

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology

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Online First Publication, October 14, 2019. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000219>

CITATION

LaCosse, J., & Plant, E. A. (2019, October 14). Internal Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Fosters Respectful Responses in Interracial Interactions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000219>

Internal Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Fosters Respectful Responses in Interracial Interactions

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As society becomes increasingly racially diverse, fostering positive interracial interactions is more important than ever. Unfortunately, previous work suggests that there are barriers to positive interracial interactions including White people's concerns about being liked and being seen as nonprejudiced and Black people's concerns about being respected and being seen as competent (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). The current work tested the hypothesis that these seemingly divergent impression management concerns do not always lead White people to have an approach to interracial interactions that is "incompatible" with Black interaction partner's concerns about being respected. We argue that White people who are internally motivated to respond without prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998) are aware that Black interaction partners want to be respected, are concerned about showing this respect, and demonstrate this respect by focusing on getting to know and engaging with Black interaction partners during interracial interactions. On the other hand, White people who are externally motivated to respond without prejudice are focused on their own concerns about appearing prejudiced and focus on themselves and their own experience rather than the needs of Black interaction partners. The results of six studies supported our predictions. Overall, the current work provides an important link between research on impression management concerns and motivations to respond without prejudice and suggests that the key to cultivating positive interracial interactions may be to increase White people's internal motivation and knowledge that Black people want to be respected.

Keywords: interracial interactions, impression management concerns, motivations to respond without prejudice

Supplemental materials: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000219.supp>

As society becomes increasingly racially diverse, reducing racial tension and promoting cooperation among people of different races is more important than ever. One way of reducing racial tension and promoting cooperation is to foster positive interracial interactions and encourage nonprejudiced beliefs (e.g., Blincoe & Harris, 2009; Stephan & Stephan, 2005). A plethora of research indicates that positive intergroup contact is a reliable predictor of nonprejudiced attitudes (for reviews see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp, Mazziotta, & Wright, 2017; Tropp & Page-Gould, 2015). The impact of contact on attitudes becomes stronger as people move from acquaintances to friends. Unfortunately, previous work suggests that there are barriers to positive interracial interactions including White and Black people having different concerns and goals for interracial interactions (e.g., Bergsieker et al., 2010; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). However, we posit that some people are eager to engage in positive interracial interactions and

actively pursue approaches that can create good interactions for all involved and encourage friendship formation. As we elaborate below, we argue that people who are personally dedicated to responding without prejudice (i.e., internally motivated; Plant & Devine, 1998) will be particularly likely to focus upon and pursue these types of approaches. Specifically, we predict that internally motivated people will engage in behaviors and strategies in interracial interactions that help address their interaction partner's concerns and goals. Across a series of studies, we explore how White people's motivations to respond without prejudice influence their concerns and behaviors during interactions with Black people.

Impression Management Concerns in Interracial Interactions

Research by Bergsieker and colleagues (2010) demonstrated that, on average, Black and White people have different impression management concerns during interracial interactions. Stemming from the desire to counter negative stereotypes about one's group, Black people are often concerned about being respected (i.e., appearing competent and intelligent) whereas White people are often concerned about appearing nonprejudiced. Indeed, many White people are aware of metastereotypes about White people being biased and are concerned about appearing prejudiced in interracial interactions, which interferes with the quality of the interaction (Butz & Plant, 2006; Plant, Devine, & Peruche, 2010;

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Shelton, West, & Trail, 2010; Vorauer et al., 1998). This indicates that White and Black people may have inconsistent concerns regarding interracial contact that could contribute to a negative and unsatisfying contact experience.

However, we posit that White and Black people having different impression management concerns does not inevitably result in negative interracial contact where people only attend to their own, seemingly incompatible, concerns. Indeed, some interracial interactions are successful and enjoyed by both White and Black people. In these interactions, the more people focus on being responsive to their interaction partner's needs, the more positive the interaction is (Butz & Plant, 2006; Migacheva & Tropp, 2013; Migacheva, Tropp, & Crocker, 2011; Murphy, Richeson, & Molden, 2011; Plant et al., 2010; Tropp & Page-Gould, 2015). Moreover, the more understood people feel in interracial interactions the more feelings of intimacy, trust, and comfort they experience, which is also associated with a positive interaction experience (Holoien, Bergsieker, Shelton, & Alegre, 2015; Shelton, Trail, West, & Bergsieker, 2010). Taken together, this research suggests that some White people attend to Black interaction partners' needs in interracial interactions. The current work offers a novel extension to this body of research by specifically examining whether White people attend to Black interaction partners' concerns about being respected and what determines whether they do.

Partner-Focused Versus Self-Focused Behaviors in Interracial Interactions

In addition to examining whether some White people are concerned about showing Black people that they are respected; the current work examines the influence of these concerns on the types of behaviors White people engage in during interracial interactions. Collectively, the research on interracial interactions suggests that the goals people have for interracial interactions are important determinants of the types of behaviors they pursue in interracial interactions (Shelton & Richeson, 2015; Tropp & Page-Gould, 2015). When people are concerned about having a good interaction they focus on learning about their partner and concentrate on the ways they can grow from the experience (Butz & Plant, 2006; Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008; Migacheva & Tropp, 2013; Migacheva et al., 2011; Murphy et al., 2011; Tropp & Page-Gould, 2015). This is consistent with research on interpersonal interactions in general, which demonstrates that in positive interactions, people infer their partners' thoughts and concerns, are responsive, and have compassionate goals focused on creating an environment that is supportive for both themselves and their partners (Crocker & Canevello, 2008, 2015; Fehr, 2004; Hruschka, 2010). These types of interaction behaviors and goals are important because people feel closer and more connected with interaction partners who engage in them (e.g., Lemay, Clark, & Feeney, 2007; Reis, Clark, & Holmes, 2004). Overall, this research suggests that the more concerned people are about their interaction partners' needs and interaction experience, the more they focus on their partners and try to get to know them.

In contrast, research suggests that the more White people focus on avoiding the appearance of prejudice and activating metastereotypes about White people, the more preoccupied they become with themselves during intergroup interactions rather than focusing on the experience of outgroup members (Vorauer, 2008;

Vorauer & Sasaki, 2009; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2014). Relatedly, evaluative concerns in interracial interactions are associated with a narrowing of attention and defensive distancing (Goff et al., 2008; Vorauer, 2006) and can interfere with the previously mentioned partner-focused behaviors such as self-disclosure and partner responsiveness (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). This echoes the role of self-image goals in interpersonal interaction in general, which are related to a focus on one's own concerns and desires rather than the concerns and desires of one's interaction partner (e.g., Canevello & Crocker, 2010; Crocker & Canevello, 2004). In addition, these self-image goals are associated with attempts to monitor one's own behavior in interpersonal interactions (Crocker & Canevello, 2004).

Internal and External Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice

For the past two decades, researchers have distinguished between internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice toward Black people (Plant & Devine, 1998). Internal motivation to respond without prejudice stems from a personal dedication to egalitarianism, whereas external motivation to respond without prejudice stems from a fear of the negative social consequences of appearing prejudiced toward Black people. These sources of motivation are independent and only weakly correlated ($r = -.15$; Plant & Devine, 1998), meaning that non-Black people can be motivated by both sources, neither source, or only one source of motivation. Particularly relevant to the current work, past research indicates that internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice predict different types of responses in interracial interactions. Internal motivation is associated with the pursuit of strategies in interracial interactions that approach a positive interaction, which leads to high quality interactions that both the internally motivated White people and their Black interaction partners enjoy (Plant et al., 2010). As noted previously, in positive interactions, people focus upon their interaction partners' concerns and desires regarding contact and are responsive to these concerns (Crocker & Canevello, 2008, 2015; Fehr, 2004; Hruschka, 2010). Thus, we hypothesized the internal motivation would lead to a focus upon interracial interaction partners and their concerns for interracial interactions. More specifically, when interacting with Black people, internally motivated White people would be concerned with treating their partner with respect, which would be associated with a focus upon the partner's experience during the interaction.

Like internal motivation, external motivation plays an important role in the course and quality of interracial interactions. Specifically, external motivation leads to a focus upon avoiding negative interracial interactions and, in particular, avoiding the expression of prejudice in interracial interactions (Plant et al., 2010). Thus, during interracial interactions we hypothesized that externally motivated people would be focused on concerns about their own expression of prejudice and how they will be viewed by others rather than the concerns and desires of their interaction partner (self-image goals; e.g., Canevello & Crocker, 2010; Crocker & Canevello, 2004). In addition, we predicted that externally motivated people would focus on themselves and their own behaviors during interracial interactions as a response to their concern with potentially expressing prejudice during these interactions. There-

fore, we also predicted that externally motivated people's concerns about appearing prejudiced would contribute to their self-focused response to interracial contact.

The Current Work

To test our novel hypotheses, we performed six studies. In Study 1, we asked Black participants what behaviors White people engage in that make them feel respected and coded their responses to help create an operationalization of respectful behaviors that was ecologically valid. In Studies 2 and 3, we examined the relationship between White people's internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice and both their concerns regarding an imagined interaction with a Black person (appearing prejudiced vs. showing respect) and behavioral intentions for the interaction (self vs. partner-focus). In Study 4, we further validated our hypotheses by replicating the mediation findings using different measures of partner-focused and self-focused behavioral intentions adapted from Crocker and Canevello's (2008) measures of compassionate and self-image goals. Finally, in Studies 5 and 6, we examined our hypotheses in the context of an interracial interaction. White participants watched a "getting to know you video" made by a Black student with whom they expected to interact and made their own video for their partner to watch. Then, to assess partner-focused (i.e., respectful) behavior, in Study 5 we tested memory for their interaction partner's video, and in both Studies 5 and 6 we coded the participants' videos for different types of partner-focused behaviors.

