

A TEST OF THE COMMON INGROUP IDENTITY MODEL:

AN INTERSECTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

IN

COMMUNICOLOGY

MAY 2019

By

Jennifer R. Belon

Thesis Committee:

Min-Sun Kim, Chairperson

Jinguang Zhang

Emiko Taniguchi

Keywords: common ingroup identity, intergroup bias, intergroup anxiety, Black, White, females

Acknowledgements

The following pages are just a small account of the two semesters worth of work that went into this thesis project. Many hours of research and reading have not been recorded. There is no chart illustrating how many minutes of typing and revision went into this. You will not find a single table detailing the lengthy conversations that shaped its direction or outcome. There are no pictures of the smiling and supportive faces of my cohort, faculty, or family that helped me get through it all. So, I would like to use this space to make sure their contributions are known.

First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. Min-Sun Kim for being my thesis advisor. I was excited to work with Dr. Kim since I knew the type of unbridled joy she brings into her work. I aspire to be as passionate about life as she is. I will continue to appreciate every minute she spent providing me with direction, helping me edit, or just talking with me.

Secondly, I would like to thank the members of my cohort that never let me feel like I was alone. I specifically want to thank Brittany for all the late nights in my office, all the early morning coffees, and every single laugh. Jeanna, always so far ahead of the rest of us, gave me the motivation to never give up. Robert whose warmth radiates encouragement, and our talks that always managed to relieve some of my stress. I'm also grateful for my long-time officemate, Corey. Even though most of our conversations drove me crazy, they forced me to really think about my position and how to successfully defend it.

Additionally, I'd like to thank my family, without their support I would never have made it this far. I am grateful that even though they might not have fully understand what I was doing, they knew it was important to me. They always celebrated my little victories with me and offered endless hugs for when things were tough. My dad and my younger sister, especially, were always there for me.

And Finally, I'd like to thank Dr. Andrew Zhang and Dr. Kelly Aune for all their help with stats and for every time they had to repeat themselves. Thank you to Dr. Emiko Taniguchi and Professor Jaymian Urashima, you both always provided the most help when I had no idea what to do. And to the rest of my classmates, good luck.

A thesis is an arduous process I do not advise attempting it alone.

Abstract

This thesis examined whether the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) is effective at reducing intergroup bias and tension among White females in imagined working relationships with Black females in the U.S. To date, quantitative research on this issue has not been studied from the perspective of both race and gender identity. This is the one of the first studies to investigate intergroup anxiety and its effects, from this intersectional perspective. It was predicted that a common ingroup identity would effectively reduce intergroup anxiety, bias and negative outgroup attitudes experienced by White females in imagined working relationships with Black Females. The current results were not found to be statistically significant. However, focusing on the pattern of mean differences, the opposite trends were found with White females in the superordinate condition reporting the highest levels of intergroup anxiety, bias, and negative outgroup attitudes. Theoretical and practical implication are discussed with respect to future research and interventions.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgementsii

Abstract.....iii

Chapter 1. Introduction and Review of Literature.....1

 Common Ingroup Identity Model.....2

 Reducing Intergroup Tensions via the Common Ingroup Effect.....5

 Intergroup Bias.....5

 Intergroup Anxiety7

 Societal Consequences of Intergroup Bias:

 Toward an Intersectional Approach.....10

 Aversive Racism.....10

 Aversive Racism and Black Outgroup Members.....12

 Gender Socialization.....14

 Where Gender and Race Intersect.....16

 Present Research.....18

Chapter 2. Methods.....21

 Participants.....21

 Procedure.....21

 Measures.....23

Chapter 3. Results.....26

 Hypothesis 1: Intergroup Anxiety.....26

 Hypothesis 2: Negative Outgroup Attitudes.....26

 Hypothesis 3: Intergroup Bias.....28

Chapter 4. Discussion.....	30
Theoretical Implications.....	32
Limitations.....	33

List of Tables

Table 1. Means for Dependent Variables by Condition	35
Table 2. Correlation Matrix for Dependent Variables	36
Table 3. Open Ended Comments.....	37

Appendices

Appendix A: Consent Form	39
Appendix B: Questionnaire.....	41
Appendix C: Demographic Information.....	45
Appendix D: Intergroup Anxiety.....	46
Appendix C: Intergroup Bias.....	47
Appendix D: Negative Outgroup Attitudes.....	48

Chapter 1. Introduction and Review of Literature

Classification of individuals into distinctive groups is instinctual (Sumner, 1906), and leads to the development of an “us” and “them” mentality (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002). The consequences of differentiation between groups include the manifestation of intergroup bias (Sumner, 1906), a contributing factor of intergroup threat (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Stephan and Stephan (1985), expanded on the perception of intergroup threat, detailing four different types of threat including intergroup anxiety. Anxiety is linked to the interactions between groups, and causes a decrease in intergroup interactions, perpetuating the desire to avoid interactions and increasing anxiety between groups (Plant & Devine, 2003).

Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman and Rust (1993) suggested the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) as a way to reduce intergroup tension. In the CIIM, Gaertner and colleagues focused on the fluctuation of social and personal identities as a basis for the recategorization of distinct social groups into one superordinate group. Through the creation of superordinate groupings, the CIIM has been used to reduce intergroup anxiety (Riek, Mania, Gaertner, McDonald & Lamoreaux, 2010), bias (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), and negative outgroup attitudes (Nier, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, Ward & Rust, 2001). The CIIM has become one of the most predominate interventional approaches to reducing intergroup tensions.

So far, however, literature on intergroup interactions utilizing the CIIM has not examined the effects of intergroup anxiety, bias and negative outgroup attitudes from an intersectional perspective (Babbitt, 2011). As an analytical framework, an intersectional perspective attempts to identify how interlocking systems of race and gender affect intergroup attitudes. This study seeks to expand upon the CIIM by examining the effects of intergroup bias, anxiety and negative

outgroup attitudes when a common ingroup identity is introduced to White women during imagined working conditions involving Black females.

In the following sections, the Common Ingroup Identity Model will be introduced. Then, inter-group bias, threat, and anxiety will be reviewed, followed by the effects of gender socialization and its contribution to contemporary forms of racism. Hypotheses and research questions will be proposed and tested based on responses collected from White American females in the U.S.

Common Ingroup Identity Model

The Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner et al., 1993) explains how intergroup anxiety, bias, and conflict can be reduced by factors that transition individual's social identities from separate groups to one superordinate group. Gaertner and colleagues proposed that changes in individual's perception of group affiliations would enable the cognitive processes linked to intergroup anxiety, bias, and conflict to be redirected toward creating new well-balanced intergroup relationships (Gaertner et al., 1993).

The premise for the CIIM is based on the malleability of social and personal identities, as proposed by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). Both theories work together to articulate the movement of these identities. Tajfel and colleagues explained that the range of human interaction lies along a spectrum. At one end of the spectrum are interactions that are purely interpersonal and require no group affiliation whatsoever. On the other end of the spectrum are interactions that require group representation (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner suggested that movement along the spectrum implies a shift in how individuals perceived themselves and others.

Individuals formulate perceptions of ingroup members as “the same” and outgroup members as “different”. Categorization on this level affects individuals’ self-concept compromising attitudes, memories, behaviors, and emotions that define them as distinct from others (Hornsey, 2008). When interactions occur at the social identity end of the spectrum, there is a heavy reliance on aspects that derive from social categories and the emotional and evaluative consequences of group membership (Hornsey, 2008).

Tajfel and Turner (1979) claim that all individuals work to obtain a positive and secure self-concept. In an effort to possess a positive self-concept – to see themselves as good – individuals are motivated to think of their groups as good too. By identifying group members as also good, individuals gain a positive social identity. This heavy emphasis on intergroup interaction showcases the extent to which individual self-concepts function between groups. However, individual self-concept is also based on intragroup interactions.

The second component of the CIIM is based on is Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) (Turner et al., 1987). CIIM utilizes SCT’s depiction of identity as “operating at different levels of inclusiveness” (Hornsey, 2008, p. 208). The levels of self-categorization are labeled: human identity, social identity and personal identity (Turner et al., 1987), all of which are thought to be relevant to the self-concept. Human identity describes an individual's membership within the superordinate category of humans. Social identity is labeled as how individuals define themselves regarding group membership. And at the subordinate level, based on interpersonal comparison, is the self-categorization of personal identity (Hornsey, 2008). The CIIM depends on the ability of the self to be categorized into these different identities, to explain how individuals can move through groups and adjust to new superordinate boundaries.

Self-categorization explains that individual perceptions of identity are formalized by the relationship between the human, social and personal identities. According to SCT, there is a functional antagonism at work between the identities that is dependent on whichever level is most salient that the time. As one identity increases in salience, the other identities decrease (Hornsey, 2008). In addition, categories are thought to be most salient based on which self-definition is the most accessible at that moment. This means that they can be fleetingly accessible if primed for specific situations or definitively accessible when frequently activated, or when individuals are motivated to use them (Hornsey, 2008).

Turner, (1999, p. 31) stated that "Self- categorization is an active, interpretative, judgmental process, reflecting a complex and creative interaction between motives, expectations, knowledge, and reality." This implies that individuals rarely ever foster an everlasting self-image (Hornsey, 2008). Instead, depending on the situation and its significance to each individual person, social identities can stay the same over extended periods of time or transition quickly to facilitate different interactions.

SCT identifies this phenomenon as depersonalization, which is the notion that individuals cognitively try to be a prototypical representation of their social groups. When a particular social category is activated, individuals see themselves and other members of that category less as individuals and more as exchangeable group prototypes (Hornsey, 2008). Depersonalization is paramount to CIIM because common ingroup identities function based on the ability of individuals to shift their social identities to create superordinate boundaries.

Because research has shown that the classification of categories is enough to induce intergroup bias (Brewer, 1979; Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Tajfel, 1978; 1982; Turner, 1981), CIIM proposes that through recategorization, group bias would be reduced. Ingroup favoritism, or bias,

is due to superficial categorization that represents a pro-ingroup, rather than anti-outgroup orientation (Brewer, 1979). This means that outgroup members can still be regarded favorably, but that ingroup members will be treated even more favorably (Gaertner et al., 1993). Even so, this leaves the balance between the treatment of individuals skewed. The following sections will expand on the way intergroup interactions affect group members in terms of intergroup bias, perceived threat, and negative outgroup attitudes.

