STRATEGIES FOR NEGOTIATING RACE IN DIVERSE CONTEXTS

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ABSTRACT

In the continental U.S., individuals adopt strategic colorblindness and avoid talking about race. However, in racially diverse contexts social norms may encourage a more pluralistic approach to race, and individuals may be more willing to acknowledge race. Across five studies we examine what race-relevant strategies those in a racially diverse context (Hawaiʻi) utilize. In Study 1, we naturalistically examine how often individuals acknowledge race and their comfort in doing so via an experience sampling method. In Studies 2 & 3 we demonstrate that Asian and White participants in a racially diverse context (Hawaiʻi) overwhelmingly use race during a task where acknowledging race facilitates task performance. In Study 4 we find strong endorsement of colorblind norms for participants in majority-White contexts as compared to those in majority-minority (e.g., racially diverse) contexts. Lastly, in Study 5 we demonstrate that when race-relevant norms such as colorblindness are made salient, participants in a racially diverse context (who typically acknowledge race) shift their behaviors to align with colorblind norms (e.g., activating a colorblind norm relates to a greater hesitancy to acknowledge race). These results highlight race-relevant strategies that may persist in racially diverse contexts and the norms that perpetuate these strategies.

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Introduction

The best way to tackle issues concerning race is debated heatedly in contemporary U.S. society. Should we ignore or acknowledge race? And what approach (if any) actually promotes equality and reduces inequities? Two prominent approaches to diversity have emerged in the literature: colorblindness and multiculturalism. Colorblindness—an approach to managing diversity that argues that equality is best gained by deemphasizing intergroup distinctions and considerations—is a pervasive approach used in U.S. society (Apfelbaum, Norton, & Sommers, 2012; Plaut, 2010). However, this prevailing ethos to not "see race" may not achieve its stated goal of decreasing racial injustice. Adopting colorblindness has been found to result in numerous negative consequences, including greater racial bias and interpersonal discrimination among White individuals (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008b; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004), failure to recognize racial discrimination in school settings (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010), justification of group-based inequalities (Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, & Chow, 2009; Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008), and lower psychological engagement among minorities (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). In contrast, multiculturalism—an approach that argues that equality is best gained by acknowledging and valuing group differences—has emerged as viable alternative approach (Plaut, 2010; Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Adopting multiculturalism can lead to less racial bias and greater positivity towards outgroup members among White individuals (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005; Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009), and greater workplace engagement and institutional trust among minority individuals (Plaut et al., 2009; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008). However, multiculturalism has also been linked to more stereotyping among both racial majority and racial minority individuals (Ryan, Casas, & Thompson, 2010; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007; Wolsko, Park,

Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000), greater ingroup bias among minorities (Wolsko Park, & Judd, 2006), and can lead Whites to feel excluded and threatened (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). Given these mixed findings regarding the impact of multiculturalism on intergroup outcomes, it is important to understand if people utilize alternative approaches to successfully navigate race-related issues and how these approaches relate to intergroup outcomes. Notably, past research on diversity approaches has been conducted in primarily majority-White environments. The current dissertation aims to explore what approaches people use in more diverse (majority-minority) environments. Exploring approaches used in diverse environments may help to reveal alternative diversity approaches (beyond colorblindness and multiculturalism) that people use to navigate race-related issues.

Using a social psychological lens, the current studies focus on individuals' approaches to navigating race. Specifically, how do individuals talk about and utilize race? To gain an accurate sense of individuals' experiences in a more diverse environment, this dissertation will utilize a multi-method approach comprised of lab-based interaction studies, experience sampling, and survey methods to measure participants' everyday exposure to diversity and how they choose to interact with diverse others. In an effort to highlight strategies people use in a racially diverse context, we utilize samples from majority-minority contexts. For the purposes of this dissertation, I examine behaviors and endorsement of race-relevant strategies in Hawaiʻi and California. By examining when people 1) acknowledge race, 2) utilize race, and 3) interact with diverse others in a highly diverse environment, such as Hawaiʻi, this research will contribute to increased understanding of how racial diversity influences intergroup relations.

Hawaiʻi—a Peek Into a Racially Diverse Context

As the U.S. population becomes more racially and ethnically diverse, in the near future, Whites will no longer be in the majority. This research aims to examine a uniquely diverse environment—Hawaiʻi—that serves as a window into how intergroup relations may function as the U.S. population becomes more racially diverse. Studying Hawaiʻi's population will help inform our understanding of how diversity approaches may function in an environment where Whites do not comprise the majority (U.S. Census, 2012). Furthermore, the present research aims to unpack the daily experience of living in such a diverse environment and its potential benefits (or drawbacks). Finally, Hawaiʻi's population includes the largest proportion of Native Hawaiians and those identifying as mixed race in comparison to the rest of the U.S. (U.S. Census, 2012). Studying this population will allow us to assess diversity approaches and their relation to racial attitudes in a racially and ethnically diverse sample that has long been overlooked in psychological research.

Hawaiʻi is uniquely appropriate to examine as a racially diverse context because it boasts no clear racial majority in its demographic. Asians are the largest racial group at about 38% of the population, with Whites following behind at around 27%, and those who identify with more than one race at a staggering 23% (Colby & Ortman, 2014). Anglo migration and settlement that expanded sugar plantation production in Hawaiʻi promoted the importation of cheap labor forces. This included individuals from numerous places including, but not limited to, China, Okinawa, Korea, Puerto Rico, Philippines, and Portugal (Grant & Ogawa, 1993). The plantation society forced cultural blending of Native Hawaiian and immigrant groups, resulting in a new type of culture (i.e., local identity), in which Hawaiʻi's residents took ethnic traditions from a variety of different identities to form new norms and traditions that transcend ethnic group membership

(Grant & Ogawa, 1993). This cultural blending has led to Hawaiʻi's racially diverse demographic, high rates of interracial marriages, and a large multiracial population. Although there certainly may be aspects of this context that are not representative of racially diverse contexts more generally (as discussed in the limitations section), exploring Hawaiʻi as one example of a racially diverse context can provide insight into how intergroup relations may operate in a context that is majority-minority and in which people are exposed to greater racial diversity (including a large proportion of multiracial individuals).

In fact, research has already demonstrated that exposure to the racially diverse context of Hawaiʻi might foster more flexible beliefs about race and reduced stereotyping (Pauker, Carpinella, Meyers, Young, & Sanchez, 2017; Pauker, Xu, Williams, & Biddle, 2016). In a sample of 4-11-year-old children, older children in Hawaiʻi did not increase in their outgroup stereotyping or think about race as an immutable trait to the same extent as their counterparts in Massachusetts (Pauker et al., 2016). Similarly, other research has found that White adults who had recently moved to Hawaiʻi, increased in their flexible beliefs about race over the first year of living in Hawaiʻi and those whose beliefs about race changed the most also exhibited reductions in prejudice (Pauker et al., 2017). Particularly, this effect was found for White individuals who developed a more racially diverse network of acquaintances over the course of a year, suggesting that greater opportunity to associate with racially diverse others has positive benefits for race relations (Pauker et al., 2017). Hawaiʻi's racially diverse context may foster greater interactions with racially diverse others, and subsequently, friendships, that contribute to varied development in conceptions of race. Holding these more flexible conceptions of race may have important implications for intergroup dynamics more broadly. By further examining intergroup behaviors

in this racially diverse context, we may be able to better understand if these contextual effects also persist to impact race-related behaviors.

Recognizing Racial Diversity as a Contextual Factor

Racially diverse contexts, such as Hawaiʻi, will become increasingly important to understand in the near future due to the shifting demographics of the U.S. population. Changes in America's racial demographics over a hundred-year span (from 50 years ago until 50 years in the future) show a dramatic shift in racial diversity. In 1965, a staggering 84% of our population identified as White, and comparatively in 2015 it has declined to about 62% (Pew Research Center, 2015). More importantly, in 2065, the White population is projected to drop to 46%, with no race or ethnicity holding a majority status (Pew Research Center, 2015). The implications of being in a context where White individuals no longer hold majority status remain a mystery. While social psychology has begun to unravel social processes and behaviors cross-culturally and within international contexts, there is a gap in understanding how U.S. society will deal with such a large racial demographic shift. Specifically, how will the change from a majority-White population to a majority-minority population affect intergroup relations?

In order to better understand the gap in the existing literature about racial diversity, first we must examine the current state of knowledge surrounding racial diversity. Although within the past fifteen years, racial diversity, broadly defined, has become an increasingly popular research topic, most of the current understanding of how racial diversity impacts intergroup relations has been developed within majority-White contexts. A *PsycInfo* search on the term "racial diversity" yielded 119 hits for publications in 2000. This number has risen over 200% in the past 15 years with 388 hits for publications in 2015. Much of this research has explored

reactions to diversity initiatives and ideologies (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2016; Kaiser, et al. 2013; Norton & Sommers, 2011; Plaut et al., 2011; Rattan & Ambady, 2013), but limited research has focused on racial diversity as a contextual factor, such as examining how being in a racially diverse setting may influence intergroup behaviors and attitudes. However, research in this area is still limited to research conducted within a majority-White context with primarily White participants. In the following section I address how the field of social psychology has previously examined racial diversity. Overall, racial diversity has primarily been examined in a majority-White context, typically lacks minority perspectives, and rarely examines majority-minority contexts.

Impact of racial diversity on majority members (in majority-White contexts). Even within research on intergroup relations, which inherently involves examining more than one racial group, researchers have focused on conducting research in majority-White contexts with White as the ingroup and Black as the outgroup of primary interest. As U.S. society grows more diverse, it is important to understand how racial *diversity* may influence intergroup behaviors and attitudes (Pew Research Center, 2015). By racial diversity, I do not simply mean how exposure to one outgroup (e.g., Black individuals) affects White individuals' intergroup behaviors and attitudes. By racial diversity I mean the social context, such that the racial demographics of the context is comprised of many different groups, rather than being comprised of a single group or primarily comprised of a single group. Indeed, studies of race relations in the U.S. have primarily focused on the specific dynamic of White and Black individuals situated within racially homogenous (i.e., primarily White) contexts. This limited scope in understanding how interactions with diverse others impact intergroup relations will only hinder abilities to adapt to the impending dramatic shift in the U.S. population.

The research that has been conducted on the impact of increasing racial diversity on intergroup relations, has primarily examined White individuals' reactions to learning about upcoming shifts to the U.S. population. Specifically, how do White individuals react to the prospect of losing their majority status? Research on White individuals' response to the loss of their majority status has revealed that this loss has negative ramifications for both their own well-being and their attitudes towards diverse others (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Danbold & Huo, 2014). For example, Craig and Richeson (2014) showed that when given information about a hypothetical shift in the U.S. population from majority-White to majority-minority, White individuals responded more negatively towards minority groups (e.g., Black, Asian, and Latino individuals) and expressed more pro-White/anti-minority bias. Similarly, much of the other research that has been conducted in this area has manipulated racial diversity via scenarios or projections of what our social context might look like. Considering that we are at the tipping point of when we will transition to a majority-minority society, it will become even more important to investigate how this shifting racial context impacts intergroup relations, both in terms of potential negative and positive ramifications.

One area in intergroup relations that has primarily focused on majority members' experiences has been research on intergroup contact. The "contact hypothesis", which purports that intergroup contact is one of the best ways to improve intergroup relations, has been investigated thoroughly in social psychological research in efforts to improve race-relations (Allport, 1954; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Indeed, a meta-analytic review of the intergroup contact literature demonstrated that higher levels of contact are associated with lower levels of prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). While the "contact hypothesis" has many stipulations for ensuring

positive intergroup contact, such as development of intergroup friendships and opportunity for contact, a large boundary to acquiring contact may be intergroup anxiety. Intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) might develop based on the anticipated negative consequences from intergroup interactions, such as being perceived as prejudiced. Furthermore, intergroup anxiety is associated with numerous negative outcomes such as intergroup bias, outgroup derogation, and outgroup homogeneity (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996; Islam & Hewstone, 1993). There has been a plethora of research on how to mitigate and ease intergroup anxiety, most of which involve improving and increasing outgroup contact such as having cross-race friendships and positive contact with outgroup members (Page-Gould, 2012; Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008; Stephan, 2014).

While some of the findings in the intergroup contact literature do extend to non-White individuals and their experience of anxiety and quality of contact (which is discussed in a future section of this paper), many of these studies still focus on the experience and behaviors of White individuals in comparison to all non-White individuals (rather than examining how specific minority groups behave) (Richeson & Sommers, 2016). Despite the extensive social psychological literature on intergroup anxiety, much of the research has examined intergroup anxiety by focusing on White individuals' reaction to diverse others. Literature on intergroup contact and anxiety presumes a majority-White context, which would mean people in these studies would have the most contact with White individuals. To date, little research has been done on non-White individuals interacting with other non-White individuals who belong to a different racial group. Much of foundational research on interracial interactions focuses on Black and White dyadic interactions (Shelton, 2000). Although some studies include other minority groups, they are often still paired with White participants. While this research tells us how both

White and non-White individuals feel about interacting with each other, from feeling anxious to fearing being seen as prejudiced or treated with prejudice, this research has been conducted within the context of White individuals being in the position of the majority group within the dyad (Major et al., 2016; Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Shelton, 2005; Toosi, Babbitt, Ambady, & Sommers, 2012). For example, Toosi and colleagues (2012) conducted a meta-analysis of 108 studies on interracial interactions, which examined outcomes such as explicit attitudes towards their interaction partner and nonverbal behaviors. Overall, they found significant differences in outcomes for those in interracial vs. same-race settings, such that interacting with a same-race partner led to less negative affect, warmer interpersonal behaviors, and better performance on tasks (Toosi et al., 2012). These results show that there are consistent negative intergroup outcomes that emerge in cross-race compared to same-race interactions (Dovidio, 2001; Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009). However, this evidence is based on primarily White-Black interracial interactions. One way much of the research within intergroup relations has framed such research is through examining how racial minority status and thus an individuals' position within the racial hierarchy impacts their relationships with other individuals. It will be important to understand how race and ethnicity may or may not play a role in how individuals choose to interact with each other without the influence of a majority vs. minority status, as the U.S. grows closer to becoming a society that holds no majority racial group.

Conducting research on racial minority members. Given the plethora of research on understanding the causes and consequences of racially biased behavior and attitudes, it is surprising that there is very little research from the perspective of those who are typically the victims of racial bias (e.g., stigmatized group members). The focus on White, high status, majority group members has long been an issue in social psychology. Examining race through

the White perspective is the default lens for uncovering psychological processes that have to deal with perceiving, interacting, and conceptualizing race (Apfelbaum, Phillips, & Richeson, 2014). In fact, one of the most prominent journals to focus on ethnic minorities, *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology,* was only established in 1995. Only recently, has the importance of the minority perspective really been emphasized.

Both majority and minority members believe that Asian, Latinos, and Blacks are representative of "diverse" individuals, and minority individuals often view their own group as more representative of diversity as compared to other minority groups (Unzueta & Binning, 2010). If this is the case, what does a racially diverse environment look like for a minority group member? Following minority group members' perception of who makes up a diverse population, logic would have you believe that a homogeneous environment comprised of their own group members would feel "diverse" to them. This highlights another flaw in how we conceptualize and approach diversity research in our society, from the assumption that White homogeneity is the default. Attempting to fit minority individuals' perceptions and experiences with diversity into this model does not make very much sense.

