

THE ROLE OF OPENNESS IN INTERRACIAL INTERACTIONS

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Kathleen A. Klik

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Science degree.



David Buty
Director of Thesis

Master's Committee: David Buty, Chair
Helleant Perrells
Laurie G. Couch

April 26, 2012
Date

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Kathleen A. Klik, M.S.
Morehead State University, 2011

Director of Thesis: _____

Abstract

Over the past several decades, researchers have attempted to gain a more complete understanding of the sources of negativity in interracial interactions by examining situational factors that contribute to anxiety and hostility in interracial interactions. For example, cues that signal an interracial interaction will go poorly (e.g., perceiving a partner as not open to an interaction) have a detrimental influence on the quality of an interaction (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2006; Frey & Tropp, 2006; Plant & Devine, 2003). To expand upon this prior work, the current study tests a new approach for examining the influence of expectations about a partner's openness to an interracial interaction on responses to an anticipated interaction in the laboratory and subsequent real-world interactions outside of the laboratory. Additionally, drawing from the emerging body

of work on the role of personality factors in intergroup relations (e.g., Van Hiel, Pandelaere, & Duriez, 2004; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; Flynn, 2005) the current work explores the impact of the personality factor Openness to Experience on responses to interracial interactions. Given the prior work that has linked negative expectations to an array of antisocial responses to interracial interactions (i.e., anxiety and anger), I predicted that those who possessed negative expectations about an interracial interaction partner would have more negative emotional responses (e.g., heightened anger) and more negative behavioral responses (intentions to avoid an anticipated interaction and reports of less frequent interracial interactions outside of the laboratory) than individuals who possessed positive expectations about an interracial interaction partner. Additionally, consistent with Flynn (2005), I anticipated that individuals higher in Openness would report more positive responses to interracial interactions, particularly upon receiving positive feedback suggesting their partner's response to the interaction matches their own openness to the interaction. To examine these ideas, ninety-four White/Caucasian participants reported their Openness to Experience and participated in an online chat. Participants were led to believe that after the online chat they would have a face-to-face interaction with a Black or White partner. During the online interaction, a confederate provided either positive, negative, or no feedback regarding their partner's openness to interactions. Participants then reported their emotions and intentions regarding the upcoming interaction in the laboratory, and after approximately one week, reported the frequency and quality of their interracial and same-race interactions outside of the laboratory via an online survey. Results indicated

that the expectancy feedback influenced participants' interest in sustaining contact and frequency of recent interracial contact such that those who received the positive response expectancy feedback had increased desire to sustain contact in the future and more contact with Black individuals, relative to those who received the negative or no feedback. However, inconsistent with the predictions there was no overall effect of expectancy feedback on other measures of responses to the interaction. As expected, individuals who were more Open felt less angry about an interracial interaction and viewed their interracial interaction partner as a less angry and aggressive person. Additionally, highly Open participants responded to a Black partner with less anxiety upon receiving negative feedback from the Black partner. Openness did not have a strong influence on responses to White interaction partners. Results are discussed in terms of their implications for understanding the interplay between situational and personality factors in determining responses to interracial interactions.

Accepted by:

David Butts, Chair
Shelley Danielson
Raune L. Couch

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The Role of Openness in Interracial Interactions

The landmark 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision stipulated that segregation by race in the public school system was illegal and thus paved the way for more opportunities for interracial contact. Although this decision brought Whites and Blacks in close proximity of each other, attempts at desegregation proved difficult and more complex than initially thought, insofar as establishing opportunities for intergroup contact did not necessarily translate into positive intergroup interactions. Moreover, beyond falling short of immediately creating positive intergroup relations, there were many costs that accompanied desegregation, such as increased prejudice, lower self-esteem for Black students, and increased avoidance of schools which had implemented desegregation (e.g., Fishbein, 2002; Stephan, 1986). Together, this evidence indicates that merely bringing two different racial groups together may be a necessary, but not sufficient factor to promote positive intergroup relations.

Despite encouraging trends in race relations since the beginning of desegregation in the 1950's, challenges to positive intergroup relations remain in the United States even today. On the one hand, judging from survey work and self-reports of racial attitudes, racial attitudes have become markedly more positive over the last few decades (e.g., Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997). However, there are still fundamental issues that prevent interracial interactions from being advantageous for majority and minority group members. Despite increasing initiatives to promote opportunities for intergroup contact, some individuals are reluctant to engage in

unpleasant experiences) play a key role in anxious and avoidant responses to interracial contact (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2006; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Expecting interracial interactions to go poorly leads to more anxiety about the interaction, thus limiting the enjoyment individuals experience during these interactions (Plant & Devine, 2003; Shelton, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Consistent with this idea, Plant and Devine (2003) demonstrated that White people's negative expectations about the outcome of interactions led to higher levels of anxiety, which ultimately increased their likelihood of avoiding the interaction if the interaction partner was Black. By identifying negative expectations as a barrier to positive interracial interactions, this work suggests that making expectations more positive will lead to less anxiety and avoidance, eventually increasing the possibility of experiencing high-quality interracial interactions (e.g., Mallet, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2008).

In addition to examining whether people possess positive or negative expectations about the outcome of interactions, recent work has indicated it is important to distinguish between different types of expectations about interracial interactions (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2006; Butz & Plant, 2011). For example, some people may be primarily concerned with their ability to respond without prejudice in interactions (i.e., self-efficacy expectations) and expect that the interaction will be an aversive experience due to their own inability to control prejudicial responses in the interaction. In contrast, others may be primarily concerned that regardless of how they respond in interracial interactions, their interaction partner will reject them (termed negative response expectancies, Butz & Plant, 2006; Frey & Tropp, 2006;

Leary & Atherton, 1986). Importantly, recent work indicates that understanding the specific nature of peoples' expectations about interactions is important when trying to understand whether people will respond with anxiety or avoidance, and perhaps avoid interactions altogether, or in a more angry and hostile manner while engaging in interactions. Thus, clarifying the nature of people's expectations about intergroup interactions may provide insight into their pattern of emotional and behavioral responding in interactions.

Self-Efficacy Expectations

Negative expectations stemming from individuals who feel they lack the efficacy to respond without prejudice, referred to as self-efficacy expectations, lead to primarily anxious and avoidance-related responses to interracial interactions (Butz & Plant, 2006; Plant & Butz, 2006). Individuals with negative self-efficacy expectancies believe because they lack the ability to respond without prejudice, they will portray themselves negatively, possibly be seen as prejudiced, and have an uncomfortable experience with an outgroup member. Individuals who are focused on these potential shortcomings exhibit more anxious responses, thus leading to an increased desire to avoid interactions (Plant & Butz, 2006; Schlenker & Leary, 1982). Furthermore, if those who wish to avoid interracial interactions are thrust into an interaction, the interaction will be replete with avoidant behavior, which may lead to less enjoyment of the interaction, a tense and awkward experience in the interaction, and an increased desire to avoid similar interactions in the future (Butz & Plant, 2006; Plant & Butz, 2006; Shelton, 2003). Thus, negative self-efficacy expectations are

detrimental not only to interracial interactions in the present but also for those in the future, which ultimately limits any possibility for positive interracial contact.

Negative Response Expectancies

In addition to concerns about one's ability to respond without prejudice in interactions, individuals may come to interracial interactions with concerns about how others will respond to them. In particular, recent work indicates that some individuals approach interracial interactions expecting that their interaction partner will view them negatively and potentially reject them (i.e., negative response expectancies, Butz & Plant, 2006). One important way in which these expectations differ from efficacy expectancies is that those who expect to be rejected by the interaction partner believe the interaction will go poorly because of someone else, which is an external source of negativity in the interaction.

A key aspect of negative response expectancies is the underlying fear of being socially rejected by their interaction partner. Expecting to be rejected by one's interaction partner may negatively impact the quality of the interaction. For example, there is mounting evidence that social rejection provokes intense physiological stress responses (e.g., Blackhart, Eckel, & Tice, 2007). Moreover, individuals who have been socially rejected exhibit a hostile cognitive bias, which influences their interpretations of others' behavior and encourages aggressive behavior (e.g., Dwall, Twenge, Gitter, & Baumeister, 2009, see also Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001). In addition, those who have been socially rejected or excluded are less likely to exhibit prosocial behaviors, such as group cooperation (Twenge, Baumeister, Dwall,

Ciarocco, & Bartels, 2007) and more likely to respond with aggressive behavior (e.g., Twenge et al., 2001). Thus, expecting to be rejected may precipitate a number of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses that may compromise the quality of an interpersonal interaction.

Although the potential for rejection is common to all types of social interactions (e.g., Schlenker & Leary, 1982), it is possible that rejection in the context of interracial interactions may have different implications for the quality of the interaction. For example, Frey and Tropp (2006) argue that although interpersonal concerns, including expectations of rejection, are present in many social situations, interracial interactions are different from other interactions because they include the possibility of rejection based upon one's race. Expecting to be rejected based upon one's race may add an additional element to the rejection experience and, as a consequence, heighten the negative responses that typically correspond with social rejection (Mendes, Major, McCoy, & Blascovich, 2008). Indeed, consistent with this idea, in a pilot study Butz and Plant (2006) provided White participants with response expectancy feedback from a same-race (White) or other-race (Black) interaction partner that implied the person was highly open to the interaction, or not open to the interaction in the negative response expectancy condition. Control participants were not provided with feedback from their interaction partner. Results indicated that both participants in the same-race and interracial conditions "felt" rejected to a similar degree upon receiving the rejection feedback compared to the other conditions. However, importantly, the rejection feedback from the other-race Black partner led to higher levels of anger about

the interaction than rejection from the same-race White partner. Such results are consistent with the idea that rejection in the context of interracial interactions includes the additional possibility that the rejection is based upon one's race, which may heighten angry, aggressive responses toward one's partner.