The current work provides an important contribution to the literature on interracial interactions by distinguishing between the types of behavioral intentions White people have in interracial interactions, their relation to the types of concerns White people have in interracial interactions, and the underlying motivations that influence them. Using this approach, the present work also explores whether White people are concerned about showing Black interaction partners the respect they desire in interracial interactions. Although past work has highlighted that Black and White people have different impression concerns, this is the first work to explore whether some people (i.e., those focused on their partner's concerns) engage in interracial interaction behaviors focused on getting to know their partner while other people (i.e., those focused on their own concerns) engage in interracial interaction behaviors focused on themselves.

Study 1

Before examining if individual differences in motivations to respond without prejudice predict White people's concerns about showing respect in interracial interactions, we examined the specific behaviors and actions Black people define as respectful. Drawing upon research on person perception (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) and impression management concerns (Bergsieker et al., 2010), we hypothesized that Black people would feel respected when White people rejected existing stereotypes about Black people and alleviated Black people's concerns about being perceived as competent and intelligent (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Fiske et al., 2002). Furthermore, because previous work highlights the importance of feeling understood and accepted by one's partner in interracial interactions (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2006; Shelton et al., 2010), and both White and Black people have more positive

interracial contact when they find similarities between themselves and their interaction partner (e.g., Pinel & Long, 2012; West, Magee, Gordon, & Gullett, 2014), we hypothesized that Black people would define partner-focused behaviors as respectful. We posit that if someone is not basing their impressions of an interaction partner on stereotypes about their partner's group, then it will be necessary to individuate the partner and get to know whom that person really is. Therefore, for Black people to feel respected, their White interaction partners would need to actively work to get to know and understand them.

Method

All studies presented were approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Florida State University before being conducted.

Participants and procedure. Participants in Study 1 were 99 Black undergraduate students (71 female; 15 male; 1 Other; 12 did not indicate gender) who were 18.54 ($SD = 3.46$) years old on average. Participants came into the lab to complete an unrelated study examining interracial interactions. At the end of this study, participants provided an open-ended response to the question, "In general, when interacting with White people, what actions, behaviors, topics of conversation, etc. do they perform that lead you to feel respected? What do they do that makes you feel disrespected?" The majority of participants' responses to these questions were quite short ($M_{Word\ Count} = 55$ words). Therefore, the responses were coded by two independent raters for the presence or absence of three overarching themes ($Mean\ \kappa = .54$). Because of low reliability between the initial two coders, a third coder resolved the disagreements between the first two coders (Reis & Judd, 2000).

We coded the responses for three themes that we theorized would be important for a Black person to feel respected in an interaction with a White person. First, the coders rated whether the participant mentioned the importance of White interaction partners rejecting racism and acknowledging prejudice to demonstrate their respect by responding to the question, "Did the participant explicitly mention racist behaviors, comments, jokes, undertones etc. as a sign of disrespect or acknowledging racism and supporting Black Lives Matter as important for respect?" Second, the coders rated importance of alleviating impression management concerns related to stereotypic expectations about competence and intelligence. Specifically, they answered the question, "Did the participant mention that being treated as intelligent, educated, or knowledgeable makes him/her feel respected or did they mention that not being treated in this way (e.g., being talked down to) or being treated or judged stereotypically makes him/her feel disrespected?" Finally, the raters evaluated the importance of engagement during interracial interactions with the question, "Did the participant mention that being asked questions about him/herself, feeling they are being heard and understood, or perceiving that the other person is making an effort to get to know him/her makes him/her feel respected?"

Results and Discussion

The three themes we identified were quite common in the participants' responses. Eighty-two percent of the participants mentioned one or more of the coded themes (22% mentioned two and 4% mentioned all three themes). The remaining 18% of

participants' responses were vague (e.g., "yes, I feel a part of them") or not consistent with the coded themes. When examining each theme individually, we found that 49.5% of participants mentioned the importance of acting in a nonprejudiced and unbiased manner for feeling respected by White people in interracial interactions. For example, one participant wrote, "I would say acknowledging me just like a regular human being, nothing more or less. Racial slurs, racial discriminatory behaviors, being prejudice, etc. all makes me feel disrespected," and another wrote, "I feel respected when White people talk about their support for the Black Lives Matter movement, engage in other topics of social injustice against Black people. . . . I feel disrespected when they are against Black Lives Matter, or claim that all lives matter . . ."

In addition, 37.4% of participants mentioned the importance of rejecting stereotypes and, thus, being treated as intelligent and competent for feeling respected. For example, one participant wrote, "I feel disrespected when I am talked down upon, such as a person talking to me like I am incapable of understanding them or a situation," and another wrote, "When White people talk to me like I am a regular educated person it makes me feel respected."

Finally, 25.3% of participants mentioned the importance of genuine engagement during interracial interactions for feeling respected. For example, one participant wrote, "A genuine welcoming approach, followed by a getting to know who you are first leads me to be respected" and another wrote, "Sharing common interests make me feel respected and conversing about negative stereotypes about Black people make me feel disrespected."

Overall, the themes identified align with previous research on successful interracial interactions indicating that being open and responsive is crucial to their success (e.g., Bergsieker et al., 2010; Butz & Plant, 2006; West et al., 2014). Black people feel respected when prejudice and stereotypes do not influence White people's behavior toward them. Relatedly, they also feel respected when they are treated as competent and intelligent. Finally, for Black people to feel respected, White people need to make an effort to understand and get to know them. Therefore, in Studies 2–5 we examined the role of internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice in determining whether White people are concerned about showing such respect and whether they engage in the partner-focused behaviors that signal a focus on getting know their partner.

Study 2

The current study examined whether the source of White people's motivation to respond without prejudice would predict their concerns and behavioral intentions for interracial interactions. We predicted that people who are highly internally motivated to respond without prejudice would be concerned about showing their partners that they respect them and view them as capable during interracial interactions. We further hypothesized that this concern about showing respect to their partners should, in turn, translate into an intention to treat the partners in a respectful manner. More specifically, based on the results of Study 1, to be respectful White interaction partners should individualize their Black interaction partners by focusing on their partners' qualities and interests and trying to get to know them. We anticipated that such an approach would be reflected in greater partner-focused behavioral intentions. In contrast, given that external motivation is associated with a focus upon one's own behavior and image in interracial interac-

tions, we predicted that external motivation would be associated with an overarching concern about appearing prejudiced and self-focused behavioral intentions.

Method

Participants. Participants were 68 White/European American undergraduate students who participated in a short online study on interracial interactions in exchange for course credit. Non-White participants also participated in the research opportunity but were not included in the analyses given our focus on White people's interaction concerns and intentions. We also removed data from four participants who took eight or less minutes to complete the survey, which was less than half the time it took the average participant to complete the survey. Therefore, the final sample consisted of 64 participants (40 female). Participants were 19.55 ($SD = 1.94$) years old on average. To assess statistical power, we performed a sensitivity analysis using G*Power 3.1.9.3 to obtain an estimate of the smallest detectable effect size (f^2) given our sample size and number of predictors with a power of .80, alpha of 0.5, and two-tailed tests (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009; Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). After converting f^2 to r^2 —to be consistent with the effect sizes we report hereafter—we found that the minimal detectable effect size was $r^2 = .16$.

Procedure and measures. Participants provided demographic information and asked to:

Imagine that you are having an interaction with a Black person who you have not met before. Think about how you would feel and behave during the interaction and the types of thoughts you would have. Take some time now to think about this, and then use the scale below to indicate how much you disagree or agree with each statement below. In the interracial interaction . . .

Participants then rated 19 statements on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Five statements assessed participants' concerns about showing their interaction partner that he or she is respected and perceived as capable (e.g., "I would want the person to feel that I respect him/her" and "I would want to show the person that I think they are competent"; $\alpha = .86$).¹ Five statements assessed how concerned participants would be with

¹ Studies 2–6 also contained a measure of concerns about showing liking. Both measures tended to be positively related to both internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice. However, liking did not mediate the effects of either type of motivation on our self or partner-focused intentions. However, because the respect and liking items were statistically correlated and both concerned a positive interaction, we combined data across studies ($n = 426$) and examined whether the liking and respect items loaded onto two separate factors using a confirmatory factor analysis. Results confirmed that a two-factor model where respect and liking loaded onto separate factors (CFI = .97, RMSEA = 0.08, RMSEA 90% CI [.06, .09]; $\chi^2(41) = 141.81, p < .001$) provided a better model fit than a one-factor model combining the liking and respect items (CFI = .92, RMSEA = 0.13, RMSEA 90% CI [.12, .14]; $\chi^2(42) = 337.26, p < .001$). Because we were primarily interested in concerns about showing respect and the findings regarding showing liking were not particularly informative (e.g., people who are motivated to respond without prejudice, regardless of the type of motivation, and want to show their partner they like him or her), we do not report concerns about showing liking as an outcome measure in the main text to avoid overcomplicating the methods and results. However, these findings are presented in the online supplemental materials.

avoiding the appearance of prejudice (e.g., “I would try to demonstrate through the things that I say that I am not racially prejudiced”; $\alpha = .73$). Finally, four of the statements assessed participants’ intentions of focusing on themselves and their own behavior during the imagined interaction (e.g., “I would focus a lot on my own behaviors and actions”; $\alpha = .76$). Across all measures, higher scores indicate greater concern or intentions (see Appendix for all items used in the measures from each study).

