WORSE THAN I THOUGHT: HOW A MODEL OF A RACIAL DIALOGUE AFFECTS WHITE PEOPLE'S ANXIETY

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ABSTRACT

Self-selection bias often occurs in multicultural education interventions, like intergroup dialogue, where students who already have greater levels of critical consciousness opt to participate, and many who could benefit from multicultural and social justice education opt out. For racial dialogues in particular, White people may experience anxiety, fear, guilt, and shame that prevent them wanting to participate in this type of group. In this study, we examined the use of a video modeling a racial dialogue with the goal of producing lower intergroup anxiety and greater interest in future participation. Contrary to our hypotheses, there was no significant difference between experimental and control conditions on intergroup conversation anxiety or interest. Additionally, participants who saw the video model exhibited more state anxiety compared to those who did not. We also examined the moderating effect of White guilt on the relation between condition and intergroup conversation interest, and did not find significant results. Implications for future research and practice are discussed.

Keywords: intergroup anxiety, intergroup contact, race dialogue, White guilt

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The demographics of the United States (U.S.) have changed considerably in recent decades (Cohn & Caumont, 2016). In the last 50 years, over 50 million immigrants have come to the U.S., exemplifying this dramatic shift. The millennial generation is also a more racially diverse generation than any previous generation in American history (Cohn & Caumont, 2016). This means that college campuses are becoming increasingly diverse, which brings both unique opportunities and challenges for educators and administrators. For example, increased diversity is associated with positive learning (e.g., intellectual engagement, motivation, academic skill) and democracy (e.g., civic engagement, perspective-taking) outcomes (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). Gurin and colleagues note, however, that *structural diversity*, or "the numerical representation of diverse groups" (p. 3) is not sufficient for students to realize these benefits of diversity, but instead there needs to be opportunities to truly engage with diverse others and learn from others' experiences.

In addition to these benefits, increased diversity also brings challenges for educators and administrators, such as ensuring the campus climate is safe and welcoming for all students. A simple Google search of "racial tensions on college campuses" results in pages of recent news articles reporting on student protests, allegations of racism from peers and faculty, and student reactions to racial incidents on campus. On our own campus, the Tennessee state legislature passed a law in 2016 defunding the Office of Diversity and Inclusion for one year (Tennessee HB 2248), conveying the implicit message that marginalized individuals are not valued on campus. Thus, race is obviously a salient subject on campuses, but often a topic that is avoided in conversations (DiAngelo, 2018; Sue, 2015).

Many universities offer *intergroup dialogue* (IGD) courses, which provide students opportunities to have facilitated conversations about race and racism and other social identities and associated forms of oppression (e.g., sexual orientation and heterosexism; Gurin, Nagda, & Zúñiga, 2013; Zúniga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007). Because racial demographics are changing rapidly (Cohn & Caumont, 2016) and because previous research demonstrates that White people and people of color have unique and different experiences in racial dialogues (e.g., Sue, 2015), this paper will emphasize racial dialogues (as compared to dialogues about other social identities). There is, however, some selection bias that occurs in who opts to participate in these dialogues. People, generally, and White people in particular, are resistant to discussing race because these conversations violate social norms and are connected to strong, deeply personal, and often negative emotions (DiAngelo, 2018; Sue, 2015). Anxiety, fear, and guilt are three emotions specifically associated with race conversations and people's decision to avoid them (e.g., Bryan, Wilson, Lewis, & Willis, 2012; Sue, Torino, Capodilupo, Rivera, & Lin, 2009).

It is important, then, to address the negative emotions that White people experience around race dialogues in a way that then allows them the ability and willingness to engage in these important conversations. There is substantial research on anxiety reduction techniques (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 2001), so for the purposes of this study, I focus on anxiety reduction. In this study, I use an anxiety reduction intervention based on video modeling (Bandura, 1986; Stephan & Stephan, 2001), imagined contact (e.g., Crisp & Turner, 2009), and vicarious contact (e.g., Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright, 2011) to examine if this technique can reduce anxiety about having racial conversations as well as increase interest in future dialogue opportunities. I begin with an overview of the structure, model, goals, and research of IGD before exploring race

dialogues in particular. I also discuss the barriers to these types of conversations, and the research on modeling, vicarious, and imagined contact as anxiety reduction techniques. I then describe the experimental method utilized here, report results from this study, and discuss the implications of the findings.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Intergroup Dialogue

Theoretical Foundations

IGD is a form of pedagogy that brings together people with historical differences (e.g., people of color and White people) to dialogue with one another (Zúñiga et al., 2007). IGD provides students with opportunities to dialogue about their experiences, with the aims of: (1) building relationships across groups, (2) developing critical consciousness, and (3) building capacities to work toward social justice (Zúñiga et al., 2007). Freire (1970) defined *critical* as a reflective evaluation of sociopolitical cultural influences, while *consciousness* refers to the increased awareness of hierarchical social systems. *Social justice* here refers to the process and goal of "equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs" (Bell, 2013, p. 21).

IGD groups are rooted in critical multicultural education (Adams, 1997; McGee Banks, 2005), and draw on research about the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954/1986). Allport (1954/1986) suggested that contact with outgroup members can reduce prejudice when certain conditions are present: (1) individuals within the contact situation have equal status, (2) individuals all share common goals, (3) individuals must cooperate in order to achieve these goals, and (4) there is institutional support from an authority. In addition, friendship potential has been identified as a fifth condition (Pettigrew, 1998). Allport and Pettigrew both established these conditions for contact, and research has supported the idea that contact with outgroup members can reduce prejudice (Miller, Smith, & Mackie, 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). IGD was developed with these five conditions for contact in mind. Groups are formed with equal numbers of members representing the oppressed

and privileged identity groups in order to help balance status in the room (though this does not equalize societal power ascribed to members of the different identity groups). The group members and co-facilitators participate in activities with common goals, meeting both the needs for shared goals and cooperation. Often these activities also allow group members time to learn from each other and develop meaningful relationships, satisfying the condition of friendship potential. In most cases, IGD groups are part of a course, sanctioned by the college or university and offered for credit, providing authoritative support from the institution. Thus, the structure of these groups helps satisfy Allport's conditions for successful intergroup contact.

The Structure of IGD Groups

There are usually 8-12 group members in IGD groups, with approximately equal representation of individuals who identify as members of the oppressed and privileged identity groups (e.g., in a dialogue on race, approximately half of the group members identify as people of color and the other half as White people; Zúñiga, Nagda, & Sevig, 2002). Each group has two co-facilitators, with one identifying as a member of the oppressed group and one as a member of the privileged group. Groups meet together for approximately 7-12 weekly, semi-structured sessions. While each group focuses primarily on one social identity (e.g., race, sexual orientation, gender), facilitators also encourage group members to consider the intersections of their multiple identities and systems of privilege and oppression.

The structure of the group sessions helps achieve the three goals of IGD: (1) building relationships across diverse groups, (2) raising critical consciousness, and (3) building capacities to promote social justice (Zúñiga et al., 2007). In order to build relationships, IGD groups use a critical-dialogic method (Gurin et al., 2013) requiring group members to demonstrate respect for each other and different perspectives. A goal is to also develop empathy among group members,

as sessions allow opportunities for group members to share personal experiences and relate to the material, with particular emphasis on social identities. The second goal, consciousness-raising, comes from Freire's (1970) work, specifically his concept of critical consciousness. He believed that critical consciousness was essential for liberation of oppressed people. IGD participants develop critical consciousness by exploring their own identities, the process of their identity socialization, and how these identities fit within these hierarchical social systems (Hardiman & Jackson, 1992). As group members develop their relationships with others and develop an awareness of hierarchical social systems, this also allows them to achieve the third goal, where they begin to promote social justice (Zúñiga et al., 2007). Groups spend their last sessions dialoguing about "next steps" and how to use the knowledge, skills, and awareness developed in the class to continue social justice and advocacy work. It is through the four-stage model, the emphasis on dialogue as opposed to debate, and the critical lens group members' use that allows for the development of capacities for social justice work.

Critical-Dialogic Model

IGD in higher education typically follows a four-stage, critical-dialogic approach (Nagda & Gurin, 2013; Sorensen, Nagda, Gurin, & Maxwell, 2009). These groups are *critical* in that they involve a "conscientious effort to examine how individual and group life are meaningfully connected to group identity, and how those identities exist in structures of stratification that afford members of different groups privileges and disadvantages, resulting in continued group-based inequalities" (Sorensen et al., 2009, p. 14). Using this approach, facilitators encourage group members to meaningfully evaluate their social identities and the similarities and differences between their own experiences and those of others, and to examine how they fit within the greater social context and play a role in maintaining a status quo of inequity.

The groups are also *dialogic*, meaning that there is an emphasis on skills such as sharing, active listening, and asking questions (Nagda & Gurin, 2013). Group members are taught in early sessions the difference between dialogue and debate. These sessions emphasize the skills necessary to understand different perspectives, and participants are reminded that the goal is not to convince others that one's own perspective is "better" (Flick, 1998). Flick (1998) differentiates between dialogue and debate, where *dialogue* aims to develop an understanding of another's point of view through curiosity and openness and *debate* emphasizes persuasion, evaluation, and criticism. Different still is discussion, which includes multiple perspectives and opinions, but is not characterized by the same curiosity that allows for understanding and mutual exchange of ideas (Gurin et al., 2013). Sessions in the IGD allow group members to practice the dialogic skills they are learning, particularly when discussing controversial issues that relate to social identities (Nagda & Gurin, 2013). While debate can be destructive to relationships and often forces people to become more entrenched in their own feelings, dialogue helps strengthen relationships and requires openness to new ideas (Flick, 1998).

In addition to using a critical-dialogic model, IGD also follows a four-stage model, with the level of risk asked of group members increasing across each stage (Zúñiga et al., 2007). The first stage begins with forming relationships and developing group norms, which allows for the establishment of cohesion and a productive space in which to dialogue. The second stage emphasizes exploration of social identities and socialization (Zúñiga et al., 2007). Group members explore and share their own social identities while also examining similarities and differences in experiences among group members, including experiences with oppression and privilege. This stage fosters the development of a critical consciousness in preparation for the third stage where group members dialogue about "hot topics" (Zúñiga et al., 2007) relevant to

their social identity groups (e.g., police and race relations or miscegenation in an IGD focused on race). While this stage involves greater risk and emphasizes trust, the fourth stage allows group members to form alliances and to begin working toward action. The structure of these groups helps to achieve the overall goals of IGD while also creating other beneficial outcomes for group members.

Research

Substantial research on IGD demonstrates positive results for students who participate (see Dessel & Rogge, 2008 and Frantell, Miles, & Ruwe, 2019 for reviews), including greater empathy for diverse others (Muller & Miles, 2017), greater critical consciousness (Griffin, Brown, & Warren, 2012), positive relationships with diverse others (Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Gurin, Peng, Lopez, & Nagda, 1999), improved academic skills (Gurin et al., 2002), and ability to challenge stereotypes (Griffin et al., 2012). Participants also demonstrate increased awareness of racial and ethnic inequalities (Muller & Miles, 2017; Zúñiga et al., 2007), greater awareness of structural inequalities (Sorensen et al., 2009), and greater intergroup friendships (Griffin et al., 2012). While this research particularly emphasizes the benefits of IGD programs, general race dialogues have significant empirical support, too (Sue, 2013, 2015).

Race Dialogue

While IGD can focus on any social identity, there is considerable research about race dialogues in particular. Though some research has examined race dialogues in an IGD context, other research is about community-based dialogues or racial dialogues that have occurred spontaneously (e.g., in classrooms; in response to microaggressions). As with IGD, research demonstrates that interracial contact and racial dialogues have a variety of positive outcomes and benefits for participants (Ford, 2012; Gurin, et al., 2002; Jayakumar, 2008; Sue, 2003). Even so,

there are several barriers that can prevent people from participating in these types of conversations, including disruption of societal norms and emotional reactions like anxiety, fear, guilt, and shame.

Disruption of Societal Norms

Sue (2015) notes that despite the value and importance of racial dialogues, they still are considered taboo in common social discourse. Race dialogues interrupt several accepted social norms, especially the politeness protocol, academic protocol, and colorblindness (Sue, 2015). The politeness protocol dictates that difficult topics, like race, should be ignored, talked about minimally, or talked about superficially. Because of these norms, talking about race in most contexts is "taboo." Similarly, academic protocols prescribe that students should be rational instead of emotional, value empiricism instead of subjective experiences, and demonstrate detachment (hooks, 1994). Discussion of the experience of race and racism does not fit into these mandated norms because it is emotional, qualitative, and deeply personal. Students and instructors have been conditioned to avoid these topics, and when they arise organically or out of necessity, they are met with discomfort, defensiveness, or uncertainty and often dismissed quickly (DiAngelo, 2018; Sue, 2015; Sue et al., 2011).

One of the more established institutionalized norms in our society is a color-blind ideology (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Neville, Lily, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). According to Apfelbaum and colleagues (2008) *strategic color blindness* describes the relation White people have with race whereby they ignore its existence. It entails minimizing differences, avoiding discussions of race or interactions with people of color, and a presupposition that race does not exist. Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, and Bluemel (2013) describe colorblind ideology as involving both color- and power-evasion. *Color-evasion*

is the denial of differences in experiences based on race and attempting "to view each person as an individual" (i.e., "not seeing race" [Neville et al., 2013, p. 456]). *Power-evasion* is the denial of White privilege and racism. It becomes difficult, if not impossible, for White people to discuss racism when doing so means acknowledging that race, White privilege, and racism do exist.

Todd and Abrams (2011) conducted qualitative interviews with White undergraduate students to explore their experiences being White. In these interviews, they discovered six different dialectical themes: (1) Whiteness and Sense of Self, (2) Closeness and Connection in Multicultural Relationships, (3) Color Blind, (4) Minimization of Racism, (5) Structural Inequality, and (6) White Privilege. Each of these themes explains why White people might feel anxiety and discomfort discussing race, and similarly relates to different reasons that IGD is a successful intervention in confronting apprehension around race dialogues. For many, even the acknowledgment of White identity proved to be dialectical, a common theme among White people who cannot identify what Whiteness means (Helms, 1990), and reflective of White fragility (DiAngelo, 2018). White people used colorblind comments while also being more color conscious, and recognized the inequitable opportunities, despite commenting on the "even playing field" (Todd & Abrams, 2011; p. 377). Participants acknowledged their own White privilege, but also made comments perpetuating the "myth of meritocracy" (i.e., the belief that race and racism do not matter and that hard work alone contributes to one's success). These themes reflect the apprehension and anxiety that many White people have about engaging in race conversations. Many hold competing ideas about themselves (e.g., "I am not a racist, but I also sometimes recognize my own privilege," or "I want to feel like I was successful due to my own strengths, but this means that I must place blame on other people for their failures, and ignore the

systems of power") and engage in avoidance strategies to decrease the anxiety of processing these conflicting ideas.

Avoidance. Because race talk can disrupt social norms, White people might experience many fears and other significant emotions. This makes the race dialogues seem threatening (DiAngelo, 2018; Sue, 2013; Tatum, 1992), and relates to other difficult emotions. For example, White people may experience embarrassment, hurt, helplessness, anger, defensiveness, anxiety, invalidation, guilt, and shame in response to race dialogues or even the prospect of these dialogues (Utsey, Gernat, & Hammer, 2005; Willow, 2008). Such difficult emotions often prompt White people to then engage in avoidance behaviors in an attempt to not experience these emotions (Bryan et al., 2012; Kiselica, 1999; Sue, 2015). These avoiding techniques may even include physical avoidance which might manifest as nervousness, putting physical distance between self and others, avoidant eye contact, and fidgety movements (Trawalter & Richeson, 2008). It is also not uncommon for race conversations to be met with silence (Sue et al., 2009). In some cases, these dialogues even result in an avoidance of or denial of one's own Whiteness (Todd & Abrams, 2011), or minimization of racial tensions (Utsey et al., 2005).

