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2017

How to engage European-American participants in racial dialogue: The role of dialogue structure and mixed race groups

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How to engage European-American participants in racial dialogues: The role of dialogue structure and mixed race groups

by

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A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Psychology (Counseling)

Program of Study Committee:
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Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2017

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ABSTRACT

One effective strategy for combatting racism and promoting understanding across racial lines is group dialogue (e.g., Nagda, 2006). Previous research of racial dialogues has used a self-selecting participant pool of individuals who are motivated to participate in racial dialogues (e.g., Gurin, Nagda & Zuniga, 2013). Research up to this point has not investigated the portion of the population who do not willingly participate in racial dialogues. Previous research suggests that European-Americans may be a portion of the population especially avoidant of racial dialogues (e.g., Sue, 2013). Understanding the reasons European-Americans are avoidant of racial dialogues is an important prerequisite to creating interventions to increase participation. In the current study, I examined factors that affect European-American participants' interest and willingness to participate in a racial dialogue. The specific factors are: facilitator structuring of the dialogue with ground rules (structured condition) vs. a facilitator who does no structuring beyond introducing the conversation topic (not-structured condition), as well as the effect of being in an inter-group dialogue (mixed race group) vs. an intra-group dialogue (all-European-American group). Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions of a racial dialogue vignette varying across the two variables (structured vs. not-structured; inter-group vs. intra-group).

The main findings from this study include a significant interaction between the racial make-up of the dialogue group and the structure of the group on participants' willingness to share their honest thoughts. It was found that participants were more willing to share their thoughts in structured, mixed-race groups than structured all- European-American groups or not-

structured mixed-race groups. I also found that the structure of the group had a significant effect on participants' reported interest in participating in a similar group on campus.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Almost 20 years ago, President Clinton issued an Executive Order to create a Race Advisory Board for the "purpose of examining race, racism, and potential racial reconciliation in America" (Bingham, Porche-Burke, James, Sue & Vasquez, 2002, p. 76). In the published report, the President's Initiative on Race (PIoR, 1998) it was concluded that "racism is far from being eradicated in American society and that most citizens of this nation seem ill-equipped to deal with their own personal biases and prejudices" (Bingham et al., 2002, p. 76). A quick look at local and national media reports would suggest that not much has changed in this regard. However, one effort to address racism that has garnered political, community, and empirical support is open dialogues about diversity (Dessel, Rogge & Garlington, 2006). Understanding the degree to which European-American majority people are willing to engage in these open dialogues and the personal and contextual factors that affect that willingness is an important next step for applied research in this area. Such information could provide a foundation for more empirically-supported methods of reaching both minority and majority people and helping them come together for effective race dialogues.

Overview of the Problem

Racism and racial inequality remains prevalent and pervasive throughout U.S. society. One of the highest profile movements currently addressing racial injustice, "Black Lives Matter," laments the racial inequality with regard to policing. The movement was begun as an outlet for public outrage after the acquittal of a European-American man who shot an unarmed African-American boy, Trayvon Martin, in 2012. It has continued to gain traction after several high-profile police shootings of unarmed men of color that have occurred since. In addition to these publicized shootings, less publicized inequalities play out in different contexts across the

country. The numbers in the yearly United States education and incarceration statistics show a system that is biased along racial lines. African Americans make up only 13% of the US population but they comprise up to 40% of the inmate population and 34% of all high school dropouts (Hartney & Vuong, 2009; Brown & Lent, 2008). The numbers in the 2015 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) illustrate the unofficial segregation of public schools that still exists in our country. In 2015, European-American students, on average, attended schools that were 9 percent African-American, while African-American students attended schools that were 48 percent African-American (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2015). The fact that public schools are still unofficially segregated becomes significant when one sees the difference in money different school systems spend per student. The Chicago public school system, whose student population is about 87% African-American and Latino, spends on average $8,482 annually per student. A nearby suburb, Highland Park, whose student population is 90% European-American, spends $17,291 annually per student (Kozol, 2005). This stark difference in resources drawn down racial lines is replicated in the major cities across the country (Kozol, 2005). With predominantly European-American school districts spending more than twice as much per student than school districts that are made up of predominantly African-American and Latino students, the achievement gap between students of color and European-American students seems like an obvious result.