To further my point, little research has examined intergroup relations in the context of various minority racial groups interacting with one another. The vast majority of research on racial diversity and intergroup relations focuses on the White vs. non-White dichotomy (Toosi et al., 2012). This assumes that all non-White, minority group members react similarly when interacting with White, majority group members. Not only that, but the current literature within social psychology often fails to unpack the nuances of intergroup relations among all other racial groups. With the impending majority-minority population shift, a large portion of the U.S. population will consist of racial minority members. Understanding how the various racial and

ethnic groups within this blanket "minority" group interact with each other will be more important than ever.

Research that has been conducted on minorities shows surprising findings, such that they often choose to self-segregate, and choose same-race friends to a greater extent than White individuals who live in diverse contexts (Lichter, 2013). The assumption that with greater racial diversity, increased intergroup contact should necessarily occur has not always been supported, especially with racial minorities. Within minority populations, as their environment has grown more racially diverse their interest in diverse friendships has not grown much from generation to generation (Quillian & Campbell, 2003). It has long been known that racial minority groups not only segregate themselves from White individuals, but also other racial groups (Fong & Shibuya, 2005). Friedman (2008) found that even when desegregation happened within a neighborhood context, the neighborhood often reverted back to becoming racially homogeneous. Minorities have their own share of racial strife and tension to deal with outside of the majority vs. minority context. With the impending numerical shifts in the population, a shift in the social hierarchy concerning power and resources may also occur. If we do not pay attention to the varying experiences of these "minority" racial groups, especially with respect to how they respond to and approach diversity, we may fail to understand how our society's status quo will also shift. Consequently, many of the theories on intergroup relations may no longer be relevant in a majority-minority context.

Examining majority-minority contexts. One strategy to increase understanding of minority populations and intra-minority relations is to begin examining majority-minority contexts. While there is much discussion about how the U.S. population will soon shift from majority-White to majority-minority, the reality is that many major metropolitan cities in the

U.S. are already majority-minority (U.S. Census, 2012). The fastest growing child population is now minority children, and since 2010 there are now 10 states and 35 large metropolitan cities that have majority-minority children populations (Frey, 2011). With the future generations comprised of more racial minorities, it becomes critical to examine how people function within this type of environment.

Despite the growing number of majority-minority contexts in the U.S., there has been little research on intergroup relations conducted within these contexts. Some research has examined ethnic identity within two different contexts (e.g., West vs. Midwest) with the assumption that geographic location could make majority vs. minority status salient depending on the context (Juang, 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Shin, 2007). Xu, Farver, and Pauker (2015) examined ethnic identity within two contexts, but this time used Hawaiʻi and the mainland U.S. as locations. Specifically, Xu and colleagues (2015) gathered a sample from Hawaiʻi (where Asian is the majority) and California (where Asian is the minority) and found that the ethnic identity of Asians in the context where they were in the minority was stronger than those in the context where they were in the majority. To further examine majority vs. minority status on ethnic identity, they examined both Asian and European Americans who had either been born in Hawaiʻi or the U.S. mainland. Consistent with their initial results, Asian individuals who were born in the U.S. mainland exhibited stronger ethnic identity than all other groups. Furthermore, they found that their White participants did not differ in ethnic identity across contexts. Even when examined longitudinally, U.S. mainland White students who recently moved to Hawaiʻi did not increase in their ethnic identity strength as a result of transitioning to a context where they were now a minority (Xu et al., 2015). However, the findings for the Asian participants were markedly different. Asian individuals who transitioned from a context where they were a

minority (U.S. mainland) to a context where they were part of the majority (Hawaiʻi), exhibited a decrease in the strength of their ethnic identity and in the strength of the relation between self-esteem and their ethnic identity (Xu et al., 2015). These findings support the notion that when minorities move to an environment where they become the numerical majority that their race and/or ethnicity becomes less salient, and they may no longer need to use their racial/ethnic identification as a buffer against identity threat and discrimination (Umaña-Taylor & Shin, 2007; Xu et al., 2015). Despite, these unique findings using a naturalistic majority-minority context, even within micro contexts such as Hawaiʻi, participants may still be influenced by their awareness of the broader U.S. context where Whites still hold majority-group status (Xu et al., 2015). More research is needed that examines these types of majority-minority contexts, including research that examines more intergroup related outcomes and includes other racial minorities. If majority-minority contexts are strong enough to influence ethnic identity, it may be that racial minorities in such contexts may also differ in how they conceptualize race, or in their strategies for negotiating race-related situations.

Moreover, beyond just examining more racially diverse contexts, researchers should focus on the specific racial makeup of these environments. Too often those who study racial diversity lump minorities into one category. What happens when an environment has a majority-minority makeup dominated by one racial group but others are still underrepresented, what are the ramifications for these racial group members? These are important questions to consider, as U.S. society and other societies grow more racially diverse. Overall, the field of social psychology has barely scraped the surface on how racial diversity functions as a contextual factor, primarily only focusing on majority-White contexts, dichotomizing White vs. non-White,

and paying little attention to majority-minority contexts as an influential factor in intergroup relations.

Intergroup Relations and Racial Diversity

Racial diversity has become a popular topic examined across various sub-disciplines in psychology, from intergroup relations to organizational behavior. Despite the depth of research on diversity, the verdict is still out on whether or not diversity is actually beneficial for intergroup relations (Apfelbaum et al., 2014; see Crisp & Turner, 2011 for a review). Despite mixed evidence, the shifting population demographics make the impact of diversity a pressing issue to understand. Plaut (2010) outlines the various ways in which the field of psychology has attempted to address diversity, from majority versus minority perspectives to White versus Black dynamics. Despite the trend toward understanding the importance of diversity in institutions, much of the literature about diversity still exists in the aforementioned frameworks (e.g., Black vs. White). The current approach to racial diversity is defined with Whites as the baseline when studying issues that concern race (Plaut, 2010). Research continues to fail to include racial minorities' perspectives, more often focusing on the White perceiver. This bias in intergroup relations research may contribute to why researchers have not been able to fully understand the influence racial diversity has on U.S. society (Plaut, 2010). Along with using the White perceiver as the baseline in studies on racial diversity, researchers tend to also view homogeneity as the de facto baseline against which to compare racial diversity. In a review of articles that examined group diversity, Apfelbaum and colleagues (2014) found an overwhelming majority of studies explored diversity as the effect to be explained, assuming that diversity had shifted behaviors or attitudes from a homogeneous group baseline. This perspective fails to recognize that homogeneity itself may also shift attitudes and behavior (Apfelbaum et al., 2014). When the

perspective of diversity is limited to such a narrow lens, it becomes easier to understand why there is such inconclusive results concerning people's perceptions of diversity and how it affects their attitudes and behavior. Subsequently, I will discuss some of the previous prominent research that has been conducted on intergroup relations and its relation to racial diversity, particularly, concerning intergroup contact and behavior when dealing with other races, and how they manifest within different settings (institutional and educational).

Intergroup contact. One common strategy to improve intergroup relations has been to increase the amount of contact one has with diverse others (Dovidio et al., 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Page-Gould and colleagues (2008) found that establishing a single cross-race friend (through experimental manipulation) was enough to mitigate intergroup anxiety. However, comfort with diverse others is not only established through interpersonal relationships, but can also be a contextual factor. Christ et al. (2014) examined whether or not people have positive intergroup contact as a contextual factor and found that when individuals lived in contexts where, on average, people had more positive intergroup contact, outgroup attitudes were more positive. Notably, they contend that is it not merely diverse contexts that influence intergroup contact on an interpersonal level, but that such diverse contexts foster contextual norms of engaging in positive contact. These norms, in turn, influence reductions in negative outgroup attitudes above and beyond other factors, such as increased diversity exposure or residing in diverse locations. Importantly, these findings illustrate that it is not merely an individual's personal experience with intergroup contact that influences prejudice levels, but that experience living in a context where a lot of positive intergroup contact occurs can also sway attitudes.

Indeed, being in a racially diverse context does seem to influence attitudes towards increasing intergroup contact. Saenz, Hoi, and Hurtado (2007) examined what pre-college factors

influenced positive interactions for Black, Asian, Latino and White college students. For all races, interactions with diverse peers in high school appeared as one of the strongest factors for engaging with diverse peers in college. Interestingly, the structural diversity (as defined in this study as percentages of underrepresented minorities enrolled) of the campus was only influential for White students' likelihood of positive engagement with diverse others. Other research within educational settings has found that socializing with other-race individuals was positively correlated with higher levels of academic development and college satisfaction (Astin, 1993). In general, the consensus seems to be that the greater racial diversity within student populations, the greater the opportunity for students to interact with diverse others, which consequently led to positive benefits such as college satisfaction, retention, and intellectual outcomes (Chang, 1996). However, one caveat to keep in mind with this research is that it is still conducted within a majority-White context, such that White students are likely the ones driving these positive effects. Nevertheless, these results help to illuminate the positive benefits that increased intergroup contact can have, and how growing racial diversity may be beneficial to all.

Intergroup behavior. In addition to creating opportunity for positive interracial relationships, having a diverse environment also can create ease and comfort about discussing race related issues. Antonio (2001) found that while a diverse context improved the climate around discussing race-related topics, acclimatizing to diversity also played an important role in improving interracial interactions. This study defined acclimatizing to diversity as the precedence for a diverse but also integrated student population. Specifically, when students had diverse friends but believed that their campus was segregated, the positive benefits of diversity on increased interracial friendships and engagement with diverse others were attenuated. Furthermore, diverse friendships in this racially diverse context also predicted greater interest in

interracial interaction outside of these friendships, suggesting that this type of contact may help to establish a norm around interacting with diverse others (Antonio, 2001). Being in a racially diverse context seems to be a stepping stone to creating a norm that allows for ease and comfort in navigating interactions with diverse others.

Greater contact with diverse others not only helps to ease tensions about interracial relations, but also improves attitudes about racial issues and spurs potential positive personal benefits. Research within group processes finds that racial diversity is often beneficial for group decision-making and performance. Sommers (2006) found that when individuals served on racially diverse compared to racially homogeneous juries, they engaged in more deliberation that involved collecting information and were more open to discussions of racism. These findings held for both White and Black participants in racially diverse compared to racially homogenous juries. Other studies show that when engaged in a group decision-making tasks, groups with more racial diversity performed more efficiently, considering information that more homogenous groups would ignore (Phillips, Northcraft, & Neale, 2006). These types of findings illustrate how living in diverse contexts may be beneficial for both majority and minority individuals. Racial diversity does not only seem to benefit those who are deemed "diverse" (i.e., minority individuals), but also helps White individuals take perspectives that may not have been as salient in a homogenous context.

Racial diversity within institutions. One area that has examined diversity extensively has been research in organizational settings (see van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007 for a review). A number of benefits resulting from diversity in groups and in workplace settings have been demonstrated, including better decision-making, more creative and innovative thinking, and deeper, more cognitively-complex information processing (Phillips et al., 2006; Sommers, 2006;

Sommers, Warp, & Mahoney, 2008). In a review of research on work group diversity, van Knippenberg and Schippers (2007) outline established areas where diversity has shown some positive influence, such as improving information processing, boosting cooperation in groups, stimulating a diversity mindset, and relaxing social category boundaries. Despite the plethora of research in this area, there are mixed results on whether diversity is actually helpful in an organizational setting, and theoretical models on diversity have yet to clearly define potential moderators of diversity's influence, such as social categorization and intergroup bias (van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007).

Racial diversity within education. Racial diversity also benefits students within educational settings. Denson and Chang (2009) found that students who took advantage of diversity-related opportunities through curricular activities and diversity-related classes tended to improve their academic skills, increase levels of self-efficacy, and demonstrate the ability to improve through self-change. Beyond institutional diversity, Bowman and Denson (2012) found that precollege exposure to diversity bolstered the positive benefits students gained through interracial contact in college settings. While intergroup relations within a college context was associated with college satisfaction, having prior exposure to a diverse context made students even more likely to have intergroup contact. To further support these findings, Hu and Kuh (2003) found that beyond all students benefiting from interracial interactions within their college context, White students seemed to gain the most from these diversity experiences, more so than their peers. These findings are ironic considering that high-status majority members often find pro-diversity messages and initiatives to be unfair and exclusionary towards Whites (Dover et al., 2016; Kaiser et al., 2013). This uncertainty around diversity may contribute toward the continuing struggle to find diversity initiatives that satisfy everyone. Stevens, Plaut, and

Sanchez-Burks (2008) propose one potential solution to unlock the benefits of diversity is to frame diversity as not something that excludes Whites, but as "all-inclusive multiculturalism." With this framework, Stevens and colleagues attempt to provide a new alternative approach for organizations to overcome traditional colorblind or multicultural ideologies that inform current approaches to diversity. This includes emphasizing that diversity includes all employees (even White employees) and recognizing important differences based on all demographic groups to which people may belong, e.g., gender, religion, etc. (Stevens et al., 2008).

As shown through the research discussed above, racial diversity has often been examined as contact with diverse others, majority members' attitudes toward minority individuals, and its benefits within institutional settings. As we approach a majority-minority context in our society, soon markers such as "majority" and "minority" may not be as influential to our social hierarchy. In this sense, we may need to start defining diversity outside of the realm of majority vs. minority and White vs. non-White, and defining diversity in in new ways (such as the all-inclusive multiculturalism concept) may become even more pertinent.

Intergroup Strategies for Dealing with Race

As society becomes more diverse, strategies people use to effectively deal with interracial interactions and topics concerning race become ever more essential to understand. Colorblindness–the ideology that downplaying group distinctions, such as race, should improve equality–has long been established as the accepted norm for how to handle issues of race. Within the U.S., there is a prevalent social norm to value egalitarianism and avoid the overt expression of racial prejudice and discrimination (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Dovidio, 2001; Pearson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009). As a result, people tend to endorse the belief that race

should not matter and that individuals should be judged on their individual characteristics and merits (Sue, 2013). Although the evidence is clear that perceivers do automatically attend to and encode race-related information (Cosmides, Tooby, & Kurzban, 2003; Ito & Urland, 2003) and that perceiving race in turn influences judgements about others (e.g., Devine, 1989; Dovidio, 2001; Pearson et al., 2009), individuals within the Continental U.S. may feel social pressure to not "see" race. Therefore, in order to meet the goal of egalitarianism and appear non-prejudiced, individuals may attempt to appear colorblind and avoid talking about or acknowledging race, even when this dimension is a relevant, functional, and/or an accurate descriptor (e.g., Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006). The underscoring rationale is that if I do not "see" race, how can I possibly be racist? In the next section, I will give an overview of when people adopt a colorblind approach and the consequences of doing so, possible alternative strategies to approaching race-related situations, and how these strategies may be conveyed as social norms in specific contexts.

Colorblind endorsement. Colorblindness (i.e., the avoidance of acknowledging race) is often strategically employed and is susceptible to normative social influence. When interacting with a confederate who established a normative precedent to avoid rather than to acknowledge race, White participants were less likely to use race to identify a target in a photo identification task where the goal was to identify a target face from an array of faces (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b). Further, the emergence of colorblindness corresponds to the age at which most children have internalized race-related social norms (e.g., Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005). Around 10-years of age, White children begin to avoid using race during a photo identification task, even at the expense of objective task performance (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers, & Norton, 2008a; Pauker, Apfelbaum, & Spitzer, 2015). Reflecting an adherence to normative

social influence, non-White children in majority-White contexts demonstrate colorblindness too. Despite the fact that children reported noticing that target faces differed by race, most White, Latino, Asian, and Black children avoided using race during a photo identification task (Pauker et al., 2015). Importantly, children's colorblind behavior corresponded to their perceptions of colorblind social norms set by their teachers and their own concerns about appearing socially appropriate. Specifically, both White and non-White children's perceptions that their teachers endorsed a colorblind approach predicted their tendency to avoid mentioning race. Moreover, this relationship was mediated by children's concerns about appearing socially appropriate, such as not wanting to appear prejudiced (Pauker et al., 2015). Thus, for both children and adults, strategic colorblindness in race-relevant situations is driven by salient social norms.