Emotional Responses to Race Conversations

While there are many cognitive or behavioral responses to racial dialogues, including avoidance, there are also many emotional responses to racism generally (e.g., Katz, 1978) and race dialogues in particular (e.g., Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Sue, 2015). Perhaps because engaging in racial dialogues creates cognitive dissonance and increases the salience of White fragility, the prospect of these dialogues creates discomfort. White people may also experience a variety of other difficult emotions including self-conscious emotions, like anxiety and fear

(Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Sue, 2015), as well as guilt and shame (Spanierman et al., 2007; Sue, 2015).

Anxiety and fear. As described above, conversations about race inherently violate societal norms, which can lead to significant emotional impacts on White people (Sue, 2013, 2015). Anxiety is one of the more common reactions to these conversations, sometimes before they even occur (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Sue et al., 2009; Sue, Rivera, Capodilupo, Lin, & Torino, 2010; Sue et al., 2011; Tatum, 1992; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Utsey et al., 2005). This anxiety is exhibited in several settings, but has been studied most often in classrooms (e.g., Sue et al., 2009, 2010; Tatum, 1992) and therapy rooms (e.g., Helms & Cook, 1999).

Much of the research regarding race conversations is centered on the experiences of students or faculty in classroom settings (e.g., Sue et al., 2009, 2010; Tatum, 1992). For example, Sue and colleagues (2010) interviewed 14 White, graduate-level counseling trainees about their experiences with race conversations. More than half of the participants described feeling anxious and even intimidated by conversations about race that occurred in a classroom setting. While previous negative experiences communicating about race made some of the interviewees approach the conversations with apprehension, those interviewees with fewer experiences with race conversations had greater anxiety, fear, and discomfort. Some participants even experienced physiological anxiety responses, including a pounding heart.

Trainees had similar anxious responses to race conversations in other contexts, too. Utsey and colleagues (2005) conducted focus groups with counseling trainees, asking about their experiences discussing race in the context of therapy or therapy supervision. One major theme identified in this qualitative study was a discomfort with racial issues. Participants in this study displayed several anxiety cues, including physiological, emotional, and behavioral responses.

For example, subjects even had more speech difficulties about the topics, with more stuttering, longer pauses, and avoidance of the words "race" or "racism." When racial issues were discussed in the focus groups, interviewees also engaged in more silence.

This experience of anxiety is not exclusive to graduate students or counseling trainees, though. Undergraduate students and faculty describe similar anxious feelings regarding conversations about race. Tatum (1992) discussed journal entries submitted by students in her Psychology of Racism course and noted that, while students enroll willingly in the elective, their writing and in-class behaviors demonstrated anxiety about the prospect of these race conversations. In another study exploring how White faculty handle race talk in the classroom, faculty indicated that they often saw students express anxiety in anticipation of these conversations (Sue et al., 2009). Not only did they witness their students exhibiting signs of anxiety, but the instructors themselves were also anxious about facilitating the conversations. Some noted that they feared they would lose control of the classroom and be unable to facilitate in a productive manner. This anxiety may have also come from a fear that the classroom would become too emotionally charged. These fears are an excellent illustration of the violation of academic protocol described above. The classroom is supposed to be an objective, emotionless environment with rational thinking (hooks, 1994; Sue, 2015), and engaging in conversations about race in the classroom will directly violate these norms. Faculty also expressed anxiety about being seen as incompetent or biased (Sue et al., 2009). These instructors may have been lacking in *multicultural efficacy*, the confidence in one's own ability to be effective in multicultural settings (Guyton & Wesche, 2005).

General anxiety is not the only emotion expressed by White people regarding race conversations, though. In some cases, this anxiety may arise out of a more specific fear,

especially fears about how one will be perceived. In fact, there are several fears that are endorsed by White people regarding race conversations, particularly: (a) fear of appearing racist, (b) fear of realizing one's own racism, (c) fear of confronting personal White privilege, and (d) fear of taking personal responsibility for racism.

Fear of appearing racist. Sue and colleagues (2010) conducted a qualitative study that investigated the perceptions White counseling psychology graduate students had of facilitating race dialogues. They found that fear was prevalent among the trainees, especially fears of appearing racist. Several trainees commented that if they engaged in a race dialogue they may end up exposing their biases. In some cases, this fear was related to a fear of being misunderstood or not being able to share honestly without being labeled racist. This fear often causes White people to engage in avoidant or self-censoring behaviors, however these behaviors might actually have an effect that contradicts the intended outcome (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005): those who avoid race conversations can actually be perceived as more racist (Richeson & Shelton, 2003).

Fear of realizing internal racism. Not only do White people fear appearing racist to others, they also seem to fear learning more about their own racism. Despite research that indicates that most people have internalized prejudice (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002), most White people continue to avoid this topic and are resistant to admitting this bias exists (DiAngelo, 2018). Admitting racism means also acknowledging personal responsibility (Sue, 2015), therefore White people actively attempt to avoid the cognitive dissonance that would occur with accepting both these truths. Fear arises at the thought of having to confront these and other realities.

Fear of acknowledging privilege. To acknowledge one's own racism may also require the acknowledgement of one's own privilege. *White privilege* refers to the unearned opportunities and benefits afforded to White people purely as a result of their race and color (McIntosh, 2000). To acknowledge that White privilege exists necessarily means also acknowledging that White supremacy exists (Sue, 2015). This acknowledgement disrupts societal norms. Color-blind racial ideologies and other forms of racism have long relied on the myth of meritocracy, which emphasizes individual efforts while ignoring systems of privilege (Neville et al., 2013). Acknowledgement of White privilege is also associated with negative feelings, particularly guilt and shame (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Spanierman et al., 2007). Ancis and Syzmanski (2001) found that even though White people may be aware of their own privilege that does not necessarily mean that they are willing to relinquish some of their power or take steps to change the power hierarchy. Though they may not want to take steps toward affecting change, White people can feel accountable for the systems of oppression and privilege and thus the pressure to make a difference.

Fear of responsibility for racism. Finally, White people also display a fear of taking personal responsibility for racism (Ford, 2012; Sue, 2015). Kernahan and Davis (2007) found that as White students learned about prejudice and racism, they were more likely to believe that change was necessary. However, they also found that these same students did not necessarily make a change or take action against racism. Kawakami, Dunn, Karmali, & Dovidio (2009) similarly found that despite expecting to feel emotionally distressed about witnessing a racial slur, many White people do not feel emotionally distressed in this situation. White people expected themselves to also have a strong negative response to the person committing the racial slur, but when presented with this situation, did not actually respond with rejection. This seems

to indicate that while White people recognize that a change *should* occur, they do not necessarily make the change themselves. It is more difficult to take personal responsibility for ending or changing racism. Perhaps because they do not take action themselves, White people experience guilt in relation to racial conversations.

Guilt. Guilt is a self-conscious emotion with three defining features: (1) a self-focus, (2) responsibility for immoral action, and (3) unpleasant or uncomfortable feelings (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Iyer, Leach, & Pedersen, 2004). Guilt begins with attention focused inward, on a wrongdoing committed by oneself or the harm caused by oneself (Ortony, Clore, & Collins, 1988). Instead of focusing on who has been wronged, guilt focuses on ones' role in this wrongdoing (Roseman, Spindel, & Jose, 1990). Guilt requires ownership of this wrongdoing, usually in the form of feeling responsible for an immoral act (Roseman et al., 1990; Roseman, Weist, & Swartz, 1994). When a person thinks that they have done something wrong, they experience guilt (Tangney & Fischer, 1995). Finally, guilt arises with a feeling of discomfort about the personal responsibility of doing something wrong (Baumesiter, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994). This can be associated with a desire to apologize, make amends, or participate in some form of reparations (Baumesiter et al., 1994; Roseman et al., 1994). Guilt also produces cognitive dissonance, as people want to believe they are good people but also must take responsibility for committing an immoral act (Tangney & Fischer, 1995). This results in dysphoria and discomfort.

White guilt. While guilt is typically described as a feeling about personal immoral action taken against another person, more recent research has explored how groups of people can feel responsible for immoral actions taken by ingroup members toward an outgroup member. Individuals can experience group-based emotions, where an emotion is experienced due to one's

own identity ingroup (Smith, 1993). For example, White people may experience group-based guilt considering the responsibility of their ingroup for the harm committed against people of color (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998). In the case of these group-based emotions, there is still an emphasis on an immoral or wrongful act committed and the resulting discomfort. Instead of a general focus on the self, there is a focus on the self's ingroup (Iyer et al., 2003). Steele (1990) and Tatum (1992) both argued that White guilt is an anxiety experienced by Whites who recognize their unearned advantages (White privilege). In addition, this guilt may arise from societal norms that perpetuate racism (Helms, 1990; Swim & Miller, 1999). There are several consequences of this guilt, including pro-minority attitudes (LaFleur, Rowe, & Leach, 2002) and seeking redemption (Steele, 1990; Swim & Miller, 1999).

Swim and Miller (1999) conducted a series of studies looking at White guilt, prejudice measures, and how people evaluated other White people. In a study of undergraduates, they found that women experienced marginally more White guilt than men. They also found a series of relations between White guilt and other measures. For example, higher levels of White guilt were associated with lower perceptions of other White people. This may be because White people believe that, while racism exists, it is due to *other* White people and not necessarily themselves (Allport, 1954/1986). Participants who had a greater understanding of and recognition of White privilege also tended to have higher White guilt. This seems to indicate that in order to experience White guilt, a person must recognize the unearned advantages that they have – unearned advantages that often hurt people of color. Additionally, lower levels of prejudice were related to higher levels of White guilt. People who experienced this guilt and internalized responsibility for wrongdoing may have attempted to correct for the wrongdoing by decreasing their own prejudicial bias. White guilt mediated the relation between White privilege

and attitudes toward affirmative action, supporting the idea that people who recognize White privilege will then feel guilt *and* will want to engage in reparation behaviors.

Spanierman and Heppner (2004) refer to White guilt as one of several *psychosocial costs of racism*, or negative ways White individuals are impacted by racism. In their initial validation of a scale examining these psychosocial costs (Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites; PCRW) they identified three factors: White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism, White Guilt, and White Fear of People of Other Races. Particularly relevant to this study, they found that several items accounted for a factor they labeled "White Guilt." This factor reflected items that demonstrated guilt and shame about one's own Whiteness. Those participants who scored higher on this factor also scored high in recognizing institutionalized racism. Though these participants also scored higher on items about unearned advantages and "pro-minority attitudes" (p. 259), there was no relation between White Guilt and ethnocultural empathy. Consistent with previous research, this shows that White people who recognize their privilege tend to experience more guilt (Steele, 1990; Tatum, 1992), are interested in seeing more equality (Swim & Miller, 1999), but are not necessarily able to understand the true experiences of the outgroup and do not necessarily want to make changes themselves.

Expanding on this work, Spanierman, Poteat, Beer, and Armstrong (2006) used a cluster analysis to explore how White people experience the different psychosocial costs of racism simultaneously. Using an undergraduate sample, they found five distinct cluster patterns: (1) Unempathic and unaware, (2) Empathic but unaccountable, (3) Informed empathy and guilt, (4) Fearful guilt, and (5) Insensitive and afraid. Participants not only took the PCRW, but also took other measures of racial awareness (Color-Blindness Racial Attitudes Scale; CoBRAS, Neville et al., 2010) and cultural sensitivity (Quick Discrimination Index; QDI; Ponterotto et al., 1995).

Not only were there unique patterns of PCRW clusters, but some of these clusters exhibited unique scoring patterns on the other measures. For example, participants who were in the "informed empathy and guilt" cluster had high White Empathic Reactions and White Guilt, with low levels of White Fear of Others, as well as higher levels of racial awareness and cultural sensitivity. This indicates that a greater awareness of institutional racism was related to greater levels of White Guilt. These participants also reported higher levels of previous multicultural education. Interestingly, those participants in the "fearful guilt" category demonstrated similar White Guilt scores, but they also had high White Fear and moderate White Empathic Reactions. The authors speculated that the antecedent for guilt might be different for both these groups, such that those in the "informed empathy and guilt" cluster were feeling guilty due to their awareness of privilege and institutionalized racism, while the guilt experienced in the "fearful guilt" cluster may not be associated with the same levels of responsibility. The unique experience of group-based guilt certainly affects the experience of White people in racial conversations.

White guilt in race dialogues. White people typically report experiencing guilt when they engage in race conversations, but they also report that they "are made to feel guilty" (Sue, 2003). Sue (2015) questions where this guilt comes from, noting that guilt typically occurs due to a moral transgression. If this is the case, what transgression do White people feel they have committed that causes their guilt? Sue speculates that White guilt arises when one acknowledges that in order to be a good and moral person one must not be prejudicial or discriminatory. Guilt, as opposed to shame, can be an adaptive emotion, and in this case, White guilt can trigger introspection and increased awareness. In some ways, the presence of guilt helps to reduce cognitive dissonance: I feel as though I have been prejudiced, it is uncomfortable, and so therefore I feel guilty about it (and want to make a change; Festinger, 1962). Guilt often causes

people to want to engage in reparative action (Baumesiter et al., 1994; Roseman et al., 1994), and dialoguing about race could be an appropriate reparative action for some. While this guilt does work to encourage some White people to take ownership for their role in racism and systems of oppression, it can also have the opposite effect, causing White people to ignore not only these systems but also their own behavior (Sue, 2015). Spanierman and colleagues (2009) referred to this type of guilt as *fearful guilt*, and concluded that White people who experience this type of guilt also demonstrate high fear of interracial interactions. This can also inhibit the ability for White people to experience empathy for others, a key component of successful interracial dialogues (Stephan & Stephan, 2001).

Shame. While shame and guilt are both self-conscious emotions and are often conflated (Grzanka, Frantell, & Fassinger, in press), they are distinct emotions (Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996) with different cognitions and foci (Harvey & Oswald, 2000) and different antecedents and consequences (Iyer et al., 2003). Shame is uniquely focused on the experience of the self as both the agent and object of disapproval (Lewis, 1971). While originally thought to be a very public emotion (e.g., concern about others' perception of self; Ausubel, 1955), this has been largely disproven (Tangney et al., 1996). Shame is experienced as an unpleasant, negative self-evaluation, and is often coupled with self-doubt (Kubany & Watson, 2003; Tangney et al., 1996).

Tangney (1993) conducted an experiment to try and parcel out some of the differences in phenomenological experiences of guilt versus shame. They asked undergraduate college students to write about personal experiences of shame, guilt, pride, and depression. These participants then rated the situation on several different dimensions including emotional reactions, responsibility, desire, and more. They found that shame experiences were rated as

much more painful than guilt, and participants had a difficult time describing these experiences. Loss of control was also associated with shame more than with guilt. The experience of shame also had more of an interpersonal component, with participants feeling concern for how others would perceive them. While one might experience both emotions simultaneously or transition between the two, guilt typically reflects "I did something wrong", whereas shame emphasizes "There is something wrong with *me*."

The antecedents of guilt and shame can at times be similar, particularly when they arise from moral transgressions (Tangney et al., 1996), however antecedents of shame can also be from non-moral situations, such as inferiority or failure (Ferguson & Stegge, 1995; Tangney et al., 1996). While guilt emphasizes remorse about a specific action (Baumeister et al., 1994), shame focuses on the negativity of self (blame) in relation to bad behavior (Tangney et al., 1996). Reactions and responses to the two emotions tend to differ, too. Often people respond to guilt with a desire to engage in corrective behaviors, while people might be defensive in response to shame (Tangney et al., 1996) or they may want to hide (Lewis, 1971). Guilt tends to be an adaptive response, yet there is no empirical support that shame is adaptive (Benetti-McQuoid & Bursik, 2005; Niedenthal, Tangney, & Gavanski, 1994). Shame, then, is associated with poorer mental health (Benetti-McQuoid & Bursik, 2005). This broad understanding of shame may help us to better understand if and how it might be experienced as a group-based emotion.

