. For instance, during an encounter with a retail sales clerk, Black individuals who are concerned about being the

target of prejudice may not engage in self-regulatory efforts with the sales clerk, but, instead, simply exit the situation by leaving the store. The same individuals, however, may engage in compensatory behaviors out of concern about being the target of prejudice during a job interview. Furthermore, even if individuals are motivated to do something to foster a positive interaction, they may not have the skills to successfully engage in compensatory behaviors. For instance, a White individual may want to dispel his Black interaction partner's concerns that he is prejudiced but may not know how to do so. Under these circumstances, the White individual may choose a different coping mechanism, such as behaving in an avoidant, distant manner, remaining completely inactive, or exiting the interaction all together (Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen, & DeLongis, 1986; Miller & Kaiser, 2001). Unfortunately, these forms of coping are likely to be interpreted as prejudice by the Black partner.

Furthermore, in order for individuals to engage in self-regulatory efforts during interracial encounters, they must believe that using such behaviors could result in the desired outcome—a harmonious interethnic encounter (see Plant & Butz, 2004 for a similar discussion). If, for instance, the Black individual in an interracial interaction feels that there is nothing she can do to dispel her White interaction partners' stereotypical perceptions of her, and/or the White partner feels that she will not be able to convince the Black person that she is not prejudiced, then both individuals are unlikely to engage in compensatory, self-regulatory effort to foster a smooth interaction. Indeed, it is likely that both individuals would engage in rather negative nonverbal, if not verbal, behavior, yielding a relatively unpleasant encounter for both. Exploring the conditions under which individuals are motivated and feel able to successfully negotiate interracial interactions, coupled with the outcomes of those interactions for both White and ethnic minority individuals, may be a fruitful approach to explaining the divergent outcomes and experiences of interracial contact currently found in the literature.

B. RECIPROCAL DYNAMICS

Few studies have addressed how prejudice concerns and beliefs from the perspective of both Whites and ethnic minorities *simultaneously* influence the dynamics of interracial interactions. Under what conditions might the interpersonal concerns and attitudes of Whites override those of ethnic minorities, and vice versa? Considering both Whites' and ethnic minorities' concerns in tandem may clarify the conditions under which interpersonal concerns result in positive or negative affective, cognitive, and behavioral consequences.

In addition, researchers should examine if the similarities and differences regarding Whites' and ethnic minorities' interpersonal concerns and racial attitudes yield meaningful differences for the dynamics of interracial interactions. For example, at the beginning of the chapter, we suggested that Whites' interpersonal concerns with prejudice are self-focused whereas ethnic minorities' interpersonal concerns with prejudice are both self- and other-focused. Future research might address if this distinction has different implications for the dynamics of interracial interactions. For example, what would be the affective and behavioral implications of Whites being both self- and other-focused in interracial interactions? Does this distinction between Whites' and ethnic minorities' foci have different affective, cognitive, and behavioral implications for the self and other during interracial interactions? Exploring the meaningful distinctions in Whites' and ethnic minorities' racial concerns and attitudes may be critical to understand why Whites and ethnic minorities sometimes have divergent experiences in interracial interactions.

C. TEMPORAL FACTORS

To date, our research, as well as the work of other researchers in this area, has focused on outcomes measured either in anticipation of, during, or after, an interracial interaction. One idea for future direction is for researchers to assess the temporal dynamics of interracial interactions as they occur in real time. Researchers could examine how Person A's behavior at Time 1 influences Person B's behavior at Time 2, which, in turn, influences Person A's behavior at Time 3. More concretely, researchers could examine the degree to which Whites' concerns with prejudice dissipate during the course of an interaction because of ethnic minorities' nonverbal behaviors. Perhaps Whites' concerns with appearing prejudiced at Time 1 lead ethnic minorities to display positive nonverbal behaviors at Time 2, which, in turn, lead Whites to be less concerned about appearing prejudiced at Time 3. By illustrating the ebb and flow of a single interracial encounter, this type of assessment would contribute greatly to the development of a nuanced, relational model of interracial interactions.

D. FINAL THOUGHTS

In this chapter, we offered a conceptualization of interracial interactions that illuminates the value of focusing on participants' interconnectedness. Looking beyond person perception, contemporary perspectives are beginning to

consider how meta-perceptions—which are inherently relational—transform individuals' judgments about and experiences during interracial interactions. In addition, by exploring identical issues regarding interracial interactions from the perspectives of both Whites and ethnic minorities, one can reveal the true complexity and dynamic nature of interracial interactions.

By examining interracial interactions from a relational approach, we do not contend that research that has utilized a more individualistic approach is flawed or unnecessary. Nor do we mean to minimize the significance of research based on an individualistic approach. In fact, we acknowledge that the study of prejudice, stereotyping, and intergroup relations has made great conceptual and empirical progress while relying almost exclusively on an individualistic approach. Instead, we regard the relational approach as complementary to, and building on, research from an individualistic approach. Moreover, we hope that approaching interracial interactions from a relational perspective will spark a number of theoretical and empirical advancements that will be fruitful in providing important insights about intergroup relations.

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