

How White Identity Forms Shape Black-White Interracial Interactions

BY

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THESIS

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SUMMARY

Although researchers and lay people alike often treat Whiteness as unmarked or invisible (Knowles & Peng, 2005), empirical work confirms that White Americans vary in how they think about their racial identity and the privilege it confers (Goren & Plaut, 2012). I extend this previous research by conceptualizing White racial identity as an intersection of racial identity strength and racial privilege awareness. Additionally, I test for the first time how White identity—as defined by racial identity strength and racial privilege awareness—shapes both White and Black Americans' psychological experiences as they approach an interracial encounter. Although strong White identity is often associated with racial outgroup prejudice (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004) and less positive Black-White interracial interactions (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002), I predicted that Whites' privilege awareness would shift this pattern. Because Black Americans tend to acknowledge Whites' racial privilege (Lowery & Wout, 2010) and perceived similarity to one's interaction partner leads to diminished concerns about being stereotyped negatively in an interracial encounter (i.e., metaperceptual concerns; Frey & Trop, 2006), I expected that Whites' strong privilege awareness would buffer their own as well as Blacks' metaperceptual concerns, and that this positive impact of privilege awareness on interaction outcomes would be most pronounced when Whites are high (vs. low) in identity strength. In Study 1, I found evidence for my 2-dimensional White identity model, and show that it impacts how similar Whites see themselves to Black Americans. In Study 2, White college students reported their metaperceptual concerns and interaction anxiety leading up to an interaction with a Black partner, and completed measures of both identity strength and privilege awareness. As Whites' privilege awareness strengthened, they expressed greater concerns that their Black interaction partner may stereotype them as racist or prejudiced, which led them to be

SUMMARY (continued)

more anxious and expect more challenges in the interaction. In Study 3, Black American adults expected to have an online video chat with a White person who varied in identity strength and privilege awareness, yielding a 2 (White racial identity strength: low, high) x 2 (White privilege awareness: low, high) between-subjects design. After learning this information about their partner, participants then reported their expectations for the interaction. Black Americans reported more metaperceptual concerns and more anxiety when their partner was high (vs. low) in White identity strength, but this pattern was not moderated by their partner's privilege awareness. I discuss how the way in which Whites are able to communicate their racial privilege awareness to Black Americans both verbally and behaviorally over time (i.e., as a reflection of anti-racist vs. self-presentation motives) may more strongly influence both White and Black Americans' interracial interaction appraisals than what I observed in the current studies. By including privilege awareness as a component of White racial identity, and by considering both White and Black Americans' perspectives, the current studies advance both the White racial identity and interracial interaction literatures, offering numerous future directions. Further, the current research suggests that interrogating Whiteness—including Whites' position in the U.S. racial hierarchy according to both White and Black people's perspective—is important for understanding how White and Black Americans relate to and interact with each other in our increasingly racially diverse society.

How White Identity Forms Shape Black-White Interracial Interactions

The United States population continues to become increasingly racially diverse, leading to more frequent interactions between people of different racial groups in schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces. These more frequent interracial interactions must occur within a particularly tense racial climate, overflowing with videos of White police officers killing unarmed Black citizens, violent White supremacist rallies, and debate over NFL players kneeling during the national anthem to protest racial injustice. This tense racial climate can impact interactions between Black and White Americans in a number of ways, many of which are caused by differences in how Black and White people interpret, participate in, and cope with these race-relevant occurrences. One potential difference in Whites' and Blacks' racial views concerns the extent to which they believe that White Americans benefit from privileges or advantages based on their race. A recent Pew Research poll found that a majority of Black Americans (68%) believes that White people in the U.S. benefit a great deal from advantages in society that Black people do not have, compared to only a small proportion of White Americans (16%; Pew Research Center, 2017). This result is consistent with numerous social psychological studies documenting that reminders of racial privilege are threatening to Whites, thus hindering some Whites' ability to acknowledge how they have benefitted from unearned advantages based on their skin color (e.g., Knowles, Lowery, Chow, & Unzueta, 2014). The goals of the current research are to examine the extent to which racial privilege awareness fits into Whites' racial self-concept, and to test how Whites' racial identity strength and privilege awareness impact their own as well as Black Americans' interracial interaction experiences. By incorporating racial privilege awareness into the study of Whiteness and interracial interactions, I hope to uncover

factors that will encourage more positive and productive interactions between White and Black Americans as they navigate this tumultuous period in our nation's racial history.

Since its inception, social psychology has examined the processes that produce, exacerbate, and mitigate racial inequality. The majority of these investigations have focused on disadvantage experienced by people of color and discrimination committed by White people (Case, Iuzzini, & Hopkins, 2012; Stoudt, Fox, & Fine, 2012). However, there is another, equally important facet of racial inequality: racial privilege experienced by Whites. White privilege refers to a system of advantages conferred to White people that often goes unrecognized, but is instrumental in maintaining Whites' position at the top of the U.S. racial hierarchy. It is important to emphasize and interrogate White privilege because without doing so, our knowledge of discrimination and inequality is incomplete (McIntosh, 2012). Moreover, failing to name privileged groups as such contributes to the normalization of dominance (Pratto & Stewart, 2012), and perpetuates some Whites' inability or unwillingness to recognize their own racial privilege (Knowles & Peng, 2005), thus allowing it to persist unchallenged.

In an effort to properly acknowledge the role of racial privilege in maintaining racial inequality, I examine how Whites' awareness of their own racial privilege, as well as the ways in which Black Americans learn about and interpret Whites' privilege awareness, influence interracial interactions. In general, when two people from different racial groups meet for the first time, expectations about how the interaction will unfold are often colored by negative racial stereotypes. For example, leading up to an interaction with a Black person, a White person may harbor concerns that their interaction partner will assume they are racist or socially unaware. Likewise, a Black person might fear that the White person will assimilate them with predominant group stereotypes of incompetence or aggression. For both parties, such concerns can lead to

psychological states that stand to harm the quality of the interaction, such as heightened anxiety and belief that one cannot be their authentic self in the encounter, and ultimately, avoidance of future contact.

In the current research, I theorize that a White person's concerns about appearing racist, and the downstream interaction consequences associated with those concerns, may be shaped by (1) how central their racial identity is to their self-concept and (2) the extent to which they associate their racial identity with unearned privilege in the broader U.S. social hierarchy. Additionally, I contend that a Black person's knowledge and interpretation of their White interaction partner's racial identity strength and privilege awareness likely serves as an important cue for them about what they can expect in the interaction—for example, whether or not they will be negatively stereotyped—and whether they want to engage in the interaction at all. Therefore, although understudied, I theorize that White racial identity is a critical process operating in interracial interaction experiences for both White and Black people. It is important to study how White identity and Whites' awareness of racial privilege operate in interracial interactions, because these insights may be able to help promote the positive outcomes of interracial contact (e.g., reduced racial outgroup prejudice; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) as well as allay some of the paradoxically negative outcomes associated with interracial contact (e.g., reduced desire to mitigate racial inequality; Tropp, Hawi, Van Laar, & Levin, 2011).

Existing Models of White Identity

Historically, White racial identity was theorized to be invisible to White people, wherein White Americans did not define themselves as racial beings (Feagin, 2000; Gallagher, 1994). In response to this *invisibility thesis*, many theoretical frameworks of White identity revolved around making visible what was thought to be invisible (Gallagher, 1994). However, theorizing

based on ethnographic and in-depth interview studies suggests some White Americans do define themselves as racial beings and conceptualize their racial identity in varying ways, challenging the invisibility thesis (Flagg, 1993; Gallagher, 1994; Hartmann, Gerteis, & Croll, 2009; Helms, 1984; Perry, 2002; Rodriguez, 2009; Terry, 1981). For example, in her book *Shades of White*, Pamela Perry (2002) conducted interviews with high school students about their Whiteness. Although some responses signified weak identification—"I say I'm White...but I don't relate to 'white'" (p. 86)—others acknowledged the privilege their race confers—" [My teachers] respect me a lot more because I'm White. I'm given the benefit of the doubt a lot more" (p. 165). Other researchers theorize that exposure to non-White people is an antecedent of White identity; it is generally difficult for Whites to acknowledge their own race without the contrast of racial outgroup members present (Knowles & Peng, 2005; McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978). For example, Whites who are from areas with a substantial number of non-White residents show stronger White identity centrality than Whites who grew up in areas with predominantly White residents (Knowles & Peng, 2005). Therefore, White identity can be heterogeneous and is not necessarily consistent with the invisibility thesis.

Despite this potential heterogeneity of Whiteness, relative to racial identity research among racial minorities, fewer empirical investigations examine how White people think of themselves as racial beings (Knowles et al., 2014; Knowles & Peng, 2005). Even fewer have centered on how White identity influences interracial encounters (cf. Helms, 1990). The few social psychological studies considering White identity's influence in interracial interactions tend to utilize bounded conceptualizations of White identity, such as Whites' strength of identification with their racial ingroup (e.g., Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998) or on Whites' ideas about racial identity in general (e.g., Scheepers, Saguy, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2014). Moreover, this

work often conflates strong majority group identification with more outgroup prejudice (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004) or with a desire to maintain rather than combat the status quo (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kafati, 2000; Saguy, Tropp, & Hawi, 2012). Notably, Knowles and Peng (2005) developed and validated an implicit measure of White identity centrality, measuring the extent to which Whites automatically link the self to Whiteness. Although successful in illuminating how White racial identity predicts Whites' racial attitudes, these measures may not capture the full range of possible racial identification among Whites. Moreover, this lack of nuance may in turn leave blind spots in our understanding of how White identity shapes interracial interactions.

White Identity Forms

Additional theoretical models of White racial identity do examine more nuanced forms. Some models examine how someone sees themselves as a White person in relation to others from different racial groups. For example, Helms' *White identity forms* represent stages of developing a racial worldview, starting with the first *Contact* stage in which a White person fails to think of themselves in terms of their race at all, and is unaware of the societal differences between being White and being from another racial group. In contrast, she theorizes that a White person in the final *Autonomy* stage not only sees themselves as a racial being, but also adopts a worldview that both recognizes and rejects actions or structures that perpetuate racial disparities (Helms, 1984). Helms' theorizing therefore suggests that White identity is closely linked to racial privilege and goes beyond strength of identification (but also see Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994 for critiques of Helms' White identity model).

A review of Helms' and others' White identity form models led social psychologists Goren and Plaut (2012) to identify three recurring White identity forms: *weak*, *prideful*, and *power cognizant*. A *weak* form is characterized by weak racial identification, an understanding of

one's race as normal or invisible, or a failure to think about one's race at all (similar to Helms' (1984) *Contact* stage). A *prideful* form is strongly racially identified and uses White racial identity as a source of pride, usually relevant to one's cultural and ethnic origin. Finally, a *power cognizant* form is strongly racially identified, but sees race as a source of privilege and advantage relative to racial minority groups (similar to Helms' (1984) *Autonomy* stage). Goren and Plaut (2012) found evidence for each of these three forms in White college students' open-ended responses to a question about what their race means to them. In addition, each of the three forms was related to distinct ideologies: power cognizant and prideful Whites both reported higher identity centrality than weakly identified Whites, but power cognizant and weakly identified Whites reported more support for diversity and weaker social dominance orientation than prideful Whites.

An Adapted Model of White Identity Forms for Interracial Interactions

I extend Goren and Plaut's (2012) White identity framework by reorganizing the forms along two dimensions of White identity that, I argue, are critical for understanding interracial interactions: identity strength and privilege awareness. Using a two-dimensional model is functional because a complete conceptualization of racial identity necessitates a separation of identity *centrality*—the extent to which race is an important part of one's self-concept—and identity *ideology*—the meanings that people attribute to their racial identity (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Therefore, identity strength and privilege awareness as White identity dimensions satisfy the basic facets of racial identity.

Additionally, privilege awareness is one of the central theoretical underpinnings of White identity development (Hays, Chang, & Havice, 2008; Helms, 1984; Helms, 1993). Specifically, developmental models of Whiteness suggest that Whites start from a position of obliviousness to

race and the privilege it confers. Many Whites remain in this stage, and fail to recognize the privilege that their race confers—an ignorance that is a privilege in and of itself (DuBois 1897; Goren & Plaut, 2012). Over time, some Whites' racial identity develops as they recognize, accept, and eventually work to dismantle their unearned privilege (Helms, 1993). Therefore, acknowledging privilege awareness is important to accurately represent the range of possible White identity forms in applying them to interracial interactions.

There are a number of reasons why identity strength and privilege awareness dimensions of White identity are particularly important for interracial interactions. First, power differences and one's interpretation of those power differences predict intergroup interaction outcomes. Power and privilege are inherent in Black-White interracial interactions because there are historic and ongoing power discrepancies between White and Black Americans (Saguy et al., 2012). One's position in society drives preferences for the content of the interaction, with those in power preferring a focus on commonalities and those disadvantaged preferring a focus on power discrepancies. However, high-status group members who perceive their privileged social position as unearned (vs. earned) are more likely to acknowledge and discuss power discrepancies with a lower-status interaction partner (Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008). Similarly, it might be that White Americans who acknowledge their unearned racial privilege, compared to those who do not acknowledge the existence of privilege or who think of their status as earned, would react differently from one another in an interracial interaction. Namely, Whites' who acknowledge (vs. do not acknowledge) their unearned racial privilege may be better equipped to discuss racial inequality in the U.S. with Black Americans.

Second, privilege awareness among Whites is a meaningful dimension to consider because it can influence how Black people perceive their White interaction partner. Specifically,

the extent to which a Black person acknowledges Whites' racial privilege may or may not align with the extent to which their White interaction partner identifies themselves as racially privileged. Additionally, Black people who understand Whiteness as a privileged identity may recognize when Whites do not share the same understanding in the context of an interracial interaction (hooks, 1997). Such discrepancies in perceptions of racial privilege and disadvantage are likely to produce negative consequences for interpersonal interracial interactions. For example, Black students reported lower relationship satisfaction with a White roommate who naively claimed to understand what it is like to be a member of a disadvantaged racial group (Holoiu, Bergsieker, Shelton, & Alegre, 2015). Moreover, interracial interactions are less favorable between Whites who minimize racial status differences and racial minorities who acknowledge racial status differences (Scheepers et al., 2014). Both of these examples suggest that differences in Black and White people's racial worldviews of privilege can lead to negative interracial interactions.

In sum, I extend Goren and Plaut's (2012) White identity framework in three critical ways. First, I reorganize the identity forms to fall along two dimensions: White identity strength and racial privilege awareness. This reorganization suggests four White identity forms: high identity strength with high privilege awareness; high identity strength with low privilege awareness; low identity strength with low privilege awareness; and low identity strength with high privilege awareness. Second, following from this reorganization, I suggest a fourth White identity form not considered by Goren and Plaut, in which Whites can have strong privilege awareness but weak identification. Finally, whereas Goren and Plaut treated White identity forms as categorical entities, I will examine where people fall continuously along the two dimensions, allowing Whites to occupy any position in the two-dimensional space. Therefore, this

dimensional approach allows me to capture more variation in possible White identity forms than a categorical approach.

I hypothesize that White Americans who fall in different locations within my proposed two-dimensional White identity model will approach interracial interactions in distinct ways and that Black Americans will react differently to a White interaction partner depending on that person's level of racial identity strength and privilege awareness. These hypotheses are specific to White and Black Americans in the cultural context of the United States. I choose this Black-White comparison as a starting point, because the majority of interracial interaction research has focused on White and Black Americans. Therefore, the interaction dynamics particular to these groups are the most well known and therefore a useful point on which to build by incorporating White identity strength and privilege awareness. Moreover, White and Black Americans are positioned at opposing ends of the U.S. racial hierarchy: the largest racial gaps in income and economic mobility in the U.S. are between White and Black Americans (Chetty, Hendren, Jones, & Partner, 2018). Moreover, White Americans on average tend to have significantly more access to high quality housing (Woldoff & Ovadia, 2009), significantly less exposure to environmental toxins (Bullard, Mohai, Saha, & Wright, 2007), and significantly better educational opportunities than Black Americans on average (Darling-Hammond, 2004). These dramatic White-Black racial disparities likely make Whites and Blacks relate to each other differently than Whites and other racial minority groups, who occupy a status not as distant from Whites' on the hierarchy. I discuss in the future directions how expanding beyond the White-Black binary will be an important and informative extension of the work I present here.

White Identity and Black-White Interracial Interactions

Existing investigations of interracial contact have yet to fully consider the role of White racial identity—beyond strength of identification or level of prejudice—in interracial interactions. By interrogating Whiteness itself, rather than treating it as neutral and unmarked, social psychologists can gain a fuller understanding of how to promote positive interracial contact experiences. Positive interracial contact is important because it often leads to less racial outgroup prejudice, less endorsement of negative racial stereotypes, and heightened desire for future interracial contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

However, these positive outcomes are consistently more pronounced among Whites than among racial minorities. And, in addition to positive interracial contact having less clear individual benefits for racial minorities than for Whites, these experiences can also hinder progress toward racial equality more broadly. Specifically, a positive interracial interaction can lead both Whites and racial minorities to have diminished perceptions of racial discrimination, and thus make them less supportive of ethnic activism (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009; Tropp et al., 2011). This *principle-implementation gap* suggests that promoting interracial contact with the goal of bringing harmony between groups at opposing ends of the racial hierarchy may actually reinforce the very hierarchy that separates them.

Whites' understanding of their own race and the privilege it confers may help fill the principle-implementation gap. Indeed, anti-racism practices that involve both Whites and racial minorities are more likely to be successful when they include authentic cross-race friendships (DiAngelo, 2011). Moreover, racial minority group members often attribute similar positive qualities to their White allies and their White friends (Brown, 2014). Specifically, Whites who racial minorities consider to be allies provide the same level of intergroup and interpersonal

support, particularly as it relates to promoting change that is beneficial for racial minority groups as a whole, as Whites who racial minorities consider to be friends (Brown, 2014). Thus, when racial minority group members interact with privilege-aware Whites—or Whites who understand their position in the racial hierarchy and are more likely to engage in ethnic activism (Case, 2012)—the principle implementation gap may be reduced. Moreover, gaining information about a White person's privilege awareness may impact Black Americans' decision to engage with or attempt to develop a friendship with that White person. Therefore, it is important to identify the role of privilege awareness in Whites' racial identification as well as in how both White and Black Americans approach interracial interactions with Whites' privilege awareness and identity strength in mind.

The more nuanced nature of the two-dimensional identity strength and privilege awareness model of White identity that I propose provides new insights into the few interracial interaction studies that do address White identity. For example, Whites who are more strongly identified with their ingroup tend to have more anxiety in intergroup interactions with Blacks (Stephan et al., 2002) and harbor more concern about appearing prejudiced to their partner (Vorauer et al., 1998; Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). Moreover, racial minorities tend to have less positive experiences with a White interaction partner who adopts a colorblind ideology, thereby attempting to mask group inequality (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Scheepers et al., 2008; Tropp & Bianchi, 2007). Although colorblind ideology is distinct from privilege awareness, it is reasonable to expect that Whites who endorse colorblindness are less likely to be aware of privilege: White privilege necessitates acknowledging racial difference. My proposed two-dimensional White identity model will

directly test how Whites' strength of identification as well as their racial privilege awareness may interactively affect interracial interactions.

Black and White Americans' perspectives through a relational approach

In addition to utilizing an expanded approach to White identity, my research extends the existing interracial interaction literature by considering how White identity affects both White and Black people in interracial interactions. Therefore, my studies will test how White people of different White identity forms view their Black interaction partners, how Black people perceive White interaction partners who subscribe to different identity forms, and how these perceptions shape the quality of the interaction. To achieve this goal, I will use a relational approach to interracial interactions, which is well established in social psychology (Shelton & Richeson, 2006).

A relational approach is defined by individuals' experience as both the perceiver and the target of perception. Therefore, a primary psychological mechanism that defines a relational approach to interracial interactions is metaperceptual concerns (Shelton & Richeson, 2006). Metaperceptions reflect people's beliefs about how they are perceived by others (Baldwin, 1992; Kenny & DePaulo, 1993). Once activated, metaperceptions inform what people want to achieve in an interaction, such as maintaining a positive self image (Crocker & Canevello, 2012). Metaperceptions are critical to understanding interracial interactions because they often diverge between racial minority and racial majority group members, leading to less positive interaction experiences (Bergsieker, Shelton, Richeson, 2010; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Holoien, 2016; Saguy et al., 2009). I theorize that White identity forms shape metaperceptions and downstream expectations for the interaction to meaningfully impact the quality of interracial interactions for both White and Black people.

White identity forms, intergroup similarity & metastereotypes. Metaperceptions help guide people's predictions about what will come next in an interaction with an outgroup member (Vorauer, Martens, & Sasaki, 2009; Vorauer et al., 1998). Metastereotypes are a particular form of metaperception that reflect a person's understanding of the stereotypes that others have about the group to which a person belongs (Vorauer et al., 1998). Metastereotypes are often operating in interracial interactions because people tend to be aware of the stereotypes that others have about their group (e.g., Frey & Tropp, 2006; Krueger, 1996; Vorauer et al., 1998), and often expect outgroup members to perceive them in light of those stereotypes (Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006; Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000).

Metastereotypes vary depending on the predominant cultural stereotype of one's group (e.g., Frey & Tropp, 2006; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997; Vorauer et al., 1998; Vorauer et al., 2000). The most widespread cultural stereotype about Whites includes characteristics such as racist and intolerant (Frantz, Cuddy, Burnett, Ray, & Hart, 2004; Vorauer et al., 1998). In contrast, the most widespread stereotype about Black Americans includes characteristics such as unintelligent and lazy (Sigelman & Tuch, 1997). Therefore, whereas White Americans' primary metaperceptual concern is often appearing prejudiced (e.g., Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008), Black Americans' primary metaperceptual concern tends to be appearing incompetent (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997).

People's expectations about whether or not their interaction partner will see them in light of the predominant group metastereotype varies as a function of one's perceived dissimilarity to their outgroup interaction partner (Clement & Krueger, 2002; Frey & Tropp, 2006; Holtz & Miller, 1985; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997; Tropp & Bianchi, 2007). Moreover, strength of group identification predicts perceptions of dissimilarity: those who are more strongly (vs. weakly)

identified with their ingroup tend to see themselves as more dissimilar from outgroup members (Spears et al., 1997). Therefore, people with strong ingroup identification are likely to see themselves as dissimilar from their outgroup partner and expect their interaction partner to form their impression based on the negative group stereotype (Frey & Tropp, 2006; Vorauer et al., 2000; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). In contrast, weak identifiers are likely to see themselves as similar to their outgroup partner and therefore expect their interaction partner's impression will not be based in the negative group stereotype (Herr, 1986; Vorauer et al., 1998). Notably, these previously identified relationships address the centrality quality of identity (i.e., identity strength, in this case) in isolation—and not how it potentially interacts with identity ideology (e.g., privilege awareness) in ways that may make it possible to simultaneously hold a strong identity and see oneself as similar to an outgroup member.

In addition to strength of identification with one's racial ingroup, I propose that Whites' awareness of racial privilege will be a source and cue of perceptions of dissimilarity to one's partner and, therefore, inform metastereotype expectations. For example, a White person who acknowledges (vs. does not acknowledge) their unearned racial privilege may perceive themselves as more similar to a Black interaction partner, to the extent that they are aware of minorities' overall tendency to acknowledge of White privilege (Crisp, Stone, & Hall, 2006; Shnabel, Nadler, Ullrich, Dovidio, & Carmi, 2009).

Indeed, Black Americans are more likely than White Americans to perceive racial status differences between Black and White people (Stephan et al., 2002) and are more likely to interpret both privilege and disadvantage as equally unjust forms of racial inequality (Lowery & Wout, 2010). Whites' racial identity form not only communicates the extent to which they acknowledge racial privilege, but also how they perceive themselves as a member of a higher

status group, benefitting or not from such privilege. Therefore, the extent to which Whites' perceptions of and personal orientation toward racial privilege aligns with that of Blacks will likely inform Blacks' appraisals of dissimilarity and predictions about Whites' metastereotype application.

