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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Joy Elise Phillips entitled "The Role of Psychological Distancing in Prejudice and Prejudice Reduction." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.

Michael A. Olson, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Lowell Gaertner, Dawn M. Szymanski, Lois Presser

Accepted for the Council:
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Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

The Role of Psychological Distancing in Prejudice and Prejudice Reduction

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Joy Elise Phillips
May 2012

Dedication

To my parents, Bill and Rosemary, who let me choose my own path and then encouraged me every step of the way. You both value learning in all its shapes and forms, and you have dedicated yourselves to passing that value on to all four of us. Thank you for pushing and teaching me. I get the best of me from you, and I'm so incredibly proud to be your daughter.

To Hillary, Hal, and Melissa, whose playful jabs—with and without Sock'em Boppers—helped me learn to defend a position! Along with Mary, Michael, and the kiddos, you've provided me with more support than you probably even realize.

I love you all.

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Abstract

Two studies explored the relationship between psychological distancing and prejudice. Results of Study 1 indicated that social identity threat differentially impacted implicitly measured prejudice and explicit distancing such that highly threatened individuals showed less automatic prejudice but increased explicit distancing from Blacks. Additionally, motivational processes relevant to psychological distancing and prejudice were explored. Study 2 examined psychological distancing as a mediator of the relationship between initial automatic prejudice and the efficacy of a common ingroup identity (CII) prejudice reduction technique. While this mediation was only tentatively supported, relationships between motivational processes, nonverbal behavior in interracial interactions, and post-interaction attitudes and behavior were explored. Results indicate that participants who were highly concerned with appearing prejudiced are actually perceived as displaying more prejudiced behavior during interracial interactions and report more prejudiced attitudes following the interaction.

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I. Introduction and General Information

Imagine going to a busy coffee shop one morning and waiting to place your order. You would likely be standing quite close to the customer in front of you—a total stranger—in order to secure your place in line. Such physical proximity to a stranger would typically be disconcerting, but because the individual is turned away from you, focused on ordering a coffee, the situation is not uncomfortable. Now, imagine that the individual turns around to face you and looks directly into your eyes. Suddenly the encounter is awkward and unsettling. Why? Because although the physical distance remains the same, there is no longer psychological distance between you and the stranger.

Psychological Distancing

The present research explores psychological distancing, identity threat, and prejudice. After a review of the phenomenon of psychological distancing, two types of identity threat will be discussed as possible intergroup catalysts of psychological distancing. Additionally, possible results of such distancing—including subsequent implicitly and explicitly measured prejudice as well as judgments on behavioral measures—are examined. Though more specific predictions will be enumerated later, the overarching hypothesis of the present research was that identity threat would prompt individuals to distance themselves from Blacks. It was expected that distancing would be greatest for those who were highly prejudiced, and it was also expected that such distancing would lead to greater subsequent prejudice.

Psychological distance is the "subjective experience that something is close or far away from the self, here, and now" (Trope & Liberman, 2010, p. 440); that is, psychological distance is an individual's perception of something or someone else in relation to the self. This distance can be in terms of time (current vs. future events), space (one's roommate vs. an individual in

another country), social distance (a similar vs. dissimilar other), or whether an event is hypothetical (a likely event vs. an unlikely one), where each former example is low in distance and each latter example is high in distance (Liberman, Trope, & Stephan, 2007).

Psychological *distancing*, then, occurs when individuals emphasize greater temporal, spatial, social, or hypothetical distance in their perceptions of someone or something else in relation to the self. In an example of psychological distancing through emphasis on social distance, Pyszczynski et al. (1995) demonstrated that individuals perceived others as less similar to the self when those others had life-threatening illnesses than when they had minor health problems. In other words, participants sought to "maximize their psychological distance from such individuals by denying their similarity" (p. 13).

As a general rule, people want to reduce the psychological distance between themselves and others; that is, they are highly social and have a strong desire to feel connected to one another (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). This connection to others has been evolutionarily adaptive for humans; social relationships provided protection that individuals did not have, and working together helped them reap the benefits of the environment more efficiently than any individual working alone (Neuberg & Cottrell, 2006). In other words, for early humans, "social survival [determined] physical survival" (Fiske, 2000, p. 305). Today, social interconnections are still perceived as indicators of a positive, healthy life. There are strong associations between social relationships and overall health (House, Landis, & Umberson, 1988), and affiliations and bonds with others provide social support and buffer stress (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Thus, individuals are highly motivated to form and maintain connections with their fellow human beings.

There is ample literature indicating that individuals feel connected to others by perceiving themselves to be similar to those others (e.g., by belonging to the same team, having similar likes

and dislikes, being members of the same racial or ethnic group). This idea has long been supported by anecdotal evidence (i.e., “Birds of a feather flock together”), and social psychological research evidences the impact that shared beliefs and values have on feelings of understanding and belonging (Fiske, 2000). Heider’s (1946) work on balance theory illuminates the importance of similar attitudes in maintaining healthy social relationships; attitudinal similarity with another person fosters a sense of camaraderie, closeness, and liking (Byrne, 1961, 1971).

In particular, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) speaks to the importance of feeling connected to others; this theory asserts that people define themselves and derive a sense of worth not only from their individual attributes and accomplishments, but also from the characteristics and achievements of the groups with which they affiliate (Turner, 1999). In fact, group pride and respect is a significant predictor of individual self-esteem (Smith & Tyler, 1997). Thus, relationships with others are integral to self-evaluation. More specifically, social connections to others are especially positive when those others are successful, because feeling connected to and perceiving the self as similar to favorable others serves to increase self-esteem. For example, Cialdini et al. (1976) showed that people enhance their associations with successful groups (e.g., by wearing university apparel following a football team’s victory). This “basking in reflected glory” (BIRGing) allows individuals to feel similar to and part of groups with positive characteristics. BIRGing is most effective when others’ successes are in domains that are not self-relevant, because individuals prefer to outperform even their closest associates in the domains that matter most to them (Tesser, 1988).

Thus, seeking connections to successful others helps fulfill the motivation to self-enhance (Sedikides & Gregg, 2003). In fact, affiliation with others actually produces “accentuation of

intragroup similarities" such that "people see themselves less as differing individual persons and more as the similar, prototypical representatives of their ingroup category" (Turner, 1999, p. 11). In other words, perceived similarity increases association with a group, which in turn increases perceptions of similarity. When the group has positive characteristics, this cycle bolsters self-esteem and provides positive self-definitions. Conversely, association with a group that has negative attributes could damage one's self-evaluation, and research has shown that individuals distance themselves from such groups by decreasing claims of association with them (Cialdini et al., 1976). In their work examining attitudes toward victims of life-threatening illness, Pyszczynski et al. (1995) argued that the perception of oneself as similar to a victim increases feelings of vulnerability to a comparable illness; perceiving the self as dissimilar to victims defends against this threat of vulnerability. In addition to this social distancing, others have reported that individuals –even family members—actually physically distance themselves from victims of serious illness (e.g., cancer; see Wortman & Dunkel Schetter, 1979) Additionally, Gibbons (1985) found evidence of social distancing when he asked higher-level mentally handicapped individuals to compare themselves with "typical" mentally handicapped others; higher-level participants derogated these targets in order to create psychological distance between themselves and more severely mentally handicapped others (Gibbons, Gerrard, Lando, & McGovern, 1991).

The Role of Identity Threat

Psychological distancing has been demonstrated in a variety of domains, but it appears to retain a common thread: Distancing from others with perceived negative characteristics occurs when individuals fear that they might possess those negative characteristics themselves. To test this idea, Schimel, Pyszczynski, Greenberg, O'Mahen, and Arndt (2000) induced half of their

participants to feel angry and then had them evaluate and compare their personalities to one of two targets. The nonviolent target handled his anger in a constructive, socially sanctioned way (talking to a child about wrongdoing and having the child help rectify the situation); the violent target handled his anger in a cruel, aggressive way (shaking the child and slapping him in the face). Findings indicated that only those in the anger-induced/violent-target condition rated themselves as significantly dissimilar to the target on personality dimensions; all other conditions showed no effect. Schimel et al. (2000) asserted that these participants were defending against the fear that their own anger might lead to harmful violence by psychologically distancing themselves from a target who engaged in angry aggression.

A study by Adams, Wright, and Lohr (1996) provides more evidence for the idea that people psychologically distance themselves from (and dislike) those with negative characteristics that they fear they might possess. Participants were self-reported heterosexual males, half of whom had high scores on measures of homophobia and half of whom had relatively low scores. Participants viewed heterosexual, gay male, and lesbian erotic videos while wearing a plethysmograph to measure sexual arousal. While there were no between-group differences for levels of arousal during the heterosexual or lesbian videos, homophobic men were significantly more aroused while watching the gay male videos. Adams et al. (1996) concluded that homophobic males feared that they might be gay, so they distanced themselves with their attitudes and affect (i.e., they expressed negative sentiments and prejudice toward gay males).