White shame. Though Steele (1990) wrote about what he called White guilt, critics have pointed out that they may have instead been describing White shame (Harvey & Oswald, 2000). Grzanka and colleagues (in press) wrote about the necessity of parsing White guilt from White shame and recognizing the unique differences between the two emotions. They note that White shame is "a more painful form of negative, self-conscious affect than White guilt" (p. 12). While

I was unable to find any conclusive, empirical research exploring the ways that White shame, as differentiated from White guilt, influences or is experienced by White people, Grzanka and colleagues (in press) did develop a measurement examining this distinction. Though significantly correlated with White guilt, they found that White shame was a distinct construct. Importantly, they found a weaker, negative correlation between White shame and racism compared to the relation between White guilt and racism. Not only does this indicate that prejudicial attitudes may be differentially experienced depending on White racial affect, but also that interventions may target White guilt and shame differently. Given the limited empirical research on White shame, it is unsurprising that I was unable to find empirical support exploring how White shame is related to race dialogues.

While there is no empirical support demonstrating how White people may experience White shame with regards to racial conversations, there is a large body of literature describing other negative emotions White people experience in relation to conversations about race (e.g., Ancis & Szymanski, 2001; Doosje, et al., 1998; Ford, 2012; Helms & Cook, 1999; Katz, 1978; Smith, 1993; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Spanierman et al., 2006, 2007; Steele, 1990; Sue, 2015; Sue et al., 2009, 2010, 2011; Swim & Miller, 1999; Tatum, 1992; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Utsey et al., 2005). Though each of these negative emotions (including anxiety, fear, guilt, and shame) may be a barrier to engaging in racial conversations or may precede avoidance of these conversations (e.g., Todd & Abrams, 2011; Trawalater & Richeson, 2008; Utsey et al., 2005), this study specifically targeted strategies for minimizing anxiety and fear as a barrier.

Anxiety and Prejudice Reduction

Perhaps because they are experiencing so many negative emotions, White people frequently express anxiety about engaging in communication about race (Gudykunst, 1995).

Several different factors might contribute to this anxiety, so several approaches have been used to help reduce this type of anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 2001) including increased contact, modeling (Stephan & Stephan, 2001), and vicarious or imagined contact (Dovidio, Eller, & Hewstone, 2011).

The unpredictability of race conversations leaves many people feeling uncertain about how they should behave and anxious about what to expect, especially because people have a more difficult time predicting the behaviors and thoughts of outgroup members. This can make it particularly difficult to have interracial dialogues (Gudykunst, 1995). Participating in interracial conversations does seem to reduce this anxiety, though. In fact, anxiety decreases after positive contact with outgroup members, interdependence with these individuals, and when one can establish similarities between themselves and outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 2001). People with greater empathy for the other group also demonstrate decreased anxiety about this contact. Fortunately racial dialogues generally, and IGD in particular, aim to achieve all of these positive benefits (Zúñiga et al., 2007). However, people must overcome their anxiety about having these dialogues in order to get to the group and achieve these benefits. Therefore, this study focuses on this particular issue: if we can reduce fears of having these types of dialogues, perhaps people will be more interested in participating in the groups. There are several strategies for reducing anxiety in general, however, a few specific strategies have been used to reduce anxiety about interracial contact in particular.

Modeling

Much of the previous research about anxiety reduction for conversations about race have focused on how anxiety decreases *after* the interracial interaction (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 2001), however there is less research exploring how to reduce the anxiety preventing individuals

from participating in these conversations in the first place. Research in other areas, especially the medical field, has focused on the use of video modeling to help reduce anxiety prior to an anticipated event. For example, Melamed, Yurcheson, Fleece, Hutcherson, and Hawes (1978) used a 2x2 factorial design to examine how videos affected fear in children and adolescents who were preparing to undergo multiple dental sessions. Children in this study viewed a video that showed either peer modeling or a demonstration of the procedures they would be undergoing, and the amount of information was also manipulated. They found that children who viewed the peer modeling, as opposed to a demonstration without a peer, were less apprehensive during their own procedure and demonstrated less fear. Similarly, Gagliano (1998) reviewed 25 different studies that used videos as a method for patient education. They found that videos that included modeling significantly decreased the anxiety and general sympathetic arousal.

The idea that modeling can shape behavior, or that people learn from observing another's behavior, is not a new concept to psychology. Bandura (1986) wrote extensively on *social learning theory*, which posits that people learn from one another through observation, imitation, and modeling. Many programs that aim to improve intergroup relations use the same principal of modeling and have shown success (Stephan & Stephan, 2001). This modeling is similar to other forms of indirect contact, like vicarious contact and imagined contact, which can help reduce anxiety (Dovidio et al., 2011).

Vicarious Contact

Vicarious contact is also based on social learning theory (Bandura, 1986). *Vicarious contact* refers to witnessing another ingroup member interacting with an outgroup member (Dovidio et al., 2011). Various scholars have found that this type of indirect contact can have an effect on the perception of outgroup members. For example, Schiappa, Gregg, and Hewes

(2005) studied the effects of what they called the "Parasocial Contact Hypothesis (PCH)," which proposes that exposure to social interactions in the media can have beneficial effects for viewers. They exposed participants to various video clips featuring gay men and a transgender comedian, and found that viewing these videos did in fact reduce prejudice in participants. This study suggests that viewing outgroup members in prosocial interactions in the media can change attitudes.

Mazziotta and colleagues (2011) extended this research by exploring how these video interactions and vicarious contact can relate to contact with outgroup members. Participants either observed "successful interactions" (p. 259) between ingroup and outgroup members or a successful interaction between two ingroup members. Participants in the experimental condition had significantly higher positive intergroup affect, were more willing to engage in future contact with an outgroup member, had greater self-efficacy, and were less uncertain about the experience of intergroup contact. Additionally, they found that decreased uncertainty and increased self-efficacy both mediated the relation between vicarious contact and favorable attitudes towards future intergroup contact. Not only did the vicarious contact reduce the anxiety participants experienced, but they were then more willing to participate in similar contact with an outgroup member. Though this form of indirect contact has proven successful for changing attitudes, it may not be the most generalizable and applicable (because it requires opportunities for observation). Other forms of indirect contact that rely less on peer modeling or mentorship might be more useful in applied settings.

Imagined Contact

While vicarious contact involves the observation of other ingroup members interacting with outgroup members, *imagined contact* involves the "mental simulation of a social interaction

with a member or members of an outgroup category" (Crisp & Turner, 2009, p. 234). There is support indicating that imagined contact can reduce bias (Turner, Crisp, & Lambert, 2007), eliminate stereotype threat (Abrams et al., 2008), and produce positive perceptions of outgroup members (Husnu & Crisp, 2010; Stathi & Crisp, 2008). In order for imagined contact to have beneficial outcomes, a person must engage in mental simulation (Crisp & Turner, 2009) and the imagined interaction must be positive.

Similar to vicarious contact, Turner and colleagues (2007) explored whether indirect contact would decrease prejudicial attitudes and increase interest in intergroup contact. To see if imagined contact would help decrease the stereotypes and negative perceptions that young people have about the elderly, they asked undergraduate students to either imagine an interaction with an elderly person or to engage in a control visualization of an outdoor scene. They found that young participants who imagined an interaction with an elderly person had lower levels of intergroup bias than the control condition. They reached a similar conclusion when they had heterosexual men imagine interacting with a gay man: those who were in the experimental condition later had more positive perceptions of gay men. They also found that anxiety reduction mediated the relation between imagined contact and the perceptions of outgroup members, indicating that these indirect contact methods may be effective because they reduce anxiety.

Allport (1954/1986) established long ago that contact with outgroup members can effectively change attitudes and reduce prejudice, however, many people experience anxiety and apprehension at the mere anticipation of interracial contact (Sue, 2015). This creates a bit of a catch-22, whereby a person's anxiety about interracial contact is more likely to be reduced if they have contact with an outgroup member in the first place. To help provide a solution to this

conundrum, scholars have investigated the effects of indirect contact, and found that these methods can also produce decreases in anxiety and prejudicial thinking (Crisp & Turner, 2009; Dovidio et al., 2011; Husnu & Crisp; Mazziotta et al., 2011; Schiappa et al., 2005; Stathi & Crisp, 2008; Stephan & Stephan, 2001; Turner et al., 2007). For these reasons, indirect contact may be an excellent resource to help reduce anxiety just enough to allow people to feel more comfortable engaging in the more fruitful anxiety reduction technique: actual interracial contact.

Current Study

The U.S. is becoming an increasingly diverse country (Cohn & Caumont, 2016), and college students are expected to enter the job market with skills for navigating multicultural relationships (Banks, 2002). The college setting often provides a unique microcosm of the diversity experienced in the greater community, however research suggests that structural diversity will not solely provide the benefits of this diversity (Gurin et al., 2002). Therefore, many college campuses offer opportunities for prolonged, structured interactions with diverse others through the inclusion of IGD programs (Gurin et al., 2013; Zúñiga et al., 2007). These programs seek to engage students in a *dialogue* as opposed to a *debate*, and emphasize listening, understanding, and meaning making (Flick, 1998). Dialogue emphasizes "multiple, valid perspectives on any given matter," (Flick, 1998, p. 19). In our diverse communities and college settings, recognizing and validating various perspectives is a valuable skillset. Not surprisingly, then, these IGD programs typically produce a variety of positive results, including increased critical consciousness (Griffin et al., 2012), positive relationships with people of other social identities (Gurin et al., 1999, 2004) the ability to challenge stereotypes (Griffin et al., 2012), critical consideration of inequalities (Muller & Miles, 2017; Zúñiga et al., 2007), and empathic perspective-taking (Muller & Miles, 2017).

Despite these benefits, one severe limitation of many IGD programs is that self-selection bias dictates who will participate. For example, in our own university, students can usually only participate in IGD programming through enrollment in an undergraduate Multicultural Psychology course. Though many IGD programs offer a variety of dialogue topics (e.g., race, sexual orientation, gender, social class), I will specifically be focusing on race dialogues in this study in order to create specific, targeted interventions. Conversations about race, and people's discomfort with them, are widely researched (e.g., Ford, 2012; Gurin et al., 2002; Jayakumar, 2008; Sue 2003, 2015; Utsey et al., 2005; Willow, 2008), providing ample support for the types of interventions needed. Many White people seem to have a difficult time with race conversations, likely because these conversations disrupt social norms (hooks, 1994; Sue, 2015). This violation of social norms causes discomfort and a variety of negative emotions, including anxiety (Helms & Cook, 1999; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Sue, 2013, 2015; Sue et al., 2009, 2010, 2011; Tatum, 1992; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Utsey et al., 2005), fear, (Ford, 2012; Kawakami et al., 2009; Kernahan & Davis, 2007; Sue, 2015; Sue et al., 2010), guilt (Spanierman et al., 2009; Sue, 2003, 2015), and shame. Because there are so many negative emotions associated with race conversations, White people attempt to avoid them (Bryan et al., 2012; Kiselica, 1999; Sue, 2015; Sue et al., 2009; Todd & Abrams, 2011; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008).

As anxiety is one of the barriers to participation in interracial contact, I aimed to test the efficacy of an intervention designed to target this anxiety. Mazziotta and colleagues (2011) found that when people viewed peers engaging in positive intergroup contact, they were more likely to express willingness to participate in this type of contact in the future, and this relation was mediated by a decrease in uncertainty and increase in self-efficacy. Therefore, following

this research on vicarious (Dovidio et al., 2011; Mazziotta et al., 2011; Schiappa et al., 2005) and imagined contact (Crisp & Turner, 2009; Husnu & Crisp, 2010; Stathi & Crisp, 2008; Turner et al., 2007), as well as modeling (Bandura, 1986; Gagliano, 1998; Melamed et al., 1978), I used a video intervention of peers demonstrating the dialogue process in order to reduce anxiety about intergroup contact and to increase willingness to participate in these dialogues.

This study used two separate data collection time periods that were later combined (with participant consent). In the first phase, participants were asked to complete two measures of White guilt (i.e., Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites [PCRW, Spanierman & Heppner, 2004]; White Racial Affect Scale [WRAS, Grzanka et al., in press]) online. In the second phase, participants came in-person to a laboratory, were told they would participate in a mixed-race group discussion about race and racism, and completed measures of anxiety, White guilt, emotions, and interest in and anxiety about interracial conversations (this occurred after viewing the video in the experimental condition).

Research indicates that people who witness peers engaging in a typically anxiety-provoking activity with success have reduced anxiety (Gagliano, 1998; Melamed et al., 1978). Similarly, witnessing successful intergroup contact can reduce anxiety about future intergroup contact (Mazziotta et al., 2011). Therefore, I predicted:

1) Participants in the experimental condition would have less interracial conversation anxiety compared to the participants in the control condition.

Similarly, because White people experience anxiety when thinking about having conversations about race that arises from uncertainty and unpredictability, I expected:

2) Participants who were in the experimental condition would have less state anxiety when compared to the participants in the control condition.

Research also suggests that individuals who witness positive, successful intergroup contact are more interested in engaging in intergroup contact themselves and have greater self-efficacy for their ability to do so (Mazziotta et al., 2011). Therefore, I predicted:

3a) Participants in the experimental condition would have greater interest in interracial conversations than participants in the control condition, and

3b) Participants in the experimental condition would have greater self-efficacy regarding interracial conversations than participants in the control condition.

There seems to be a strong relation between indirect contact and anxiety reduction, self-efficacy, and interest in future intergroup contact (Mazziotta et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2007). One study found the relation between imagined contact and interest in intergroup contact was mediated by a reduction in anxiety (Turner et al., 2007). Another study found that the relation between vicarious contact and interest in intergroup contact was mediated by both a decrease in anxiety and an increase in self-efficacy (Mazziotta et al., 2011). For these reasons, I predicted:

4a) There would be an indirect relation between condition and interest in interracial conversation through state anxiety,

4b) There would be an indirect relation between condition and interest in interracial conversation through interracial conversation anxiety, and

4c) There would be an indirect relation between video condition and interest in interracial conversation through interracial conversation self-efficacy.

When people experience guilt, they often associate this with a sense of personal responsibility (Roseman et al., 1990, 1994), which results in a need to apologize, make amends, or engage in reparations (Baumeister et al., 1994; Roseman et al., 1994). Therefore:

5) While the WRAS (Grzanka et al., in press) and PCRW (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004) were not expected to change, I did expect that White guilt would moderate the relation between condition and interest in dialogue, such that people who score higher in White guilt would have greater interest in interracial conversation than those with lower guilt, regardless of the condition they are in.

Statement of Reflexivity

While a statement of reflexivity (i.e., a researcher's personal reflections on the way in which personal experience, values, and worldviews can impact the research process; Morrow, 2005) is typically reserved for qualitative research, and not experimental research, I would be remiss in not addressing how my own lived experiences impact me as a researcher and this study overall. My personal experiences have shaped my worldview, my worldview dictates my biases, and my biases lead me to understand particular phenomena as phenomena worthy of study. It is not only my personal factors that influence my understanding, though, but the power associated with these personal characteristics (e.g., Foucault, 1980). My understanding of race is the culmination of all my lived experiences and interactions over time, which influences my interest in racial dialogues as a pedagogical tool for multicultural education. Who I am as a person has certainly influenced my interest in this dissertation topic and the method for intervention used here.