Reducing Intergroup Tensions via the Common Ingroup Effect

Intergroup Bias

In 1906, William Sumner articulated the concept of ingroups and outgroups as the distinction between “us” and “them.” Humans systematically categorize themselves into groups evaluating those most like us as favorable ingroup members and those least perceptually like us as outgroup members (Hewstone et al., 2002). The classification of individuals into ingroup and outgroup members is in and of itself, a basis for intergroup bias (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Bias brings with it the implementation of ingroup favoritism. While inherently not harmful, ingroup favoritism has often been linked to outgroup derogation (Hewstone et al., 2002). Further, the result of radical ingroup favoritism is ethnocentrism, an extreme belief that one group is superior to all others (Sumner, 1906).

However, Allport (1954) reasoned that ethnocentrism and notions of superiority derived from feelings of love and loyalty to one's ingroup. And research into intergroup interactions suggests that there is little correlation between ingroup loyalty and outgroup hate (Sherif, 1966; Sherif & Sherif, 1953; Brewer, 1979; Brewer, 1999; Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). Despite ingroup favoritism not being a direct cause of outgroup derogation, it is important to recognize that bias can result in conflict. Because at a basic level, ethnocentrism

is about superiority. In believing that one group's norms, beliefs, and attitudes are superior to another's, there is always a chance that others will develop feelings of threat (Brewer, 1999).

There has been considerable support for the CIIM in terms of its ability to reduce intergroup bias. In one study members of two separate laboratory-formed groups were conditioned through seating arrangements to either maintain original groupings or recategorize themselves into a superordinate group. Ultimately, it was found that recategorization produced more inclusive representations than the primary groupings. These findings were attributed to recategorization – or the result of increased attractiveness afforded to former outgroup members through the induced closeness of superordinate boundaries (Gaertner Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989).

To induce cooperative interaction, Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell & Pomare (1990), conducted a study involving two three-person laboratory groups. Initially, the groups worked separately on problem-solving tasks, then they were brought together in conditions designed to vary the independent member's representation of the six-person aggregate, in either groups of two or large superordinate groups. The conditions were also varied by the presence or absence of intergroup cooperative interactions. This research illuminated the power common ingroups have in reducing prejudice through recategorization.

In both experiments, Gaertner and colleagues found that manipulating representations of the aggregate as one group produced stronger one-group representations. This, in turn, mediated lower levels of intergroup bias during evaluations of the original ingroups and outgroups. Consistent with the researcher's hypothesis about separate group identities, when the original group identity was most salient, cooperative interaction decreased the extent to which the aggregate perceived themselves to be two groups. It also increased the amount to which the

aggregate felt like one group (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). The superordinate (one-group) led to more favorable evaluations of former outgroup members, effectively reducing intergroup bias.

Categorization of individuals leads to an “us” and “them” mentality. It also leads to distinctions of ingroups and outgroups and the formation of bias between them. Bias is based on pro-ingroup rather than anti-outgroup sentiment but can still produce negative associations between group members. Considerable research has been conducted on the negative ramifications produced by intergroup bias. And one of the most widely studied functions of bias is the perception of threat. Stephan and Stephan (2000) identified intergroup anxiety as the most prevalent form of threat linked to intergroup bias.

Intergroup Anxiety

In their 2000 work on Integrated Threat Theory (ITT), Stephan and Stephan identified four types of perceived threat including realistic and symbolic threat, as well as negative stereotyping and intergroup anxiety. Realistic threat involves the perceived threat to the livelihood of a group. Including perceptions of threat aimed at resources of power, competition for resources, conflicting goals and threats to physical and economic wellbeing (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Symbolic threat deals with the perception of conflict over values, religion, norms (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), and beliefs (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1982). The fundamental element to these types of threat is that they do not have to manifest themselves, they can exist entirely in the perceptions of group members. Stephan and Stephan also consider stereotypes a type of threat since they stimulate negative expectations of intergroup interactions. Negative stereotypes have been found to contribute significantly to strong negative outgroup attitudes and prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Of the four types of threat identified in the ITT, intergroup anxiety was indicated to be the most prevalent (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

According to the Social Anxiety Model (Schlenker & Leary, 1982), most individuals believe that every interaction has a schema – or a socially acceptable way in which each interaction should proceed. When they feel as though they cannot articulate the correct response, or that any attempt to respond will be negatively evaluated, individuals experience social anxiety. According to Plant and Devine (2003), this model is easily translated to interactions between ingroups and outgroups. An individual's feelings of concern about how they will be affected by intergroup contact is described as intergroup anxiety; which can manifest before or during contact (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). These feelings are compounded by not knowing how to interact with outgroup members, due to either a lack of positive experience (Greenland & Brown, 1999; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000; Stephan & Stephan, 1989), or the anticipation of negative consequences is termed intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Intergroup anxiety can feel like discomfort, uneasiness, disgust, and even fear (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

Stephan and Stephan (1985) claim that the feelings created by intergroup anxiety can narrow the focus of attention individuals bring to intergroup interactions, which can negatively impact how outgroup members are treated. Intergroup anxiety is a strong predictor of an increased desire to avoid intergroup interactions (Plant & Devine, 2003). However, the lack of interactions with outgroup members only exacerbates intergroup anxiety. The heightened anxiety can lead to higher intergroup tension, creating a self-perpetuating cycle of avoidance and tension. (Plant & Devine, 2003). Which is why Stephan and Stephan (1985) identified intergroup anxiety as the most prevalent form of threat. Because individuals are likely to avoid contact with outgroup members and therefore never experience the positive interactions that could lead to the reduction of bias and anxiety between groups.

However, support has been found for the reduction of intergroup, or perceived threat through the CIIM and the process of recategorization. In 2010, Riek, Mania, Gaertner, McDonald, and Lamoreaux, conducted two studies to determine if common ingroup identity would be effective in reducing instances of intergroup anxiety. In one study support for a relationship between common ingroup identities and intergroup anxiety between Black and White group members was found. However, both studies indicated that an important step in mitigating intergroup anxiety between groups is to increase shared, or common identities. In the first study, it was found that perceptions of a common identity was associated with lower levels of intergroup threat. In the second study Democrat and Republican participants reported lower levels of intergroup anxiety after the introduction of a common ingroup identity. The variability between participants suggests that a common ingroup identity could be effective in dealing with anxiety between various social groups (Riek et al., 2010).

All four forms of the ITT have been positively linked to negative outgroup attitudes, which unchecked can lead to racist or prejudice tendencies (Stephan et al., 2000). In extreme cases, negative outgroup attitudes can escalate to a societal level. On a societal level, outgroup attitudes and negative stereotypes can exacerbate racial disparities and result in racist sentiment. From a societal perspective, White ingroup members have more social power and often utilize forms of aversive racism when utilizing that social power. As a result, Black outgroup members face adversity in medical, professional, educational, and judicial situations. Not to mention the physical and psychological ramifications that Black outgroup members incur due to the daily stress of dealing with prejudice. The following section will examine aversive racism and its impacts on black outgroup members.

Societal Consequences of Intergroup Bias: Toward an Intersectional Approach

Aversive Racism

In 1979, Brewer hypothesized that prejudice is motivated by a need to differentiate between ingroups and outgroups. He claimed that discrimination is merely a byproduct of the attempt by groups to create positive and distinct social identities. However, in 1993 Gaertner and colleagues expanded upon Brewer's findings by stipulating that regardless of its origins ingroup favoritism can lead to outgroup degradation, differential expectations, and behavior that can perpetuate racism. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) conducted studies, which found that while not all White individuals expressed signs of overt racism, many of them discriminated against Black individuals in more subtle ways.

Overt racism is often conceptualized in society as "old-fashioned" racism; with aggressive and hostile traits like segregation and violence being characteristic (Kovel, 1970). However, the civil rights legislation during the 1960's made racial discrimination illegal, along with overt expressions of White prejudice (Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2004). Despite this, racial tension and disparity are very much alive and active today. This is because racism, in this country, has found new outlets. Contemporary forms of racism are now based on their subtle and understated nature. Aversive Racism is one of the contemporary forms of racism, created by the paradox of America's history of violent racism and egalitarian beliefs (Myrdal, 1944). The hallmark of aversive racism is inextricably linked to intergroup anxiety. Because when individuals experience aversion to interracial interactions, they seek to avoid contact with outgroup members (Myrdal, 1944), exacerbating their anxiety and aversion toward future meetings.

Aversive racists claim that they do not think of themselves as possessing racist tendencies. Rather, they perceive themselves to be consciously, emphatically and wholeheartedly supporting of egalitarian principles; who believe they harbor no negative feelings or beliefs toward outgroup members (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). However, due to the phenomena of categorization, White individuals instinctively form ingroup and outgroup biases; generated automatically by the source of their prejudice (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Along with their instinct to treat ingroup members favorably, is the disposition to treat outgroup members with discrimination.

Due to the subtlety of contemporary racism, aversive discrimination functions most successfully in situations where the normative structure is weak. Where the schema believed to be present in social situations, can be interpreted as ambiguous, allowing for subtle forms of racism to be exhibited and simultaneously dismissed (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998, 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). In these situations, it is possible for aversive racists to rationalize or justify their prejudice. Without a schema, these individuals can fall back on the lack of context in a situation to avoid intergroup interactions.

To examine how White individuals employ aversive racism through the ambiguous nature of certain social situations Gaertner and Dovidio conducted a study in 1977. In their study White participants observed a Black or White confederate experiencing a health emergency. To manipulate the ambiguity of the situation, White participants were encouraged to believe that they were either the only person present with the confederate or that there were other White participants present. As the authors predicted, White participants responded to the Black confederate's emergency when they knew they were the only participants present, over 85% of the time. However, when the situation became ambiguous the participants who believed there

were others present ignored the emergency. Only 37.5% of White participants attempted to help the Black confederate when they were able to rationalize that someone else would be able to respond.