Regardless of the group from which an individual distances him- or herself, a driving force in all of the research reported here is a threat to the individual's social identity—that is, how the individual perceives him- or herself, and how the individual believes others might view him or her. Because affiliation with others has such impact on one's self-concept and self-

esteem, being perceived (or perceiving oneself) as part of a group with negative characteristics is a threat to one's social identity. Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje (1999) outline a taxonomy including four types of social identity threat: categorization threat, distinctiveness threat, threats to the value of social identity, and acceptance threat. Of primary importance for this paper are categorization threat (categorization against one's will) and distinctiveness threat (prohibition or hindrance of group distinctiveness).

Categorization threat is a product of the cognitive process of placing the self and others into groups (i.e., Self-Categorization Theory; Turner, 1985, 1999), which results in the assignment of group characteristics to individual group members. In other words, individuals' traits and attributes are surmised via stereotypes of the group's traits and attributes. When a group's attributes are positive and an individual agrees with his inclusion in the group, this is acceptable and even welcomed. However, if the group is perceived negatively or if the individual feels that affiliation with the group has been involuntarily imposed upon him or her—or both—placement into that group can result in a categorization threat. This can lead to diminished self-regard as well as defense reactions, distancing from the group, and derogation of group members (Meindl & Lerner, 1984), particularly when the group is low in status. Indeed, "involuntary categorization might be especially threatening in a context where that group membership implies poor ability or performance" (Branscombe et al., 1999, p. 40). For example, there are specific cultural stereotypes of Blacks (e.g., as lazy, unsuccessful) that may be particularly threatening to Whites, many of whose dominant cultural stereotypes are quite the opposite (industrious, prosperous).

Distinctiveness threat, on the other hand, is the result of individuals' desires to maintain a level of optimal distinctiveness; that is, to balance the need for assimilation with groups and the

need for individual differentiation (Brewer, 1991). In addition to desiring an optimal level of personal distinctiveness, people want their group to be distinctive and meaningful (Wohl, Giguère, Branscombe, & McVicar, 2011), and thinking of themselves as members of an overly-inclusive group does not allow for a comfortable level of group distinctiveness. As a general rule, individuals identify more strongly with distinctive groups than non-distinctive groups (i.e., minorities identify more strongly with their groups than majority members do). This has been explained by the "relatively large overlap between social and personal identity for minority group members, which is lacking for dominant group members" (Branscombe et al., 1999, p. 44). Thus, for Blacks (and other minorities), their status as a minority is an important part of their social identities, and loss of that distinctiveness is threatening. The argument here, however, is that for Whites, it is not so much about "being White" as it is about *not* "being Black." That is, while most Whites' identities are not strongly rooted in their race, they still want to avoid the negativity associated with belonging to a group that also includes Blacks, particularly if they are prejudiced. This might be because such an inclusive group is not distinctive enough to "delineate…clearly [their] position in the social environment" (Branscombe et al., 1999, p. 42).

Present Research

Both categorization threat and distinctiveness threat could potentially lead individuals to engage in psychological distancing from others. The present research was designed to examine the phenomena of psychological distancing and prejudice in the context of race relations. Given the impact that this may have on intergroup relations, this is a fundamentally important area to investigate. Additionally, the first study of this research was developed to extend the correlational findings of Adams et al. (1996) by experimentally manipulating perceived similarity to a disliked group. Study 1 aimed to assess whether psychological distancing is a

common reaction for Whites when they feel "too much like Blacks," particularly when they already harbor negative affect toward and attitudes about Blacks (i.e., prejudice). It also examined whether being threatened with similarity to Blacks would affect subsequent measures of prejudice toward Blacks. It was hypothesized that participants who were threatened by purported similarity to Blacks (i.e., a categorization threat) would engage in more psychological distancing and show increases in negative affect toward Blacks, particularly if the participant was already highly prejudiced.

Specifically, Study 1 investigated whether Whites use psychological distancing in the form of physical and social distancing—as opposed to overtly expressed negative attitudes—to deal with the identity threat associated with being similar to Blacks. In today's society, Whites are often hesitant to openly express their negative attitudes toward Blacks (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Kinder & Sears, 1981). Thus, even if their identities are threatened by being similar to Blacks, Whites will likely be reluctant to report prejudice explicitly. However, it is hypothesized that Whites may exhibit increased prejudice on implicit measures following an identity threat because such measures circumvent their reluctance to report biases and prejudices (Branscombe et al., 1999; see Olson, 2009, for a review). Prejudiced Whites may also engage in psychological distancing by avoiding affiliation with Blacks. Especially troubling is the possibility that these individuals may avoid interracial interaction and cooperation, which has actually been shown to reduce prejudice (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). In particular, it was hypothesized that to the extent that they were prejudiced toward Blacks, participants who had their identities threatened with purported similarity to Blacks would self-report less similarity to Blacks and would be less willing to engage in a variety of social activities with them.

II. Study 1

Study 1 investigated the effects of individuals' pre-existing automatic, implicitly measured prejudice and experimentally-manipulated similarity to Blacks on dependent measures of psychological distancing and subsequent automatic, implicitly measured prejudice, with the expectation that more prejudiced individuals would engage in increased psychological distancing and show higher levels of subsequent prejudice when led to feel similar to Blacks.

Method

Participants. Eighty-eight White undergraduate psychology students participated in partial fulfillment of course research requirements. Participants completed one 15-minute group lab session (Session 1), after which they signed up for a second 30-minute individual follow-up session (Session 2). Six participants were removed from analyses for high error (>25%) on the Implicit Association Test (IAT), resulting in a final sample of 82 in the High Overlap (n = 42) and Low Overlap (n = 40) conditions.

Materials and Procedure. When signing up for the study via the university's website for student participant in research, participants completed Dunton and Fazio's (1997) Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (MCPR) to assess whether it was important for them to try not to appear or be prejudiced. This measure was included solely for exploratory reasons.

Session 1. Upon arriving at the lab for the group session, participants were greeted by a White experimenter. Each participant was seated in a private cubicle containing a computer and a keyboard.

Measures. The Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) was used to measure participants' automatically activated racial attitudes. Participants were instructed to categorize faces by race (Black or White) and to categorize words by valence

(positive or negative) by pressing one of two keys as quickly as possible while avoiding errors. This research used a five-block sequence (Gawronski, 2002) and employed the category labels recommended by Olson and Fazio (2004). Third and fifth blocks contained critical combination trials in which participants used the same response key to categorize both a particular race and a valence of adjective. The order of exposure to compatible/incompatible blocks was counterbalanced across subjects. Reaction times for responses on the critical blocks were recorded using DirectRT.

Next, participants completed a feeling thermometer. This tool assesses explicit preferences for a number of groups, including Blacks and Whites, by having participants rate their feelings for each on a "cold … warm" continuum. Participants were prompted with an image of a thermometer ranging from 0 (very negative/cold) to 100 (very positive/warm) and were asked to assign a number identifying how they felt toward each group. Raw scores were used to calculate difference scores for the critical groups (preference for White - Black). No effects for this measure were observed in analyses; as such, it will not be discussed further.

DNA acquisition. Following these measures, the experimenter informed participants that the experiment was about group membership and that they would each be submitting a cheek swab sample of their DNA to accurately determine their group membership. Participants were told that, in order to classify them for the data analysis process, genetic markers from their DNA sample would be analyzed and compared to other people's samples from various social groups. (In reality, this "sample" was disposed of immediately following the session.) The experimenter then assisted each participant in obtaining his or her sample, storing it in a medical vial, and placing it in a numbered biohazard bag. To bolster the cover story, the experimenter a wore white lab coat and latex exam gloves, used sterile medical swabs to take the sample, and stored

the samples in individual bags emblazoned with medical biohazard text and symbols. Following the DNA collection, each participant signed up for an individual follow-up session to receive his or her results and complete additional measures.

Session 2. When they arrived at the lab to complete their individual sessions, participants were escorted to a private room by a White experimenter to receive the results of their DNA analysis.

Manipulation. Regardless of condition, each participant was told—and received a handout (see Appendix C) indicating—that his or her sample showed 53% genetic overlap with African-Americans. Those in the experimental condition were informed that this was higher than expected, as Caucasians on average only share about 10% genetic overlap with African-Americans. When explaining the results of the report, the experimenter told participants that although this did not necessarily mean that they had African-American ancestors in their *immediate* family, it did indicate that a number of their gene sequences were highly similar to African-Americans and that they likely had a distant African-American ancestor. Results for control participants, on the other hand, provided a different frame of reference: They asserted that Caucasians on average share about 75% genetic overlap with African-Americans. Thus, control participants' samples (again, showing 53% overlap) indicated less than the typical amount of genetic overlap with African-Americans. Following this report, the experimenter answered any questions participants had about their results.