As a White woman, I recognize that I have power to examine race relations in a way that is different from scholars of color. I recognize racism as a problem created by and for the benefit of White people, and accept responsibility to use my privilege to challenge racism broadly and to challenge other White people to engage in anti-racism specifically. I also believe that developing a race consciousness is a life-long process that requires continual self-reflection and

openness to learning. I am not free from bias and I continue to make mistakes. Born a U.S. citizen, I have been socialized with messages about my own race and races that are different from my own and have been taught that to discuss race is impolite or prejudiced (DiAngelo, 2018). I did, in fact, spend much of my life thinking that I should not acknowledge race or that I should engage in color-blindness (Apfelbaum et al., 2008; Neville et al., 2000; Plaut et al., 2009). At times, my racial worldview has been challenged, and I have experienced negative emotions in response to this challenge – a true mark of the White fragility that is a common aspect of our racial socialization (DiAngelo, 2018). Moreover, these socialization strategies employed widely within the U.S. serve to indoctrinate both White people and people of color into a system of White supremacy by specifically encouraging White dominance while also acculturating people of color to the institution of racism. Within this acculturation process, people of color often learn to avoid discussions of race and racism with White people in order to avoid the inevitable White fragility that results (Liu et al., 2019).

I have attempted to be proactive in considering the ways in which this socialization has impacted me, and more importantly how it influences my interactions with other people. I have facilitated an IGD about race before and have created and taught a Research Methods course that emphasized research related to racism. As part of this course, I facilitated weekly discussions with students, encouraging them to explore their own identities and their understandings of privilege and oppression within research. During these discussions, I spent considerable time reflecting on the ways in which my racial privileges were impacting my understanding of the world, my interactions with others, and the discussions themselves. On the other hand, I have also facilitated a dialogue on gender and sexism in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM), where I saw how the oppression I have experienced as a woman

influenced my interactions in this discussion. These facilitation experiences have not always been easy or even comfortable, but they have significantly impacted my personal identity development and my worldviews. Because of my own experiences, I believe that intergroup contact, particularly contact that emphasizes discussions of systems of power, can have a profound impact on personal identity development, prejudicial attitudes, and intergroup relations. However, I also have observed the ways in which people become defensive, anxious, or uncomfortable, shying away from opportunities to have these discussions, perhaps out of fear or in order to maintain their own power (DiAngelo, 2018). This study evolved from a desire to demonstrate to White people that not only *can* they engage in these dialogues, but that it is also necessary to change the current socialization and maintenance of White supremacy (Liu et al., 2019).

CHAPTER III: METHODS

Participants

Participants were recruited from the undergraduate research pool in the Department of Psychology at a large, public university in the Southeastern U.S. Students in this pool are enrolled in sections of General Psychology or Honors General Psychology, and receive course credit for participating in research throughout the semester. Because research indicates that reasons for avoiding conversations about race are different for Whites and people of color (e.g., Sue, 2015), interventions to target this avoidance must be different for the two groups. For this reason, I chose to focus on only White people in this study, though future studies may expand on this by using altered interventions for people of color. Therefore, for this study, only self-identified White subjects were eligible to participate and included in the data analyses.

Measures

State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI; Marteau & Bekker, 1992)

The STAI is a brief, six-item, self-report assessment of state anxiety. This six-item short form of the STAI demonstrates convergent validity with both the 20- and 14-item versions of the STAI. Sample items include, "I feel calm," and "I am worried," and are rated using a 4-point Likert-type system ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 4 (*very much*). Scores from items are summed (totals range from 6 to 24), with lower scores representing lower anxiety and higher scores indicating greater anxiety. In an initial study of the reliability and validity of this scale, Marteau & Bekker (1992) found a reliability coefficient alpha of .82. In this study we also found a reliability coefficient alpha of .82.

Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004)

The PCRW is a 16-item scale that assesses the costs of racism for White people by assessing three factors: White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism, White Guilt, and White Fear of Others. Questions are answered on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 5 (*strongly agree).* The White Empathic Reactions subscale demonstrates respondents' "anger, sadness, or other emotions in response to racism" (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004, p. 255), and includes items like, "I am angry that racism exists," and "I feel helpless about not being able to eliminate racism." Higher scores on this subscale are related to greater racial awareness and ethnocultural empathy. The White Guilt subscale measures both "guilt and shame regarding [respondents'] own Whiteness" (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004, p. 259) and includes items like, "Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism," and "I am afraid that I abuse my power and privilege as a White person." The subscale for White Fear of Others is a measure of "White individuals' fear and distrust of people of other races" (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004, p. 260). Sample items from this subscale include "I often find myself fearful of people of other races," and "I have very few friends of other races." Total scores are summed, with higher scores indicating greater White guilt, White empathy, and White fear. In the initial validation of this scale, Spanierman and Heppner found high internal consistency for each of the three subscales (α = .85, .81, and .78 respectively). Convergent validity was established by comparing respondents' scores on the PCRW to scores on the CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000). For data analysis in this study, I only examined the White Guilt subscale. Our internal consistency was slightly lower than previous findings (.75 on Time 1 and .78 on Time 2).

White Racial Affect Scale (WRAS; Grzanka, et al., in press)

The WRAS is a scenario-based measure of White guilt, White shame, and negation. *Negation* refers to "proneness to deny, defer, or detach from the experience of White guilt and/or shame" (Grzanka et al., in press, p. 19). Though similar to the PCRW, which combines White shame and White guilt into one construct, this measure specifies a distinction between White guilt and White shame, where *White guilt* represents negative, self-directed feelings about one's ingroup status as a White person (Swim & Miller, 1999) and *White shame* represents a more negative view of one's self as it relates to White membership status. Participants taking this measure are exposed to short scenarios and then asked to rate, from 1 (*not likely)* to 5 *(very likely),* the extent to which they would engage in three different responses to each scenario. For example, one item states, "You read a news story about White students at a large university dressing in 'Blackface' for a theme party," and participants must rate the following answer choices: "You would think: 'That's so awful. I hope they have to face consequences for their behavior,'" (Guilt), "You would wish you weren't White," (Shame), and "You would think: 'I'm sure the students didn't mean any harm,'" (Negation). Scores for each subscale are summed. In the initial validation of this measure, White Guilt, White Shame, and Negation had moderate or suboptimal internal consistency (.79, .62, and .67, respectively). Convergent validity was established when comparing the WRAS White Guilt and White Shame scales with other scales of White guilt and general guilt and shame (Grzanka et al., in press). In this study I only utilized the White Guilt subscale, and found slightly lower levels of reliability for White Guilt when compared to the original scale development (.75 at Time 1 and .77 at Time 2).

Interracial Conversation Assessment (ICA)

This twelve question assessment, designed specifically for this experiment (see Appendix A), was intended to assess interest in engaging in interracial discussions about race, anxiety about having these types of conversations, and self-efficacy for engaging in these types of conversations. Questions use a 7-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 *(strongly agree*). Items designed to assess interest include, "I would enroll in a class where I can dialogue about race." Items designed to assess anxiety include, "I worry about talking about race when I am in diverse groups." A sample item designed to measure self-efficacy is, "I am confident in my ability to talk to someone who is different than me about race."

While I developed the items for this scale with three subscales (i.e., factors) in mind, I completed a principal component analysis (PCA) to determine if this factor structure was upheld in data collection. Using the Department of Psychology subject pool pre-screen questionnaire, data were gathered from 1,472 participants (participants were only included if they completed a minimum of 11 of the 12 items on the scale; see Table 1 for demographics, all tables included in Appendix). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO measure of sampling adequacy) was .891 and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant ($p < 001$), indicating that our sample was appropriate for factor analysis. I initially completed a principal components analysis (PCA), and following the best practices outlined by Worthington and Whittaker (2006), examined a scree plot to extract a range of possible factors. A sharp drop in eigenvalues between the second and third factors suggests that a two-factor solution is a better fit for this measure, as confirmed with a parallel analysis. The PCA also confirmed that these two factors represent orthogonal variables, so I completed an additional PCA using a Varimax rotation. All individual items had loadings of greater than .3 per best practices (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). One item did cross-load on

both factors (i.e., item 11), but the cross-loading difference was greater than .15, indicating that it does not necessarily need to be removed from the measure. These analyses resulted in a 12-item measure representing two factors: *Interracial Anxiety* and *Interest in Interracial Contact*. Both subscales demonstrated strong reliability in the initial PCA dataset (.833 and .877, respectively). Table 2 provides item-level descriptive statistics and factor loading details.

Mean scores from each of these subscales were used in data analyses. Each subscale demonstrated strong reliability (.80 and.86 for Interest and Anxiety, respectively) in the experimental sample.

Manipulation

Participants in this study were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. In the experimental condition, participants watched a video modeling an IGD about race (see Appendix B for transcript of video). The scripted video was approximately seven minutes long, and used graduate students trained in IGD and hired actors to demonstrate the dialogue process. The video depicted two facilitators, one White person and one person of color, and six group members (i.e., three White group members and three group members of color). The script was reviewed by experts in IGD, generally, and individuals with specific experience facilitating race dialogues. Racial themes were represented in the script, and all actors were briefly taught about the features of dialogic communication (i.e., Flick, 1998). A director of photography experienced in advertisement directed and produced the short film.

Procedures

Information regarding two different studies was posted on the online portal accessed by undergraduate students in the Department of Psychology research pool. An online survey study was listed first, which included the WRAS and PCRW. This online study was a prerequisite for

the in-person study (see Appendix B for informed consent), though potential participants did not know the studies were linked. The second study was listed as an in-person study involving conversations with other students. Students who signed up for the study were assigned a participant ID number and invited into a laboratory space. At this time, participants were asked to provide informed consent (Appendix C). Those who did not provide consent were thanked for their time and dismissed from the study. Those who did consent to participate were told the purpose of this study was to better understand communication patterns in undergraduate students and they were going to be randomly assigned to a conversation topic. After consulting the list of topics, the experimenter then "randomly" assigned the participants to a conversation about race. The experimenter explained the conversation would be video-recorded so the experimenter and research team could properly code what they saw, and the experimenter showed participants the "live feed" (which was actually a pre-recorded video of a diverse group of students). Using a random number generator, I produced lists of participant ID numbers to be assigned to each of the conditions. Participants who were assigned to the experimental condition watched a short video clip demonstrating a dialogue about race, while participants who were assigned to the control condition skipped the video. After this, participants were reminded that they were about to engage in a conversation about race, and asked to complete a survey pack that included demographics (Appendix D), STAI, ICA, WRAS, and PCRW. This packet also asked participants to describe what they thought this study was about. The experimenter then debriefed participants, explained that they would not actually participate in a dialogue about race, and asked for a continuation of consent (Appendix E) to link their online survey data with their data from this in-person study.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

The initial sample consisted of 157 participants who started the Time 1 online study (i.e., the online survey with the PCRW and WRAS), and 171 participants who gave consent for the experimental lab study. From the 157 participants who began the online prescreen survey, two were eliminated because they had 10% or more missing data from a single subscale. From the in-person experiment, 171 participants completed the study, however four participants did not identify as White and/or identified as both White and another race and were excluded from the final data. Of the 167 remaining participants, I eliminated seven because they had 10% or more missing data from a single measure. Additionally, any participant who indicated knowledge about the purpose of this study or details about the study design was eliminated (n = 1). After these participants were eliminated, 159 participants remained. Because some participants had been eliminated from the Time 1 online study, not all participants in the experiment (Time 2) had matching data from Time 1. I eliminated eight additional participants who did not have both Time 1 and Time 2 data, resulting in 151 total participants. Data were missing completely at random, therefore I used expectation maximization to impute data separately for Time 1 and Time 2. In order to determine univariate normality, I assessed skewness and kurtosis (Weston & Gore, 2006), and found all scales were normal.

Demographics

Participants were able to select more than one gender, race, and sexual orientation, and they were allowed to not respond to any demographic item. Therefore, the total numbers in our reporting of demographics do not add to the total number of participants reported above. The demographics measure used in this study erroneously conflated gender and sex, therefore participants were asked about gender but given some sex identifiers to choose from. In terms of

gender, 62.3% (n = 94) identified as female, 33.8% (n = 51) identified as male, 1.3% (n = 2 identified as transgender, and 1.3% (n = 2) identified as gender nonbinary. In terms of race, 100% identified as White (participants were eliminated if they identified as any other race). In terms of sexual orientation, 93.4% (n = 141) identified as straight, 3.3% (n = 5) identified as bisexual, 2% (n = 3) as gay, .7% (n = 1) as lesbian, .7% (n = 1) as asexual, and 0% as queer or other. Participants also provided information about their year in school: 76.2% (n = 115) were first year students, 15.9% (n = 24) were sophomores, 6.6% (n = 10) were juniors, 1.3% (n = 2) were seniors, and 0% were fifth year or graduate students. Demographics for group members are included in Table 3. Means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations for all study variables are presented in Table 4.

Consistency of Guilt Measures Over Time

All participants completed the WRAS and PCRW twice: once online prior to their participation in the in-person experimental study (i.e., Time 1), and once in the laboratory (i.e., Time 2). I hypothesized that these measures would not change over time, as they should be relatively stable. In order to test this hypothesis, two paired samples t-tests were conducted, one each comparing the White Guilt subscale of the WRAS and the White Guilt subscale of the PCRW from Time 1 and Time 2. There was a significant difference in scores for the White Guilt subscale of the WRAS between Time 1 (M = 3.28, SD = .82) and Time 2 (M = 3.50, SD = .79); $t(150) = -4.87$, $p < 001$. There was not a significant difference in scores for the White Guilt subscale of the PCRW between Time 1 (M = 2.14, SD = .81) and Time 2 (M = 2.19, SD = .84); $t(150) = -.97$, $p = .334$.

Test of Differences

An independent samples *t*-test was conducted to compare interracial conversation anxiety (ICAA) in experimental and control conditions. There was not a significant difference in scores for the experimental (M = 3.73, SD = 1.01) and control (M = 3.44, SD = 1.10) conditions; $t(149) = -1.69$, $p = .09$. Two separate, additional independent samples *t*-tests were conducted to compare state anxiety (STAI) and interracial conversation interest (ICAI) in the experimental and control conditions. There was a significant difference in scores on the STAI for the experimental (M = 11.70, SD = 3.38) and control (M = 10.55, SD = 3.44) conditions; $t(149) = -2.07$, $p = .04$. There was not a significant difference in scores for ICAI between the experimental (M = 4.72, SD = .10) and control (M = 4.72, SD = .99) conditions; t 149) = -.04, $p = .97$.

Indirect Effect Analyses

I ran a series of two mediation analyses using Model 4 of the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018) to test whether there was an indirect effect of condition on ICAI through state anxiety (STAI; see Figure 1) and interracial conversation anxiety (ICAA; see Figure 2) separately. Condition did not indirectly influence ICAI (B = -.06; SE = .04, 95% CI [-.15, .01]) through STAI (see Table 6) or through ICAA (B = -.15; SE = .09, 95% CI [-.33, .02]; see Table 7).

Moderation Analyses

I completed two moderation analyses using Model 1 of the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018) to test whether guilt (Time 2 WRAS and PCRW, separately) moderates the relation between condition and interracial conversation interest (ICAI). White Guilt (WRAS) from Time 2 does not significantly moderate this relation (see Figure 3). The WRAS x Condition interaction was not statistically different from zero for ICAI (B = .02, SE = .19, 95% CI [.-.35,

.39]). Likewise, the PCRW from Time 2 does not significantly moderate this relation (see Figure 4), as the PCRW x Condition interaction was not statistically different from zero for ICAI (*B* = .28, *SE* = .19, 95% CI [-.10, .66]).