The ambiguous nature in the second condition of this study, allowed the aversion White individuals feel toward intergroup interaction to justify the level of support the Black confederate received. This type of aversive racism is a societal consequence of intergroup bias that capitalizes on ingroup favoritism (Brewer, 1979) to reduce interaction with outgroup members. Research has made progress in accessing the ways ingroup members are able to capitalize on forms of ingroup favoritism (Gaertner et al., 1993). However, very little research has been done on the effects of prejudice or racism as it affects outgroup members. The impacts on Black outgroups members discussed above all come from studies where White individuals were the target of research. Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, and Krause (1995) articulated the rarity with which the viewpoint of ethnic minorities is assessed or documented in stereotyping or prejudice research. The following is a short compilation of some of the effects of aversive racism on Black individuals in the United States.

Aversive Racism and Black Outgroup Members

Minorities, in particular Black outgroup members, regularly endure negative group stereotypes, discrimination, and prejudice on an individual level (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Major, Quinton & McCoy, 2002) they also express concern about the racism they perceive from White individuals (Babbitt & Sommers, 2011). Because of their consistent experiences with prejudice, Black outgroup members are more likely to attribute signs of bias as intentional acts of racism (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). In general, Black individuals report perceiving higher levels of both realistic and symbolic threat (Ufkes, E. G., Calcagno, J. Glasford D E. & Dovidio J. F.,

2015), higher levels of intergroup anxiety, and being afraid of coming across as negative or biased toward their other raced partners (Plant & Devine, 2003). All these factors lead to Black individuals experiencing more negative outcomes during interracial interactions (Shelton & Richeson, 2006).

Dealing with racial prejudice on a daily basis has been found to impact Black outgroup members higher physiologic functions. Impacts on the immune system and cardiovascular functions (such as high blood pressure) have been linked to the stress of enduring racism (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). In African American communities, racism and discrimination have been associated with poorer physical health (Williams, Neighbors & Jackson, 2003). However, the association stress has with mental health could be even more drastic (Paradies, 2006; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009).

In particular, psychological researchers that study racism from an intersectional vantage point note that, Black women may experience a type of "double jeopardy" (Hurtado, 1989; Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990; Smith & Stewart, 1983; St. Jean & Feagin, 1997). This concept stems from the fact that Black women face additional challenges because of their race and gender. Black women are more likely to be the targets of both sexism and racism (Hurtado, 1989; Smith & Stewart, 1983), experience higher rates of sexual harassment, (Berdahl & Moore, 2006), more systemic discrimination that creates barriers to goals (Browne & Kennelly, 1999; Lopez & Ann-Yi, 2006), and experiences more significant instances of disability and mortality due to health care disparities (Andresen & Brownson, 2000; Green, Ndao-Brumblay, Nagrant, Baker, & Rothman, 2004).

Negative mental health is the principal form of psychological distress experienced by Black women (Lewis & Neville, 2015; Woods, Buchanan, & Settles, 2009), including depressive

symptoms (Calabrese, Meyer, Overstreet, Haile, & Hansen, 2015). The negative impacts of perceived prejudice and racism affect the way that Black women experience and react to interracial interactions. Plant and Devine (2003) noted that Black individuals who reported being highly anxious when interacting with White individuals were more likely to be afraid of seeming biased or making negative impressions. All these aspects contribute heavily to the development of avoidant strategies utilized by Black females in response to intergroup anxiety (Plant & Devine, 2003).

While the impacts of outgroup prejudice affect Black minorities profoundly, avoidant strategies may only perpetuate the problem. According to Plant and Devine (2003), the lack of interaction with White individuals will ultimately make Black individuals unlikely to alter their perceptions of White individual's racial bias. Consequently, unless the self-perpetuating cycle of intergroup interactions, intergroup anxiety, and avoidance comes to an end anxiety will only continue to increase.

In the following sections, the effects that gender has on behavioral expectations will be considered. Gender socialization not only impacts but is a strong predictor of behavioral expectations (Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990). In situations where intergroup bias and anxiety are activated, gender might play a larger role in understanding behavioral reactions. Including the perspective of both race and gender is missing in current literature on intergroup bias and its connection to anxiety and negative outgroup attitudes.

Gender Socialization

Both social and intergroup anxiety stems from the same lack of positive experience, or lack of opportunity (Schlenker & Leary, 1982; Stephan & Stephan, 1989); but can also be a byproduct of gender socialization (Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006). Gender

has been found to be fundamental in shaping behavioral expectations (Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990). The differences found in reports of gender socialization point to the importance of considering interracial interactions from an intersectional perspective (Babbitt, 2011).

In Western countries, socialization of children is viewed through the expression of either assertion or affiliation (Leaper, 1991). Assertion is characterized by traits like independence, physicality, and competition. While affiliation is conceptualized as interpersonal sensitivity, responsiveness, and exclusivity (Maccoby, 1999; Maltz & Borker, 1982). As males grow, their gender-play and socialization encourage the development of assertion over affiliation (Leaper, 1991, Leaper & Smith, 2004). Males, therefore do not need to act in a way that disguises their feelings. This could be why White men self-report decreased expressions of friendliness when experiencing intergroup anxiety (Littleford, Wright, & Sayoc-Parial, 2005). Additionally, males might not feel the need to act in a way that disguises their attitudes either; case in-point researchers find that White men typically report less positive racial attitudes than White women (Eagly, Diekmann, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Koenig, 2004; Johnson & Marini, 1998).

On the other hand, socialization for females involves the development of feminine traits such as warmth, caring, and friendliness (Babbitt, 2011). These traits may be responsible for the difference in findings when it comes to White women's' reports of racial attitudes and friendliness expressed in interracial interactions. Females are actively encouraged through socialization and gender play to develop more affiliative behavior in interaction settings (Leaper, 1991; Leaper & Smith, 2004). In the Littleford et al. study (2005) on intergroup anxiety, White women were found to increase friendliness toward other races. Overall, research has found that White women typically report positive racial attitudes (Eagly et al., 2004; Johnson & Marini,

1998), as well as being personally motivated to avoid seeming prejudice or participating in prejudice behaviors (Hausmann & Ryan, 2004).

The desire to appear non-prejudiced encourages White women to utilize behavioral strategies that run counter-intuitively to Plant and Devine's findings from their 2003 study, which indicated the typical response to anxiety is avoidance. According to Plant and Butz (2006), the concern about appearing prejudiced is compounded by feelings of being less authentic during interracial interactions for White women. This could be due to the fact that avoidance is in direct opposition to affiliation. As described by Hornsey, (2008), social identities become definitively accessible the more frequently they are employed, indicating that females may be more likely to fall back into gender norms like affiliation in situations they have not been socialized to deal with. Without proper coping skills, females may rely heavily on affiliative strategies to reduce the appearance of prejudice.

The link between gender and ability to cope with intergroup anxiety needs further examination by social scientists. An intersectional perspective into the role that gender socialization plays in individual's expressions of racism could lead to profound adjustments to society's understanding of contemporary forms of racism.

Where Gender and Race Intersect

Because individuals possess numerous social identities such as race, gender, age, socioeconomic status, and others (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), identities do not exist independently of each other, but rather overlap to varying degrees (Bodenhausen, 2010; Cole, 2009). The junction where these social identities merge (e.g., race and gender) is where the intersectionality effect takes place (Babbitt, 2011). Racial and gender identities are two of the most immediately

perceived social identities (Ito & Urland, 2003), and shape the behavioral expectations of others (Eagly & Chin, 2010).

However, most studies that have been conducted on common ingroup identity have only sought to examine responses generated by White participants or used White participant responses as a reference point for Black individual's responses. Studies that have looked at the relationship between common ingroup in interracial settings have only examined the interactions through homogeneous aggregates (Riek et al., 2010; Nier et al., 2001). Examining intergroup interactions from an intersectional standpoint is essential due to the impact gender has on the interaction process (Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, Buchanan, 2008).

The main goal of this study is to test the effects of a common ingroup identity on intergroup anxiety, bias, and negative outgroup attitudes from the perspective of both race and gender. To further this aim, the CIIM will be employed due to the support it has gained in combating issues linked to intergroup interactions. Keeping the negative ramifications for outgroup members in mind, the CIIM's primary motivation is the reduction of discriminative tendencies between social groups (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). To this end, Gaertner and colleagues promote the development of superordinate groupings. They reason that if members of different groups consent to perceive of themselves as a single group, distinctive from the primary two, negative attitudes toward previous outgroup members will diminish (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Therefore, the CIIM is designed to alter the perception of which individuals are considered "we."

The CIIM stipulates that it is conceivable for members of the new superordinate group to possess "dual identities," in which they can retain characteristics of other social or personal identities (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). This is possible because the new superordinate group

identity would remain the most salient. Gaertner and colleagues have worked to identify the ways in which common ingroup identities can reduce the effects of intergroup bias, anxiety and their negative ramifications on outgroup attitudes.

The Present Research:

The present research proposes that a common ingroup identity established by White women in imagined working relationships with Black females will result in diminished intergroup anxiety (Riek et al., 2010), bias (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), and negative outgroup attitudes (Nier et al., 2001; Riek et al., 2010). The procedure was adopted by Gaertner and Dovidio's (1993) group recategorization strategy. In order to examine the nature of the common ingroup identity, participants were randomly assigned to one of three group conditions. White females will be asked to imagine working with Black females in one of the three conditions: separate-individuals, as part of two separate racially homogenous groups, or in a superordinate interracial group (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1993).

The goal of the present research is to reduce intergroup anxiety, bias, and negative outgroup attitudes by creating scenarios where certain preexisting social identities become more salient than others. According to Crisp and Hewstone (2007), both gender and race are salient social identities; each can be activated separately based on salience. As part of the survey, the one group condition was encouraged to activate their gender identities. By imagining they were working in groups of only women, it was predicted that gender would become the most salient identity. Specifically, this study was conducted using White females in imagined working conditions with Black females with the intention that race will be made less salient in the superordinate groups and following the study they will report lower levels of intergroup anxiety, bias, and negative outgroup attitudes.

In the present study, White female participants were asked to imagine working in three separate group conditions. They were provided the opportunity to imagine interacting under circumstances that manipulated their conceptual representations of the racial aggregate. To vary the extent to which participants considered themselves as members of one group (superordinate), two groups (racially homogenized), or as separate individuals, the specific circumstances for each treatment condition were varied. These variations were strongly expected to influence group member representation (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1993).