Next participants indicated the extent to which they would engage in a series of behaviors during the imagined interaction. Four of the behaviors assessed participants’ intentions of focusing upon their interaction partner during the interaction (e.g., “Try to learn a lot about the person” and “Ask follow up questions based on what the person says”; $\alpha = .73$).²

Following this, participants completed a measure of their internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice (IMS/EMS; Plant & Devine, 1998). This scale contained five items that assessed IMS (e.g., “I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me”; $\alpha = .87$) and five items that assessed EMS (e.g., “I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people to avoid negative reactions from others”; $\alpha = .76$). All items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating more motivation. We had participants complete these measures at the end of the study as opposed to at the outset to avoid priming their motivations before asking about interracial interactions in an effort to reduce consistency biases.³

Results and Discussion

To examine whether individual differences in internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice predicted participants’ intentions for the imagined interracial interaction, we regressed each of our outcome variables onto IMS and EMS. See Table 1 for descriptive statistics across studies and see Table 2 for correlations among measures across studies. See Tables 3 (IMS effects) and 4 (EMS effects) for a summary of regression results. It is worth noting that, across studies, we examined whether the interaction between IMS and EMS was a significant predictor of any of our outcome variables. However, across all studies, the interaction term was not significant and adding it to the model did not significantly increase the amount of variance accounted for. Therefore, we did not include the interaction term in any of the analyses presented.

In line with our predictions, IMS, but not EMS, significantly predicted participants’ concerns about showing their interaction partner respect, as well as, participants’ behavioral intentions to focus upon their interaction partner. More specifically, higher levels of IMS were associated with greater concerns about showing respect and more partner-focused behavioral intentions. Thus, participants who were personally dedicated to responding without prejudice were concerned about showing respect to their partner, and they intended to focus upon their partner during the interaction. In contrast, EMS, but not IMS, significantly predicted both how concerned participants were about avoiding the appearance of prejudice as well as how self-focused they anticipated being during the imagined interaction. Participants who were higher in external motivation to respond without prejudice were more concerned about responding with prejudice and intended on focusing on their

own behavior during the interaction. Taken together, these results provide important insight into how White people’s motivation to respond without prejudice relates to their concerns and intended behavior during interactions with Black people.

Next, we examined whether participants’ concerns during the imagined interaction would mediate the effects of IMS and EMS on their self-reported behavioral intentions. All mediation analyses, across all studies, were performed using the PROCESS macro (Model 4) developed by Hayes (2013) with bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals (CIs) computed with 5,000 bootstrap resamples. Analyses examining IMS’ effect on behavioral intentions controlled for EMS and analyses examining EMS’ effect on behavioral intentions controlled for IMS. See Figure 1 for a summary of the IMS mediation model results and see Figure 2 for a summary of the EMS mediation model results.

Consistent with our theorizing, mediation analyses indicated that the concern that people had about showing their partner respect contributed to the association between internal motivation and intentions to focus upon their partner (*indirect effect* = .11, *SE* = .05, 95% CI [.02, .21]). In addition, our findings suggest that people who are externally motivated to respond without prejudice focus on their own impression management concerns about avoiding the expression of prejudice and are focused on their own feelings and behaviors to ensure that their partner will not think they were biased (*indirect effect* = .15, *SE* = .05, 95% CI [.06, .26]).

It is worth noting because IMS was associated with a self-focus in some of our studies we also tested for parallel mediation in which both concerns about showing respect and concerns about appearing prejudice were both included as mediators. Across all studies that examined mediation models (Studies 2–4), we found no evidence for parallel mediation. That is to say, respect concerns

² Other items were included as filler items to distract from our interest in partner focus. These items were purposely written to seem relevant to the quality of an interaction: “Make eye contact,” “Smile at the person,” “laugh at his/her jokes,” “fidget,” “be friendly,” “tap my foot,” “sit or stand close to the person,” “fold/cross my arms,” “share information about myself,” “compliment the person,” “use respectful language.” Although some of these items are conceptually related to a partner-focus (i.e., make eye contact, use respectful language, be friendly, smile at the person, and sit or stand close to the person), they were not included in our composite because in at least one of the studies they loaded onto separate factors and produced ceiling effects in which 80% or more of participants selected a five or higher on the 7-point scale that was administered.

³ Additional measures were included in Studies 2–6 asking about how the participant wanted to be treated during the interaction. However, we do not report these measures in text because they were included for use in a separate, but related, project. It is also worth noting that, in Studies 2–5, analyses with omitted participants included yielded that same results in terms of significance and the betas were generally higher. In Study 6, a majority of the effects became nonsignificant when omitted participants were included. However, in our view, this makes sense given that the study assessed expectations for an interaction that participants thought would actually occur. Indeed, all but one participant was excluded because they were suspicious that their ostensible partner was not real. If participants did not believe that they would actually have an interaction their responses to questions about their concerns and intentions for the upcoming interaction are not valid. For the participants who were dropped because of our survey time criteria, we did so because regardless of whether the results change, there is a very low chance that people who completed the survey in less than half the average time would actually be able to read each statement and respond reliably. In addition, we wanted our criteria to be consistent across studies as much as possible.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Studies 2–6

Measures	Study 2		Study 3		Study 4		Study 5		Study 6	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
IMS	7.44	1.56	7.28	1.54	7.27	1.65	7.71	1.44	7.63	1.11
EMS	5.04	1.73	5.35	1.77	4.69	2.09	4.79	2.07	5.75	1.65
Concerns about showing respect	5.77	.89	5.91	.75	5.89	.89	—	—	—	—
Concerns about appearing prejudiced	4.86	1.17	4.40	1.17	5.05	1.18	3.35	1.22	—	—
Self-focused behavioral intentions	5.34	.78	4.94	1.21	4.934	1.21	5.39	.88	5.02	.85
Partner-focused behavioral intentions	5.51	.98	5.81	.96	5.74	.83	5.98	.73	6.08	.65
Coded partner-engaged behavior	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.79	2.52	.00 ^a	.79
Memory for partner's responses	—	—	—	—	—	—	9.42	2.61	—	—
Prejudice (feeling thermometer)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.61	2.15

Note. IMS = internal motivation to respond without prejudice; EMS = external motivation to respond without prejudice.

^a Variables in composite were z-scored.

did not mediate the effects of EMS on either partner-focus or self-focus, concerns about appearing prejudice did not mediate the effects of IMS on partner-focus or self-focus, respect concerns did not mediate the effects of IMS on self-focus, and concerns about appearing prejudice did not mediate the effects on EMS on partner-focus.

Although these mediation findings support our theorizing it is important to acknowledge the limitations of these statistical analyses. First and foremost, these analyses are based on our assumption that internal motivation is a precursor to concerns about showing respect and concerns about showing respect are a precursor to behavioral engagement. To this end, we tested for reverse

Table 2
Correlations Across Measures and Studies

Measures	Study 2 <i>r</i>	Study 3 <i>r</i>	Study 4 <i>r</i>	Study 5 <i>r</i>	Study 6 <i>r</i>	Average across studies	95% CI for average <i>r</i>
Motivations and concerns							
IMS and concerns about showing respect	.44***	.58***	.32***	—	—	.45***	[.21, .69]
EMS and concerns about showing respect	.22 [†]	.26*	.05	—	—	.16	[−.02, .35]
IMS and concerns about appearing prejudiced	.27*	.27**	.08	—	—	.20*	[.01, .38]
EMS and concerns about appearing prejudiced	.59***	.55**	.44***	—	—	.52***	[.34, .69]
Motivations and behavior							
IMS and partner-focused beh. int.	.42***	.56***	.28***	.38**	.40**	.41***	[.26, .56]
EMS and partner-focused beh. int.	.07	.06	.02	.21	.29*	.11	[−.03, .26]
IMS and self-focused beh. int.	.23 [†]	.24*	.20*	.23 [†]	.03	.19***	[.07, .31]
EMS and self-focused beh. int.	.38**	.36***	.37***	.42**	.37**	.37***	[.31, .44]
IMS and coded respectful behavior	—	—	—	.43**	.25	.39***	[.19, .59]
EMS and coded respectful behavior	—	—	—	.12	.02	.04	[−.16, .26]
IMS and memory for partner's responses	—	—	—	.46**	—	—	—
EMS and memory for partner's responses	—	—	—	.05	—	—	—
Concerns and behavior							
Concerns about showing respect and partner-focused beh. int.	.51***	.65***	.76***	—	—	.66***	[.36, .95]
Concerns about showing respect and self-focused beh. int.	.52***	.25*	.19*	—	—	.32**	[.03, .60]
Concerns about appearing prejudiced and partner-focused beh. int.	.18	.06	.42***	—	.22 [†]	.20**	[.03, .44]
Concerns about appearing prejudiced and self-focused beh. int.	.59***	.65***	.39***	—	.36**	.51***	[.27, .75]
Remaining correlations							
IMS and EMS	.20	.24*	−.12	.03	.13	.09	[−.08, .26]
Concerns about showing respect and concerns about appearing prejudiced	.49***	.38***	.48***	—	—	.44***	[.33, .56]
Partner-focused beh. int. and self-focused beh. int.	.35**	.01	.17*	.44**	.29*	.21	[−.11, .49]
Partner-focused beh. int. and coded partner-engaged behavior	—	—	—	.26 [†]	.02	.14	[−.19, .46]
Partner-focused beh. int. and memory for partner's responses	—	—	—	.14	—	—	—
Self-focused beh. int. and coded partner-engaged behavior	—	—	—	.24	−.09	.07	[−.33, .48]
Memory for partner's responses and coded partner-engaged behavior	—	—	—	.14	—	—	—
IMS and feeling thermometer toward Black people	—	—	—	—	.74***	—	—
EMS and feeling thermometer toward Black people	—	—	—	—	.02	—	—
Coded partner-engaged behavior and feeling thermometer toward Black people	—	—	—	—	.02	—	—

Note. IMS = internal motivation to respond without prejudice; EMS = external motivation to respond without prejudice; Beh. = behavioral; Int = intentions; CI = confidence interval.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p \leq .001$.