Ironically, using strategic colorblindness to avoid appearing prejudiced can backfire. When engaging in a photo identification task with a Black confederate, White participants' tendency to be colorblind and avoid race corresponded not only to decreased task performance, but also to less friendly nonverbal behavior during the interaction (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Norton et al., 2006). Even in a sample of racially diverse children, those who avoided using race in the photo identification task, as compared to those who mentioned race, were rated as being less comfortable during the interaction with either a White or Asian experimenter (Pauker et al., 2015). Thus, adopting a colorblind approach to race may hinder objective task performance *and* achievement of the goal to appear non-prejudiced. For both children and adults, despite their well-intentioned efforts, strategic colorblindness can lead to the perpetuation of racial prejudice, instead of a reduction (Apfelbaum, et al., 2008b; Norton et al., 2006; Pauker et al., 2015).

Negotiating race-relevant situations in diverse contexts. In line with most work on racial diversity, the work discussed above on colorblindness was conducted in majority-White

contexts. How might the ways in which individuals negotiate race-relevant situations differ in more diverse contexts? As one illustration, asking about others' race or ethnicity is a common way people introduce themselves within the racially diverse context of Hawaiʻi. This willingness to openly acknowledge race lies in stark contrast to the Continental U.S., where people tend to avoid mentioning race, seemingly at all costs (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al. , 2000). One potential reason for differences in how individuals deal with race within these two settings is that in diverse contexts social norms may increasingly place value in unique identities (Plaut et al., 2009), in turn encouraging the acknowledgment of racial and ethnic differences. Anecdotally, talking freely about race and ethnicity seems to be a hallmark for how individuals relate to each other in Hawaiʻi.

Overwhelmingly, the research examining how individuals negotiate race-relevant situations has focused primarily on White participants (cf. Kohatsu, Victoria, Lau, Flores, & Salazar, 2011; Pauker et al., 2015) in majority-White contexts, such as the Continental U.S. Despite calls to the contrary (Rattan & Ambady, 2013), to my knowledge no one has investigated the rationale used by racial minorities for talking about race in racially diverse contexts. Given the shifting demographics of the U.S. population, it is important to understand the dynamics of intergroup relations in racially diverse contexts. Hawaiʻi is an ideal location to examine how non-White individuals negotiate race-relevant situations because in this context Whites are not the numerical majority group. Instead Asians (38%), Whites (27%), and Multiracials (23%) each make up almost one-third of the population (U.S. Census, 2012). Thus, to extend the study of intergroup relations beyond typical majority-White contexts, I examine how individuals negotiate race-relevant situations within the racially diverse context of Hawaiʻi.

Consequences of the colorblind approach for minorities. One potential rationale for why those in racially diverse context might not adopt colorblind ideologies are its potential costs for traditional minorities (e.g., non-White individuals). As might be anticipated, there may be negative consequences for racial minorities who come into contact with Whites who employ strategic colorblindness. For non-White college students, the colorblind behavior of their White peers led to feelings of frustration, pain, and isolation (Lewis, Chesler, & Forman, 2000) and reduced cognitive functioning (Holoien & Shelton, 2012). Colorblindness can also impact racial minorities in the "real world"—the more strongly Whites endorsed colorblindness in the workplace, the less psychologically engaged their non-Whites co-workers reported being at work (Plaut et al., 2009). Further, racial disparities persist in the Continental U.S., where the dominant strategy for race-relations is colorblindness (see Apfelbaum et al., 2012, for a review). Colorblindness does not seem to promote egalitarianism, but instead may contribute to racially stratified societies and the perpetuation of racial prejudice and discrimination (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013; Plaut, 2010).

Given the potential negative consequences of strategic colorblindness for racial minorities, in contexts where the population is more multiracial and multicultural, instead of predominantly White, social norms may reflect more pluralistic approaches to race. These approaches, such as multicultural ideology, encourage the recognition and celebration of racial, ethnic, and cultural differences (Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000), where racial group identities are more likely to be valued and emphasized, as compared to minimized (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). This ideology can have benefits for racial minorities (e.g., Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Plaut et al., 2009) and intergroup relations (e.g., Vorauer & Sasaki, 2010). Perhaps due to these benefits, racial minorities often more strongly

endorse multiculturalism as compared to colorblindness (Ryan et al., 2010; Ryan et al., 2007). Consequently, in more diverse contexts where the numerical majority belongs to racial minorities (i.e., the majority of people are not White), the dominant ideology may shift from colorblindness toward one that places value in diversity, where individuals can openly acknowledge race without concerns about appearing prejudice.

Racial diversity and social norms. Most people in society adhere to majority group norms. Concerning the social norms surrounding race and prejudice, it is the norm to not overtly express prejudice, especially for White individuals (Crandall et al., 2002; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Despite this norm, minority group members still often perceive discrimination in their everyday life and believe that White individuals do actively partake in this type of behavior (Dovidio et al., 2002; Shelton, Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005; Shelton, 2005). As targets of discrimination, minority individuals may perceive that for White individuals, the norm is to support prejudiced behavior, despite our society's desire for egalitarianism (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). For example, in order to appeal to a White audience, Black men changed their private preferences for a minority candidate to derogating the same candidate when they thought their opinions would be revealed to other White individuals (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). These findings support the notion that there is a subtle social norm that White individuals discriminate against minority individuals, and that this norm is strong enough to convince minority group members to stigmatize each other as well in attempts to "fit in".

Social norms seem to influence minority group members in different ways than we might expect. We know very little about what social norms do exists for minority group members, or how larger societal norms operate for them. Growing up in a majority-minority environment, where there is no dominant racial group may also affect the development of racial knowledge

and social norms surrounding race. Research conducted in Hawaiʻi, where the social context is drastically different from the U.S., shows that children growing up in this majority-minority environment exhibit less outgroup stereotyping and less essentialist conceptions of race (Pauker et al., 2016). Chong et al. (2015) similarly show that in comparison to children growing up on the mainland U.S. (with a majority-White context), those in Hawaiʻi (where multiracials make up 23% of the population) regularly used multiple racial and ethnic characteristics to identify peers who looked prototypically Black or White. In the mainland U.S., children instead used one racial or ethnic descriptor to identify these pictures, and were more accurate in their racial categorizations. The children in Hawaiʻi, were often incorrect, and appeared to use a multiracial prototype to identify the race of peers (i.e., they expected individuals belonged to multiple racial or ethnic groups). This data suggests that how individuals categorize others by race (a process that is thought to be highly automatic; Hugenberg, Young, Bernstein & Sacco, 2010) may vary based on contextual social norms. These findings help to support the notion that social norms may manifest differently in racially diverse contexts, particularly in contexts with a majority-minority population. As such, if race-related strategies such as colorblindness are often adopted within majority-White contexts, and given the adverse consequences colorblindness has for minority individuals, it may be that in a context where minorities are the majority, a different social norm concerning race may emerge. We attempt to address whether or not colorblind strategies persist in a racially diverse context in a series of studies through (1) examining people's prevalence and comfort using race in daily conversations using an experience sampling methodology, (2) observing their rationale for (not) using race with a photo identification task paradigm, (3) documenting differences in race-related norm endorsement across racially diverse

vs. racially homogenous contexts, and (4) exploring hesitancy to use race when activating race-related norms.

The Present Research

Overall the aim of this dissertation is to examine racial diversity and its influence on intergroup relations. Much of the research on intergroup relations in social psychology has focused on majority group members as the target of investigation. Any work that has included minority perspectives often lumps all racial minorities together into the category of being "minority" or non-White, and most often examines racial minorities as targets of prejudice or stimulants of interracial anxiety. When racial diversity is examined, the results are mixed with regard to how racial diversity influences both majority and minority group members. Issues with how racial diversity is studied have surfaced as well, from not accounting for the influence of homogeneity to ambiguity in the way diversity is defined across various studies. While there are some established benefits gained from living, learning or working in racially diverse contexts, studies have mostly been conducted in the organizational or educational psychology literature, and little work has been done to examine diversity's positive influence on intergroup processes such as conceptualizations of race, implicit attitudes, or race-related behaviors (such as talking about race or interacting with diverse others). The few studies that do examine racial diversity often define a diverse interaction or context as simply including a single minority member or a homogeneous group of minority individuals. This skewed definition of racial diversity may not accurately portray how living in a racially diverse context could impact intergroup processes.

Context is an important moderator that is often overlooked. In order to take advantage of the unique opportunity of examining these issues in a racially diverse context, such as Hawaiʻi,

the following set of studies aims to address the topic of race-relevant strategies in Hawaiʻi. The set of studies I propose will examine how individuals in a majority-minority context (Hawaiʻi) negotiate race-related situations by measuring 1) their race-related behaviors when interacting with others, 2) the frequency and comfort they feel when they do engage in race-related conversations, and 3) the race-related norms they endorse based upon their racial context. In Study 1, I will employ an experience sampling method for tracking participants' exposure to and interaction with racially diverse others, frequency in use of race in everyday conversations, and how comfortable they felt in doing so. This study will aim to capture a more naturalistic picture of individuals in Hawaiʻi's comfort using race in everyday situations. In the next two studies of the dissertation I examine how both Asian (Study 2) and White (Study 3) participants behave when asked to engage in an interaction task that involves a race as a salient component (i.e., race is functionally useful, but not mandatory to complete the task) to see whether or not participants will choose to use race, and how frequently they use it. The goal of these studies is to determine whether there is hesitancy for acknowledging race for both Asian and White individuals in Hawaiʻi. Study 4 will compare and contrast the beliefs and attitudes concerning the norm of acknowledging race between Hawaiʻi and the Continental U.S. For this study I was most interested in whether talking about race is perceived as prejudiced behavior, which may reinforce colorblind norms in the Continental U.S., while other rationales, such as the functionality of using race may reinforce the norm of acknowledging race in Hawaiʻi. Lastly, Study 5 tested whether or not we can activate new social norms in Hawaiʻi. If concerns about appearing prejudice facilitate a colorblind social norm on the Continental U.S., would activating this norm with participants in Hawaiʻi cause them to hesitate to use race? Overall, these studies aimed to

investigate what race-related social norms exist in a racially diverse context, such as Hawaiʻi, and how such norms might dictate race-related behaviors and attitudes.

Study 1

Given that there is plenty of evidence to suggest that intergroup contact improves intergroup relations (Bowman, 2012; Bowman & Denson, 2012; Cook, 1978; Fisher, 2008; Jeanquart-Barone, 1996; Killen, Crystal, & Ruck, 2007; Margie, Killen, Sinno, & McGlothlin, 2005; McGlothlin & Killen, 2005; McGlothlin, Killen, & Edmonds, 2005; Munniksma, Stark, Verkuyten, Flache, & Veenstra, 2013; Pica-Smith, 2011; Vervoot, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2011), the goal of this study was to examine behaviors of those residing in a racially diverse context, such as Hawaiʻi, particularly their frequency and comfort using race in their everyday conversations. Particularly, I was interested to see how exposure to and interactions with racially/ethnically diverse others related to their frequency talking about race. I hypothesized that being exposed to and interacting with racially/ethnically diverse others would be related to the frequency with which they found themselves having race-related conversations. Furthermore, when race was more pervasive in daily conversations, I expected individuals to experience more ease and comfort with the topic. Lastly, I examined whether other individual difference characteristics (e.g., friendship diversity, ingroup/outgroup attitudes, etc.) were related to individuals' frequency in use of race and their comfort with those conversations.

Method

I used experience sampling in order to best capture the daily experience of individuals living in a racially diverse context. As most people take their smartphones with them everywhere they go, utilizing a smartphone application (ExperienceSampler; Thai & Page-Gould, 2017) to

distribute the questionnaires enabled the ability to capture individuals' everyday experiences more readily. Benefits of an experience sampling methodology include its ability to track and record data outside of the laboratory, therefore increasing ecological validity and bolstering findings with varied methodologies. Furthermore, experience sampling allows us to examine within-person processes, and the contingencies of behavior, such as capturing the person by situation nuances of specific behaviors. Lastly, by using experience sampling methods, we can reduce the bias that might occur from global self-report data, particularly in reference to memory or accuracy deficits in the recall of behaviors (see Scollon, Kim-Prieto, & Diener, 2003 for a review).

      Participants and procedures. Based on past experience sampling studies, I aimed to collect a sample of 100 participants (e.g., Page-Gould, 2012; Sanchez & Garcia, 2009; Yip, 2009). I recruited 105 participants from the undergraduate human subjects participant pool at the University of Hawai'i to take part in a week-long study administered on their smartphones via a customized smartphone application in exchange for extra credit. The diversity of the undergraduate population (Manoa Institutional Research Office, 2017) reflects the diversity of the broader population of Hawai'i (36% Asian, 22% White, 17% Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, 15% multiracial, and 10% other backgrounds). The participants included 73 females, 28 males, and 4 unreported, ranging from 17-47 years old ($M = 19.65$, $SD = 3.47$). I had 44 Asian, 30 Multiracial, 15 White, 5 Hispanic, 5 Native Hawaiian, 4 Black, 2 unreported participants. On average, participants had resided in Hawai'i for about 13 years ($M = 12.54$, $SD = 8.87$).

Participants were pinged twice a day for seven days and were systematically asked about their exposure to racially/ethnically[1] diverse others and their conversations with them. Following the experience-sampling portion of the study, participants were invited to participate in an online survey measuring related intergroup constructs and individual differences. A total of 57 participants completed this final survey.

Measures.

Daily questionnaire. Participants were notified twice daily to complete the following questionnaire (once at noon and then at 8pm). We chose these two time points in order to centralize when participants were most likely to have interactions (e.g., typical lunch and dinner hours). Specifically, participants were asked the following questions: (1) the proportion of individuals that they saw that were of a different race or ethnicity than their own background (*0%, 25%, 50%, 75%, 100%*), (2) the proportion of these individuals they interacted with (*0%, 25%, 50%, 75%, 100%*), (3) the proportion of these interactions that were with close friends (*0%, 25%, 50%, 75%, 100%*), (4) if they used race in any of their conversations (*yes or no*), (5) how often they used race throughout the day (*1 time, 2-3 times, 4+ times*), and (6) how comfortable they felt using race in these conversations (1 = *Extremely uncomfortable* – 6 = *Extremely comfortable*). Participants completed this for 7 days continuously. In order to ensure participants did not fixate on the racial/ethnic aspect of these questions, an identical set of questions were asked about their exposure and interactions with those of a different sexual

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[1] I specifically chose to ask participants about racially and/or ethnically diverse others due to the importance of ethnic diversity in Hawai'i (Bocher & Ohsako, 1977; Newton, Buck, Kunimura, Colfer, & Scholsberg, 1988; Okamura, 1994)

orientation to their own, and their conversations and comfort with talking about sexual identity. These data were not examined for the purposes of this study.

Final survey. At the end of the week-long daily questionnaires, participants were invited to a final survey that included the following measures:

Ingroup and outgroup attitudes. In order to measure participants' general attitudes towards various racial groups, we used feeling thermometers. Participants were asked to indicate their feeling toward different racial groups (Black, White, Asian, Hispanic, Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian, and Multiracial) using a feeling thermometer that ranged from 1 (extremely cold) to 10 (extremely warm). We calculated participants' attitude score towards their ingroup and outgroup by averaging the items for each participants' respective in/outgroup (e.g., if a participant identified as Hispanic, their outgroup scores would be comprised of their responses to Black, White, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian, and Multiracial). This gave us two new variables: Ingroup Attitude and Outgroup Attitude, where higher scores indicated greater warmth towards the group.