In the superordinate condition, intergroup tension are expected to be the lowest based on the increased attractiveness and closeness of former outgroup members. The cognitive and motivational processes related to ingroup and outgroup boundaries should be redirected to a more positive relationship between all group members (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1993). Within this one group representation, levels of bias were also expected to be the lowest due to the recategorization of individuals from separate social groups into one distinct superordinate group. This coincides with SCT assertion that closeness and distance between the self and others is exacerbated or reduced in relation to the salience of self-categorization (Turner, 1981).

In the separate-individual condition, participants are asked to imagine working as separate individuals while completing the task. The independent nature of this condition requires participants to think of themselves as working separately from their racial group without the incorporation of a common goal. Because this highlights the process of decategorization articulated in SIT, intergroup tension levels were expected to fall in between the superordinate and racially homogenized conditions. However, in the racially homogenized, two-group condition, levels of intergroup anxiety, bias and negative outgroup attitudes were expected to be

the highest, because no common ingroup identity is established between White and Black females. Based on this reasoning, the following hypotheses were proposed:

H1: White females in the superordinate condition will report the lowest levels of intergroup anxiety, followed by the individual condition, and then the racially homogenized condition in increasing order.

H2: White females in the superordinate condition will report the lowest levels of negative outgroup attitudes, followed by the individual condition, and then the racially homogenized condition in increasing order.

H3: White female participants in the superordinate condition will report the lowest levels of intergroup bias, followed by the individual condition, and then the racially homogenized condition in increasing order.

Chapter 2: Methods

Participants

Twenty-five female participants were recruited through the University of Hawaii Manoa SONA system. Of those who completed the survey, six participants were removed for not meeting the racial background criteria, and another three were removed when the Qualtrics system failed to assign them to a group condition. The remaining sixteen participants ages varied from 18 to 28 years of age with 17.6% being 18 years of age ($n = 3$), 5.9% being 19 years old ($n = 1$), 23.5% being 20 years old ($n = 4$), 11.8% being 21 ($n = 2$), 23.5% being 23 ($n = 4$), 5.9% being 24 years old ($n = 1$), and another 5.9% being 28 years of age ($n = 1$). Participants were from different majors; Communicology ($n = 5$, 29.4%), Business ($n = 3$, 17.6%) and Other—including Art, Biology, Environmental Science, Marketing, etc. ($n = 8$, 53%). Class standing ranged from freshmen ($n = 4$, 23.5%), sophomore ($n = 1$, 5.9%), junior ($n = 6$, 35.3%), and senior ($n = 5$, 29.4%), with one participant not reporting.. All participants reported being a White female but reported different degrees to which they identified with their ethnic identity on a scale of 1 to 7 (1 being not very much and seven being extremely) with 47% of participants reporting lower than 5 ($n = 8$), and 47% reporting above 5 ($n = 8$).

Procedures

All participants were given access to an online survey and offered participation points for classes within the Communicology Department. Each participant was asked to give consent at the beginning and end of the survey, only participants who gave consent could gain access to the study, and those that consented again at the end of the survey had their data recorded. During the survey participants were randomly assigned to three separate conditions, the superordinate,

separate-individuals, and racially homogeneous conditions (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell & Dovidio, 1989).

In all conditions, participants viewed a vignette that told them that the City and County of Honolulu was interested in revamping the Ala Moana beach park and would be surveying students at the University of Hawaii at Manoa to help researchers decide what ten items should be included in the remodel. Then participants were shown eight picture frames containing headshots of both ingroup and outgroup members (Turner, West & Christie, 2013). White participants were shown three photos of White women (all given names), with an empty picture frame labeled “you.” They were also shown four photos of Black women who had been named as well. Then participants were instructed to imagine a scenario based on a City Park Planning study which was initially utilized by Hornsey and Hogg in 2000. They were instructed to read a description that states: *The City and County of Honolulu has proposed that a large tract of vacant land be converted into a passive recreational park. The researchers have asked you to plan what should be included in the park to make it both popular and feasible.* The remaining instructions varied by condition.

In the superordinate condition, White females were asked to imagine working in a group with both Black and White females featured in the pictures. The vignette provided a list of 30 objects and services (e.g., artificial beach, child care facilities) and instructed participants to prioritize the 10 options that they considered to be most essential to the success of the park. The vignette also informs the participants that past research shows that groups of women have been better able to plan city parks than groups of men. Participants were then instructed to write three sentences detailing what characteristics they feel would make the women in their group better at city park planning than a group of men.

In the separate-individuals condition, participants were asked to imagine that all the women in the pictures were chosen separately and asked to work independently of one another. The vignette then stated that each individual had been given a list of 30 objects and services (e.g., artificial beach, child care facilities) which they needed to prioritize into the top 10 options they considered to be most beneficial to the success of the park. Participants were not primed with any gender or race information. Instead the vignette explained that recent studies had shown that individuals are often able to think about planning parks differently than trained professionals. Participants were then asked to write three sentences about qualities they believe untrained individuals possess that make them better at city park planning than professionals.

In the two-group (racially homogenized) condition, participants were asked to imagine that they were chosen to work with the group of women who share the same racial background as them. In this condition, participants read a vignette that told them they and their racially homogenized group have been given a list of 30 objects and services, which they have been asked to prioritize into the top 10 options that they considered to be most essential to the success of the park. The vignette also said that past research had found White females were better at planning city parks than other groups of women. Participants were then instructed to write three sentences describing the characteristics of women in their ingroup that make them better at planning city parks than members of the outgroup.

All participants were then instructed to imagine that they have successfully completed the city park planning study. Finally, participants were asked to complete measures aimed at assessing their levels of intergroup anxiety, bias, and negative outgroup attitudes.

Measures

Intergroup anxiety. The measure of intergroup anxiety was a shortened version based on the original 15 item scale developed by Stephan and Stephan (1985). The current study used 10 items that asked participants to indicate the degree to which they experienced each affective state when interacting with Black women. The answers were coded on a 7-point Likert type scale from 1 being “not at all” to 7 “extremely.” The ten affective states are; anxious, comfortable, worried, at ease, awkward, confident, apprehensive, accepted, frustrated, and approval (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .87$). Positive affective states were reverse-scored so that higher scores reflected higher states of intergroup anxiety.

Negative outgroup attitudes. The measure for negative racial (outgroup) attitudes utilized in this study was designed to reflect the negative feelings White females may associate with outgroup members developed by Stephan and Stephan (1993). The current measure has been employed numerous times in previous studies (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald & TurKaspa, 1998; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999). Participants were asked to indicate the degree to which they felt 12 different evaluative or emotional responses toward Black women. Responses were coded on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 “not at all” to 7 “extreme.” Items included hostility, warmth, sympathy, admiration, dislike, acceptance, superiority, affection, disdain, approval, rejection, and hatred (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .89$). Positive emotions were reverse-scored so that higher scores reflected higher levels of negative outgroup attitudes.

Intergroup bias. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed with the following statements: *working with a group of Black women would be difficult*, or *I’d feel good about working with a group of Black women*. Responses were measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 being "not at all" to 7 being "very much." Participants were also asked to evaluate their preferred ratio of group composition with respect to both Black and White

females, as well as their preference for a group leader from the same ethnic background (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). The ratio was evaluated out of 11 items starting with 100% ingroup members to 100% outgroup members with item 6 being 50% both ingroup and outgroup members. Preference for a White female group leader was also evaluated on a 7-point scale with 1 being “not very” and 7 being “very much.” The four items measuring this construct were treated as separate dependent measures. Positively worded questions were recoded so that the higher ratings reflected higher intergroup bias.

Chapter 3. Results

Hypothesis 1: Intergroup Anxiety

Hypothesis 1 aimed to examine the extent to which imposed superordinate boundaries and goals would positively impact participant's perception of intergroup anxiety. Hypothesis one stated that White females in the superordinate condition would report the lowest levels of intergroup anxiety, followed by the individual condition, and then the racially homogenized condition in increasing order. Participants self-reported the degree to which they experienced both negative and positive affective states (with positive states being reverse coded).

To examine the potential conditional differences in Intergroup Anxiety, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted using the separate conditions as a fixed factor. The analysis revealed no significant main effect between condition, $F(2,13) = 1.12, NS$. Looking at the trends, participants who were primed to think of themselves as a member of the superordinate group, reported the highest levels of intergroup anxiety ($M = 3.01, SD = .68$), followed by participants in the individual condition ($M = 2.42, SD = 1.05$). The lowest mean was reported by the racially homogenized condition ($M = 2.25, SD .85$). The pattern of the means was opposite to what had been predicted, thus hypothesis one was not supported.

Hypothesis 2: Negative Outgroup Attitudes

Hypothesis 2 examined the extent to which the imposition of superordinate boundaries and goals would positively impact participant's perception of negative outgroup attitudes. Hypothesis three stated that participants in the superordinate condition would report the lowest levels of negative outgroup attitudes, followed by the individual condition, and then the racially homogenized condition in increasing order. Participants self-reported the degree to which they

experienced both negative and positive feelings toward members of the opposite race (with positive feelings being reverse coded).

To examine the effects of three group conditions in negative outgroup attitudes, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted using the separate conditions as a fixed factor. The analysis revealed no significant main effect between conditions, $F(2,13) = 1.57, NS$. Focusing on the patterns of mean differences, contrary to the prediction participants who were primed to think of themselves as member of the superordinate group, reported the highest negative outgroup attitude scores ($M = 2.76, SD = .96$), followed by participants in the racially homogenized condition, in this condition participants were primed to think of themselves as representatives of their racially homogenized group ($M = 2.08, SD = .44$). The lowest scores were reported by the individual condition ($M = 1.83, SD 1.10$). Again, these results were contrary to the prediction, thus, hypothesis two was also not supported.

Hypothesis 3: Intergroup Bias

Hypothesis 3 explored the degree to which imposed superordinate boundaries and goals would positively impact participants perception of intergroup bias. Hypothesis three stated that White females in the superordinate condition would report the lowest levels of intergroup bias, followed by the individual condition, and then the racially homogenized condition in increasing order. Participants self-reported the degree to which they felt that working with black women would be difficult, the degree to which they would feel good about working with black women, the ratio of Black to White women in terms of group composition, and their preference for their leader being a member of their own racial ingroup.