Although little research has focused on negative response expectancies for interracial interactions, there is some evidence that individuals with negative response expectancies tend to displace anger and hostility onto their partner and blame their partner for tension in the interaction because their partner is perceived as an obstacle to a positive interaction. When an individual anticipates that their partner will respond negatively in an interracial interaction, they are apt to reciprocate with disliking their partner, evaluating him or her negatively, and responding with hostile, antisocial behavior (Butz & Plant, 2006; Frey & Tropp, 2006). Expecting one's interracial interaction partner to respond negatively (i.e., with rejection) may precipitate responses that provoke this person, which may ultimately lead the partner to respond negatively in the interaction and confirm one's initially negative expectation. Thus, unlike negative efficacy expectancies, which may provoke anxiety and lead people to avoid opportunities for interracial contact, negative responses expectancies may encourage hostile responses directed toward interaction partners that, in turn, elicit hostile responses from interaction partners.

Current Work

Given this prior work that has linked negative response expectancies to angry and hostile responses to interracial interactions, it is important to gain a fuller

understanding of approaches to improve people's negative response expectancies about interracial interactions. Although some people may possess negative expectations about the outcome of intergroup interactions, there is evidence that expectations are malleable. For example, Mallet and Wilson (2010) demonstrated that White individuals who reflected upon a time that an interracial interaction went better than expected responded with decreased anxiety and more positive behavior in an interview with a Black confederate. Additionally, such individuals formed more interracial friendships over time. In other work (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2006), a method to improve response expectancies through positive feedback about an interaction partner's openness to interracial interactions improved participants' expectations about their partner's response to the interaction, however these positive expectations did not translate into more positive responses to the interaction. That is, although the positive feedback led to more positive expectations about their partner, the feedback failed to reduce anger and hostility about an interracial interaction relative to participants who were in the no feedback control condition, leaving attempts to improve responses to interracial interactions inconclusive. Thus, an important aim of this work is to develop a different approach for manipulating response expectations about interaction partners and exploring its implications for an upcoming interaction and interactions over time.

Beyond developing a new manipulation of response expectancies, the current work will extend prior work on the role of response expectancies in interracial interactions (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2006) by exploring individual difference factors that may determine people's reactions to response expectancy feedback from interaction

partners. To date, there is mounting evidence that personality factors play an important role in racial attitudes (Ekehammar & Akrami, 2003; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Although much prior work has focused on the relation between factors such as Right-Wing Authoritarianism and outgroup prejudice (Ekehammar, Akrami, Gylje, & Zakrisson, 2004; Van Hiel & Mervielde, 2005), more recent attention has examined the association between Big five personality factors and prejudice (Ekehammar & Akrami, 2003; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). In this work, the factor of Openness to Experience (i.e. those more open characterized as creative, untraditional, liberal, and artistic), has emerged as a strong predictor of prejudice, such that higher scores on Openness to Experience scales are typically associated with lower levels of prejudice (Ekehammar & Akrami, 2003; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008).

Consistent with the aforementioned findings on the link between Openness to Experience and prejudice, Flynn (2005) demonstrated that individuals who are high in the trait of Openness to Experience reported more positive attitudes toward racial outgroup members. Furthermore, Flynn found that White people who were higher in Openness to Experience formed more positive impressions of Black individuals than individuals lower in Openness. Results indicate that White participants who were more open were more accepting of a Black target and formed more favorable impression of this target (Flynn, 2005). Drawing from this work, it is tenable that individuals who are high in openness will come to interracial interactions expecting relatively positive responses from their other-race interaction partner. Because it is anticipated that many participants will perceive interracial interactions as a relatively novel experience,

it was expected that Openness to Experience may be a strong predictor of responses to interracial interactions in particular.

To extend prior work on Openness to Experience, which has primarily examined the association between Openness and levels of prejudice (e.g., Sibley & Duckitt, 2008; Flynn, 2005), the current work examined the role of Openness to Experience in moderating responses to feedback from anticipated interracial interaction partners. It was anticipated that individuals who are higher in Openness will approach interracial interactions with more enthusiasm than those lower in Openness. However, participants' level of Openness to Experience may also determine their responses to feedback from an interaction partner. Specifically, among individuals who are open to new experiences, receiving positive feedback from one's partner may confirm these initially positive expectations and reduce their interest in avoiding the interaction compared to individuals who are less open to new experiences. Because individuals high in openness to new experiences may come to interracial interactions with relatively positive expectations about their partner, receiving negative feedback regarding an interaction partner's openness to interracial interactions may disconfirm these initially positive expectations and result in negative responses that mirror those exhibited by individuals low in Openness to Experiences. Thus, it was expected that stronger effects of Openness to Experiences in the positive and no feedback conditions compared to the negative response expectancy feedback condition.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants included 94 non-Black undergraduate students from Morehead State University. The age of participants ranged from 18 to 35 years of age ($M = 19.7$, $SD = 2.26$) with 70.2 % female. Students completed the study as partial fulfillment of their research credit in Psychology courses. The design of the study was a 3 (response expectancy feedback: positive vs. negative vs. no feedback) x 2 (race of interaction partner: White vs. Black) x Openness (continuous) between subjects design.

Procedure and Materials

In the study, responses given by a confederate were used to manipulate participants' response expectancies about an upcoming interaction. The race of participants' interaction partner was manipulated via information provided in a social networking profile, which participants viewed on a computer and evaluated during the laboratory session.

The experimenter randomly assigned the experimental conditions before the participants arrived. Participants were told that as part of the session, they and their partner would first complete initial measures in separate lab rooms and engage in a brief online interaction before meeting in person. The preliminary questionnaire packet contained questions about participants' level of Openness to Experience a pending interaction and demographic information. Participants next viewed the standard profile of the interaction partner. The confederate's responses within this profile were used to manipulate perceived race of the interaction partner. After viewing

this profile, participants were asked to create a paragraph-length description (e.g. age, race, academic interests and brief description of their personality) about themselves; once completed, the online interaction began. A confederate was stationed in an adjacent lab room and provided scripted responses throughout the online chat. The participant and confederate took turns picking questions from envelopes.

Experimenters used a rigged drawing to control the order and selection of questions asked by the participant. The confederate's response to the first question, which concerned diversity, served as a manipulation of response expectancies (see example below for description of the diversity question and feedback from the confederate).

After this question, the participant and the confederate took turns asking and answering eight additional questions (see Appendix B). After completing the chat, participants filled out a set of questionnaires in which they reported their expectations about their partner (i.e., response expectancies) as a check of the manipulation. They also reported their current emotions, including their anger and anxiety, and intentions regarding the interaction (avoidance of upcoming interaction and interest in sustaining contact).

After completing these measures, participants were informed that there was not enough time to have the interaction, and their participation in the current session was complete.

They were further told that they would be contacted via email in approximately one week to complete a follow-up survey on their recent social experiences with the opportunity to earn additional research credit for their completion of that survey. The follow-up survey was used to assess whether the manipulation of response expectancies affected the frequency and quality of interracial and same-race

interactions outside of the laboratory.

Response expectancy manipulation. Response expectancies were manipulated by providing feedback about their ostensible interaction partner's openness to the upcoming interaction. During the online chat, the participant selected a question on previous experiences in interracial interactions (e.g., "How often do you have opportunities to meet new people?"). The confederate provided the participant with one of three different responses, which were used to instill positive, negative, or no expectation of how their partner would likely respond in the interaction.

To encourage positive response expectancies, the confederate's scripted response was "I'm from a small town so I've never really had a lot of opportunities, but I'm open to meeting new people."

To promote negative response expectancies, the confederate's scripted response was "I'm from a small town so I've never had a lot of opportunities and overall I'm not that open to meeting new people."

For the no feedback condition the standard response was "I'm from a small town so I've never had a lot of opportunities". Therefore, although the confederate reports having few opportunities to meet new people, no feedback is given concerning the partner's openness to the interaction.

Measures

Feeling thermometer. To assess the participants' level of prejudice, a feeling thermometer was used (see Appendix D). Participants were asked to choose a number between 0 and 100, the higher the number the warmer, or more favorable they felt

toward the group in question and the lower the number the colder, or less favorable they felt toward the group in question. Participants were asked to rate a variety of groups: athletes, non-athletes, fraternity members, sorority members, Republicans, Democrats, and several different ethnic groups (i.e., African Americans, Latin Americans, and Asian Americans). Responses to the African American feeling thermometer question were used to infer the level of anti-Black prejudice for each participant. Higher scores indicate warmer feelings, and therefore less prejudicial feelings toward the outgroup in question.

Openness to Experience. To measure Openness to Experience, we drew from the Big Five Inventory (BFI) (John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991). Modeling after Flynn (2005), we used 10 items from the BFI (see Appendix B). Items were rated using a 5-point likert-type scale ranging from *very uncharacteristic* to *very characteristic*. Sample items include: “Has an active imagination,” “Is ingenious, deep thinker,” and “Values artistic, esthetic experiences”. Responses on this scale were averaged to form an index of Openness to Experience ($\alpha = .82$). Higher scores indicate higher levels of Openness (see Appendix E).