Table 3
Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses Across Studies: Effects of IMS

Outcome variable	Study 2			Study 3			Study 4			Study 5			Study 6		
	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Semi-partial <i>r</i> ²	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Semi-partial <i>r</i> ²	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Semi-partial <i>r</i> ²	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Semi-partial <i>r</i> ²	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Semi-partial <i>r</i> ²
Concerns about showing respect	.22**	[.09, .35]	.15	.26***	[.18, .35]	.30	.18***	[.10, .27]	.11	—	—	—	—	—	—
Concerns about appearing prejudiced	.09	[−.06, .24]	.03	.10	[−.04, .23]	.02	.11*	[.001, .21]	.03	—	—	—	—	—	—
Self-focused behavioral intentions	.08	[−.04, .20]	.03	.12	[−.03, .27]	.03	−.10†	[−.21, .01]	.02	.13†	[−.02, .28]	.06	.07	[−.20, .35]	.01
Partner-focused behavioral intentions	.27**	[.12, .42]	.18	.35***	[.25, .46]	.32	.13**	[.05, .21]	.07	.19**	[.07, .32]	.15	.22*	[.03, .41]	.09
Memory for partner's responses	—	—	—	—	—	—	.66***	[.21, 1.10]	.14	.27**	[.10, .43]	.19	.37*	[.02, .73]	.11
Coded partner-engaged behavior	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note. IMS = internal motivation to respond without prejudice; EMS = external motivation to respond without prejudice; CI = confidence interval. Analyses use EMS as a covariate and in Study 6 prejudice (feeling thermometer) is also included as a covariate.

† *p* < .10. * *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001.

Table 4
Summary of Multiple Regression Analyses Across Studies: Effects of EMS

Outcome variable	Study 2			Study 3			Study 4			Study 5			Study 6		
	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Semi-partial <i>r</i> ²	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Semi-partial <i>r</i> ²	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Semi-partial <i>r</i> ²	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Semi-partial <i>r</i> ²	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Semi-partial <i>r</i> ²
Concerns about showing respect	.07	[−.05, .19]	.02	.05	[−.03, .12]	.02	.04	[−.02, .11]	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—
Concerns about appearing prejudiced	.38***	[.25, .51]	.35	.34***	[.22, .46]	.27	.26***	[.18, .34]	.21	—	—	—	—	—	—
Self-focused behavioral intentions	.16**	[.05, .26]	.12	.22**	[.08, .35]	.10	.21***	[.12, .30]	.13	.18**	[.07, .28]	.18	.17*	[.03, .31]	.10
Partner-focused behavioral intentions	−.01	[−.14, .13]	<.01	−.05	[−.15, .04]	.01	.02	[−.04, .09]	<.01	.07	[−.02, .16]	.06	.11*	[.01, .20]	.08
Memory for partner's responses	—	—	—	—	—	—	−.05	[−.37, .26]	<.01	−.05	[−.37, .26]	<.01	−.05	[−.37, .26]	<.01
Coded partner-engaged behavior	—	—	—	—	—	—	.06	[−.07, .19]	.02	.06	[−.07, .19]	.02	−.02	[−.18, .13]	<.01

Note. IMS = internal motivation to respond without prejudice; EMS = external motivation to respond without prejudice; CI = confidence interval. Analyses use IMS as a covariate and in Study 6 prejudice (feeling thermometer) is also included as a covariate.

* *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01. *** *p* < .001.

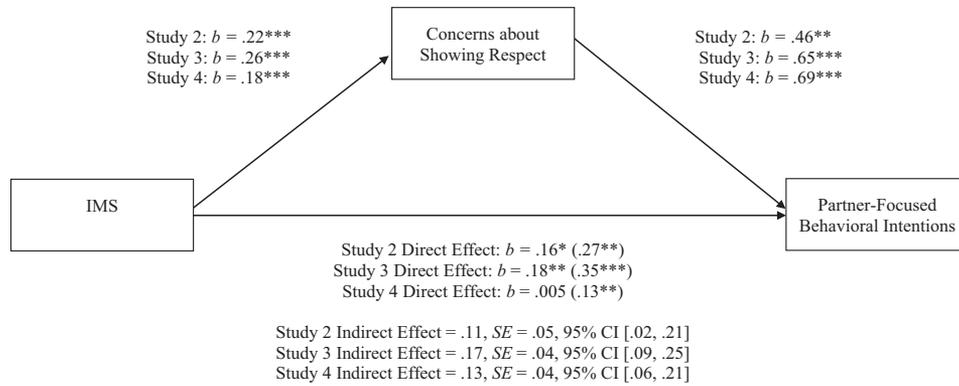


Figure 1. In Studies 2–4 participants' concerns about showing respect mediated the effect of internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) on intentions to focus upon one's partner. External motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS) was included as a covariate. Unstandardized path coefficients (b) are shown. The value in parentheses represents the relation between IMS and each outcome variable before the inclusion of mediators. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

mediation across studies (see online supplemental materials). Results revealed that the indirect effects of partner-focus and self-focus on concerns were significant. However, across studies the indirect effects of partner and self-focus were smaller in magnitude than the indirect effects of respect concerns and concerns about appearing prejudiced. Second, internal and external motivation were administered after measures of interaction concerns and behavioral intentions, which is not intuitive based on theoretical framework and limits our ability to make sequential claims. Therefore, in Studies 3–6 we measured internal and external motivation before our other measures.

Study 3

Study 3 had two objectives. First, we wanted to replicate the results found in Study 2 in a new sample with internal and external motivation collected separately from, and before, our primary outcome measures. Second, we wanted to replicate our mediation

findings. Specifically, we wanted to provide more evidence that highly internally motivated White people's intentions of engaging in partner-focused behaviors are influenced by their concerns about showing respect and that highly externally motivated White people's intentions of self-focused behaviors are influenced by their concerns about appearing prejudiced.

Method

Participants. Participants were 112 White undergraduate students (95 female) who participated in a two-part study in exchange for course credit. All participants in the current study took more than half the amount of time the average participant took to complete the survey in each of the two parts of the study, so all participants were included in analyses. Participants were 19.52 ($SD = 3.14$) years old on average. Using the same parameters as Study 1, we used a sensitivity analysis to assess power. Results indicated that the smallest detectable effect size was $r^2 = .09$.

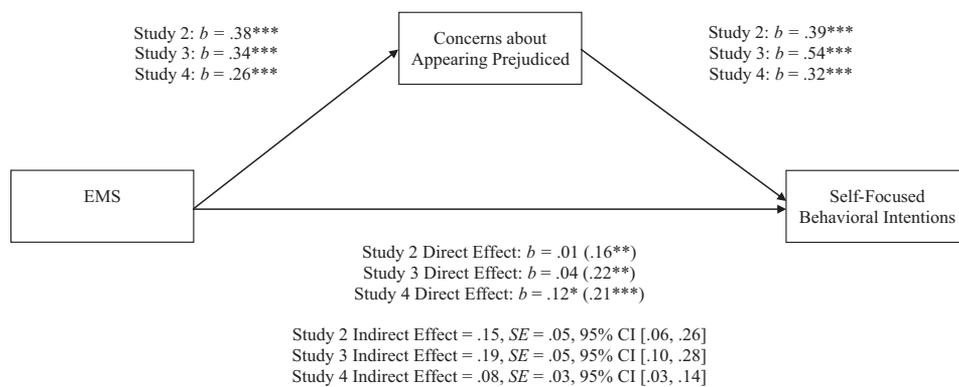


Figure 2. In Studies 2–4 participants' concerns about appearing prejudiced mediated the effect of external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS) on intentions of focusing on the self during the interaction. Internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) was included as a covariate. Unstandardized path coefficients (b) are shown. The value in parentheses represents the relation between EMS and each outcome variable before the inclusion of mediators. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Procedure and measures. Study 3 consisted of two parts. The first part of the study was an online survey emailed to participants that measured demographic information, IMS ($\alpha = .87$), and EMS ($\alpha = .84$). We instructed participants to complete the survey at least 24 hours in advance of the second part of the study. For the second part of the study, participants came into the lab and as in Study 2, were asked to imagine that they were going to have an interracial interaction. Participants then completed the measures of concerns about showing respect ($\alpha = .86$), concerns about avoiding the appearance of prejudice ($\alpha = .93$), and partner-focused behavioral intentions ($\alpha = .87$) used in Study 2. Unfortunately, our measure of participants' intentions to focus on themselves during the interaction had low reliability and interitem correlations ($r_s < .40$). Therefore, in the current study, we only used two items to assess self-focused behavioral intentions ($r = .60$; "I anticipate that I would focus a lot on what I am saying" and "I anticipate that I would focus a lot on my own behaviors and actions"). Across all measures, higher scores indicate more motivation, concern, and behavioral intentions.