To examine the potential conditional differences in perceptions of difficulty in working with Black women, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted using Intergroup Bias

(Difficulty), as the outcome variable and the separate conditions as a fixed factor. The analysis revealed no significant main effect between conditions, $F(2,8) = .367, NS$. Again, looking at the trends, participants in the superordinate group, reported the highest levels of difficulty ($M = 2.75, SD = 2.06$), followed by participants in the individual condition ($M = 2.00, SD = 1.73$). The lowest levels of intergroup bias were reported by the racially homogenized condition ($M = 1.00, SD = .00$).

Intergroup bias was also examined through perceptions of how good participants would feel working with a group of Black women (scores were reverse coded so that higher scores reflected higher levels of intergroup bias). To examine the potential conditional differences in perceptions of how good participants would feel about working with Black women, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted using Intergroup Bias (Working With), as the outcome variable and the separate conditions as a fixed factor. The analysis revealed no significant main effect between conditions, $F(2,15) = .93, NS$. Focusing on the pattern of results, it was found that participants in both the superordinate condition reported the highest levels ($M = 5.50, SD = 2.51$), followed by the racially homogenized condition ($M = 2.5, SD = 3.00$). The participant in the individual condition, reported the lowest levels ($M = 1.00, SD = .00$).

Additionally, participants reported their degree of preference for the ratio of Black to White women in terms of overall group composition. To examine the potential conditional differences in preferences of group ratio in terms of Black and White women, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted using Intergroup Bias (Ratio), as the outcome variable and the separate conditions as a fixed factor. The analysis revealed no significant main effect between conditions, $F(2,13) = .81, NS$. Again, the trends of the means revealed that those in the superordinate group, reported the highest levels of intergroup bias ($M = 6.50, SD = 1.22$),

followed by both the individual and racially homogenized conditions with ($M = 6.00, SD = .00$) for both.

Finally, participants in each condition indicated their preference for a leader from their own racial background. To examine the potential conditional differences in participants preference of having a group leader from their own racial background, a series of analysis of variance (ANOVA) were conducted using Intergroup Bias (Leader), as the outcome variable and the separate conditions as a fixed factor. The analysis revealed no significant main effect between conditions, $F(2,11) = 1.18, NS$. Looking at the patterns of mean differences, it was found that participants in the superordinate condition reported the highest mean score for preferring a member of the same racial background to be their leader ($M = 4.17, SD = .41$), followed by participants from the racially homogenized group ($M = 3.50, SD = 1.00$), and then the individual group ($M = 3.25, SD = 1.50$). These findings did not reflect the prediction, thus, hypothesis three was not supported.

Chapter 4. Discussion

To date, a limited number of studies have examined how the imposition or removal of social group boundaries and corresponding identity goals influence the levels of intergroup tension. This study is the one of the first to test the CIIM from the perspective of both racial and gender identity. The purpose of this study was to examine how superordinate goals and boundaries would affect perceptions of intergroup anxiety, bias, and negative outgroup attitudes expressed by White females in imagined working relationships with Black females. To this end White female participants were separated into three conditions based on the level of group affiliation: superordinate, individual, and racially homogenized groupings.

It was predicted that females in the superordinate condition would report the lowest levels of intergroup anxiety, bias, and negative outgroup attitudes, followed by the individual and racially homogeneous conditions. While none of the mean differences were statistically significant due to the low sample size, the patterns of results were quite consistent. Quite contrary to these expectations, however, White females in the superordinate conditions consistently reported the highest levels of intergroup anxiety, bias, and negative outgroup attitudes—excepting the one measure of intergroup bias (*I'd feel good about working with a group of Black women*). Despite previous studies that indicate imposing superordinate boundaries and goals, reduces intergroup bias by enhancing the attractiveness of former outgroup members (Gaertner et al., 1993), our current results reflect the opposite trend. In the following section, factors that could contribute to these unexpected findings will be discussed.

First, it is possible that participants in the superordinate condition could have experienced negative reactions to the way in which the priming was delivered. For the superordinate condition, participants were asked to write three sentences that address the *characteristics*

groups of women might possess that make them better suited to planning city parks than groups of men. One participant responded as follows;

“I think it is good to have a mix of people who will be using the park help find a solution, both men, women, younger and older. I think there is a stereotype that women will consider more age groups and social classes, however that is not always the case. I like the idea to an extent, but it also bothers me. Mainly because of the claim that we will be "better." I don't like it any more than I like the idea that men will be "better.”

While this is only one response, overall, this instruction for priming the superordinate group condition could have elicited similar reactions in other participants. This type of response could stem from changing views of what constitutes ingroup members over the last three decades. Since the initial study by Gaertner and colleagues in 1993, there have been multiple social and political movements that may have impacted American's perceptions regarding ingroup membership. This could be additionally illustrated by two comments from the racially homogenized condition when asked to write three sentences *about characteristics that White women might possess that make them better suited to planning city parks than other women* responses were as follows:

“I do not believe that White women are better equipped to do this job than other women.”

“Literally nothing.”

These responses could indicate that White female participants in this study seem to possess a broader definition of what constitutes an ingroup member. That is, they are already categorizing ingroup members in terms of gender identity, instead of categorizing them as outgroup members based on their racial identity.

Another factor that could have contributed to the unexpected findings is the nature of the working scenario. In another study carried out by Gaertner and colleagues in 1989, the scenario

utilized to prime participants involved a plane crashing into the mountains during a snow storm. While the city park planning scenario may have increased the realism of the working conditions, the nature of this scenario could have activated social issues that may not have been present in the plane crash scenario. In the future, in testing the common ingroup identity model, social issues imbedded in any potential working scenario should be carefully examined. The nature of the scenario may have unexpected implications on the types of association participants might experience in terms of their perceptions of a common ingroup identity.

Theoretical Implications

The findings from this study did not yield statistically significant results due to the small number of participants. Therefore, the analysis of the results was based on trends rather than significance testing. However, there are important theoretical implications to be considered. Firstly, this research shed light on an intersectional perspective which is imperative in research involving intergroup interactions. It is important to be cognizant of the fact that individuals possess numerous social identities such as race, gender, age, and socioeconomic status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). These identities do not exist independently of each other, but rather overlap to varying degrees (Bodenhausen, 2010; Cole, 2009).

Racial and gender identities are two of the most immediately perceived social identities (Ito & Urland, 2003), and shape the behavioral expectations others may possess during intergroup interactions (Eagly & Chin, 2010). Therefore, examining intergroup interactions from an intersectional standpoint is essential because of the impact race and gender identity has on the interaction process (Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, & Buchanan, 2008). Differences found in reports of gender socialization also point to the importance of considering intergroup interactions from a

perspective that also includes gender (Babbitt, 2011). The reduction of intergroup anxiety at the intersection of race and gender identity should be further examined in future research.

Limitations

Several limitations to this study should be discussed. First, the small sample size for this study ($n = 16$) was not powerful enough to detect statistically significant effects. While the current research yielded unexpectedly consistent results, it is possible that due to the small sample size, a single outlier could have dramatically skew results reported within each condition.

Second, the study initially aimed to assess perception of both Black and White female students attending classes at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. However, due to the small percentage of the Black female student population, only one Black female completed the survey. Therefore, in future studies it might behoove researchers to use ingroup and outgroup members more readily available for sampling.

Third, this study was conducted via an online survey utilizing headshots of both Black and White females. In prior research, participants interacted in face to face settings and were recategorized into their group conditions based on seating arrangements. It is possible that reducing intergroup interactions to imagined scenarios rather than real life interpersonal encounters could have reduced group member salience among group participants. In future research studies, it may be beneficial to include real life interactions between participants.

Fourth, the current research results regarding racial attitudes could have been influenced by the social desirability effect. Social desirability may affect ratings of intergroup attitudes due to prosocial anti-bias dispositions which are culturally condoned. As society has become more inclusive it has become increasingly unlikely that people with negative outgroup attitudes would be willing to report them.

Additionally, no manipulation check was utilized in this study. Therefore, it is impossible to know to whether or not the priming effect had any impact on participant's perceptions of their group condition. Without an understanding of the degree to which participants felt like members of the three separate conditions: superordinate, individual, or racially homogenized groups there is no way to know if their self-reports were indicative of their feelings from those priming conditions.

Finally, this study only measured post-test evaluation of intergroup attitudes among participants. Pre and post-testing can provide concrete data that reflects reduction of intergroup bias. Therefore, future research may benefit from conducting a two-part analysis of these intergroup interaction issues via pre and post-test analysis.

Overall, the current research did not find any statistical significance in regarding intergroup anxiety, bias, or negative outgroup attitudes reported by White women in either the superordinate, individual, or racially homogenous conditions. However, the present study is a starting point for considering intergroup interactions from the intersection of multiple social identities. Examination of the intersection of multiple identities, particularly race and gender, is imperative to intergroup research. Specifically, gender identity as a superordinate group boundary should be an important avenue for future research regarding the reduction of intergroup anxiety, bias, and negative outgroup attitudes due to the social and behavioral expectations that gender socialization plays in society. In particular, further research into the differences in gender socialization and expressions of negative outgroup feelings could provide useful implications for more effective identification of intergroup anxiety as well as effective training strategies.

Table 1. Means for Dependent Variable by Condition

	Superordinate	Individual	Racially Homogenous	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Intergroup Anxiety	3.01 (.685)	2.42 (1.05)	2.25 (0.85)	1.19	8	.356
Negative Outgroup Attitudes	2.76 (.962)	1.83 (1.10)	2.08 (0.44)	1.57	8	.245
Intergroup Bias (Difficulty)	2.75 (2.06)	2.00 (1.73)	1.00 (.00)	.367	8	.710
Intergroup Bias (Working With)	5.50 (2.51)	1.00 (.00)	5.50 (3.00)	.938	16	.417
Intergroup Bias (Ratio)	6.50 (1.23)	6.00 (.00)	6.00 (.00)	.812	16	.465
Intergroup Bias (Leader)	4.17 (.408)	3.25 (1.50)	3.50 (1.00)	1.18	14	.343

Note. Standard Deviation in parenthesis.