Response expectancies. Participants’ self-reported response expectancies were examined to determine if their expectations were influenced by the different feedback conditions. To assess participant’s expectations concerning perceived openness of their interaction partner, ten items were used. These items were rated using a 7-point likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), with some items reverse-coded. Sample items include: “I think my interaction partner

is open to interacting with me” and “I am concerned that my partner will not like me.” Responses on this scale were averaged to form an index of response expectancies ($\alpha = .81$). Higher scores indicate more negative response expectancies (see Appendix F).

Emotions. To assess participants’ current emotions, participants responded to a series of emotion descriptors using a 7-point likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*does not apply at all*) to 7 (*applies very much*). Seven anxiety-related emotions were averaged to form an anxiety index. Sample items include: anxious, tense, and worried ($\alpha = .88$). Four anger-related emotions were averaged, to form an anger index. The anger-related emotions included angry, hostile, bothered, and frustrated ($\alpha = .93$). Higher scores indicate increased levels of anxiety and anger (see Appendix G).

Interest in avoiding the interaction. To assess participants’ desire to avoid the upcoming interaction, thirteen items were used. These items were rated using a 7-point likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), with some items reverse-coded. Sample items include: “I wish I could avoid having this interaction” and “I am looking forward to meeting my partner today” [R]. Responses on this scale were averaged to form an index of the participants’ desire to avoid the upcoming interaction ($\alpha = .89$). Higher scores indicate increased desire to avoid the upcoming interaction (see Appendix H).

Interest in sustaining contact. To assess participants’ interest in sustaining contact in the future, two items were used. These items were rated using a 7-point likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The items included:

“I could imagine adding this person as a friend on my personal Facebook page” and “I would be interested in chatting with this person on Facebook in the future.” Responses were significantly correlated with each other ($r = .83, p < .001$) and were averaged to form an index of the participants’ desire to sustain contact in the future ($\alpha = .91$). Higher scores indicate increased interest in sustaining contact in the future (see Appendix H).

Frequency/Quality of recent interactions. A link to an online survey was emailed to participants. Responses on this survey were used to assess the frequency and quality of same-race and interracial contact in the week since the lab session. To assess the frequency of contact, participants reported how much contact they have had with Black individuals in a social-public setting using an item anchored by the endpoints of 1(none) and 7(extensive). To assess frequency of same-race contact, participants reported how much contact they have had with White individuals in a social-public setting using the same scale. Higher scores indicate more frequent contact.

A series of items were used to gain insight into the quality of people’s interracial and same-race contact experiences. Sample items to assess the quality of interracial contact include: “On the average, how pleasant or unpleasant were the interactions in the past week?” and “In the future, how pleasant or unpleasant do you expect interactions with Black people within a social-public setting will be?” rated on a 1 (*very unpleasant*) to 7 (*very pleasant*) scale. An additional item to assess the quality of contact during the past week includes, “On the average, did interactions with Black

people in a social-public setting in the past week cost you or did you benefit from them?" rated on (*costly*) to 7 (*beneficial*) scale. Responses on these scales were averaged to form indices of the quality of interracial contact ($\alpha = .87$). To assess the quality of same-race contact experiences the sample items provided above were altered to inquire about interactions with people of the same ethnic group ($\alpha = .93$). Higher scores indicate higher quality contact (see Appendix I).

Results

Gender

Preliminary analysis explored gender and revealed only one unexpected main effect of gender on perceived aggression, $F(1, 92) = 5.98, p < .05$, such that female participants perceived their interaction partner as significantly less aggressive ($M = 1.72, SD = .74$) than male participants ($M = 2.19, SD = .85$). There were no significant interactions involving gender (all F s $< 6.65, p$ s $> .10$).

Manipulation Check

A 3(response expectancy feedback: positive vs. negative vs. no feedback) x 2(partner race: White vs. Black) analysis of variance (ANOVAs) was conducted to explore the influence of the interaction partner's race and response expectancy feedback on self-reported response expectancies. This analysis revealed a significant main effect of the response expectancy feedback, $F(2, 86) = 3.04, p < .05$. Pairwise comparisons (Fisher's LSD) were used to examine differences between the positive, negative and no feedback conditions. Consistent with the intentions of the manipulation, participants in the negative response expectancy feedback condition reported more negative response expectancies ($M = 2.28, SD = .68$) than participants in the positive response expectancy feedback condition ($M = 1.88, SD = .68$), $p = .02$. Participants who received positive expectancy feedback reported marginally more positive response expectancies ($M = 1.88, SD = .68$) than participants who received no response expectancy feedback ($M = 2.18, SD = .65$), $p = .08$. There was no significant difference when comparing the negative feedback condition to the no feedback

condition, $p = .58$. In addition, there was a marginally significant main effect of partner race on response expectancies, $F(1, 86) = 2.88, p = .09$, such that participants who thought their interaction partner was Black reported marginally more negative response expectancies ($M = 2.23, SD = .76$) than those who thought their interaction partner was White ($M = 2.00, SD = .58$).

Effects of Feedback

A series of 3(response expectancy feedback: positive vs. negative vs. no feedback) x 2(partner race: White vs. Black) analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted to examine the effect of the response expectancy feedback and partner race feedback on perceived aggression, emotional responses (anxiety and anger), intentions regarding the interaction (avoidance of the upcoming interaction and interest in sustaining contact) and frequency and quality of recent contact experiences. When significant effects were obtained, pairwise comparisons (Fisher's LSD) were used to examine differences between the positive, negative and no feedback conditions. Effects not explicitly mentioned did not reach significance.

Perceived aggression. The analysis of perceived aggression revealed a significant response expectancy feedback X partner race interaction, $F(2, 86) = 3.029, p < .05$. To probe this interaction, I examined the effect of feedback separately for Black and White partners. The effect of the response expectancy feedback on perceived aggression for the White partner was marginally significant $F(2, 44) = 2.41, p = .10$, such that participants in the positive response expectancy feedback condition ($M = 1.52, SD = .51$) perceived their interaction partner as less aggressive than those who

received negative ($M = 1.90, SD = .94$) or no feedback ($M = 2.19, SD = 1.00$). However, inconsistent with predictions, the response expectancy feedback did not influence the extent to which participants were perceiving Black partners as aggressive, $F(2, 42) = 1.38, p = .26$.

Anxiety and anger. The analysis of anxiety revealed no significant main effects of response expectancy feedback, $F(2, 86) = .07, p = .93$, or partner race, $F(1, 86) = .03, p = .88$, which is consistent with prior work in which response expectancy feedback was not found to influence levels of anxiety (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2006). Furthermore, there was no significant response expectancy feedback X partner race interaction, $F(2, 86) = .26, p = .78$. However, inconsistent with Butz and Plant (2006), the ANOVA on anger revealed no significant main effects of response expectancy feedback, $F(2, 86) = .37, p = .69$, or partner race, $F(1, 86) = 2.12, p = .15$, on participants' level of anger. Additionally, there was no significant response expectancy feedback X partner race interaction, $F(2, 86) = .26, p = .78$.

Interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction. The analysis of participants' interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction revealed no significant main effects of the response expectancy feedback, $F(2, 85) = 1.36, p = .26$, or partner race, $F(1, 85) = .00, p = .93$, on participants' avoidance of the interaction. There was no significant response expectancy feedback X partner race interaction, $F(2, 85) = .09, p = .92$.

Interest in sustaining contact in the future. The analysis of participants' interest in sustaining contact with their partner revealed a significant main effect of the response expectancy feedback on participants' desire to sustain contact using

Facebook, $F(2, 85) = 3.28, p = .04$. Consistent with predictions, participants who received the positive feedback reported an increased desire to sustain contact ($M = 4.74, SD = 1.21$) compared to participants who received the negative feedback condition ($M = 3.98, SD = 1.40$), $p = .02$. Moreover, participants who received no feedback reported more interest in sustaining contact ($M = 4.61, SD = 1.06$) than participants who received the negative feedback condition ($M = 3.98, SD = 1.40$), $p = .05$. There was no significant difference when comparing the positive feedback condition to the no feedback condition, $p = .68$.

Frequency of recent same-race contact. The analysis of participants' frequency of recent same-race contact revealed no significant main effects of the response expectancy feedback, $F(2, 66) = .065, p = .937$, or partner race, $F(1, 66) = 1.18, p = .282$, on participants' number of recent same-race interactions. Furthermore, there was no significant response expectancy feedback X partner race interaction, $F(2, 66) = .017, p = .983$.

Quality of recent same-race contact. The analysis of participants' quality of recent same-race contact revealed no significant main effects of the response expectancy feedback, $F(2, 66) = .038, p = .963$, or partner race, $F(1, 66) = .051, p = .822$, on participants' quality in recent same-race interactions. There was no significant response expectancy feedback X partner race interaction, $F(2, 66) = .553, p = .578$.

Frequency of recent interracial contact. The analysis of participants' frequency of recent interracial contact revealed a marginal main effect of the response expectancy feedback, $F(2, 66) = 2.60, p = .08$. Consistent with predictions, participants

who received the positive feedback reported more contact with Black individuals ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.97$) compared to participants who received the negative feedback condition ($M = 2.80$, $SD = 1.19$), $p = .03$. There was not a significant response expectancy feedback X partner race interaction, $F(2, 66) = .058$, $p = .944$, on the frequency of participants' recent interracial interactions.