Results and Discussion

Once again, we regressed each of our outcome variables onto IMS (see Table 3) and EMS (see Table 4). Consistent with our predictions, the regression analyses revealed that people who were internally motivated to respond without prejudice were more concerned about treating a Black interaction partner with respect. Moreover, as in Study 2, highly internally motivated participants were more likely to intend on pursuing partner-focused behaviors during an interracial interaction. We also found that participants' internal motivation was not associated with concerns about avoiding the appearance of prejudice or intentions of focusing on oneself during the interaction; however, participants' external motivation to respond without prejudice was related to both. Once again, highly externally motivated participants were more concerned about avoiding the appearance of prejudice and more focused on their own thoughts, feelings, and behaviors during an interracial interaction.

Following these analyses, we examined whether we replicated the mediation results found in Study 2 (see Figures 1 and 2). As predicted, concerns about showing respect were significantly related to partner-focused behavioral intentions and mediated the effect of IMS on partner-focused intentions (*indirect effect* = .17, *SE* = .04, 95% CI [.09, .25]). Moreover, concerns about avoiding the appearance of prejudice were significantly related to intentions of focusing on themselves during the interaction and mediated the effect of EMS on participants' self-focused intentions during the interaction (*indirect effect* = .19, *SE* = .05, 95% CI [.10, .28]).

Study 4

In Study 4, we wanted to replicate our findings using different measures of behavioral intentions. Consistent with past research on approach and avoidance goals in interracial interactions (Butz & Plant, 2011; Murphy et al., 2011), Migacheva et al. (2011) proposed that an individual's approach to interracial contact can be seen as part of two motivational systems (egosystem vs. ecosystem). These motivational systems are characterized by either a focus on the self or a focus on one's connection with others

(respectively). To measure which motivational system is activated, Crocker and Canevello (2008) created a measure of compassionate and self-image goals. In the current study, we adapted this measure and examined whether internal motivation would engender compassionate goals in interracial interactions as it did partner-focused intentions (i.e., partner-focus) and whether external motivation would engender self-image goals as it did self-focused intentions.

Method

Participants. Data were collected from as many White undergraduate students as possible during the last 2 weeks of an academic term ($n = 77$). However, a large number of participants ($n = 20$) failed one or more attention checks ($n = 14$), did not complete the measures of IMS and EMS ($n = 3$), or took less than 4 min (i.e., half the time it took the average participant), to complete the survey ($n = 3$).⁴ Therefore, our undergraduate sample consisted of 57 White undergraduates. However, because the sensitivity analysis from Study 2 suggested that we would need a larger sample to detect effects of the size we were finding in our studies, we recruited additional participants who were Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) workers ($n = 139$). Consistent with our undergraduate sample, participants were excluded from our analyses if they failed one or more attention checks ($n = 3$) or took less than 4 min to complete the survey ($n = 26$). Therefore, our final sample consisted of 157 White people (100 female, 57 male) who were 30.75 ($SD = 13.04$) years old on average. A sensitivity analysis with this sample size and the parameters discussed in Study 1 indicated that the smallest detectable effect size was $r^2 = .06$.

Procedure and measures. Either as part of a mass screening at the beginning of the semester (undergraduates) or at the beginning of the study (MTurk workers), participants completed the same measures of IMS ($\alpha = .88$) and EMS ($\alpha = .79$) that were used in Studies 2 and 3. Next, we instructed participants to imagine that they were going to interact with Black student and answer a series of questions about their expectations for the interaction using the same instructions as our previous studies. Specifically, we assessed participants' concerns about showing respect ($\alpha = .92$) and their concerns about trying to avoid the appearance of prejudice ($\alpha = .73$).

Finally, to provide additional support that partner-focused intentions are a reflection of compassionate goals in interracial interactions, we adapted Crocker and Canevello's (2008) measure of compassionate and self-image goals to be specific to behavior during an imagined interracial interaction. Five items assessed compassionate behaviors during the interaction (e.g., "During the interaction I would be supportive of my interaction partner"; $\alpha = .83$), and five items assessed self-image behaviors (e.g., "During the interaction I would avoid revealing my shortcomings or vul-

⁴ Attention check items for both Study 4 and Study 6 were single items interspersed within the items used for some measures (e.g., for Study 4 "I am paying attention, so I'll select somewhat agree." It is also worth noting that the fact that we obtained data from two different samples in Study 4 should be taken into consideration when evaluating this work, but recent research indicates that student samples and Amazon Mechanical Turk samples are quite comparable in terms of data quality and the generalizability of results (e.g., Casler, Bickel, & Hackett, 2013; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014).

nerabilities"; $\alpha = .62$). All items were rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores on this measure indicate greater compassionate or self-image behaviors.

Results and Discussion

A series of independent *t*-tests comparing our MTurk and undergraduate participants on IMS, EMS, and each of our outcome variables revealed that the only significant difference between the two participant types was on self-image behaviors, such that undergraduate participants reported more self-image behaviors during the imagined interactions than the MTurk participants ($p = .018$). However, when participant type was included as a covariate in the analysis of self-image behaviors the results did not change. Therefore, participant type was not included as a covariate in any of the analyses we report.

Next, we examined the correlations between our new measures of self-focused behavioral intentions (i.e., self-image behaviors), partner-focused behavioral intentions (i.e., compassionate behaviors), and our other outcome variables (see Table 2). The more participants were concerned about showing respect, the more they intended to engage in compassionate behaviors and self-image behaviors, although the relationship was much weaker for self-image behaviors. In addition, the more concerned participants were about appearing prejudiced, the more they intended to engage in self-image behaviors. Inconsistent with previous results, the more concerned participants were about appearing prejudiced, the more they intended to pursue compassionate, partner-focused, behaviors. In previous studies, concerns about appearing prejudiced did not significantly relate to partner-focused behavioral intentions. One reason for this discrepancy may be because our previous measure of partner-focused behavioral intentions was specific to trying to get to know one's partner rather than the more general nurturing behaviors reflected by Crocker and Canevello's (2008) measure of compassionate goals.

We next regressed each of our outcome variables onto IMS (see Table 3) and EMS (see Table 4). Results revealed that IMS significantly, positively, predicted concerns about showing the Black interaction partner respect. We also found that highly internally motivated participants intended to focus more on their Black interaction partner's experience during the interaction (i.e., more compassionate behaviors). Unexpectedly, we found that internal motivation to respond without prejudice related modestly to concerns about appearing prejudiced and related (marginally) negatively to self-focused behavioral intentions (i.e., self-image behaviors). Thus, unlike the previous studies, internally motivated people reported concern with appearing prejudiced during the interaction, but they reported having relatively less self-focused intentions for the interaction than those less internally motivated. However, external motivation to respond without prejudice related robustly to both concerns about appearing prejudiced and self-focused behavioral intentions. The more externally motivated people were, the more concerned they were about avoiding the appearance of prejudice and the more they intended to focus on themselves during the interaction.

Next, we tested whether we replicated the mediation results found in Studies 2 and 3 (see Figures 1 and 2). Consistent with the results of these studies, concerns about showing respect were

significantly related to partner-focused behavioral intentions and mediated the effect of IMS on partner-focused intentions (*indirect effect* = .13, *SE* = .04, 95% CI [.06, .21]). Finally, we found additional evidence that the more externally motivated people are, the more concerned they are about showing signs of bias, which influences whether they focus on themselves rather than their partner (*indirect effect* = .08, *SE* = .03, 95% CI [.03, .14]).

It is important to note, the results of Study 4 generally replicated our previous findings using a different measure of behavioral engagement and self-focused intentions. These results provide an important and direct link between past research on compassionate (ecosystem) and self-image (egcosystem) goals in interracial interactions and research on motivations to respond without prejudice (e.g., Butz & Plant, 2011; Migacheva et al., 2011; Plant et al., 2010). Moreover, these results add a unique contribution to this body of literature by demonstrating the underlying psychological processes through which motivations to respond without prejudice lead to White people's behavioral intentions for interracial interactions. Specifically, internal and external motivation seem to influence whether White people are concerned with showing their partner respect or being seen as nonprejudiced during interracial interactions. These concerns in turn influence the extent to which they focus on their partner or focus on themselves during interracial interactions.

Study 5

It is important to acknowledge that Studies 2–4 relied on imagined scenarios and self-reported behavioral intentions, which has limitations. Past research indicates the way that people respond to racism in imagined scenarios can be different than how they respond in actual interactions (Karmali, Kawakami, & Page-Gould, 2017; Kawakami, Dunn, Karmali, & Dovidio, 2009). Therefore, our last two studies tested our hypotheses among White participants who believed they were engaging in a video exchange with a Black interaction partner to explore behavior in response to an interracial interaction. In the present study, White participants exchanged a "getting to know you" video with a Black person with whom they believed they were going to interact with in person later in the experiment. Participants first watched a video that they believed their partner had made for them. The person on the video was actually a Black participant who took part in a previous study. Next, participants made their own getting to know you video in return. We predicted that, as in previous studies, internal motivation would be associated with partner-focused behavioral intentions. Therefore, in addition to having participants complete a self-report measure of their partner-focused behavioral intentions, we included two additional behavioral outcome variables to assess the degree to which participants were engaging in a supportive and partner-focused interaction.