Difficulty = “Working with a group of Black women would be difficult”

Working With = “I’d feel good about working with a group of Black women”

Ratio = “In your own opinion what ratio of Black to White women would produce the best solution to the City Park Planning task?”

Leader = “On a scale of one to seven (one being very little to seven being very much) how much would you prefer the leader of your group to be an ingroup member?”

Table 2. Correlation Matrix of Dependent Variables

	Intergroup Anxiety	Negative Outgroup Attitudes	Intergroup Bias (Difficulty)	Intergroup Bias (Working)	Intergroup Bias (Ratio)	Intergroup Bias (Leader)
Intergroup Anxiety	-	-	-	-	-	-
Negative Outgroup Attitudes	.610**	-	-	-	-	-
Intergroup Bias (Difficulty)	.793**	.491	-	-	-	-
Intergroup Bias (Working With)	.256	.027	-.200	-	-	-
Intergroup Bias (Ratio)	.421	.484	.403	-.118	-	-
Intergroup Bias (Leader)	.071	.445	.000*	.148	.083	-

Notes. $p < .01$ ** $p < .05$ *

Difficulty = “Working with a group of Black women would be difficult”

Working With = “I’d feel good about working with a group of Black women”

Ratio = “In your own opinion what ratio of Black to White women would produce the best solution to the City Park Planning task?”

Leader = “On a scale of one to seven (one being very little to seven being very much) how much would you prefer the leader of your group to be an ingroup member?”

Table 3. Open Ended Comments

Superordinate	Individual	Racially Homogenous
Aesthetics of the park might get looked at more intently. Women will be picturing the different situations they might go to the park and what they would want from it. Women might picture themselves taking their families here.	I think Aliyah, Evonne, and Clair would be the best business members. Brittany, Jennifer, and Makayla would be good in social members like HR and communications or marketing. Jazmine would be a good communication as well.	I do not believe that white women are better equipped to do this job than other women.
All the women are smart, and they are driven to plan this park as people want. They understand marketing research and will be collecting a lot of secondary data. Women have also bigger imagination, which is appreciated in this kind of job.	These individuals are average citizens, rather than professionals. They could be mothers, which would allow them to have more knowledge and know what would be more beneficial for their children at the beach park. There is diversity within the group, so different perspectives will be able to be seen.	literally nothing
Women think more practically when it comes to safety and the needs of park goers. They see things in park building that men don't see such as the aesthetic touch they would give to the park. Another thing women see that men do not is the practicality of the things they choose to put on the playground.	Individuals might possess characteristics like persistent in getting the task done because they want to see the change happen. They want to feel that them individually created a change that people will recognize. This in return makes optimist in whatever they must do to get the job done.	Creativity, collaboration, reliable
Jennifer, Evonne and Evonne are great for the team because they are very outgoing and handle the communication and social aspects of business. Jazmine brings youth to the project and experience on the activities in the area. Aliyah and Heather handle the business side of the project and planning financial and strategic decisions.	They may possess a better idea that's best suited in the community since they are closer and a big part of the community. These individuals have other specialized skills that a professional may not have. They might be more cooperative with each other, rational, creative thinking towards revamping the park.	I do not know any characteristics that would make a White women more suitable for planning a city park. I think it depends more on where you grew up and if you know the surrounding culture for planning city parks. A white women's cultural background could give her an advantage.

<p>I think it is good to have a mix of people who will be using the park help find a solution, both men, women, younger and older. I think there is a stereotype that women will consider more age groups and social classes, however that is not always the case. I like the idea to an extent, but it also bothers me. Mainly because of the claim that we will be "better." I don't like it any more than I like the idea that men will be "better".</p>	<p>Individuals may be better suited to plan city parks than individuals because we all come from different ethnic backgrounds and upbringings. everyone as experienced city parks differently and can give their own personal views on what needs to be added. Professionals are chosen by specific people and things change over time, so they do not have a constant view of what is going on in the world.</p>	
<p>Women are likely more attentive to detail than men and could potentially better envision what the future may look like, design wise. Women could understand what is more necessary for a community park to be successful and would prioritize what is most needed. Women understand recreation in a way that they can pick the most important 10 objects to focus on first.</p>	<p>Individuals in a group can be more suited for planning city parks than professionals because they can use their own personal experiences and special skills in their own careers to provide a different perspective in creating a city park. Another beneficial factor is when there is a random group of individuals rather than professionals, this can take the pressure off, the label professional has a lot of expectations. Another factor is if the group does not know everyone, people are usually very polite and more likely to listen to each other's opinions, thinking respectfully, I know when I just meet people I try to be as polite as possible so I can give off a good impression.</p>	

Appendix A: Consent Form



University of Hawai'i Consent to Participate in a Research Project

Min-Sun Kim, Principal Investigator

Jennifer Belon, Researcher

Project title: Intergroup Interactions

Aloha! My name is Jennifer Belon, and I am inviting you to take part in a research study. I am a graduate student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in the Department of Communicology. As part of the requirements for earning my graduate degree, I am doing a research project.

What am I being asked to do?

If you participate in this project, you will be asked to complete an online survey. Questions in the survey will ask you to report how you feel about people of different races and your attitudes toward them. You will also complete a series of small tasks that ask you to make judgments based on photographs of young adults.

Taking part in this study is your choice.

Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time. If you do not complete the survey for any reason, there will be no penalty or loss to you.

Why is this study being done?

The purpose of my project is to evaluate the ways in which Black and White women think about working with women of a different race.

What will happen if I decide to take part in this study?

The survey consists of 25 questions that evaluate your level of agreement to different statements, as well as a picture association test. This activity includes quickly pairing pictures and descriptive words. The survey questions will be asked on a scale from one to seven. Questions will ask your opinion about race and working within diverse teams. This survey and activity will take about 30 minutes to complete.

What are the risks and benefits of taking part in this study?

I believe there is minimal risk to you for participating in this research project. It is possible that you will become stressed or uncomfortable answering questions or engaging in activities concerning race. If you become stressed or uncomfortable, you can skip the question. You can also stop taking the survey, or you can withdraw from the project altogether. If at any time you feel uncomfortable or anxious you may quit the survey. Additionally, UHM Campus has resources for you such as the Counseling and Student Development Center if you should continue to feel uncomfortable. Their contact number is (808) 956-7927 and this is their website link <http://www.manoa.hawaii.edu/counseling/>. You may also contact the UH IRB if you have any concerns, their contact information can be found here: <https://www.hawaii.edu/researchcompliance/hsp-contact>

There will be no direct benefit to you for participating in this survey. The results of this project may help improve the working conditions between different groups of people based on how you think about women of the opposite race as group members.

Confidentiality and Privacy:

If you choose to receive monetary compensation instead of course credit, I will ask you for your name and mailing address. This information will be used solely for the purpose of compensation and not attached to your survey answers. During your completion of the survey, please do not include any personal information. I will keep all study data secure on a password protected computer. Only my University of Hawai'i advisor (Min Sun Kim) and I will have access to the information.

Compensation:

You will receive .5 hours of course credit for your time and effort in participating in this research project.

Future Research Studies:

Any data that could be used to identify you will be removed from your data after completing the survey. After the removal of any identifiers, the data may be used for future research studies or distributed to another investigator for future research studies. We will not seek further approval from you for these future studies.

Questions:

If you have any questions about this study, email me at Jrbelon@hawaii.edu. You may also contact my faculty advisor (Dr. Min Sun Kim), at kmin@hawaii.edu. You may also contact the Department of Communicology at 808.956.8202. You may contact the UH Human Studies Program at 808.956.5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu to discuss problems, concerns and questions, obtain information or offer input with an informed individual who is unaffiliated with the specific research protocol. Please visit <http://go.hawaii.edu/jRd> for more information on your rights as a research participant.

Please print or save a copy of this page for your reference.
Mahalo!

Appendix B: Questionnaire

Instruction: In the following section, you will be asked to read a short narrative. Please follow any instructions and answer any questions.

All participants see the following vignette:

JANUARY, 20, 2020 | ISSUE 30

HONOLULU NEWS PAPER

Change Coming to Ala Moana Beach Park



2020 INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS

Report by Brittany Ann Bergman

The City and County of Honolulu has officially decided to revamp Ala Moana Beach Park. The beloved beach park is long overdue for a makeover and the City and County is in the process of deciding what amenities and features the new design will incorporate.

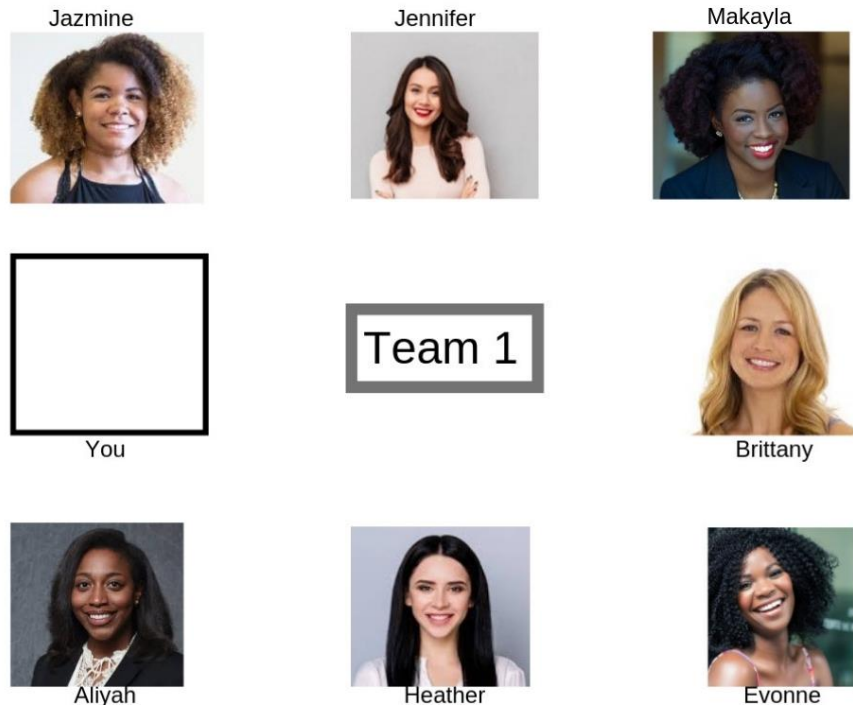
The City and County has commissioned researchers at the University of Hawaii at Manoa to create surveys and focus groups in an effort to decide what Honolulu residence think would be the best additions to the new park.