Quality of recent interracial contact. The analysis of participants' quality of recent interracial contact revealed no significant main effects of the response expectancy feedback, $F(2, 66) = .00$, $p = .10$, or partner race, $F(1, 66) = .90$, $p = .347$, on participants' quality in recent interracial interactions. There was no significant response expectancy feedback X partner race interaction, $F(2, 66) = .041$, $p = .959$.

Role of Openness to Experience

Multiple regression analysis was used to examine main effects of Openness to Experience and whether Openness to Experience moderated the effect of the response expectancy feedback and partner race on self-reported response and efficacy expectancies, perceived aggression, emotional responses, responses to the upcoming interaction and frequency and quality of subsequent interracial contact. The three response expectancy feedback conditions were converted to two dichotomous variables using dummy-coding. First, the negative and no feedback conditions were coded with a zero and the positive feedback was coded with a one. Second, the positive and negative feedback conditions were coded using zero and the no feedback condition was coded using one. Thus, the negative feedback condition was used as the reference group to which the group coded as "1" in each code was compared. Partner race was

coded using one variable (Black = 0, White = 1). In step one, participants' openness scores, the dummy-coded response expectancy feedback codes, and the partner race variable were entered into the regression analyses to examine main effects. In step two, all two-way interactions were computed and entered in the regression analyses. In step three, all three-way interactions were computed and entered in the regression analyses.

Response expectancies. The analysis revealed an unanticipated marginally significant Openness X partner race X negative vs. neutral code interaction, $t(80) = 1.75, p = .08, \beta = .26$. To probe this interaction, I examined the two-way interaction between Openness and response expectancy feedback separately for Black and White partners. To examine the nature of the two-way interaction for the Black partner, the influence of Openness in the negative and no feedback condition was examined. For participants who anticipated a Black interaction partner, there was a negative relationship between Openness and response expectancies in the neutral expectancy feedback, $t(13) = -2.23, p = .044, \beta = -.53$, such that greater openness was associated with more positive response expectancies. However Openness scores did not predict response expectancies in the negative feedback condition, $t(13) = -.25, p = .80, \beta = -.07$. Furthermore, there was no significant difference for those participants who expected their interactions partner to be White, regardless of the feedback they received.

Perceived aggression. The analysis revealed a two-way Openness X partner race interaction, $t(82) = 2.04, p = .05, \beta = .35$. Openness predicted participants' perceived aggression for Black partners, such that participants who were more Open

perceived their interaction partner as marginally less aggressive than their low Openness counterparts if they anticipated a Black partner, $t(43) = -1.70, p = .10, \beta = -.25$ (see Figure 1). Openness did not influence responses to a White partner, $t(45) = .98, p = .33, \beta = .15$. There were no significant three-way interactions, all t s $< .92$, all p s $> .11$.

Anxiety. The analysis revealed a three-way Openness X partner race X positive vs. negative code interaction, $t(80) = -3.06, p = .003, \beta = -.67$. To probe this interaction, the interaction between Openness and response expectancy feedback was examined separately for Black and White interaction partners. For Black partners there was a significant two-way Openness X positive vs. negative code interaction, $t(41) = 3.00, p = .005, \beta = .55$, however this was not the case for White partners, $t(39) = -1.06, p = .29, \beta = -.19$. Exploring the interaction revealed that when participants thought their interaction partner was Black, Openness was a predictor of anxiety in the negative feedback condition, such that higher levels of Openness yielded lower levels of anxiety, $t(13) = -2.70, p = .02, \beta = -.60$. Unexpectedly, examining the effect of Openness among participants who anticipated a Black partner and received positive feedback revealed that higher levels of Openness were associated with higher levels of anxiety, $t(13) = 2.67, p = .02, \beta = .60$ (see Figure 2).

Anger. The analysis revealed a two-way interaction between race and Openness, $t(82) = 2.53, p = .01, \beta = .42$. Participants who were more Open were less angry when they thought their interaction partner was Black, $t(43) = -2.90, p = .01, \beta =$

-.40, however this was not the case when the interaction partner was White, $t(45) = -.11, p = .91, \beta = -.02$ (see Figure 3). There were no significant three-way interactions, all $ts < 1.09$, all $ps > .28$.

Interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction. The analysis of participants' interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction revealed a significant effect of Openness, such that participants who were more Open had less interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction, $t(86) = -2.50, p = .01, \beta = -.26$. There were no significant two-way or three-way interactions, all $ts < 1.29$, all $ps > .14$.

Interest in sustaining contact in the future. In line with the predictions, there was a marginally significant main effect of Openness on participants' desire to sustain contact, $t(86) = 1.74, p = .09, \beta = .18$, such that participants who were more Open had a marginally significant increased desire to sustain contact with their interaction partner. There were no significant two-way or three-way interactions, all $ts < 1.39$, all $ps > .16$.

Frequency of recent same-race contact. This analysis revealed a two-way negative vs. positive code X Openness interaction, $t(62) = -2.39, p = .02, \beta = -.353$. Openness predicted participants' frequency of recent same-race interactions for those who received the negative feedback, such that participants who were more Open and received negative feedback had more contact with same-race individuals, $t(23) = 2.90, p = .01, \beta = .517$, but not if they received the positive feedback, $t(17) = -.757, p = .46, \beta = -.181$. There were no significant three-way interactions, all $ts < 1.33, ps > .20$.

Quality of recent same-race contact. The analysis of participants' quality of

recent same-race contact revealed a marginally significant two-way negative vs. positive code X Openness interaction, $t(62) = -1.95, p = .06, \beta = -.293$, such that participants who were marginally more Open and received the negative feedback reported marginally more high quality contact with same-race individuals, $t(24) = 2.56, p = .02, \beta = .470$, but not if they received the positive feedback, $t(18) = -.615, p = .55, \beta = -.148$. There were no significant three-way interactions, all $ts < .47, ps > .45$.

Frequency of interracial contact. The analysis of frequency of interracial contact did not reveal any effects beyond those reported in the ANOVA analyses.

Quality of recent interracial contact. The analysis of participants' quality of recent interracial contact revealed a marginally significant effect of Openness, such that those who were more Open had marginally more positive recent interracial contact, $t(67) = 1.65, p = .10, \beta = .198$. There were no significant two-way or three-way interactions, all $ts < .57, ps > .18$.

Prejudice

Because it is possible that the current pattern of finding involving Openness can be more parsimoniously explained by participants' level of prejudice (i.e., participants' who are higher in prejudice respond more negatively to the negative), the relationship between Openness and prejudice was explored. The analysis of Openness and prejudice revealed no significant correlation, $r = .15, p = .15$. Additionally, to further examine this possibility, each analysis was replicated controlling for prejudice scores.

Response expectancies. Controlling for prejudice, the analysis of response

expectancies still revealed a main effect of the dummy code comparing the positive and negative feedback conditions. Response expectancies in the positive feedback condition were more positive than response expectancies in the negative feedback condition, $t(86) = -2.12, p = .04, \beta = -.25$. Additionally, there was a marginally significant main effect of partner race on response expectancies, $t(86) = -1.88, p = .06, \beta = -.19$. Consistent with previous findings, the analysis revealed a marginally significant Openness X partner race X negative vs. neutral code interaction, $t(79) = 1.75, p = .08, \beta = .26$. The analysis of response expectancies also revealed a main effect of prejudice, $t(86) = -1.75, p = .09, \beta = -.18$, such that those who were more prejudiced had less positive response expectancies about the upcoming interaction.

Anxiety. There were no changes to the analysis of anxiety when prejudice was added to the equation. There was no significant effect of Openness, $p = .44, \beta = -.083$. The three-way Openness X partner race X positive vs. negative code interaction was still significant, $p = .003$.

Anger. Controlling for prejudice, there was still a significant main effect of openness on participants' level of anger, such that those who were more Open were less angry, $t(86) = -2.02, p = .05, \beta = -.201$. The two-way interaction between race and Openness remained significant, $t(81) = 2.64, p = .01, \beta = .42$. Additionally, the analysis revealed a main effect of prejudice, $t(86) = -2.70, p = .01, \beta = -.27$, on participants' level of anger, such that those who were less prejudiced had less anger toward their interaction partner.

Interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction. Regardless of including the prejudice factor, the analysis of interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction still revealed a significant effect of Openness, $t(85) = -2.20, p = .03, \beta = -.22$. The analysis of interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction also revealed a main effect of prejudice, $t(85) = -2.98, p = .004, \beta = -.30$, such that those who were more prejudiced (i.e., had lower feeling thermometer scores) had increased interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction.

Interest in sustaining contact in the future. When controlling for prejudice, the first step of the analysis of desire to sustain contact still revealed a main effect of the negative vs. positive code, $t(85) = 2.17, p = .03, \beta = .25$. The effect of the negative vs. neutral code was reduced to a marginal significance, $t(85) = 1.82, p = .07, \beta = .21$. There was no longer a marginally significant main effect of Openness on participants' desire to sustain contact, $t(85) = 1.50, p = .14, \beta = .15$. However, the analysis did reveal a marginally significant main effect of prejudice on desire to sustain contact, $t(85) = 1.81, p = .07, \beta = .19$, such that those who were less prejudiced (i.e., higher feeling thermometer scores) had an increased desire to sustain contact in the future.