Sense of belonging. To measure sense of belonging we used two items from Ahnallen, Suyemoto, and Carter (2006) that asked the extent to which participants felt like they belonged with and were excluded from various racial groups (Black, White, Asian, Hispanic, Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian, and Multiracial) on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (extremely). We calculated participants' feelings of belonging with and exclusion from their ingroup and outgroup by averaging the items for each participants' respective in/outgroup (e.g., if a participant identified as Hispanic, their outgroup scores would be comprised of their responses to Black, White, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian, and Multiracial). This gave us four new

variables: Ingroup Belonging, Outgroup Belonging, Ingroup Exclusion, and Outgroup Exclusion. Greater scores indicated feeling more belonging or excluded from their ingroup or outgroup.

Strength of identity. Considering Hawaiʻi's multi-ethnic population, we measured participants' strength of and attachment to their ethnic identity by using Phinney's (1992) Multiethnic Identity questionnaire (MEIM). For example, "I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group", on a scale of 1 (very strongly disagree) to 6 (very strongly agree). Items were averaged together and a higher score indicated greater strength of identity ($\alpha = .91$).

Outgroup friends. Because we are interested in interactions with racially diverse others, we also collected information on the diversity of participants' social network. Participants were asked to list their five closest friends, then subsequently to list each of those friend's race and/or ethnicity (to the best of their knowledge). We calculated the proportion of friends they listed that were of a different racial/ethnic group than the participants' self-reported race/ethnicity.

Social dominance orientation. We measured participants' social dominance orientation (SDO) with Pratto et al.'s (2013) 4-item scale, with items such as "Superior groups should dominate inferior groups" on a scale of 1 (extremely oppose) to 10 (extremely favor). An average of the items was created, with higher scores indicating greater social dominance orientation, ($\alpha = .71$)

Intergroup anxiety. To measure intergroup anxiety, we used an adapted version of Stephan and Stephan's (1985) Intergroup Anxiety Scale, which includes instructions to imagine a scenario where the participant is interacting with 5 peers who are of a different race/ethnicity than themselves. Participants are asked items such as "I would feel anxious" on a scale of 1

(strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Items were averaged to create a score of intergroup anxiety, with higher scores indicating greater anxiety (α = .84).

Results

Given the longitudinal nature of the data, I used multilevel modeling (MLM) to take into consideration time nested within individuals (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). All covariates and predictors were mean-centered prior to being included in the model. I used the *lme4* (Bates, Maechler, Bolker, & Walker, 2015) function of R to run a 2-level model with a random intercept for each participant. I assumed random coefficients were correlated and used an unstructured covariance structure[2]. I included Beep (0 vs. 1) nested within Day (0-6) in the model as random effects on participants. In addition to Beep and Day, I also included other control variables: Gender, Race (dummy coded as White "0" vs. Non-White "1"), Age, Time lived in Hawai'i,) in the model. Additionally, Beep and Day were included as fixed effects in the model to control for any time-related effects. Level 1 predictors were: Exposure, Interactions, Friend Interactions, and Race Frequency. Level 2 predictors were: Outgroup Friends, Outgroup Exclusion, Ingroup Exclusion, Outgroup Belonging, Ingroup Belonging, Outgroup Attitudes, Ingroup Attitudes, SDO, Anxiety, MEIM. My two dependent variables were Race Use and Race Comfort. See Table 1 for all parameter estimates.

Table 1

Parameter Estimates for "Race Use" and "Race Comfort" Models

Predictor	DV = Race Use (logit)		DV = Race Comfort	
	exp*(b)*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*

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[2] Results were identical when running models with an autoregressive covariance structure.

Intercept	-6.36	13.47	-1.26	1.92
Beep	-0.28	1.33	-3.23	1.98
Day	0.67	0.43	3.31	5.36
Race	-3.01	2.18	7.33	5.52
Gender	1.37	1.72	6.83	3.74
Age	1.62	1.66	-3.62	3.37
Time in HI	-1.20	1.94	4.16	2.05
Exposure	3.20	2.36	-4.47	4.37
Interactions	-4.61	2.62	-5.07	5.23
Friend Interactions	2.94	3.65	1.79**	6.72
Race Use	-	-	-2.79	5.42
Race Frequency	0.06	0.91	-2.66	1.65
Race Comfort	-0.11	0.52	-	-
Outgroup Friends			6.04	4.61
Outgroup Exclusion			3.95	8.60
Ingroup Exclusion			-2.21*	7.91
Outgroup Belonging			-2.80	1.21
Ingroup Belonging			-7.97	1.90
Outgroup Attitudes			4.34	6.94
Ingroup Attitudes			1.82	1.38
Social Dominance Orientation			1.11	1.11
Anxiety			3.45	1.84
MEIM			5.66*	2.64

$* p < .05. ** p < .001$

Using Race in everyday conversations. I examined "Race Use" as the dependent

variable in following models. I first examined whether or not use of race varied between those

who completed the final survey vs. those who did not. Since those who did complete the final

survey had 50.67% more probability in using race as compared to those who didn't, I did not

include Level 2 predictors (which were only collected in the final survey) in this model ($b = .03$,

$SE = .001$, $z = 30.20$, $p < .0001$).

On average, participants were 29.32% likely to use race throughout the 7-day period. I

examined whether my control variables, and level 1 predictors would influence use of race. All

predictors did not significantly predict whether or not participants used race or not, ps $> .08$.

Comfort in talking about race. I examined "Race Comfort" as the dependent variable in

following models. I first examined whether or not comfort with race varied between those who

completed the final survey vs. those who did not. Comfort with race did not significantly differ

for those who completed the final survey vs. those who did not, $b = .43$, $SE = .25$, $p = .09$,

therefore I included both Level 1 and Level 2 predictors in my models.

On average, participants were generally pretty comfortable in talking about race, $M =$

4.59, $SD = 1.20$ (on a 6-point scale). There was a main effect for Friend Interactions, $b = 1.79$,

$SE = 6.72$, $p < .009$, such that the more interactions participants reported having with racially or

ethnically diverse friends, the more comfort they reported in their conversations about race.

There was also a main effect of Ingroup Exclusion, such that the less exclusion they reported

feeling from their own racial/ethnic group, the more comfort they felt talking about race, $b = -$

2.21, $SE = 7.91$, $p < .01$. Finally, there was a main effect for MEIM, such that those who reported

stronger racial/ethnic identity felt more comfortable talking about race, $b = 5.66$, $SE = 2.64$, p <.05. All other controls and predictors in the model were non-significant, $ps > .08$. I explore the interpretation of these findings in the Discussion.

Discussion

My findings show that exposure and interactions with racially/ethnically diverse others did not predict use of race in daily conversations. In fact, all of the predictors did not significantly predict whether or not people used race in their conversations. The probability of using race was roughly 30%, which is consistent with many other lab-based studies conducted on acknowledging race (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Norton et al., 2006; Pauker et al., 2015). One possibility for these null findings, is that use of race is not as highly stigmatized in this context. If acknowledging race is the norm in this context, increased intergroup exposure and contact might not be able shift these behaviors. Increasing exposure and contact with racially diverse others, has the potential help ease people's anxiety when it comes to race-related situations. However, if anxiety over acknowledging race does not exist in the first place, then these factors should not have any influence on whether or not people use race in daily conversations.

I did, however, find factors that were related to people's comfort in using race. People in Hawaiʻi were generally comfortable when they talked about race, but specifically, I found that more interactions with racially/ethnically diverse friends, lower feelings of exclusion from one's ingroup, and stronger racial/ethnic identity predicted greater reported comfort when having conversations that included race. It is no surprise that more interactions with racially/ethnically diverse friends related to greater comfort with having discussions about race. Given past

literature on the substantial effect intergroup contact, specifically with cross-race friendships, has on improving intergroup attitudes and reducing intergroup anxiety (Page-Gould et al., 2008), I would expect similar findings for people's comfort in talking about race.

More importantly, I found that interactions with racially/ethnically diverse *close friends* predicted comfort with race beyond just exposure and general interactions with racially/ethnically diverse people. Making racially diverse friendships lowers race-related anxiety (Page-Gould et al., 2008). Having a conversation with a close friend, who is of a different race/ethnicity may naturally encourage the topic of race to occur. Given that increased *relational diversity* (i.e., two different groups that feel equally welcome and accepted; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002) may be fostered through this relationship, both parties may feel more comfortable having discussions that pertain to race. Furthermore, previous research conducted on racial diversity exposure in Hawai'i found that exposure to racially diverse *friends* was related to lower race essentialism endorsement, and an increase in racially diverse *acquaintances* over time was related to a significant reduction in race essentialism endorsements (Pauker et al., 2017). These findings support previous work in the intergroup contact literature which posits that meaningful contact is essential for mitigating negative intergroup attitudes and behavior (Page-Gould, 2012; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). One alternative possibility to explain these results is that given the racially diverse sample, the majority of my participants felt more comfortable talking about race because of their own minority background. Prior research has found, for example, that White individuals tend to find interracial interactions and race-related discussions more stressful than Black individuals (Trawalter & Richeson, 2008). However, my findings persist even when controlling for participant race, suggesting that White and minority participants did not substantially differ in their comfort with race in their conversations.

While I expected participants' interactions with racially/ethnically diverse friends to influence comfort with race, I found unexpected results with regard to ingroup exclusion and strength of identity, and their relationships to comfort with race. Given that my sample was itself very racially diverse, it may be that in order to feel comfortable speaking about race-related topics, an individual must feel like a *true* member of their racial group. The current sample also included a large number of multiracial individuals. When multiracial individuals (who are often questioned about their racial identity), self-categorize themselves as minority members, they feel more entitled to race-based resources (Good, Chavez, & Sanchez, 2010). Having one's racial identity validated leads to greater self-concept clarity and less conflict, while conversely, those with invalidated identities perceive experiencing greater racial discrimination (Lou, Lalonde, & Wilson, 2011). Feeling like an invalid or atypical member of a racial group may potentially lead to feeling excluded from that group. While feeling like an outsider from your own racial group may lead to negative outcomes as outlined above, having your racial identity validated can lead to positive effects. Validation and strength in racial identity may be related to less anxiety concerning race-based issues, and as my findings show, they may also be related to greater comfort with talking about race.

Study 2

While Study 1 provided a naturalistic measure of individuals' acknowledgment of and comfort with talking about race in the racially diverse context of Hawai'i through using an experience sampling methodology, there are potential limitations to using this type of method. Specifically, the data rely entirely on self-report and the questions are repeated across time. While the repetition over time can reveal contingencies of behaviors through various situations, it also alerts participants to the questions that will be asked and there is the possibility that

participants will self-sensor their answers. In order to address these potential limitations, Study 2 concentrated on examining the frequency with which participants acknowledge race in a controlled task in the lab.

The goal of Study 2 was to examine the strategies used by individuals to negotiate race-relevant situations in Hawai'i. In order to compare my results to previous research conducted in the Continental U.S., I chose to use a photo identification task paradigm that was utilized in past studies (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b). In order to conduct a direct replication of these studies, I used an identical photo identification task which included photos that systematically varied by race (Black vs. White), gender (Female vs. Male), and background color (Blue vs. Red). Given that Hawai'i's majority population identifies as Asian (38%; U.S. Census, 2012), I chose to limit recruitment in this study to only those who identified as Asian. Because multiculturalism, as compared to colorblindness, may be the ideology more likely to be endorsed by non-White participants in this racially diverse context (e.g., Ryan et al., 2010; Ryan et al., 2007), I anticipate that during the photo identification task participants will tend to acknowledge race and their rationale for doing so will correspond to their behavior. Specifically, I expect that when race is mentioned more frequently their rationale for doing so will be because it was a functional or perceptually salient category. I expect that participants who do not use race will provide colorblind rationale (e.g., Pauker et al., 2015). In addition, I expect those who mention race more frequently to be less likely to personally endorse colorblind norms.

Method

Participants. Based on previous studies using this paradigm, I aimed to recruit 100 participants (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b). I recruited 118 participants to through the University of

Hawai'i human subjects participant pool. Twenty-six participants were dropped from the study due to not meeting race pre-selection criteria (East Asian or Southeast Asian), and one was dropped due to an interrupted session caused by a fire alarm. The final sample included 91 undergraduates who participated in the study in exchange for partial course credit or a $5 Starbucks gift card. The sample consisted of East Asian or Southeast Asian undergraduates (53 females) aged 18-48 years old ($M_{age} = 20.75$ years, $SD = 5.18$). One participant was not asked to provide a rationale on why they chose (not) to use race, due to experimenter error and therefore they are excluded from analyses involving participants' rationale. A sensitivity power analyses was conducted with my sample size and found that with 80% power and $\alpha = .05$, I would be able to detect an effect of 0.35.

Materials and procedure. Participants completed a photo identification task that measures an individual's willingness to talk about race (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b). An Asian experimenter (6 Asian females, 1 Asian male) welcomed the participant into a quiet room located in the lab and asked the participant to sit in front of 30 4 × 6 inch photographs of faces arranged in three rows of 10. Participants were told that the goal of the task was to identify a target photo randomly selected by the experimenter by asking as few yes-no questions as possible, that the trial would end once they had correctly identified the target photo, and they would be asked to complete four trials in total. Photos differed along a range of perceptual cues but varied systematically by race (Black vs. White), gender (female vs. male), and background color (blue vs. red; Apfelbaum et al., 2008b). Thus asking questions about race, gender, or background color would facilitate task performance by eliminating roughly half of the photos in the array, respectively. While the participants familiarized themselves with the array, the experimenter turned on the video camera. After completing the four trials, participants were

asked to explain why they did or did not use race during the task (i.e., "Why did you choose [not] to use racial labels?"). Participants then moved to a computer cubicle and completed items that assessed whether they personally endorsed a colorblind norm (adapted from Pauker et al., 2015), followed by a demographics questionnaire. At the completion of the study participants were thanked and debriefed.

Measures.

Acknowledgment of race. Trained research assistants blind to the purpose of the study coded the video recordings for whether participants used race-related terminology (e.g., "*African-American*," "*dark skin*," "*White*," "*light complexion*," etc.) to identify the target photo in each trial (coded as 0 = no, 1 = yes). Two raters independently coded each video, and a third independent rater resolved discrepancies (Cohen's κ = .88). Responses were summed across the trials (ranging from 0 = did not mention race in any trial to 4 = mentioned race in each trial) and divided by the total number of trials, resulting in an index of the frequency with which race was mentioned.

Rationale for acknowledgment of race. Two research assistants independently coded the videos of participants' explanations for why they did or did not use race during the photo identification task across all four trials (Cohen's κ = .86). Coding discrepancies were resolved independently by a third rater. Previous research has demonstrated that individuals provide either task- or social-focused reasons for using or not using race during the task (see Pauker et al., 2015). Building on this scheme, responses were coded as aligning with one of four strategies. For two of the strategies, participants provided task-focused reasoning which indicated that race was acknowledged because this dimension was (1) functional and a good strategy to use (e.g., "*it was*

a faster way to identify different pictures," "*it helped narrow it down*"), or (2) perceptually

salient and apparent (e.g., "*visually easy to identify,*" "*it's the most obvious labels to see*"). For

the other two strategies, participants either provided social-focused reasoning which indicated

that race was avoided either because of (3) strategic colorblindness (e.g., "*it didn't seem*

appropriate to use racial words," "*because I thought it was racist*"), or (4) idiosyncratic

responses (e.g., "*I don't know,*" "*I'm not good at differentiating them*").