LIST OF POSSIBLE BEACH PARK ADDITIONS:

1. Walking/jogging path
2. Fenced in tennis area
3. Picnic area
4. Basketball area
5. Fishing dock
6. Senior citizen area
7. Canoe launch area
8. Outdoor theater
9. Horseback riding area
10. Community center
11. Bike rental stands
12. Meeting and event pavilion
13. Paddleboat rental stand
14. Lifeguard tower
15. Child jungle gym area
16. Baseball diamond
17. Swing set
18. Badminton court
19. Childcare area facilities
20. Library facility
21. Bathroom facilities
22. Yoga classes
23. EMT facility
24. Food vendor area
25. Adult workout station
26. Swimming pool
27. Volleyball pit
28. Parking structure
29. Birthday/celebration area
30. Handicapable exercise area

Participants are then randomly assigned to separate conditions: superordinate, individual, and racially homogenous.

The following are instructions for the **Superordinate Condition**:



Instruction: Imagine you have been contacted by the group of researchers mentioned above and have been recruited to help plan and prioritize the 30 objects and services for the park. You and the women pictured below have been **selected as a team** to plan and prioritize the top 10 objects and services (e.g., gymnasium, child care facility, pool) that would be the most essential to the success of the park together.

You have been chosen to **work as a group** with these women because the researchers have found evidence which suggests that groups of women are more successful at City Park planning than groups of men, because groups of women tend to be able to see potential problems in ways groups of men cannot.

Please take a few minutes to imagine that you and the group of women pictured above are working together to successfully completed this task. Once you have finished imagining the scenario write 3 sentences about characteristics groups of women might possess that make them better suited to planning city parks than groups of men.

The following are the instructions for the **Separate-Individuals Condition**:



Makayla



Jennifer

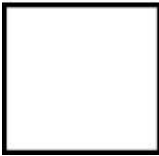


Evonne



Brittany

You



Jazmine



Heather



Aliyah





Instruction: Imagine you have been contacted by the group of researchers mentioned above and have been recruited to help plan and prioritize the 30 objects and services for the park. You and the women pictured below have been individually selected to plan and prioritize the top 10 objects and services (e.g., gymnasium, child care facility, pool) that would be the most essential to the success of the park.

You have been chosen to work independently from these women because the researchers have found evidence which suggests that groups of individuals are often successful at city park planning because they tend to be able to see potential problems in ways professionals cannot.

Please take a few minutes to imagine that you are working independently from these women to successfully completed this task. Once you have finished imagining the scenario write 3 sentences about characteristics that individuals might possess that make them better suited to planning city parks than professionals.

The following are instructions for the **Two-Group Racially Homogenous Condition**:

	Team 1		Team 2
	Jennifer		Evonne
			
	Heather		Jazmine
			
	Brittany		Aliyah
			
	You		Makayla

Instruction: Imagine you have been contacted by the group of researchers mentioned above and have been recruited to help plan and prioritize the 30 objects and services for the park. You and the women pictured below have been selected as **two groups, based on racial background** to plan and prioritize the top 10 objects and services (e.g., gymnasium, child care facility, pool) that would be the most essential to the success of the park.

You have been chosen to **work as a group with the women from your racial background** because the researchers have found evidence which suggests that groups of White women are often successful at city park planning because they tend to be able to see potential problems in ways groups of other women cannot.

Please take a few minutes to imagine that you and the women with your racial background are working to successfully completed this task, separately from the other women. Once you have finished imagining the scenario write **3 sentences** about characteristics that White women might possess that make them better suited to planning city parks than other women.

Appendix C: Demographic Information

Which of the following BEST describes your ethnic or racial background?

1. Caucasian
2. Japanese
3. Filipino
4. Hawaiian or Part Hawaiian
5. Chinese
6. Korean
7. Black
8. Samoan
9. Mixed (Non-Hawaiian)
10. Hispanic
11. Other

On a scale of 1-7 (1 being not very much and 7 being very much) how much do you identify with the cohesion ethnic/racial background?

What is your major?

How old are you

1. 18
2. 19
3. 20
4. 21
5. 22
6. 23
7. 24
8. 25
9. 26
10. 27
11. 28
12. 29
13. 30+

Appendix D: Items Assessing Intergroup Anxiety

On a scale of 1-7 (1 being not at all and 7 being extremely) indicate the degree to which you experience each set of affective states during (or when anticipating) interactions with (Black/White) individuals/women?

1. Anxious
2. Comfortable
3. Worried
4. At ease
5. Awkward
6. Confident
7. Apprehensive
8. Accepted
9. Frustrated
10. Approval

Appendix E: Items Assessing Intergroup Bias

On a scale of 1-7 (1 being not at all and 7 being very much) to what extent do you agree with each statement?

1. "Working with a group of _____ woman would be difficult."
2. "I'd feel good about working with a group of _____ women."
3. In your own opinion what ratio of Black to White women would produce the best solution to the _____ task?
 - a. 100% ingroup members
 - b. 90% ingroup - 10% outgroup
 - c. 80% ingroup – 20% outgroup
 - d. 70% ingroup – 30% outgroup
 - e. 60% ingroup – 40% outgroup
 - f. 50% ingroup – 50% outgroup
 - g. 40% ingroup – 60% outgroup
 - h. 30% ingroup – 70% outgroup
 - i. 20% ingroup – 80% outgroup
 - j. 10% ingroup – 90% outgroup
 - k. 100% outgroup
4. On a scale of one to seven (one being very little to seven being very much), how much would you prefer the leader of your group to be an ingroup member?

Appendix F: Items Assessing Negative Outgroup Attitudes

On a scale of 1-7 (1 being not at all and 7 being extreme) how much of each item do you feel toward ___ individuals

1. Hostility
2. Warmth
3. Sympathy
4. Admiration
5. Dislike
6. Acceptance
7. Superiority
8. Affection
9. Disdain
10. Approval
11. Rejection
12. Hatred

References

- Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. (1988). Comments on the motivational status of self-esteem in social identity and intergroup discrimination. *European journal of social psychology, 18*(4), 317-334.
- Allport, G.W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Andresen, E. M., & Brownson, R. C. (2000). Disability and health status: ethnic differences among women in the United States. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health, 54*(3), 200-206.
- Ashburn-Nardo, L., Knowles, M. L., & Monteith, M. J. (2003). Black Americans' implicit racial associations and their implications for intergroup judgment. *Social Cognition, 21*, 61-87. doi:10.1521/soco.21.1.61.21192
- Babbitt, L. G., & Sommers, S. R. (2011). Framing matters: Contextual influences on interracial interaction outcomes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 37*(9), 1233-1244.
- Bargh, J. A., Chaiken, S., Govender, R., & Pratto, F. (1992). The generality of the automatic attitude activation effect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 62*, 893-912.
- Berdahl, J. L., & Moore, C. (2006). Workplace harassment: double jeopardy for minority women. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 91*(2), 426.
- Blair, I. V. (2002). The malleability of automatic stereotypes and prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 6*, 242-261. doi:10.1207/S15327957PSPR0603_8
- Bodenhausen, G. V. (2010). Diversity in the person, diversity in the group: Challenges of identity complexity for social perception and social interaction. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 40*(1), 1-16.
- Brewer, M. B. (1979). In-group bias in the minimal intergroup situation: A cognitive-motivational analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 86*(2), 307.

- Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love and outgroup hate?. *Journal of social issues*, 55(3), 429-444.
- Brewer, M. B. (1979). In-group bias in the minimal intergroup situation: A cognitive-motivational analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 86, 307-324.
- Browne, I., & Kennelly, I. (1999). Stereotypes and realities: Images of Black women in the labor market. *Latinas and African American women at work: Race, gender, and economic inequality*, 302-326.
- Buchanan, N. T., Settles, I. H., & Woods, K. C. (2008). Comparing sexual harassment subtypes among Black and White women by military rank: Double jeopardy, the Jezebel, and the cult of true womanhood. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32(4), 347-361.
- Calabrese, S. K., Meyer, I. H., Overstreet, N. M., Haile, R., & Hansen, N. B. (2015). Exploring discrimination and mental health disparities faced by Black sexual minority women using a minority stress framework. *Psychology of women quarterly*, 39(3), 287-304.
- Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist*, 64(3), 170.
- Crisp, R. J., & Hewstone, M. (2007). Multiple social categorization. *Advances in experimental social psychology*, 39, 163-254.
- Crocker, J., Major, B., & Steele, C. (1998). Social stigma: the psychology of marked relationships. *The handbook of social psychology*, 2, 504-553.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Validzic, A. (1998). Intergroup bias: Status, differentiation, and a common in-group identity. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 75(1), 109.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selection decisions: 1989 and 1999. *Psychological science*, 11(4), 315-319.

- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2004). Aversive racism. *Advances in experimental social psychology*, 36, 4-56.
- Eagly, A. H., & Chin, J. L. (2010). Are memberships in race, ethnicity, and gender categories merely surface characteristics? *American Psychologist*, 65, 934–935.
- Eagly, A. H., Diekmann, A. B., Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C., & Koenig, A. M. (2004). Gender gaps in sociopolitical attitudes: A social psychological analysis. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 87(6), 796.
- Fazio, R. H., Sanbonmatsu, D. M., Powell, M. C., & Kardes, F. R. (1986). On the automatic activation of attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50, 229-238.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1977). The subtlety of White racism, arousal, and helping behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35(10), 691.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 315-332). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2005). Understanding and addressing contemporary racism: From aversive racism to the common ingroup identity model. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(3), 615-639.
- Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio, P. A., Bachman, B. A., & Rust, M. C. (1993). The common ingroup identity model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias. *European review of social psychology*, 4(1), 1-26.
- Gaertner, S. L., Mann, J. A., Dovidio, J. F., Murrell, A. J., & Pomare, M. (1990). How does cooperation reduce intergroup bias?. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59(4), 692.