Although the existence of racism in our current society is contested by many, the detrimental effects of perceived racism are very real. Research has shown that racial microaggressions negatively affect both the physical and mental health of recipients and have also been documented to lower work productivity and cognitive abilities (Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo & Rivera, 2009). There are negative consequences of microaggressions for

European-American people as well, such as lowering empathic ability, diming perceptual awareness, maintaining false illusions and lessening compassion for others (Sue et al, 2009).

Efforts to address racism and its effects

There are numerous ways that leaders throughout the U.S. have worked to counter racism and its effects, from national legislative efforts to local initiatives and programs. One of the ways that racism might be countered at the personal and individual level is through open dialogue about race. In fact, the report from President Clinton's Executive Order proposed that one of the most effective tools for bridging the gap between people of different races is dialogue (PIoR, 1998). As a result, one goal for that year was to "spark an extensive dialogue in which people throughout America could freely discuss how problems of race have impinged on their lives and affected the Nation in ways that could impede progress in other areas," (PIoR, 1998, p. 23). Dialogue, though not the only tool or avenue to address racial tensions, was noted in the report as being one of the most effective ways for "finding common ground and developing new understanding among people of different races" (PIoR, 1998, p. 23*)*.

The report distinguished the difference between dialogue and debate. The main difference being the objective between the two: "the object of debate is to persuade others to one's point of view. The object of dialogue is to exchange ideas and find common ground" (PIoR, 1998, p. 23). The success of a dialogue can be measured by how "well participants develop a tolerance for differing perspectives and a shared insight of the issue" (PIoR, p. 24). Others have sought to further define what these dialogues should look like and what factors should comprise them.

The Ford Foundation, a private foundation with the stated mission of advancing human welfare, created the "Difficult Dialogue" initiative in 2005 with the release of 2.5 million dollars

in grants to "support scholarship, teaching, and civil dialogue about difficult political, religious, racial, and cultural issues in undergraduate education in the United States" ("Ford Foundation Launches," 2005, para. 1). As a result, Difficult Dialogue initiatives have since sprung up on campuses throughout the country. These efforts are diverse in the department and disciplinary faculty who lead them, the content that is addressed as well as the format in which the dialogues take place (O'Neil, 2006). The call for dialogue has also reached work environments. Diversity trainings in workplaces were reported to be used by 66% of US employers in 2005 (Paluck, 2006).

An effort to create a structure and format for these dialogues has been pioneered by different research teams. The "Inter-Group Dialogue" program (IGD) is one such format. The program is a "co-facilitated, face-to-face, small group intervention that brings individuals together from social identity groups with a history of tension or conflict" (Miles & Kivlighan, 2012, p. 190). The intergroup contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) informs much of the practice of the program with the theory that intergroup contact, under the conditions of equal status and shared goals, can reduce intergroup prejudice (Miles & Kivlighan, 2012).

The composition of the group ideally includes equal numbers of members from both the oppressed and the privileged social identity groups and is co-facilitated by a member from each identity group (Muller, 2015). The groups consist of 8-10 participants and meet for 7-12 weeks (Muller, 2015). The "four-stage model" of intergroup dialogue outlines four stages that the group works through during the time that it meets. The four stages are: 1) group beginnings/forming and building relationships, 2) exploring differences and commonalities of experience, 3) exploring and dialoging about hot topics, and 4) action planning and alliance building (Muller, 2015).

Others have also attempted to define and understand effective racial dialogue. Sue (2013) defines "race talk" as "any dialogue or conversation about race that touches upon topics of race, racism, 'whiteness', and White privilege" (p. 664). These dialogues (or "talks") can happen any time and any place. Sue focuses specifically on times when they occur in university classrooms, often when microaggressions trigger the discussion (Sue, 2013). The outcome of these discussions is in no way determined: they can harden the tension across racial lines or soften racially prejudiced views, if facilitated correctly. Sue et al.'s (2009) qualitative research on the subject has uncovered several strategies that teachers, or any group leader, can use to facilitate a more effective dialogue, including: 1) acknowledging emotions and feelings, 2) self-disclosing personal challenges and fears, 3) actively engaging the classroom exchanges, and 4) creating a safe space for racial dialogues.