Frequency of recent same-race contact. When the prejudice factor was added, the analysis of participants' frequency of recent same-race contact still revealed a marginally significant effect of Openness, such that participants who were marginally more Open had increased contact with individuals of the same race, $t(66) = 1.82, p = .07, \beta = .217$. Moreover, the two-way negative vs. positive code X Openness

interaction remained significant, $t(61) = -2.41, p = .02, \beta = -.362$.

Quality of recent same-race contact. The analysis of participants' quality of recent same-race contact revealed no significant effect of Openness, $t(67) = -2.50, p = .01, \beta = -.26$. The two-way negative vs. positive code X Openness interaction remained marginally significant, $t(23) = -1.84, p = .07, \beta = -.282$.

Frequency of interracial contact. Controlling for prejudice, the analysis of the frequency of interracial contact still revealed a main effect of the dummy code comparing the positive and negative feedback conditions, $t(66) = 2.25, p = .03, \beta = .298$. Participants who received the positive feedback had more interracial contact than those in the negative feedback condition.

Quality of interracial contact. Controlling for prejudice, the marginally significant main effect of Openness revealed by the analysis of the quality of interracial contact, was no longer significant, $t(66) = 1.57, p = .12, \beta = .183$. However, the analysis did reveal a main effect of prejudice, $t(23) = 2.12, p = .04, \beta = .249$, such that those who were less prejudiced had more positive interracial contact in the weeks after the laboratory session.

Discussion

The primary goal of the present work was to gain insight into the factors that influence the quality of interracial relations. Building upon prior research indicating that expectations about an upcoming interaction play a key role in the quality of interracial interactions (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2006; Plant & Devine, 2003), the current work manipulated people's expectations about the responsiveness of interaction partners, as well as the race of the partner, and examined the influence of these factors on people's emotions and intentions regarding an upcoming interaction and responses to interactions over the course of one week. An additional goal of the present work was to integrate research on the role of personality factors in responses to interracial interactions into work on expectancies about interactions. The present work included a measure of the personality trait Openness to Experience in order to examine the role of this trait in determining responses to interactions and feedback from interaction partners. Thus, the present work examined the interplay between situational factors, such as the race of an interaction partner and the expectations one holds about interaction partners, and personality factors, such as one's level of Openness to Experience in responses to anticipated and future interactions.

Given prior work that has linked negative response expectancies to an array of antisocial responses and behaviors in interracial interactions (e.g. Butz & Plant, 2006; Frey & Tropp, 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 1985), a particular focus of the present research was to examine the effect of the response expectancy feedback and partner race on responses to anticipated interactions and interactions in the real world.

Rejection in the context of an interracial interaction was expected to enhance the negative consequences typically associated with social rejection; therefore, I expected that the effects of response expectancy feedback would be particularly strong for interracial (i.e., Black) compared to same-race (i.e., White) interaction partners. Consistent with prior work (Butz & Plant, 2006), I expected that participants who received the negative response expectancy feedback would exhibit more negative responses to the upcoming interaction. More specifically, it was anticipated that the negative response expectancy feedback about an interracial interaction partner would influence participants' own emotional responses to the interaction (i.e., heighten anger) and result in decreased interest in the upcoming interaction (i.e., more interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction) and sustaining contact in the future compared to participants who received positive or no feedback. Additionally, it was predicted that participants who received the negative response expectancy feedback about an interracial interaction partner would have lower quality and less frequent interracial contact in the future compared to individuals who received positive or no feedback. Further, it was expected that the positive feedback regarding an interracial interaction partner's openness to the interaction would reduce participants' anger and hostility about the interaction, and encourage more interest in the interaction (i.e., less avoidance) and more positive future interracial contact, relative to the no feedback and negative feedback conditions.

Inconsistent with the predictions, participants who received the negative response expectancy feedback did not respond with heightened anger and hostility

about the impending interaction relative to the other conditions, nor did the negative response expectancy feedback influence emotional responses to interracial interactions in particular. Additionally, examination of the extent to which participants perceived their partner as an angry, aggressive person revealed the predicted interaction between the response expectancy feedback and partner race, however closer examination of the nature of this interaction revealed an unexpected pattern of findings. Inconsistent with the predictions, the response expectancy feedback influenced perceived aggression for participants who anticipated a White partner, not a Black partner. More specifically, participants who thought their interaction partner was White and received the positive response expectancy feedback perceived their interaction partner as less aggressive than those who received negative or no feedback. Thus, results indicate that the positive feedback has benefits, such as reducing negative evaluations of an interaction partner, but these benefits are observed for same-race interactions and not for interracial interactions.

The predictions regarding participants' intentions about the upcoming interactions and quality and frequency of same-race and interracial contact were only partially supported. It was expected that the negative response expectancy feedback about an interracial interaction partner would result in increased interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction and decreased interest in sustaining contact in the future compared to participants who received positive or no feedback. Results indicated that participants' interest in avoiding the upcoming interaction was not influenced by the response expectancy feedback conditions. On the contrary, the response expectancy

feedback did influence participants' interest in sustaining contact in the future, such that participants had increased interest in sustaining contact in the future when they received the positive feedback, relative to the negative feedback. Additionally, I predicted that participants who received the negative response expectancy feedback about an interracial interaction partner would have lower quality and less frequent interracial contact in the future relative to individuals who received positive or no feedback. Overall this was not the case; frequency of same-race contact, quality of same-race contact, and quality of interracial contact were not influenced by the response expectancy feedback. On the other hand, participants who received the positive feedback had marginally more contact with Black people than those who received the negative feedback condition.

Overall, the predictions about the influence of the response expectancy feedback and partner race were not supported. Results indicated that the negative feedback did not influence participants' own emotional responses to the interaction (i.e., heighten anxiety or anger) or influence their intentions regarding the upcoming interaction (i.e., increase their interest in avoiding the interaction or desire to sustain contact with their partner). Moreover, participants who received the negative response expectancy feedback compared to the other feedback conditions did not report less frequent and lower quality interracial contact in the week following the laboratory session. However, the positive feedback did have some benefits, such that participants, who received the positive response expectancy feedback and expected a White interaction partner, perceived that partner as less aggressive, relative to the

negative feedback. This was not the case when expecting the interaction partner to be Black, regardless of the feedback. Because some these benefits were only for same-race interactions future work should explore how to extend these benefits to interracial interactions as well.

An additional goal of the current work was to expand upon work linking Openness to Experience to racial attitudes (e.g., Flynn, 2005) by examining the role of Openness to Experience in responses to interracial interactions. Overall, individuals who were higher in Openness reported less interest in avoiding the interaction and marginally more interest in sustaining contact with their partner than individuals lower in Openness. Moreover, consistent with Flynn's (2005) findings, results indicated that Openness to Experience was a predictor of participants' responses to interracial interactions in particular. Individuals who were more Open felt less angry about an interracial interaction and viewed their interracial interaction partner as a less angry and aggressive person. However, although Openness was an important factor for determining participants' anger about the interaction and their impression of their partner, Openness to Experience did not interact with partner race in predicting other responses to the interaction, such as interest in avoiding the interaction and sustaining contact with the partner. Based on the findings from Flynn (2005) and the current work, the personality factor Openness to Experience seems to more strongly influence emotions and impressions of Black interaction partners than White interaction partners.

Additionally, Openness to Experience was explored to determine if it moderated the effect of the response expectancy feedback on responses to the

upcoming interaction and frequency/quality of subsequent interracial contact. Overall, it was expected there to be stronger effects of Openness in the positive and no feedback conditions, relative to the negative feedback condition. Specifically, those participants who were more Open and received positive response expectancy feedback or no feedback would respond more positively to a Black interaction partner, relative to a White interaction partner. On the other hand, it was predicted that those high in Openness who received the negative feedback regarding an interaction partner's openness to interracial interactions may disconfirm these initially positive expectations and result in negative responses that mirror those exhibited by individuals low in Openness to Experiences.

Consistent with these predictions, Openness moderated the response expectancy feedback on frequency of subsequent same-race contact after the lab session. It is interesting to note that those who received the negative feedback and were highly Open had more contact in same-race interactions than those participants' who received the positive feedback. One explanation is that those who are highly Open may have bounced back from the negative feedback by seeking same-race contact the week following the lab session. It is possible that those who were highly Open may have sought out positive same-race contact to disprove the negative feedback they received during the lab session. Although the current study provided some evidence that Openness scores moderated the influence of the response expectancy feedback on the dependent measures, there was not a consistent pattern of moderation found across many or all of the dependent measures. Thus, with the exception of the moderation

effects described above, participants were responding similarly to the response expectancy feedback regardless of their level of Openness to Experience.

It is important to note that the aforementioned results involving Openness to Experience cannot be more parsimoniously explained by participants' pre-existing level of prejudice. When analyses were replicated including prejudice scores as a factor in analyses, and therefore controlled for the influence of this factor, a vast majority of the reported effects remained unchanged or changed only slightly. Thus, although there was a modest (but non-significant) relationship between Openness to Experience and prejudice scores, Openness had a unique effect on many of the dependent measures upon accounting for the influence of prejudice.