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

Diversity on college campuses has been associated with positive outcomes, including increased academic skills, intellectual and civic engagement, and perspective taking (Gurin et al., 2002). As the U.S. continues to experience a shift in racial demographics (Cohn & Caumont, 2016), especially on college campuses, there is ample opportunity to capitalize on diversity to produce these positive outcomes. However, mere numerical representation of different groups is not sufficient for these benefits (Gurin et al., 2002), and there have certainly been increased challenges associated with diversity in the recent past (e.g., making a safe and inclusive environment for all, minimizing or attending to racial conflict). One way to attend to some of these challenges while also creating spaces that will help students realize the benefits of diversity on their campuses is to engage in intergroup dialogue: sustained, face-to-face, facilitated conversations about social identities and associated forms of oppression (Gurin et al., 2013; Zúñiga et al., 2007). Because there is some self-selection bias that occurs for multicultural interventions like IGD, this study aimed to target specific emotions that are associated with why White people might avoid race conversations (Bryan et al., 2012; Sue, 2015; Sue et al., 2009). Specifically, I aimed to test the use of a video modeling intervention to reduce anxiety, increase interest, and increase self-efficacy for participation in a race dialogue. I also examined the relation between White guilt and the efficacy of this intervention.

Based on previous research demonstrating that individuals who witness a perceived peer participating in an anxiety-provoking activity have their own anxiety reduced (Gagliano, 1998; Melamed et al., 1978), and that viewing positive experiences of intergroup contact can reduce anxiety about future intergroup contact (Mazziotta et al., 2012), I hypothesized less anxiety for those in the experimental condition. Specifically, the first hypothesis was that participants in the

experimental condition would have less interracial conversation anxiety compared to control condition members, and the second hypothesis was that participants in the experimental condition would have less state anxiety compared to control condition participants. There is some evidence to suggest that people who witness positive intergroup contact experiences, without actually participating in the intergroup contact themselves, will still render the benefits of these interactions. Therefore, my third hypotheses were that participants in the experimental condition would have greater interest in, and self-efficacy for, interracial conversations compared to the control condition. Additionally, there is strong support for a relation between indirect contact, anxiety reduction, self-efficacy, and interest in future contact (Mazziotta et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2007). One study in particular found an indirect effect of imagined contact on interest through anxiety reduction (Turner et al., 2007), while another found this indirect effect through an increase in self-efficacy (Mazziotta et al., 2011). I hypothesized, then, that condition would have an indirect effect on interest in interracial conversation through state anxiety, interracial conversation anxiety, and self-efficacy, separately.

In this study, I also sought to understand how White guilt influences anxiety and interest around interracial conversations. Because people often feel a need to make amends or engage in reparations when they experience guilt, I anticipated that the experience of White guilt might have similar compensatory behaviors associated with it (Baumeister et al., 1994; Roseman et al., 1994). I therefore hypothesized that both the White Guilt subscales from the WRAS and from the PCRW would each, separately, moderate the relation between condition and interest in dialogue, such that people who were scoring higher in White Guilt would see a stronger positive relation between condition and interracial conversation interest (i.e., people higher in White

Guilt would be more likely to see the video and then have greater interest in having an interracial conversation).

Anxiety

Neither the first nor second hypotheses were confirmed. Participants in the experimental condition did not show a significant difference in their interracial conversation anxiety from those in the control condition. Interracial conversation anxiety was measured using seven items developed specifically for this study. In the original development of these items, however, only four of the items were constructed to measure anxiety, while the other three items identified in the PCA were originally intended to measure self-efficacy. While the Anxiety subscale did demonstrate acceptable reliability (i.e., $\alpha = .80$ in our sample), there was no test of convergent validity with similar measures of anxiety. It is possible that the lack of significant difference in this sample was due to measurement issues. For example, the ICA may not measure anxiety with enough sensitivity. Intergroup anxiety can include both state and trait components (Paolini, Hewstone, Voci, Harwood, & Cairns, 2006). Trait intergroup anxiety is more likely to be measured by questions asking about actual or anticipated experiences with intergroup interactions, while state intergroup anxiety is more immediate and regarding what is occurring during the interaction (Stephan, 2014). At the same time, trait intergroup anxiety may be viewed as anxiety experienced globally around the idea of intergroup contact, whereas state intergroup anxiety is likely about a specific contact interaction. The measure of intergroup anxiety used in this study, then, was more a measure of *trait* anxiety, rather than state anxiety, and was therefore unaffected by the condition of this experiment.

While trait intergroup anxiety would not be expected to change in response to a stimulus like a video, it is also possible that the stimulus did not accomplish the intended goals of

reducing intergroup anxiety and increasing interest in interracial dialogue. In order for imagined contact to be successful in alleviating intergroup anxiety and increasing interest in outgroup contact, the participant must imagine a successful intergroup interaction (Turner et al., 2007). While I was not necessarily trying to simulate an imagined contact experience, I did want participants to perceive a positive intergroup interaction in order to reduce their own anxiety. It is possible that participants were unable to envision themselves having the same type of contact, especially if they have not had positive intergroup contact experiences in the past or if they have never discussed racism in a group with outgroup members. Participants may have also perceived the video to demonstrate a negative contact experience. At one point in the video, a White actor says: "It does seem like your friend was making an assumption. But I wonder if she or he just didn't see color. Like maybe your friendship was more than Black and White, it was just about who you are as people." More than one actor of color responds angrily, pointing out that colorblind racism is still racism. While the students come to a point of understanding with one another, it is possible that this exchange felt more emotional to participants. This exchange also violates the politeness protocol, or the sense that we should not display anger or conflicting points (Sue, 2015), as well as adherence to colorblind racism (Apfelbaum et al., 2008; Neville et al., 2000). Anecdotally, multiple participants expressed concern or anxiety verbally during the debriefing (e.g., saying things like "Wait, so I don't have to do that? Thank god."), indicating that the perception of the video intervention may have been a negative one.

Contrary to my second hypothesis, participants in the experimental condition actually had significantly *higher* state anxiety than those in the control condition. The significant difference on this variable, as opposed to the ICAA, which had no significant difference between groups, could be due to a variety of different factors. First, it is possible that participants felt a general

sense of anxiety after viewing the video, but it was more attributed to the anticipated dialogue (that all participants were told they would experience), and not the video intervention. Similarly, state anxiety may be easier to recognize and self-report, as it is a more common experience, and the video intervention may have created a sense of immediacy leading to greater, more salient state anxiety (Stephan, 2014). It is also likely that, while both the ICAA and STAI have high face validity, participants felt more comfortable disclosing state anxiety and engaged in impression management to avoid reporting anxiety about race (especially given that they may have already been experiencing heightened anxiety related to race).

There are several possible explanations for why anxiety was higher for those who watched the video than those who did not, and each of these should be further explored in future research. The video intervention likely did not serve the intended purpose, which was to demonstrate what a racial dialogue looks like, convey a positive interracial experience, and decrease anxiety. I prepared a script for this video intervention that was reviewed and approved by experts in IGD and previous facilitators. While facilitators and experts in IGD may have perceived the script to be an exemplar of the type of interaction I was aiming for, it is possible that people who are unfamiliar with IGD perceive the video to be more threatening or representative of more negative forms of intergroup contact, specifically because of the interaction between actors about colorblindness. Participants who viewed the video and then had a negative expectation for what their own intergroup contact experience would be like could then experience this elevated state anxiety (Butz & Plant, 2006; Plant, Butz, & Tartakovsky, 2008). Though the video intervention was created to model IGD expecting that the reality would be less anxiety-provoking than the groups people imagined, it seems that this likely was untrue.

There is also some research to suggest that intergroup anxiety may increase when an intergroup contact experience is imminent (e.g., Avery, Richeson, Hebl, & Ambady, 2009; Britt, Boniecki, Vescio, Biernat, & Brown, 1996; Butz & Plant, 2006; Johnson, 2006; Plant et al., 2008). Britt and colleagues (1996) found White participants who had greater trait intergroup anxiety also reported greater state anxiety in anticipation of an interaction with Black people. There are several context-dependent factors that can also increase this state anxiety. In this particular study, the lack of clarity about the role a participant might have in the anticipated conversation or the lack of familiarity with the context (i.e., a group dialogue about racism) are both situational factors that likely relate to an increase in state anxiety (Stephan, 2014). Especially because our participant pool represented mostly first-year students (e.g., $n = 115$), it is likely that many have not had experience with sustained, face-to-face dialogue about race and racism. On the other hand, many have likely experienced unpleasant debates or distressing conversations about race (e.g., Sue, 2015). Similarly, participants may not have experience with discussing race and racism in a mixed race group, and be unfamiliar with what this type of conversation would look like with people of both similar and different races in the room. Thus, participants may not have a concrete, structured understanding of what IGD is or their role in it. In previous research, unstructured situations or a lack of control were related to greater state anxiety compared to more structured opportunities for intergroup contact (Avery et al., 2009; Johnson, 2006). While IGD overall is structured, it is primarily structured by the facilitator (Zúñiga et al., 2007). Group members themselves may feel a lack of control over the group, the topics that are raised, or how other group members act or react, leading to a sense of anxiety.

Stephan (2014) outlines three contributing areas to intergroup anxiety: affective, cognitive, and physiological. Cognitive appraisals of interactions can create increased intergroup

anxiety. These cognitive appraisals can come in many forms, including thoughts about how they will be perceived by others in the group, thoughts about the emotions they may feel, and concerns about how others in the group may behave toward them. These cognitive appraisals directly relate to one of the key fears that Sue (2015) describes as common reasons White people avoid talking about race: fear of appearing racist (e.g., cognitions about being evaluated or about being perceived negatively). In the video intervention used for this study, some White group members and group members of color disagree about their perceptions of racism on campus. It is possible that participants viewing this intervention viewed the interaction negatively or feared that White group members were being judged for their opinions.

One cofounding variable that may have impacted the increase in state anxiety was time. Participants who were in the experimental condition watched a video for approximately seven minutes prior to completing the scales. Participants in the control condition, however, did not have this time lapse. It is possible that individuals in the experimental condition have greater anxiety because they had more time to sit and consider the group they would be participating in, not because of the video intervention itself. Further research is needed to determine if time, the video, or a combination of both had an impact on participants' anxiety.

Interest

My third hypothesis was likewise unconfirmed: individuals in the experimental condition did not have greater interest in interracial conversations compared to the control group. Previous research is somewhat mixed on the impact of vicarious or imagined contact on interest or willingness to interact with outgroup members in the future (see Crisp, Husnu, Meleady, Stathi, & Turner, 2010 for a review). Multiple studies do indicate that *imagined* contact can increase participants' interest in future contact (e.g., Husnu & Crisp, 2010; Vezalli, Capozza, Stathi, &

Giovanni, 2012; Vezalli, Stathi, Crisp, & Capozza, 2015). For example, Husnu and Crisp (2010) found that Turkish Cypriots who imagined a positive interaction with Greek Cypriots then had a greater interest in interacting with Greek Cypriots when compared to control group participants. Vezalli and colleagues (2012, 2015) also found that Italian fourth graders were interested in contact with immigrant children after several sessions of imagining positive contact with this population. In this case, though, participants were exposed to several sessions of imagined contact and their imagined contact was a structured, positive interaction. In the current study, the video intervention did not produce a change in interest. It may be that the video intervention was not long enough or that one individual occurrence of the vicarious contact intervention was not sufficient. It is also possible, as stated previously, that the video intervention was not perceived as a positive intergroup interaction. These previous examples also used *imagined* contact, not vicarious contact. It is possible that, while these two types of contact may have some similar positive effects, vicarious contact does not achieve the same level of interest that imagined contact might.

There is some mixed evidence about this relation, though, and other contextual factors. Birtel and Crisp (2012) found that participants who were first exposed to a negative imagined contact scenario and then a positive one had a higher level of interest in outgroup contact than participants exposed to two positive imagined contact scenarios. Though it is unclear whether participants in the present study perceived the video to be an example of positive intergroup interaction, it was the only intervention. It is possible that adding a second interaction (i.e., a negative interaction prior to a positive video intervention) would produce greater interest in participants that could be more easily detected. Future research should examine this possibility.

While White Guilt (Time 2) was examined as a moderating variable between the condition and interest in intergroup contact, some research does indicate that other personal characteristics could influence the impact of imagined contact. Asbrock, Gutenbrunner, and Wagner (2013) examined the impact of both Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and Social Dominance Orientation in relation to imagined contact effects. With regard to interest in outgroup contact, RWA played a significant role. Specifically, German participants who scored higher on measures of RWA had a greater interest in having future contact with Romanis after they imagined positive contact. It is possible that other factors that I did not measure, like personal characteristics, influenced the interest in outgroup contact.

Self-Efficacy

In the original hypotheses, I expected that self-efficacy for interracial conversations would be greater for participants in the experimental condition compared to those in the control condition. Because the PCA for the ICA indicated that self-efficacy was not an isolated factor (it was mostly combined with anxiety), I was unable to test for this difference between groups. Future research should explore ways of measuring self-efficacy that is specific to these types of outgroup interactions.

Indirect Effects of Anxiety

Based on previous examples where individuals exhibited an indirect increase in willingness to participate in a less-preferred activity, through decreases in anxiety, after a peer modeled this behavior (Mazziotta et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2007), I predicted participants in the experimental condition would have an indirect increase in interest in interracial communication through decreased interracial conversation anxiety and state anxiety. These indirect effects were not significant, however. As outlined above, there are several factors that influence both interest

and anxiety (e.g., Husnu & Crisp, 2010; Stephan, 2014), and some of the previous research has been mixed. This research has primarily focused on imagined contact rather than vicarious contact. For example, Turner, West, and Christie (2013) found that when straight students imagined interactions with gay men they exhibited an increase in interest to have contact with gay men in the future, which was mediated by a decrease in intergroup anxiety. While this study lends support to my original hypothesis, another study demonstrates that one single positive imagined encounter might not be sufficient. Birtel and Crisp (2012) found that, compared to participants who had two positive intergroup encounter experiences, participants who first imagined a *negative* intergroup encounter with a gay man and then a positive imagined encounter had decreased intergroup anxiety, which influenced an increased interest in future contact. Yet again, because it is unclear if the video intervention was perceived as a positive or negative encounter, it is unclear whether the video introduced a singular positive or negative encounter to experimental participants.

White Guilt

I had originally hypothesized that there would not be a change in White Guilt for participants from Time 1 to Time 2, but did find that the WRAS increased across time, while the PCRW did not. Interestingly, the WRAS should be more likely to measure *trait* guilt, which should remain stable across time; test-retest stability was confirmed in the validation of this measure (Grzanka et al., in press). While anticipatory anxiety about an intergroup interaction can prime feelings of guilt (Stephan, 2014), it appears in this study that this was only partially true, given that only one subscale changed while the other did not. One notable difference between the WRAS and PCRW is the use of scenario-based prompts in the WRAS, compared to more face-valid generalized questions on the PCRW. It is possible that the combination of

anticipating an intergroup interaction and reading scenarios about outgroup members (and some intergroup contact) created a priming effect. This should be explored further in future studies.

I hypothesized that both the White Guilt subscales of the WRAS and PCRW would respectively moderate a relation between condition and interest, however neither subscale (from Time 2) significantly did so. Previous research demonstrates that some forms of White guilt (e.g., empathic forms of guilt; Spanierman et al., 2006) stem from greater critical consciousness. It is possible that many of the participants in this study had lower levels of critical consciousness, especially given they are earlier in their college matriculation. Future research should also consider critical consciousness as it relates to guilt and intergroup anxiety and interest. Additionally, individuals who experience more of a fear-based guilt that is unconnected to critical consciousness may not be interested or willing to engage in typical compensatory behaviors (Spanierman et al., 2006). Because it is unclear what forms of guilt (if any) participants in this study might have experienced, it is possible that they experienced a form of guilt that is more fear-based, and thus there was not an effect on interest for future contact.