Dependent measures. Next, all participants completed another race IAT, another feeling thermometer, and a Bogardus-type social distancing measure (Bogardus, 1959; see Olson, 2009), which assessed the extent to which participants would be comfortable engaging in various levels of social intimacy with Blacks (e.g., having a conversation, being neighbors, dating). There were

no effects for this measure, failing to support the hypothesis that threatened individuals would be less willing to engage in contact and social activities with Blacks. Following completion of the Bogardus scale, participants made trait ratings of themselves and Blacks. The traits used were drawn from Wolsko, Park, Judd, and Wittenbrink (2000) and included a total of 56 items (see Appendix D for traits). Half the items were stereotypic of Whites and counterstereotypic of Blacks, and half were stereotypic of Blacks and counterstereotypic of Whites; additionally, half had positive valence, and half had negative valence, for a total of four trait types. Participants rated the items from 0 (does not describe at all) to 100 (describes very well) for both themselves and Blacks. Finally, participants completed a more behaviorally-oriented assessment in the form of a budget-reduction survey. They were informed that economic hardship was forcing the university to cut funding to a variety of campus groups, and that the psychology department had been solicited to gauge students' opinions on what groups should have their budgets reduced (see Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993; Rudman & Ashmore, 2007; Zanna, 2004). Embedded in these groups was the item of interest for this experiment—the university's African-American Student Association (AASA); for each participant, responses to this item were standardized against the other groups included in the survey (such that negative values indicate that the AASA should have *less* of its budget cut relative to the other groups, and positive values indicate that the AASA should have *more* of its budget cut relative to other groups).

Results

Implicit attitude estimates. Data were prepared according to recommendations by Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji (2003), with the exception that error trials were removed from analyses, as in Olson & Fazio (2004; in lieu of an error penalty). No participant had excessively (>10%) short latencies on the IAT. For each IAT (Session 1, Session 2), raw reaction times were

used to compute an average response time for each participant on both the compatible and incompatible blocks. Subtracting the average compatible response time from the average incompatible response time and dividing by the pooled standard deviation of both yielded standardized IAT results for participants (Greenwald et al., 2003). Thus, for each IAT, larger scores indicated a greater degree of anti-Black prejudice.

The effects of overlap (Low, High) and session (Session 1, Session 2) on participants' implicit prejudice scores were examined using a within-subjects ANOVA. Results indicated a significant session X overlap interaction, $F(1, 80) = 3.82$, $p = .05$. Further analyses revealed that participants in the two conditions did not differ on their Session 1 IAT scores ($p = .46$). However, scores on the Session 2 IAT (after receiving their DNA results) indicated that participants in the High Overlap condition showed *lower* prejudice than those in the Low Overlap condition, $t(80) = 2.71$, $p < .01$. For High Overlap participants, this was a marginally significant decrease in implicit prejudice relative to their Session 1 IAT scores, $t(41) = 1.76$, $p = .09$. Thus, in contrast to the original hypothesis stated above, being told that they were similar to Blacks did not cause participants to show increased implicit prejudice; instead, it actually appeared to *reduce* participants' implicit prejudice.

Trait ratings. To examine participants' explicit distancing, means were calculated for each participant on the four trait types (negative Black stereotypic, positive Black stereotypic, negative White stereotypic, positive White stereotypic). A repeated measures ANOVA was used to examine participants' distancing on trait rating scores in terms of Trait Valence (Positive, Negative), Target (Self, Blacks), Stereotypicality (White, Black), and Overlap (High, Low), with the first three factors within-participants. Significant main effects of Target and Valence were subsumed by a significant Target X Valence interaction, $F(1, 80) = 152.26$, $p < .001$ (see Table 1

for relevant means)[1]. This interaction indicated that participants made more polarized ratings of the self than they did of Blacks; in other words, positive traits were rated as being more applicable to the self than Blacks and negative traits were rated as being less applicable to the self than Blacks. Additionally, while there was not a main effect of Stereotypicality, there was a significant Stereotypicality X Target interaction, $F(1, 80) = 197.98$, $p < .001$, such that participants were rating the self more highly than Blacks on White traits and Blacks more highly than the self on Black traits. There was also a Stereotypicality X Valence interaction, $F(1, 80) = 85.17$, $p < .001$, with marginal means indicating that participants were rating Black traits in a more polarized manner—that is, more positive than positive White traits and more negative than negative White traits. None of these effects interacted with Overlap.

Additionally, to examine the possibility that participants might dissociate themselves from Blacks regardless of the direction of distancing (i.e., independent of whether they rated themselves or Blacks as possessing more or less of a given attribute), mean overall distancing scores were also calculated for each participant using the absolute value of the difference between participants' ratings of themselves and Black Americans on all 56 traits (based on the procedures used by Haddock et al., 1993; Schimel et al., 2000). This more sensitive test indicated that while implicit prejudice actually *decreased* for those in the High Overlap condition, explicit distancing results were in the expected direction: Although all participants distanced significantly from Blacks on all four trait types (all t's > 11, all p's < .001), High Overlap participants reported greater overall distancing from Blacks ($M = 6.67$) than Low Overlap participants ($M = 4.95$), though a one-tailed test of this difference was marginal, $t(80) = -1.50$, $p = .07$. Additionally, High and Low Overlap conditions differed marginally on ratings of Black

[1] All tables are located in Appendix A.

positive and White negative traits (differences on other trait types were not significant; all *p*'s > .50). For Black positive traits, High Overlap participants showed more distancing from Blacks than Low Overlap participants, $t(80) = -1.87$, $p = .07$. High and Low Overlap participants also showed this pattern for White negative traits, $t(80) = -1.52$, $p = .13$. Interestingly, when the directions of these relationships were examined (i.e., using raw difference scores instead of absolute values), results indicated that participants actually rated Black Americans as possessing *more* White negative traits than they possessed themselves.

It was predicted that high initial prejudice might be associated with greater distancing for those in the High Overlap condition. This prediction was unsupported. That is, there was not a significant interaction of Session 1 IAT and overlap (High, Low) to predict participants' distancing from Blacks as measured by mean overall distancing scores. Further, this interaction was not supported when either Bogardus social distancing scores or budget cut recommendations were used as a measure of distancing from Blacks.

Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions scale. In order to explore possible motivational processes at work, participants completed the MCPR scale prior to Session 1. As in previous research, the two factors, "Concern for Acting Prejudiced" and "Restraint to Avoid Dispute" emerged in a principal components analysis using varimax rotation. Coefficients for each factor from this analysis were used to compute the two factor scores for each participant (excluding two participants who did not complete all items).

Interestingly, post-hoc analyses revealed that motivational processes indeed affected participants' implicitly measured prejudice. Regression analyses indicated a marginally significant interaction of overlap (High, Low) and the Concern factor of the MCPR to predict the difference in participants' Session 1 and Session 2 IAT scores, $t(76) = 1.65$, $p = .10$, $b = .13$, *SE*

= .08. Low Overlap participants drove this interaction (see Figure 1)[2]; for these participants, increased Concern was associated with decreased implicit prejudice from Session 1 to Session 2, $r = -.43$, $p < .01$. There was no association for those in the High Overlap condition. The Restraint factor of the MCPR also marginally interacted with overlap to predict IAT difference scores, $t(76) = -1.88$, $p = .06$, $b = -.15$, $SE = .08$. Again, this was driven by Low Overlap participants, for whom increased Restraint was associated with *increased* implicit prejudice in Session 2 relative to Session 1, $r = .31$, $p = .06$. As with the Concern factor, there was no association for High Overlap participants.

Motivational processes also affected participants' explicit responses. Regression analyses indicated a significant interaction of overlap and the Concern factor to predict distancing on trait ratings, $t(76) = 2.22$, $p = .03$, $b = 2.59$, $SE = 1.17$. This effect was driven by High Overlap participants, for whom increased Concern was associated with increased distancing, $r = .32$, $p = .04$. There was no association for those in the Low Overlap condition. Analyses examining the effects of the Restraint factor indicated a significant interaction with overlap to predict budget cuts for the AASA, $t(75) = -3.44$, $p < .01$, $b = -.46$, $SE = .13$. Further investigation revealed that Restraint was significantly and highly correlated with budget cut recommendations for both conditions (see Figure 2). For participants in the Low Overlap condition, increased Restraint was associated with the recommendation to cut more of the AASA's budget, $r = .39$, $p = .02$. For High Overlap participants, increased restraint was associated with recommendations to cut less of the AASA's budget, $r = -.37$, $p = .02$.

[2] All figures are located in Appendix B.

Discussion

Results of Study 1 were not as simple as initially hypothesized. Those in the High Overlap condition explicitly distanced themselves from Blacks on mean overall distancing scores, as expected; however, results on the implicit measure indicate that High Overlap participants may actually be *associating* themselves with Blacks. It is possible that their relatively low (i.e., less prejudiced) Session 2 IAT scores reflect a sort of identification with Blacks, leading High Overlap participants to evaluate them more favorably at an automatic level. Perceiving Blacks more positively at an implicit level could allow participants to protect their self-esteem; meanwhile, explicit distancing from Blacks may serve as a means of "dissuading an audience of the applicability of [the implied] group membership for the self" (Branscombe et al., 1999, p. 39). Participants thus preserve a positive self-concept in both their own eyes (by perceiving Blacks as more positive) and in others' eyes (by dissociating themselves from a marginalized group). While it is not surprising to see discrepancies between implicit and explicit measures (e.g., Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Beach, 2001; for a review see Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009), the disjunction in this case is in the opposite direction than would typically be predicted (e.g., if the discrepancy were due to social desirability concerns). Therefore, it is particularly important to study this unique dissociation further in future research.