First, we tested participants' memory for their partner's video. Many of our Black participants in Study 1 indicated that they would feel respected by a White person if that person seemed to be trying to learn about them. One important way to get to know other people, and thus individuate them, is to attend to what they tell you about themselves and remember that information. Second, we coded participants' getting to know you videos for specific behaviors that Black participants in Study 1 indicated made them feel respected (e.g., the participant expressing similar goals as the

Black interaction partner). Our focus was on behaviors indicating that the participant was attending to their partner, attempting to find common ground, and enthusiastic about engaging the partner. We labeled these as partner-engaged behaviors. Consistent with people's behavioral intentions for interracial interactions found in Studies 2–4, we predicted that the more internally motivated White people were, the more they would pursue partner-engaged behaviors.

Method

Participants. After running as many participants as possible during an academic semester, the final sample for Study 5 consisted of 56 White undergraduates (41 female, 1 unreported gender) who participated in a two-part study in exchange for course credit. Participants were 19.73 ($SD = 1.50$) years old on average. Our sensitivity analysis indicated that the smallest detectable effect size for 56 participants was $r^2 = .18$. Although we would have preferred a larger sample, we decided to focus on replicating our results using a similar procedure in Study 6.

Procedure and measures. Following the procedures used in Study 3, when participants signed up for Study 5, they were emailed the first part of the study, which contained our measures of demographics, IMS ($\alpha = .88$), and EMS ($\alpha = .89$). For the second part of the study, participants came into the lab and told that the goal of the research was to explore how the explosion of social media and video sharing influences same-race versus interracial interactions. We informed participants that they had been randomly assigned to have an interracial interaction with a Black female student who showed up 5 minutes early and made a getting to know you video for them to watch before meeting her in person. Participants watched this young woman's video and then made their own video for her to watch. The video that participants watched showed the young woman (a participant from an unrelated study who provided consent for her video to be used in future research) answering 10 questions about herself (e.g., "Why did you choose your major?" and "What is your biggest fear?"). The questions ranged in the amount of detail needed to answer and how personal each question was (see Appendix).

Next participants made their own getting to know you video for their interaction partner to watch. We gave participants a few minutes to look over the same ten questions that their ostensible interaction partner answered during her video and asked them to read each question aloud and answer it while being video recorded. One Black and one White research assistant then coded these videos to assess the extent to which participants pursued partner-engaged behavior. Specifically, each coder answered four yes or no questions concerning the participant's behavior ($Mean \kappa = .80$; see Appendix). For example, one question assessed if participants acknowledged and explicitly greeted their interaction partners at the beginning of their video (e.g., saying hello) rather than starting by talking about themselves. Despite high reliability among raters, because the questions were yes (behavior present) or no (behavior absent), we addressed disagreements between coders by having a third (White) research assistant code the participant videos (Reis & Judd, 2000). We then summed the four items together to form our composite measuring the extent to which participants engaged in partner-focused behaviors ($\alpha = .92$).

After making the video for their interaction partner, we tested participants' memory for their interaction partner's video using 10 open-ended questions (see Appendix).⁵ Participants' responses for these ten items were then coded by two people ($r = .93$) for accuracy and the amount of detail provided, such that more accuracy and more details resulted in a higher memory test score. We chose to code for the amount of detail provided because when reviewing participants' responses to each memory question we found that some participants remembered very specific details about their interaction partner whereas other participants remembered more general information about their partner or did not remember any information at all. Therefore, we created a detailed "grading rubric" that awarded more points when more details were provided. The maximum number of points possible was 18.5 (see Appendix). Following the memory test participants completed a series of questionnaires assessing their expectations for the upcoming interaction. These questionnaires contained the measure of self-focused behavioral intentions used in previous studies; however, we included three more items in the measure we gave to participants to improve the validity and reliability of the measure ($\alpha = .72$). For example, "I will focus a lot on my own thoughts and feelings." We also added three items to our measure of partner-focused behavioral intentions to improve its validity and reliability ($\alpha = .77$). For example, "I will focus on what my partner is saying."

Results and Discussion

Consistent with the previously reported studies, we regressed each of our outcome variables onto IMS (see Table 3) and EMS (see Table 4). Replicating the results of our previous studies, the more internally motivated people were, the more they intended to focus upon their interaction partner during the upcoming interaction. Further, the more externally motivated people were, the more they intended to focus on themselves. Extending the results of our previous studies, people who were highly internally motivated to respond without prejudice had a better memory for their Black interaction partner's getting to know you video than people who were less internally motivated. Moreover, in the video participants created for their partner, the more internally motivated they were, the more they pursued partner-engaged behaviors. On the other

⁵ In Study 5, after watching their partner's video, participants were asked to fill out a short measure assessing their impressions of their interaction partner. This measure asked participants to indicate the extent to which their interaction partner possessed a series of different traits including four traits related to respect (e.g., intelligent, capable, competent, and hard-working; $\alpha = .90$). We had anticipated that participants who were higher in IMS and intended to show respect would rate their partner higher on these traits compared with low IMS participants. However, when we performed a regression analysis using this trait rating measure, EMS ($b = .33, p = .026$), but not IMS ($b = -.07, p = .710$), predicted greater perceptions that the Black interaction partner held these traits. We suspect that EMS was related to these ratings because of social desirability and prejudice appearance concerns, both of which are related to EMS. That is, the high EMS participants were particularly eager to rate their Black partner positively. Further, there was some evidence for ceiling effects such that 67% of participants had a score of five or higher on a seven-point scale. Finally, an exploratory factor analysis examining the trait ratings from the scale did not result in the trait groups that we had predicted a priori (e.g., respectful traits did not load together). Therefore, we did not include these measures in our analyses.

hand, external motivation was not associated with memory for the partner's video or partner-engaged behaviors.

It is worth noting that, unlike our previous studies, higher levels of internal motivation to respond without prejudice was marginally positively associated with more behavioral self-focus intentions. In Study 4, this effect had been marginal but in the opposite direction (i.e., more internal motivation less self-focus). To reconcile these conflicting results, we present a meta-analysis of these relations across studies after our discussion of Study 6.

Study 6

As in Study 5, Study 6 sought to replicate the results of our previous studies in the context of an actual interracial interaction. The procedure for Study 6 was largely identical to that of Study 5; however, there were a few key differences that extended the findings of Study 5. First, each participant watched a different video of an ostensible Black interaction partner who had participated in an unrelated study. We did so to ensure that the effects found in Study 5 were not specific to the Black student whose video participants watched. In addition, we included a measure of prejudice, which we controlled for in our analyses, to tease apart the effects of prejudice and motivations to respond without prejudice.

Method

Participants. Participants were 96 White undergraduate students. However, data from 12 participants who did not complete the first part of the study, data from one participant who failed an attention check in the first part of the study, and data from 19 participants who did not believe that an interaction was actually going to occur were excluded from analyses. Therefore, our final sample consisted of 64 White undergraduate students (13 male, 48 female, 2 nonbinary, 1 did not report gender) who were 19.73 ($SD = 1.50$) years old on average. Sample size was determined by running as many participants as possible during one academic semester. Our sensitivity analysis indicated that the smallest detectable effect size was $r^2 = .12$.

Procedure and measures. As in Studies 3 and 5, participants were emailed the first part of the study, which contained our measures of demographics, IMS ($\alpha = .80$), and EMS ($\alpha = .84$). For the second part of the study, participants came into the lab and were told that they had been randomly assigned to have an interracial interaction with a Black student who showed up 5 min early and made a getting to know you video for them to watch. Participants watched their partner's video and then made their own video for him or her to watch. New to Study 6, each participant watched the video of a different Black student who provided consent for his or her video to be used in future research.⁶ Participants then completed shortened versions of the measures of partner-focused behavioral intentions ($\alpha = .80$) and self-focused behavioral intentions ($\alpha = .76$) used in Studies 2 and 3 (see Appendix). Because, with a few exceptions, each participant watched a different video it was not feasible for us to test participants' memory of their partner as we did in Study 5. Also new to Study 6, participants' prejudice was assessed using a feeling thermometer toward Black people that ranged from 0–100 with higher scores indicating warmer feelings (i.e., less prejudice).

Finally, two Black research assistants coded each getting to know you video using three items to assess the degree to which the participants were engaged with and trying to get to know their interaction partner. One item was rated as yes or no and asked whether the participant specifically greeted their partner and two continuous items rated on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 3 (*a lot*) assessed how engaged participants were. Because the three items used different scales, we standardized each item and averaged them to create a respectful behaviors composite ($\alpha = .69$). Rater responses were highly correlated ($r_s > .84$).

Results and Discussion

As was the case with the previously reported studies, we regressed each of our outcome variables onto IMS (see Table 3), EMS (see Table 4). However, new to the current study, we included prejudice toward Black people as a covariate. Across all analyses prejudiced toward Black people did not significantly predict outcome variables (all $b_s < .13$, $p_s > .13$). Replicating the results of our previous studies, the more internally motivated people were, the more they intended to focus upon their interaction partner during the upcoming interaction and the more externally motivated people were, the more they intended to focus on themselves. In contrast to the prior four studies, external motivation was also related to partner-focused behavioral intentions. Moreover, replicating the results of Study 5 using two Black coders, the more internally motivated participants were, the more they pursued partner-engaged behaviors in the getting to know you video they made for their partner. By contrast, external motivation was not associated with partner-engaged behaviors. These results extend our previous studies by providing more evidence that internal and external motivation predict White people's behavioral intentions and actual behavior in the context of an actual interracial interaction even when controlling for racial prejudice. When these analyses were repeated not including prejudice as a covariate all of the effects remained significant ($b_s > .16$, $p_s < .05$), with the exception of coded partner-engagement, in which the effect of internal motivation became nonsignificant ($b = .17$, $p = .109$). Taken together, the results of Study 6 add to the ecological validity of the current work.