***Endorsement of colorblind norms*.** Four items modified from Pauker et al. (2015) were

used to assess whether participants personally endorsed a colorblind approach to race (e.g., "*I am*

uncomfortable talking about race," "*I bring up race in [my] everyday conversations* [reverse

scored]"). Agreement with the statements was rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*Very*

Strongly Disagree) to 6 (*Very Strongly Agree*). Responses were averaged such that higher scores

indicate greater personal endorsement of colorblind norms ($\alpha = .69$).

Results

Acknowledgment of race. Participants in the diverse context of Hawaiʻi

overwhelmingly acknowledged race: 77 (84.6%) participants mentioned race at least once during

the photo identification task. Across all four trials, participants acknowledged race 67.58% (*SD* =

37.91) of the time on average.

Rationale for acknowledgment of race. As expected, participants' used certain

rationales for acknowledging race (or not) more frequently than others, $\chi^2 (3) = 35.33, p < .001$,

$V = .37$. Functional and perceptual-based reasons were used by more participants than colorblind

and idiosyncratic reasons. Overall, 41 (45.05%) participants reported a functional rationale, 34

(37.56%) reported a perceptual-based rationale, 7 (7.69%) reported a colorblind rationale, and 8 (8.79%) provided idiosyncratic responses (Table 2).

We examined whether frequency of acknowledging race differed by rationale. Given the unbalanced sample by rationale and violations of homogeneity of variance, we conducted a Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA on frequency of race acknowledgement across rationales, $X^2(3) = 34.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .38$ and there was a significant difference in frequency of acknowledging race across rationales. We ran pairwise comparisons using Dwass-Steel-Critchlow-Fligner's test and found race was more frequently acknowledge when participants mentioned a functional vs. idiosyncratic rational or colorblind rationale, $Ws > 5.94$, $ps < .001$. Race was also more frequently acknowledged when participants mentioned a perceptual vs. idiosyncratic rationale or colorblind rationale, $Ws > 4.92$, $p < .001$. There was no significant difference in frequency of race acknowledgement between participants who mentioned functional vs. perceptual rationales, $p = .07$. Similarly, there was no difference in acknowledgment of race for those who provided idiosyncratic vs. colorblind rationales, $p = .30$.

Table 2. *Number (Percentage) of Adults by Rationale for (Not) Mentioning Race During the Photo Identification Task*

Rationale	Mentioned Race	Did Not Mention Race	Total
Functional	40 (97.56%)	1(2.44%)	41 (45.56%)
Perceptual	32 (94.12%)	2 (5.88%)	34 (37.78%)
Colorblind	4 (57.14%)	3 (42.86%)	7 (7.78%)

| Idiosyncratic | 1 (1.10%) | 7 (7.78%) | 8 (8.79%) |

Personal endorsement of colorblindness. The frequency with which race was acknowledged was negatively associated with colorblind norms, $r = -.26$, $p = .03$; those who mentioned race more frequently in the photo identification task were less likely to endorse colorblind norms.

Discussion

I provide the first evidence that, in a racially diverse context, Asian participants overwhelmingly use race; over 80% of Asian participants mentioned race at least once during the photo-identification task. In addition, rationales other than colorblindness were most frequently provided to justify acknowledging race. Specifically, more participants provided functional or perceptual-based reasons, as opposed to colorblind or idiosyncratic reasons, during the photo identification task. And participants' rationales were tightly yoked to their behavior; individuals who provided functional or perceptually-based rationales, as compared to a colorblind rationale, mentioned race more often during the photo identification task. Finally, the tendency to acknowledge race was related to participants' personal endorsement (or lack) of a colorblind norm; participants who mentioned race more frequently in the photo identification task were *less* likely to personally endorse a colorblind norm. This pattern of results is consistent with the possibility that in a racially diverse setting, individuals are more willing to acknowledge race and use race in a functional way.

Study 3

The results of Study 2 found that Asian individuals in a racially diverse context overwhelmingly made use of race and provided functional or perceptual-based rationales for doing so. However, because my sample included only Asian participants an alternative explanation is possible. Although racial minorities and Whites may feel similar social pressure to adopt strategic colorblindness (Neville et al. 2013; Pauker et al., 2015), due to their racial minority status Asian participants may be more comfortable talking about race (Sue, 2013) and therefore be more willing to acknowledge race in race-relevant situations (cf. Pauker et al., 2015). If so, Asian participants may be less likely to engage in strategic colorblindness and more likely to use race because of their racial minority status, and not because of prevalent social norms in this racially diverse context to acknowledge race. If this was the case, then I would anticipate participants' reasoning for using race to reflect increased comfort using this dimension because of their racial identity.

To examine this possibility, in Study 3 I included a White sample for comparison as the majority of the research conducted to date has focused on this group. If the tendency to acknowledge race in Study 2 was based on racial minority group membership, then I would again expect Asian participants to acknowledge race and provide task-focused reasons for doing so. In addition, replicating research conducted on the Continental U.S., I would expect Whites to display strategic colorblindness and avoid mentioning race. However, if racially diverse contexts feature social norms that encourage acknowledging race, then I would expect *both* Whites and Asians in Hawaiʻi to mention race with the same frequency during the photo identification task and provide similar rationales for doing so. Replicating Study 2, I expected participants to overwhelmingly use functional or perceptual-based rationales (and that these rationales would

not differ between Asian and White participants), and that those who provided functional or perceptual-based, as compared to colorblind, rationales would mention race more frequently.

Since I anticipated that social norms may differ in racially diverse contexts (e.g., Ryan et al., 2010; Ryan et al., 2007), I also measured participants' perceptions of social norms in Hawaiʻi. I expected that participants who mentioned race more frequently would perceive that other people in Hawaiʻi were less likely to endorse a colorblind norm. In other words, their behavior would be in line with perceived social norms, and both White and Asian participants should endorse similar social norms.

Method

Participants. I aimed to collect 30 participants of each racial background. Sixty-seven undergraduates from the University of Hawaiʻi's human subjects participant pool and members of the community participated in exchange for partial course credit or a $5 Starbucks gift card. The sample included 34 East Asian or Southeast Asian (24 females, $M_{age} = 20.35$ years, $SD = 4.66$, age ranged 17-44 years old) and 29 White (20 females, $M_{age} = 26.86$ years, $SD = 9.82$, age ranged 18-52 years old) participants. Because of experimenter error, 6 White participants did not complete the colorblind norms questionnaire and are not included in the correlational analyses. A sensitivity power analyses was conducted to detect an effect size of 0.33 with 80% power and $\alpha = .05$ between the two racial groups.

Materials and procedure. Participants completed the measures as outlined in Study 2, with the following exception: instead of measuring personal endorsement of colorblind norms, four items were used to assess perceptions of whether other people in Hawaiʻi endorsed a colorblind approach to race (i.e., perceptions of colorblind norms; e.g., "*In Hawaiʻi, people bring*

up race in their everyday conversations [reverse scored]"; adapted from Pauker et al., 2015).

Agreement with the statements was rated on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*Very Strongly*

Disagree) to 6 (*Very Strongly Agree*) and responses were averaged together, such that higher

scores indicated greater perceived endorsement of colorblind norms ($\alpha = .62$). As in Study 1, the

photo identification task was completed with an experimenter (3 White females, 1 White male, 5

Asian females, and 1 Asian male) who belonged to the participant's racial ingroup (i.e., Asian

participants interacted with an Asian experimenter, and White participants with a White

experimenter). Video recordings of the photo identification task were coded for the frequency

with which race was acknowledged (Cohen's $\kappa = 1$) and the rationale for using race (Cohen's κ

$= .78$) using the same procedures as outlined in Study 2.

Results

   Acknowledgment of race. Replicating the results of Study 1, in the racially diverse

context of Hawai'i, participants overwhelmingly made use of race in the photo identification

task: 32 (94.10%) Asian participants and 23 (79.31%) White participants asked about race at

least once during the photo identification task. Averaged across all four trials, Asian participants

acknowledged race 77.21% ($SD = 31.60$) of the time and White participants acknowledged race

63.79% ($SD = 39.86$) of the time. As anticipated, Asian and White participants did not reliably

differ in their tendency to mention race, $t(61) = 1.49$, $p = .14$, $d = .38$.

   Rationale for acknowledgment of race. As expected, participants used certain

rationales for acknowledging race (or not) more frequently than others, $\chi^2 (3) = 13.01$, $p < .005$,

$V = .45$. And the rationales provided did not differ by participant race, $\chi^2 (3) = 3.78$, $p = .29$.

Functional and perceptually-based rationales were used by more participants than colorblind and

idiosyncratic rationales. Overall, 17 (26.98%) participants provided a functional rationale, 38 (60.32%) reported a perceptually-based rationale, 5 (7.93%) reported a colorblind rationale, and 3 (4.76%) reported idiosyncratic responses (Table 3).

To examined whether frequency of acknowledging race differed by rationale, we conducted a Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA on frequency of race acknowledgement across rationales, $X^2(3) = 10.30$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .16$ and there was a significant difference in frequency of acknowledging race across rationales. We ran pairwise comparisons using Dwass-Steel-Critchlow-Fligner's test and found race was more frequently acknowledge when participants mentioned a functional vs. idiosyncratic or colorblind rationale, $Ws > 3.40$, $ps < .02$. Race was also more frequently acknowledged when participants mentioned a perceptual rationale vs. colorblind rationale, $W = 2.99$, $p = .04$. Additionally, there was no significant difference in frequency of race acknowledgment between those who reported a functional vs. perceptual rationale, $p = .15$. There was also no significant difference in frequency of race acknowledgement between participants who mentioned functional or perceptual rationales as compared to those who gave idiosyncratic rationales, $ps > .18$.

Table 3. *Number (Percentage) of Asian and White Adults by Rationale for (Not) Mentioning Race During the Photo Identification Task*

	Mentioned Race		Did Not Mention Race		Total	
Rationale	Asian	White	Asian	White	Asian	White
Functional	10 (58.82%)	7 (41.18%)	0	0	10 (58.82%)	7 (41.18%)

Perceptual	20 (57.14%)	15 (42.86%)	1 (20.00%)	4 (80.00%)	21 (52.50%)	19 (47.50%)
Colorblind	2 (66.67%)	1 (33.33%)	1 (33.33%)	2 (66.67%)	3 (50.00%)	3 (50.00%)
Idiosyncratic	0	3 (100.00%)	0	0	0	3 (100.00%)

Perceptions of colorblind norms. I replicated Study 1's finding, with lower endorsement of colorblind norms relating to greater frequency in use of race across both groups, $r = -.38$, $p < .003$. I then examined whether perceived colorblind norms differed as a function of participant race and interestingly found significant differences, $t(55) = -3.60$, $p < .001$, $d = -.97$, such that Asian participants did not perceive colorblind norms ($M = 2.66$, $SD = .13$) as greatly as White participants ($M = 3.30$, $SD = .11$). I then regressed colorblind norms and participant race onto frequency in use of race to better understand how perceived colorblind norms related to use of race. Participant race was effect coded as Asian (1) vs. White (-1), and all continuous variables were mean centered. I found a main effect for perceived colorblind norms, such that lower perceived colorblind norms related to greater frequency in use of race, $b = -.17$, $SE = .07$, $t = -2.45$, $p < .02$. I found no significant main effect for participant race, $b = .04$, $SE = .05$, $t = .74$, $p = .46$. However, these were qualified by a significant interaction, $b = 24$, $SE = .08$, $t = 3.07$, $p < .003$. When decomposing these results through testing simple slopes, I found that for Asian participants, perceived colorblind norms did not influence use of race, $b = -.06$, $SE = .07$, $p = .42$. However, for White participants, perceiving greater colorblind norms was related to lower frequency in use of race, $b = -.53$, $SE = .13$, $p < .001$.

Discussion

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I again provide evidence that, in a racially diverse context, participants overwhelmingly made use of race; nearly 80% of participants mentioned race in at least once during the photo-identification task. Further, the tendency to acknowledge race did not differ by race of the participant. Replicating Study 2, both Whites and Asians mentioned race to the same extent and provided rationales other than colorblindness for using race to negotiate a race-relevant situation. Participants were more likely to provide a functional or perceptually-based reason for talking about race as compared to colorblind or idiosyncratic reasons. Again, the tendency to acknowledge race during the photo identification task corresponded to the rationale provided; those who used functional or perceptually-based reasoning were more likely to mention race as compared to those who used a colorblind rationale. Supporting the possibility that in a racially diverse context the dominant ideology may shift from colorblindness to multiculturalism, rationales for talking about race did not differ by participant race. This pattern of results aligns with the possibility that in in racially diverse contexts both Whites and non-Whites follow the social norms to more readily talk about race and use rationales that promote the acknowledgment of race.

In addition, I found that individuals more likely to acknowledge race perceived less of a colorblind norm in Hawai'i. Interestingly, for Asian participants, perceived colorblind norms had no impact on whether they acknowledged race or not, whereas for White participants this relationship persisted. It is possible that perceived colorblind norms for Asian participants do not align with what White participants interpret colorblind norms to be. Colorblind behaviors are often purported as a strategy to avoid appearing prejudiced (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b, Rattan & Ambady, 2013). It may be that White participants (those who may be most motivated to appear non-prejudiced; Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004), adopt behavior in line

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with contextual norms (which in the context of Hawai'i, is to acknowledge race). Asian participants, on the other hand, may not need to ascribe to the perceived colorblind norms, due to the fact that they might not strategically engage in colorblind behavior to appear non-prejudiced or might not even connect talking about race to prejudice. Given these findings, I aimed to tease apart the meaning behind colorblind norms and how following such norms may relate to strategies of appearing non-prejudiced in Study 4.

Study 4

While Studies 2 and 3 addressed the question of whether or not those in a racially diverse setting such as Hawai'i use race in a social task, such as the photo identification task used in these studies, it remains unclear if the social strategy used only exists in Hawai'i. Furthermore, while colorblind norms may inherently promote a strategy to appear non-prejudiced in the broader U.S. societal context, it is unclear whether those in a racially diverse context, like Hawai'i also hold these conceptions. To test whether or not adoption of more functional or perceptually salient race-related social norms is unique to racially diverse environments (or Hawai'i specifically), Study 4 examined whether endorsement of these norms varied as a function of geographical context. Furthermore, I aimed to disentangle whether a "talking about race is not prejudiced" norm exists in varied contexts and whether it covaried with racial group membership. I directly measured the social norms that guide participants' use of race in *two* racially diverse contexts (Hawai'i and California) and compare this to a majority-White context (Massachusetts). I chose to use Massachusetts as a comparison location because past research on use of colorblind strategies has been primarily been conducted in this location (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Norton et al., 2006). Furthermore, I chose California as a comparison due to its similarity

in racial demographics to Hawaiʻi (i.e., it has a majority-minority Asian population in certain counties).

To examine the differences among the three locations, I examined endorsement of race-related social norms, such as functional, perceptual, and talking about race is (not) prejudiced, but also included possible alternative norms such as valuing diversity (multiculturalism). Building on Studies 2 and 3, I hypothesized that participants in Hawaiʻi would endorse a talking about race is not prejudiced norm, along with functional and perceptual norms. I expected that participants in racially diverse contexts, such as Hawaiʻi and California would not endorse colorblind ideologies, whereas, replicating past research (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Norton et al., 2006), those in a racially homogenous context would endorse a colorblind ideology. Lastly, I hypothesized these differences would be a contextual effect, and that race of participant would not influence these results above and beyond geographic location.