The MCPR was included purely for exploratory reasons, but it appears that motivational processes do indeed play a role in the effects of identity threat on both implicit and explicit measures of prejudice and distancing. These findings are not completely clear, but they are quite interesting. For example, it is not altogether uncommon to see practice effects when participants complete the IAT multiple times (Olson & Fazio, 2004; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 2001); thus,

it is unsurprising that participants high in the Concern factor might show lower Session 2 IAT scores, due to their attempts to avoid prejudiced thoughts and actions. However, the finding that this *only* occurs for those in the Low Overlap condition is unexpected. Similarly, it is also surprising that the association of high Restraint with increased prejudice only occurs for Low Overlap participants. The finding that increased Concern is associated with higher levels of distancing for High Overlap participants is also difficult to explain; perhaps associating oneself with Blacks reduces or eliminates one's concern about acting prejudiced, so that these participants did not feel the need to "censor" their explicit responses. This was not the case, however, for High Overlap participants who were high in the Restraint factor; indeed, these participants recommended cutting less of the AASA's budget, a relatively egalitarian response. Future investigation of these somewhat puzzling findings is warranted and may reveal important implications of motivational processes for implicit and explicit measures of prejudice as well as behavior.

Study 1 demonstrated that White participants think of themselves as dissimilar to Blacks, particularly when they are subject to an identity threat (e.g., being related to Blacks); this is perhaps due to the categorization social identity threat (Branscombe et al., 1999) that such individuals associate with being grouped together with Blacks.. The results of Study 1 failed to indicate that prejudiced Whites actively avoid situations that could actually alleviate their prejudice by avoiding contact with Blacks (i.e., prejudice was not associated with Bogardus-type social distancing measure). However, it is possible that even when prejudiced Whites engage in contact with Blacks, they psychologically distance themselves— for example, by perceiving themselves as dissimilar to Blacks or by disengaging from the interaction (e.g., being less friendly and/or more anxious). If it is true that prejudiced Whites psychologically distance

themselves even when they are engaged in interactions with Blacks, it would help explain the consistent finding that pre-existing prejudice is a moderator of the efficacy of prejudice reduction techniques (Eagly & Chaiken, 1995)—that is, the finding that highly prejudiced individuals are unlikely to be much affected by techniques designed to reduce their prejudice. Engaging in psychological distancing could allow individuals to maintain their strong, stable (prejudicial) attitudes in spite of situations or actions designed to reduce prejudice or conflict. Study 2 investigated this possibility.

III. Study 2

Study 2 tested the hypothesis that psychological distancing could be a mechanism driving the relationship between initial prejudice and the efficacy of a prejudice reduction technique, namely one derived from the Common Ingroup Identity (CII) Model. It is important to understand potential mediators and moderators of common ingroup induction effects, and this research aimed to address this relatively unexplored area of inquiry (for exceptions, see Dovidio et al., 1997; Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell, & Pomare, 1990). The CII Model was chosen because its mechanism of prejudice reduction could trigger an identity threat, as will be discussed below. Further, the CII Model in particular is both interesting and important to study because of its broad application; indeed, its tenets inform approaches to intergroup relations in a variety of settings (e.g., in the workplace, Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1996; in schools, Houlette et al., 2004).

It was hypothesized that a reduction technique involving close contact and implied shared group membership with Blacks might trigger an identity threat response in prejudiced Whites, leading to psychological distancing and attenuated prejudiced reduction. Consistent with this, techniques based on the CII Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993; Gaertner et al., 1990; Nier et al., 2001) emphasize contact and cooperation between members of different groups. The CII Model germinated out of contact theory research, which proposed that contact with other groups would successfully reduce prejudice and stereotyping—given that certain conditions were met (e.g., equal group status, common goals, cooperation without competition, and authority sanction of contact; Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Researchers were thus prompted to search for an overarching explanation of *why* these conditions influenced contact. The CII Model suggests that fulfilling

these requisite conditions emphasizes the perception of oneself and minorities as part of a superordinate group, leading to a redefinition of ingroups and outgroups and thus blurring the lines between "us" and "them." Thinking of oneself and an outgroup member at a superordinate level (e.g., as students at the same university, as humans) serves to shift an individual's frame of reference from a lower-order, ingroup-outgroup social identity to a higher-order one (Brewer, 1991). This shift allows for the inclusion of minorities in the ingroup, resulting in more positive evaluations of those individual as well as fewer group-based stereotypes (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000); in other words, it reduces prejudice. However, the argument here is that it is also possible that being lumped into such a broad group will trigger a distinctiveness threat (Branscombe et al., 1999), prompting prejudiced Whites to psychologically distance themselves from Blacks in order to maintain an optimal level of group distinctiveness from a group toward which they hold negative attitudes. Consistent with this idea, research in a variety of cultures (e.g., Bangladesh, Canada, the United States) indicates that minorities seek to retain their ethnic identities despite superordinate group categorization (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Lambert, Mermigis, & Taylor, 1986; Taylor & Lambert, 1996), perhaps because assimilation and integration into a so-called "melting pot" typically requires that minorities "forsake their cultural distinctiveness as the price for acceptance into mainstream or dominant culture" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). While Whites may not necessarily feel that such grouping threatens their ethnic identities in this manner, they may nevertheless wish to avoid being associated with members of lower status groups.

Induction of a common ingroup identity can be achieved either by making an already-existing superordinate identity salient, or by introducing factors that increase group entitativity (e.g., cooperating to complete a task; Gaertner et al., 1996). This induction contributes to a

variety of cognitive, affective, and behavioral effects (e.g., perceived similarity to the self, empathic concern, helping behaviors; see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, for a review).

Given the results of Study 1 and historical findings relevant to the efficacy of reduction techniques generally (and CII specifically), Study 2 investigated the possibility that engagement in psychological distancing mediates the relationship between initial prejudice toward Blacks and the efficacy of a common ingroup identity prejudice reduction technique. Because the CII approach typically induces participants to recategorize themselves and outgroup members as part of a larger, more inclusive group, it was first hypothesized that the threat associated with this recategorization would lead to increased post-interaction prejudice for relatively prejudiced individuals (i.e., it was expected that highly prejudiced individuals would not be affected as much as relatively low-prejudiced individuals by the use of a common ingroup identity technique). Second, it was hypothesized that this effect (or lack thereof) would be mediated by participants' engagement in psychological distancing.

Method

Participants. Forty-five White undergraduate psychology students participated in partial fulfillment of course research requirements. Participants completed one 45-minute individual lab session. Due to computer malfunctions, eight individuals' videos were not recorded, resulting in a final sample of 37 for video analyses. Additionally, computer malfunctions resulted in incomplete data on the IAT for two participants, yielding a final sample of 43 for implicit prejudice analyses.

Materials and Procedure. When signing up for the study via the university's website for student participant in research, participants completed Dunton and Fazio's (1997) Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (MCPR) to assess whether it was important for them to try

not to appear or be prejudiced; as in Study 1, this measure was included solely for exploratory reasons.

Upon arriving at the lab, each participant was greeted by a White experimenter, completed an informed consent form, and was seated at a private computer workstation. All participants then completed a race IAT and a feeling thermometer measure as in Study 1.

Prejudice Reduction Technique. After these measures of initial prejudice, participants took part in the prejudice reduction technique. Consistent with previous CII research, participants interacted with a Black confederate on a cooperative task where a common ingroup identity (being students at the same university) was emphasized. In a replication of past CII manipulations (e.g., Gaertner et al., 1990; Nier et al., 2001), the participant and the confederate were seated together, wore identical t- shirts with the university logo, and were told that their interaction would be video-taped as an examination of group decision-making processes. Prior to beginning the task, participants were informed that their team's performance would be compared to that of an outgroup team at the University of Florida, a highly salient rival university (cf. Nier et al., 2001). As a team, they then completed the Winter Survival Exercise, which presents a scenario in which their plane has crashed; while escaping, the participant and his or her partner recovered 12 items from the wreckage (see Appendix E for the scenario). Their task was to rank the salvaged items on each one's importance to their survival. The partners were given 7-8 minutes to discuss their opinions and record a single *consensus* ranking of the items. The use of a script standardized the Black confederates' contribution to each interaction, and confederates were blind to participants' prejudice scores. In addition to ostensibly inducing identity threat, this interracial interaction yielded video data for each participant. These videos provided yet another means by which to examine distancing, as they could be examined for overall ratings of

participants during the interaction (e.g., friendliness, anxiety) as well as specific behaviors indicating (dis)comfort (e.g., smiling, self-touching). Thus, by videotaping the interactions, codings of these nonverbal behaviors could be used as proxies for distancing.

Following the completion of the Winter Survival Exercise, the confederate left to finish the separate (fictitious) study in which he was a participant. Participants were thus left at their individual computer workstation to complete items assessing their perceptions of the interaction (modeled after those used in Gaertner et al., 1990). These included perceptions of how much they felt as though they worked as a team with their partner and how much they cooperated or competed with their partner. Additionally, participants answered questions assessing their impressions of their partner (i.e., liking, honesty, cooperativeness, similarity to the self). They also completed a Bogardus-type social distancing measure as well as trait ratings of themselves and Black Americans (these measures are exactly as used in Study 1). Following these, participants completed another race IAT, allowing for examination of any changes in automatically activated prejudice due to the reduction technique. Additionally, they completed another feeling thermometer and the budget-reduction measure used in Study 1.