Metastereotypes & Interaction Outcomes. The content and degree of metaperceptual concerns drive the expectations for and experiences within an interracial interaction (Shelton & Richeson, 2006). For example, a White person who is concerned about their partner viewing them as prejudiced may be more anxious, worried about how they should behave, and potentially reject their partner more so than a White person who is less concerned about appearing prejudiced. Similarly, a Black person who is concerned about their partner viewing them as incompetent may be more anxious, worried about how they behave, and potentially reject their partner more so than a Black person who is less concerned about their White partner stereotyping them as incompetent.

Interaction Anxiety. White identity forms should impact how anxious Black and White individuals are about an upcoming interracial interaction. Whites typically experience more interracial anxiety when they are motivated to appear non-prejudiced in front of their Black interaction partner (Shelton, 2003). Moreover, Whites should be motivated to appear non-prejudiced when they have greater concerns about being perceived as prejudiced (i.e., metaperceptual concerns). Similarly, Blacks who are more concerned about being assimilated with negative group stereotypes experience heightened anxiety when approaching an interaction with a White person (Stephen & Stephen, 1985). Therefore, depending on the metaperceptual concerns activated through Whites' identity form, both Whites' and Blacks' level of anxiety about the encounter should shift.

Identity Contingencies (perceived interaction challenges). Identity contingencies go beyond how one will be perceived by their partner (i.e., metaperceptions) to include the challenges one expects to face during an interaction because of identity-based differences between the self and the partner (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). For example, an individual may worry about whether or not they can be their true self or express their real opinions with someone who does not share their racial identity. In one study, Black participants expected greater challenges interacting with a White person who had a racially homogenous versus racially diverse friendship network, and this effect was driven by heightened metaperceptual concerns when the White person's friendship network was racially homogenous (vs. diverse; Wout, Murphy, & Steele, 2010). Therefore, as Black participants' expectations that their White partner would see them in light of negative group stereotypes increased, the more they worried about having an authentic interaction with that person. Rather than diversity of one's friendship networks, I expect that a White interaction partner's identity form will act as a cue of similarity (or dissimilarity), thus shaping Black participants' metaperceptual concerns and anticipated interaction challenges.

Rejection. Another meaningful outcome of interracial encounters is one's desire to pursue further contact with the other person, or, phrased in the reverse, one's projected likelihood of rejecting further interaction with the other person. In general, both Whites and racial minorities report less interest in pursuing friendship with a racial outgroup member when they are concerned that their partner will negatively stereotype them (Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005). Moreover, there is evidence that Black people attend to identity-relevant cues to determine whether they would like to pursue a friendship. For example, Black people who learned that their White interaction partner had a racially diverse friendship network

and participated in stereotypically Black activities with their friends (e.g., playing basketball) were less concerned about being rejected and were more interested in pursuing a friendship (Wout, Murphy, & Barnett, 2014). White identity form may be another identity-relevant cue that shapes rejection of future partner interaction, in that it communicates Whites' perception of their position in the racial hierarchy and whether that is similar to or different from Blacks' perception of the racial hierarchy. Therefore, I expect Whites' identity form to shape the likelihood that they will reject their Black interaction partner, and I expect Whites' identity form to shape the likelihood that their Black interaction partner will reject them in the future.

Overview of Studies

To test whether White racial identity can be reasonably defined by the identity strength and privilege awareness dimensions I hypothesized, I systematically tested whether or not a sample of White Americans occupy this 2-dimensional space. In addition, I explored how Whites' position in this space predicts their perceived similarity to Black Americans. I predict that White identity strength and privilege awareness will interact to predict indices of race-relevant worldview similarity (see Figure 1).

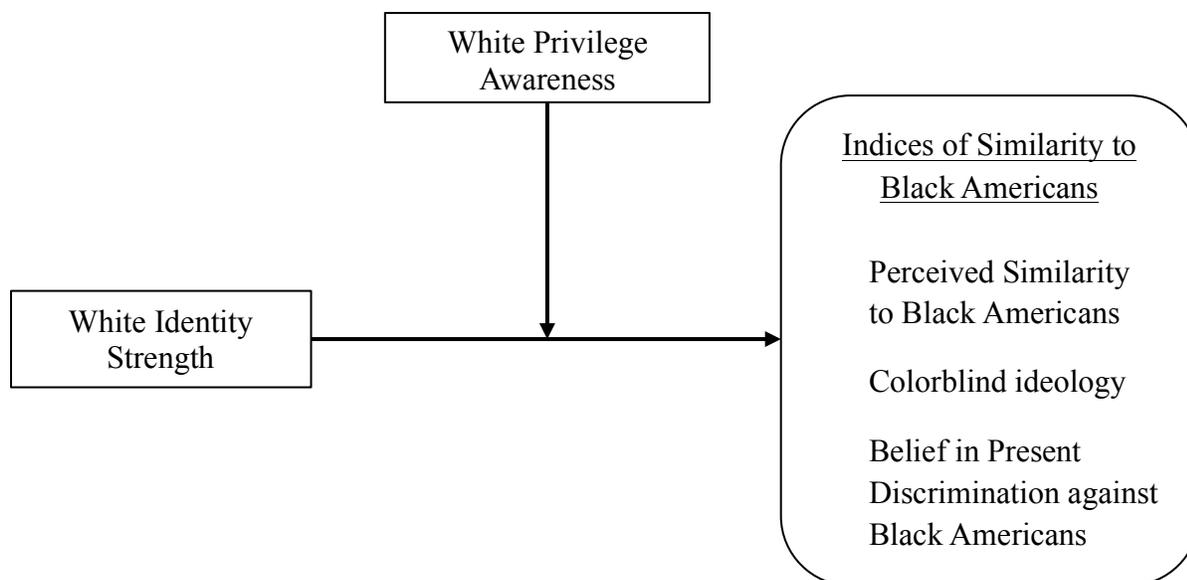


Figure 1.
Conceptual Model for Study 1: Differentiating White Identity Forms

Study 1 will give insight into how White identity forms predict perceived similarity, which should then impact Whites' degree of metaperceptual concerns leading up to an interracial interaction (Frey & Tropp, 2006), and metaperceptual concerns should in turn shape anxiety and expected challenges in the encounter. To test these processes in the context of an interracial interaction, I conducted 2 anticipated interaction studies. In Study 2, I measured White identity strength and privilege awareness among White participants to determine how these dimensions impact their anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, and distancing from a Black interaction partner via metaperceptual concerns. In Study 3, I manipulated the White identity strength and privilege awareness of an ostensible White interaction partner, to determine how these dimensions shaped Black participants' anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, and likelihood of rejecting that partner via metaperceptual concerns. I predicted that the White identity strength and privilege awareness dimensions will interact to predict both metaperceptual concerns and

interaction outcomes, and that the relationship between White identity form and interaction outcomes will be explained by metaperceptual concerns (see Figure 2).

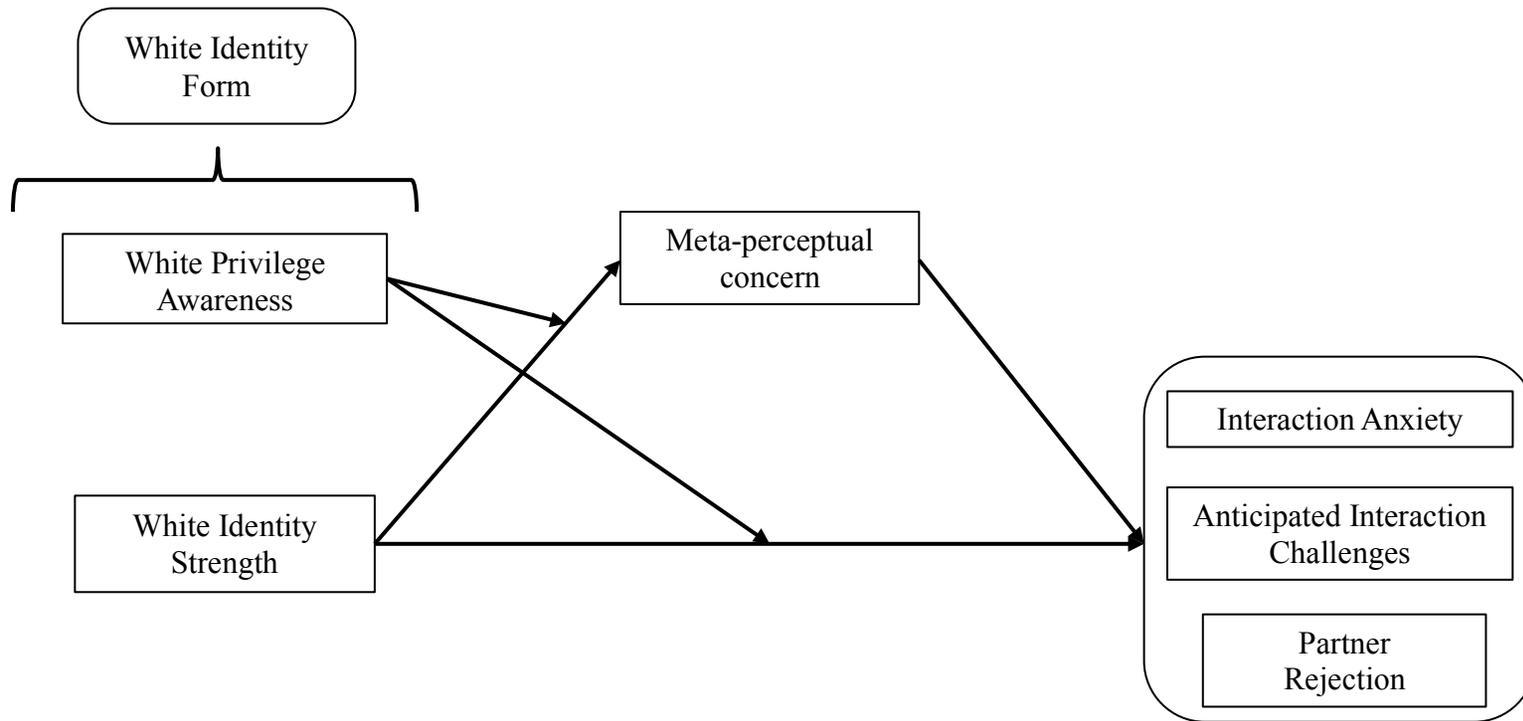


Figure 2.
Conceptual Model for Study 2 & Study 3: White Identity Forms and Interracial Interaction Outcomes for Black and White Americans

Understanding interracial interaction dynamics is critical to identifying the features that allow for prejudice reduction without thwarting efforts to combat racial inequality. Indeed, a large body of research has been dedicated to understanding, predicting, and improving interpersonal, interracial interactions. In general, scholars agree that these interactions tend to be challenging and aversive for both Whites and non-Whites (e.g., Devine & Vasquez, 1998; Hyers & Swim, 1998; Plant, 2004; Richeson & Trawalter, 2005; Shelton, 2000; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). By conceptualizing White identity as a function of both identity strength and privilege awareness, I address the often-overlooked role of racial privilege in producing and maintaining racial inequality via interracial interactions.

Study 1: Establishing White Identity Forms

In Study 1, I test for evidence of four White identity forms, defined by identity strength and privilege awareness, and collect open-ended responses to use as experimental stimuli in Study 3. This study extends Goren and Plaut's (2012) analysis by collecting data from a larger number of participants from a wider range of backgrounds (i.e., not solely college students).

In addition to testing for evidence of the four proposed White identity forms, I also measure various indices of outgroup similarity. People tend to be more concerned about metastereotypes when entering an interracial interaction to the extent that they see themselves as dissimilar from their interaction partner (Frey & Tropp, 2006). I expect people from each of the 4 White identity forms to differ in (a) their perceived similarity to Black people, (b) endorsement of colorblindness, and (c) acknowledgement of racial inequality.

Low Identity Strength & Low Privilege Awareness. Survey and open-ended interview studies suggest some Whites do not identify with their race or think of their race as "American" or "typical" (Goren & Plaut, 2012; Helms, 1984; Perry, 2002; Phinney, Jacoby, & Silva, 2007).

Because of this “White-raceless” association, Whites of this identity form are likely to perceive similarity between them and people from racial outgroups. Similarly, their invisible racial identity corresponds with a colorblind diversity ideology, in which race is not used to create boundaries between groups (Dovidio et al., 2009). In addition, Whites who are weakly identified are often unmindful of racial inequities, failing to consider the relevance of their race to their position within the social hierarchy (Helms 1984; 1990; 1993). Therefore, Whites with a weak racial identity do not often ascribe privilege meaning to their racial identity. Because of unmindfulness about racial inequality and a general colorblind orientation, Whites with weak racial identification and weak privilege awareness are unlikely to acknowledge racial discrimination against Black people.

High Identity Strength & Low Privilege Awareness. Another possible identity form represented in the current model is defined by strong identity centrality and weak privilege ideology, adapted from Goren and Plaut's (2012) *prideful* form. Because strong White identification is often coupled with pride in one's race and the values that align with that race (Goren & Plaut, 2012; Helms, 1993), the meaning these Whites most strongly attribute to their racial identity is likely ethnic pride. Moreover, some have theorized that strong ethnic identification is associated with lower privilege awareness among high status groups (e.g., Whites; Markus, 2008). Additionally, some White American women from a qualitative interview study exhibited strong racial identification along with selective acknowledgment of inequality as Black disadvantage or wrongdoing, but not White privilege (Frankenberg, 1993). In addition, U.S. historical analyses have suggested that Whites' strong ethnic identification has been used to reject Black people's demands for equality, suggesting minimal acknowledgment of White racial privilege (e.g., Formisano, 1991; Patterson, 1977; Steinberg, 1981).

Because of their strong connection to their White identity, these Whites will likely perceive a great degree of dissimilarity to Black people, as they are distinct racial outgroup members. However, although they acknowledge their Whiteness, Whites who are strongly identified but unaware of racial privilege likely adhere to a colorblind ideology when it comes to interracial relations, as this orientation requires others to adhere to the dominant White culture (Dovidio et al., 2000). Finally, because of a preference for colorblind ideology, Whites with strong identification and weak privilege awareness are unlikely to acknowledge discrimination against Black people. Indeed, Whites in Goren and Plaut's (2012) analogous *prideful* form endorsed ideas that the world and the current social system are just and fair, suggesting minimal awareness or acceptance of racial inequality.

High Identity Strength & Low Privilege Awareness. Interview and open-ended survey studies demonstrate that some Whites are strongly racially identified, but may conceptualize their strong identity in terms of the privilege it grants them in U.S. society (Croll, 2007; Goren & Plaut, 2012; Helms, 1993; Phinney et al., 2007). Additionally, both theoretical and survey research support the idea that strongly identified and privilege-aware Whites respect racial minority group members and exhibit low anti-Black bias (Goren & Plaut, 2012; Helms, 1984; 1990). Therefore, Whites who are strongly identified and aware of racial privilege will likely support a multicultural diversity ideology that acknowledges distinct group-based experiences and therefore will reject a colorblind ideology. Whites with strong White identity and strong privilege ideology report that they are aware of and seek to combat racial inequality (Frankenberg, 1993; Goren & Plaut, 2012), suggesting that these Whites will acknowledge current discrimination against Blacks. In addition, because these Whites are not only aware of racial privilege, but also use that privilege to define a strong White racial self-concept, they are

likely to acknowledge White privilege both in the abstract as well as how they benefit from such privilege personally.

Low Identity Strength & High Privilege Awareness. The fourth quadrant defined by my proposed model encompasses Whites who are aware of racial privilege but are weakly racially identified. Although this form was not captured in Goren and Plaut's (2012) framework, there is evidence from other research to suggest that such a White identity form does exist. Based on survey research with White college students, Helms and colleagues theorize that there exists a pseudo-independence stage of White identity, characterized by an intellectual awareness of White privilege coupled with a conscious but conflicted acknowledgement of one's White identity (Helms 1990; Helms, 1993; Helms & Carter, 1990). That is, Whites may experience discomfort in acknowledging White privilege and contend with that discomfort by disassociating the self with Whiteness. Indeed, empirical work has found evidence for this pattern by inducing White privilege awareness and observing subsequent declines in White identity strength (Chow, Lowery, & Knowles, 2008; Grossman & Charmaraman, 2008; Knowles et al., 2014; Knowles & Marshburn, 2010). Therefore, it is possible for Whites to be aware of White privilege but use that White privilege awareness to define a weak racial self-concept. These Whites' weak identification reflects minimized affiliation with a group that they know is associated with unearned privilege, whereas weak identification among Whites who do not acknowledge racial privilege reflects a general inattentiveness to race as a social category.

Because Whites of this identity form know that racial privilege exists, they likely perceive themselves as dissimilar from Black people, despite being weakly racially identified. That is, their intellectual understanding of privilege and disadvantage likely affords them insight into different experiences of racial minority group members. Similarly, weakly identified but

privilege aware Whites likely support a multicultural ideology that acknowledges different group experiences, and has less support for a colorblind approach. Theoretically, Whites who are low in identity strength but acknowledge racial privilege are likely to be aware of racial inequality and therefore acknowledge discrimination against Blacks (Helms, 1990). However, because Whites who are high in privilege awareness but low in racial identification are distancing themselves from their privileged racial group, they are unlikely to see themselves as personally benefitting from privilege, unlike Whites who are high in privilege awareness and high in racial identification.

Hypotheses

First, I predicted that I would find participants in each of the quadrants defined by the identity strength and privilege awareness 2-dimensional space. Second, I predicted that belief in personal privilege would differentiate weakly- versus strongly-identified Whites who are high in privilege awareness. Specifically, I expected that those who are strongly identified would report greater personal privilege as their general privilege awareness increases, whereas those who are weakly identified would report relatively lower levels of personal privilege, regardless of their general privilege awareness. I also predicted that identity strength and racial privilege awareness would interactively predict the various indices of outgroup similarity (face-valid perceived similarity to Black Americans, colorblind ideology, perceived discrimination against Blacks). Specifically, I predicted that those who are strongly identified would report greater similarity as their privilege awareness increases, whereas those who are weakly identified would report greater similarity as their privilege awareness decreases. Additionally, I expected that Whites who are privilege-aware would report greater similarity to Black Americans as their identity

strength increased, but that Whites who are low in privilege awareness would report less similarity to Black Americans as their identity strength increased.

Study 1: Pilot

Before launching Study 1, I conducted a pilot ($N = 160$ White Americans via Amazon's Mechanical Turk) to initially test whether White participants were present in each of the 4 hypothesized White identity forms, defined by the White identity strength and racial privilege awareness dimensions. I used the same explicit White identity strength and general privilege awareness measure as described below for Study 1. I found that, although participants used the full range of the response scales for both the identity strength and privilege awareness factors, these two factors were not correlated. Moreover, a scatterplot visually representing the White identity strength and privilege awareness relationship confirmed that there were participants present in each of the four hypothesized White identity forms.

Study 1: Method

Participants

Participants were 358 White, U.S. Citizens recruited via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). The majority of participants identified as female ($n_{\text{female}} = 209$; $n_{\text{male}} = 147$; $n_{\text{other}} = 1$; $n_{\text{unidentified}} = 1$) and were 37.61 years old on average ($SD_{\text{age}} = 13.10$; age range = 19-88 years). Five participants (1.4%) reported that English is not their first language. Most participants reported having completed a 2- or 4-year college degree ($n = 180$), whereas 60 had completed a graduate degree and 117 had completed either less than high school, high school/GED, or some college.

Procedure

All participants completed the study online. I presented 3 sets of variables in individual blocks to each participant, in random order: White identity strength, White privilege awareness, and racial outgroup similarity. At the end of the study, participants completed demographic items including age, education, and income.

Measures

See Appendix A for all verbatim items and response scales for Study 1.

White identity strength.

Open-ended Racial Identification. I asked participants to describe their racial identity with the prompt "Please describe what your race means to you," followed by an open-ended text box (Goren & Plaut, 2012).

White Identity Centrality Implicit Association Test (WICIAT). The WICIAT is an established, validated implicit measure of White racial identity centrality that assesses the degree to which an individual incorporates White ingroup membership into her or his self-concept (Knowles & Peng, 2005). An implicit White identity centrality measure is particularly useful because some Whites may not think about their Whiteness much at all. Thus, the implicit measure can assess their White identity centrality without asking them directly, as is the nature of explicit measures. Participants are asked to respond as quickly and with as few errors as possible. In Block 1 (an orientation phase), participants categorize White names (e.g., Brad) and non-White names (e.g., Jamel) as White or non-White across 20 trials by pressing the appropriate key (on the left or right side of the keyboard, respectively). In Block 2 (also an orientation phase), participants categorize self-words (e.g., me, myself) and other-words (e.g., they, them) as self- or other-related across 20 trials by pressing the appropriate key (also on the left or right side of the keyboard, respectively). Block 3 is the first test phase, in which

participants categorize White or non-White names as well as self or other words as either White/self or non-White/other across 40 trials (again, on the left or right side of the keyboard, respectively). These category-concept combinations should be more congruent, and therefore elicit faster response times, as individuals' White identity centrality increases.

In Block 4, participants complete the same procedure as Block 1, but the key assignments are reversed (i.e., the "non-White" key is now on the left side of the keyboard and the "White" key is on the right). Finally, in Block 5, participants complete the second test phase where they follow the same procedure as in Block 3, but with reversed key assignment and category-concept pairings (i.e., non-White/self on the left side, White/self on the right side). Accordingly, they have the option of categorizing each word as non-White/self or as White/other across 40 trials. This category combination should be more incongruent, and therefore elicit slower response times, as individuals' White identity centrality increases.

I calculated participants' WICIAT scores using the same procedure detailed by Knowles & Peng (2005). Specifically, I replaced exceptionally slow (<300 ms) and fast (>3,000 ms) outliers with 300 ms and 3,000 ms, respectively. Next, I calculated Cohen's *d* by dividing latencies for every trial (from Blocks 3 and 5 only) by 1,000 and subtracted each participant's mean reaction time for the incompatible test block (i.e., non-White/self and White/other) from their mean reaction time for the compatible test block (i.e., White/self and non-White/other). I divided this mean by the pooled standard deviation of reaction times in the incompatible and compatible test blocks. This value represents the difference in the strength of the implicit, automatic associations between White-self and non-White-other relative to non-White-self and White-other. Higher numbers on this index (i.e., WICIAT *d* score) suggest a relatively stronger implicit, automatic self-identification with the White ingroup.

Collective Self Esteem – Identity. To complement the implicit measure of White identity, participants complete a commonly used close-ended measure of White racial identity: a race-specific version of the identity subscale of the collective self-esteem scale, (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; $\alpha = .87$). Example items include: "Being White is an important reflection of who I am" and "In general, being White is an important part of my self-image." Each of the 4 items is rated from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Higher numbers indicate stronger collective self-esteem for the White racial ingroup.

White Privilege Awareness.

Open-ended privilege awareness. I asked participants to describe their conceptualization of racial privilege with the prompts "Please describe what White privilege means to you," and "Do you see yourself as privileged because of your race? Why or why not?" followed by open-ended text boxes.

Belief in White Privilege. I assessed participants' belief in White privilege using a 5-item measure developed by Swim & Miller (1999; $\alpha = .94$). For example, "White people have certain advantages that minorities do not have in this society." Responses were rated on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Higher numbers indicate stronger belief in White privilege.

Belief in Personal White Privilege. Belief in personal White privilege was assessed with 3 items from Phillips & Lowery (2015; $\alpha = .93$). An example item is "I have probably benefitted from being White," rated on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Higher numbers indicate stronger belief in personal White privilege.

Racial Outgroup Similarity.

Perceived similarity to Blacks. I asked participants how similar they perceive themselves to be to Black Americans using 5 items adapted from Vorauer, et al. (1998; $\alpha = .94$). For example, "To what extent are your attitudes similar or dissimilar to those of Black Americans?" rated on a scale from 1 (*not at all similar*) to 7 (*very similar*). Higher numbers indicate greater perceived similarity to Black Americans.

Belief in present racial discrimination. I measured belief in present racial discrimination against Blacks using a 6-item measure (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; $\alpha = .94$). Example items include "Many Black employees face racial bias when they apply for jobs or are up for a promotion" and "There is a great deal of discrimination against Black people looking to buy or rent properties," measured on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Higher numbers indicate greater belief in present racial discrimination against Black Americans.