Internal Meta-Analyses

To provide additional support for our proposed theoretical models (see Figures 1 and 2) and address the fact that we were slightly underpowered in some of our studies, we performed an internal meta-analysis to assess the average relations (r) between each of our variables using the method outlined by Shadish and Haddock (1994). Across all analyses, we weighted each study by its sample size (Borenstein, 2009) and used random-effects models to account for differences between studies (Hedges & Vevea, 1998). For a summary of the results of these analyses see Table 2. Consistent with our theoretical model, across our studies, high internal motivation to respond without prejudice was significantly related to greater concerns about showing respect and focusing on the part-

⁶ Nine videos of Black students were used twice because the sample size of Study 6 was larger than the sample size of the unrelated study from which the Black students' videos had come.

ner during interracial interactions. In addition, concerns about showing respect were significantly associated with an intention of focusing on the partner for the interracial interaction. Furthermore, external motivation to respond without prejudice were significantly related to concerns about appearing prejudiced and a self-focus during interracial interactions. Finally, the average relation between prejudice appearance concerns and self-focus was also significant.

The results of these analyses helped clarify the correlations between IMS and prejudice appearance concerns and self-focus, which were somewhat inconsistent across studies. Specifically, internal motivation was positively related to a self-focus in Studies 2, 3, and 5 (although only marginally in Study 2), but negatively related to a self-focus in Study 4 and unrelated in Study 6. In addition, internal motivation was significantly related to prejudice appearance concerns in Studies 2 and 3, but the relation was not significant in Study 4. When we performed meta-analyses of these relations, we found that the average relation between IMS and each of these variables was significant. Taken together, these results indicate that people high in internal motivation may have some of the same concerns and behavioral intentions as people high in external motivation regarding a concern with avoiding prejudice in interracial interactions, which is not surprising given that expressing prejudice would be inconsistent with their personal motivation to respond without prejudice. However, it is also worth noting that these meta-analyses findings were inconsistent with the regression analyses that controlled for EMS, which did not tend to reveal significant relationships with IMS and prejudice concerns or a self-focus. In addition, our findings indicated that internally motivated people's concerns about showing respect uniquely predicted their intentions of engaging in respectful, partner-focused behavior. Further supporting our primary hypothesis, the average relations between external motivation and concerns about showing respect and a partner focus were not significant.

General Discussion

Worldwide, racial diversity is on the rise (United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017). Societies across the globe are experiencing racial integration in schools, businesses, and local communities. Not only is increased diversity inevitable, it is important. Indeed, diversity in terms of both group demographics and personal experiences is associated with more innovation, better decision making, and more material benefits (e.g., Apfelbaum, Phillips, & Richeson, 2014; Bai, Uhlmann, & Berdahl, 2015; Eagle, Macy, & Claxton, 2010; Herring, 2009). However, many people are resistant to diversity and have negative expectations for the interracial interactions it necessitates, which can impede the positive effects of diversity and inhibit the development of nonprejudiced beliefs (Butz & Plant, 2006; Galinsky et al., 2015; MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015; Page, 2008; Plant & Butz, 2006; Plant & Devine, 2008; Shelton & Richeson, 2015). Therefore, it is critically important to understand the factors that influence the quality of interracial interactions and the approaches most likely to foster positive intergroup contact.

Impression Management Concerns and Interracial Interactions

To this end, the current work took an important first step toward integrating and refining several prominent lines of research on interpersonal and interracial interactions. First, in the context of interracial interactions between Black and White people, research indicates that White people on average have different impression management concerns than Black people (i.e., being liked vs. respected), which can influence the way they approach interracial interactions (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Swencionis & Fiske, 2016). Our work provides initial empirical evidence that these differing impression management concerns do not always translate into White people taking an approach to interactions that is "incompatible" with their Black interaction partners' concerns. Instead, we found evidence that White people who are internally motivated to respond without prejudice are concerned about showing their partner respect during interracial interactions. However, we also found that some White people are primarily concerned with the impression they are making. That is, externally motivated White people tended to focus on whether they appeared to be prejudiced to their interaction partner. In addition to adding to the literature on impression management concerns in interracial interactions (for a review see Swencionis, Dupree, & Fiske, 2017), these findings provide an important connection between impression management concerns and the prior work on people's motivations to respond without prejudice in interracial interactions (e.g., Plant & Devine, 1998; Plant et al., 2010).

To be more specific, across five studies, the current work demonstrated that White people who are internally motivated by their own personal dedication to egalitarianism are sensitive to Black people's desire to be treated in a respectful manner in interracial interactions and focus on treating their partners in a respectful manner in interracial interactions. That is, the more internally motivated to respond without prejudice our White participants were, the more concerned they were about showing said respect to their partners (Studies 2–4) and, thus, the more focused they were on their partner and on behaviorally engaging their partner (Studies 2–6). Internal motivation was also associated with partner-engaged behavior in an interracial interaction. The more internally motivated White people were, the more details they remembered about what their partner was saying and doing (Study 5) and the more they pursued partner-engaged behaviors (Studies 5 and 6).

On the other hand, White people who were highly externally motivated by their fears of social sanction for appearing prejudiced were concerned with trying to avoid actions that may indicate they are biased (Studies 2–4). These findings replicate previous research linking external motivation with concerns about appearing prejudiced (e.g., Plant, 2004; Plant et al., 2010) and extends it by demonstrating that both things are associated with an increased focus on the self during interracial interactions. This suggests that highly externally motivated people may be so focused on their own impression management concerns and monitoring their own behavior that they fail to take into consideration the impression management concerns of their partner. It is important to note that these findings do not imply that externally motivated individuals would not benefit from interracial contact; merely that their ap-

proach to interracial interactions is contrary to what Black people want in said interactions.

Self Versus Partner Focus During Interracial Contact

The current work also provided valuable information about whether and why White people focus on their partner or themselves during interracial interactions. Specifically, we found evidence that internal motivation fosters partner-focused behaviors whereby internally motivated people concentrate on the experiences and needs of their partners during interracial interactions. Our mediation analyses indicated that this partner focus was in part because of the association between internal motivation and concerns about showing Black interaction partners the respect they desire (Studies 2–4). These results parallel nicely findings on interpersonal interactions in general, which demonstrate that positive interactions are characterized by attending to the needs of one's interaction partner, being responsive to these needs, and creating a supportive environment (e.g., Canevello & Crocker, 2010; Crocker & Canevello, 2004).

On the other hand, we found that external motivation fosters self-focused behaviors in interracial interactions whereby externally motivated people tend to focus on their own behavior and needs during interracial interactions. Our mediation analyses indicated that this self-focus was in part because of the association between external motivation and people's concerns about appearing prejudiced (Studies 2–4). These findings are also congruent with the research on interpersonal interactions in general, which demonstrates that self-image goals are related to a focus on one's own concerns and desires rather than the concerns and desires of one's interaction partner (Canevello & Crocker, 2010; Crocker & Canevello, 2004). It will be important for future research to examine if, like interpersonal interactions in general, self-image goals in interactions with Black people also lead White people to have negative interaction expectations (e.g., expecting conflict and a lack of support) and experiences (Crocker & Canevello, 2008).

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the present work took important steps toward integrating and understanding how motivations to respond without prejudice and impression management concerns relate to the types of concerns people have for interracial interactions, it is prudent to note its limitations, which highlight directions for future research. First, our operationalization of being concerned about showing respect to Black interaction partners came from Black participants' open-ended responses to a question specifically about what makes them feel respected and disrespected by White people in Study 1. In these responses we found that being treated in a nonstereotypical way and trying to get to know them made Black people feel respected. However, given that we asked about the general construct of respect, which as can have many different meanings to many different people regardless of race, the results of the current study can only speak to the specific components of respect that were measured.

Second, it is possible that social desirability concerns and consistency bias could be influencing our results. For example, people could report being concerned about showing respect to Black people and report intentions of engaging them in interactions

because they want to be viewed positively and respond similarly across items. Although this could be the case, we believe that our measurement of internal and external motivation days before completing the main study (Studies 3, 5, and 6), the replication of our results across studies, the use of hard to control behaviors coded for in participant videos (Studies 5 and 6), and the robustness of our effects when controlling for racial prejudice (Study 6) all suggest that consistency and social desirability were not driving our effects. That being said, it will be important for future research to measure social desirability concerns and control for it to empirically rule out this explanation.

Third, although we replicated our mediation results in three different studies, these statistical analyses should be interpreted with some caution. As we previously mentioned, our analyses were based on the assumption that our mediators (i.e., concerns) were precursors to our outcome variables (i.e., partner vs. self-focus). In addition, we did not experimentally manipulate participants' concerns for interracial interactions, which restricts our ability to determine causation (Spencer, Zanna, & Fong, 2005). Although a manipulation would have been ideal, our focus on internal and external motivation as individual differences that coexist makes it difficult to manipulate each psychological process separately, which is problematic because experimental manipulations can be inaccurate when the manipulation affects more than one mediator (Bullock, Green, & Ha, 2010). Another avenue for future research is to examine other potential third variables besides prejudice (see Study 6) that could be impacting our mediational results. For example, greater intergroup anxiety is associated with lower internal motivation and higher external motivation (Axt, 2018; West, Pearson, & Stern, 2014). Therefore, it is possible that intergroup anxiety could be driving our effects. We do not believe this is the case; however, more research is needed to rule out this possibility.