The PCRW combines both White guilt and shame into one construct, while the WRAS separates these constructs into two separate scales. In this study only the effect of Time 2 White Guilt was examined in relation to the connection between condition and interest, and therefore I did not look at the WRAS subscales of White Shame or Negation. Similarly, neither the White Empathic Reactions nor White Fear of Others subscales of the PCRW were included in this study. Future research may explore how these other forms of White racial affect impact interest in future contact, if at all. Participants who are confronted with the idea that they may in fact hold prejudicial attitudes towards outgroup members can produce feelings of fear and shame, not just guilt (DiAngelo, 2018; Sue, 2015). Additionally, while I hypothesized that White guilt

would lead people to engage in more compensatory behaviors, like engaging in racial dialogues (Baumeister et al., 1994; Roseman et al., 1994; Steel, 1990; Swim & Miller, 1999), it is possible that the Negation subscale of the WRAS better accounts for these compensatory behaviors and thus the relation between condition and interest. Interest in dialogue or other forms of IGD may also be too large or risky a compensatory reaction to guilt, too. Swim and Miller (1999) noted that White guilt often predicts racial quotas but not necessarily structural change. This suggests a bit of personal disconnection from the compensatory behavior – participants may support changes that do not directly involve them. White racial affect is also likely insufficient for engaging in antiracist work or even developing an interest in these dialogues (e.g., Moragas, 1981), and the video intervention alone may have left participants feeling more confused or uncertain than prepared to engage in this type of intervention.

Strengths and Limitations

Strengths

One critical strength of this study is that it bridges the gap between previous research areas. First, to my knowledge, it is the first study to integrate the utilization of vicarious contact to reduce intergroup anxiety in an intergroup contact situation that is specifically about discussing racism. Previous research about intergroup contact, generally (Stephan & Stephan, 2001), and vicarious or imagined contact, specifically (Dovidio et al., 2011; Schiappa et al., 2005), explores interactions between ingroup and outgroup members, without any attention to the context of that contact. Drawing on Allport's (1954/1986) original contact theory and multicultural education (e.g., Freire, 1970), IGD offers an excellent opportunity for sustained intergroup contact, while also creating opportunities to increase knowledge and awareness of

systems of power. This intervention is notable because it teaches participants how to engage in productive communication about race and racism.

To my knowledge, this is also the first study to explore how White guilt impacts interest in engaging in multicultural interventions. While there is research indicating that personal characteristics and personality factors will likely influence intergroup anxiety, which then may impact interest in intergroup engagement (e.g., Blair, Park, & Bachelor, 2003; Costello & Hodson, 2011; Matthews, Levin, & Sidanius, 2009; Renfro et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 1985), White guilt specifically has not been examined. While White guilt did not moderate the relation between condition and interest in this study, White racial affect should not be underestimated in terms of how it may impact intergroup contact generally and dialogue about systems of power specifically. Because White guilt and shame are similar yet different constructs (Grzanka et al., in press), further research is needed to explore the role each plays in determining who engages in interracial contact and who does not.

This study also focused on vicarious contact by way of modeling, while much of the previous research examining intergroup anxiety, self-efficacy, and interest have examined intergroup contact experiences or imagined contact (Husnu & Crisp, 2010; Turner et al., 2013; Vezalli et al., 2012, 2015). While there is research about the use of vicarious contact, this research has explored the use of vicarious contact to improve intergroup attitudes (e.g., Cadenas, Cisneros, Todd, & Spanierman, 2018; Joyce & Harwood, 2014; Mazziotta et al., 2011), and less so the impact on intergroup anxiety or interest.

Limitations

While there are several notable strengths of this study, it is not without limitations. One of the key issues with multicultural interventions like IGD is that self-selection bias limits who is exposed to the groups. Though self-selection was less of a concern in this particular study, our sample came from a psychology research pool, which relies on primarily first-year students who are White, straight women. This is especially notable given that previous outgroup contact sometimes influences self-efficacy for and interest in future contact (Hoffarth & Hodson, 2016), and first-year students have likely had fewer opportunities for outgroup contact compared to upper-class students. It is also possible that the sample used in this study, coming from a large university in the Southeastern U.S., has different attitudes and perceptions of outgroup members and contact, given the significant racial history of this area (Pettigrew, 1958).

Another significant limitation to this study is the use of a video intervention not yet validated. While steps were taken to validate that this video intervention is representative of IGD, I did not evaluate whether it is perceived to represent a positive outgroup encounter. Experts in IGD and racial dialogues reviewed the script to confirm that this dialogue seems characteristic of racial intergroup dialogues and depicts the goals of IGD. However, experts in IGD likely already perceive racial dialogues to be less anxiety provoking and more positive than participants in this study who may not have ever encountered this type of dialoguing opportunity. Without exploring how participants perceive the video, I cannot be sure that it had the intended effect of demonstrating a positive interaction.

Lastly, I used an original measure to assess interracial conversation anxiety, self-efficacy, and interest. While this scale was intended to measure these three separate constructs, a PCA indicated that this was not the case. The PCA did demonstrate two reliable factors, though, and

these factors represent two of the key constructs intended for this study (i.e., Interest and Anxiety in interracial conversations). Future research is needed to further examine the efficacy and validity of this measure. Additionally, future research should consider ways to measure self-efficacy for interracial conversations.

Implications

Research

This study offers a starting point for a program of research that combines aspects of intergroup contact theory and literature (e.g., Allport 1954/1986) with elements of IGD literature (e.g., Gurin et al., 2013; Zúñiga et al., 2007). Specifically, future research can employ imagined or vicarious contact interventions to explore variables related to interest, anxiety, prejudice, and self-efficacy when the imagined or vicarious contact scenario includes discussions of systems of power (e.g., racism). Because this study blends these two bodies of literature for what I believe is the first time, there are several specific methodological changes that can be made for follow-up studies as well as more general directions for overall research in this field. I outline both below.

First, the video intervention should be tested alone to determine if it is serving the intended purposes. Though I feel confident that it is representing racial dialogues, it is necessary to now confirm that a typical participant perceives the video to be an example of positive intergroup interaction. It is possible that even if participants do not perceive this to be a positive intergroup interaction it might still continue to be useful as an intervention. It *does* represent the racial dialogues, which has greater application. However, if it is not perceived as a positive intergroup interaction, this may account for the insignificant changes in the variables examined (or in the unexpected increase in state anxiety). The prompts or descriptions accompanying the video could also be modified to help convey a positive interaction while maintaining the integrity

of the racial dialogue. Similarly, research indicates that participants are more likely to exhibit changes in anxiety or interest if they perceive the ingroup models to be similar to themselves (Melamed et al., 1978) and the outgroup models to be "typical" representations of outgroup members (Stathi, Crisp, & Hogg, 2011). Future research should examine how participants perceive the ingroup and outgroup members in the video intervention.

Methodologically, a confounding variable was introduced in this study because control condition participants immediately completed survey measurements after being told they would participate in a group, while participants in the experimental condition watched a seven-minute video first. Because time may allow anxiety to increase, future research should control for time. Similarly, all participants in this study rated their anxiety only once and after being told they would participate in a racial dialogue group (though some participants also watched the video intervention). To better determine that the video intervention, and not the anticipation of participating in a dialogue, impacts anxiety (both intergroup anxiety and state anxiety), future studies may use a 2x2 factorial design where both the anticipation of a dialogue and the video intervention are manipulated. Additionally, because some studies found that interest in contact is greater and anxiety lower in people who are first exposed to a negative contact experience and then a positive one (Birtel & Crisp, 2012), future research may explore whether this still remains true when the anticipated contact is about discussing systems of power and not a more innocuous contact.

Additional changes for future research include changes of measurement. In this study anxiety was measured at one time point and through self-report measurement. The interracial conversation assessment utilized for this study may not have been a valid measure of state anxiety, may have represented more trait anxiety, or may have been subject to impression

management. Future research may explore additional measures of intergroup anxiety (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 1985) or include further validation of the ICA used in this study. Alternatively, more physiological measures of anxiety may be more appropriate as they can also measure consistent patterns of anxiety over time (Kantor, Endler, Heslegrave, & Kocovski, 2001). It is also unclear if the increased state anxiety experienced by participants would negatively impact their behavioral engagement in an intergroup encounter. Future research may explore the behavioral responses of participants, giving them an opportunity to choose to engage in a dialogue or not after viewing the video intervention. Additionally, attitudes toward outgroup members were not considered in this experiment. Because negative attitudes toward outgroup members is related to greater intergroup anxiety (Stephan, 2014), future research may examine pre-existing attitudes in either self-report measures or more implicit measures of prejudice.

There are also many ways in which researchers may take the findings from this study and apply them to novel research questions. I hypothesized that neither the White Guilt subscales of the PCRW nor the WRAS would change from Time 1 to Time 2. This hypothesis was only partially confirmed: this subscale on the PCRW did not change while the subscale on WRAS did. The WRAS *should* be a measure of stable, trait White Guilt, and therefore should not be induced by contextual factors. Future studies should examine the stability of both White Guilt subscales and their stability in relation to guilt-producing contexts. Additionally, because the WRAS separates White Guilt from White Shame in a way that the PCRW does not, future research should explore the role that White Shame has in intergroup anxiety and interest, too.

Because previous research has emphasized the use of imagined contact more so than vicarious contact (e.g., Meleady & Crisp, 2017), but these studies have not used contact scenarios that specifically emphasized discussion of systems of power, future research should

also consider an imagined contact version of this study. Instead of relying on a video model to demonstrate race dialogues, studies should engage participants in a scripted description of a racial dialogue where they are able to imagine their own experience as a group member. Similarly, while the focus in this study was on interracial dialogues where the topic of conversation is race, future studies may also look to see if similar video interventions can be used to reduce anxiety about having conversations with other types of out-groups (e.g., regarding sexual orientation, gender). These types of studies may rely on a new video intervention that models the dialogue relevant to that topic (e.g., to examine interest in dialoguing about sexual orientation, the video would model a dialogue about sexual orientation and heterosexism) or studies may also explore whether this video intervention (i.e., which emphasizes race dialogues) can be used to reduce anxiety about and increase interest in having dialogues about other topics (e.g., sexual orientation).

Additionally, future research may explore the importance of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989). Intersectionality theory calls us to acknowledge the impact of coexisting systems of power. Crenshaw (1989) originally wrote about intersectional theory to draw attention to the unique experiences of Black women, noting that their experience of discrimination is not merely one of being a woman *or* Black, but it is a unique experience of being a Black woman. Bowleg (2008/2014) describes how these compounded experiences are not merely an additive effect of multiple forms of oppression (e.g., it is not the oppression experienced as someone who is Black + a lesbian + a woman), but instead the unique oppression that targets a person who is all of these identities. Within this work, there are opportunities to explore the ways intersecting identities influence outcomes, but it is critical to also engage in a thoughtful application of intersectional theory by considering the intersectional systems of power.

Examining intersectional identities may occur in multiple ways, both in the design of the intervention and in the assessment of results. For example, women tend to score higher than men on White guilt (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), and therefore may be impacted by multicultural interventions differently. In one study about interracial friendships, White men had elevated fears of connecting and inclusion whereas White women struggled to empathize over racial topics (Todd & Abrams, 2011). In another study, Spanierman, Beard, and Todd (2012) examined the response patterns of White men and women on the PCRW in relation to other measures. They found that White women who had greater levels of empathy in conjunction with their other racial affect were more likely to endorse support for affirmative action. This demonstrates that, while guilt can influence other reactions, there are many other factors (e.g., empathy) that are also necessary or important to consider in multicultural intervention development. It also provides specific examples of the ways in which White racial affect can impact interest in intergroup contact and attitude change differently depending on other social identities and social locations.

Exploring intersecting identities is not sufficient, however, and a broader understanding of the intersecting systems of power is necessary (Moradi & Grzanka, 2017). In this study, the emphasis was on White people and their anxiety about and interest in having a dialogue about race. I also examined White racial affect (i.e., White guilt) and how this influenced interest in these dialogues. Omi and Winant (2015) illustrate the ways in which race is a master category, one that does not supersede all other social classifications, but one that serves as the "*template* of both difference and inequality" (p. 106). Understanding the reactions to (i.e., interest in and anxiety about) racial dialogues is therefore critical to our understanding of other systems of power. Heterosexism, sexism, and classism all exist within and because of White supremacy. It

is imperative, then, that we examine how White guilt might influence a person's willingness to engage (or not) in dialogues about gender, sexual orientation, etc., or how socialization within an institution that prioritizes certain people and identities requires the maintenance of those systems through resistance to a dialogue about privilege in any sense.

Though state anxiety was influenced by the experimental condition, it is unclear how these findings will impact long-term interest, anxiety, and intergroup behaviors. Future research should examine dependent variables (e.g., interest, anxiety, prejudice) at multiple time points after the initial exposure to the modeling video.

Practice

While there are many directions for future research and several unanswered questions, practitioners wanting to utilize IGD as a multicultural education intervention should consider the results of this study. First, it seems evident that video modeling is insufficient for increasing the interest in participation for IGD. This does not necessarily mean that video modeling should not be used, but rather that it should not be used without further discussion or engagement with potential group members. Practitioners may also consider the ways in which they introduce video models, vicarious contact, or imaginary contact. For example, it is common for individuals preparing to engage in intergroup dialogue to watch videos of other groups. This study demonstrates that viewing these similar dialogue groups likely produces greater state anxiety (though it is unclear how this anxiety then effects behaviors in the group). Practitioners may normalize this anxiety or allow additional space to process the anticipatory emotion.

Impact

There is significant research demonstrating that dialoguing across identity differences can produce positive results (see Frantell et al., in press, for a review) like greater identity and ally

development (Aldana, Rowley, Checokway, & Richards-Schuster, 2012; Dessel & Ali, 2012; Dessel, Woodford, Routenberg, & Breijak, 2013; Dessel, Woodford, & Warren, 2011; Hess, Rynczak, Minarik, & Landrum-Brown, 2010; Keehn, 2015; Madden, 2015; Rozas, 2007; Sanders & Mahalingam, 2012), increased empathic perspective taking (Dessel, 2010; Hess et al., 2010; Joslin, Dessel, & Woodford, 2016; Muller & Miles, 2017; Thakral et al., 2016), decreased prejudicial attitudes and biases (Dessel, 2010; Dessel & Ali, 2012; Dessel et al., 2013; Griffin et al., 2012), increased critical consciousness (Dessel, 2010; Dessel et al., 2011, 2013; Ford, 2012; Grffin et al., 2012; Madden, 2015; Richards-Schuster & Aldana, 2013), and skills for future difficult dialogues or advocacy (Alimo, 2012; Dessel, 2010; Dessel & Ali, 2012; Dessel et al., 2011; Griffin et al., 2012; Gurin-Sands et al., 2012; Hess et al., 2010; Hopkins & Domingue, 2015; Krings, Austic, Gutiérrez, & Dirksen, 2015; Lopez-Humphreys & Dawson, 2014; Richards-Schuster & Aldana, 2013; Thakral et al., 2016). These outcomes are particularly important in light of our current national political climate as well as the particular climate in Tennessee and on our campus. In the last few years alone, as the U.S. has continued to become increasingly diverse racially (Cohn & Caumont, 2016), there have been an overwhelming number of instances of racial discrimination and violence depicted in the news (e.g., police brutality [Brookings Institute, 2018], migrant children in detention centers [Dickerson, 2018], a demand for a border wall [Cummings, 2019], White people dressing in 'blackface' [Elliott, 2019]). On the campus where this research was conducted, the Office of Diversity and Inclusion (Tennessee HB 2248) was defunded despite student and faculty protests (Slaby, 2016), offering messages about the (lack of) valuing of diversity and marginalized individuals on campus. Since that time, a White nationalist group has hosted an event on campus (Ohm & Crocker, 2018), League of the South members have rallied to support a confederate monument in neighboring

Fort Sanders (Lakin & Ohm, 2017), and swastikas have appeared on the UT Rock multiple times (WVLT, 2018). IGD, which aims to enhance understanding of systems of power, increase awareness of micro- and macroaggressions, and develop ally behaviors (Dessel et al., 2013; Keehn, 2015; Zúñiga et al., 2007), can serve as a critical first step to engaging White people in developing ally identities and teaching microintervention skills (Sue et al., 2019).