Colorblindness. I measured participants' preference for a colorblind diversity ideology across 4 items, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) (Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, & Chow, 2009; $\alpha = .91$). The researchers created this colorblindness measure based on theorizing from Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's book *Racism without Racists* (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Example items include "I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race" and "People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human". Higher numbers indicate greater endorsement of colorblindness.

Study 1: Results

Descriptive Analyses

Four White Identity Forms? Corroborating Knowles & Peng (2005), participants' implicit White identification is not statistically significantly related to any of the three explicit

self-report measures of White identity: White identity-based collective self-esteem, belief in White privilege, and belief in personal White privilege.

Consistent with the Study 1 Pilot as well as my prediction that both high and low White-identified participants would vary in their awareness of racial privilege, there was no correlation between the White identity strength (WICIAT; CSE-identity) and privilege awareness measures. See Table 1 for means, standard deviations, and inter-item correlations for all variables. A scatterplot visually representing the *White identity strength–privilege awareness* relationship demonstrates that participants were present in each of the 4 proposed quadrants, also corroborating the Study 1 pilot (see Figure 3 for CSE-identity x general privilege awareness relationship; see Figure S1 in Appendix K for scatterplot of WICIAT x general privilege awareness relationship, which has a similar pattern to that pictured in Figure 3).

Table 1.
Study 1 Ms SDs and Correlations (r)

		<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	
<i>White Identity</i>	1	WICIAT (<i>d</i> -score)	0.65 (0.73)						
<i>Strength</i>	2	Collective Self Esteem - Identity	3.40 (1.52)	-0.01					
<i>White Privilege</i>	3	Belief in White privilege	4.15 (1.78)	-0.10	0.04				
<i>Awareness</i>	4	Belief in personal White privilege	4.24 (2.15)	-0.06	0.13*	0.82***			
<i>Racial</i>	5	Perceived similarity to Blacks	4.32 (1.31)	-0.05	-0.18**	0.25***	0.19***		
<i>Outgroup</i>	6	Belief in present Black discrimination	4.65 (1.52)	-0.10	-0.05	0.77***	0.62***	0.23***	
<i>Similarity</i>	7	Colorblind diversity ideology	3.86 (1.03)	0.11†	-0.11*	-0.40***	-0.35***	0.01	-0.28***

Note. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

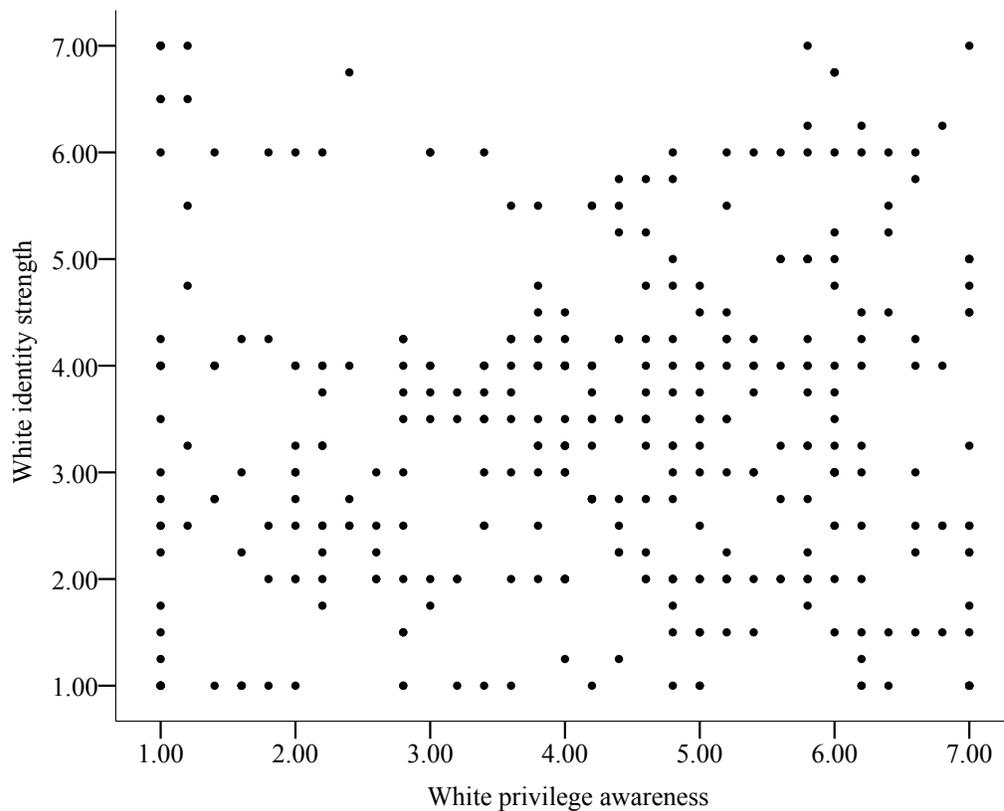


Figure 3. Study 1 White identity strength (CSE-identity) x general privilege awareness scatterplot.

White Identity Strength.

WICIAT. Some participants ($n = 64$; ~18%) did not fully complete the WICIAT, leaving 294 participants in analyses involving WICIAT d scores. Among these 294 valid cases, participants' average d score was .65 ($SD = .73$). A 1-sample t -test comparing the average d -score to 0 suggests that participants overall had a greater implicit self-identification with Whiteness versus non-Whiteness, $t(293) = 15.26$, $p < .001$, $d = .94$. Still, 46 (~13%) participants did have negative d -scores, suggesting a stronger implicit self-association with non-Whiteness than Whiteness. Only 4 participants had a d score of 0, suggesting an equally strong implicit self—White and self—non-White associations.

Collective Self Esteem–Identity. Across all participants, average collective self-esteem (CSE) was moderately low ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.55$). A one-sample t -test showed that participants' average collective self-esteem was lower than the midpoint of the scale (4), $t(212) = 5.56$, $p < .001$, $d = .38$. Additionally, despite participants' responses spanning the full range of the response scale, the distribution of responses was skewed right, with most participants at the lower end of the scale.

White Privilege Awareness.

Belief in White Privilege. Participants' general belief in White privilege ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.81$) did not differ from the scale midpoint (4), $t(212) = 0.89$, $p > .250$. Responses were relatively normally distributed, despite 9.3% of participants selecting *strongly disagree* for every item, suggesting a very low belief in White privilege among these participants.

Belief in Personal White Privilege. Participants' belief that they personally benefit from White privilege ($M = 4.26$, $SD = 2.20$) was slightly higher than the midpoint of the scale (4), yielding a statistically marginally significant difference, $t(212) = 1.75$, $p = .082$, $d = .12$. Similar to general belief in White privilege, responses were relatively normally distributed, but 12.6% of participants selected *strongly disagree* for every item, suggesting low belief in White privilege as it relates to the self among these participants.

Racial Outgroup Similarity.

Perceived similarity to Blacks. Participants saw themselves as generally similar to Black people as a group ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.29$), as the overall average was higher than the scale's midpoint (4), $t(211) = 3.32$, $p = .001$, $d = .23$. Responses were normally distributed, with 20.9% of participants selecting *neither similar nor dissimilar* for each item.

Belief in present racial discrimination. Participants endorsed a belief in present racial discrimination against Black people ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 1.56$), and the average was higher than the scale's midpoint (4), $t(213) = 5.46$, $p < .001$, $d = .37$. Responses were normally distributed and there was no particular response that represented more than 10% of participants.

Colorblindness. Participants generally endorsed a colorblind ideology ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 1.00$), with the average response being greater than the midpoint of the scale (4), $t(212) = 13.31$, $p < .001$, $d = .91$. Moreover, the distribution was negatively skewed, with 27% of participants selecting *strongly agree* for all items, suggesting strong colorblind ideology endorsement among these participants.

Moderated Regression: Racial Privilege & Indices of Similarity to Black Americans.

To examine how White identity form predicts the outcome variables, I conducted 8 moderated regression analyses using Model Template 1 of the SPSS PROCESS Macro version 2 (Hayes, 2013), 4 with implicit White identity strength (WICIAT) as predictor and 4 with explicit White identity strength (CSE-identity) as predictor. A confidence interval (CI) not including 0 indicates a statistically significant relationship at the $p < .05$ level. Specifically, I tested how participants' WICIAT or CSE-identity scores interact with their privilege awareness scores to predict belief in personal racial privilege and the three measures of similarity to Blacks: the face-valid measure of perceived similarity to Blacks (1), recognition of present racial discrimination against Blacks (2), and preference for colorblind ideology (3).

Implicit White Identity Strength. Contrary to predictions, I did not find an interactive effect of implicit White identity strength and privilege awareness on personal privilege awareness ($b = -.01$, $SE = .05$, CI: [-.12, .09]), perceived similarity to Blacks ($b = .02$, $SE = .06$, CI: [-.09, .14]), perceived discrimination against Blacks ($b = .01$, $SE = .04$, CI: [-.08, .09]), or

colorblindness ($b = -.01$, $SE = .04$, $CI: [-.09, .08]$). Additionally, the WICIAT alone did not significantly predict the 4 primary dependent variables, although there was a marginally statistically significant positive correlation between the WICIAT and colorblind ideology (see Table 1). However, privilege awareness alone emerged as a significant predictor across all four dependent measures (see Table 1). Specifically, as Whites' privilege awareness increased, so did their belief in personal White privilege, their perceived similarity to Blacks, and their belief in present racial discrimination. In contrast, as Whites' privilege awareness increases, their endorsement of a colorblind ideology decreases.

Explicit White Identity Strength. Contrary to predictions, I did not find an interactive effect between explicit White identity strength and privilege awareness predicting belief in personal privilege ($b = .02$, $SE = .02$, $CI: [-.02, .06]$), belief in present racial discrimination ($b = 0.01$, $SE = .02$, $CI: [-.04, .03]$), or in colorblind ideology ($b = .02$, $SE = .02$, $CI: [-.01, .05]$). However, as predicted, I did find an identity strength by privilege awareness interaction predicting perceived similarity to Blacks, $b = 0.04$, $SE = 0.02$, $CI: [0.01, 0.08]$ (see Figure 4). I probed the interaction using regression centering (Hayes, 2013)¹, which shows that, at low levels of White privilege awareness, increasing White identity strength predicts less perceived similarity to Blacks, consistent with my hypothesis, $b = -0.23$, $SE = 0.06$, $CI: [-0.34, -0.13]$. Contrastingly, and inconsistent with my hypothesis, at high levels of White privilege awareness, White identity strength does not predict perceived similarity to Blacks, $b = -0.09$, $SE = 0.06$, $CI: [-0.20, 0.03]$. Additional probing reveals that, unexpectedly, at low White identity strength levels, privilege awareness predicts greater perceived similarity to Blacks, $b = 0.12$, $SE = 0.05$,

¹ The high and low levels of privilege awareness and White identity strength were 1 *SD* above and below the mean of each predictor, respectively. Low privilege awareness = 2.47; high privilege awareness = 5.83; low identity strength = 1.88; high identity strength = 4.92

CI: [0.03, 0.22]. As predicted, however, this positive relationship between privilege awareness and perceived similarity to Blacks is stronger at high (vs. low) White identity strength levels, $b = 0.25$, $SE = 0.05$, CI: [0.15, 0.34].

As seen in Table 1, explicit White identity strength predicted significantly greater belief in personal White privilege and significantly less endorsement of colorblind ideology, but was not statistically significantly predictive of belief in present racial discrimination.

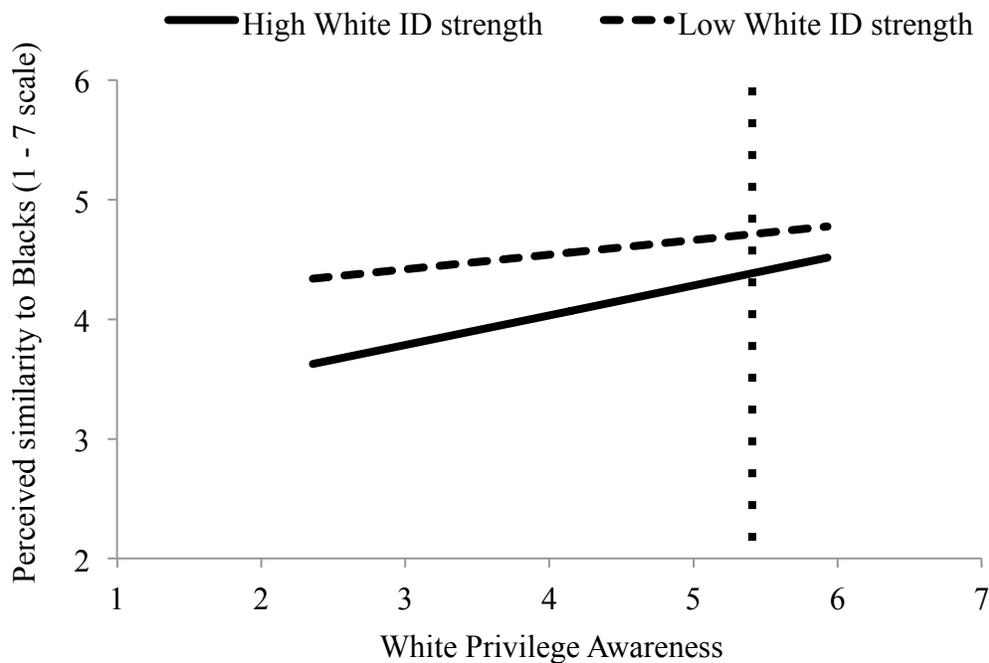


Figure 4. Study 1 Moderated Regression Results: White identity strength and privilege awareness predicting perceived similarity to Blacks. The vertical line represents the level of White privilege awareness at which the effect of identity strength on similarity becomes non-significant (White privilege awareness value = 5.48).

Study 1: Discussion

Study 1 tested whether White Americans' racial identity strength and racial privilege awareness corresponded with my hypothesized 2-dimensional model of White racial identity. Indeed, whether White identity strength was operationalized implicitly or explicitly, it was not correlated with generalized White privilege awareness. Moreover, there were participants present in each of the 4 proposed White identity form quadrants. This finding suggests that White racial identity is multidimensional, with racial identity strength and racial privilege awareness making up at least two of its separable, distinct dimensions. Thus, future Whiteness research should include not only measures of identity strength that are typically used (e.g., CSE-identity), but also a measure of privilege awareness to capture another important dimension of White racial identity that has previously been understudied.

Importantly, this study identifies a new White identity form that was absent from previous theoretical and empirical analyses of White identity (e.g., Goren & Plaut, 2012; Helms, 1990). Namely, I found a substantial number of participants were aware of racial privilege but low in identity strength. Although I refrained from labeling participants, given my treatment of the identity form dimensions as continuous factors rather than discrete categories, I suggest that these Whites represent a *power-distancing* identity form. Indeed, experimental work demonstrates that when reminded of racial privilege, some Whites strategically disidentify with their Whiteness, so as to avoid the discomfort associated with recognizing the role of unearned privilege in their life successes (Chow et al., 2008). This dynamic might represent a static identity form for some Whites: aware of privilege and thus less identified with the White ingroup.

Notably, however, I observed the least number of participants in the high identity strength/low privilege awareness quadrant. Future research should examine the individual difference and contextual factors that correspond with strong identification and weak privilege awareness among Whites. For example, it could be that particular regions of the U.S.—regions that were perhaps not adequately represented in the current MTurk sample—are more likely to house Whites of this particular identity form. It may be that Whites from more rural areas may be strongly racially identified and unaware of privilege, and may also be underrepresented on MTurk. It will be important to measure and map whether physical and cultural context predicts each of the identity forms, particularly those that are less populated in the current study.

I also examined whether these two orthogonal dimensions of White identity interacted to predict key factors that likely shape the quality of interracial interpersonal interactions. Identity strength and privilege awareness dimensions predicted belief in personal privilege and perceived outgroup similarity in some unexpected ways. In the first set of moderation analyses there were no statistically significant interactions between implicit White identity strength and privilege awareness predicting the set of three racial outgroup similarity measures, nor did implicit White identity strength singularly predict any of the four outcomes. However, privilege awareness did predict the four outcomes, in ways that are consistent with my overall theorizing. Specifically, as participants' privilege awareness increased, so too did their belief in personal racial privilege, face-valid perceived similarity to Blacks, and belief in present racial discrimination.

Additionally, as privilege awareness increased, endorsement of a colorblind ideology decreased.

In the second set of moderation analyses, there was no statistically significant interaction between explicit White identity strength and privilege awareness predicting personal racial privilege and two of the similarity to Blacks measures (i.e., belief in present racial

discrimination, and colorblind ideology). Based on the bivariate correlations in Table 1, it appears that White who are privilege-aware report believing in present racial discrimination and reject colorblindness, regardless of their racial identity strength. It makes sense that Whites who acknowledge privilege would also acknowledge disadvantage, regardless of their identity strength. Likewise, Whites who do not acknowledge privilege likely also avoid acknowledging disadvantage, regardless of their identity strength, perhaps as a general low belief that racial inequality (whether framed as disadvantage or privilege) exists at all. It is also reasonable to expect that Whites who acknowledge privilege would be low in colorblindness, regardless of identity strength, since recognizing privilege necessitates recognizing group differences. Similarly, Whites who do not acknowledge privilege do not have to contend with the possibility that racial group differences exist, and thus endorse colorblindness, regardless of how strongly they personally racially identify.

Regarding the final, face-valid measure of perceived similarity to Blacks, consistent with hypotheses, there was a statistically significant explicit White identity strength by privilege awareness interaction predicting this outcome. As predicted, those with strong White identity reported stronger similarity to Blacks as their privilege awareness increased. Unexpectedly, but not inconsistent with relevant theory, those with weak White identity also showed a similar, albeit weaker, positive relationship between privilege awareness and perceived similarity to Blacks. It is possible that White people, even when they are not strongly racially identified, are aware that Black people in general acknowledge racial privilege. Therefore, perhaps as Whites' privilege awareness increases, they can draw upon this similarity to Blacks, even if they do not personally racially identify. The moderation was driven by those with low privilege awareness reporting more similarity to Blacks when they were weak versus strong in White identity,

whereas, among those with high privilege awareness, there was no difference in perceived similarity to Blacks between those who were weak versus strong in White identity.

It is unclear why explicit, but not implicit, White identity strength moderated the privilege awareness-similarity relationship. Knowles & Peng (2005) argue that some scores representing weak racial identity via explicit White identity strength measures may be attributable to demand characteristics, as some Whites equate noticing race with prejudice and thus find it socially unacceptable to racially identify. Indeed, I find that the less explicitly racially identified Whites in my study are, the more they endorse colorblindness. Perhaps this dynamic is why explicit, but not implicit, White identity strength predicted a shift in the link between privilege awareness and similarity, because there were more participants explicitly (vs. implicitly) weakly identifying. Additionally, there may be methodological reasons why implicit and explicit White identity strength variables predicted outcomes differently. Namely, there is some evidence that implicit measures more reliably predict other implicit measures, than they do explicit measures (as is the case in the current study; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997). Future work should more closely examine the extent to which both implicit and explicit White identity strength predict attitudes and behavior. Indeed, despite the potential limitations of the WICIAT (e.g., weak associations with behavior/explicit attitudes), it is also beneficial in the context of Whiteness studies because Whiteness is relatively invisible to many Whites.

The goal of the current study was to map White Americans' identity strength and privilege awareness in a specific moment in time. However, a critical future direction is understanding how these two dimensions develop longitudinally. For example, it may be that learning about racial privilege heightens White identity strength for some people, but diminishes

White identity strength for others (e.g., as has been shown in experimental work; Chow et al., 2008). This would mean that additional factors—such as the manner in and context under which privilege information is conveyed—predict the relationship between privilege awareness and identity strength in White identity development. In addition to examining the factors that contribute to White identity development over time, it will be important to study what life points lead to the greatest shifts in identity strength and privilege awareness among Whites. For example, for some Whites a significant shift may occur when they attend college (i.e., when they are potentially exposed to ideas of privilege for the first time). For others a major shift may occur when they develop meaningful friendships with people of color, who may explicitly point out White people's racial privilege and seek support in conversations about racial inequality (e.g., Droogendyk, Louis, and Wright, 2016).

Taken together, Study 1 findings suggest that both explicit White identity strength and privilege awareness predict the primary outcomes of interest, with one exception: only privilege awareness predicts belief in present Black discrimination. Though not always following the predicted pattern, all of these relationships (or lack thereof) are consistent with broader White identity theory. Notably, only for face-valid perceived similarity to Blacks did White identity strength and privilege awareness interact. This finding is critical for the interpersonal interaction dynamics I investigate with Studies 2 and 3, given that perceived similarity is a key predictor of whether people expect a racial outgroup interaction partner will assimilate them with negative group stereotypes (Frey & Tropp, 2006). Based on this prior work and Study 1 findings, Whites who have low privilege awareness will likely be more concerned about being assimilated with group stereotypes when they are strongly versus weakly identified. However, Whites who have

high privilege awareness may have less concern overall, regardless of their racial identification. I explored this possibility, as well as additional interracial outcome consequences, in Study 2.

Study 2: White Identity Forms & White Americans' Interracial Interaction Expectancies

Study 2 is, to my knowledge, the first investigation of how White identity forms—conceptualized as racial identity strength and racial privilege awareness—influence how White Americans approach an interpersonal interaction with a Black American. I used an anticipated interracial interaction paradigm, in which White participants believed they would meet and have a discussion with a Black participant. I examined how these White participants' racial identity strength and privilege awareness influence the extent to which they were concerned about being seen in light of negative group stereotypes by their interaction partner. Additionally, I tested how these metaperceptual concerns shape how anxious participants felt leading up to the encounter, what challenges participants expected to face in the interaction (e.g., how much they worried that they would not be able to be their true self) and how likely they were to reject the idea of future interactions with their partner.

Hypotheses

I initially hypothesized that White participants' measured levels of identity strength and privilege awareness would interact to predict metaperceptual concerns, anxiety, identity contingencies, and partner rejection in similar ways. I focused on White identity strength as the focal predictor of interaction outcomes, because White identity strength has been shown in previous research to heighten negative metastereotypes as well as anxiety in interracial interaction contexts (Dovidio et al., 2002; Vorauer et al., 1998; Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). Thus, I explored whether privilege awareness would moderate these established relationships. I expected that when Whites were strongly racially identified, as their privilege awareness increased they

would display weaker metaperceptual concerns, less anxiety, anticipate fewer interaction challenges, and be less likely to reject their partner. Contrastingly, I expected that when Whites were weakly racially identified, they would display heightened metaperceptual concerns, more anxiety, anticipate more interaction challenges, and be more likely to reject their partner in the future as their privilege awareness increased. However, given the *perceived similarity to Black Americans* findings from Study 1, it is also likely that both strongly and weakly-identified Whites will experience reduced metaperceptual concerns as their privilege awareness increases, and that this relationship will be stronger for those who are strongly (vs. weakly) identified.

Because this research represents the first test, to my knowledge, of the role of White identity strength and White privilege awareness on interracial interaction dynamics, I also tested my hypotheses using privilege awareness as the focal predictor and White identity strength as the moderator. In these models, I hypothesized that when Whites are low in privilege awareness, they would have stronger metaperceptual concerns and anxiety, anticipate more interaction challenges, and be more likely to reject their partner in the future as their White identity strength increased. In contrast, I predicted that when Whites are high in privilege awareness, they would have stronger metaperceptual concerns and anxiety, anticipate more interaction challenges, and be more likely to reject their partner in the future as their White identity strength decreased. However, again, given the *perceived similarity to Black Americans* findings from Study 1, it is also likely that Whites who are high in privilege awareness will have relatively weaker metaperceptual concerns and anxiety, regardless of their racial identity strength.

In addition to these total relationships between the two White identity dimensions, metaperceptual concerns, and interpersonal interaction outcomes, I predicted that the two dimensions of White identity would interact to indirectly affect interaction outcomes, via

metaperceptual concerns. Indeed, previous research has established the mediating role of metaperceptual concerns on interracial interaction outcomes (Shelton & Richeson, 2006). Specifically, I hypothesized that—at high, but not low, levels of privilege awareness—increasing White identity strength would predict less metaperceptual concern, which would in turn predict less anxiety, fewer anticipated interaction challenges, and less likelihood of rejecting one's partner in the future.