Fourth, the current work focused on the experiences of White people in interactions with Black people. Although it is likely that some of the same general psychological processes influence the experiences of Black people interacting with White people (i.e., motivations impact interaction concerns and influence interaction behaviors), there is evidence to suggest that additional and different psychological processes could influence the experiences of Black people (Butz & Plant, 2011; Plant, 2004; Plant & Devine, 2008). For example, Black people are sensitive to cues in the environment signaling that they may be treated with bias, which can lead them to have different psychological experiences despite sharing the same environment (e.g., Murphy & Taylor, 2011; Plant, 2004; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Moreover, research indicates that individual differences in suspicion of White people's motives can influence the types of concerns that Black people have for interracial interactions (e.g., Major et al., 2016; Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2013; Shelton, 2003). Thus, in future work it will be important to examine these processes among Black people when interacting with White people, as well as the processes that influence different types of interracial and interethnic interactions.

Finally, the present work did not directly assess interaction quality. Instead, the current work focused on identifying the psychological underpinnings of behavioral intentions and actual behavior indicative of positive and negative interracial interactions. Past research indicates that internal motivation to respond without

prejudice is associated with positive interaction experiences for both White and Black interaction partners, whereas external motivation is associated with coming across as racially biased to one's partner (Plant et al., 2010). Moreover, affirming disadvantaged-group members about their group's competence produces more favorable attitudes toward advantaged-group members (Shnabel, Ullrich, Nadler, Dovidio, & Aydin, 2013). Therefore, we would expect that the concerns about showing respect and intentions to engage Black interaction partners expressed by our internally motivated participants should lead to more positive interracial interaction experiences for everyone involved. It will be important for future research to build off the current work and test this hypothesis directly.

Conclusion

Decades of research demonstrates that positive interracial interactions and cross-race friendships have a number of benefits including greater outgroup trust, prejudice reduction, and increased willingness to engage in future contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). However, research also demonstrates that there are barriers to positive interactions such as White and Black people having different interaction concerns and goals (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Vorauer et al., 1998). In the current work, we demonstrated that individual differences in motivations to respond without prejudice influence the extent to which White people encounter these types of barriers. When people are internally motivated, although they may experience some concerns about appearing prejudice, they are not encumbered by these concerns and are able to focus on creating a supportive environment for their interaction partner. On the other hand, when White people are externally motivated, their concerns about appearing prejudiced lead to a self-focus that impedes the development of strategies that would allow them to reap the benefits of outgroup contact. These findings are important because they suggest that encouraging a personal dedication to egalitarianism and alleviating impression management concerns may be the key to removing barriers to positive interracial interactions and fostering the interracial cooperation needed in our increasingly diverse society.

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Appendix

Measures Across Studies

Concerns About Showing Respect (Studies 2–4)

1. I would want to show the person that I think they are intelligent.
2. I would want to show the person that I think they are competent.
3. I would want to show the person that I think they are capable.
4. I would want the person to feel that I respect him or her.
5. I would behave in a manner to show I respect the person.

Concerns About Appearing Prejudiced (Studies 2–4)

1. I would worry about coming across as biased.
2. I would try hard to avoid seeming prejudiced.
3. I would be focused on what might go wrong in the interaction.
4. I would try to demonstrate through the things that I say that I am not racially prejudiced.
5. I would actively avoid using stereotypes.

(Appendix continues)

Partner-Focused Behavioral Intentions (Studies 2, 3, 5, and 6)

1. Try to find things I have in common with the person.
2. Ask questions about the other person.
3. Ask follow-up questions based on what the person says.
4. Try to learn a lot about the person.
5. I will focus on the behaviors and actions of my partner.*
6. I will be focused on his or her thoughts and feelings.*†
7. I will focus on what my partner is saying.*†
8. I will try to get to know him or her.†
9. I will be friendly.†

* Item added in Study 5 to improve reliability of measure.

† Only items used in Study 6.

Study 4 Partner-Focused Behavioral Intentions/Compassionate Goals (Crocker & Canevello, 2008)

1. During the interaction I would be supportive of my interaction partner's goals for themselves.
2. During the interaction I would have compassion for my interaction partner's mistakes and weaknesses.
3. During the interaction I would be aware of the impact my behavior might have on my interaction partner's feelings.
4. During the interaction I would avoid being selfish or "self-centered."
5. During the interaction I would avoid saying things that are not helpful to my interaction partner.

Self-Focused Behavioral Intentions (Studies 2, 3, 5, and 6)

1. I would or will focus a lot on what I am saying.†
2. I would or will focus a lot on my own behaviors and actions.†

3. I would or will focus on making the best impression possible.
4. I would or will focus on having a pleasant interaction.
5. I will focus on my own thoughts and feelings.*†

* Item added in Study 5 to improve reliability of measure.

† Only items used in Study 6.

Study 4 Self-Focused Behavioral Intentions or Self-Image Goals (Crocker & Canevello, 2008)

1. During the interaction I would avoid showing my weaknesses.
2. During the interaction I would avoid revealing my shortcomings or vulnerabilities.
3. During the interaction I would avoid the possibility of being wrong about something we were talking about.
4. During the interaction I would avoid being blamed or criticized if the interaction does not go well.

Study 5 and 6 Getting to Know You Questions Used in Videos

1. What is your first name, year, and intended major?
2. Why did you pick that major?
3. Where are you from (hometown)?
4. How would you rate your social skills?
5. What made you choose to come to XXX [university name removed for review purposes]?
6. What is your biggest challenge at XXX [university name removed for review purposes]?
7. Where do you see yourself in 10 years?
8. What do you consider to be your best quality?
9. What do you like to do on the weekend?
10. What is your biggest fear?

(Appendix continues)

Study 5 Memory Questions and “Grading Rubric”

1. What was the hometown of your partner? **(Total Possible Points: 1)**
 - a. Correct answer: Gratin, CT (Connecticut was considered correct)
2. What made your partner choose to come to XXX? **(Total Possible Points: 3.5)**
 - a. The phrase or complete idea that she (a) had a different major/interest at first, (b) interior design was that major, and (c) FSU was the only school to offer it
 - i. 1 point for each part
 - b. The stand-alone phrase or idea “Interior Design Program” or “Interior Design” (1 pt)
 - c. The stand-alone phrase or idea “because of her major” (1 pt)
 - d. The phrase or idea “At the time her major was only offered at FSU” without saying what that major was (2 pts)
 - e. The phrase or idea “it was the only school with an interior design degree” without saying she had a different major (2 pts)
 - f. -0.5 points if the word “fashion” is used instead of interior
 - g. .5 points if they mention the major changed to social work
2. What did your partner list as their best quality? **(Total Possible Points: 3)**
 - a. “Being able to be social/talk to people, and being outgoing/extroverted, and being able to make people feel comfortable”
 - i. 1 point for each part
 - b. The stand-alone phrase or idea “her social skills” (1 pt)
 - c. The stand-alone phrase or idea “friendly” or “nice” (0.5 pts)
 - d. The stand-alone phrase or idea “easy going” or “easy to get along with” (0.5 pts)
3. What did your partner say was their biggest challenge at XXX? **(Total Possible Points: 2)**
 - a. Large class sizes and not having one-on-one time with teachers
 - i. 1 point for each
4. What was your partner’s biggest fear? **(Total Possible Points: 1)**
 - a. Partner says, “Not succeeding at meeting all my goals in life.”
 - b. The phrase or idea “not accomplishing all her goals” or “meeting her goals” (1 pt)
 - c. The stand-alone phrase or idea “not succeeding in life” without the specific reference to her goals (0.5 pts)
 - d. The stand-alone phrase or idea “failing” or “not being successful” without the specific reference to her goals or life (0.5 pts)
5. What was your partner’s minor? **(Total Possible Points: 1)**
 - a. Education (1 pt)
6. What color shirt was your partner wearing? **(Total Possible Points: 1)**
 - a. Blue, gray, or blue/gray (1 pt)
7. What did your partner say that he or she does on the weekend? **(Total Possible Points: 4)**
 - a. Partner says, “On the weekend I usually work, but if I’m off I like to go hang out with friends, movies, bowling, something like that.”
 - i. 1 point for each piece of info
 1. Usually works
 2. Hangs with friends (0.5 points for “social things”)
 3. Movies
 4. Bowling
8. How old is your partner? **(Total Possible Points: 1)**
 - a. Correct answer: 24 (1 pt)
9. Why did your partner choose their major? **(Total Possible Points: 1)**
 - a. Partner says, “I like to work with kids” (1 pt).

(Appendix continues)

Study 5 Partner-Engaged Behaviors Coding Questions

1. Did the participant list their best quality as something related to being social? If so, did the participant mention perspective taking, seeing things from others people's points of view, making people comfortable, being empathetic? [yes/no]
2. Did the participant specifically greet their partner (e.g., saying hello or hi at the beginning of the video)? [yes/no]
3. Does the participant specifically mention being successful? [yes/no]*
4. Does the participant mention being married or having kids or a family? [yes/no]*

* These two items are based on their partner's responses to questions seven and eight in the getting to know you questions

listed above with the idea being that mentioning these things shows responsiveness to their partner first mentioning these things.

Study 6 Partner-Engaged Behaviors Coding Questions

1. Did the participant specifically greet their participant (e.g., saying hello or hi at the beginning of the video)? [yes/no]
2. How much did the participant seem to be talking to their partner (rather than as if to themselves or just for the experimenter)? [1 = *not at all*, 2 = *some*, 3 = *a lot*]
3. How enthusiastic did the participant seem? [1 = *not at all*, 2 = *some*, 3 = *a lot*]

Received April 4, 2018

Revision received July 17, 2019

Accepted August 26, 2019 ■