Without substantial, revolutionary change, these horrific examples of racial bias and systemic racism will continue to escalate over time. People with dominant identities, generally, and White people, specifically, will need to acknowledge the power that comes with privilege and how this power is maintained by individual and institutional level actions. IGD or other forms of intergroup conversation about systems of oppression can aid in these particular goals. Much of the literature on contact theory in the past has emphasized mere contact between people of outgroups (Stephan, 2014; Vezzali & Stathi, 2017), with no specific discussion of difference or systemic forces that perpetuate oppression. Incorporating these types of conversations into the contact can be uncomfortable and difficult (Sue, 2015), leading to defensiveness and White fragility (DiAngelo, 2018) because they disrupt systems that enforce White supremacy and White ignorance (e.g., Mills, 2007) by dismantling previous established politeness protocols (Sue, 2015) instead of relying on colorblindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). By ignoring the important role that race plays in our lived experiences of privilege and oppression, White power is reproduced (Mueller, 2017). The perpetuation of colorblind ideologies allows space for, or even encourages, White people's ability to ignore or minimize the significant role of racial discrimination and White privilege in everyday examples of racism (Doane, 2006; Mueller, 2017). It is therefore insufficient to engage White people in contact encounters that do not offer

opportunities to understand and acknowledge the systemic forces of power that are connected to personal experiences of White privilege and thus racial discrimination.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

This study used a video modeling intervention in an attempt to reduce anxiety about, increase interest in, and increase self-efficacy for White people to engage in interracial conversations about race and racism. I found that participants who viewed the video intervention had greater state anxiety than control participants, but there were no significant differences in interracial conversation anxiety or interest, and I was unable to test for self-efficacy. I also examined how White guilt influences interest around interracial conversations, though found mixed results. While White guilt was not expected to change over time, participants had an increase in WRAS White Guilt from Time 1 to Time 2, but no significant change in PCRW White Guilt. Neither Time 2 PCRW White Guilt nor Time 2 WRAS White Guilt moderated the relation between condition and interracial conversation interest.

While this study offers an excellent introduction to the ways in which the literatures about intergroup contact, intergroup anxiety, and intergroup dialogue can and should all be blended, it also demonstrates the many ways in which further exploration is still needed to better understand how intergroup contact theory can be applied to situations in which the content of the contact will explicitly focus on power. Additionally, while it seems evident that White racial affect does impact perceptions of intergroup contact, further research is also needed in this area, as well.

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APPENDICES

Table 1.

Participant Demographics for Principal Component Analysis (PCA) Pre-Screen of Interracial Conversation Assessment

		Participants	
		n	%
Race			
	Non-Hispanic European American/ White	1114	75.70
	African-American/ Black	110	7.50
	Asian/ Asian American/ Pacific Islander	92	6.30
	Bi- or Multi-racial	51	3.50
	Hispanic/ Latino/a	46	3.10
	Other	35	2.40
	Native American/ American Indian	7	0.50
Gender			
	Female	939	63.8
	Male	528	35.9
	Other	3	0.2
Sexual Orientation			
	Heterosexual	1365	92.7
	Bisexual	55	3.7
	Homosexual (gay or lesbian)	27	1.8
	Other	13	0.9
Year in School			
	First year	1072	72.8
	Sophomore	237	16.1
	Junior	118	8
	Senior	39	2.6
	Other	4	0.3

Table 2.

Pattern (Structure) Coefficients for Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation and Item Descriptive Statistics

	Factor Loadings			
Item	**1**	**2**	***M***	***SD***
Factor 1: Interracial Interest				
I am interested in participating in a conversation about race.	**.84 (.86)**	-0.05 (-0.36)	4.55	1.63
Talking about race with a diverse group of people would be enjoyable.	**.83 (.87)**	-.10 (-.41)	4.53	1.64
I would enroll in a course where I can talk about race.	**.82 (.82)**	-.00 (-.31)	3.97	1.70
Talking about race is not important to me.*	**.71 (.66)**	.14 (-.13)	4.51	1.53
When issues of race or racism arise, I address them immediately.	**.51 (.60)**	-.24 (-.43)	4.39	1.33
Factor 2: Interracial Anxiety				
A conversation about race would make me anxious.	.03 (-.25)	**.75 (.74)**	3.77	1.56
I am afraid of talking about race for fear of being misunderstood.	.19 (-.12)	**.84 (.78)**	3.99	1.65
If I talk about race, people may think I'm a racist.	.03 (-.24)	**.72 (.71)**	3.58	1.73
I worry about talking about race when I am in diverse groups.	.04 (-.28)	**.86 (.85)**	3.56	1.60
I am confident in my ability to talk about race with someone who is different.*	-.23 (-.48)	**.69 (.78)**	3.07	1.37
It is easy for me to talk to others from different racial backgrounds about race.*	-.21 (-.47)	**.68 (.76)**	3.34	1.39
I am able to have successful conversations about race with people of different races.*	-.29 (-.52)	**.62 (.73)**	3.11	1.29
Eigenvalue	5.39	1.90		
% Variance	44.95	15.86		
M	4.39	3.49		
SD	1.21	1.15		
Coefficient alpha	0.83	0.88		
Total Variance	60.81			

Note. * Item reverse scored

Table 3.
Participant Demographics

		Participants	
		n	%
Gender*			
	Female	94	62.30
	Male	51	33.80
	Transgender	2	1.30
	Gender nonbinary	2	1.30
Race*			
	White**	151	100
Sexual Orientation*			
	Straight/heterosexual	141	93.4
	Bisexual	5	3.3
	Gay	3	2.0
	Lesbian	1	0.7
	Asexual	1	0.7
	Queer	0	0
	Other	0	0
Year in School			
	First year	115	76.2
	Sophomore	24	15.9
	Junior	10	6.6
	Senior	2	1.3
	5th year +	0	0
	Graduate Student	0	0

Note. *For gender, sexual orientation, and race participants were allowed to select more than one option, if applicable. Therefore *n*'s may not add to the same number as *N*.
**Participants were excluded if they did not identify as White.

Table 4.

Means, Standard Deviations, and Inter-correlations for All Study Variables

	M	*SD*	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. WRAS T1 Guilt	3.28	0.82	0.75	1.00	.74***	.38***	.42***	-.03	-.15	.48***
2. WRAS T2 Guilt	3.50	0.79	0.77		1.00	.34***	.44***	0.15	-.02	.43***
3. PCRW T1 Guilt	2.14	0.81	0.75			1.00	.68***	0.05	-.01	.29***
4. PCRW T2 Guilt	2.19	0.84	0.78				1.00	.16*	.23**	0.11
5. STAI	11.13	3.45	0.82					1.00	.56***	-.18*
6. ICAA	3.59	1.06	0.86						1.00	-.53***
7. ICAI	4.72	0.99	0.80							1.00

Note. WRAS = White Racial Affect Scale, PCRW = Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites, T1 = Time 1 (online), T2 = Time 2 (in-person), STAI = State Trait Anxiety Inventory, ICAA = Interracial Conversation Assessment- Anxiety, ICAI = Interracial Conversation Assessment- Interest *** $p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$

Table 5.

Linear Regression Analyses Examining Condition as a Predictor of ICAI

Predictor variable	Outcome variable	*B*	β	*t*	R^2	*F*	*df*
Condition	ICAI	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	149

Note. ICAI = Interracial Conversation Assessment- Interest *** p < .001, **p < .01.

Table 6.

Direct and Indirect Effects of Condition on ICAI Through STAI

	Coefficient		95% CI		
Variable	*B*	*SE*	Lower	Upper	ΔR^2
ICAI					0.03
Condition	0.07	0.16	-.25	0.39	
STAI	-.05	0.02	-.10	-.01	

Note. STAI = State Trait Anxiety Inventory, ICAAI = Interracial Conversation Assessment- Interest **p<.01, *p<.05

Table 7.

Direct and Indirect Effects of Condition on ICAI Through ICAA

	Coefficient		95% CI		
Variable	*B*	*SE*	Lower	Upper	ΔR^2
ICAI					0.28
Condition	0.15	0.14	-.12	0.43	
ICAA	-.50	0.07	-.63	-.37	

Note. ICAA = Interracial Conversation Assessment - Anxiety, ICAAI = Interracial Conversation Assessment- Interest **p<.01, *p<.05

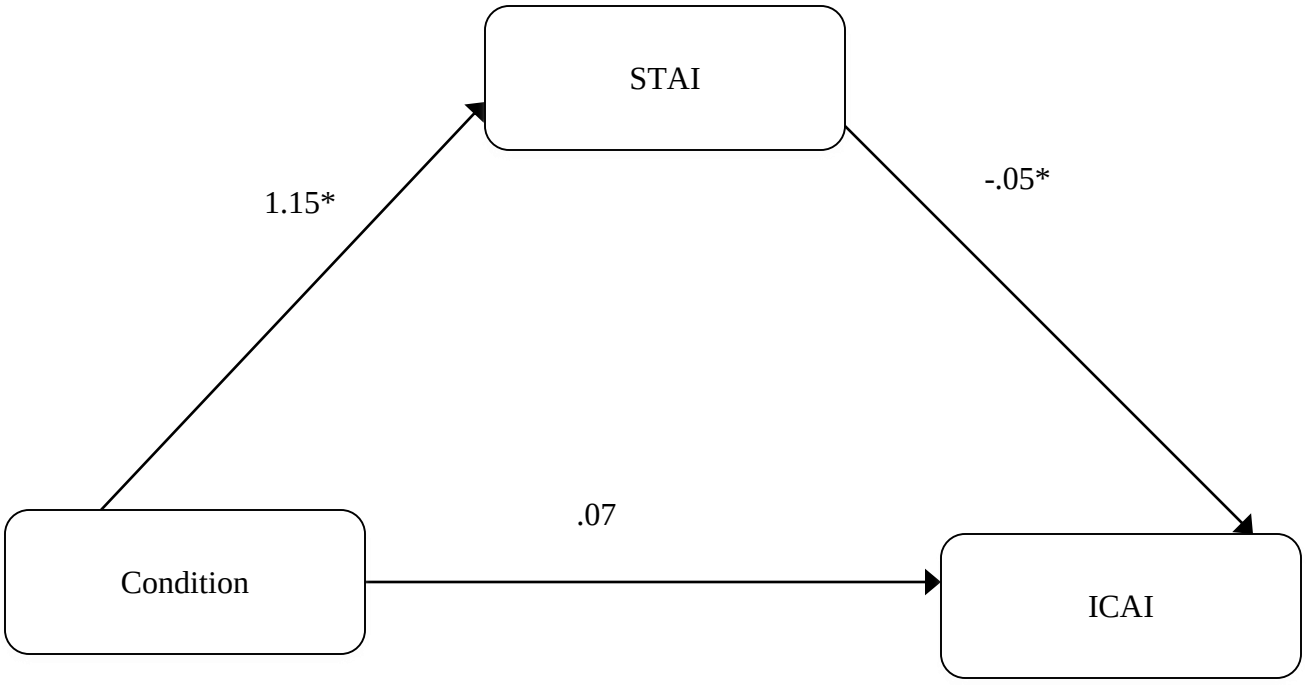

Figure 1. Path model of direct and indirect relations of condition and STAI predicting ICAI.

Note. STAI = State Trait Anxiety Inventory. ICAI = Interracial Conversation Assessment – Interest. Values reflect unstandardized coefficients. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

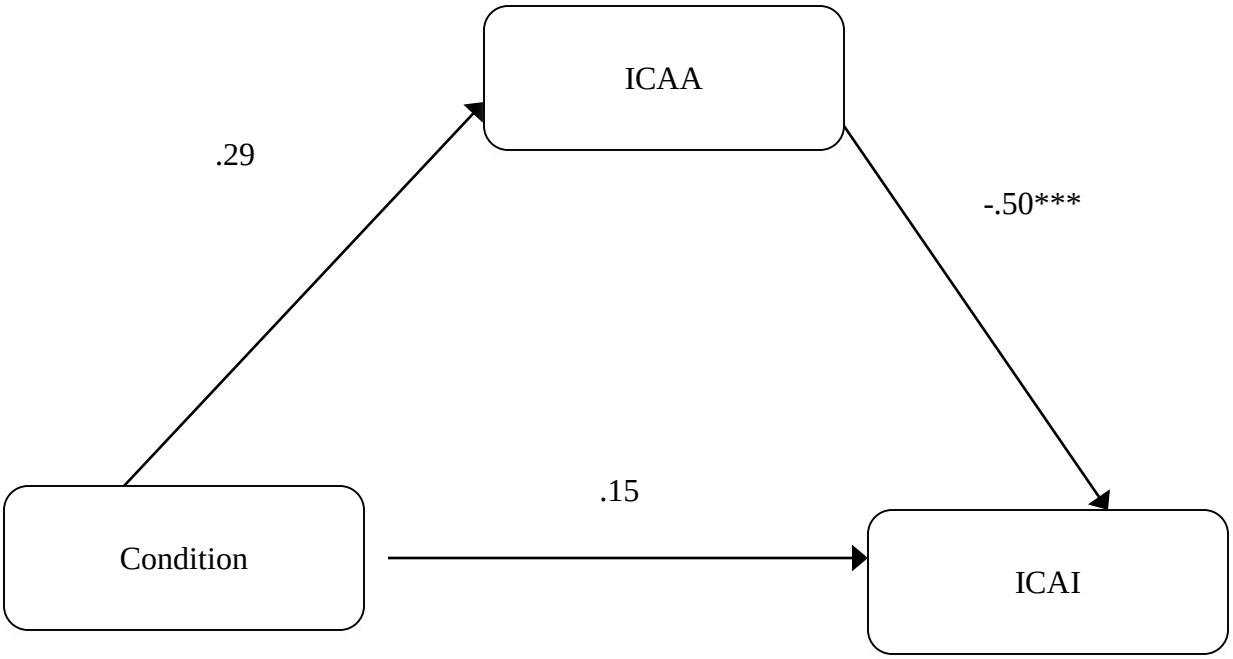

Figure 2. Path model of direct and indirect relations of condition and ICAA predicting ICAI.

Note. ICAA = Interracial Conversation Assessment – Anxiety. ICAI = Interracial Conversation Assessment – Interest. Values reflect standardized coefficients. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

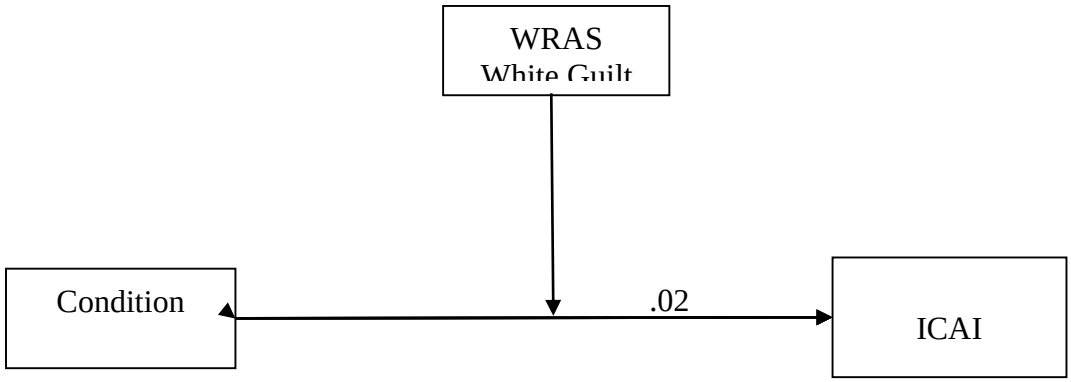

Figure 3. Moderation model depicting the moderating role of WRAS White Guilt on the relation between condition and ICAI. *Note.* WRAS = White Racial Affect Scale. ICAI = Interracial Conversation Assessment - Interest. Values reflect unstandardized coefficients.