Study 2: Method

Participants & Recruitment

Participants were 242 students recruited through UIC's psychology subject pool. Although all students self-identified as White during the mass testing session at the beginning of the term to be eligible to sign up for the study, some participants did not self-identify as White during the study. Namely, 186 identified as White, 2 as Asian, 8 as Latino, 3 as Native American, 36 as Middle Eastern, and 7 as "Other." In the main text, I report only the results for students who self-identified as White during the study itself.²

Of these 186 White students, 116 were female ($n_{\text{male}} = 70$), and they ranged in age from 17 – 30, with an average age of 19.17 years ($SD = 1.84$ years). Participants on average reported that their parents had some college education ($M_{\text{mother EDU}} = 3.82$, $SD = 1.59$; $M_{\text{father EDU}} = 3.71$, $SD = 1.69$), and they self-identified as being middle class on average ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 0.80$).

Procedure

Participants signed up for and completed the study session individually with 1 White research assistant. The research assistant told each participant that the purpose of the study was to understand how people interact with others when given limited information. Additionally,

² For results including only Middle Eastern participants, see Appendix K.

researchers told participants that they would eventually have a discussion with another student, who was in another lab room down the hall. In actuality, there is no other participant. If the participant consented to do so, the research assistant then took a headshot of the participant.³ Next, participants and, ostensibly, their partner, completed a Profile Form—a paper-and-pencil questionnaire that includes some basic demographic information, including their racial identity. After, the research assistant told the participant that they would print the headshot, attach it to the Profile Form, and exchange it with the partner in the other room. The researcher then brought the "partner" profile back to the participant. In all cases, the "partner" Profile Form had "Black/African American" selected for the race question, and it included a headshot of a Black man or woman, gender-matched to the participant.

Next, participants completed a short "First Impressions" questionnaire on the computer about their partner, to maintain the cover story that the purpose of the study was to examine first impressions. In reality, this questionnaire included 4 measures of racial stereotyping. After, the experimenter set up the "Discussion Questions" survey on the computer. The survey indicated that participants and their partner would be randomly assigned to a set of topics, but all participants were always assigned to the same set of race-neutral questions. The survey then continued to the primary dependent measures: metaperceptual concerns, anxiety, worry about being one's true self in the interaction, and likelihood of rejecting one's partner in the future. Participants also responded to attention checks and demographic questions.

The research assistant then asked the participants to complete an unrelated survey in another room because their ostensible partner had not yet finished filling out the necessary questionnaires before their discussion. This final survey included the predictor variables: White

³ Research assistants are currently coding which participants did and did not consent to the headshot, but the research assistants recall that very few participants did not consent.

identity strength and racial privilege awareness. Finally, the research assistant let the participant know that there would not be an interaction and conducted a detailed debriefing interview to assess suspicion.

Materials & Measures

Profile Form. This paper and pencil form asked participants to indicate their gender, age, racial identity, major, and year in school (see Appendix B for participant and partner version). To increase believability, the "partner" version of the form included hand-written answers by someone who had previously been pre-tested to have gender-neutral handwriting.

"Partner" Photo. Partner photos come from the Chicago Face Database (CFD; Ma, Correll, & Wittenbrink, 2015). The CFD includes hundreds of high-resolution, standardized photographs of people of varying ages and racial groups. Adults have rated each photograph according to a number of characteristics (e.g., perceived age, perceived race, attractiveness, etc.), thus providing norming data.⁴ I selected 2 photos, 1 of a Black male and 1 of a Black female. My goal was to select faces that would be as similar as possible to my White, college student participants, except for their race. First, most CFD participants racially identified these faces as Black: 95.7% identified the female face as Black and 100% identified the male face as Black. CFD participants also rated them as looking prototypical of Black people, on a scale from 1 – *less typically Black looking* to 5 – *very typically Black looking* ($M_{\text{racially prototypical} - \text{female}} = 3.50$; $M_{\text{racially prototypical} - \text{male}} = 3.69$). Second, 98.9% of CFD participants categorized the female face as female, and 100% categorized the male face as male, suggesting that these 2 faces are prototypical of their gender group. Additionally, these 2 faces were perceived to be about 19 years old on average, and thus similar in age to the average college student ($M_{\text{age} - \text{female}} = 20.83$;

⁴ The male photo used in my study was rated by 27 participants and the female photo used in my study was rated by 94 participants.

$M_{\text{age} - \text{male}} = 19.07$). Finally, CFD participants rated these 2 faces as moderately attractive, on a scale from 1 – *not at all attractive* to 7 *extremely attractive* ($M_{\text{attractive} - \text{female}} = 4.45$; $M_{\text{attractive} - \text{male}} = 4.56$).

Racial stereotyping. The first impression survey asked participants to rate their partner on a variety of characteristics. The question asked: "Based on what you have learned about your partner so far, what is your impression of them along the following characteristics? Specifically, how likely is it that your partner is..." (Wout et al., 2014). This prompt was followed by 8 traits representing warmth (e.g., friendly, trustworthy; $\alpha = .85$), 3 traits representing competence (e.g., smart, well spoken; $\alpha = .76$; warmth and competence traits adapted from the Stereotype Content Model; Fiske et al., 2002), 2 traits consistent with the Black American stereotype identified by prior work (Devine & Baker, 1991) but absent from the warmth and competence dimensions (i.e., aggressive, combative; $r(180) = .48, p < .001$), as well as participants' impression of how ethnically identified their partner is. All traits were rated on a scale from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 7 (*very likely*) (see Appendix C). See Appendix K for racial stereotyping results.

Discussion Topics. All participants, and ostensibly their partner, were assigned to the same set of neutral discussion topics. The topics included: "Discuss which college courses you like the most/least and why," "Discuss what types of things you like to do in your spare time," and "Discuss what type of career you'd like to have in the future."

Interaction Expectation Questionnaire. See Appendix D for all verbatim measures and response scales.

Metaperceptual Concerns. I asked participants to rate the impression they believe their partner will have of them in the interaction (Vorauer et al., 2000). Specifically, they rated the likelihood that their partner would perceive them along 5 traits that represent White American

stereotypes (e.g., racist, snobby; $\alpha = .88$), from 1 (*not at all likely*) to 7 (*extremely likely*). Higher numbers indicate greater concern that the participant's partner would assimilate them with negative racial stereotypes about White Americans.

Interaction Anxiety. Participants reported the extent to which they were feeling 12 different anxiety-related emotions about the upcoming interaction (e.g., anxious, uncertain, comfortable (reversed), safe (reversed); $\alpha = .84$), from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*) (Stephan et al., 2002). Higher numbers indicate greater interaction anxiety.

Expected Interaction Challenges. I assessed the extent to which participants expected to face challenges in the interaction through a measure adapted from Wout, Murphy and Steele (2010). Example items include, "To what extent are you worried that you cannot really express your real views to your partner?" and "To what extent do you think you can be yourself during this interaction?" Participants responded to each of the 7 items ($\alpha = .65$) from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). Higher numbers indicate greater expected challenges in the interaction.

Likelihood of Rejecting the Partner in the Future. Across 3 items, participants rated how likely they would be to reject their partner in the future ($\alpha = .78$), from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 7 (*very likely*) (Shapiro, Baldwin, Williams, & Trawalter, 2011). A sample item is: "How likely is it that you will want to become friends with your partner after your discussion?" (reversed). Higher scores indicate a greater likelihood that participants will reject their partner in the future.

Attention checks. Participants recalled the race of their partner, to assess whether or not they recognized that they would be having an interracial interaction. This check was critical, because intra-racial interactions are not associated with the concerns or challenges that often arise with interracial interaction (Shelton & Richeson, 2006; Toosi, Babbitt, & Ambady, & Sommers, 2012). I asked 3 additional filler information attention check questions (i.e., partner

major; partner year in school; recall discussion topic), to assess the extent to which participants were generally engaged with the study procedure. For each question, participants scored a 0 if they responded incorrectly and 1 if they responded correctly, and I then summed the 3 scores, so total attention check scores range from 0 to 3.

Perceived Social Class of Partner. I also asked participants to report what they believed their partner's social class is, as class identity could be another source of perceived similarity or dissimilarity between the participant and their partner.

Participant Demographics. Finally, participants responded to demographic questions about themselves, including the education level of their parents and their social class.

White Identity Strength. I measured participants' White identity strength in the same manner as in Study 1: through the WICIAT and through the race-specific CSE identity subscale ($\alpha = .81$).

Privilege Awareness. I measured participants' general ($\alpha = .87$) and personal ($\alpha = .84$) privilege awareness in the same manner as in Study 1.

Suspicion Checks. As part of the debriefing interview, research assistants asked participants questions to gauge their suspicion of the study procedures as well as their potential prior knowledge of the study (see Appendix E).

Study 2: Results

Preliminary Analyses

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations between White identity strength, privilege awareness, and all dependent measures are reported in Table 2.

White Identity Strength.

WICIAT. On average, participants' WICIAT d score ($M = .70$, $SD = .57$) was significantly greater than 0, suggesting stronger White—self/non-White—other associations than White—other/non-White—self associations, $t(163) = 15.69$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.23$. Additionally, the White UIC students' d score was slightly higher and less variable than that of White MTurk participants from Study 1. However, consistent with Study 1, about 13% of participants ($n = 22$) had d scores at or below 0, suggesting stronger implicit associations between the self and non-White than between the self and White.

Collective Self Esteem–Identity. Consistent with White MTurk participants in Study 1, White UIC students reported moderately low CSE-racial identity on average ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.32$), which was lower than the scale's midpoint, suggesting low White identity strength overall, $t(156) = -8.20$, $p < .001$, $d = .65$.

White Privilege Awareness.

Belief in White Privilege. Participants' belief in White privilege was slightly higher than that of Study 1 participants ($M = 4.45$, $SD = 1.31$). Additionally, whereas the average score in Study 1 did not differ from the scale's midpoint, a 1-sample t -test showed that Study 2 participants' average was significantly higher than the scale's midpoint (4), $t(166) = 4.44$, $p < .001$, $d = .34$.

Belief in Personal White Privilege. As with general White privilege beliefs, Study 2 participants' personal White privilege was higher than that of Study 1 participants ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 1.68$), and significantly higher than the scale's midpoint (4), $t(166) = 2.79$, $p = .006$, $d = .21$.

Table 2.
Study 2 Ms, SDs, and Correlations (r)

Measure	<i>N</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. WICIAT <i>d</i> score	164	0.70 (.57)												
2. CSE - identity	157	3.14 (1.32)	.16†											
3. Privilege Awareness	167	4.45 (1.31)	.004	.14†										
4. Personal Priv. Awareness	167	4.36 (1.68)	-.02	.04	.75***									
5. Partner Warmth	182	5.33 (0.78)	-.08	-.12	.01	-.05								
6. Partner Competence	182	5.36 (0.81)	-.17*	-.13	-.01	-.02	.64***							
7. Partner stereotypically Black	182	2.95 (1.06)	.09	.03	-.04	.05	-.57***	-.34***						
8. Partner ethnically identified	182	5.68 (1.05)	-.03	.01	.10	.15†	.23**	.19**	-.10					
9. Partner social class	181	3.99 (0.46)	-.18*	.03	-.11	-.08	.15*	.25**	-.19*	0.06				
10. Metaperceptual concerns	181	2.86 (1.12)	.06	.06	.23**	.32***	-.22**	-.23**	.27***	-.02	-.16*			
11. Interaction anxiety	181	2.30 (0.56)	.05	-.01	.10	.05	-.09	-.12	.17*	-.03	-.09	.17*		
12. Anticipated challenges	181	2.25 (0.48)	.09	.03	.05	.11	-.15*	-.16*	.21**	.03	-.15*	.22**	.69***	
13. Partner Rejection	181	3.10 (0.86)	-.02	.09	-.06	-.05	-.38***	-.44***	.32***	.01	-.18*	.14†	.23***	.36***

Note. WICIAT = White identity centrality implicit association test, CSE = collective self esteem, Priv = privilege; † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Attention and Suspicion Checks.

Attention check: Partner race. Ten participants (5.4%) incorrectly recalled the race of their interaction partner.⁵

Attention checks: Filler information. Participants were engaged with the study procedure: on average, participants' attention check score was 2.90 out of 3 ($SD = .50$).

Study familiarity and suspicion checks. As intended, previous study familiarity and suspicion among participants was low. Few participants (3%, $n = 5$) claimed that they had heard of the study before. The participants who provided an explanation about what they had heard indicated that they knew about pieces of the study (e.g., taking a headshot; that there would be deception), but did not know the full procedure or nature of the deception. About 8% of participants ($n = 14$) said they did not believe the study as they were completing it. The modal explanation for this suspicion was that participants had completed other psychology studies involving deception, so they were suspicious about the current study. About 5% of participants ($n = 10$) said they did not believe the information about their partner.

Partner Perceptions: Social Class. Overall, participants assumed that their partner was middle class on average ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 0.46$). As intended, perceived social class did not vary by participants' explicit White identity strength or privilege awareness (see Table 2). However, unexpectedly, implicit White identity strength predicted lower perceived partner class.

Primary Analyses**Moderated Mediation: White identity form → Metaperceptual concerns →**

Interaction outcomes. I conducted three separate sets of moderated mediation regression

⁵Study conclusions remain the same when excluding Whites who incorrectly recalled partner race, so these participants are included in all analyses.

analyses, using Model Template 8 of PROCESS version 2 with 10,000 bootstrapped resamples, to examine whether there was a *White identity form* effect (i.e., a White identity strength x privilege awareness interaction effect) on metaperceptions and each of the interpersonal interaction outcomes, as well as whether or not this potential interaction on metaperceptions was carried through to indirectly affect each of the 3 interpersonal interaction outcomes.⁶ Contrary to predictions White identity strength and privilege awareness did not interact to predict metaperceptions, or any of the three interpersonal interaction outcome measures.⁷ Also contrary to hypotheses, the indices of moderated mediation indicate that I did not find evidence of moderated mediation for: interaction anxiety ($b = -.004$, $SE = .01$, $CI: [-.02, .01]$), anticipated challenges ($b = -.004$, $SE = .01$, $CI: [-.02, .01]$), or future partner rejection ($b = -.004$, $SE = .01$, $CI: [-.03, .01]$). See Table 3 for all path estimates.

⁶For all primary analyses, White identity strength is operationalized as explicit CSE-identity, and privilege awareness is operationalized as general White privilege awareness. Conclusions do not change when I instead use either explicit CSE and personal privilege awareness as predictors, implicit WICIAT d-score and general privilege awareness as predictors, or implicit WICIAT d-score and personal privilege awareness as predictors.

⁷There is also no White identity strength x privilege awareness interaction, without controlling for metaperceptions (using Model Template 1 of PROCESS version 2), for all three interpersonal interaction outcomes: interaction anxiety ($b = .003$, $SE = .02$, $CI: [-.05, .06]$, $p > .250$), anticipated interaction challenges ($b = .01$, $SE = .02$, $CI: [-.03, .05]$, $p > .250$), future partner rejection ($b = .02$, $SE = .04$, $CI: [-.06, .10]$, $p > .250$).

Table 3.

*Study 2 Moderated Mediation Results: Unstandardized Regression Coefficients with Confidence Intervals (Standard Errors in Parentheses)
Estimating Metaperceptual Concerns and Interaction Outcomes*

Predictor		Metaperceptual Concerns (<i>M</i>)		Interaction Anxiety (<i>Y</i>)	Anticipated challenges (<i>Y</i>)	Future partner rejection (<i>Y</i>)
White identity strength (<i>X</i> or <i>W</i>)	$a_1 \rightarrow$	.20 (.24), [-.28, .68]	$c'_1 \rightarrow$	-.05 (.12), [-.29, .19]	-.06 (.10), [-.26, .15]	-.05 (.19), [-.42, .32]
Privilege awareness (<i>X</i> or <i>W</i>)	$a_2 \rightarrow$	.30 (.16), [-.02, .61]†	$c'_2 \rightarrow$	.001 (.08), [-.16, .16]	-.04 (.07), [-.18, .09]	-.15 (.12), [-.39, .10]
Metaperceptual concerns (<i>M</i>)			$b \rightarrow$	.11 (.04), [.03, .19]**	.11 (.04), [.04, .18]**	.11 (.06), [-.02, .23]†
White identity form (<i>X</i> x <i>W</i>)	$a_3 \rightarrow$	-.04 (.05), [-.14, .06]	$c'_3 \rightarrow$	.01 (.03), [-.04, .06]	.01 (.02), [-.03, .06]	.03 (.04), [-.05, .10]

Note. In *PROCESS*, *X* = predictor, *W* = moderator, *Y* = outcome. † $p < .10$; ** $p < .01$

Unconditional Mediation. Because I did not find evidence of the hypothesized moderated mediation, I performed six separate sets of regression analyses testing for unconditional mediation, using Model Template 4 of PROCESS version 2 with 10,000 bootstrapped resamples, for each of the three interpersonal interaction outcomes: interaction anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, and future partner rejection. In the first three sets of analyses, I used White identity strength as the focal predictor, and in the second three sets of analyses I used privilege awareness as the focal predictor.

White identity strength → Metaperceptual concerns → Interaction outcomes. Contrary to predictions, I did not find evidence of an indirect effect of White identity strength on anxiety ($b = .01, SE = .01, CI: [-.01, .03]$), anticipated interaction challenges ($b = .01, SE = .01, CI: [-.01, .03]$), or future partner rejection ($b = .005, SE = .01, CI: [-.01, .04]$).

Privilege awareness → Metaperceptual concerns → Interaction outcomes. Consistent with predictions, I found significant indirect effects of privilege awareness on interaction anxiety ($b = .02, SE = .01, CI: [.003, .05]$) and anticipated interaction challenges ($b = .02, SE = .01, CI: [.005, .05]$). Specifically, as Whites' privilege awareness increased, they reported stronger metaperceptual concerns, and these concerns heightened their anxiety as well as the extent to which they anticipated challenges in the interaction. However, I did not find evidence of an indirect effect of privilege awareness on future partner rejection, $b = .02, SE = .02, CI: [-.01, .06]$. See Figure 5 for path estimates.

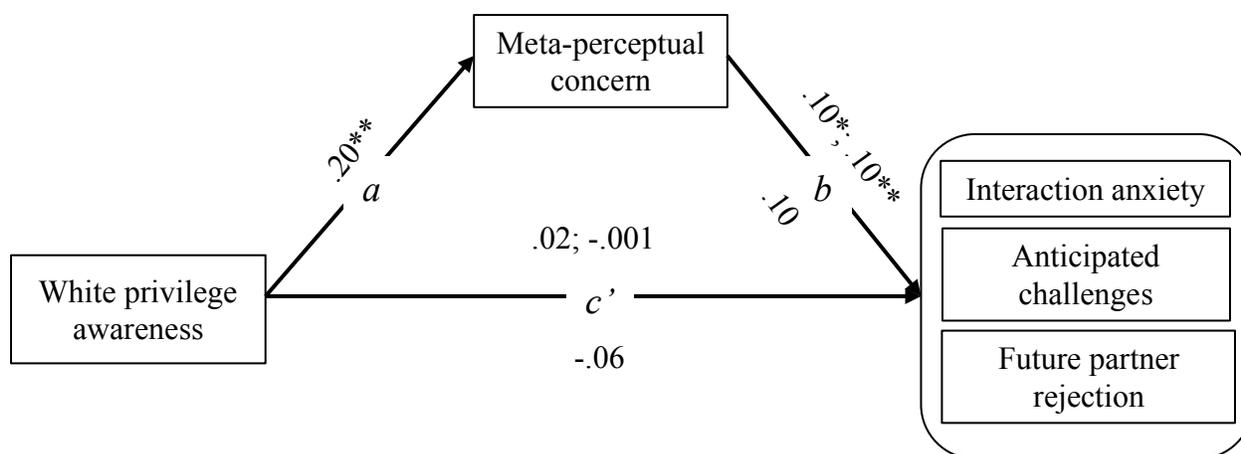


Figure 5. Study 2 Mediation Results: Privilege awareness predicts interaction anxiety and anticipated interaction challenges via metaperceptual concerns. Coefficients for anxiety followed by anticipated challenges are above the lines, and coefficients for future partner rejection are below. All coefficients are unstandardized. Along the *c* path is the direct effect of privilege awareness on the outcome (i.e., controlling for meta-perceptual concern).

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

Study 2: Discussion

The goal of Study 2 was to examine, for the first time, how White Americans' racial identity strength and awareness of racial privilege impact how they approach an interaction with a Black American. Although I hypothesized that White identity strength would lead to less favorable interaction outcomes, based on previous research (e.g., Vorauer et al., 1998), White identity strength did not significantly predict interaction anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, or likelihood of future partner rejection. It is possible that there was not enough variability in these interaction outcomes for White identity strength to explain, which could be an artifact of the anticipated, rather than actual, interaction paradigm. Likewise, there may have

been more variability in all outcomes had the discussion topic been race-related rather than neutral. In future studies, I plan to manipulate the race-relevance of the interracial discussion topic. I expect that Whites' racial identity strength and privilege awareness will be more predictive of interaction outcomes in a race-relevant discussion than a non-race relevant discussion.

I also found that as Whites' privilege awareness increased, so did their metaperceptual concerns. In turn, heightened privilege awareness led to more anxiety, more anticipated interaction challenges, and greater likelihood of rejecting one's partner via increased metaperceptual concerns. Although this finding is inconsistent with my original predictions, it is consistent with some findings from the interracial interactions literature. Namely, there is work showing that dominant group members who are too confident that they will be seen positively by their out-group interaction partner (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004; Vorauer et al., 2009) or are convinced that they understand what it is like to be a member of their partner's disadvantage group (Holoien, 2016) actually have worse interaction experiences. For example, low-prejudiced Whites who were tasked with taking the perspective of their racial outgroup interaction partner tended to be complacent in the interaction, failing to regulate their behavior and thus treating their partner less favorably (Vorauer et al., 2009). Thus, some form of self-regulation and concern about a racial outgroup member's perspective in an interracial interaction is beneficial for interaction outcomes. Perhaps Whites in Study 2 were erring against complacency and were genuinely concerned about how their partner would view them. Although stronger privilege awareness led to more metaperceptual concerns and anxiety leading up to the interaction, which are theoretically adverse outcomes, it may be that having some concern is beneficial to promote

self-regulation during an actual interracial encounter, during which the privilege-aware White participant may be better equipped to control their racial biases toward their interaction partner.

In addition to the types of interaction outcomes I measured and the type of discussion participants were anticipating, future studies could shift the way White identity strength and privilege awareness are operationalized. I used close-ended measures of these 2 separate constructs as a proxy for participants' White identity form—that is, how they think about their racial identity and the extent to which privilege awareness is a part of that conceptualization. Perhaps capturing participants' holistic identity form via their open-ended responses to what their racial identity and privilege mean to them would better approximate White identity form, and thus be more predictive of interaction outcomes.

Finally, there were some notable differences between White identity and privilege awareness levels between Study 1 MTurk adults and Study 2 UIC students. Namely, White UIC students had higher average levels of both racial identity strength and privilege awareness than White MTurk workers. White UIC students may be more racially conscious and privilege aware than other White adults because of their university context and institutional culture: they chose to attend a Hispanic-serving institution that is more racially diverse than most other universities in the U.S. Indeed, although White students at a predominantly White institution acknowledged racism significantly less than Black students at a historically Black institution (Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2013), White UIC students acknowledged racism to the same degree as Black UIC students (Bonam, Nair Das, Coleman, & Salter, 2018). Additionally, White UIC students were more generally more supportive of race-based affirmative action and willing to volunteer their time to enhance racial diversity efforts compared to White MTurk workers (Yantis, Bonam, Murrar, & Skitka, 2018). The potentially unique way that White UIC students conceptualize their

race may also explain the lack of relationship between White identity strength and interaction outcomes that has emerged in other research (e.g., Vorauer et al., 1998). In sum, these data from White UIC students is helpful in uncovering some potential contextual and individual difference factors that predict how Whites' identity strength and privilege awareness shape interracial interactions; such factors should be further explored in future research. To uncover additional potential factors that predict the role of White identity in interracial interactions, it will be important to collect data from other White Americans who, because of different institutional or geographical contexts, may respond differently (e.g., White Americans from MTurk).