- Gaertner, S. L., Mann, J., Murrell, A., & Dovidio, J. F. (1989). Reducing intergroup bias: The benefits of recategorization. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 57(2), 239.
- Green, C. R., Ndao-Brumblay, S. K., Nagrant, A. M., Baker, T. A., & Rothman, E. (2004). Race, age, and gender influences among clusters of African American and white patients with chronic pain. *The Journal of Pain*, 5(3), 171-182.
- Greenland, K., & Brown, R. J. (1999). Categorization and intergroup anxiety in contact between British and Japanese nationals. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29, 503-521.
- Hausmann, L. R., & Ryan, C. S. (2004). Effects of external and internal motivation to control prejudice on implicit prejudice: The mediating role of efforts to control prejudiced responses. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 26(2-3), 215-225.
- Hewstone, M., Rubin, M., & Willis, H. (2002). Intergroup bias. *Annual review of psychology*, 53(1), 575-604.
- Hinkle, S., & Brown, R. (1990). Intergroup comparisons and social identity: Some links and lacunae. *Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances*, 48, 70.
- Hornsey, M. J. (2008). Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: A historical review. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2(1), 204-222.
- Hornsey, M. J., & Hogg, M. A. (2000). Subgroup relations: A comparison of mutual intergroup differentiation and common ingroup identity models of prejudice reduction. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26(2), 242-256.
- Hurtado, A. (1989). Relating to privilege: Seduction and rejection in the subordination of white women and women of color. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 14(4), 833-855.
- Ito, T. A., & Urland, G. R. (2003). Race and gender on the brain: electrocortical measures of

- attention to the race and gender of multiply categorizable individuals. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 85(4), 616.
- Johnson, M. K., & Marini, M. M. (1998). Bridging the racial divide in the United States: The effect of gender. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 247-258.
- Judd, C. M., Park, B., Ryan, C. S., Brauer, M., & Kraus, S. (1995). Stereotypes and ethnocentrism: Diverging interethnic perceptions of African American and White American youth. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(3), 460.
- Kinder, D. R., & Sears, D. O. (1981). Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40, 414-431.
- Kosterman, R., & Feshbach, S. (1989). Toward a measure of patriotic and nationalistic attitudes. *Political psychology*, 257-274.
- Kovel, J. (1970). *White racism: A psychological history*. New York: Pantheon.
- Leaper, C. (1991). Influence and involvement in children's discourse: Age, gender, and partner effects. *Child development*, 62(4), 797-811.
- Leaper, C., & Smith, T. E. (2004). A meta-analytic review of gender variations in children's language use: talkativeness, affiliative speech, and assertive speech. *Developmental psychology*, 40(6), 993.
- Lewis, J. A., & Neville, H. A. (2015). Construction and initial validation of the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale for Black women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 62(2), 289.
- Littleford, L. N. Wright, M. O., & Sayoc-Parial, M. (2005). White students' intergroup anxiety during same-race and interracial interactions: A multimethod approach. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 27(1), 85-94.
- Lopez, F. G., & Ann-Yi, S. (2006). Predictors of career indecision in three racial/ethnic groups

- of college women. *Journal of Career Development*, 33(1), 29-46.
- Maccoby, E. E. (1999). *The two sexes: Growing up apart, coming together* (Vol. 4). Harvard University Press.
- Major, B., Quinton, W. J., & McCoy, S. K. (2002). Antecedents and consequences of attributions to discrimination: Theoretical and empirical advances. In *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 34, pp. 251-330). Academic Press.
- Maltz, D. N., & Borker, R. A. (1982). A cultural approach to male-female miscommunication. *A cultural approach to interpersonal communication: Essential readings*, 168-185.
- McConahay, J. B. (1982). Self-interest versus racial attitudes as correlates of anti-busing attitudes in Louisville: Is it the buses or the blacks? *Journal of Politics*, 44, 692-720.
- Myrdal, G. (1944). *An American dilemma; the Negro problem and modern democracy*. New York: Harper.
- Nier, J. A., Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Banker, B. S., Ward, C. M., & Rust, M. C. (2001). Changing interracial evaluations and behavior: The effects of a common group identity. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 4(4), 299-316.
- Norton, M. I., Sommers, S. R., Apfelbaum, E. P., Pura, N., & Ariely, D. (2006). Color blindness and interracial interaction: Playing the political correctness game. *Psychological Science*, 17(11), 949-953.
- Nosek, B. A., Banaji, M., & Greenwald, A. G. (2002). Harvesting implicit group attitudes and beliefs from a demonstration web site. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 6, 101-115. doi:10.1037/1089-2699.6.1.101
- Paradies, Y. C. (2006). *Defining, conceptualizing and characterizing racism in health research*. 143- 157.

- Pascoe, E. A., & Smart Richman, L. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: a meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 135(4), 531.
- Plant, E. A., & Butz, D. A. (2006). The causes and consequences of an avoidance-focus for interracial interactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(6), 833-846.
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 75(3), 811.
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (2003). The antecedents and implications of interracial anxiety. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(6), 790-801.
- Perdue, C. W., Dovidio, J. F., Gurtman, M. B., & Tyler, R. B. (1990). Us and them: Social categorization and the process of intergroup bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 475-486.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1981). Extending the stereotype concept. *Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behavior*, 303-331.
- Reid PT, Comas-Diaz L. (1990) Gender and ethnicity: Perspectives on dual status. *Sex Roles*. 1990; 22:397–408.
- Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., Gaertner, S. L., McDonald, S. A., & Lamoreaux, M. J. (2010). Does a common ingroup identity reduce intergroup threat?. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 13(4), 403-423.
- Richeson, J. A., & Ambady, N. (2003). Effects of situational power on automatic racial prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 39, 177-183. doi:10.1016/S0022-1031(02)00521-8
- Richeson, J. A., Trawalter, S., & Shelton, J. N. (2005). African Americans' implicit racial attitudes and the depletion of executive function after interracial interactions. *Social*

- Cognition*, 23(4), 336-352.
- Schlenker, B. R., & Leary, M. R. (1982). Social anxiety and self-presentation: A conceptualization model. *Psychological Bulletin*, 92(3), 641.
- Settles, I. H., Pratt-Hyatt, J. S., & Buchanan, N. T. (2008). Through the lens of race: Black and White women's perceptions of womanhood. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32(4), 454-468.
- Shelton, J. N., & Richeson, J. A. (2005). Intergroup contact and pluralistic ignorance. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 88(1), 91.
- Shelton, J. N., Richeson, J. A., & Salvatore, J. (2005). Expecting to be the target of prejudice: Implications for interethnic interactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31(9), 1189-1202.
- Shelton, J. N., Richeson, J. A., & Vorauer, J. D. (2006). Threatened identities and interethnic interactions. *European review of social psychology*, 17(1), 321-358.
- Sherif, M. (1966). *In common predicament: Social psychology of intergroup conflict and cooperation*. Houghton Mifflin comp.
- Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. W. (1953). *Groups in harmony and tension; an integration of studies of intergroup relations*.
- Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. W. (1969). Ingroup and intergroup relations: Experimental analysis. *Social psychology*, 221-266.
- Smith, A., & Stewart, A. J. (1983). Approaches to studying racism and sexism in Black women's lives. *Journal of Social Issues*, 39(3), 1-15.
- Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A., ... & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of Blacks and

- Whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(9), 1242-1254.
- Stephan, G. W., Diaz-Loving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31, 240-249.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues*, 41, 157-175.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1996). Predicting prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20(3-4), 409-426.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1989). Antecedents of intergroup anxiety in Asian-Americans and Hispanic Americans. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 13, 203-219.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 23–45). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Stephan, C. W., Stephan, W. G., Demitrakis, K. M., Yamada, A. M., & Clason, D. L. (2000). Women's attitudes toward men: An integrated threat theory approach. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 24, 63-73.
- Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Bachman, G. (1999). Prejudice Toward Immigrants 1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 29(11), 2221-2237.
- Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C. M., Schwarzwald, J., & Tur-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward immigrants to Spain and Israel: An integrated threat theory analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29(4), 559-576.
- St Jean, Y., & Feagin, J. R. (1997). Racial masques: Black women and subtle gendered racism. *Subtle sexism: Current practice and prospects for change*, 179-200.

- Sumner, W. G. (1906). *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, And Morals* (Boston, MA: Gin and Company, 1906), 12.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). Intergroup behavior. *Introducing Social Psychology*. NY: Penguin Books, 401-466.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, 33(47), 74.
- Turner, J. C. (1981). The experimental social psychology of intergroup behavior. *Intergroup behaviour*, 66.
- Turner, J. C. (1999). Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories. *Social identity: Context, commitment, content*, 3(1), 6-34.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Basil Blackwell.
- Turner, R. N., West, K., & Christie, Z. (2013). Out-group trust, intergroup anxiety, and out-group attitude as mediators of the effect of imagined intergroup contact on intergroup behavioral tendencies. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 43, E196-E205.
- Ufkes, E. G., Calcagno, J., Glasford, D. E., & Dovidio, J. F. (2016). Understanding how common ingroup identity undermines collective action among disadvantaged-group members. *Journal of experimental social psychology*, 63, 26-35.
- Vezzali, L., Stathi, S., Crisp, R. J., Giovannini, D., Capozza, D., & Gaertner, S. L. (2015). Imagined intergroup contact and common ingroup identity. *Social Psychology*.
- Vorauer, J. D., & Turpie, C. A. (2004). Disruptive effects of vigilance on dominant group members' treatment of outgroup members: choking versus shining under pressure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87(3), 384.

- Williams, D. R., Neighbors, H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (2003). Racial/ethnic discrimination and health: findings from community studies. *American journal of public health, 93*(2), 200-208.
- Williams, D. R., & Williams-Morris, R. (2000). Racism and mental health: The African American experience. *Ethnicity and health, 5*(3-4), 243-268.
- Woods, K. C., Buchanan, N. T., & Settles, I. H. (2009). Sexual harassment across the color line: Experiences and outcomes of cross-versus intraracial sexual harassment among Black women. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 15*(1), 67.