Method

In order to investigate whether social norms concerning race significantly differed between a racially diverse context compared to a racially homogenous context, I measured endorsement and perception of race-related social norms in Hawaiʻi, California, and Massachusetts. A survey containing a variety of measures on perceptions and endorsement of race-related social norms as it pertains to talking about race was distributed to participants who lived in these locations via a Qualtrics Panel.

Participants. I recruited both Asian and White participants from Hawaiʻi, California, and Massachusetts. Given that demographics can vary substantially across each county in California, I pre-selected participants from the following counties: Orange County, Santa Clara

County, Alameda County, San Francisco County, and San Mateo County. According to the U.S. Census (2012), these counties were majority-minority, with the largest minority group being Asian. These demographics most closely mimic Hawai'i's population, and can therefore allow us to rule out any effects that may be due to Hawai'i's unique cultural and historical context. I collected data from 100 Hawai'i (50 White, 60 females, $M_{age} = 45.80$, $SD = 16.80$), 102 California (52 White, 64 females, $M_{age} = 42.50$, $SD = 15.90$), and 104 Massachusetts (52 White, 67 females, $M_{age} = 40.20$, $SD = 15.80$) participants. A sensitivity power analysis was conducted to detect an effect size of 0.18 with 80% power and $\alpha = .05$ across the three contexts and two racial groups.

Measures.

Race-related social norms. I measured the following norms to try to capture alternative social norms that may be operating in the absence of colorblind norms: functional, perceptual, talking about race is not prejudiced, and valuing diversity. I constructed measures for each norm category, guided from participants' rationales in Studies 2 and 3. While *valuing diversity* was not a rationale I explored in Studies 2 and 3, I felt it was important to include items that captured a multicultural ideology, given its prevalence in the literature as an alternative to the colorblind ideology (Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Wolsko et al., 2000) Participants in Hawai'i received instructions to think about how people in Hawai'i would answer these questions, and respectively, Californians were asked to answer how other people in their respective counties would respond, and Massachusetts participants, were instructed to answer how other people in Massachusetts would respond.

Functional. I used 4 items to measure participants' endorsement of functional norms when acknowledging race on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 6 (*strongly agree*). Items included: "It is okay to identify a person by their race/ethnicity", "It is useful to use racial/ethnic labels to identify a person", "Knowing someone's race/ethnicity can help distinguish between people", and "People use race/ethnicity to talk about other people" ($\alpha = .71$).

Perceptual. In order to measure participants' endorsement of perceptual norms when acknowledging race I used 3 items on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 6 (*strongly agree*). Items included: "It is okay to notice that individuals differ by race/ethnicity", "Race/ethnicity is one of the first things people notice about others", and "Someone's race/ethnicity is an obvious characteristic that is hard to ignore" ($\alpha = .34$). Given the low reliability across the items, I did not conduct further analyses on this measure.

Talking about race is not prejudiced. I measured the talking about race is not prejudiced norm with 5 items on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 6 (*strongly agree*). Items included: "Talking about race/ethnicity is not offensive", "People can talk about race/ethnicity without being concerned about appearing prejudiced", "Talking about someone's race/ethnicity is not prejudiced", "Someone who mentions someone's race/ethnicity is racist" (reverse-coded), and "To be culturally sensitive, it is best not to mention someone's race or ethnicity" (reverse-coded, $\alpha = .76$).

Valuing diversity. To measure the valuing diversity norm when acknowledging race I used 4 items on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 6 (*strongly agree*). Items included: "By acknowledging another's race/ethnicity, people are better able to celebrate the differences that make each person unique", "Talking about race/ethnicity can raise awareness about the unique

issues experienced by different racial or ethnic groups", "It is important to know someone's racial/ethnic background in order to understand them better", and "Valuing the different races/ethnicities that make people unique encourages everyone to feel included" ($\alpha = .78$).

   Colorblind ideology and endorsement. To measure endorsement of colorblind ideology, I used Norton, et al.'s (2006) two-item measure. Participants rated items on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Items are as follow: "When I interact with other people, I try not to notice the color of their skin" and "If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we all would get along much better" ($\alpha = .84$). I also measured participants' endorsement of colorblind attitudes by asking participants their opinions on a passage that questions the idea of colorblindness (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000). Participants were asked how much they agreed with colorblind attitudes and if they believed it is an effective strategy for improving equality ($\alpha = .86$). Both measures were highly correlated, $r = .63$, $p < .001$, therefore we combined these two measures to form an index of colorblind ideology endorsement, $\alpha = .87$.

Results

   Race-related social norms. I conducted a 2 (race: Asian vs. White) X 3 (location: Hawai'i, California, Massachusetts) ANOVA on my 3 dependent measures of race-related norms (functional, talking about race is not prejudiced, valuing diversity). See Table 4 for means and standard deviations.

   First I examined any main effects and interactions for functional norms. There was a significant main effect for race, $F(1, 300) = 4.34$, $p < .04$, $\eta^2 = .01$, such that Asian participants endorsed functional norms ($M = 3.78$, $SD = .77$) to a greater extent than White participants ($M = 3.58$, $SD = .96$). There was also a marginal main effect for location, $F(2, 300) = 2.99$, $p < .06$,

however none of the post-hoc comparisons showed significant differences. Additionally, there was no significant interaction between race and location for endorsement of functional norms.

Next, I examined endorsement of talking about race is not prejudiced norms and found no significant main effect for race, $p = .26$. There was, however, a main for location, $F(2, 300) = 3.45$, $p < .03$, $\eta^2 = .02$. A post-hoc test using Tukey's correction found a significant difference between participants' endorsement in Hawai'i ($M = 4.20$, $SD = .77$) and Massachusetts ($M = 3.94$, $SD = .76$), $t(300) = 2.46$, $p < .04$. There was no significant difference between California's participants ($M = 4.15$, $SD = .75$) and the other two locations, $ps > .11$. There was no significant interaction between race and location on endorsement of talking about race is not prejudiced norm.

Lastly, I examined endorsement of valuing diversity norms and found no significant differences across race or location, $ps > .15$.

Colorblind ideology endorsement. I conducted a 2 (race: Asian vs. White) X 3 (location: Hawai'i, California, Massachusetts) ANOVA on the dependent measures of colorblind ideology endorsement. See Table 4 for means and standard deviations.

I examined colorblind ideology across race and location and found no significant effect for race, $p = .34$. There was a main effect for location, $F(2, 300) = 104.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .40$. Post-hoc comparisons with Tukey's correction found a significant difference between Hawai'i ($M = 2.79$, $SD = .90$) and California ($M = 4.37$, $SD = .89$), $t(300) = 12.41$, $p < .001$, and a significant difference between Hawai'i and Massachusetts ($M = 4.39$, $SD = .98$), $t(300) = 12.63$, $p < .001$. These are qualified by a significant interaction, $F(2, 300) = 7.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$. In order to decompose this interaction, I ran post-hoc comparisons using Tukey's correction, and I

report findings below by race. Asian participants in Hawai'i ($M = 3.12$, $SD = .88$) significantly differed in their endorsement of colorblind ideology in comparison to White participants in Hawai'i ($M = 2.45$, $SD = .79$), Asian participants in California ($M = 4.28$, $SD = .87$), White participants in California ($M = 4.46$, $SD = .92$), Asian participants in Massachusetts ($M = 4.29$, $SD = .93$), and White participants in Massachusetts ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.02$), $ts > 3.69$, $ps < .004$. White participants in Hawai'i significantly differed in comparison to Asian participants in California, White participants in California, Asian participants in Massachusetts, and White participants in Massachusetts, $ts > 10.11$, $ps < .001$.

Race-related social norms by colorblind ideology endorsement. In order to unpack whether race-related social norms actually map onto colorblind ideology, I ran a correlation between endorsement of functional, talking about race is not prejudice, and valuing diversity norms and colorblind ideology endorsement. Scores were collapsed across location and race. Endorsement of functional norms were negatively related to colorblind ideology endorsement, $r = -.15$, $p = .01$, such that greater endorsement of functional norms was related to lower colorblind ideology endorsement. Similarly, I found that greater endorsement of talking about race is not prejudiced was related to lower endorsement of colorblind ideology, $r = -.16$, $p = .004$. Valuing diversity norms was not related to colorblind ideology endorsement, $p = .47$.

Table 4. *Means and Standard Deviations for Scale Responses Across Race and Location*

	Hawai'i		California		Massachusetts	
	Asian	White	Asian	White	Asian	White
Functional	3.79 (.77)	3.77 (1.02)	3.98 (.73)	3.53 (1.00)	3.58 (.77)	3.44 (.84)
Talk race not prej	4.20 (.76)	4.20 (.78)	4.05 (.71)	4.25 (.78)	3.90 (.63)	3.98 (.88)

Value diversity	4.57 (.89)	4.42 (.79)	4.62 (.70)	4.43 (.83)	4.50 (.84)	4.42 (.79)
Colorblind id endorse	3.12 (.88)	2.45 (.79)	4.28 (.87)	4.46 (.92)	4.29 (.93)	4.49 (1.02)

Discussion

In this study I provide support for my hypotheses that in racially diverse contexts, a talking about race is not prejudiced norm persists. Both Asian and White participants in Hawai'i endorsed a talking about race is not prejudiced norm as compared to participants in Massachusetts. I found marginal support for this effect in California, however, further research is needed to understand behavior of individuals in that context. Interestingly, I found no location differences for endorsement of functional norms. While those in Hawai'i and California endorsed these norms to a slightly greater extent than those in Massachusetts, these differences were not significant. Instead, I found that Asian participants were more likely to endorse this norm over White participants, which might speak to past research in which minorities generally report more comfort in race-related conversations as compared to White individuals (Trawalter & Richeson, 2008). I also found consistent results for colorblind ideology endorsement, such that participants in Hawai'i report lower endorsement of these ideologies as compared to participants in both California and Massachusetts. Given that Hawai'i participants believe talking about race is not prejudiced, it is no wonder they report low endorsement of colorblind ideologies. However, it is unclear why participants in California still report endorsement of colorblind ideologies, despite also endorsing functional and talking about race is not prejudiced norms to some extent. Furthermore, I did not expect White participants in Hawai'i to have significantly lower levels of colorblind ideology endorsement than their Asian counterparts. These findings are discussed further in the General Discussion. Lastly, I found support for the connection

between race-related social norm endorsement (particularly the talking about race is not prejudiced norm) and colorblind ideology endorsement. Therefore, in Study 5, I investigate the possibility that activating a talking about race is not prejudiced norm can cause individuals to feel more comfortable acknowledging race.

Study 5

Talking about race is considered to not be prejudiced behavior for both Asian and White participants in racially diverse contexts, and this might explain why I found lack of colorblind behavior in Studies 2 and 3. My findings in Studies 2 and 3 suggest that regardless of racial group membership, participants in Hawaiʻi tend to acknowledge race in race-relevant tasks. In Study 4 I found that participants in Hawaiʻi were also more likely to perceive talking about race to not be a prejudiced behavior. In order to disentangle whether a talking about race is not prejudiced norm is a key mechanism in whether individuals acknowledge race, in Study 5 I manipulated this norm. I primed Hawaiʻi participants with a talking about race *is* prejudiced norm in order to test whether or not concerns about appearing prejudiced do in fact predict colorblind strategy use.

I expected that participants in Hawaiʻi who are primed to perceive talking about race *is* prejudiced would then adopt a colorblind strategy at a similar rate to past studies conducted in less racially diverse contexts (Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Apfelbaum et al., 2008b) and that their hesitancy to use race would be significantly greater than those in a control condition. By using a social norm manipulation, I directly test whether "talking about race is prejudiced" is the mechanism from which colorblind behavior stems. I primed participants with a talking about race is prejudiced norm or a no race norm (simply modeling not talking about race), in

comparison to a no-prime control. I measured participants' use of race in the same photo

identification task as Studies 2 and 3. In addition, I examined participants' endorsement of

various strategies (e.g., functional) and race-related norms (e.g., talking about race is not

prejudiced, valuing diversity, colorblind ideology and endorsement) and whether the social norm

primes influenced their endorsement of these strategies and norms.

Method

   Participants. An a priori power analyses to detect effects for a 3 (norm: talking about

race is prejudiced, no race, and control) way ANOVA for achieved power level of 0.80, and

effect size of 0.30 requires a sample size of 111 (G*Power; Franz et al., 2009). Therefore, I

recruited 112 participants from University of Hawai'i at Manoa's undergraduate student

population to participate in exchange for extra course credit or a \$5 gift card. Because Studies 2

and 3 demonstrated that regardless of race, participants used race to the same extent, I recruited

only Asian participants for this study. My final sample included 66 females, 45 males, and 1

preferred not to identify, from ages 17-64 (M_{age} = 21.10, SD = 6.02). A sensitivity power

analysis was also conducted to detect an effect size of 0.30 with 80% power and α = .05 across

the three conditions.

   Procedure. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: talking about

race is prejudiced norm, no race norm, or the control. First, participants were told they would

learn about the game they would be playing in the study via instructions presented on a computer

screen. In the talking about race is prejudiced condition, participants saw an example video of

the photo identification task being completed with an ostensible past Asian participant. The

participant did not use a race-related question to identify the target face. When the experimenter

asked "Why did you choose not to use racial labels in this task?" the ostensible participant responded that they didn't use race because "here in Hawai'i, we don't use race because it's racist". The instructions and video were identical in the no race norm condition, with the exception that the participant responded that they weren't sure why they didn't use race. In the control condition, participants were not shown an example video, but given written instructions on how to play the game (e.g., "You will be asked to guess what face your partner has with as few yes-no questions as possible"). We chose to include a no race norm condition in order to ensure that no other aspect of the video prime significantly impacted participants' behavior (e.g., seeing a participant not use race-related questions, given example questions to use in the task). Participants then completed the photo identification task as outlined in Studies 2 and 3. Video recordings of the photo identification task were coded for the frequency with which race was acknowledged (Cohen's $\kappa = 1.00$) and the rationale for using race (Cohen's $\kappa = .84$) using the same procedures outlined in Study 2. After participants completed the task, they were moved to a computer to complete a few questionnaires. Afterwards, they were debriefed about the purpose of the experiment and given information on how colorblind strategies may be ineffective at improving race-relations.

Measures. The backend questionnaire included the following scales (randomized): race-related social norms scales ($\alpha s > .58$), and Colorblind Ideology ($\alpha = .67$), as described in Study 4 and demographic questions. I also included items on personal endorsement of colorblind norms (Study 2) and perceptions of colorblind norms (Study 3; $\alpha s > .70$).

Results

Acknowledgment of race. First, I examined whether acknowledgment of race differed by condition, and found a significant difference, $\chi^2(2) = 35.17$, $p < .001$, $V = .56$. In the talking about race is prejudiced condition 12 (32.43%) participants acknowledged race, in the no race condition 19 (51.35%) participants acknowledged race and overwhelmingly, 37 (97.37%) participants in the control condition acknowledged race (see Figure 1). There was also a significant difference across conditions, in frequency of acknowledging race, $F(2, 109) = 35.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .40$. Averaged across all four trials, those in the talking about race is prejudiced condition acknowledged race 14.19% ($SD = 26.05$) of the time, and those in the no race condition acknowledged race 35.81% ($SD = 40.20$) of the time. As anticipated, those in the control condition acknowledged race 75.66 % ($SD = 27.56$) of the time. Post-hoc comparison using Tukey's correction found frequency in acknowledging race for participants in the control condition was greater than both the talking about race is prejudiced and no race norm conditions, $ts(109) > 5.41$, $ps < .001$. There was also a significant difference of frequency in acknowledgement of race for participants in the talking about race is prejudice vs. no race norm condition, $t(109) = 2.92$, $p = .01$.