Results

MCPR, IAT (pre- and post-interaction), feeling thermometer (pre- and post-interaction), and trait rating scores were calculated as in Study 1. The seven items from the Bogardus social distancing scale were entered into a reliability analysis and had a coefficient alpha of .94. A mean social distancing score was calculated for each participant such that, on a seven-point scale, higher scores indicated more social distancing. Additionally, the nine items regarding participants' partner (e.g., liking of the partner, how similar the partner was to the self, willingness to spend more time with the partner) had a coefficient alpha of .82, so they were

combined to form a mean partner warmth score for each participant. Given the numerous interrelations between pre-, during-, and post-interaction variables, correlations are provided in Table 2 and Table 3.

Interaction data. As noted above, in addition to the measures used in Study 1, video codings also served as measures of distancing. The videos of each participant's interaction were examined in two distinct manners. First, two independent raters (blind to participants' prejudice scores) coded each video on five global subjective dimensions: friendliness, fluency (lack of speech errors, using "um" or "uh"), comfort, anxiety, and engagement in the task. All evaluations were significantly correlated (average $r = .47$, r's ranging from .33 to .63, all p's $<$ .05). Scores on friendliness, fluency, comfort, and engagement were reverse coded such that higher scores were indicative of more distancing (i.e., less friendly, less fluent, less comfortable, less engaged). Thus, for each participant, a mean score on each of the five dimensions were computed by averaging the two raters' scores. These mean scores were entered into a reliability analysis. The five items had a Cronbach's alpha of .89. Given this reliability, a global video rating was calculated for each participant such that, on a 5-point scale, higher scores were indicative of more distancing ($M = 2.7$).

Secondly, each video was objectively coded to examine specific behaviors: self-touching frequency (i.e., the number of times the participant touched his or her hands, face, etc., during the interaction), self-touching duration, smiling frequency and duration, word interruptions (the number of times the participant stopped in the middle of a word), and sentence interruptions (the number of times the participant started a sentence and stopped in the middle or trailed off). Again, two independent raters blind to participants' prejudice scores coded each video, with all

evaluations being significantly correlated (average $r = .79$, r's ranging from .42 to .99, all p's $< .01$).

Study 2's hypotheses depended on the CII technique to create a distinctiveness threat by forcing prejudiced White participants to incorporate themselves and Blacks into a broad, inclusive group. In turn, it was hypothesized that this threat would lead to increased psychological distancing from Blacks, which would manifest in more nonverbal distancing behaviors as well as self-reports of greater distancing. However, initial analyses of video data indicated that this study did not effectively manipulate threat or distancing. Participants' initial prejudice as measured by pre-interaction IAT scores was not significantly associated with any of the distancing measures (Bogardus social distancing scores, trait ratings, global video ratings, or objective video codings). Additionally, on a 7-point scale, participants overwhelmingly reported liking their partner ($M = 6.0$); further, neither their global video ratings ($M = 2.7$) nor their Bogardus social distancing scores ($M = 2.2$) were indicative of distancing. Given the lack of effective threat manipulation and subsequent distancing, the expected meditational effects were not found. However, video data was related to post-interaction measures, as will be discussed next.

Post-interaction data. Participants' global video ratings were highly correlated with their partner warmth scores, $r = -.39$, $p = .02$, such that increased distancing in the interaction predicted less warmth toward one's partner. Global video ratings were also marginally correlated with post-interaction IAT scores, $r = .30$, $p = .09$. This association indicated that when participants were rated as being more distant (e.g., less comfortable, more anxious) from their partners, they exhibited greater anti-Black bias on the post-interaction IAT. Interestingly, global video ratings were also negatively associated with budget cuts to the African-American Student

Association, $r = -.41$, $p = .01$. This correlation indicated that participants rated as being less distant from their partners during the interaction made *more* budget cuts to the AASA.

Smiling data from the objective video ratings support this pattern of results with regard to budget cuts. Smile frequency and duration were highly correlated, $r = .86$, $p < .001$; thus, these variables were standardized and combined to form a mean smiling score. This mean smiling score was positively correlated with budget cuts to the AASA, $r = .36$, $p = .04$, such that those smiling more made more budget cuts. Mean smiling scores were negatively associated with post-interaction IAT scores, $r = -.38$, $p = .03$.

With regard to trait ratings, a repeated measures ANOVA was again used to examine distancing on trait ratings in terms of Trait Valence (Positive, Negative), Target (Self, Blacks), and Stereotypicality (White, Black), all within-participants. As in Study 1, main effects of Target and Valence were significant; additionally, the main effect of Stereotypicality was significant in Study 2. These main effects were subsumed by significant Stereotypicality X Target, $F(1, 44)= 71.21$, $p < .001$, Target X Valence, $F(1, 44) = 17.91$, $p < .001$, and Stereotypicality X Valence interactions, $F(1, 44)= 26.40$, $p < .001$, as in Study 1. The patterns of all three interactions were consistent with those in Study 1: The Stereotypicality X Target interaction indicates that participants were rating the self as possessing White traits more than Blacks and Blacks as possessing more Black traits than themselves. Marginal means of the Target X Valence interaction suggest that participants rated positive traits as being more applicable to the self than Blacks and negative traits as being more applicable to Blacks than the self. Finally, the Stereotypicality X Valence interaction indicates that participants perceived Black traits in a more polarized manner (i.e., more negative than negative White traits). In fact, the only deviation from Study 1 results was with regard to participants' perceptions of positive traits and target: Contrary

to findings in Study 1, participants in Study 2 did not perceive Black positive traits as being more positive than White positive traits, $t(44) = -.39$, $p = .70$. Table 4 contains relevant means for all the above-mentioned analyses.

As in Study 1, trait ratings were also examined by calculating absolute value difference scores of participants' ratings of the self and Blacks on all 56 traits. Though participants' scores on more straightforward distancing measures (i.e., Bogardus, partner liking) indicate a lack of distancing, this analysis suggests that there is still some level of dissociation of Blacks from the self. Indeed, difference scores for Black Americans and the self on all four trait types are different from zero (all t's > 6, all p's < .001). As in Study 1, examination of the direction of the means again indicated that participants actually rated Black Americans as possessing *more* White negative traits than they possessed themselves. As expected, participants' mean overall distancing (across trait types) of the self from Blacks on trait ratings was marginally correlated with more cuts to the AASA budget, $r = .28$, $p = .07$.

Additionally, although the sample's overall mean Bogardus scores did not indicate distancing from Blacks, participants' mean Bogardus scores were correlated with both pre-interaction feeling thermometer scores, $r = .39$, $p = .01$, and post-interaction feeling thermometer scores, $r = .41$, $p = .01$. To test whether this distancing mediated the relationship between pre-interaction and post-interaction prejudice, Preacher and Hayes' (2004, 2008) bootstrapping method was used. This approach computes confidence intervals (CIs) around indirect effects, and mediation is indicated by CIs that do not contain zero. For all mediational analyses in this study, 1000 bootstrap samples and 95% CIs were used; bootstrap estimates (BEs) and standard errors (SEs) are reported for each instance of significant mediation. Such analysis indeed indicated that Bogardus ($BE = .058$, $SE = .047$) scores were a significant mediator of pre- and post-interaction

prejudice, as the results denoted a CI range from .0102 to .2573. This indicated that Bogardus scores drove the relationship between pre- and post-interaction prejudice; in other words, those with relatively high levels of pre-interaction prejudice showed more distancing on the Bogardus measure and, in turn, had higher post-interaction prejudice scores.

Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions scale. As in Study 1, motivational processes appeared to be related to participants' interactions and post-interaction measures. Specifically, the Concern factor of the MCPR was associated with global video ratings, mean smiling scores, post-interaction IAT scores, and budget cut items (see Tables 2 and 3 for relevant correlations). As Concern increased, participants' global video ratings also increased (i.e., they became less comfortable, less friendly, more anxious, etc.); increased Concern was also associated with more prejudiced IAT scores. On the other hand, as Concern values increased, participants engaged in less smiling behavior and made fewer cuts to the AASA budget. The finding that increased Concern might lead to more discomfort during interracial interactions and later increased prejudice prompted an investigation as to whether global video ratings and/or mean smiling scores might be mediating the effects of Concern on these variables. Thus, bootstrapping was again used to test whether global video ratings and mean smiling scores might mediate the relationships between the Concern factor and the post-interaction measures. Mean smiling scores (*BE* = .030, *SE* = .028) were a significant mediator of the relationship between Concern and post-interaction IAT scores, 95% CI: [.0001, .1268], but they did not mediate the relationship between Concern and budget cut items, 95% CI: [-.2100, .0069]. Further analyses indicated that global video ratings did not significantly mediate the relationship between Concern and post-interaction IAT scores, 95% CI: [-.0146, .1134]. However, global video ratings (*BE* = -.068, *SE* = .053) were a significant mediator of the relationship between Concern and budget cut

items, 95% CI: [-.2305, -.0039]. Though Concern was associated with global video ratings, it was not directly related to partner warmth scores (p = .56), so further mediation of this relationship was not tested.