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

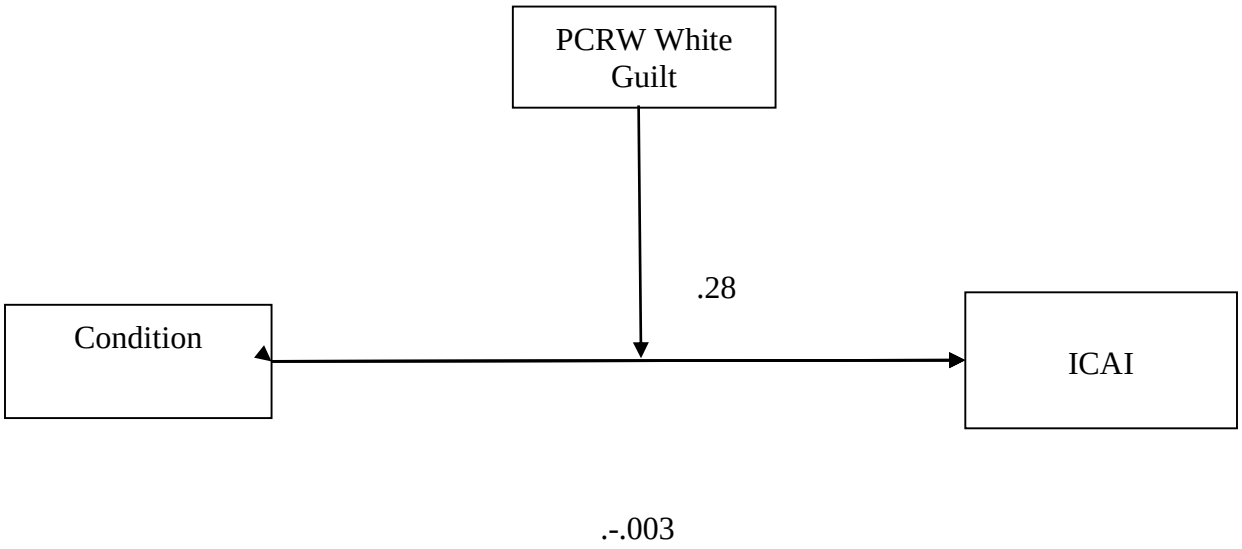

Figure 4. Moderation model depicting the moderating role of PCRW White Guilt on the relation between condition and ICAI. *Note.* PCRW = Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites. ICAI = Interracial Conversation Assessment - Interest. Values reflect standardized coefficients. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Appendix A: Interracial Conversation Assessment (ICA)

Using a scale from 1 (*Strongly Disagree)* to 7 (*Strongly Agree)* please rate the degree to which you agree with the following statements **about participating in a conversation about race**:

1. I am interested in participating in a conversation about race.
2. Talking about race with a diverse group of people would be enjoyable.
3. I would enroll in a course where I can talk about race.
4. Talking about race is not important to me.
5. A conversation about race would make me anxious.
6. I am afraid of talking about race for fear of being misunderstood.
7. If I talk about race, people may think I'm a racist.
8. I worry about talking about race when I am in diverse groups.
9. I am confident in my ability to talk about race with someone who is different.
10. It is easy for me to talk to others from different racial backgrounds about race.
11. I am able to have successful conversations about race with people of different races.
12. When issues of race or racism arise, I address them immediately.

Appendix B: Video Model Transcript

The scene opens with 8 people in a room. They are sitting in chairs arranged in a semi-circle. Though the video begins here- it appears as though the group has been talking for a while. *[SOC = Student of Color; WS = White Student; FOC = Facilitator of Color; WF = White Facilitator]*

FOC: What would it mean to you if our campus *was* like that – if race was a really big part of our student of color's experience?
WS2: ***(****thinking****)***: It would be really sad. I guess it would mean that there is racism on this campus.
WS1: That's frustrating. ….I didn't think that racism existed anymore.
SOC1: Then it must be really upsetting to see it on this campus, then. I know it was for me- I never really experienced racism before until I came here. And it surprised me. It was really upsetting to experience it.
WS3: I think what I'm struggling with is not just that racism is on this campus…but that the people we know, our friends, that they might be racist.
WF: It's hard to think about our peers or our friends being racist towards other people on this campus. I wonder what the experiences other's of you have had on this campus or in this community?
SOC2: I echo feeling unwelcome. It comes from students and even professors.
SOC1: Yeah. It happens on a small scale, too. People will constantly ask me if I'm from Memphis and sometimes they won't even ask, they'll just assume. They'll reference restaurants and places and then act surprised when I have no idea what they're talking about. It's a lot.
WS2: I guess I never realized that was offensive. But I can see how it leads to an incorrect assumption.
SOC2: I think that's a good way of putting it- it's about the assumptions being made. Here a lot of my friends here are White. But sometimes they say things like, "You don't act Black." What does that even mean? I don't act like their stereotypes?
WS3: That's really offensive! I can't imagine people like that on this campus.
WS2: It does seem like your friend *(talking to SOC2)* was making an assumption. But I wonder if she or he just didn't see color. Like maybe your friendship was more than Black or White, it was just about who you are as people.
SOC3 *(angrily)*: That doesn't make it better!
SOC1: We *are* different. That's the point!
WS3: Wait. So… let me get this straight. So, acknowledging color, I thought that was offensive? Because when we don't acknowledge color, that's offensive too. What are we supposed to do?
SOC3: Well… I don't want to talk for everyone, but for me, I would like to talk about race- if we can have a conversation without me being inferior because of the color of my skin. But pretending that it doesn't exist is ignoring the fact that we do have physical differences and these physical differences translate to our everyday experiences because of the existence of racism and White privilege.
WS1: It's better to see the differences we experience based on our race.

SOC2: Exactly. There are things that happen in my daily life that don't happen in yours. And they have to do with the color of my skin.

Long pause.

WS1: I guess I'm just really confused now, because I don't think of myself as racist. But I also didn't know these things were going on our campus. I thought it was a good thing to not see color, but now I see that is a problem too.
FOC: I wonder why it seems that we have different experiences and different perceptions of what's going on.
WS2: Well, to be honest, I've never had to worry about race. Or notice it. I've never even thought about being White.
SOC3: I can't imagine not thinking about race. It's a part of my everyday life.
WF: It seems to me like we're beginning to talk about White privilege. Is anyone familiar with this concept?
WS1: We studied White privilege in one of my classes….It's the idea that we have unearned privileges just based on our race.
WS2: Like what? I've worked hard to get where I am. And my parents worked hard to support my family.
SOC3: So you don't think that I worked hard or harder to get here? Or my parents didn't work hard?
WS3: I think we all worked hard to get here.
SOC1: Well, I mean, look around. There are far more White people on this campus than students of color. If we all worked hard, then do you think that White people just happened to work harder than anyone else?
WS2: Well I still just don't understand what *[uses air-quotes]* "privileges" I have just because I'm White.
WF: Why is it challenging to acknowledge the privileges we have?

Long pause. WS2 appears to be thinking this over.
WS2: I don't know, I think it's because it feels like something is being taken away from me. Like none of my hard work is acknowledged or mattered. But now I feel conflicted, because I see that other people work hard too.
SOC2: Well, I think that's kind of what privilege is, though. It takes away from other people. Our country has so much white privilege. And it gets to the point where it's going to take away from people like me.
SOC3: They're certain things you don't have to work for and you just get because you were born White.
WF: Can we think of some examples to share?
S**OC1:** I know for me, whenever I'm going into a classroom and the professor is talking about black culture, or rap music, or racism, the teacher will always look directly at me as if they're just waiting for me to contribute something.
WS1: When I get pulled over, I don't have to worry about whether it's like because of my race, or whether my life is going to be at risk.

Appendix C: Informed Consent for Time 1

INFORMED CONSENT
Emotions About Groups

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Psychology investigating how students' think about other people and social issues in the world. I am especially interested in the thoughts, feelings, and attitudes that people have when they think about people who are different from them and about social issues.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve a series of surveys. These surveys will take approximately thirty minutes to complete. Questions will ask you to discuss how you think and feel about people from diverse backgrounds and social situations.

Risks
This survey does not pose any risks above and beyond daily life. Participation is voluntary. Only summaries of answers from all participants will ever be shared publicly, no one will be able to identify your personal answers in any research that is shared.

Benefits
Potential benefits to the greater scientific community may include a better understanding of how people perceive the world around them and the ability to develop more comprehensive, cohesive surveys in the future.

How do I earn SONA credit?
You will be awarded 0.5 SONA credit after you complete this study online. It may take the researcher a few days to award credit. If you begin the study, but then withdraw from the study at any time prior to full completion of the study, you will still be entitled to your SONA credit.

Confidentiality
Information in this study and the records will be kept confidential. Data will be stored securely and will be made available only to persons conducting the study unless participants specifically give permission in writing to do otherwise. No reference will be made in oral or written reports which could link participants to the study.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, you may contact the researchers, Keri Frantell, at 410H Austin Peay, kfrantel@vols.utk.edu or Dr. Joe Miles, at 410C Austin Peay, joemiles@utk.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, contact the IRB Compliance Officer at (865) 974-7697 or by email at utkirb@utk.edu.

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate without penalty. You must be 18 or older to participate in the study and a current student at the University of Tennessee.

If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at anytime without penalty and without loss of benefits, including SONA credits, to which you are otherwise entitled. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed your data will be destroyed.

CONSENT

☐YES, I have read the above information and agree to participate in this study.
☐NO, I do not want to participate in this study.

Appendix D: Informed Consent for Time 2

Informed Consent

Conversation Style

What is this study about?

This is a research study being conducted by Dr. Joe Miles and Keri Frantell at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The project is examining the effects of social identity features (for example: race, gender, sexual orientation) on communication styles, patterns, and abilities. You were invited to participate in this study because we are attempting to collect a representative sample of university students.

What will I be asked to do?

Today, you will be asked to complete a series of surveys (approximately 25 minutes) and spend approximately 30 minutes in a video-recorded group facilitated by two graduate students. Your total participation for today will be about 1 hour. Surveys that you complete today will ask about your anxiety, social identities, your attitudes and interest in further communication groups.

You have already signed up for a second session in the lab in one week. When you return next week you will complete a similar series of surveys (approximately 25 minutes) asking about anxiety, social identities, attitudes, and interest in further communication groups. Your total time of participation in the second session is 30 minutes, and your total time in this study will be approximately 90 minutes.

Today we will be video-recording facilitated group conversation. These videos will only be used for research purposes and will not be shared outside of this lab. The videos will be used to code specific communication techniques and styles. Once they have been coded by the research team, the videos will be destroyed.

What are the risks?

The risks in this study are minimal. You will be answering questions about your own social identities and how this relates to your daily experiences, and it is possible that disclosing this information could be difficult. You are able to skip any question you do not feel comfortable answering, or to leave the study at any time.

What are the benefits?

There are no direct benefits to you specifically for participating in this research. Potential benefits to society, however, include a better understanding of communication patterns and different factors that influence communication. This knowledge can also help course preparation and selection within the university.

How do I earn SONA credit?

You will be awarded 1.0 SONA credit after you complete Phase I of this study, in person. You will be awarded the other 0.5 SONA credit after you complete Phase II of this study, in person. It may take the researcher a few days to award credit. If you arrive at the study, but then withdraw from the study at any time prior to full completion of the study, you will still be entitled to your SONA credit. You are not entitled to SONA credit if you do not attend the lab session.

If I say yes, will my answers be confidential?
Yes. Only summaries of answers from lots of students will ever be shared publicly- no one will ever be able to identify your personal answers in any research results that are shared. Though you will be video-recorded today, these videos will not be used for anything besides coding of individual communication. All study records will be retained in the PIs office space for three years.

What if I have questions?
If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, (or you experience adverse effects as a result of participating in this study), you may contact the researcher, Keri Frantell, at kfrantel@vols.utk.edu, or her advisor, Dr. Joe Miles, at joemiles@utk.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, you may contact the University of Tennessee IRB Compliance Officer at utkirb@utk.edu or (865) 974-7697.

What happens if I choose to participate?
Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at anytime without penalty and without loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed your data will be deleted.

CONSENT

☐Yes, I have read the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study.

☐ Yes, I agree to be video-recorded for research purposes.

☐ NO, I DO NOT agree to be video-recorded OR to participate.

Participant's Name (printed) _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix E: Demographics Questionnaire

What is your UTK NetId?

What is your SONA ID number?

What is your gender? Check all that apply.
___Female
___Male
___Transgender
___Gender nonbinary

What is your race? Check all that apply.
___ White
___ Black/African American
___ Asian/Asian American
___ Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
___ American Indian/Native American
___ Multiracial/Biracial
___ Latinx
___ Other _____

What is your sexual orientation? Check all that apply.
___ Straight/Heterosexual
____ Lesbian
____ Gay
____ Bisexual
____Queer
____ Asexual
____ Other _____

What is your religion/spiritual orientation?

What year are you in school?

____First year
____ Sophomore
____ Junior
____ Senior
____ 5th year+
____ Graduate Student

Appendix F: Debriefing

Debriefing

Conversation Style

Thank you for participating in this research study! This study is concerned with anxiety as it relates to anticipated communication with diverse others. Previous studies have found that people can become anxious when presented with the opportunity to communicate with people who are different from them. This anxiety sometimes also leads to other negative emotions, and often makes people avoid opportunities for this type of communication.

In this study you were asked to complete surveys about your own anxiety, guilt, and other feelings. You were also asked to assess how interested you would be in enrolling for a course that featured these types of conversations and your confidence in your own abilities. While you were told that you would be having a conversation in a group, these conversations did not actually occur. Instead of exploring your actual communication, we explored how anxiety related to the anticipation of this type of communication.

This study is particularly important on this campus because there are opportunities in various courses to discuss race. There is research that shows that these types of course have a lot of positive outcomes for students. However, students sometimes feel apprehensive about enrolling for these courses, because they are experiencing anxiety. If we are able to reduce anxiety, students might be more interested in these courses.

In order to maintain the integrity of this experiment, we ask that you do not share information about the study or what you did here with any other person. Please also note, that if you viewed a video for this study, the actors in that video were just that- they were acting. The views represented in that film do not represent the views of the individuals acting or the researchers.

This research study was also related to a previous study you participated in, called "Personal Emotions About Groups." We asked you several questions in *that* study to find out about your attitudes and experiences with people who are different from you. We are interested to see how these attitudes influence the anxiety and interest in having racial conversations. **For that reason, we would like to link the information from that study with this study.**

Information in these studies and the records will be kept confidential. Data will be stored securely and will be made available only to persons conducting the study unless participants specifically give permission in writing to do otherwise. No reference will be made in oral or written reports which could link participants to the study. You do not have to consent to link your data from one study to the other.

If you are interested in learning more about this study or these types of courses, you can contact the researcher, Keri Frantell (kfrantel@vols.utk.edu), or her advisor, Dr. Joe Miles (joemiles@utk.edu.).

If you have concerns about your rights as a participant in this experiment, please contact the UTK IRB Compliance Officer at utkirb@utk.edu or (865) 974-7697.

Thank you again for your participation.

CONSENT

☐YES, I have read the above information and agree to have my data linked.
☐NO, I do not want my data linked.

_____ _____

Participant Signature Date

VITA

Keri Frantell was born in Woodstock, Illinois, to the parents of Bob and Sue Frantell. She has two older siblings, Amy and Nick, and several stepsiblings. She attended St. Joseph Catholic School from kindergarten to eighth grade and continued on to Fort Atkinson High School, both in Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin. She attended the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater and earned her Bachelor of Arts in Psychology, with a Scientist Practitioner Emphasis, in 2010. After taking time off to work with children in a residential treatment center, she attended Marquette University, earning her Master's of Science in Clinical Mental Health Counseling, with an Addictions Specialty. She is currently enrolled at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville, working with Dr. Joe Miles in pursuit of a Ph.D. in Counseling Psychology.