Researchers have begun to evaluate the outcomes of these group interventions, but the use of dialogue still outpaces the research of such programs (Dessel & Rogge, 2008). In one of the few effectiveness studies of racial dialogues, Gurin, Nagda and Zuniga (2013) conducted a nine-university collaborative study to look at the processes and results of race/ethnicity and gender intergroup dialogue programs. The researchers used an experimental design with a treatment group comprised of students participating in the IGD programs and a control group comprised of students assigned to a wait list. The results of the study showed that students in both the race/ethnicity and gender dialogues had greater increases in awareness and understanding of racial and gender inequalities and their societal causes than students in the control group or students in social science classes. Students participating in the dialogues also showed increased motivation to bridge differences across race and gender lines as well as greater increases in empathy (Gurin et al., 2013). This is the one known empirical study of the IGD

program that used a control group with random assignment. Despite the many strengths of this study there are still limitations, such as a participant sample pool comprised of motivated, self-selecting students who willingly signed up for dialogues– this means interpreting the results should be done with caution and should not be generalized to the general population. The use of dialogues to create proactive discussion about issues of race continues to expand and the research effort is beginning to address some of the holes in the literature, but there is still a long way to go.

One thing that educators, politicians and social scientists seem to agree on is the fact that dialogues are a viable and effective tool for promoting racial understanding and easing tension across racial lines. The research that is being produced is supporting these claims and showing that dialogue should remain an important method of addressing racial issues in our country.

Understanding and increasing participation in racial dialogues

If these racial dialogues have been shown to be effective, then the next important question is, "how do we increase participation in such discussions?" One possibility is for leaders to be prepared for, and to capitalize, on situations in which diverse individuals are already together in a group. For example, there are the cases of spontaneous "race talks," which are triggered in classrooms and therefore all students within the classroom become de facto participants or observers without much choice (e.g., Sue, 2013). However, even in these settings, students have the choice to participate or evade the discussion by remaining silent or even leaving the room (Sue, 2013). Thus, it is likely that more effective dialogues would occur in voluntary groups that are designed from the outset as racial dialogues. Of course, one can imagine that the group of individuals who self-select for these types of discussions are perhaps qualitatively different than those who do not volunteer. Given Sue's description of race talks as,

"filled with intense and powerful emotions… [and that] the majority of people in interracial settings would prefer to avoid them and/or to minimize and dilute their importance" (p. 664), one can imagine that a large portion of the population, if given the choice, would not willingly agree to be a part of these conversations. Therefore, an important research question to answer is, "how do we get more people to willingly engage in these discussions?"

The first step in understanding how to get more people involved is to answer the basic question of whether the assumption is true that most people—and more specifically that most European-American people—would choose to avoid these discussions. Initial research evidence suggests that there is a racial difference in people's willingness to participate in such dialogues. Several studies have documented the defensive and evasive behavior that is exhibited by European-American participants in these types of discussions. Sue (2013) listed some of these behaviors as: remaining silent and refusing to participate in the dialogue, changing the topic, dismissing the importance of the topic, creating strict rules for how the dialogue should take place and taking a global, detached perspective when discussing race issues. DiAngelo (2011) describes similar behaviors in her description of what she calls "White Fragility", which she characterizes as defensive behaviors such as arguing, remaining silent or leaving the discussion when the topic turns to race. She contends that these behaviors are due to the "insulated environment of racial protection that builds White expectations for racial comfort while at the same time lowering the ability to tolerate racial stress," (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 55).

One study illustrated a potential avoidance of race issues through the distance European-American subjects spaced their chairs from their partner's when they anticipated talking to an African-American partner about racial profiling. The European-American participants put their chair significantly closer to their partners' when the topic was on something besides racial

profiling or when their partner was not African-American (Goff, Steele & Davies, 2008).

Another study also found that students of color had a higher level of comfort in communicating

across differences than European-American students (Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003). In the context of

groups, members in a high-power (or privileged) group wanted to discuss power differential less

than the members of the low power group when given the choice of discussion topic in a group

setting (Saguy, Dovidio & Pratto, 2008).