As predicted, when participants were primed with a talking about race *is* prejudiced norm, they exhibited colorblind behavior and did not acknowledge race. Furthermore, we find the strongest effect when the social norm manipulation was explicit (e.g., reason for not mentioning race was based upon not appearing racist) as compared to implicit (e.g., reason for not mentioning race was idiosyncratic). Lastly, I replicate my findings in Studies 2 and 3, such that participants with no social norm prime acknowledged race in the majority of trials.
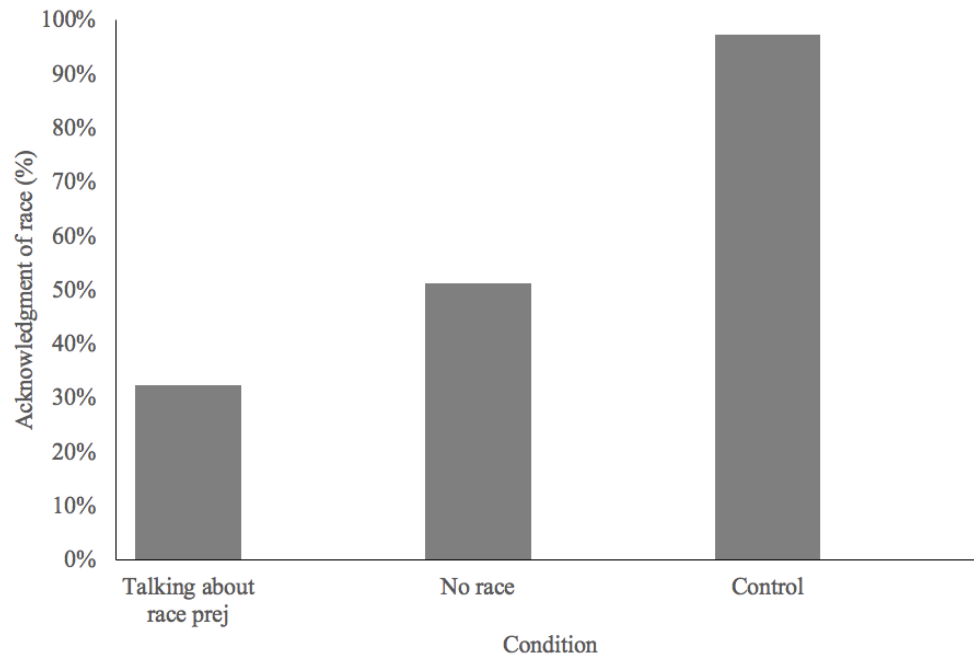
Figure 1. *Percentage of participants who acknowledged race across conditions.*

Rationale for acknowledgment of race. As expected, participants' rationale for acknowledgment of race differed across conditions, $\chi^2(6) = 19.11$, $p < .004$, $V = .29$. Participants in the talking about race is prejudiced condition most frequently mentioned a perceptual (48.65%) rationale for (not) using race (e.g., reason for not using race was based on difficulty perceiving racial differences), followed by a colorblind (27.03%), and functional (24.32%) rationales. For those in the no race norm condition, the most reported rationale was functional (45.95%), followed by perceptual (35.14%), colorblind (10.81%) and idiosyncratic (8.11%). Lastly, replicating my findings from Studies 2 and 3, those in the control condition most often reported a functional (50%), and perceptual (47.37%) rationale for acknowledging race, followed by one (2.63%) idiosyncratic response. See Table 5 for percentages.

We also examined whether frequency of acknowledging race differed by rationale. Given the unbalanced sample by rationale and violations of homogeneity of variance, we conducted a

Kruskal-Wallis one-way ANOVA on frequency of race acknowledgement across rationales, $X^2(3) = 29.36$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .25$ and there was a significant difference in frequency of acknowledging race across rationales. We ran pairwise comparisons using Dwass-Steel-Critchlow-Fligner's test and found race was more frequently acknowledge when participants mentioned a functional vs. perceptual or colorblind rationales, $Ws > 4.04$, $ps < .004$. Race was also more frequently acknowledged when participants mentioned a perceptual or idiosyncratic rationales vs. a colorblind rationale, $Ws > 3.85$, $p < .006$. There was no significant difference in frequency of race acknowledgement between participants who mentioned functional or perceptual rationales as compared to those who gave idiosyncratic rationales, $ps > .14$. Despite these findings, it is interesting to note that participants still overwhelmingly report functional and perceptual rationales for (not) acknowledging race across all conditions, which may speak to the underlying social norms that exist in this context when it comes to race-related issues.

Table 5. *Number (Percentage) of Rationale for (Not) Mentioning Race During the Photo Identification Task Across Conditions*

Rationale	Talking about race is prejudiced	No race	Control
Functional	24.32%	45.95%	50.00%
Perceptual	48.65%	35.14%	47.37%
Colorblind	27.03%	10.81%	0.00%
Idiosyncratic	0	8.11%	2.63%

Race-related social norms endorsement. Next, we were interested to see if the social norm primes influenced personal endorsement of race-related norms. To do this we ran one-way ANOVAs across conditions on all of the race-related social norm endorsement measures to see whether or not the manipulation of social norms impacted their endorsement of race-related norms[3]. See Table 6 for means and standard deviations.

Functional. There were no differences in functional endorsement by condition, $F(2, 109) = .92, p = .40$.

Talking about race is not prejudiced. Surprisingly, we also found no significant difference in endorsement of talking about race as *not* prejudiced behavior, $F(2, 109) = .95, p = .39$.

Valuing diversity. There was no significant difference in valuing diversity endorsement by condition, $F(2, 109) = .16, p = .86$.

Colorblind endorsement. Similarly, we ran one-way ANOVAs across conditions on all of the colorblind endorsement measures to see whether or not the manipulation of social norms impacted their endorsement of these norms.

Colorblind norms. We found no significant difference in personal endorsement of colorblind norms by condition, $F(2, 109) = 2.37, p = .10$. However, we did find a significant difference in perceptions of colorblind norms by condition, $F(2, 109) = 4.21, p = .02, \eta^2 = .07$. Those in the talking about race is prejudiced condition ($M = 2.93, SD = .77$) perceived others in Hawai'i to endorse colorblindness to greater extent as compared to those in the control condition

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[3] I did not include items on perceptual norms in this study given the low reliability for these items in Study 3.

($M = 2.47$, $SD = .54$), $t(109) = 2.76$, $p = .02$. None of the other comparisons were significant, $ps > .09$.

Colorblind ideology. While personal endorsement of colorblind norms did not differ across condition, there was a significant difference in endorsement of colorblind ideology, $F(2, 109) = 3.80$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Those in the talking about race is prejudiced condition ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.18$) endorsed colorblind ideology to a greater extent than those in the control condition ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.01$), $t(73) = 2.50$, $p = .04$. There was no significant difference for those in the no race norm condition vs. the talking about race is prejudice or control conditions ($M = 4.45$, $SD = 1.01$), $ps > .19$.

Table 6. *Means and Standard Deviations for Endorsement of Norms Across Conditions.*

Norms	Talking about race is prejudiced	No race	Control
Functional	3.91 (.93)	4.09 (.93)	4.18 (.85)
Talking about race is prejudiced	4.04 (.87)	4.22 (.66)	4.26 (.64)
Value diversity	4.73 (.62)	4.72 (.74)	4.64 (.76)
CB endorse	3.53 (.98)	3.32 (.87)	3.07 (.90)
CB perceptions	2.93 (.77)	2.82 (.79)	2.47 (.54)
CB ideology	4.69 (1.18)	4.45 (1.10)	4.00 (1.01)

Notes. Standard deviations are presented in parentheses.

Overall, I found that the social norm manipulations did impact perceptions of colorblind norms and endorsement of colorblind ideology. Those primed with a talking about race is prejudiced norm perceived others in Hawaiʻi to also endorse colorblind strategies, and they themselves endorsed colorblind ideology to a greater extent. However, these social norm primes did not impact personal endorsement of other race-related norms. This may suggest that perhaps social norms impact behavior and perception of others' beliefs, but not personal beliefs.

Discussion

I hypothesized that those exposed to the talking about race is prejudiced norm would adopt a colorblind strategy whereas those in the no race condition and control condition would adopt a functional strategy and use race at a greater frequency. Supporting my hypothesis I found that those in the talking about race is prejudiced condition did not use race as frequently as compared to those in the no race and control conditions. Replicating my previous findings in Studies 2 and 3, for those in the control condition 97% acknowledged race, whereas for those in the talking about race is prejudiced condition only about 32% acknowledged race, similar to the rate at which participants acknowledged race in past research conducted in majority-White contexts in the U.S. (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b). Additionally, I found that participants' rationale for acknowledging race significantly differed by condition. As expected, participants in the talking about race is prejudiced condition often used a colorblind rationale for not acknowledging race, while those in the control condition used functional or perceptual rationales for acknowledging race. In the no race condition I found that participants also reported using a functional rationale (e.g., if the participant did not use race, their rationale for not using race was that another attribute was more useful in identifying the photo). Interestingly, for these

participants, concerns about appearing prejudiced or remaining egalitarian did not appear to drive their hesitancy to use race.

Surprisingly, I found no significant differences across condition for endorsement of functional norms, despite many of the participants reporting a functional rationale in the task. One potential reason for this is that across conditions, participants still overwhelmingly reported using a functional strategy. The manipulated conditions, while able to shift behavior in the task, may not have been strong enough to shift personal endorsements of a functional norm in talking about race. This was further supported by the lack of a difference in endorsing a talking about race as not prejudiced norm. Despite shifts in behavior in the task, participants in all conditions reported similar levels of endorsing the norm of talking about race is not prejudiced behavior. Similarly, there was no difference in reports of personal colorblind endorsement across conditions. This might suggest that the manipulation did not impact personal endorsement of norms outside of the photo identification task. I did, however, find significant differences in perceptions of colorblind norms held by others in Hawai'i, and colorblind ideology for participants in the talking about race is prejudiced vs. control condition. As expected, those in the talking about race is prejudiced condition reported greater perceptions of others in Hawai'i endorsing colorblind norms and greater endorsement of colorblind ideology as compared to those in the control condition. Thus, while the conditions did not impact personal endorsement of various race-related norms, it did impact participants' perception of colorblind norms and their endorsement of colorblind ideology.

Overall, I replicated past findings, such that participants in the control condition who received no prime, chose to acknowledge race in the photo identification task and reported a functional rationale in doing so. Furthermore, I found that introducing a talking about race is

prejudiced norm, shifted participants' behavior in the task, reducing their likelihood of acknowledging race. Interestingly, while I found the greatest effect within the talking about race is prejudiced condition, I also was able to shift behavior in the no race norm condition, where hesitancy to use race was only modelled through descriptive norms, as compared to the talking about race is prejudiced condition, where participants were primed with explicit injunctive norms about colorblind behavior and the importance of not acknowledging race. This suggests that individuals' willingness to mention race or not may also be susceptible to more subtle cues, such as descriptive norms.

General Discussion

Overall, the aim of these studies was to unpack race-related strategies in a racially diverse context. In Study 1 I found that participants in Hawaiʻi used race in everyday conversations about 30% of the time, and that interacting with close friends who were of a different race/ethnicity than yourself was related to greater comfort in talking about race. Moving into a lab setting, in Studies 2 and 3 I found that both Asian and White individuals used race in a photo identification task to a great extent, endorsing functional norms (e.g., it is useful to use race) for their rationale. In Study 4, I compared endorsement of various race-related norms (e.g., functional vs. colorblind) in 3 unique contexts (Hawaiʻi, California, and Massachusetts) and found that both Asian and White individuals in majority-minority contexts (Hawaiʻi and California) endorsed colorblind norms to a lesser extent than those in majority-White contexts (Massachusetts). Finally, in Study 5 I primed colorblind behavior in Hawaiʻi participants by activating a talking about race is prejudiced norm. Here, I found that priming this norm reduced the frequency with which participants acknowledged race in a photo identification task, but did not impact their own personal endorsement of race-related norms. Together, these studies

highlight a new and unique norm which individuals in racially diverse contexts might adopt when concerning race (e.g., functional) and establish how powerful these norms might be in shifting behavior (Study 5). While I provide some evidence for the existence of unique norms in racially diverse contexts, it remains unclear whether these norms are susceptible to change.

Limitations and Future Research

The purpose of these studies were to replicate past research on the use of colorblind strategies when negotiating race-relevant situations. Following past research, I used the photo identification task used in Apfelbaum et al. (2008b). The target photos in this task differed by race (Black vs. White). In the original studies, Apfelbaum et al. (2008b) observed White participants' strategy in playing the game. This would mean that for White participants, their ingroup is represented throughout the task (i.e., depicted in the photos), while, for two of my studies (Study 2 and 5), my participants were Asian, meaning they did not have an ingroup member represented in the task. While, this may be a limitation to my study, given that both targets in the task were outgroup members for the Asian participants, results also replicated with White participants (Study 3). Furthermore, given that for Asian participants only outgroup members were presented in the task, I believe this might provide a more stringent test of my hypotheses, such that neither target would be of the participants' own racial background, and there would inherently be more hesitancy to acknowledge race is this situation. Given my findings, that Asian participants in my studies did not hesitate to acknowledge race, I anticipate these findings would replicate even if I had included ingroup targets in the photo identification task.

Building on this limitation, another potential issue that is important to consider in the interpretation of my findings is that none of the experiments included an outgroup experimenter. Throughout all of my studies, I had an ingroup experimenter administer the photo identification task to ensure consistency throughout the studies. It is plausible that the presence of an outgroup experimenter may exacerbate anxiety in the task and promote more colorblind behavior. However, given that participants in the racially diverse contexts did not endorse colorblind norms and ideology, I would anticipate that the presence of an outgroup member would not significantly shift these behaviors. Future research should address this gap to ensure that interracial interactions do not indeed shift individuals' behavior and endorsement of functional norms as compared to colorblind norms in these contexts.

Another issue that remains to be addressed in this research is whether colorblind norms in majority-White contexts are susceptible to change. In the current study I was unable to shift the injunctive norms that persist in Hawai'i that motivate individuals to acknowledge race (e.g., functional and talking about race is not prejudiced norm). It is still unclear whether or not the manipulation was too overt, which may have resulted in a backlash response to the new injunctive norms (e.g., talking about race *is* prejudiced), or if injunctive norms are not susceptible to change once firmly established in a culture or context. Furthermore, I did not include an explicit manipulation check in Study 5 to ensure whether participants accurately encoded the social norm information embedded within the video primes. As such, it is unclear whether or not the manipulation indeed influenced the intended norms. To test these limitations, future research should either pilot manipulations or include more stringent checks of the manipulation. Other forms of introducing social norms may also produce different effects. In Study 5 I only included one video, but perhaps the addition of other stimuli would help to

reinforce these norms. Future studies should also be conducted in a majority-White context, inducing an injunctive functional norm and observe whether participants would increase their acknowledgment of race in the photo identification task. Replicating these results in a majority-White context, and inducing a functional norm, would help to address open questions about whether these norms can be shifted and whether injunctive norms about race-relevant strategies are susceptible to change.