Limitations and Future Directions

One possible reason why the current findings did not replicate previous findings (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2006) is that the method of this work differed greatly from prior research conducted. One major difference was the mode in which the response expectancy feedback was delivered. In Butz and Plant's (2006) study, participants were provided with information about their partner's responsiveness to the interaction via prefabricated responses to a survey about the expected quality of the interaction. After only a short delay, emotions and behavioral intentions regarding an upcoming interaction were assessed. In contrast, in the current work participants received the response expectancy feedback at the beginning of an online conversation and the online chat continued for several minutes before participants self-reported their attitudes and behaviors. Thus, it is a possibility that the influence of the response

expectancy feedback was diluted by the rest of the online conversation. In fact, if participants formed an immediate negative impression of the partner upon receiving the negative response expectancy feedback, the neutral responses to the remaining questions may have served to dispel these negative expectations. Similarly, if participants formed an overwhelmingly positive impression of the partner after receiving the positive response expectancy feedback, the neutral responses that followed may have tempered their positive impression. Although the manipulation check was encouraging and provided some indication that the manipulation was functioning to influence self-reported response expectancies as intended, response expectancies in the positive and negative feedback conditions did not significantly differ from the neutral condition. These findings are consistent with the argument that responses to the questions following the response expectancy manipulation may have neutralized effects of the manipulation.

An important limitation of the current work is the attrition of participants who completed the follow-up survey a week after their laboratory participation. The number of participants that responded to the follow-up survey ($N = 71$) was quite small compared to the number of participants who completed the laboratory portion of the study ($N = 94$), thus reducing the power of the statistical tests conducted on the frequency and quality of subsequent interracial and same-race contact. One interesting question that stems from this difference is whether the students who completed the follow-up survey are in some way different from those who chose not to participate. For example, participants who were more engaged in the initial laboratory session may

have been more diligent in completing the follow-up survey on subsequent interracial and same-race contact when contacted via email. Additionally, it perhaps is the case that those who had enjoyable positive interactions were more likely to fill out the survey and report this positivity. Because of these possibilities, it will be important to further explore the ways in which the participants who responded to the follow-up survey may have differed from the full sample of participants, and how such differences may have contributed to the effects of Openness and the response expectancy feedback on subsequent interracial and same-race contact.

There are many avenues available for future work. With so many first-time interactions moving to the cyber world, it is important to further understand how these types of interactions influence interracial contact. The current study differed from prior studies on response expectancies by using online communication to instill response expectancies prior to an anticipated face-to-face encounter. Although online communication occurred only briefly and was used as part of a manipulation in the current work, future work could further explore the implications of online communication for interracial interactions. Future studies could provide a more systematic test of whether having an online interaction prior to an expected face-to-face interaction eases anxiety about the uncertainty of an interaction, and thereby increases the positivity of interracial interactions. Drawing from work on the benefits of interracial contact for reducing anxiety, avoidance and hostility of interracial interactions (e.g., Plant & Devine, 2003), it was expected that having a positive online interaction with someone of a different race could potentially set the

stage for future interracial interactions and lead to higher quality interracial contact in the future. Indeed, such approaches may be especially useful in non-diverse areas where opportunities for interracial contact are limited or among individuals for whom the prospect of face-to-face interracial interactions evokes intense anxiety and avoidant inclinations.

Additionally, future research should focus on methodological tweaks that may maximize the effectiveness of the response expectancy manipulation. As previously mentioned, in the current work the response expectancy manipulation occurred in the context of an online chat session, and differed from previous approaches that involved having participants review responses on a survey that they were led to believe were provided by their partner. Although the current approach was highly engaging to participants, the latter approach was more direct and may have packed more of a “punch” in influencing participants’ response expectancies and subsequent responses prior to an anticipated interaction. It was expected that if the current study were modified such that the feedback came at the end of the online chat, it would have been more effective in influencing subsequent responses. However, another possibility is that the presence of the online chat allowed participants to get to know the interaction partner and form an initial impression of the person. The impression, once formed, may not be easily influenced by response expectancy feedback. Thus, future work should provide a systematic test of whether response expectancies are more malleable, and elicit a stronger influence on responses to an interaction when information about an interaction partner, and contact with the partner is limited.

Lastly, it will also be important to complement the present work on simulated and anticipated interactions with an examination of the role of Openness to Experience in actual dyadic interracial interactions. Because it is often the case that self-reported measures do not reflect actual behaviors (Wicker, 1969), the present work, which relies solely on self-reported responses, may provide an incomplete, or potentially distorted, picture of people's responses to an impending interaction. As a result, future research should include a face-to-face interaction where participants interact with either a Black or White confederate. Drawing from the current findings, I anticipate that individuals who are highly Open to Experience would appear less avoidant and more engaged in an interracial interaction than their low Openness counterparts.

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Table 1

Measures as a Function of Response Expectancy Feedback and Partner Race

Measures	Black			White			Feedback	Race Interaction		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral		p	p	p
	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)				
Response Expectancies	2.14 (.78)	2.36 (1.48)	2.19 (.80)	1.62 (.44)	2.20 (.62)	2.17 (.49)	.05	.09	.32	
Perceived Aggression	1.97 (.76)	2.17 (.93)	1.67 (.49)	1.52 (.51)	1.91 (.94)	2.19 (.10)	.41	.78	.05	
Anxiety	3.08 (1.36)	3.12 (.1.12)	2.99 (1.82)	3.08 (.1.24)	2.80 (1.43)	3.17 (1.36)	.93	.88	.77	
Anger	1.53 (.71)	1.48 (.75)	1.56 (1.24)	1.17 (.45)	1.29 (.41)	1.45 (.49)	.69	.15	.78	
Interest in Avoiding	2.94 (1.10)	3.45 (.89)	3.21 (1.19)	3.08 (.10)	3.40 (.92)	3.18 (.80)	.26	.93	.92	
Sustain Contact	4.80 (1.39)	4.04 (.75)	4.82 (1.17)	4.69 (1.05)	3.92 (1.36)	4.40 (.92)	.04	.40	.86	
Frequency (Same-Race)	6.44 (1.13)	6.56 (1.21)	6.33 (1.07)	6.10 (1.52)	6.07 (1.77)	6.00 (1.71)	.94	.28	.98	
Quality (Same-Race)	5.48 (1.12)	5.24 (1.60)	5.53 (1.19)	5.40 (1.32)	5.79 (1.38)	5.29 (1.53)	.96	.82	.58	
Frequency (Interracial)	4.11 (2.15)	3.00 (1.48)	3.25 (1.71)	3.70 (1.89)	2.64 (.93)	3.13 (1.36)	.08	.43	.94	
Quality (Interracial)	4.59 (1.61)	4.70 (1.16)	4.75 (1.36)	5.03 (1.45)	4.98 (1.52)	4.96 (1.11)	1.00	.35	.96	

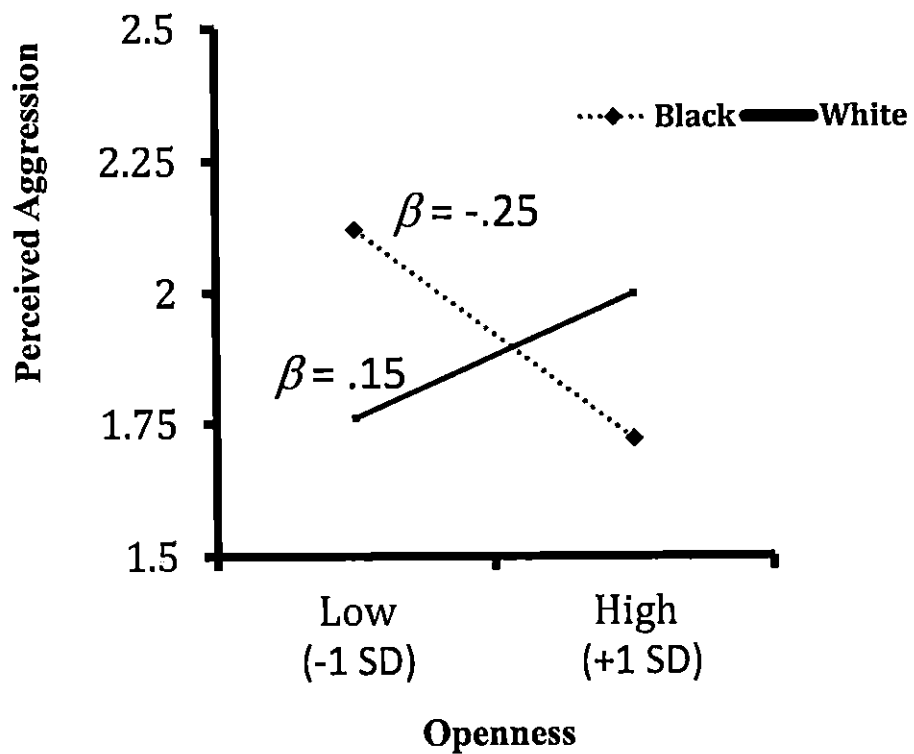


Figure 1. Perceived aggression as a function of Openness and partner race

Participants who expected a Black interaction partner and were highly Open perceived their interaction partner as less aggressive than those who were lower in Openness.

Openness did not influence responses to White interaction partners.