All of the above findings suggest that European-American people, compared to people of

color, will be less likely to willingly engage in racial dialogue. The absence or unwillingness of

majority participants to engage in these conversations is potentially a crucial obstacle to effective

racial dialogues. As a result, knowing the actual degree of willingness, and what predicts that

willingness to participate among European-American people, is an important starting point.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

More than 60 years have passed since racial segregation in schools was made illegal in Brown v. Board of Education, yet inequality along racial lines still remains an issue in the USA. The 'Black Lives Matter' movement is the most recent public reaction to a spate of publicized police shootings of unarmed African-American men. The movement has recently brought these enduring issues of racial inequality to the surface of public discourse. The yearly statistics for incarceration show a system that is biased along racial lines; African Americans comprise only 13% of the general US population but up to 40% of the inmate population (Hartney & Vuong, 2009). Statistics in education tell a similar story with achievement being lowest in schools with the highest percentages of African-American students (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2015). African American students have also been reported to make up 34% of all high school dropouts (Brown & Lent, 2008). The police shootings of unarmed men of color is perhaps the most jarring and visible symptom of a system-wide issue with race. The subsequent riots and the media attention they have garnered have pulled the public's eye to the issue in a more powerful way than the yearly statistics reports.

The social dynamics at play that have maintained this inequality despite the passing of Brown v. Board of Education decades ago, are pervasive, subtle and difficult to identify. The inequality that occurs today looks different than it once did. Racial segregation is now illegal, being racist is stigmatized and the professed public values have become more egalitarian with each passing decade (Forman & Lewis, 2015). The inequality that exists today is a much stealthier creature to treat than it was in the days of overt racism. It is one that has evaded researchers and educators for years.

Dialogues on Race

Almost 20 years ago, President Clinton issued an Executive Order to create a Race Advisory Board for the "purpose of examining race, racism, and potential racial reconciliation in America" (Bingham, Porche-Burke, James, Sue & Vasquez, 2002, p.76). The report proposed that one of the most effective tools for bridging the gap between people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds is dialogue. The report stated that dialogue could be used in "finding common ground and developing new understanding among people of different races" (PIoR, 1998, p. 23). Efforts to address President Clinton's call to dialogue began to spring up around the country in the ensuing years.

One of the most significant of those efforts was The Ford Foundation's initiative, "Difficult Dialogues", which was begun in 2005. As of this time, the Ford Foundation had provided 2.5 million dollars in grants to "support scholarship, teaching, and civil dialogue about difficult political, religious, racial and cultural issues in undergraduate education in the United States" ("Ford Foundation Launches", 2005, para. 1). Colleges and universities around the country were invited to submit proposals for grant money that would fund academic programs that "engage students in constructive discussion of conflicting viewpoints," ("Ford Foundation Launches," 2005, para. 2).

Planned difficult dialogues

One format for planned group dialogues that has been promoted and used by various community groups and educational institutions over the past two decades is the "Inter-Group Dialogue" (IGD) program (Dessel, Rogge & Garlington, 2006). The IGD program provides a framework for difficult dialogues to take place (Miles & Kivlighan, 2012). Dessel, Woodford and Warren (2011) explain that, "IGD brings together people from two different social-identity

groups that have a history of conflict," (p. 1133). In the IGD format the group is ideally

comprised of equal numbers of participants from the target, or repressed social group, and the

agent, or privileged social group. The group is led by two trained facilitators, one from each of

the represented social-identity groups. IGD has been used with different social identity groups

involving race and ethnic identities (race in the USA, Israeli-Palestinian relations), sexual

orientation (Ahmad, Dessel, Mishkin, Ali & Omar, 2015; Dessel, 2010; Dessel, Woodford, &

Warren, 2011) and with populations as diverse as adolescents (Aldana, Rowley, Checkoway, &

Richards-Schuster, 2012), college students and community groups (Dessel, Rogge, &

Garlington). The IGD program outlines four stages that the group works through with weekly

meetings taking place over a 7-12 week span. The four stages include: 1) group

beginnings/forming and building relationships, 2) exploring differences and commonalities of

experience, 3) exploring and dialoguing about hot topics, and 4) action planning and alliance

building (Muller, 2015).