Discussion

Ultimately, Study 2 failed to effectively induce an identity threat. However, to the extent that they *did* feel threatened and engage in distancing as measured by the Bogardus social distancing scale, participants reported more subsequent prejudice on the feeling thermometer, measures of partner warmth, and budget cuts, confirming the first hypothesis of Study 2. Additionally, bootstrapping analyses confirmed that distancing on the Bogardus scale mediated the relationship between pre- and post-interaction feeling thermometer prejudice scores, lending some support to the second hypothesis of Study 2. The limited range of distancing scores, however, should be taken into account when considering these findings, and stronger manipulations of identity threat should be tested in the future.

Along these lines, the failure to induce distancing as a product of identity threat led to few effects with regard to trait ratings. Thus, the finding that some dissociation of the self from Blacks was still taking place is somewhat puzzling. However, perhaps the distancing that participants reported in this study reflects a “baseline” level of distancing that most White individuals—threatened or not—engage in on a regular basis. Further investigation into this phenomenon could shed light on how individuals distinguish themselves from other groups.

Perhaps more important than the hypothesized results, Study 2 yielded other interesting and informative findings, particularly with regard to the relationships between motivational factors, interaction measures, and post-interaction measures. First, it is noteworthy to consider the association of Concern with global video ratings and subsequent prejudice. Participants with

higher Concern displayed more distancing and discomfort during their interactions, a somewhat counterintuitive finding that has nevertheless been shown in previous research (Olson, Fazio, & Meslemani, 2003). In turn, those showing more distancing and discomfort had higher implicit prejudice scores (though global video ratings were not a significant mediator of this overall relationship). Somewhat ironically, then, it seems that participants may be sabotaging themselves with their high Concern. That is, to the degree that they are concerned about avoiding prejudiced thoughts or feelings and about appearing prejudiced to others, they display negative behaviors in their interactions with Blacks and subsequently have relatively high levels of implicit prejudice. This pattern also held (albeit indirectly) for explicit partner warmth scores. Although Concern was not directly associated with partner warmth, it was positively related to global video ratings, which were in turn negatively associated with partner warmth. These findings are consistent with the meta-stereotype literature, which indicates that a variety of negative outcomes are associated with dominant group members' cognizance of the fact that minorities may perceive them as prejudiced: They report less anticipated enjoyment of intergroup interactions and expect more negative emotions during them (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998), they may engage in avoidant behaviors during interactions that can potentially be misjudged as prejudice by outgroup members (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996), and their constant vigilance in order to avoid appearing prejudiced during an interaction can decrease their subsequent executive function (Trawalter & Richeson, 2006). These findings are especially true for dominant group members for whom personal racial attitudes are important (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000) That is, those to whom egalitarianism is especially important—in other words, those showing high levels of Concern—report feeling more stereotyped by minority group members during interracial interactions, which amplifies the negative outcomes mentioned

above. Thus, this study's findings support the meta-stereotype literature by showing that a strong motivation to be egalitarian can actually backfire during interracial interactions, and the present findings extend this domain by showing that high Concern may also increase prejudice following an interracial interaction.

The stereotype threat literature also parallels the findings of both work on meta-stereotypes and the present research. Stereotype threat is anxiety that is experienced when individuals have the potential to confirm a negative stereotype about their group (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Work on stereotype threat emphasizes the importance of identification: It stipulates that individuals only experience stereotype threat if they are highly identified with a domain (Steele & Aronson, 1995). That is, when individuals attach their self-regard to having skills in a certain domain, they are susceptible to stereotype threat associated with that domain. The importance that high Concern Whites place on egalitarianism likely indicates that they are domain identified with "performing well" during interracial interactions. In other words, they likely tie their self-regard to egalitarian behavior (and the avoidance of prejudiced behavior) during such interactions, making them quite susceptible to stereotype threat. Indeed, research by Goff, Steele, and Davies (2008) indicates that those concerned with being perceived as "White racists" distanced themselves more from their Black conversation partners than those who were relatively unconcerned. Thus, in conjunction with meta-stereotype research, the stereotype threat literature also bolsters the finding that the motivation to appear unprejudiced can have "the ironic and unintended consequence of causing racial harms" (Goff et al., 2008, p. 91)

Concern also impacted smiling behavior and post-interaction measures. Results indicated that increased smiling was associated with lower post-interaction IAT scores; however, participants with higher Concern engaged in less smiling during interactions than their relatively

low Concern counterparts. Indeed, smiling mediated the relationship between Concern and post-interaction IAT scores. As with global video ratings, it seems that worrying about appearing prejudiced sabotages high Concern participants by prompting them to behave in what is usually perceived as a relatively unfriendly manner (i.e., not smiling) during their interactions with Blacks. Of note, however, is that despite its negative correlation with post-interaction IAT scores, increased smiling was also associated with *more* cuts to the AASA budget. It thus seems that "not all smiles are created equal." That is, these somewhat discrepant findings may be explained by participants' engagement in Duchenne (i.e., genuine) versus non-Duchenne (i.e., faked) smiling (Ekman, Davidson, & Friesen, 1990). Thus, participants who exhibited numerous non-Duchenne smiles due to nervousness or discomfort would have high mean smiling scores, but their smiles would not preclude discriminatory behavior in the form of budget cuts. On the other hand, participants who displayed genuine Duchenne smiles may drive the positive association between increased smiling and lower post-interaction IAT scores.

Findings relating global video ratings to budget cuts are perhaps even more complex. Overall, high Concern was associated with fewer budget cuts to the AASA, and this relationship was mediated by global video ratings such that participants who were rated as relatively *less* distant made *more* cuts to the AASA budget. Thus, high Concern participants who exhibited more distancing during the interaction were actually making fewer budget cuts than those who appeared to be relatively comfortable with their interaction partners. Perhaps participants' relatively high level of Concern prompted them to engage in egalitarian behavior despite their increased prejudice (as evidenced by IAT and partner warmth scores mentioned above).

IV. Concluding Discussion

As mentioned above, previous research has shown that emphasizing shared identity while neglecting recognition of subgroup differences threatens the distinctiveness of subgroup identities and can actually lead to more intersubgroup prejudice (Branscombe et al., 1999; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Wohl et al., 2011), especially when the superordinate category is extremely inclusive (e.g., humanity; Branscombe et al., 1999; Hornsey & Hogg, 1999). This is particularly the case for minority group members, for whom group membership is especially salient (Mullen, 1983) and important in terms of social identity (Brewer & Miller, 1984). Consistent with these points, minority group members are less likely to emphasize the positive qualities of intergroup contact (Islam & Hewstone, 1993) perhaps because such contact often seems to focus on their assimilation to majority group norms and practices. Indeed, by default, the "superordinate group" is often quite similar to the majority group (Gaertner et al., 1996). In essence, then, it seems that minorities do not want to "move" under the same higher-order umbrella as majority group members because doing so seemingly necessitates giving up their minority status. This social movement constitutes a distinctiveness threat to minorities' social identities (Branscombe et al., 1999).

Extrapolating from the findings of Study 1, it seems that majority group members are not particularly keen on being moved into a group with minorities either. In particular, Study 1 indicated that the involuntary categorization of Whites with Blacks produced relatively high levels of explicit distancing. Thus, it seems clear that Whites do not want to be moved into Blacks' social space. On the other hand, results of Study 2 showed that for Whites, the movement of Blacks into a superordinate group with themselves was not threatening. Perhaps there is a qualitative difference between "me being like them" and "them being like me." Some

support is lent to this idea by Srull and Gaelick's (1983) finding that individuals report different levels of similarity to others depending on whether they are evaluating the self in relation to others or others in relation to the self. In the current research, it is possible that inclusion of minorities into one's group is less threatening than inclusion of the self into a minority's group. Indeed, it is likely that conferring the positive characteristics associated with majority group membership on a minority is less threatening than abdicating those characteristics oneself while assuming the negative attributes associated with minority group membership. These possibilities should be explored in future research.

Additionally, one avenue not explored in Study 1 was assessment of the effects of involuntary categorization in a relatively low-status group on self-regard (Meindl & Lerner, 1984). Inclusion of state self-esteem measures following an identity threat manipulation could allow for the examination of self-regard as a potential mediator of the relationship between threat and distancing behavior. It could also be informative to gauge participants' affective states following the threat manipulation by using the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) or a similar tool. Indeed, testing the numerous possible mediators of prejudice, identity threat, and distancing—and the sheer number of items included in their assessment—could yield a large body of research.