Study 3: White Identity Forms & Black Americans' Interracial Interaction Expectancies

Study 3 tests how each of the four White identity forms influences Black Americans' perceptions of and behavior toward an anticipated White interaction partner. Specifically, I examine how the White identity form that a White person communicates to a Black person influences the degree to which the Black person is concerned about being seen in light of negative group stereotypes. In turn, I test how these metaperceptual concerns influence the Black person's expectations about her or his interpersonal interaction with the White person (Shelton & Richeson, 2006).

Among Black people (just as I predicted for White people in Study 2), I expect that perceived similarity to one's interracial interaction partner will shape metaperceptual concerns, and that these concerns will in turn shape interaction outcomes. There is, of course, heterogeneity among Black people in factors that likely predict (1) the extent to which they perceive Whites to be similar to themselves and (2) their interracial interaction experiences. These factors likely include racial identification, perceptions of racial inequality, and diversity ideology (i.e., colorblind; multicultural). For the current study, rather than measuring variation in

these factors among Black participants, I base my predictions on average trends identified among Black participants in previous research, given that the primary focus of the current research is to explore variation in White racial identification. Future work should, however, continue to investigate the dynamics of nuanced White and Black racial identity simultaneously.

First among these trends, Black Americans tend to be racially conscious (Feagin, 2000; Monteith & Spicer, 2000), and this racial consciousness often stems from socialization processes. For example, Black children are more likely than White children to learn about race and the consequences of belonging to a particular racial group starting at a young age (Tatum, 1997). This socialization is often necessary because racial minorities in the U.S. must contend with a culture in which Whites are dominant (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). One strategy that Black Americans use to successfully navigate White-dominated spaces is to learn both their own racial history and also develop a keen familiarity with how White culture operates (Tatum, 1997). Therefore, because Black Americans tend to be racially conscious, they may relate more to a White interaction partner who also exhibits racial consciousness (e.g., in the form of a strong White identity).

However, the nature of a White person's racial consciousness—i.e., their identity ideology (for example, how they believe race impacts people's outcomes in life)—will likely shift the extent to which a Black person relates to and feels comfortable around them. This relationship will likely occur due to a second set of trends: Black Americans tend to acknowledge both individual and systemic forms of racial discrimination (Nelson et al., 2012), and consider racial disadvantage and racial privilege to be equally unjust forms of inequality (Lowery & Wout, 2010). Thus, Black Americans in general may see themselves as more similar to Whites who not only exhibit racial consciousness, but who also acknowledge both

disadvantage and privilege as forms of racial inequality (e.g., those high in White privilege awareness).

Third among these trends, Black Americans tend to espouse a multicultural ideology, where they acknowledge group differences and inequality rather than masking group differences (i.e., colorblind ideology; Saguy et al., 2008). Again, this general orientation toward acknowledging race and inequality may make Black Americans feel more comfortable with a White interaction partner who also acknowledges race and inequality than someone who prefers colorblindness.

Finally, fourth among these trends, Black Americans are more likely to report meaningful friendships with Whites who they believe will support them in combating racism (Brown, 2014). Additionally, Black people consider White people to be allies, when White people acknowledge power differences and understand their own White racial identity (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). Specifically, in one study, students of color nominated a White person who they either considered to be an ally or a friend to complete a survey (Ostrove & Brown, 2018). Both groups of Whites (i.e., allies, friends) scored equally high on measures of racial privilege awareness. However, allies were significantly more willing than friends to confront White privilege, and students of color considered their White allies to be more respectful than their White friends. Therefore, Black participants may be less likely to experience metaperceptual concern (c.f. Bergsieker et al., 2010) and negative downstream interaction expectations when encountering Whites who not only acknowledge racial privilege, but who also connect their own identity to that privilege.

For all of these reasons, in Black-White interpersonal interaction contexts, information about Whites' identity strength and privilege awareness likely informs Black people about how

similar they are to their White partner, how concerned they will be about their partner assimilating them to negative group stereotypes, and, in turn, how they will expect the interaction to unfold.

Hypotheses

I expect that Black participants' anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, and likelihood of rejecting their partner in the future will shift as a function of their White interaction partner's communicated racial identity form (i.e., White identity strength and racial privilege awareness), and that these relationships will be driven by metaperceptual concerns. Specifically, I hypothesize that, when the partner is low in White identity strength, the partner's high (vs. low) racial privilege awareness will not cause a shift in Black participants' level of metaperceptual concerns, anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, or likelihood of partner rejection. At this level of low White identity strength, I also do not expect an indirect effect of privilege awareness via metaperceptual concerns on these three interaction outcome measures. Contrastingly, I hypothesize that, when the partner is strongly White-identified, the partner's high (vs. low) racial privilege awareness will reduce Black participants' metaperceptual concerns, anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, and likelihood of partner rejection. Additionally, at this level of strong White identity, I do expect an indirect effect of privilege awareness via metaperceptual concerns on the 3 interaction outcomes.

Study 3: Method

Participants

Participants were 213 Black Adults recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Only workers who had previously self-identified as Black/African American were eligible for the study. In total, 138 participants were female ($n_{\text{male}} = 75$), and they ranged in age from 18 – 66,

with an average age of 33.34 years ($SD = 9.99$ years). Participants on average reported that their parents had some college education ($M_{\text{mother EDU}} = 3.65$, $SD = 1.60$; $M_{\text{father EDU}} = 3.53$, $SD = 1.71$), and that they themselves had college-level education ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 1.25$). Participants self-identified as being between lower-middle and middle-class on average ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.00$). Additionally, 6 participants reported that English was not their first language (2.8%), 9 participants reported that they were gay/homosexual (4.2%), and 6 reported being transgendered (2.8%).⁸ Finally, 7 participants reported that they are not U.S. citizens (3.3%) and were excluded from analyses, so final $N = 206$.

Procedure

The entire study was conducted online. A set of pilot studies ensured that the online version of the interaction paradigm was believable to MTurk participants (see Appendix G for full pilot methodology and results). Participants first saw that the study examines first impressions and that they would need to complete the study in a quiet area and use an electronic device equipped with a camera, because the study involves a video chat with another participant. The survey then displayed a page indicating that the computer was pairing the participant with another participant, and then displayed a page saying that the connection was successful. Then, participants filled out a Profile Form, and the instructions indicated that their partner was also filling out a Profile Form at the same time. On the next page, the participants read that they and their partner would be randomly assigned to answer a "get to know you" question, but that their question may be the same or different from their partner's. Then, all participants read and responded to their get to know you question while their partner was ostensibly doing the same.

⁸ Study conclusions do not change when excluding participants based on first language, sexual orientation, or gender identity, so participants are included in analyses regardless of these demographic factors.

Next, participants got to view their partner's Profile Form as well as their "get to know you" question and response. Participants saw a gender-matched White partner, and they were randomly assigned to an ostensible "get to know you" partner response that represented 1 of the 4 White identity forms identified in Study 1. On the next page, participants answered 2 filler attention check questions, before the survey displayed their partner's profile a second time, to ensure that they saw all parts of the partner's information. Next, to maintain the cover story about the study's purpose being about first impressions, all participants completed a "first impressions" questionnaire. In actuality, this questionnaire consisted of racial stereotyping measures (see Appendix K for racial stereotyping results). After, the survey indicated that participants would be randomly assigned to a set of topics, but all participants were always assigned to the same set of neutral questions. The survey then continued to the primary dependent measures: metaperceptual concerns, anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, and partner rejection.

On the next page, I probed participants' understanding of the study purpose. After, I asked participants to recall parts of their partner's information, including their partner's racial background and their response to the "get to know you" question (i.e., their White identity form). Next, the survey displayed the partner's "get to know you" question and response so that participants could re-familiarize themselves with it. Participants then answered questions about their partner's response (i.e., conceptual manipulation checks), followed by demographic questions.

On the next page, the survey described that participants would not participate in a video chat, and then participants reported how they felt about this information. Finally, the survey described that there was no other participant, and participants responded to questions regarding how much they believed the study's cover story.

Materials & Measures

Profile form. The profile form asked participants to indicate their gender, age, and race in the same way as Study 2. Additionally, it asked participants: "What is your marital status?" and "How many children do you have?" (both open-ended).

"Partner" profile form. The partner's profile form indicated that they were male or female (gender-matched to participant), 32 years old, White, single, with 0 children (see Appendix H for example).

"Get to Know You" question. I told participants that they and their partner would be randomly assigned to answer a "get to know you" question from one of the following categories: everyday activities, personal history, and your social identities. Participants were always assigned to the "personal history" category, and the question was always "What do you like most about where you grew up?" I told participants that their question and response would be shared with their partner along with their profile form.

"Partner" response: *White identity form manipulation and experimental design.* The "partner" question category was always "your social identities" and the question was always "What do race and privilege mean to you?" Participants viewed one of four responses, depending on their randomly assigned experimental condition, that represented one of the four White identity forms (see Appendix H for all four forms). Thus, the study followed a 2 (White partner's identity strength: low, high) x 2 (White partner's privilege awareness: low, high) between-subjects design.

The White partner's identity form was communicated using piloted responses adapted from Study 1 participants' open-ended responses to the questions "what does your race mean to you?" and "what does White privilege mean to you?" Each statement included 1 sentence that

communicated the White person's identity strength and 1 sentence that communicated the White person's privilege awareness. I selected statements for which pilot participant ratings did not differ in identity strength regardless of whether the privilege awareness level communicated was high or low. Likewise, I selected statements for which participant ratings did not differ in privilege awareness regardless of whether the identity strength level communicated was high or low. Additionally, the final 4 statements did not statistically differ in terms of pilot participant ratings of how genuine the statement seemed, how much participants could picture someone saying it, how difficult it was to understand, how complex it was, nor the perceived education level of the person who made the statement. See Appendix F for full pilot methodology and results.

Racial Stereotyping. The racial stereotyping measure again included warmth ($\alpha = .90$) and competence ($\alpha = .87$) items from the stereotype content model, as well as the trait "ethnically identified," but did not include the Black American stereotypic traits that I used in Study 2.

Discussion Topics. All participants were assigned to the same 3 discussion topics: "If you were going to learn a new skill, what would it be and why?," "Discuss what types of things you like to do in your spare time," and "Discuss your current career or the career you'd like to have in the future."

Interaction Expectation Questionnaire. The interaction expectation questionnaire was largely the same as that used in Study 2: interaction anxiety ($\alpha = .89$) and partner rejection ($\alpha = .87$) remained the same in Study 3. The following measures are different in Study 3 (see Appendix I for verbatim item and response scale wording).

Metaperceptual Concerns. Participants rated the likelihood that their partner would align them with 4 negative stereotypic traits associated with Black Americans: unintelligent, lazy, criminal, and poor ($\alpha = .93$).

Perceived Interaction Challenges. These items are very similar to those used in Study 2, but for ease of interpretation have been reworded to fit an *agree – disagree* response scale ($\alpha = .70$).

Mid-Study Suspicion probes. I asked participants 2 open-ended questions: what they believe the purpose of the study is and whether or not anything seems odd or confusing so far.

Manipulation & Attention Checks. As in Study 2, I asked participants to recall their partner's race. In addition, I asked them to recall 4 pieces of information not directly related to the manipulation or study goals: one of the discussion topics, their partner's marital status, the "get to know you" question assigned to their partner, and the "get to know you" question assigned to them. I created an attention check score ranging from 0 – 4 based on how many of these 4 items participants recalled correctly. Finally, I asked participants to write down as much as they could remember from their partner's response to the "get to know you" question.

Conceptual Manipulation Checks. I asked participants to rate their partner in terms of White identity strength and privilege awareness. Participants also rated the statement along some of the potential confounding dimensions described in Pilot Study 1 (i.e., how difficult it is to understand and perceived education level).

End of Study Suspicion probes. I asked participants to respond to questions regarding their prior knowledge of the study as well as whether or not they believed the study (see Appendix J).

Study 3: Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive findings. See Table 4 for means, standard deviations, and correlations between all dependent measures in Study 3.

Table 4.
Study 3 Ms, SDs, and Correlations (r)

Measure	<i>N</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Perceived partner Warmth	203	4.85 (1.29)							
2. Perceived partner Competence	203	5.32 (1.17)	.70***						
3. Perceived partner Ethnically identified	203	4.82 (1.80)	.07	.25***					
4. Perceived partner social class	203	4.52 (1.03)	-.09	-.02	.20**				
5. Metaperceptual concerns	203	3.05 (1.69)	-.56***	-.26***	.01	.24***			
6. Interaction anxiety	203	2.47 (0.86)	-.29***	-.18*	-.06	.08	.43***		
7. Anticipated interaction challenges	203	4.05 (1.03)	.27***	.37***	.19**	-.04	-.23**	-.54***	
8. Partner rejection	203	3.31 (1.23)	-.40***	-.47***	-.24**	-.03	.15*	.28***	-.44***

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

Manipulation, Attention, and Suspicion Checks.

Attention Checks. Twenty-four participants (11%) incorrectly recalled the race of their interaction partner.⁹ Additionally, overall, participants were engaged with the study: the average attention check score was 3.70 out of 4 ($SD = .71$).

Manipulation check: Partner White identity form recall. I examined participants' open-ended recall of their partner's response to their "get to know you" question. Approximately 15% of participants ($n = 31$) did not recall their partner's White identity form at all (i.e., they wrote "don't remember", something unrelated to the prompt, or left this field blank). About 53% of participants ($n = 108$) fully remembered their partner's identity form, in terms of both the identity strength and privilege awareness dimensions. About 16% of participants ($n = 34$) recalled the identity strength dimension of their partner's identity form, but did not mention the privilege awareness dimension. Likewise, about 15% of participants ($n = 30$) recalled the privilege awareness dimension of their partner's identity form, but did not mention the identity strength dimension. In sum, about 84% of participants ($n = 172$) correctly recalled one or both of their partner's White identity form dimensions. Although this recall rate is lower than I expected, the conceptual manipulation checks confirm that, on average, the White identity forms were communicating the identity strength and privilege awareness levels I intended.¹⁰

Conceptual Manipulation Check: Perceived White Identity Strength. I conducted an independent-samples t -test and found that participants in the strong White identity condition perceived their partner to be significantly more White-identified ($M = 6.26$, $SD = 0.94$) than

⁹ Study conclusions do not change when I exclude participants who incorrectly recalled their partner race. Therefore, these participants are included in analyses.

¹⁰ Unless otherwise noted, study conclusions do not change when I exclude participants who did not correctly recall both the identity strength and the privilege awareness dimension of their partner's White identity form.

participants in the weak White identity condition ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.99$), $t(201) = 11.98$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.69$. Moreover, a 2-way ANOVA with White identity strength and privilege awareness conditions as predictors confirmed that there was no difference in perceived identity strength by privilege condition and privilege condition did not moderate the effect of identity strength condition on perceived identity strength ($ps > .250$).

Conceptual Manipulation Check: Perceived Racial Privilege Awareness. I conducted an independent-samples t-test and found that participants in the strong privilege awareness condition perceived their partner to be significantly more privilege-aware ($M = 5.72$, $SD = 1.62$) than those in the weak privilege awareness condition ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 2.17$), $t(201) = 8.26$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.15$. A 2-way ANOVA with privilege awareness condition and White identity strength condition as predictors confirmed that there was no difference in perceived privilege awareness by identity strength condition and identity strength condition did not moderate the effect of privilege awareness condition on perceived privilege awareness ($ps > .250$).

Conceptual Manipulation Check: Perceived personal Racial Privilege Ownership. I conducted an independent-samples *t*-test and found that participants in the strong privilege awareness condition reported thinking that their partner believes they have personally experienced unearned privilege ($M = 4.63$, $SD = 1.39$) more so than those in the weak privilege awareness condition ($M = 2.37$, $SD = 1.73$), $t(209) = 10.59$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.44$. Additionally, consistent with my theory that Black Americans would see strongly-identified privilege-aware Whites as taking ownership of their privilege, a two-way ANOVA reveals a marginally statistically significant identity strength x privilege awareness condition interaction on perceived personal privilege acceptance, $F(1, 203) = 3.41$, $p = .066$, $\omega^2 = .002$. Follow-up planned contrasts show that, when their partner was weakly White-identified, participants perceived their partner

as having personally experienced unearned privilege statistically significantly more in the strong privilege awareness condition ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 1.58$) than in the weak privilege awareness condition ($M = 2.49$, $SD = 1.80$), $t(101) = 5.61$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.10$. This difference by privilege awareness condition was exacerbated when participants' partner was strongly White-identified, $t(101) = 9.87$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.90$: participants reported that their partner believes they have personally experienced unearned privilege statistically significantly more when their partner was low in privilege awareness ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.10$) than when their partner was high in privilege awareness ($M = 2.25$, $SD = 1.66$; see Figure 6).

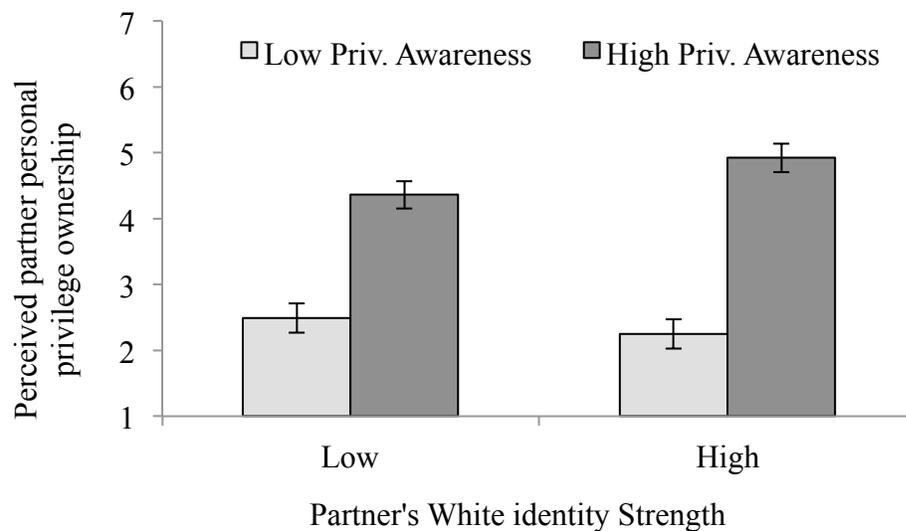


Figure 6. Study 3 Moderation Results: Perceived partner personal racial privilege ownership as a function of partner's White identity strength (low vs. high) and partner's White privilege awareness (low vs. high). Error bars represent the standard error.

Conceptual manipulation Check: Difficulty understanding White identity/privilege statement. As in Study 3 Pilot 1, participants found their partner's White identity form statement easy to understand ($M = 2.27$, $SD = 1.74$), and this did not differ by condition ($ps > .250$).

Suspicion probes and study familiarity. Participants generally accepted the study's cover story and were not familiar with the study before participating. Specifically, a large majority of participants reported that they believed they would have an interaction with their partner at the end of the study (87.7%, $n = 178$), whereas 12.3% said they did not believe the study ($n = 25$). Again, a large majority of participants believed that their partner was an actual online participant (85.7%, $n = 174$), whereas 14.3% did not believe that their partner was real ($n = 29$). Only 2% of participants ($n = 4$) said they had heard of the study before, but none used the open-ended textbox to describe what they had heard.

Partner Perceptions: Social Class. A 2 x 2 between-subjects ANOVA revealed that, as intended, there was no interaction between identity strength and privilege awareness conditions predicting perceived partner social class, $F(1, 207) = 0.02$, $p > .250$. Unexpectedly, participants in the weak White identity condition perceived their partner as significantly lower class ($M = 4.34$, $SD = .98$) than participants in the strong White identity condition ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.04$), $F(1, 199) = 7.01$, $p = .009$, $d = .37$. Perceived partner class did not differ between participants in the low partner privilege awareness ($M = 4.34$, $SD = .98$) versus high partner privilege awareness condition ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.04$), $F(1, 199) = 1.59$, $p = .208$.¹¹

Primary Analyses

Moderated Mediation: White identity form → Metaperceptual concerns →

Interaction outcomes. I conducted three separate sets of regression analyses, using Model

¹¹ Statistically controlling for perceived partner social class does not change study conclusions.

Template 8 of PROCESS version 2 with 10,000 bootstrapped resamples, to examine whether there was an effect of *White identity form* (i.e., partner White identity strength [low = 0 vs. high = 1] x partner privilege awareness [low = 0 vs. high = 1]) on metaperceptions and each of the interaction outcomes, and to test whether this potential interaction on metaperceptions was carried through to indirectly effect interpersonal interaction outcomes. Contrary to predictions, there was no effect of White identity form on metaperceptions or any of the interpersonal interaction outcomes: interaction anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, or future partner rejection.¹² Additionally, contrary to hypotheses, the indices of moderated mediation revealed that I did not find evidence of moderated mediation on interaction anxiety ($b = -.02$, $SE = .10$, CI: [-.22, .18]), anticipated challenges ($b = .01$, $SE = .07$, CI: [-.12, .16]), or future partner rejection ($b = -.01$, $SE = .06$, CI: [-.15, .09]). (See Table 5 for *Ms* and *SDs* by experimental condition. See Table 6 for all path estimates.)

Table 5.

Study 3: Outcome variables Ms and SDs by experimental condition

		Metaperceptual concerns	Interaction anxiety	Anticipated Challenges	Partner Rejection
Low White ID strength	Low Priv. Awareness	2.82 (1.52)	2.38 (.90)	4.00 (1.13)	3.23 (1.16)
	High Priv. Awareness	2.78 (1.72)	2.37 (.83)	4.23 (1.13)	3.22 (1.25)
High White ID strength	Low Priv. Awareness	3.40 (1.79)	2.63 (.85)	3.97 (.87)	3.54 (1.49)
	High Priv. Awareness	3.25 (1.64)	2.51 (.87)	3.97 (1.00)	3.47 (1.18)

¹²There is also no White identity strength x privilege awareness interaction, without controlling for metaperceptions (using Model Template 1 of PROCESS version 2), for all three interpersonal interaction outcomes: interaction anxiety ($b = -.10$, $SE = .24$, CI: [-.58, .38], $p > .250$), anticipated interaction challenges ($b = -.24$, $SE = .29$, CI: [-.81, .34], $p > .250$), future partner rejection ($b = .10$, $SE = .35$, CI: [-.59, .79], $p > .250$).

Table 6.

*Study 3 Moderated Mediation Results: Unstandardized Regression Coefficients with Confidence Intervals (Standard Errors in Parentheses)
Estimating Metaperceptual Concerns and Interaction Outcomes*

Predictor		Metaperceptual Concerns (<i>M</i>)		Interaction Anxiety (<i>Y</i>)	Anticipated challenges (<i>Y</i>)	Future partner rejection (<i>Y</i>)
Partner White identity strength (<i>X</i> or <i>W</i>) 0 = Low, 1 = High	$a_1 \rightarrow$	.58 (.34), [-.10, 1.25]†	$c'_1 \rightarrow$	.12 (.16), [-.20, .44]	.05 (.21), [-.36, .47]	.06 (.25), [-.44, .57]
Partner privilege awareness (<i>X</i> or <i>W</i>) 0 = Low, 1 = High	$a_2 \rightarrow$	-.07 (.33), [-.72, .59]	$c'_2 \rightarrow$	-.01 (.16), [-.31, .30]	.23 (.20), [-.17, .63]	-.25 (.24), [-.73, .23]
Metaperceptual concerns (<i>M</i>)			$b \rightarrow$	.22 (.03), [.15, .28]***	-.13 (.04), [-.22, -.05]**	.10 (.05), [.01, .21]*
White identity form (<i>X</i> x <i>W</i>)	$a_3 \rightarrow$	-.08 (.47), [-1.01, .85]	$c'_3 \rightarrow$	-.08 (.22), [-.52, .35]	-.25 (.29), [-.81, .32]	.11 (.35), [-.57, .79]

Note. In *PROCESS*, *X* = predictor, *W* = moderator, *Y* = outcome. † $p < .10$; ** $p < .01$

Unconditional Mediation. Because I did not find evidence of conditional mediation, I next followed up by using regression analyses to test for unconditional mediation, separately using each of the two manipulated White identity form dimensions as predictors. I used Model Template 4 of PROCESS version 2 with 10,000 bootstrapped resamples, and I estimated six models—a model for each of the two focal predictors for each of the three interaction outcomes: interaction anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, and future partner rejection.