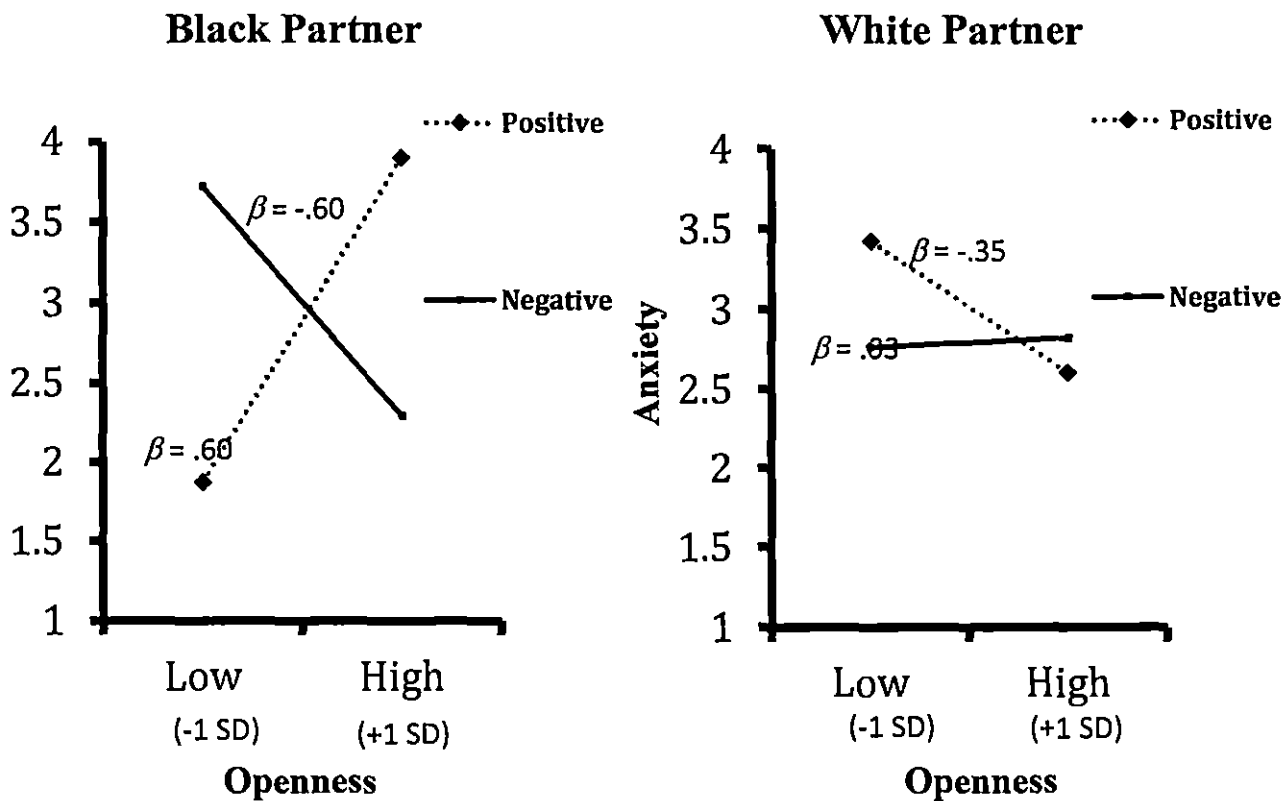


Figure 2. Anxiety as a function of Openness and response expectancy feedback for Black partners. Participants who were highly Open and expected positive responses from a Black interaction partner, had more anxiety than their low Openness counterparts. When participants anticipated a Black partner but received negative feedback, highly Open participants responded with less anxiety than participants lower in Openness. This was not the case when participants expected a White interaction partner.

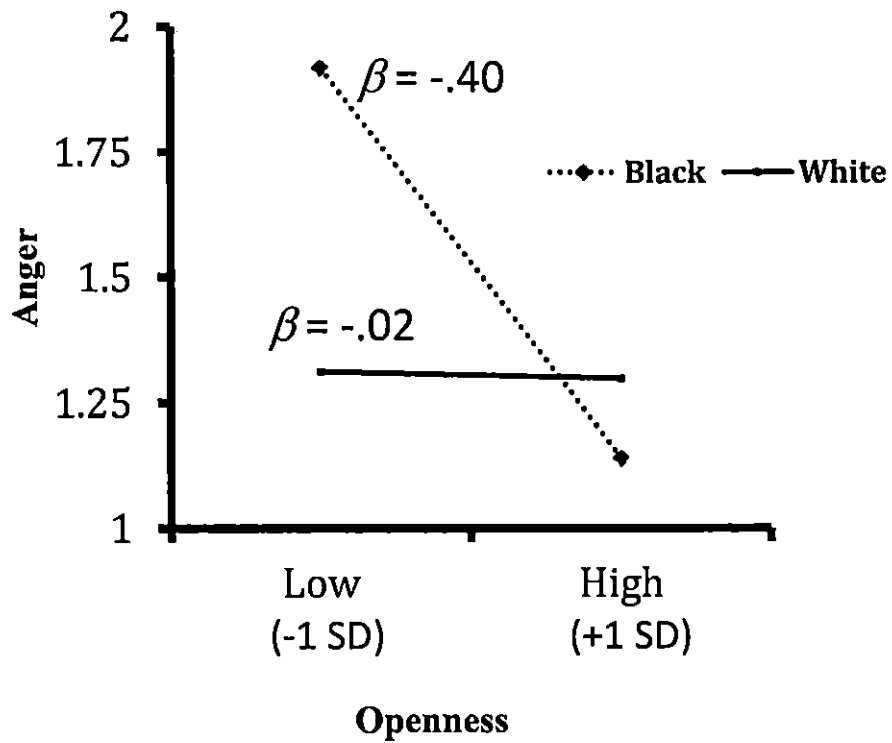


Figure 3. Anger as a function of Openness and partner race. Participants who expected a White interaction partner and were highly Open were less angry. This was not the case for those who anticipated a Black interaction partner.

Appendix A

Informed Consent Statement

This research is being conducted by David A. Butz in the Psychology department at Morehead State University. You must be at least 18 years of age in order to participate. The purpose of this research is to understand the factors that influence people's social interactions, including their experiences engaging in diverse interactions. As part of this project, you will be asked to respond to survey questions concerning your experiences and expectations about diverse interactions. You will also be creating and evaluating a profile on Facebook and engaging in a brief Facebook chat session.

The time commitment today will be about 50 minutes. You will receive 1 credit toward your Introduction to Psychology class for today's participation.

Your participation is totally voluntary and you may stop participation at any time. You are free not to answer specific items or questions, or to complete any part of the process. If you decide to stop your participation today or at any time during your other sessions, you will not be penalized. You may choose to do something else for credit in your psychology class in consultation with your instructor.

Your responses today will remain confidential to the extent allowed by law. Your name will not appear on any of the results. No individual responses will be reported. Only group findings will be reported. We are required by law to report to the proper authorities any information that a person under the age of 18 is being abused or neglected by a family member, and/or that physical abuse has occurred between married persons. Aside from those cases, only members of the research team will have access to your responses. Data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in Ginger Hall on the campus of Morehead State University.

Participating in this research is not expected to pose more than minimal risk. This study has been reviewed to determine that it poses little or no threat to participants, and there appear to be minimal risks or discomfort associated with completing any part of the study. Your responses on the surveys and study instruments will be assigned a random identification number to ensure that your responses remain completely anonymous and cannot be tied back to your name. Your instructor will be notified of your participation in order to assign course credit, however he/she will not have access to any of your responses from the study.

There are benefits for participating in this research project, for example, reflecting upon and gaining insight into the quality of your interactions with others. You will

also be providing researchers with valuable knowledge about the factors that influence people's experiences in diverse interactions.

You may contact Dr. David A. Butz, in the Psychology department (606) 783 – 2313 or (606) 783-2981 or Katie Klik, a research assistant, (kaklik01@moreheadstate.edu) if you have any questions about the project, either now or later. If you feel discomfort because of your participation in the study, you are encouraged to contact Dr. David Butz, the MSU Counseling and Health Services Center (112 Allie Young, 606-783-2123) or Pathways, Inc. in Morehead (606-784-4161).

I have read and understood the explanation of the study and agree to participate. I understand that by signing and dating this form I have given my consent to participate in the study.

Print Name

Signature

Date

Appendix B

Chat Session Questions

1. How often do you have opportunities to meet new people?*
2. Are you in a relationship?
3. What do you like to do in your free time?*
4. What kind of classes are you taking?
5. Where are you from?*
6. How would your friends describe you?
7. What do you do for fun on campus?*
8. What were your friends from high school like?
9. What in your life are you most proud of?*

*denotes questions that were first asked by the participant and then answered by the confederate.

Appendix C

First Impressions Questionnaire

We realize you haven't had a chance to meet your partner just yet. However, we are interested in your first impressions of your partner based upon the information shared in the profile. Please read each of the words below and estimate if each description is or is not true of your interaction partner.

	Definitely Not True			Definitely True			
1. intelligent ...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. fun ...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. friendly ...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. nice ...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. shy...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. extraverted...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. introverted...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

To maintain records of each session, we would like you to record the information your partner included in the "About Me" section of his or her profile. Please record these responses below:

Race/Ethnicity:

Year in School:

Academic Interests:

Personality:

Please record a few examples of information the partner shared in the categories pertaining to:

General interests:

Favorite Movies:

Favorite TV Shows:

Favorite Books:

Appendix D

Debriefing Form

One of the major goals of this work is to understand how people's expectations about interactions with people from different ethnic groups influence their feelings about these interactions. One important type of expectation is whether people believe their interaction partner is open to interactions. We believe that people who think their interaction partner is open to interactions will be more comfortable and have more pleasant responses than people who do not have this information about their partner. It was necessary to have some of our participants believe their partner was especially open to meeting people of different races. Therefore, some participants received a response to the question about diversity indicating their partner was open to diverse interactions, whereas others received responses implying their partner was less open to interactions.