Initial research into the effectiveness of the IGD format has shown positive results. One

collaborative study, titled the Multi-University Intergroup Dialogue Research Project (MIGR),

included nine universities conducting gender and race/ethnicity dialogue groups. The study

showed that students in these groups ($N = 1463$) had greater increase in awareness and

understanding across its three outcome variables – intergroup understanding, intergroup

relationships, and intergroup collaboration and action - compared to students assigned to a wait-

list and comparison group condition (Gurin, Nagda & Zuniga, 2013). Students also showed

increased motivation to bridge differences across race and gender lines as well as greater

increases in empathy and sense of responsibility (Gurin, Nagda & Zuniga). The results showed

small to moderate effect sizes ranging from .19 to .41 (Cohen's *d*) across the three outcome

variables. Across all the items for intergroup understanding, effect sizes were an average of .19 at the posttest, but were as high as .25 for items that measured students' understanding of structural inequalities along racial lines. The average effect size for intergroup relationships was .41 and .24 for intergroup action.

Compared to the other research that has been done on IGD groups, this study stands out for its experimental design and large sample size. The study had two comparison groups: a wait-list group and a comparison group of students enrolled in social studies classes on race/ethnicity and gender. The comparison group allowed the researchers to control for the effects of receiving didactic instruction on issues of social inequality compared to the experiential dialogue approach of the IGD program (Gurin et al. 2013). The study sample was comprised of students who signed up to be in an IGD group. Students who signed up for the IGD program were then randomly assigned to a control group or an IGD group. The programs across the nine universities were designed to be as similar as possible and used similar recruiting and selection processes as well as stratified random assignment procedures to control for issues with external validity (Alimo, 2012). The data were collected through pre and post-test surveys, a one year follow-up survey, and qualitative interviews.

This study, though strong on many factors, does still have limitations. One major limitation of the MIGR study is the use of a participant pool of self-selecting individuals who willingly signed up for difficult dialogues on race. Thus, the results of the study cannot be generalized to the general public and do not show what the effects of IGD may be for individuals who are not explicitly motivated to participate in a racial dialogue. Random assignment was also not used for the individuals in the comparison groups of social science classes that addressed gender or racial content. Another limitation of the study is the lack of control in testing what

specific parts of the intervention were most effective in producing change. The IGD program involved a full curriculum with four stages, structured activities and several readings. There is no way of knowing what aspects of the curriculum produced which results (Gurin et al., 2013).

Dessel and Rogge (2008) conducted a literature review of IGD studies that spanned a time period from 1997-2006 and identified a total of twenty-three studies that fell within this window. All of the studies, with the exception of the MIGR project described above, used either a quasi-experimental or pre-experimental design, which means that at the very best a non-equivalent control or comparison group was used and none used random assignment. Most of the studies also had small sample sizes and lacked experimental control (Dessel & Rogge). Thus the practice of IGD for addressing group conflict shows promise, but there are still holes in the literature that need to be addressed before any strong conclusions can be drawn.

Spontaneous difficult dialogues

Although planned programs to encourage effective inter-group dialogue are worthwhile and important, most of the conversations that people have about race are done informally. Researchers have also explored the informal racial dialogue, or race talk, that is often triggered in university classrooms. Sue (2013) defines "race talk" as any dialogue or conversation "about race that touches upon topics of race, racism, "whiteness", and White privilege" (p. 664). He and his colleagues have conducted several qualitative studies that have helped define the nature of these dialogues (e.g., Sue, Torino, Capodilupo, Rivera & Lin, 2009; Sue, Rivera, Capodilupo, Lin, & Torino, 2010; Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo & Rivera, 2009).

These race talks are most often triggered by microaggressions that European-American students commit unwittingly during a classroom discussion (Sue, Lin et al., 2009). The most common themes that were identified by students of color were statements that implied that

people of color lack intelligence, don't belong in this county, are assumed criminals or that race is not actually an issue in the USA (Sue, Lin et al., 2009). Minority students' reactions to these microaggressions varied from wondering whether it was worth it to speak up to having an emotional reaction that included feeling "incensed," anxious and exhausted (Sue, Lin et al., 2009). Different themes also emerged for European-American students' experiences in difficult dialogues. Unlike the students of color, who could easily identify specific instances of classroom discussions on race or microaggressions, the European-American counseling trainees who were interviewed did not attach their thoughts or experience of race to a specific instance. The European-American participants, rather, spoke in global terms about their experiences (Sue et al., 2010). Some of these global themes included denying one's whiteness or white privilege, claiming to not see or notice race (otherwise referred to as colorblindness), a fear of appearing racist if one engaged in a discussion on race, and claiming that one had no right to dialogue about race because one had never experienced racism themselves (Sue et al., 2010).