Partner White identity strength → Metaperceptual concerns → Interaction outcomes. I found a significant indirect effect of partner White identity strength on interaction anxiety ($b = .12$, $SE = .05$, $CI: [.02, .23]$) and on future partner rejection ($b = .06$, $SE = .45$, $CI: [.003, .18]$) via metaperceptual concerns. Consistent with predictions, when participants' partner was high (vs. low) in White identity strength, they reported stronger metaperceptual concerns, which led them to have more anxiety and report a greater likelihood of rejecting their partner in the future (see Figure 7). There was also a significant indirect effect of partner White identity strength on anticipated interaction challenges ($b = -.07$, $SE = .04$, $CI: [-.19, -.01]$) via metaperceptual concerns. When participants' partner was high (vs. low) in White identity strength, they reported stronger metaperceptual concern, which unexpectedly led them to anticipate fewer challenges in the interaction.¹³

¹³ All three of these indirect effects become marginally statistically significant when including only people who correctly recalled both the White identity strength and privilege awareness dimensions of their partner's White identity form, but the general pattern of results remains consistent.

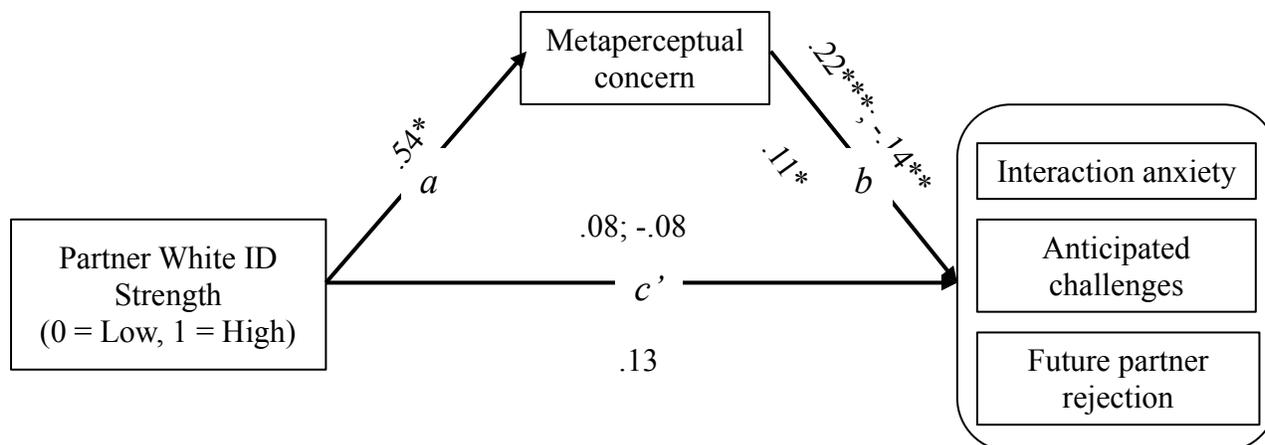


Figure 7. Study 3 Mediation Results: Partner White identity strength predicts interaction outcomes via metaperceptual concerns. Coefficients for anxiety followed by anticipated challenges are above the lines, coefficients for future partner rejection are below. All coefficients are unstandardized. Along the *c* path are the direct effects of White identity strength on the outcomes (i.e., controlling for metaperceptual concern).

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

Partner privilege awareness → Metaperceptual concerns → Interaction outcomes.

Unexpectedly, I did not find evidence of indirect effects of partner privilege awareness via metaperceptual concerns on interaction anxiety ($b = -.03$, $SE = .05$, $CI: [-.13, .08]$), anticipated interaction challenges ($b = .02$, $SE = .04$, $CI: [-.04, .10]$), or future partner rejection ($b = -.01$, $SE = .03$, $CI: [-.10, .03]$).

Study 3: Discussion

Study 3 represents the first investigation, to my knowledge, of how Black Americans approach an interracial interaction after learning their White partner's level of White identification and awareness of racial privilege. First, I found that, consistent with predictions, Black participants thought that their White partner took more personal ownership of their own

privilege, not only when they expressed high levels of privilege awareness, but also when they were strongly identified. In contrast, when their partner expressed low levels of privilege awareness, participants did not see them as taking personal privilege ownership, regardless of their partner's White identity strength. Therefore, it seems that Black participants distinguish between Whites who are privilege-aware but weakly identified from those who are privilege-aware and strongly identified.

Additionally, I found that Black participants reported stronger metaperceptual concerns when their partner was strongly (vs. weakly) White-identified, which led them to have more anxiety as well as a stronger likelihood of rejecting their partner in the future. Although these are not the precise patterns that I predicted, they are consistent with broader theory and prior findings: In general, racial minorities are aware that they may be stereotyped or treated negatively by a White person in an interaction (Crocker & Major, 1989), and are often vigilant to cues that will inform the extent to which their White acquaintance will be prejudiced (LaCrosse, Tuscherer, Kunstman, Plant, & Trawalter, 2015). It is possible, then, that Black participants in Study 3 used Whites' identity strength as a cue to prejudice concerns, and that they assumed that strongly identified Whites would be more in-group focused and thus harbor more out-group bias than weakly identified Whites, which would explain the nature of these indirect effects.

Surprisingly, stronger metaperceptual concerns anticipating an interaction with a strongly (vs. weakly) White-identified partner led participants to anticipate fewer challenges in the interaction. It is possible that, despite feeling that their partner would negatively stereotype them, participants were not worried about being their true self in the encounter because they felt confident that their partner would view them negatively regardless of how they may try to negate those negative stereotypes. Indeed, past research suggests that racial minority participants

ironically report having a more positive interaction with a White partner who they knew was prejudiced (vs. a partner for whom they did not receive prejudice information), perhaps because they were certain about what to expect going into the encounter (Shelton, 2003). Having information about the partner—even when negative—mitigates potential ambiguity about their partner's attitudes and thus dampens the need for the racial minority person to disambiguate their partner's intentions. Also inconsistent with predictions, these patterns did not vary as a function of the White partner's privilege awareness—the strength of their partner's White identification alone shaped Black participants' metaperceptual concerns and expectations for the interaction.

What is unclear, however, is why Whites' privilege awareness level did not impact Black participants' metaperceptual concerns (whether unconditionally, or conditional upon White identity strength). Perhaps the strong White privilege awareness cue was not enough to diminish the strong White racial identification cue, thus leading to stronger metaperceptual concerns regardless of highly identified Whites' privilege awareness. Future versions of this study could revise the operationalization of the privilege awareness cue in a way that attempts to make a stronger impact. It may also be that privilege awareness is a stronger cue that influences metaperceptual concerns when communicated over time, when Black Americans are able to discern how that their White partner's privilege awareness manifests through that person's attitudes and behaviors across contexts, rather than in a single statement. Second, it is possible that the White identity form statements that I chose for Study 3 gave participants mixed messages about their partner's racial worldview. Although the conceptual manipulation checks confirm the effectiveness of the experimental conditions, some participants may have interpreted the highly identified, privilege-aware Whites as enjoying their racial privilege, whereas others may have assumed that these Whites were rejecting or uncomfortable with their racial privilege.

Perhaps if the privilege-aware White condition alluded to the person's belief that having racial privilege is unfair and undeserved, Black participants may have been more confident that these Whites would be unlikely to stereotype them based on their race, thus quelling their anxiety going into the interaction.

Black participants may also have shown more variability by condition in their anticipated interaction challenges and anticipated partner rejection if they had expected to discuss racially-relevant topics with their partner. Perhaps the White partner's identity form was not relevant in the context of a race-neutral discussion, and thus did not significantly impact Black participants' expectations for how the interaction would go. Instead, if the conversations had been explicitly racial in nature (e.g., the Black Lives Matter movement), perhaps the White partner's identity strength and privilege awareness would have held more weight in terms of how that discussion would play out. Indeed, when asked to imagine interacting with a White friend, Black participants predicted they would feel less understood by their friend when the topic of conversation was about race than when it was not about race (Holoien, 2016). Thus, perhaps explicit mention of the White partner's identity strength and privilege awareness would either exacerbate or diminish this effect of racial discussion topic on the extent to which Black Americans feel understood by their partner.

Finally, in addition to the way in which Whites' identity form was presented to participants and the neutrality of discussion topics, the online (versus in-person) paradigm of Study 3 may have contributed to the null effects of experimental condition on anticipated interaction challenges and partner rejection. Specifically, participants may not have felt personally invested in the study, or they may not have expected to be strongly affected by their upcoming interracial interaction. The low-stakes nature of this online, anticipated interaction

may explain low levels of identity contingencies and partner rejection overall, regardless of experimental condition. In future work, it will be critical to conduct this study in person rather than online, to make the experience more meaningful for participants and perhaps increase their engagement with the study. Additionally, collecting data from a Black student sample would not only increase study engagement, but may also increase the extent to which people are motivated for the interaction to go well, given that they very well may encounter their "partner" on campus or in the classroom.

General Discussion

Although both privilege and disadvantage contribute to racial inequality in the United States, social psychological research aimed at mitigating racial inequality is often more heavily focused on understanding and preventing disadvantage and discrimination rather than on understanding and dismantling privilege experienced by Whites. As a result, White racial identity and the privilege it confers is often overlooked by both lay people and scholars (Knowles & Peng, 2005). In the current research, I investigated not only the multidimensional nature of White racial identity, but also how a more nuanced conceptualization of White racial identity impacts interracial interactions for both White and Black Americans.

In Study 1, I used an online measurement paradigm and found that White Americans vary along both racial identity strength and racial privilege awareness dimensions. Moreover, because these 2 dimensions were not correlated, participants occupied each of the 4 White identity form quadrants that I proposed: low identity strength/low privilege awareness; low identity strength/high privilege awareness; high identity strength/low privilege awareness; high identity strength/high privilege awareness. Additionally, I found that, as Whites' privilege awareness increased, their perceived similarity to Black Americans increased as well. Moreover, this

relationship was significantly stronger for Whites who were strongly (vs. weakly) White-identified. Thus, Study 1 supports a 2-dimensional White identity model and suggests that the 2 dimensions interact to shape how Whites relate to Black Americans.

In Study 2, I tested whether White college students' White identity form differences led to distinct psychological experiences leading up to an interracial interaction with a Black partner. Overall, participants experienced greater metaperceptual concerns, anxiety, and anticipated more challenges in the interaction as their privilege awareness increased. Additionally, I found that this privilege awareness—interaction outcome link was driven in part by heightened metaperceptual concerns. However, these patterns were not moderated by Whites' racial identity strength. Therefore, Study 2 demonstrated, for the first time to my knowledge, that Whites' awareness of racial privilege contributes to more metaperceptual concerns and anxiety going into an interaction with a Black person.

Finally, in Study 3, I tested whether Black Americans would expect different interaction outcomes depending on whether their White partner was high (vs. low) in racial identity strength and high (vs. low) in racial privilege awareness. I found that Black participants felt stronger metaperceptual concerns when their partner was strongly (vs. weakly) racially identified, regardless of their partner's privilege awareness. Moreover, these heightened metaperceptual concerns when anticipating an interaction with a highly (vs. weakly) racially identified White partner explained Blacks' heightened anxiety leading up to the encounter.

Implications

The current studies make several important theoretical and practical contributions. First, this research expands traditional conceptualizations of White racial identity. Whereas previous work has focused on racial identity strength or prejudice as the primary way to operationalize

Whites' racial identity, I find evidence that White identity also includes variation along privilege awareness. By expanding the way that researchers conceptualize and operationalize Whiteness, my work opens new avenues for predicting Whites' attitudes and behaviors, beyond the interracial interaction context.

In addition to expanding the construct of White identity, I contribute to a small but growing segment of social psychological research that considers and interrogates racial privilege as a facet of racial inequality, in addition to racial disadvantage. It is important to treat White Americans as racial actors rather than racial bystanders, particularly in interracial interactions. First, White Americans hold the dominant position in numerous domains of life in the United States (e.g., wealth, health, educational attainment), and also hold a substantial amount of power that would allow them to significantly contribute to dismantling racial inequality. However, scholars and lay people must recognize the role that White Americans play in perpetuating racial inequality before Whites can use their powerful position to mitigate racial injustice (Hartmann, et al., 2009). Second, solutions to improving interracial interactions can focus not only on introducing strategies for racial minorities to cope with the stress of interracial encounters, but also can focus on understanding and shifting how White Americans relate to racial minorities in general, via their understanding of the U.S. racial hierarchy. Third, several studies have demonstrated that White and Black Americans tend to report divergent experiences following the same interracial encounter, with the White person often thinking that the interaction went well, and the Black person thinking that the interaction did not go very well (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Holoien, 2016). The current research can contribute to potential underpinnings of these divergent perspectives by examining Whites' racial identity form. For example, perhaps White and Black Americans who have similar (vs. dissimilar) desire to combat racial inequality, and recognize

Whites' role in perpetuating inequality, are more likely to interpret an interracial interaction in similar ways.

Refining my White identity model. The current studies represent a first step to incorporate privilege awareness as a component of White Americans' racial identity. However, results from my research point to important ways that I can refine my White identity model going forward. First, it will be important to think about White racial identity as separate from Black racial identity. My model is built off of a theoretical framework that was developed for Black identity, wherein racial identity consists of identity centrality and identity ideology (Sellers et al., 1997). Although useful, it is also problematic to use Black identity theory to inform White identity theory, because the two are fundamentally distinct. Indeed, White and Black Americans often have vastly different experiences throughout their life because of their race, which means that they likely have vastly different ways of conceptualizing their own racial identity. Indeed, we already know from previous work that White racial identity is different from Black racial identity, in that some Whites do not regularly think about their race or explicitly identify as White (e.g., Knowles & Peng, 2005), whereas Blacks are more likely to be racially conscious (e.g., Tatum, 1997). For these reasons, my White identity model would benefit from constructs and operationalizations that are distinct from those used to describe other racial groups, particularly when it comes to racial identity strength or centrality. For example, it might be more beneficial to instead measure racial cognizance, or the extent to which Whites, in their everyday experiences, report being aware of their racial background. Likewise, it may be important to measure colorblindness or color aversion as an identity dimension for Whites. Indeed, recent research suggests that colorblindness can be an identity dimension in addition to an ideology (Hartmann, Gerteis, & Croll, 2009). Specifically, these researchers find that some

White Americans do identify with the idea that race is neutral, or that they do not "see" race. Thus, in developing my White identity model further, I will think outside of the dimensions that have been identified as important for Black racial identity, and consider more critically those dimensions that are likely unique to Whiteness in the U.S.

Refining my White identity & interracial interaction model. Here, I test whether Whites' identity strength and privilege awareness impacts anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, and desire to reject one's partner through metaperceptual concerns. In the future, it will be important to also include a measure of perceived similarity to one's partner, as I theorize that this is a critical antecedent of metaperceptual concerns, in accordance with previous work (Frey & Tropp, 2006). Additionally, it will be important in the future to examine anxiety as a mediating factor rather than an outcome, that is either concurrent with or emerging after metaperceptual concerns. Indeed, existing work measuring interracial interaction dynamics from Black Americans' perspective shows that both metaperceptions and anxiety are critical precursors to interaction outcomes, like heightened motivation to disprove group stereotypes and distancing from one's interaction partner (Taylor, Garcia, Shelton, & Yantis, 2018). Building off of this, it is possible that future iterations of my model will be separate for White and Black Americans. That is, White identity may have distinct implications for White Americans than for Black Americans, with unique mediational factors and downstream consequences. For example, perhaps White identity impacts interaction outcomes through anxiety for Blacks more than for Whites, whereas White identity impacts interaction outcomes through metaperceptions for Whites more than for Blacks. Uncovering these nuances will require testing multiple models to determine which provide the best fit for data from Black and White American participants, respectively.

Future research directions

Despite the theoretical and practical implications offered by the current studies, these findings offer only an initial insight into how the proposed 2-dimensional White identity model impacts interracial contact. Thus, there are several important future directions to explore that would further clarify the psychological experience of both White and Black Americans in interracial encounters that include information about Whites' identity strength and privilege awareness.

Discovering how White people communicate their identity in interracial encounters across time. In future work, it will be important to study how Whites communicate their racial identity form when interacting with racial outgroup members outside of a laboratory setting. It might be that Whites' identity form is more evident when the topic of conversation is relevant to race relations, revealing cues about the White partner's perception of themselves in the racial hierarchy relative to their racial outgroup partner. In the current studies, the discussion topics were neutral and non-race-relevant. Perhaps privilege-aware White participants in Study 2 had such strong metaperceptual concerns and anxiety leading up to the interaction with their Black partner because they assumed they would not have an opportunity to express their privilege awareness during the encounter. In contrast, if privilege-aware Whites had believed they would discuss racial inequality or privilege with their Black interaction partner, maybe they would have anticipated a smoother interaction in which they could distinguish themselves from predominant group stereotypes of being racist and socially unaware. It remains unclear how Whites might choose to reveal or choose to conceal how they think about their race and whether or not they see themselves as privileged when they are interacting with Black Americans.

Discovering how Black people detect and interpret White people's racial identity in interracial encounters across time. Although Study 3 was productive in gaining insights into Black Americans' interracial interaction expectations, more qualitative work is needed to determine how Blacks actually experience interactions with Whites. Namely, it will be important to ask Black Americans in an open-ended format about what they would want to know about a White person (e.g., boss, coworker, neighbor) before interacting with them. That is, some Black Americans might find it helpful to know where the White person stands on a particular issue relevant to their group (e.g., race-based affirmative action), whereas others might find it helpful to know what kinds of books the person reads, or how many racial minority friends the person has. Taking more concrete steps to understand what cues Black people look for in White people and why they look for those particular cues will inform my future efforts to communicate Whites' racial identity form in an experimental context.

As I mentioned in the Study 3 discussion, it is possible that the privilege awareness cue I provided my Black American participants was not enough to override the information they gleaned from their White partner's racial identity strength cue. One reason why the privilege awareness cue may not have been strong enough to shape Blacks' metaperceptual concerns and interaction expectations is because it was a single statement, and does not provide enough context regarding whether that statement would reflect the White person's behavior. Work in the allyship domain suggests that rather than privilege awareness alone, a more informative cue from a potential White interaction partner is the extent to which that person would act in supportive ways during conversations involving racial inequality. For example, some research shows that racial minority faculty distinguish between White colleagues who theoretically support the cause of combating systems of racial oppression, from those who not only say they support but also

behave in ways that challenge the system (Boutte & Jackson, 2014). Namely, these racial minority faculty felt less comfortable confiding in and interacting with their White colleagues who did not act out their theoretical desire to challenge racial inequality. In Study 3, it could be that Black participants were not comforted by their White partner's awareness of racial privilege, because this awareness did not necessarily mean their partner would be understanding and supportive if the conversation were to turn to issues of racial injustice. Future work should tease apart how Black Americans respond to White Americans who not only report understanding their racial privilege, but who also demonstrate a willingness to relinquish that privilege in an effort to mitigate racial inequality. For example, an experiment similar to Study 3 could also manipulate whether Black participants' White "partner" uses their privilege to combat racially biased practices in the workplace, or to support a person of color who confronts another White person about racial discrimination. These and other studies would clarify whether Black Americans are more trusting of Whites who espouse privilege-aware ideology and behavior, compared to Whites who response privilege awareness ideology in the absence of behavior that demonstrates that ideology.

Consistent with this line of thought, a growing body of work is investigating a particular type of interracial interactions: *supportive contact*. Supportive contact occurs when the majority group member explicitly rejects inequality or endorses action that benefits the disadvantaged group member (Droogendyk, Louis, & Wright, 2016). Racial minority group members often prefer supportive contact because it validates their concerns about current injustice, and promotes their own desire to engage in collective action against racial injustice (Droogendyk, Louis, & Wright, 2016; Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky, & Louis, 2016). However, for supportive contact to take place in an interracial context, Whites need to demonstrate a sustained

commitment to dismantling racial inequality, including dismantling their own privilege (Droogendyk, Louis, & Wright, 2016; Droogendyk, Wright, et al., 2016). Indeed, racial minority group members are less inclined to engage in collective action after a positive encounter with a White person who failed to clearly support efforts to combat racial inequality (Droogendyk, Wright, et al., 2016). Additionally, LGBTQ participants had more positive reactions to messages of support from non-LGBTQ people when those messages reflected social change, rather than social connection (Rattan & Ambady, 2014). Therefore, the type of support that dominant group members offer in terms of combating the existing hierarchy that disadvantages certain groups is critical for how members of those disadvantaged groups respond to the dominant group member as well as their future intentions to combat group-relevant inequality. Future work should examine whether Whites' identity strength and privilege awareness can be communicated in a less ambiguous and more supportive way than was attempted in Study 3. For example, perhaps Black Americans would feel less anxiety and anticipate more support when interacting with Whites who share (vs. do not share) an example of how they combated their own racial privilege. A concrete example of privilege-dismantling may communicate to Blacks that a White person is working toward their mutual goals of racial equality.

Finally, Black participants may not have responded differently to a White interaction partner based on that person's privilege awareness because they may have been suspicious of the White person's motives. In interracial interaction contexts, racial minorities are often motivated to determine whether their White partner is behaving in a friendly way because they are motivated to appear non-prejudiced (i.e., are externally motivated) or because they are motivated to express their egalitarian values (i.e., are internally motivated; Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2013). Indeed, racial minority participants can often accurately determine Whites' self-

presentation versus egalitarian motives by paying attention to both verbal and nonverbal cues (LaCosse et al., 2015). In this prior study, racial minority participants viewed video clips of former White participants engaged in an interracial interaction, and then reported what they thought were the White person's levels of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS and EMS, respectively). Racial minority participants' ratings were compared to the White targets' actual responses on IMS and EMS, and participants' expectations reached a high level of accuracy, especially among racial minorities who scored high on general suspicion of Whites' motives (LaCosse et al., 2015). In the current Study 3, the White partner's White identity form statement may not have offered enough information regarding the White partner's motives going into the interracial interaction. Perhaps Black participants would be better equipped to assess the extent to which their White partner had more internal, egalitarian, and/or sincere motives over time, when they have had the opportunity to use verbal and nonverbal cues to form their impressions. Thus, future research should consider a longitudinal design that also analyzes nonverbal cues, to fully investigate a wider range of cues that racial minority group members use to establish Whites' motives in interpersonal interactions.

White identity forms and interracial interactions across contexts. The current studies gave some insights into potential contextual factors that promote different White identity forms. Namely, I found that the White MTurk sample had lower privilege awareness overall compared to the White UIC sample. This difference may be attributable to the institutional culture at UIC that explicitly values racial diversity. Even though most of the students who participated in Study 2 were freshmen or sophomores, they still selected into a racially diverse university that is a racial minority-serving institution. Thus, the UIC environment may include more or have an environment that fosters privilege-aware Whites. Future research should test whether White

students at predominantly White institutions respond differently from the White students at UIC and/or from White MTurk workers.

Another contextual consideration for future research is comparing different types of interracial interactions. In Studies 2 and 3, the interactions were anticipated rather than actually taking place. In future work, it will be important to see how Whites' identity strength and privilege awareness shape verbal and nonverbal behavior in an actual encounter with a Black person. For example, even though privilege-aware Whites were the most anxious in Study 2, perhaps these Whites are able to monitor their behavior during the interaction so that their Black interaction partner does not pick up on their anxiety. Likewise, although Black participants in Study 3 were the most anxious when their partner was strongly (vs. weakly) identified, regardless of their partner's privilege awareness, its possible that how they felt during the interaction and what they chose to say or not say to their partner while having a discussion may have differed by both their partner's identity strength and privilege awareness.

Uncovering additional White identity dimensions through qualitative analysis.