Because we are interested in expectations about upcoming interactions, it is not actually necessary to have people participate in an interaction. The responses you received were provided by a confederate to the study who was instructed to provide similar responses to all participants. It was important to tell you that you were going to interact so that we could assess responses when an interaction is anticipated.

I would like to ask you not to say anything about the study to anyone else. If you talked to someone else about the study, then their responses in the study would be influenced by what you told them. So, I hope you can see why it is extremely important that you don't tell anyone about this study. If anyone asks you about the experiment, we ask you to tell him or her that it was a study of interactions and you were asked not to discuss it. Are you willing to do this?

We greatly appreciate your participation in this study. If you should have any questions about the procedures or comments on the study, you may contact Dr. David A. Butz, Morehead State University, Department of Psychology, 601H Ginger Hall, 783 – 2313, d.butz@moreheadstate.edu; or Katie Klik kaklik01@moreheadstate.edu, for answers to questions about this research or your rights. If you feel discomfort because of your participation in the study, you are encouraged to contact Dr. David Butz, the MSU Counseling and Health Services Center (112 Allie Young, 606-783-2123) or Pathways, Inc. in Morehead (606-784-4161).

To learn more about previous work on expectations and interracial interactions, you may consult the following journal articles, which are available in the Camden-Carroll library:

Butz, D.A., & Plant, E.A. (2006). Perceiving outgroup members as unresponsive: Implications for approach-related emotions, intentions, and behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *91*, 1066-1079.

Plant, E.A. & Devine, P.G. (2003). The antecedents and implications of interracial anxiety. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *29*, 790-801.

Appendix E

Feeling Thermometer

You can choose a number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward that group; the lower the number, the colder or less favorable. You would rate a group at the 50 degree mark if you feel neither warm nor cold toward it.

0-	10	20	30	40	50-	60	70	80	90	100-
Extremely					Neither					
Extremely					Warm nor					Warm
Cold					Cold					

Please rate the following groups:

1. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most athletes?
2. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most fraternity members?
3. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most Asian Americans?
4. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most non-athletes?
5. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most Blacks/African Americans? ***
6. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most Republicans?
7. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most celebrities?
8. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most lawyers?
9. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most Europeans?

10. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most MSU students?
11. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most Whites?
12. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most Democrats?
13. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most politicians?
14. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most sorority members?
15. Using the feeling thermometer, how warm do you feel toward most Latin Americans?

Appendix F

Openness to Experiences Scale

The Big Five Inventory (BFI)

Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to you. For example, do you agree that you are someone who likes to spend time with others? Please write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

Disagree Strongly 1	Disagree A little 2	Neither Agree nor Disagree 3	Agree A little 4	Agree Strongly 5
---------------------------	---------------------------	------------------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

I see myself as someone who...

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>___ 1. Is talkative</p> <p>___ 2. Tends to find fault with others</p> <p>___ 3. Does a thorough job</p> <p>___ 4. Is depressed, blue</p> <p>* ___ 5. Is original, comes up with new ideas</p> <p>___ 6. Is reserved</p> <p>___ 7. Is helpful and unselfish with others</p> <p>___ 8. Can be somewhat careless</p> <p>___ 9. Is relaxed, handles stress well</p> <p>* ___ 10. Is curious about many different things</p> <p>___ 11. Is full of energy</p> <p>___ 12. Starts quarrels with others</p> <p>___ 13. Is a reliable worker</p> <p>___ 14. Can be tense</p> <p>* ___ 15. Is ingenious, a deep thinker</p> <p>___ 16. Generates a lot of enthusiasm</p> <p>___ 17. Has a forgiving nature</p> <p>___ 18. Tends to be disorganized</p> <p>___ 19. Worries a lot</p> <p>* ___ 20. Has an active imagination</p> <p>___ 21. Tends to be quiet</p> <p>___ 22. Is generally trusting</p> <p>___ 23. Tends to be lazy</p> <p>___ 24. Is emotionally stable, not easily upset</p> <p>* ___ 25. Is inventive</p> | <p>___ 26. Has an assertive personality</p> <p>___ 27. Can be cold and aloof</p> <p>___ 28. Perseveres until the task is finished</p> <p>___ 29. Can be moody</p> <p>* ___ 30. Values artistic, aesthetic experiences</p> <p>___ 31. Is sometimes shy, inhibited</p> <p>___ 32. Is considerate and kind to almost everyone</p> <p>___ 33. Does things efficiently</p> <p>___ 34. Remains calm in tense situations</p> <p>* ___ 35. Prefers work that is routine [R]</p> <p>___ 36. Is outgoing, sociable</p> <p>___ 37. Is sometimes rude to others</p> <p>___ 38. Makes plans and follows through with them</p> <p>___ 39. Gets nervous easily</p> <p>* ___ 40. Likes to reflect, play with ideas</p> <p>* ___ 41. Has few artistic interests [R]</p> <p>___ 42. Likes to cooperate with others</p> <p>___ 43. Is easily distracted</p> <p>* ___ 44. Is sophisticated in art, music, or literature</p> <p>*Denotes openness items</p> |
|--|--|

Appendix G

Response Expectancies about Upcoming Interaction

Please reflect upon your expectations about the upcoming interaction and then respond to the items below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree						strongly agree

1. I think my interaction partner is open to be interacting with me [R].
2. I expect my interaction partner will view me negatively no matter what I do.
3. I anticipate that my interaction partner is biased against people like me.
4. I expect that my partner will reject me.
5. I expect that my partner won't like me due to my race.
6. My interaction partner will look for reasons not to like me.
7. I expect that my partner may reject me because of my race.
8. I anticipate that my interaction partner is biased against people of my race.
9. I am concerned that my partner is expecting me to be prejudice.
10. I expect that my partner is open to meeting new people. [R]

Appendix H

Emotional Reactions

We are interested in how you are feeling about your upcoming interaction. Please read each of the feeling words below and circle the number on the scale that indicates the extent to which each word applies to how you are feeling right now. Don't spend much time thinking about each word, just give a quick, gut-level response. It is important that you respond openly and honestly. Your responses will be averaged with those of other students to give us an idea of how students in general feel about such interaction.

	(Definitely Not True)					(Definitely True)	
1. bothered.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. angry at myself....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. friendly.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. uncertain.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. pleased with myself.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. uneasy.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. depressed.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. happy.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. embarrassed.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. concerned	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. frustrated.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. nervous.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. good about myself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. anxious.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. irritated.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. disappointed with myself.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. tense.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. regretful.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. relaxed.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. fearful.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. worried.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. guilty.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. content.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. distressed.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. comfortable.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. sad.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. agitated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. helpless.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. hostile.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. shame.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

31. calm.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. angry.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. self-critical.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. good.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. threatened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. resentful.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix I

Intentions Regarding the Upcoming Interaction

The following set of questions ask about your expectations about the upcoming interaction. Your answers will be completely confidential. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. For us to learn anything, it is important that you respond openly and honestly to all questions. Please give your response according to the scale below.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree						strongly agree

- * ___ 1. If given the option, I would avoid having this interaction.
- * ___ 2. I am looking forward to participating in this interaction. [R]
- * ___ 3. I would feel more comfortable during the interaction if the experimenter were present.
- * ___ 4. I wish I could avoid having this interaction.
- * ___ 5. If there was another task that I could do instead of having this interaction, I would be interested in hearing more about it.

- * ___ 6. If the interaction doesn't go very well, it will be because of something I said or did.
- * ___ 7. I am looking forward to meeting my partner today. [R]
- * ___ 8. I would be disappointed if the interaction had to be canceled. [R]
- * ___ 9. I would be comfortable introducing this person to my friends. [R]
- * ___ 10. I am interested in learning more information about my partner. [R]
- ** ___ 11. I could imagine adding this person as a friend on my personal Facebook page. [R]
- ** ___ 12. I would be interested in chatting with this person on Facebook in the future. [R]

*Interest in Avoiding the Interaction

**Interest in Sustaining Contact in the Future

We would like to know about your experience with people of the same-race as you within the context of various social-public settings in the **week since your last laboratory session**. This might include interactions with neighbors, health professionals, fellow club members, professors, classmates, teammates, or competitors in sports. It may also include interactions with people at concerts, churches, stores, restaurants, at parties, or while on vacation. Please read each question carefully and circle one number on the scale provided for each question.

1. In general, how much interaction have you had with people of the same-race as you in a social-public setting **in the week since your last laboratory session**?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
None						Extensive

2. On the average, how pleasant or unpleasant were your same-race interactions **in the past week**?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Unpleasant						Very Pleasant

3. On the average, did interactions with people of the same ethnic group as you in a social-public setting **in the past week** cost you or did you benefit from them?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Costly						Beneficial

4. In the future, how pleasant or unpleasant do you expect interactions with people of the same ethnic group as you within a social-public setting will be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Unpleasant						Very Pleasant