The present research was designed to examine the relationships between psychological distancing, identity threat, and prejudice, with the idea that identity threat would prompt individuals to emphasize distance in their perceptions of Blacks in relation to the self. This distancing was expected to be greatest for those who were highly prejudiced, and it was expected that such distancing would lead to greater subsequent prejudice. Actual results yielded mixed support for these overarching hypotheses, but despite Study 2's failure to manipulate threat,

distancing on trait ratings in both studies supports the idea that distancing from Blacks is indeed occurring in interracial contexts. Study 1's results indicated that distancing, at least explicitly, appears to be related to identity threats associated with being similar to Blacks. However, Study 1's finding that identity threat actually *decreased* subsequent implicit prejudice should be replicated and further investigated. Additionally, the fact that Study 2 participants still displayed explicit distancing on trait ratings—despite the absence of an effective threat manipulation—warrants further study. In this study, participants completed the trait rating items following a variety of race-related questionnaires and an interracial interaction. Simple questionnaire research could provide a more controlled approach to establishing whether unthreatened Whites (independent of any interracial interaction or priming with race-related items) still exhibit a "baseline" level of distancing from Blacks on trait ratings. Continued use of the items developed by Wolsko et al. (2000) would be beneficial; using these items not only provides the opportunity to calculate an overall distancing score using all items, but it also allows for the separate examination of each of the four trait types. For instance, it would be interesting indeed to see whether future research replicated the finding that Blacks were rated as possessing more White negative traits than White participants possessed themselves.

Past research has shown that motivational processes certainly impact both antecedents and outcomes of prejudice (Plant & Devine, 2003). Indeed, consideration of motivation in addition to (and with relation to) prejudice "provides a more complete view of the determinants of discrimination" (Olson, 2009, p. 373) and should thus be carefully studied. Although there were no specific hypotheses concerning the impact of motivational processes in either study of the present research, results from the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions scale (Dunton & Fazio, 1997) in each study yielded interesting results. In particular, Study 2's finding that

increased Concern seemingly has negative effects on interactions, warmth toward one's partner, and subsequent implicit prejudice, despite its association with egalitarianism and non-prejudicial standards, was surprising. Indeed, the suggestion that Concern may sabotage interracial interactions is unsettling, particularly because previous research has shown in multiple studies that self-regulation (i.e., concern with and avoidance of prejudiced thoughts and behaviors) may be essential to eliminating prejudiced attitudes and behavior (Monteith, 1993; Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Czopp, 2002). Despite—or perhaps because of—these mixed findings, this avenue of research should continue. Exploring such seemingly contradictory findings will not only improve social psychology's understanding of the impact of motivational processes on interracial interactions and prejudice, but perhaps it will also yield findings that can help set high Concern individuals more at ease during and following interracial interactions. Additionally, future research could include the manipulation of participants' motivations, offering a more controlled approach to their study. In turn, this would provide valuable insight by experimentally gauging these variables' effects on and interactions with identity threat, distancing, and prejudice.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Table 1

Mean Trait Ratings of Self and Black Americans, Study 1

	Overlap Condition	
	High	Low
Self		
White positive	67.96	68.00
White negative	35.32	36.59
Black positive	61.68	63.51
Black negative	20.78	22.14
Blacks		
White positive	51.29	50.14
White negative	44.07	42.56
Black positive	64.02	64.50
Black negative	48.88	48.34

Note. Trait ratings indicate participants' average rating of themselves and Black Americans on each trait type for each condition (High Overlap, Low Overlap).

Table 2

Correlations of Interaction Data and Distancing Measures with Pre- and Post-Interaction Measures, Study 2

	Pre-interaction measure				Post-interaction measure			
	Concern factor	Restraint factor	IAT-1	Feeling thermometer	Partner warmth	IAT-2	Feeling thermometer	Budget cuts
Subjective video codings								
Global video rating	.36*	.03	.11	.10	-.39*	.30	.22	-.41*
Friendliness[a]	.33*	.02	.11	.12	-.34*	.34*	.17	-.39*
Fluency[a]	.45**	.10	.11	-.03	-.29	.14	.24	-.38*
Comfort[a]	.18	.07	.09	.05	-.35*	.23	.09	-.35*
Engagement[a]	.24	.09	-.02	.04	-.28	.23	.02	-.39*
Anxiety	.31	-.12	.14	.22	-.36*	.28	.35*	-.26
Objective video codings								
Mean smiling	-.34*	-.03	-.06	.03	.07	-.38*	-.07	.36*
Smile frequency	-.29	-.17	.15	.09	-.02	-.07	-.04	.31
Smile duration	-.33*	.01	-.05	.06	.04	-.10	-.12	.39*
Self-touching frequency	.39*	-.08	-.14	-.18	.06	.02	-.15	-.16
Self-touching duration	.38*	-.01	-.05	-.10	-.11	.06	-.01	-.35*
Word interruptions	-.04	.02	.31	-.13	.14	.07	.12	.38*
Sentence interruptions	.01	-.01	.06	-.04	.20	-.12	-.02	.10
Trait ratings								
Mean (across trait types)	-.07	.20	-.05	-.04	.04	.05	-.02	.28
Black negative	.10	.18	.22	.36*	-.07	.39**	.48**	.36*
Black positive	-.35*	-.05	-.16	-.16	-.20	-.16	-.10	.11
White negative	.07	.22	.03	-.01	.02	.27	.09	.18
White positive	.12	-.05	.31*	.33*	-.13	.43**	.29	.11
Bogardus scores	.16	-.04	.01	.39**	-.45**	.05	.41**	.39*

Note. [a]These variables were reverse-scored such that higher values indicated more distancing.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 3

Correlations of Pre-Interaction Measures with Post-Interaction Measures, Study 2

	Post-interaction measure			
Pre-interaction measure	Partner warmth	IAT	Feeling thermometer	Budget cuts
Concern factor	-.09	.33*	.19	-.32*
Restraint factor	-.01	.04	-.15	.19
IAT	.08	.44**	.30*	.16
Feeling thermometer	-.01	.49**	.73**	.30*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 4

Mean Trait Ratings of the Self and Black Americans, Study 2

	Target		
	Self	Blacks	*t*
White stereotypical			
Positive	67.40	57.79	4.67**
Negative	40.98	43.13	-.93
Black stereotypical			
Positive	60.35	65.82	-3.06**
Negative	26.67	44.35	-7.55**

Note. Trait ratings indicate participants' average rating of themselves and Black Americans on each trait type. Each *t* indicates whether ratings of the self and Black Americans differed significantly.
** $p < .001$

Appendix B

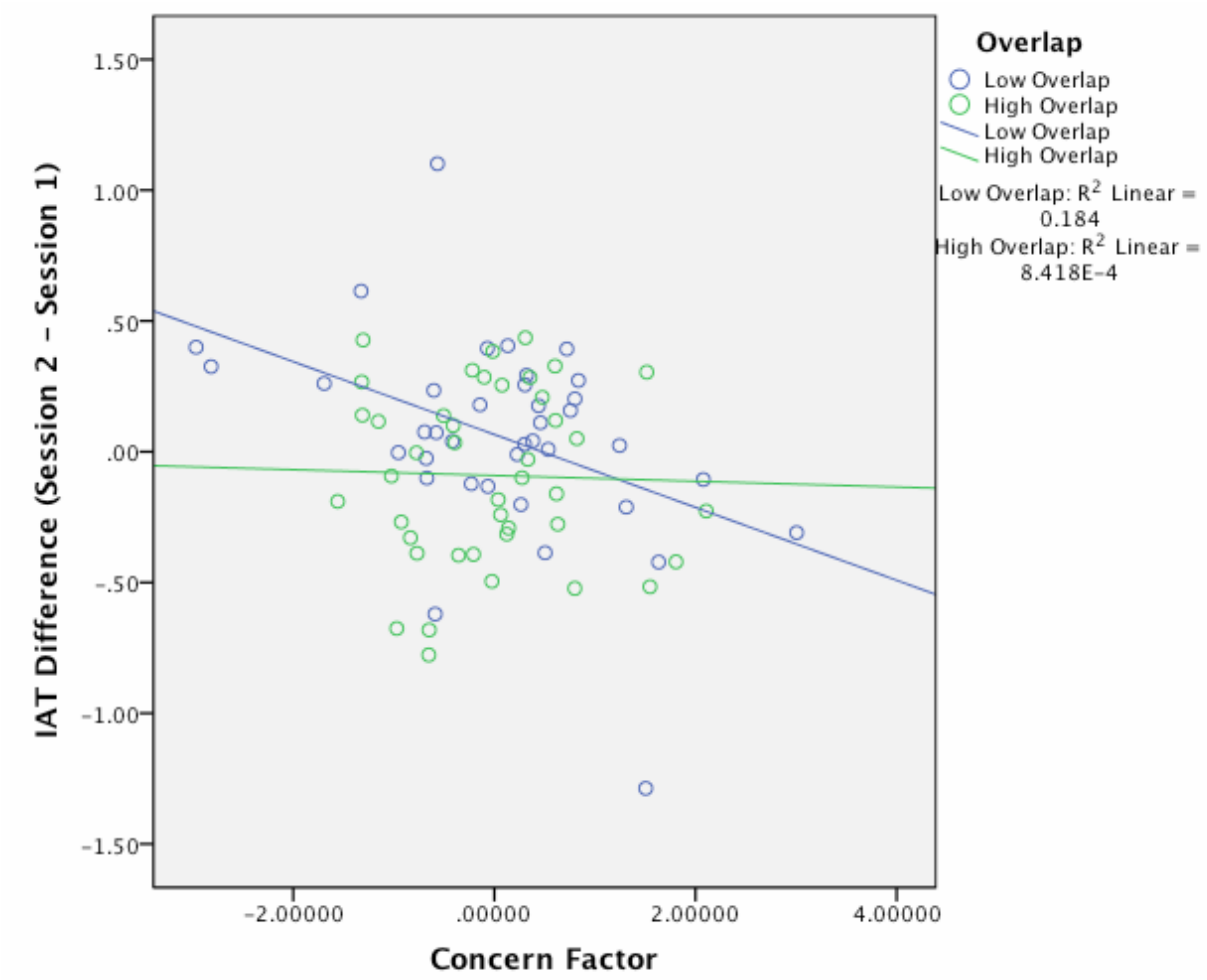

Figure 1. Overlap (High, Low) X Concern factor interaction to predict participants' IAT difference scores.