Although I focus on White identity strength and privilege awareness, there are likely many other dimensions to White identity. For example, another dimension may be the extent to which Whites see their ethnic origin as central to their self-concept. It could also be that Whites see their race as a means to practice anti-racism, rather than simply being aware of racial privilege in general. Conversely, Whites may ground their strong racial identification in a rejection of racial privilege, more so than being unaware that privilege exists or that they benefit from it. In future research, it will be critical to further examine Whites qualitative responses regarding what their race means to them, to tease apart additional dimensions of White identity that I did not explore in the current work.

Beyond the White-Black binary. My studies focused specifically on Black-White American interracial interactions in the cultural context of the United States. Future research should move beyond a Black-White binary to consider how White identity influences Whites' interactions with other racial minority group members. This future work would likely generate distinct predictions for interaction outcomes given the tight link between Whites' racial worldview and their position in the U.S. racial hierarchy relative to Blacks. For example, Asian Americans are also racial minority group members, but have a different position in the U.S. racial hierarchy than do Blacks. Asian Americans are associated with more positive stereotypes (e.g., competence) as well as higher status relative to Black Americans (Fiske et al., 2002). However, although Asian Americans report experiencing less discrimination than Black Americans (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), they still face marginalization in the form of exclusion from the American ingroup (Cheryan & Monin, 2005) and denial of the individualism that they seek (Siy & Cheryan, 2012). Therefore, because of Whites' distinct perceptions of Black versus Asian Americans as well as Black and Asian Americans' qualitatively distinct experiences as racial minorities in the U.S., Whites' racial worldview may influence White-Asian and White-Black interracial interactions uniquely.

Identity Intersections. In addition to considering fluctuations in how White identity is defined and detected by outgroup interaction partners, future research should also consider how social identities within a given individual intersect to impact interracial encounters (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Plaut, 2010). For example, a person's racial identity may interact with their class identity, influencing how they relate to others of a similar or different class level or racial group. White and Black interaction partners who share another salient social identity (e.g., class) may perceive themselves to be more similar to one another than interaction partners who

do not share another social identity. Because perceived dissimilarity is a critical determinant of meta-stereotype application (Frey & Tropp, 2006), introducing similarity through other salient group memberships may alleviate meta-perceptual concerns. Indeed, outgroup members are perceived as less threatening as perceptions of status inequalities decrease (Stephan et al., 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 1985), suggesting that mitigating perceived inequality by emphasizing status similarities (e.g., both participants are middle class) would also reduce threat perceptions, leading to a more pleasant interaction.

Another important way that identities intersect in interracial interactions is between partners; that is, how the White person's identity and the Black person's identity interact to shape the encounter. One strength of the current research was the consideration of how Blacks perceive and respond to their White interaction partner's racial identity form, but one limitation is that I did not explore the extent to which these perceptions and responses vary as a function of individual differences among Black Americans. Indeed, several within-group variables would influence how Blacks respond to Whites of different identity forms. For example, minorities who are more suspicious of Whites' motives in general (Major, Kunstman, Malta, Sawyer, Townsend, & Mendes, 2016), are more sensitive to rejection based on their race (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002), or expect to experience prejudice from Whites in their everyday life (Pinel, 1999; Shelton et al., 2005) are more likely to anticipate identity threat in an interracial encounter, question the authenticity of Whites' positive feedback, and experience more negative affect toward their partner. Therefore, Blacks who are high on suspicion of motives, race-based rejection sensitivity, or race-based stigma consciousness may be more likely to detect Whites' identity form because they are searching for cues to inform their appraisals of Whites' behavior. Future work should consider how these individual difference variables among

Black Americans influence how they interpret and respond to Whites' racial identity form in an interracial interaction context.

Conclusion

Understanding the complex dynamics of interactions between White and Black Americans is critical for promoting harmonious home, school, and work environments (Bohmert, & DeMaris, 2015; Chen & Hamilton, 2015; Herring, 2009; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). Interracial interaction theory and research has offered numerous insights into these complex dynamics, highlighting the importance of considering relational features of interracial contact to predict outcomes (Shelton & Richeson, 2006). In addition, this work suggests that individual difference factors such as levels of prejudice, identity strength, and preference for outgroup representation shape relational dynamics (e.g., Richeson & Shelton, 2007). However, despite Whites' overrepresentation as participants in this research (Shelton, 2000; Shelton & Richeson, 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), the role of their racial identity in shaping interracial interactions has only been minimally explored. The current work fills this theoretical gap, demonstrating that Whites' racial identity strength and racial privilege awareness are active processes that shape Black-White interracial interactions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
STUDY 1: MATERIALS & MEASURES

White Identity Strength

I. White Identity Centrality Implicit Association Test (Knowles & Peng, 2005)

1. White names
Adam, Chip, Harry, Josh, Roger, Alan, Frank, Ian, Justin, Ryan, Andrew, Fred, Jack, Matthew, Stephen, Brad, Greg, Jed, Paul, Todd, Brandon, Hank, Jonathan, Peter, Wilbur
2. Non-White names
Alonzo, Jamel, Lerone, Percell, Theo, Alphonse, Jerome, Leroy, Rasaan, Torrance, Darnell, Lamar, Lionel, Rashaun, Tyree, Deion, Lamont, Malik, Terrence, Tyrone, Everol, Lavon, Marcellus, Terryll, Wardell
3. Self words
I, me, mine, my, myself
4. Other words
they, them, their, other, themselves

II. Collective Self Esteem – Identity (adapted from Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)

1. Overall, being White has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (R)
2. Being White is an important reflection of who I am.
3. Being White is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. (R)
4. In general, being White is an important part of my self-image.
1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = slightly disagree
4 = neither agree nor disagree
5 = slightly agree
6 = agree
7 = strongly agree

White Privilege Awareness

III. Belief in White Privilege (Swim & Miller, 1999)

1. White people have certain advantages that minorities do not have in this society.
2. My status as a White person grants me unearned privileges in today's society.
3. I feel that White skin in the United States opens many doors for Whites during their everyday lives.
4. I do not feel that White people have any benefits or privileges due to their race. (R)
5. My skin color is an asset to me in my everyday life.
1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = slightly disagree
4 = neither agree nor disagree

5 = slightly agree

6 = agree

7 = strongly agree

IV. **Belief in Personal White Privilege** (Phillips & Lowery, 2015)

1. I have had some advantages in my life.
2. Some of my success has been due to privilege.
3. I have benefitted from being White.

1 = strongly disagree

2 = disagree

3 = slightly disagree

4 = neither agree nor disagree

5 = slightly agree

6 = agree

7 = strongly agree

Racial Outgroup Similarity

V. **Perceived similarity** (adapted from Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998)

1. To what extent are your attitudes as similar or dissimilar to those of Black Americans?
2. To what extent are your personal qualities as similar or dissimilar to those of Black Americans?
3. To what extent is your way of thinking as similar or dissimilar to Black Americans?
4. To what extent is your behavior as similar or dissimilar to Black Americans?
5. To what extent is your worldview similar or dissimilar to Black Americans?

1 = very dissimilar

2 = dissimilar

3 = slightly dissimilar

4 = neither similar nor dissimilar

5 = slightly similar

6 = similar

7 = very similar

VI. **Belief in Present Racial Discrimination** (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003)

1. Although there is some racial discrimination in today's society, most Blacks do not face discrimination on a regular basis (R)
2. It's hard to admit, but a lot of Black people are treated unfairly because of race.
3. Many Black employees face racial bias when they apply for jobs or are up for a promotion.
4. There is a great deal of discrimination against Black people looking to buy or rent properties.
5. Black customers probably receive bad service from businesses because of their race.
6. Black people have to deal with racial slurs on a daily basis.

VII. Colorblindness (Knowles et al., 2009)

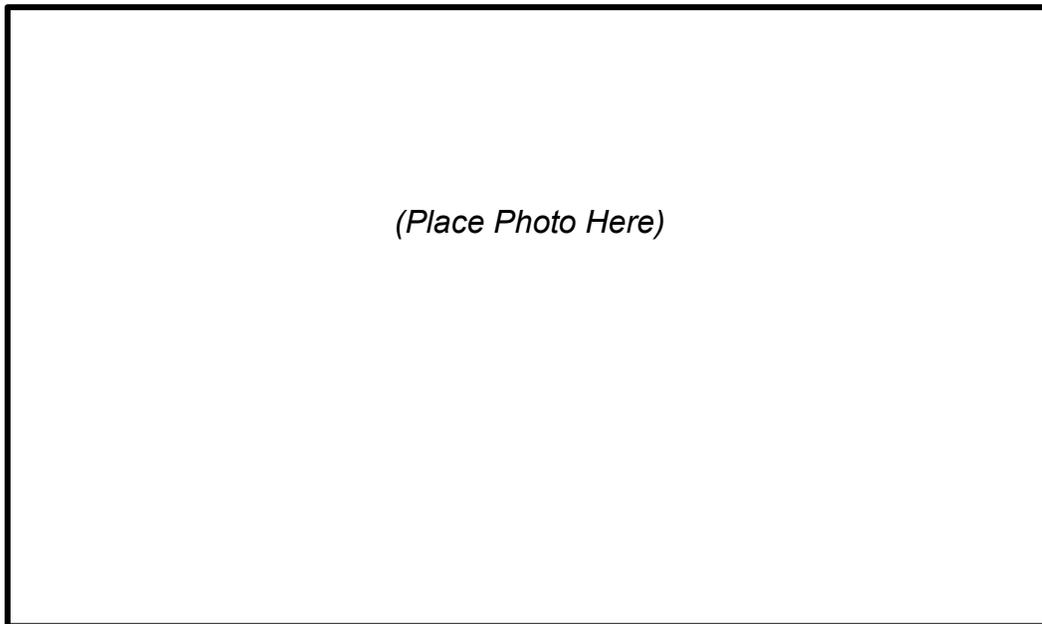
1. I wish people in this society would stop obsessing so much about race.
2. People who become preoccupied by race are forgetting that we are all just human.
3. Putting racial labels on people obscures the fact that everyone is a unique individual.
4. Race is an artificial label that keeps people from thinking freely as individuals.
 - 1 = strongly disagree
 - 2 = disagree
 - 3 = neither agree nor disagree
 - 4 = agree
 - 5 = strongly agree

APPENDIX B
STUDY 2: PROFILE FORMS

Participant Profile Form:

PROFILE FORM

1. What is your gender? _____
2. What is your age? _____
3. With which racial group do you most closely identify?
 - White/European American
 - Black/African American
 - East Asian/East Asian American
 - South Asian/South Asian American
 - Latino/Hispanic American
 - Native American/American Indian
 - Middle Eastern/Arab American
 - Other (please specify): _____
4. What is your major? _____
5. What is your year in school? _____



Partner Profile Form - Female:

PROFILE FORM

1. What is your gender? Female
2. What is your age? 19
3. With which racial group do you most closely identify?
 - White/European American
 - Black/African American
 - East Asian/East Asian American
 - South Asian/South Asian American
 - Latino/Hispanic American
 - Native American/American Indian
 - Middle Eastern/Arab American
 - Other (please specify): _____
4. What is your major? Undeclared
5. What is your year in school? Sophomore



Partner Profile Form - Male:

PROFILE FORM

- 1. What is your gender? Male
- 2. What is your age? 19
- 3. With which racial group do you most closely identify?
 - White/European American
 - Black/African American
 - East Asian/East Asian American
 - South Asian/South Asian American
 - Latino/Hispanic American
 - Native American/American Indian
 - Middle Eastern/Arab American
 - Other (please specify): _____
- 4. What is your major? Undeclared
- 5. What is your year in school? Sophomore



APPENDIX C
STUDY 2: FIRST IMPRESSION QUESTIONNAIRE

Procedure adapted from Wout et al. (2014)

Based on what you have learned about your partner so far, what is your impression of them along the following characteristics?

Specifically, how likely is it that your partner is

Stereotype Content Model – Warmth

1. Friendly
2. Trustworthy
3. Sociable
4. Open minded
5. Rude (R)
6. Arrogant (R)
7. Unkind (R)
8. Insensitive (R)

Stereotype Content Model – Competence

9. Smart
10. Well spoken
11. Qualified

Black American stereotype

12. Aggressive
13. Combative

Other

14. Ethnically identified

1 = very unlikely

2 = unlikely

3 = slightly unlikely

4 = neither likely nor unlikely

5 = slightly likely

6 = likely

7 = very likely

APPENDIX D
STUDY 2: INTERACTION EXPECTATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Metaperceptual concerns (adapted from Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998)

Think about the upcoming discussion with your partner. Given what you know about each other so far, how do you think your partner will view you? Specifically, how likely is it that your partner will view you as...

1. Prejudiced
 2. Racist
 3. Unaware
 4. Rude
 5. Snobby
- 1 = very unlikely
 2 = unlikely
 3 = somewhat unlikely
 4 = neither likely or unlikely
 5 = somewhat likely
 6 = likely
 7 = very likely

II. Interaction anxiety (adapted from Stephan et al., 2002)

How are you feeling about the upcoming discussion with your partner? Specifically, to what extent do you feel...

1. Uncertain
 2. Worried
 3. Awkward
 4. Anxious
 5. Threatened
 6. Nervous
 7. Comfortable (r)
 8. Trusting (r)
 9. Friendly (r)
 10. Confident (r)
 11. Safe (r)
 12. At ease (r)
- 1 = not at all
 2 = slightly
 3 = moderately
 4 = very
 5 = extremely

III. Anticipated interaction challenges (adapted from Wout, Murphy, & Steele, 2010)

In thinking about the upcoming discussion with your partner...

1. To what extent are you worried that you cannot really express your real views to your partner?

2. To what extent are you worried that you will have to be "politically correct" during this interaction?
3. How likely is it that you will be offended by something your partner says?
4. How likely is it that you and your partner have attributes in common? (r)
5. How comfortable do you think you will feel during this interaction? (r)
6. To what extent do you think you can be yourself during this interaction? (r)
7. How accepted do you think you will feel during this interaction? (r)
 - 1 = not at all
 - 2 = slightly
 - 3 = moderately
 - 4 = very
 - 5 = extremely

IV. **Partner Rejection** (Shapiro, Baldwin, Williams, & Trawalter, 2011)

Given what you know about your partner so far and how you are currently feeling,

1. How likely is it that you will want to become friends with your partner after your discussion?
2. How likely is it that you will find your partner interesting?
3. How likely is it that you will enjoy talking to your partner?
 - 1 = very unlikely
 - 2 = unlikely
 - 3 = somewhat unlikely
 - 4 = neither likely or unlikely
 - 5 = somewhat likely
 - 6 = likely
 - 7 = very likely

V. **Manipulation & Attention Checks**

1. What is your partner's year in school?
 - Freshman
 - Sophomore
 - Junior
 - Senior
2. What is your partner's major?
 - [open-ended]
3. What is your partner's race?
 - White/European American
 - Black/African American
 - East Asian/East Asian American
 - South Asian/South Asian American
 - Latino/Hispanic American
 - Native American/American Indian
 - Middle Eastern/Arab American
4. Which of the following was included in the list of discussion topics that you will discuss with your partner today?
 - Discuss what types of things you like to do in your spare time

Discuss your favorite television shows

VI. **Perceived Social Class of Partner**

1. Based on what you know about your partner so far, what would you say their social class background is?
 - 1 = The most poor class
 - 2 = Lower class
 - 3 = Lower middle class
 - 4 = Middle class
 - 5 = Upper middle class
 - 6 = Upper class
 - 7 = The most wealthy class

VII. **Participant Demographics**

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?
 - Female
 - Male
 - Other (please specify)
3. What is the highest level of education your **mother** has completed?
 - 1 = Less than high school
 - 2 = High school/GED
 - 3 = Some college
 - 4 = 2-year college degree
 - 5 = 4-year college degree
 - 6 = Masters degree
 - 7 = Doctoral degree
4. What is the highest level of education your **father** has completed?
[same response options as above]
5. In terms of education and income, with which socioeconomic group do you most closely identify?
 - 1 = The most poor class
 - 2 = Lower class
 - 3 = Lower middle class
 - 4 = Middle class
 - 5 = Upper middle class
 - 6 = Upper class
 - 7 = The most wealthy class

APPENDIX E
DEBRIEFING INTERVIEW: STUDY 2

1. You might have figured this out already, but there won't really be an interaction today. I know - this is disappointing... or maybe you're happy to be ending early...? Actually, if you had to choose, would you say that you're disappointed or relieved knowing that there will be no interaction? (Circle one)

RELIEVED DISAPPOINTED

2. More specifically, can you tell me where you fall on a scale from -3 to +3, with -3 being most disappointed, 0 being neither disappointed nor relieved, and +3 being most relieved? (Circle one)

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
Most Disappointed			Neither Relieved nor Disappointed			Most Relieved

3. What was your understanding of the study's purpose?
4. Did anything in the study seem odd to you? Or did everything pretty much make sense? (*Follow up if necessary: "Please explain in detail what things seemed odd."*)
5. How did you feel about your partner? Do you have any specific comments or thoughts about how you felt regarding the interaction with your partner today?

Thank you. There won't really be an interaction today because there actually isn't another participant. We wanted you to believe there was though, so that your survey responses would be a true reflection of your thoughts about your interaction partner, while believing you were actually going to interact with this person. Do you have any questions about this information? [*Answer any questions P has. If there's anything you can't answer, let them know they can contact Dr. Bonam - info on consent form - with follow-up questions.*]

Since we are still finalizing the details for this study, we want to ask you some questions about your experience today. It's OK if you did not notice some of the things I ask you about, it is still helpful for us to know what you did and did not pick up on during the procedure. **We ask that you provide us honest feedback to strengthen the study.**

- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| 6. Please answer this question honestly: have you heard about this study before?
(<i>if yes: "What exactly had you heard about the study beforehand?"</i>) | YES | NO |
| 7. Did you believe the study as you were completing it today?
(<i>If no: "Please explain why."</i>) | YES | NO |
| 8. In regards to your partner, did you believe at the time that the profile, photo, and speech evaluation form came from an actual participant down the hall?
(<i>If no: "Please explain why."</i>) | YES | NO |

APPENDIX F

STUDY 3 PILOT 1: SELECTING WHITE IDENTITY FORMS

First, I conducted a pilot study to select the vignettes that Black participants would read about their White partner to communicate each of the 4 White identity forms.

Method

Participants. Participants were 92 Black Americans ($n = 66$ MTurk workers, $n = 26$ UIC students; pilot results were consistent across samples). The sample included 25 men (27%), 66 women (72%), and 1 participant who marked their gender as "other." The average age was 32.30 years ($SD = 12.97$, range = 18 – 71).

Design & Procedure. First, participants completed a demographic survey. Next, all participants read study instructions along with the following definition of White privilege: "White privilege refers to unearned advantages and benefits, often invisible to White people. White privilege works to systematically over-empower White people, thereby automatically giving White people higher social status in the U.S." After, participants rated 8 statements presented in a random order within 2 sets that were also presented in a random order. One set had all low privilege awareness statements, and one set had all high privilege awareness statements. Within each set, half included high identity strength statements and half included low identity strength statements. Participants then responded to 8 questions about each statement.

White identity/privilege statements. Stimuli were developed based on Study 1 participants' open-ended responses to the questions "what does your race mean to you?", "what does racial privilege mean to you?", and "do you think you are privileged because of your race, why or why not?" I selected statements from the data that most closely represented either high (e.g., "Being White means a lot to me because it represents who I am") or low identity strength (e.g., "My race doesn't mean much to me; I don't think about it much") and high (e.g., "White people have unearned privilege: more access to resources, more influence in government and business, and are treated with more respect") or low privilege awareness (e.g., "I never think about White people or myself as having any special privileges at all"). I then combined statements and fully crossed them, such that low and high racial identity statements were paired with low and high privilege awareness statements. These combinations served as the stimuli that participants rated. (See Table A1 for all stimuli.)

Ratings – Primary. The three primary ratings participants made included how strongly they believed the person identified as White (1 = *very weakly*; 7 = *very strongly*), the extent to which the person seems aware of unearned White privilege in general (1 = *definitely unaware*; 7 = *definitely aware*), and the extent to which the person believes they have personally experienced unearned privilege because they are White (1 = *definitely does not think they have experienced White privilege*; 7 = *definitely does think they have experienced White privilege*).

Ratings – Secondary. I also asked participants to rate the statements along other dimensions that could serve as confounding factors. Namely, I asked participants to rate how genuine they thought the statement is (1 = *not at all genuine*; 7 = *very genuine*), whether or not they could picture a White person making the statement (1 = *I could definitely not picture a White person saying this*; 7 = *I could definitely picture a White person saying this*), how difficult or easy it is to understand the statement (1 = *extremely easy*; 7 = *extremely difficult*), and how simple or complex the statement is (1 = *extremely simple*, 7 = *extremely complex*). Finally, I asked participants to speculate about the education level of the person who wrote the statement (1 = *less than high school*, 7 = *doctoral degree*).

Results

All descriptive statistics for ratings of each statement are in Table A1. My goal was to select statements that used different combinations of the same 4 statements (e.g., the same low White identity statement paired with low privilege awareness and with high privilege awareness).

Ratings – Primary. I compared statements shared at least 1 level of the identity strength or privilege awareness dimensions in common. Specifically, I conducted paired-samples *t*-tests to test for similarities and differences along perceived White identity strength and perceived privilege awareness (general and personal; see Table A1 for descriptive statistics and Table A2 for *t*-tests). Of the low identity statements, participants rated statement 1 as significantly less racially identified than statement 5, but rated statements 2 and 6 as equally low. Therefore, statements 2 and 6 are better candidates for the low identity stimuli than are statements 1 and 5. Of the high identity statements, participants rated statements 3 and 7 as well as statement 4 and 8 as equally high, thus making all viable choices for the high identity stimuli. Additionally, participants rated all high identity strength statements as higher in perceived identity strength than the low identity strength statements.

Of the low privilege awareness statements, participants rated statements 1 and 3 as well as 2 and 4 as equally low in privilege awareness, making them equally viable choices for the low privilege awareness stimuli. Of the high privilege awareness statements, participants rated statement 7 as significantly more privilege aware than statement 5, but rated statement 8 marginally more privilege aware than statement 6. Therefore, statements 6 and 8 make slightly better candidates for the high privilege aware stimuli than statements 5 and 7. Additionally, participants rated all the high privilege awareness statements as higher in perceived privilege awareness than the low privilege awareness statements.

The comparison patterns for personal privilege awareness ratings followed closely to those of general privilege awareness, with 1 notable exception. Namely, whereas the difference in general privilege awareness ratings for statements 1 and 3 as well as statements 6 and 8 were non-significant and marginal, respectively, the difference in personal privilege awareness ratings for these statements were significant. Specifically, statement 1 (low ID, low PA) was rated significantly lower in personal privilege than statement 3 (high ID, low PA); statement 6 (low ID, high PA) was rated as significantly lower in personal privilege awareness than statement 8 (high ID, high PA). This latter finding is consistent with my theorizing that Whites who acknowledge their racial identity coupled with the privilege it confers will be seen as more personally accepting of their own privilege compared to Whites who do not acknowledge their racial identity but espouse an intellectual understanding of racial privilege.

Based on the primary ratings, the statements I chose to use in Study 3 were statements 2, 4, 6, and 8. I then tested these statements against one another to determine how well they matched along the potentially confounding dimensions.

Table A1.