Implications

In the U.S., there are two dominant ideologies on how to approach race and racial issues: colorblindness and multiculturalism (see Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Rattan & Ambady, 2013, for reviews). A colorblind ideology emphasizes that in order to increase equality, distinctions between racial groups should be minimized. Therefore, in contexts that promote colorblindness, there is a social pressure to ignore race and instead treat others based on their individual characteristics (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). A multicultural ideology emphasizes that race should be acknowledged and valued; in order to increase equality, the negative affect and cognitions associated with racial groups at the societal level should be eliminated (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). On the Continental U.S., colorblindness is the dominant ideology for negotiating race-relevant situations (see Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Rattan & Ambady, 2013, for reviews), and both Whites and racial minorities tend to avoid talking about race (Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Norton et al., 2006; Pauker et al., 2015). But as a strategy for appearing non-prejudiced, colorblindness may, somewhat counter-intuitively, backfire: White adults who avoid using race in a photo identification task made less eye contact (Norton et al., 2006), demonstrated less friendly non-verbal behavior when interacting with a Black partner (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Norton et al., 2006) and in doing so were rated as *more* prejudiced by

independent Black viewers (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b). By contrast, the endorsement of a multicultural ideology can have a positive impact on intergroup relations, such as reducing workplace discrimination (Linnehan, Konrad, Reitman, Greenhalgh, & London, 2003) and improving psychological engagement in the workplace (Plaut et al., 2009). Given the benefits of multiculturalism on intergroup relations, contexts characterized by racial diversity may shift from ideologies that promote colorblindness to ones that value diversity and encourage the acknowledgment of race (e.g., Chong et al., 2015).

In line with this possibility, I provide the first evidence that the strategies used to negotiate race-relevant situations in racially diverse contexts may diverge from the strategic colorblindness largely adopted on the Continental U.S. (e.g., Apfelbaum et al., 2008a; Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Norton et al., 2006; Pauker et al., 2015). In the current research, participants reported strategies that utilized the functional and perceptually salient aspects of race. The overwhelming tendency to use strategies which acknowledged race, regardless of the participants' race, suggests that the normative precedent in the racially diverse context of Hawai'i may encourage individuals to talk about race. Further supporting this possibility, in the current research participants who were more likely to acknowledge race were *less* likely to personally endorse (Study 2) and perceive others in Hawai'i as endorsing (Study 3) colorblind approaches to race. On the contrary, in the Continental U.S., participants were less likely to acknowledge race in a photo identification task, and such, had *greater* endorsement of colorblind ideology (Norton et al., 2006).

It is important to note, that while I provide new evidence for the use of alternative race-related strategies in a racially diverse context, I only measured "colorblindness" through strategic colorblind behavior, personal endorsement of colorblind ideology, and perceptions of colorblind

norm endorsement. Plenty of other work has measured colorblindness in various different ways, such as the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al., 2000) and endorsement of colorblind strategies to improve intergroup relations (Wolsko et al., 2000). Beyond this, recent research has also found that perceived intentionality of racial discrimination may moderate whether individuals endorse colorblind vs. multicultural ideologies (Apfelbaum, Grunberg, Halevy, & Kang, 2017). Apfelbaum and colleagues (2017) found that when instances of racial discrimination were presented as intentional, a colorblindness approach was preferred as opposed to a multicultural approach, and vice versa for when instances of racial discrimination were presented as unintentional. This highlights the importance of context when considering what race-related strategies are effective in improving intergroup relations. Future research should continue to examine the person by situation factors that impact the use of race-related strategies.

The results from the current research suggest the intriguing possibility that people in diverse contexts might adopt a functional approach to race, which in turn could influence how race is construed. This could lead to important differences in how individuals in diverse and non-diverse settings conceptualize race. Supporting this, previous research has provided evidence that conceptualizations of race may indeed differ between diverse and non-diverse settings. Exposure to racial diversity is related to more fluid conceptualizations of race (Pauker et al., 2017), with supporting evidence that White individuals who transition from a non-diverse setting to a racially diverse setting (e.g., Hawai'i) showed a significant decrease in their endorsement of race as an essentialized characteristic (Pauker et al., 2017). Contexts adopting multiculturalism may construe race in a positive light (Rattan & Ambady, 2013), which in turn could reduce the negative affect and cognition automatically and explicitly associated with racial categories. For example, adopting multiculturalism can lead to greater positive regard towards outgroup

individuals and lower racial bias (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005; Vorauer et al., 2009). Acknowledging race could be a key mechanism for harmonious intergroup relations; freely talking about race could reduce stigma and facilitate the conceptualization of race in absence of prejudicial and stereotypical beliefs. Although speculative, the results from the current studies suggest the possibility that in contexts where a normative precedent promotes the use of race, racial categories are frequently used – in this case used in a task-relevant manner because it was a functional and perceptually salient dimension – which could be associated with reduced racial prejudice. Promoting multicultural ideology and stressing the functional or perceptual nature of race may be a successful strategy for encouraging discussions about race and ethnicity and improving intergroup relations.

Conclusion

Despite the projected growth in racial diversity within the U.S. (Colby & Ortman, 2014), little research has investigated how racially diverse contexts impact the dynamics of intergroup relations. Adoption of colorblind strategies often stems from a strategy to appear non-prejudiced (Apfelbaum et al., 2008b; Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000). If people in racially diverse contexts feel no hesitancy to mention race, it may be that their concerns about appearing non-prejudiced are mitigated in some other way. Future research is needed to understand why it is that in these racially diverse contexts individuals feel free to acknowledge race without concerns about appearing prejudice. More importantly, where do functional norms concerning race stem from? Perhaps mentioning race is not related to negativity (such as stereotypes or bias), but are sources of identity, pride, and culture. More research needs to be done to investigate people's motivation to use race in this context and how it might impact other aspects of intergroup relations (e.g., interactions with racially diverse

others). Armed with this insight, we may be able to develop interventions in other contexts that ease the tension concerning race, and eventually foster more positive intergroup relations for our increasingly diverse society.

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Appendix

Measures

Study 1

Daily Survey Questionnaire

1. Since your last survey, of all the people you saw, how many appeared to be a different race/ethnicity than you?
   a. About 0%
   b. About 25%
   c. About 50%
   d. About 75%
   e. About 100%
2. Out of all the people you interacted with since your last survey, approximately how many of those interactions were with someone of a different race/ethnicity than you?
   a. I had no interactions
   b. About 0%
   c. About 25%
   d. About 50%
   e. About 75%
   f. About 100%
3. Thinking about those interactions with someone of a different race/ethnicity, how many of them included close friends?
   a. About 0%
   b. About 25%
   c. About 50%
   d. About 75%
   e. About 100%
4. Since your last survey, of all the people you saw, how many did you perceive/know to be of a different sexual orientation than you?
   a. About 0%
   b. About 25%
   c. About 50%
   d. About 75%
   e. About 100%
5. Out of all the people you interacted with since your last survey, approximately how many of those interactions were with someone of you perceive/know to be of a different sexual orientation than you?
   a. I had no interactions today
   b. About 0%
   c. About 25%
   d. About 50%

  e. About 75%

  f. About 100%

6. Thinking about those interactions with someone you perceive/know to be of a different sexual orientation, how many of them included close friends?

  a. About 0%

  b. About 25%

  c. About 50%

  d. About 75%

  e. About 100%

7. Since your last survey, was race mentioned in any of your conversations?

  a. No

  b. Yes

8. Since your last survey, about how many conversations did you have that mentioned race? (only seen if answered yes to #7)

  a. 1

  b. 2-3

  c. 4+

9. Thinking of one instance, how was race used in the conversation? (only seen if answered yes to #7)

  a. To identify someone

  b. To talk about identity and/or cultural background

  c. To make a joke

  d. To connect to someone

  e. To talk about current events

  f. Other: Please specify

10. Did you feel comfortable talking about race in this conversation? (only seen if answered yes to #7)

  a. Extremely uncomfortable

  b. Uncomfortable

  c. Somewhat uncomfortable

  d. Somewhat comfortable

  e. Comfortable

  f. Extremely comfortable

11. Since your last survey, was sexual orientation mentioned in any of your conversations today?

  a. No

  b. Yes

12. Since your last survey, about how many conversations did you have that mentioned sexual orientation? (only seen if answered yes to #11)

  a. 1

  b. 2-3

  c. 4+

13. Thinking of one instance, how was sexual orientation used in the conversation? (only seen if answered yes to #11)

  a. To identify someone

  b. To talk about identity

c. To make a joke
d. To connect to someone
e. To talk about current events
f. Other: Please specify
14. Did you feel comfortable talking about sexual orientation in this conversation? (only seen if answered yes to #11)
   a. Extremely uncomfortable
   b. Uncomfortable
   c. Somewhat uncomfortable
   d. Somewhat comfortable
   e. Comfortable
   f. Extremely comfortable

Backend Survey

Ingroup/Outgroup Attitudes

Please rate on a scale from 1-100 how you feel towards the following groups, with 1 being very cold to 100 being very warm.

European American, White, Caucasian

African American, Black, African

Hispanic American, Latino(a), Mexican

Native Hawaiian, American Indian,

Middle Eastern/North African

South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)

East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, etc.)

Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Indonesian, Filipino, etc.)

Pacific Islander (Micronesian, Polynesian, Melanesian, etc.)

Multiracial

Sense of Belonging (Ahnallen, 2006)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with these statements

1(not at all) to 7(extremely)

1. "To what extent do you feel a sense of belonging to the following communities or with the following groups of people?"
   a. -African American, Black, African Caribbean
   b. -East Asian (Chinese, Korean, Japanese, etc.)

c. -South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)
d. -Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Cambodian, Filipino, etc.)
e. -European American, White, Anglo, Caucasian
f. -Hispanic American, Latino(a), Chicano(a), Mexican, Columbian
g. -Pacific Islander (Micronesian, Melanesian, Samoan, etc.)
h. -Native Hawaiian, American Indian, Alaskan Native
i. -Biracial, Multiracial

2. "To what extent do you feel excluded from the following communities or by the following groups of people?"
   a. -African American, Black, African Caribbean
   b. -East Asian (Chinese, Korean, Japanese, etc.)
   c. -South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)
   d. -Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Cambodian, Filipino, etc.)
   e. -European American, White, Anglo, Caucasian
   f. -Hispanic American, Latino(a), Chicano(a), Mexican, Columbian
   g. -Pacific Islander (Micronesian, Melanesian, Samoan, etc.)
   h. -Native Hawaiian, American Indian, Alaskan Native
   i. -Biracial, Multiracial

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992)

In this country people come from a lot of different cultures and there are many different words to describe the different background or *ethnic groups* that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Mexican-American, Hispanic, Black, Asian-American, American Indian, Anglo-American, and White. Each person is born into an ethnic group, or sometimes two or more groups, but people differ on how important their *ethnicity* is to them, how they feel about it, and how much their behavior is affected by it. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in:

In terms of ethnic group I consider myself to be _____

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you disagree or agree with each statement

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very Strongly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Very Strongly Agree

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
5. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
6. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
7. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
8. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
9. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.
10. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.
13. My ethnicity is

    (1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others

    (2) Black or African American

    (3) Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others

    (4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic

    (5) American Indian/Native American

    (6) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups

    (7) Other (write in): _____

14. My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above)
15. My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

Friendships

Participants will be asked to list 5 friends and how close their relationship is with them.

1. "Please list 5 of your closest friends and indicate how close you are to them"

2. "For the same list of friends, please indicate their ethnicity. If you are not sure of their ethnicity, please indicate what you perceive them to be."

Ethnicity options for #2

European American, White, Caucasian

African American, Black, African

Hispanic American, Latino(a), Mexican

Native Hawaiian, American Indian,

Middle Eastern/North African

South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)

East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, etc.)

Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Indonesian, Filipino, etc.)

Pacific Islander (Micronesian, Polynesian, Melanesian, etc.)

Multiracial

Social Dominance Orientation scale (Pratto et al., 2013)

There are many kinds of groups in the world: men and women, ethnic and religious groups, nationalities, political factions. How much do you support or oppose the ideas about groups in general? [from 1=extremely oppose to 10=extremely favor]

1. In setting priorities, we must consider all groups.

2. We should not push for group equality.

3. Group equality should be our ideal.

4. Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.

Intergroup Anxiety (adapted from Stephan & Stephan, 1985)
Instructions: Imagine you are assigned to work on a class project with 5 peers that are of a different race/ethnicity than you. Please rate how you would feel on the following items:
6 point scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree.

1. I would feel accepted

2. I would feel awkward

3. I would feel comfortable

4. I would feel anxious

5. I would feel at ease

6. I would feel nervous

Study 2

Endorsement of Colorblind Norms (Pauker, et al., 2015)

Instructions: Please answer the following questions about what you think about your own

feelings. There are no right or wrong answers.

1.   I am uncomfortable talking about race.

2.   I freely talk about race. (R)

3.   I bring up race in their everyday conversations. (R)

4.   I never bring up race or race-related topics.

Study 3

Endorsement of Colorblind Norms (Pauker, et al., 2015)

Instructions: Please answer the following questions about what you think about others

feelings. There are no right or wrong answers.

1.   People in Hawaiʻi are uncomfortable talking about race.

2.   People in Hawaiʻi freely talk about race. (R)

3.   People in Hawaiʻi bring up race in their everyday conversations. (R)

4.   People in Hawaiʻi never bring up race or race-related topics.

Study 4

Social Norms Scale

1 Strongly Disagree to 6 Strongly Agree.

Instructions:

Please answer the following items in terms of how people use race/ethnicity where you live. For example, if you live in Hawaiʻi, answer these items how you think others in Hawaiʻi would.

*The location will be changed to Massachusetts or California for other location

Diversity Items:

By acknowledging another's race/ethnicity, people are better able to celebrate the differences that make each person unique

Talking about race/ethnicity can raise awareness about the unique issues experienced by different racial or ethnic groups

It is important to know someone's racial/ethnic background in order to understand them better

Valuing the different races/ethnicities that make people unique encourages everyone to feel included

Functional Items:

It is OK to identify a person by their race/ethnicity

It is useful to use racial/ethnic labels to identify a person

Knowing someone's race/ethnicity can help distinguish between people

People use race/ethnicity to talk about other people

Perceptual Items:

It is okay to notice that individuals differ by race/ethnicity

Race/ethnicity is one of the first things people notice about others

Someone's race/ethnicity is an obvious characteristic that is hard to ignore

Social Connectedness Items:

People use racial/ethnic jokes to break the ice

People use race/ethnicity in conversations to establish a connection with others.

People use race/ethnicity to find out how similar they are to each other

People ask about race/ethnicity to learn about others' cultural norms and values

Talking about race is not prejudiced:

Talking about race/ethnicity is not offensive

People can talk about race/ethnicity without being concerned about appearing prejudiced

Talking about someone's race/ethnicity is not prejudiced

Someone who mentions someone's race/ethnicity is racist (R)

To be culturally sensitive, it is best not to mention someone's race or ethnicity (R)

Colorblind Ideology (Norton et al., 2006)

1 Strongly disagree to 6 Strongly agree

When interacting with others, it's best to try not to even notice the color of their skin.

If everyone paid less attention to race and skin color, we would all get along much better.

Colorblind attitudes endorsement passage (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000)

Interethnic issues are of paramount importance in the United States, and steps need to be taken to resolve existing and potential conflicts between different groups. Many social scientists

(sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists) agree that inter-group harmony can be achieved if we recognize that at our core we are all the same, that all men and women are created equal, and that we are first and foremost a nation of individuals. The next questions refer to these colorblind policies. "Colorblind policies" refers to policies that consider only race-neutral characteristics, such as academic qualifications, when considering the fit of an individual in employment, education, and business contexts.

Please answer the following questions about your own attitudes.

1-6 scale (adjust for each question)

1) How much do you like the statement?

2) How much do you agree with the proposed strategy?

3) How effective do you think the colorblind approach would be for achieving equality?