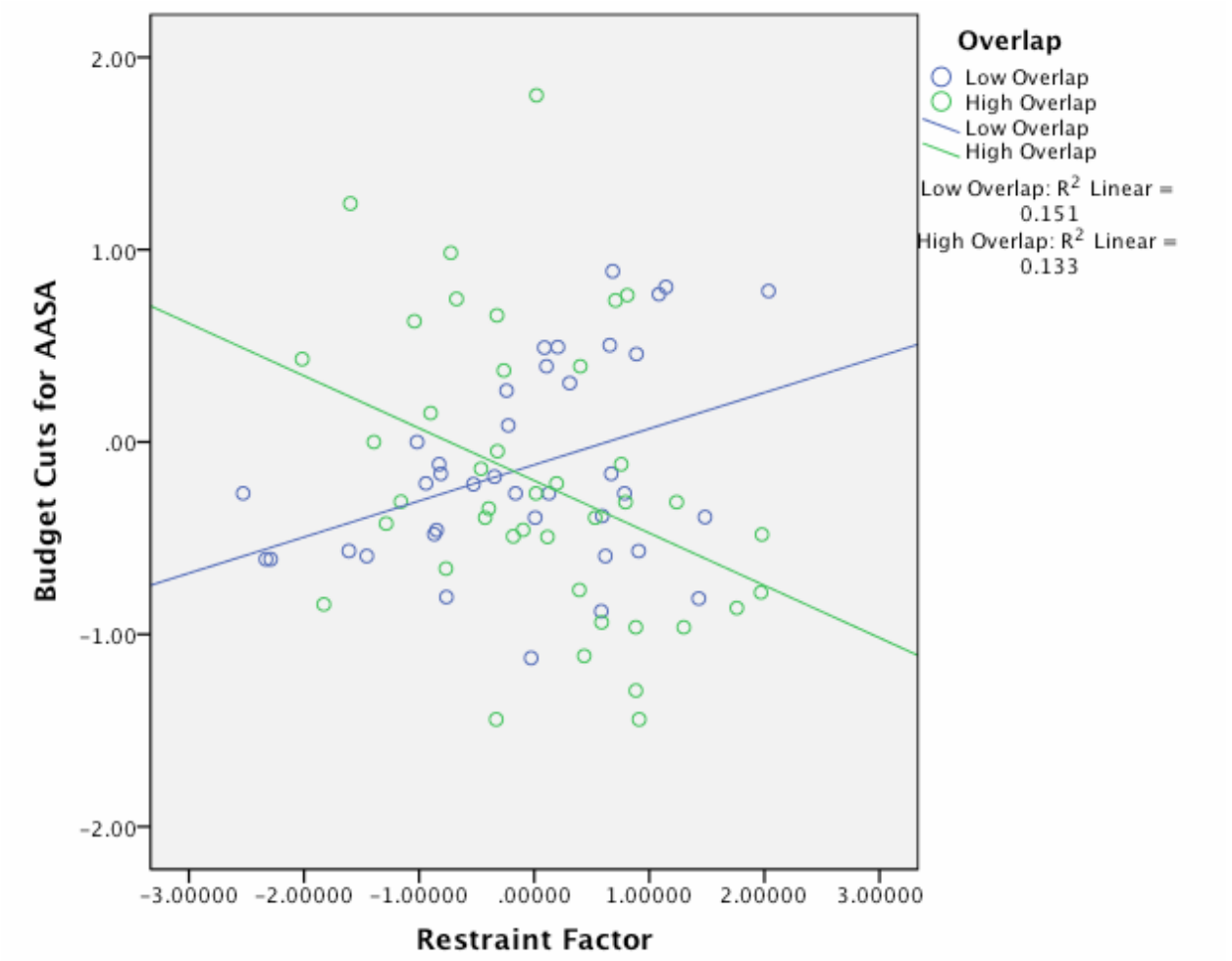

Figure 2. Overlap (High, Low) X Restraint factor interaction to predict participants' recommendation of budget cuts for African-American Student Association.

Appendix C

Statement of Results

The assessment of nucleotide sequences for this batch indicates that:

This sample shares **53%** of its genetic markers with African-American samples. On average, most Caucasian individuals share 10% (75%). This indicates that the individual from whom this sample was taken has **more than (less than)** the expected genetic overlap with African-Americans.

Sample #: **Sample source:** **Result:**		**8327B6** **Cheek Swab** **Normal**		**Exclusion Status**	**Direct Index**
STR Locus	**Allele Range**	**Alleles Called**		OK	1.977
D2S311B	(12-20)	15	16	OK	0.972
vWA	(4-13)	7	9	OK	21.500
TH01	(24-38)	30		OK	24.571
D18S51	(8-27)	15	18	OK	33.333
Penta E	(5-24)	13	17	OK	1.362
D5S818	(7-16)	11	13	OK	2.504
D13S317	(7-15)	9	12	OK	4.719
D7S820	(6-14)	11		OK	1.385
D16S539	(5-15)	9	11	OK	8.333
CSF1PO	(6-15)	11	12	OK	3.373
Penta D	(2-17)	12	17	OK	4.385
D3S1358	(10-22)	17		OK	5.733
D8S1179	(7-18)	12	17	OK	0.983
TPOX	(6-13)	8		OK	21.500
D2S311B	(16-46)	18	22	OK	8.437
Laboratory batch number: 82393130C1		**See Statement of Results for additional info**			

Appendix D

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
Black stereotypic (White counterstereotypic)	
streetwise	poor
emotionally expressive	superstitious
playful	lazy
sensitive	promiscuous
humorous	reckless
fashionable	dishonest
religious	violent
merry	dangerous
cheerful	threatening
charming	shiftless
athletic	ignorant
musical	complaining
"I would enjoy singing in a church choir."	"I've had a lot of run-ins with the police."
"I grew up close to my cousins, aunts, and uncles."	"I just can't seem to keep a job very long."
White stereotypic (Black counterstereotypic)	
organized	boring
wealthy	materialistic
sheltered	greedy
ethical	conventional
responsible	selfish
independent	exploitative
progressive	uptight
industrious	callous
successful	stubborn
ambitious	boastful
educated	competitive
intelligent	stuffy
"If you want to get ahead, you have to take charge."	"I believe my job is more important than my family."
"A kid growing up in the US has unlimited opportunities."	"I have usually been given whatever material things I needed or wanted without having to work for them."

Appendix E

You and your companion have just survived the crash of a small plane. Both the pilot and co-pilot were killed in the crash. It is mid-January, and you are in Northern Canada. The daytime temperature is 25 below zero, and the night temperature is 40 below zero. There is snow on the ground, and the countryside is wooded with several creeks criss-crossing the area. The nearest town is 20 miles away. You are both dressed in street clothes (jeans, long sleeve shirts, and coats). The two of you managed to salvage the following items from the wreckage:

A ball of steel wool
A small ax
A loaded .45-caliber pistol
Can of Crisco shortening
Newspapers (one each)
Cigarette lighter
Extra shirt and pants for each survivor
20 x 20 ft. piece of heavy-duty canvas
A sectional air map made of plastic
One quart of 100-proof whiskey
A compass
Family-size chocolate bars (one each)

Your task is to list together the above 12 items in order of importance for your and your partner's survival. List at least one use for each. You MUST come to agreement together. Your responses will be evaluated against a team from the lab collaborating with us on this research at the University of Florida.

Vita

Joy Elise Phillips was born in Johnson City, TN, in 1986. She grew up in Kingsport, TN, and graduated from Sullivan South High School in 2004. Joy earned her B.A. in Psychology from Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, NC, graduating *summa cum laude* in December 2007. She worked in experimental psychology research labs both during her undergraduate career at Wake Forest and during the spring of 2008 while interviewing for doctoral graduate programs. Joy began her graduate work with Dr. Michael Olson in Experimental Psychology at the University of Tennessee in the fall of 2008. There, her research focused on attitudes, with particular emphasis on prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination. Joy finished her predissertation project in 2009 and completed her comprehensive paper, a theoretical work on hate crimes, in 2011. After graduating with her Ph.D. in May 2012, Joy will be taking a position as a crime researcher with the federal government.