Study 3 Pilot 1 White identity form statement ratings: Descriptive statistics and statement comparisons

Intended Identity Form	Statement	Participant Rating <i>M (SD)</i>							
		White ID Strength	Priv. Awareness	Personal Priv.	Genuine statement	Could picture someone saying it	Difficult to understand	Ideas are complex	Education
Low PA, Low ID	1 Being White doesn't mean much to me; I don't think about it much. I never think about White people or myself as having any special privileges at all	3.87 (1.81)	3.49 (2.06)	2.43 (1.50)	3.53 (1.47)	4.24 (1.49)	2.32 (1.58)	2.21 (1.28)	3.46 (1.17)
Low PA, Low ID	2 My race doesn't mean anything to me. I don't identify as White unless directly asked, and I don't think about it throughout an average day. I don't know that White privilege truly exists because I am not aware of experiencing it	3.75 (1.91)	3.42 (1.97)	2.61 (1.65)	3.66 (1.44)	4.34 (1.48)	2.42 (1.59)	2.57 (1.52)	3.49 (1.31)
Low PA, High ID	3 Being White means a lot to me because it represents who I am. I never think about White people or myself as having any special privileges at all	6.04 (1.25)	3.72 (2.10)	2.72 (1.68)	3.59 (1.48)	4.52 (1.51)	2.24 (1.59)	2.28 (1.49)	3.59 (1.35)
Low PA, High ID	4 Being White is my ethnicity and heritage; my roots and the generations before me. I don't know that White privilege truly exists because I am not aware of experiencing it.	5.91 (1.20)	3.36 (2.06)	2.60 (1.60)	3.61 (1.52)	4.58 (1.50)	2.19 (1.60)	2.23 (1.50)	3.37 (1.30)

High PA, Low ID	5	Being White doesn't mean much to me; I don't think about it much. White people have unearned privilege: more access to resources, have more influence in government and business, and are treated with more respect.	4.53 (1.73)	5.69 (1.50)	4.43 (1.45)	4.21 (1.50)	4.28 (1.49)	2.55 (1.72)	2.76 (1.65)	3.88 (1.32)
High PA, Low ID	6	My race doesn't mean anything to me. I don't identify as White unless directly asked, and I don't think about it throughout an average day. There are things that happen to people solely because they are White, because of the societal institutions that have been built up to benefit people who look like me	3.69 (1.82)	5.54 (1.49)	3.89 (1.46)	4.23 (1.48)	4.04 (1.49)	2.26 (1.53)	2.83 (1.60)	4.03 (1.34)
High PA, High ID	7	Being White means a lot to me because it represents who I am. White people have unearned privilege: more access to resources, have more influence in government and business, and are treated with more respect	6.20 (1.25)	5.95 (1.48)	4.98 (1.36)	4.60 (1.36)	4.88 (1.35)	2.07 (1.41)	2.69 (1.77)	3.90 (1.49)
High PA, High ID	8	Being White is my ethnicity and heritage; my roots and the generations before me. There are things that happen to people solely because they are White, because of the societal institutions that have been built up to benefit people who look like me	6.04 (1.29)	5.68 (1.51)	4.70 (1.34)	4.58 (1.28)	4.57 (1.38)	2.42 (1.59)	3.08 (1.72)	4.12 (1.34)

Note. PA = privilege awareness, ID = identity, Priv. = privilege

Table A2.

Pilot 3 Study 1: White identity form statement comparisons – primary ratings

Comparison	Paired-samples t-test results		
	White ID Strength	Priv. Awareness	Personal Priv.
Low ID at High v. Low PA			
Statement 1 v. 5	$t = -3.32, p < .001$	$t = -7.37, p < .001$	$t = -9.08, p < .001$
Statement 2 v. 6	$t = -0.14, p = .892$	$t = -6.39, p < .001$	$t = -5.50, p < .001$
High ID at High v. Low PA			
Statement 3 v. 7	$t = -0.34, p = .733$	$t = -6.24, p < .001$	$t = -8.11, p < .001$
Statement 4 v. 8	$t = 0, p = 1$	$t = -7.32, p < .001$	$t = -8.65, p < .001$
Low PA at High v. Low ID			
Statement 1 v. 3	$t = -8.37, p < .001$	$t = -0.78, p = .437$	$t = -1.77, p = .082$
Statement 2 v. 4	$t = -8.01, p < .001$	$t = 0.26, p = .792$	$t = 0.08, p = .937$
High PA at High v. Low ID			
Statement 5 v. 7	$t = -8.13, p < .001$	$t = -1.65, p = .103$	$t = -3.44, p = .001$
Statement 6 v. 8	$t = -10.45, p < .001$	$t = -1.11, p = .269$	$t = -5.18, p < .001$

Note. ID = identity, PA = privilege awareness, Priv. = privilege.

Ratings – Secondary. I conducted 5, 1-way within-subjects ANOVAs to test whether the 4 statements I chose for Study 3 were rated consistently in terms of how genuine they seemed, how much participants could picture someone saying it, how difficult it was to understand, how complex it was, and the perceived education level of the person who made the statement. There were no differences in the extent to which participants thought the statement was difficult to understand. However, there were differences between the statements on the other 4 dimensions (see Table A1 for *Ms/SDs* and Table A3 for omnibus within-subjects ANOVA results and significant pairwise comparisons). To address these potential confounds, I added some of the same secondary ratings used in this pilot to main Study 3, so that I could again check for condition differences.

Table A3.

Study 3 Pilot 1 Results: White identity form statement comparisons - secondary ratings

Measure	1-way within-subjects ANOVA results/pairwise comparisons
Genuine statement	$F(3, 198) = 9.05, p < .001$
Statement 2 v. 6	$t = -2.98, p = .004$
Statement 2 v. 8	$t = -3.70, p < .001$
Statement 4 v. 6	$t = -2.78, p = .007$
Statement 4 v. 8	$t = -3.92, p < .001$
Statement 6 v. 8	$t = -2.01, p = .047$
Could picture someone saying it	$F(3, 198) = 3.03, p = .037$
Statement 4 v. 6	$t = 2.50, p = .015$
Statement 6 v. 8	$t = -3.02, p = .003$
Difficult to understand	$F(3, 195) = 0.77, p = .514$
Ideas are complex	$F(3, 189) = 4.51, p = .004$
Statement 2 v. 4	$t = 2.58, p = .012$
Statement 4 v. 6	$t = -2.48, p = .016$
Statement 4 v. 8	$t = -3.91, p < .001$
Education	$F(3, 195) = 6.96, p < .001$
Statement 2 v. 6	$t = -3.01, p = .004$
Statement 2 v. 8	$t = -2.83, p = .006$
Statement 4 v. 6	$t = -3.42, p = .001$
Statement 4 v. 8	$t = -3.37, p = .001$

Note. Within-subjects ANOVA includes statements 2, 4, 6, and 8; Only significant pairwise comparisons are reported ($p < .05$); See Table A1 for which statements that correspond to each number.

APPENDIX G

STUDY 3 PILOT 2: REFINING THE ONLINE INTERACTION PARADIGM

One challenge with conducting an anticipated interaction paradigm online is making participants believe that they will truly interact with another participant over the Internet. Thus, I conducted several pilot tests to determine which aspects of the in-person paradigm should be adjusted to accommodate online participants. I conducted all rounds of the pilot on Amazon's Mechanical Turk, the same platform used for the main study. In all rounds of the study, I followed a pseudo-interaction paradigm that had previously been effective for use on MTurk (Summerville & Chartier, 2013). Namely, this involved adding a survey page that told participants that the computer was automatically pairing their survey with another participant, their partner, followed by a page indicating that the pairing had been successful.

Pilot Study 2a: No changes from in-person version

First, I used all aspects of Study 2 in an online format. The only thing that changed was the partner photo, for which I used a White male and a White female photo from the Chicago Face Database, with a slightly older age to match the adult MTurk sample. Participants were 51, mostly White (77%) MTurk workers. The average age was 34.76 years ($SD = 9.77$, range = 20 – 68) and 55% were female (45% male).

About 33% of participants did not believe the study and about 37% did not believe that their partner was an online participant. The primary reason people gave for their suspicion was that the picture of their "partner" looked fake, not like it came from an actual MTurk worker.

Pilot Study 2b: Removed "partner" photo

In the next version of the pilot, I kept everything the same, but removed the partner photo as well as the step in which the participant is asked to upload a photo of themselves. Participants were 52, mostly White (67%) MTurk workers. The average age was 34.75 years ($SD = 10.45$, range = 20 – 66) and 58% were female (42% male).

This time, 38% of participants did not believe the study and 41% did not believe that their partner was an online participant. The primary reasons people gave for their suspicion was that MTurk could not support a "live" video chat meeting, or that they thought it was unlikely that another MTurk worker was waiting to have an interaction.

Pilot Study 2c: Added detail about video chat

In the next version of the pilot, I aimed to boost believability of the online interaction part of the study in particular. In the description of the study (i.e., that participants see before decided to complete the study on MTurk), I added eligibility information, stating that people who complete the study (1) must have a device equipped with a camera because this study involves an online video chat (2) must complete the study in a quiet place and (3) must be able to listen to the audio for the video chat (e.g., through headphones). I repeated this eligibility information in the beginning of the survey itself. Participants were 31, mostly White (84%) MTurk workers. The average age was 31.65 ($SD = 8.22$, range = 22 – 59) and 39% were female (61% male).

About 16% of participants said that they did not believe the study and 16% said they did not believe their partner was an online participant. Participants who gave explanations for their suspicion said they thought partner's response (i.e., the White identity form manipulation) did not seem real. However, because the suspicion level dropped dramatically when removing the partner photo and adding more detail about the video chat, I continued with the main study using the same set-up as the 3rd version of Pilot 2.

APPENDIX H
STUDY 3: PARTNER PROFILE FORM & WHITE IDENTITY FORM
MANIPULATION

Note: All profile forms were gender-matched to participants. All information remained the same except for the partner's response to the "get to know you" question.

Profile Form

What is your gender?

- Male
 Female

What is your age?

32

With which racial/ethnic group do you most closely identify?

- White/European American
 Black/African American
 East Asian/East Asian American
 South Asian/South Asian American
 Latino/Hispanic American
 Native American/American Indian
 Middle Eastern/Arab American
 Other (please specify):

What is your marital status?

Single

How many children do you have?

0

"Get to know you" category/question:

Your social identities

What do race and privilege mean to you?

Partner response to "get to know you" question (White identity form manipulation)***Low Identity Strength/Low Privilege Awareness***

Response:

My race doesn't mean anything to me. I don't identify as White unless directly asked, and I don't think about it throughout an average day. I don't know that White privilege truly exists, because I am not aware of experiencing it.

Low Identity Strength/High Privilege Awareness

Response:

My race doesn't mean anything to me. I don't identify as White unless directly asked, and I don't think about it throughout an average day. There are things that happen to people solely because they are White, because of the societal institutions that have been built up to benefit people who look like me.

High Identity Strength/Low Privilege Awareness

Response:

Being White is my ethnicity and heritage; my roots and the generations before me. I don't know that White privilege truly exists because I am not aware of experiencing it.

High Identity Strength/High Privilege Awareness

Response:

Being White is my ethnicity and heritage; my roots and the generations before me. There are things that happen to people solely because they are White, because of the societal institutions that have been built up to benefit people who look like me.

APPENDIX I
STUDY 3: INTERACTION EXPECTATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Metaperceptual Concerns

Think about the upcoming discussion with your partner. Given what you know about each other so far, how do you think your partner will view you? Specifically, how likely is it that you partner will view you as...

1. Unintelligent
 2. Lazy
 3. Criminal
 4. Poor
- 1 = very unlikely
 2 = unlikely
 3 = somewhat unlikely
 4 = neither likely or unlikely
 5 = somewhat likely
 6 = likely
 7 = very likely

II. Anticipated interaction challenges (adapted from Wout, Murphy, & Steele, 2010)

In thinking about the upcoming discussion with your partner, please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

1. I am worried that I cannot really express my real views to my partner.
 2. I am worried that I will have to be "politically correct" during this interaction.
 3. I will probably be offended by something my partner says.
 4. My partner and I have attributes in common. (r)
 5. I will feel comfortable during this interaction. (r)
 6. I can be myself during this interaction. (r)
 7. I will feel accepted during this interaction. (r)
- 1 = strongly disagree
 2 = disagree
 3 = slightly disagree
 4 = neither agree nor disagree
 5 = slightly agree
 6 = agree
 7 = strongly agree

III. Mid-Study Suspicion Checks

1. So far, what is your understanding of this study's purpose?
2. Has anything seemed odd, confusing, or unclear to you so far? Or is everything pretty much making sense?

IV. Manipulation & Attention Checks

1. What is your partner's marital status?
2. What is your partner's race?

White/European American
 Black/African American
 East Asian/East Asian American
 South Asian/South Asian American
 Latino/Hispanic American
 Native American/American Indian
 Middle Eastern/Arab American

3. Which of the following was included in the list of discussion topics that you will discuss with your partner today?
 Discuss what types of things you like to do in your spare time.
 Discuss your favorite television shows.
 I don't remember.
4. Which of the following was the "get to know you" question assigned to your partner?
 What do race and privilege mean to you?
 What is your favorite travel destination?
 I don't remember.
5. Which of the following was the "get to know you" question assigned to you?
 What is your favorite food to cook/eat?
 What do you like the most about where you grew up?
 I don't remember.
6. What was your partner's response to their "get to know you" question? Please write down as much as you can remember, it does not have to be word-for-word.

V. **Conceptual Manipulation Checks**

1. How strongly or weakly do you think your partner identifies as White?
 1 = Very weakly
 2 = Weakly
 3 = Somewhat weakly
 4 = Neither weakly nor strongly
 5 = Somewhat strongly
 6 = Strongly
 7 = Very strongly
2. To what extent do you think your partner believes they have personally experienced unearned privilege because they are White?
 1 = This person definitely does not think they have experienced White privilege
 2 = Slightly
 3 = Somewhat
 4 = Moderately
 5 = Mostly
 6 = This person definitely does think they have experienced White privilege

VI. **Perceived Similarity in Racial Privilege Beliefs**

1. Think about your own understanding of White privilege. How similar or dissimilar do you feel toward your partner regarding your understanding of White privilege?
 - 1 = I feel very dissimilar from my partner in terms of our understanding of White privilege
 - 2 = Dissimilar
 - 3 = Slightly dissimilar
 - 4 = Neither similar nor dissimilar
 - 5 = Slightly similar
 - 6 = Similar
 - 7 = I feel very similar to my partner in terms of our understanding of White privilege

APPENDIX J
STUDY 3: END OF STUDY SUSPICION CHECKS

1. How did you feel about your partner? Do you have any specific comments or thoughts about how you felt anticipating the interaction with your partner today?
2. Have you heard of this study before?
 - Yes (please explain)
 - No
3. Did you believe the study as you were completing it today? Specifically, did you believe you would have a discussion with your partner?
 - Yes
 - No (please explain)
4. In regards to your partner, did you believe at the time that they were an actual online participant who filled out the profile form that you saw?
 - Yes
 - No (please explain)

APPENDIX K
SUPPLEMENTAL ANALYSES

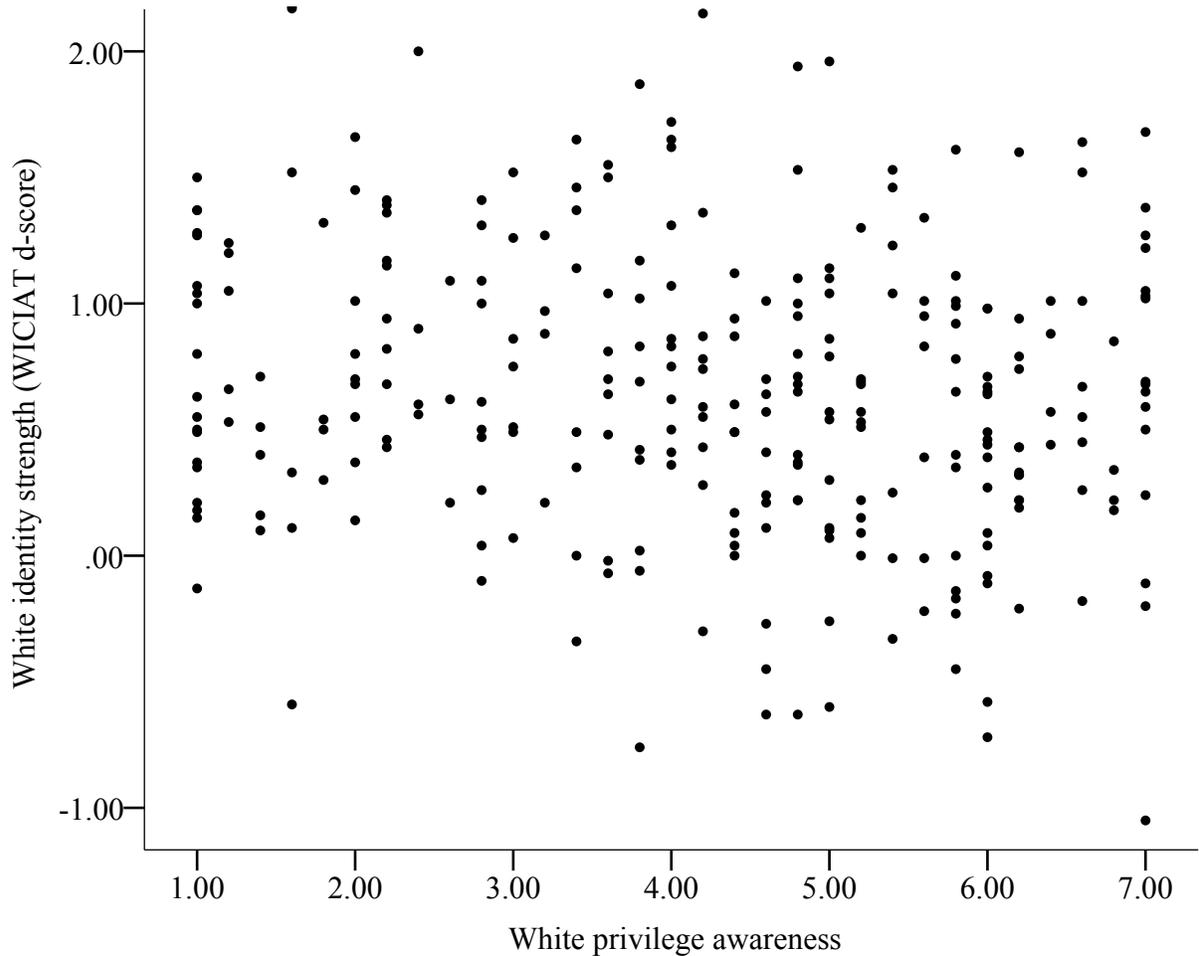
STUDY 1**Study 1 Results: White identity strength (WICIAT) x general privilege awareness**

Figure S1. Study 1 White identity strength (WICIAT *d*-scores) x general privilege awareness scatterplot. For presentation purposes, I present only WICIAT *d*-scores ranging from approximately -2SD to +2SD around the mean.

STUDY 2**Study 2 Results: Racial Stereotyping**

I conducted a moderated regression analysis using Model Template 1 of PROCESS in SPSS (Hayes, 2013) to test whether Whites' explicit White identity strength and general privilege awareness interacted to predict the racial stereotyping measures. I did not find evidence of the identity strength x privilege awareness interaction predicting perceived partner warmth ($b = .01$,

$SE = .03$, $CI: [-.07, .07]$), competence ($b = .04$, $SE = .04$, $CI: [-.04, .11]$), Black American stereotypes ($b = -.01$, $SE = .05$, $CI: [-.10, .09]$), or ethnic identification ($b = -.01$, $SE = .05$, $CI: [-.11, .09]$). Additionally, as shown in Table 2, explicit White identity strength nor privilege awareness alone predicted any of the racial stereotyping measures.

Study 2 Results: Middle Eastern/Arab American Participants

White Identity Strength.

WICIAT. On average, participants' WICIAT d-score ($M = .37$, $SD = .53$) was significantly greater than 0, suggesting stronger White—self/non-White—other associations than White—other/non-White—self associations, $t(28) = 3.86$, $p = .001$. As expected, the Middle Eastern/Arab American students' d-score was markedly lower than that of both White UIC students and White MTurk participants from Study 1. Additionally, relative to the White samples, a greater proportion of Middle Eastern students—about 20% ($n = 6$)—had d-scores at or below 0, suggesting stronger implicit associations between the self and non-White than between the self and White.

Collective Self Esteem – Identity. As with WICIAT scores, Middle Eastern student had much lower race-based collective self-esteem scores than the White-identifying participant samples ($M = 2.19$, $SD = 1.08$). Participants' average collective self esteem was significantly lower than the scale's midpoint, suggesting low White identity strength overall, $t(29) = -9.00$, $p < .001$. Scores were positively skewed, with 7 participants (19%) selecting "strongly disagree" for all items.

White Privilege Awareness.

Belief in White Privilege. Although Middle Eastern participants' White identity scores differed from those of White-identifying participants, they had a comparable belief in White privilege ($M = 4.54$, $SD = 1.31$). Consistent with White Study 2 students, a 1-sample t-test showed that Middle Eastern Study 2 participants' average score was significantly higher than the scale's midpoint, $t(31) = 2.45$, $p = .020$.

Belief in Personal White Privilege. However, participants had lower belief in personal White privilege than did White participants in the other 2 samples ($M = 3.90$, $SD = 1.47$), and not different from the midpoint of the scale, $t(31) = -.04$, $p = .690$.

Racial Stereotyping. I conducted 4 moderated regression analyses in which White identity strength, privilege awareness, and their interaction predicted the warmth, competence, Black American stereotypes, and ethnically identified traits. I used Model 1 of PROCESS (version 2; Hayes, 2013). I did not find any evidence of moderation predicting any of the racial stereotyping measures ($ps > .250$).

Partner Perceptions: Social Class. A moderated regression analysis (as described above) showed that participants' perception of their partner's social class did not vary as a function of White identity strength, privilege awareness, or their interaction ($ps > .55$).

Primary Analyses.

Moderated Mediation: White identity form → Metaperceptual concerns → Interaction outcomes. First, I used Model Template 1 of PROCESS version 2 to examine whether there were any total effects of White identity form (White identity strength x privilege awareness) on each of the interaction outcomes. Contrary to predictions, there was no total effect of White identity form on interaction anxiety ($b = .02$, $SE = .12$, $CI: [-.22, .27]$, $p > .250$), anticipated interaction challenges ($b = -.09$, $SE = .10$, $CI: [-.30, .12]$, $p > .250$), or on future partner rejection ($b = -.09$, $SE = .15$, $CI: [-.40, .22]$, $p > .250$).

Despite the absence of total effects, I tested my prediction that White identity forms impact interaction outcomes through metaperceptual concerns. I used Model Template 8 of PROCESS version 2 with 10,000 bootstrapped resamples. Contrary to hypotheses, I did not find evidence of moderated mediation on interaction anxiety ($b = .09$, $SE = .08$, $CI: [-.02, .36]$), anticipated challenges ($b = .03$, $SE = .07$, $CI: [-.04, .29]$), or future partner rejection ($b = .15$, $SE = .13$, $CI: [-.10, .45]$).

Unconditional Mediation. Because I did not find evidence of the hypothesized moderated mediation, I next followed up by testing for unconditional mediation using Model Template 4 of PROCESS version 2 with 10,000 bootstrapped resamples. I estimated models for each of the 3 interaction outcomes: interaction anxiety, anticipated interaction challenges, and future partner rejection. In the first set of models I used White identity strength as the focal predictor and in the second set of models I used privilege awareness as the focal predictor.

White identity strength → *Metaperceptual concerns* → *Interaction outcomes*. Contrary to predictions, I did not find evidence of an indirect effect of White identity strength on anxiety ($b = .03$, $SE = .04$, $CI: [-.02, .17]$), anticipated interaction challenges ($b = -.001$, $SE = .04$, $CI: [-.10, .05]$), or future partner rejection ($b = .06$, $SE = .09$, $CI: [-.07, .30]$).

Privilege awareness → *Metaperceptual concerns* → *Interaction outcomes*. I did not find evidence of an indirect effect of privilege awareness on interaction anxiety ($b = -.005$, $SE = .04$, $CI: [-.08, .06]$), anticipated interaction challenges ($b = -.001$, $SE = .01$, $CI: [-.03, .03]$), or future partner rejection ($b = -.01$, $SE = .05$, $CI: [-.14, .08]$).

STUDY 3

Study 3 Results: Racial Stereotyping

I conducted a moderated regression analysis using Model Template 1 of PROCESS in SPSS (Hayes, 2013) to test whether Whites' explicit White identity strength and general privilege awareness interacted to predict the racial stereotyping measures. I did not find evidence of the identity strength x privilege awareness interaction predicting perceived partner warmth ($b = -.11$, $SE = .34$, $CI: [-.78, .55]$), competence ($b = .29$, $SE = .32$, $CI: [-.33, .91]$), or ethnic identification ($b = .69$, $SE = .47$, $CI: [-.23, 1.61]$).

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