In a third study looking at the perspective of European-American faculty members in difficult dialogues on race, a different set of themes emerged (Sue, Torino et al. 2009). There were two major themes that faculty cited in what made the dialogues difficult: a fear of losing control and a rise of the emotional charge in the classroom climate when the topic of race was breached. Faculty perceived students to react to these conversations with anxiety, anger and defensiveness. Observed student behaviors included European-American students crying, European-American students leaving the classroom, and students acting withdrawn with a lack of verbal participation, blank looks and passive dialogue (Sue, Torino et al., 2009). Professors themselves reported feeling anxiety, disappointment in themselves and uncertainty in how to proceed when faced with a difficult dialogue. Faculty also commented on strategies that they

found to be both effective and ineffective. Ignoring the topic of race or changing the subject when it came up was one strategy that faculty said was especially ineffective. Being passive and allowing students to manage the dialogue was also listed as ineffective. Techniques such as acknowledging emotions, revisiting the dialogue several times, setting a precedent of addressing racial issues, admitting one's own personal challenges with race and increasing one's awareness of racial microaggressions were all listed as effective tools in facilitating racial dialogues. Similar to the European-American counseling trainees, European-American faculty members also spoke of a difficulty in recognizing when a difficult dialogue was actually taking place. Many felt that they were not competent in recognizing microaggressions and were caught off-guard when emotions were triggered (Sue, Torino et al., 2009).

These studies have made a major contribution to the knowledge and understanding of the characteristics of a difficult dialogue and the personal experiences of students and faculty. The descriptive categories that were created help to deepen our understanding of the anatomy of these dialogues. The limitations of these studies, however, should be kept in mind when interpreting the results. Out of the three studies cited above the largest sample used by any was 14 participants (Sue et al., 2010; Sue, Torino et al. 2009; Sue, Lin et al. 2009). Seeing as the research is qualitative and thus based on different philosophical assumptions than quantitative research, small sample sizes are not generally considered limitations. In the context of applying findings from a study of 14 participants to other research however, one must do this cautiously as generalizability should not be assumed with a sample so small. The participants were all affiliated with a private university in New York City and all either held a higher degree or were in training for a higher degree. These demographics of the participants should further caution anyone from generalizing the findings. Many of these dialogues do, however, take place on

college campuses in classrooms, thus the findings are potentially useful in guiding future research with the same population. With these cautions noted, the descriptive data that these studies garnered offer a useful starting point for further research efforts in this area.

Whether in the form of planned group dialogues or informal classroom discussions, racial dialogues are beginning to take place more frequently around the country. Work places have begun to implement diversity trainings, with 66% of employers reporting using some kind of diversity workshop or training for their employees in 2005 (Paluck, 2006). In the years following President Clinton's call to dialogue, several efforts have sprung up around the country both formal and informal to begin to pierce the silence around the issue of race. Dessel, Rogge and Garlington (2006) did a comprehensive literature review of the dialogue efforts in the 1990's and early 2000's. Community dialogues have been organized across the country in different contexts. Interfaith Dialogue Forums was a series of dialogues that took place in Knoxville, Tennessee from 2003 to 2004 with different faith-based groups (Dessel et al., 2006). In Canada, the Canadian Policy Research Network organizes one-day dialogue workshops in several locations around the country as a tool for community empowerment and public discourse (Dessel et al., 2006). The National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation has consolidated difficult dialogue resources and practitioner contact information in a database for the public consumption. The National Issues Forum is another institute that helps local organizations and leaders organize and implement their own dialogues or discourse sessions in the community about divisive issues. The Public Conversations Project of the Family Institute of Cambridge applies family therapy interventions to the context of group dialogues with the mission of resolving public polarization through dialogues (Dessel et al., 2006). Most of these initiatives in communities, places of worship and work environments have not been empirically studied using strong methodologies.

More often than not, the tools of assessment are qualitative interviews or a feedback form at the end of the event. Thus, even more than the dialogues that occur in university settings, the community dialogues lack standardized and valid assessment tools to measure their effectiveness. The participants in the dialogues are also all self-selecting. The use of dialogues as a tool for navigating divisive issues has grown over the years but the research to study its effectiveness still has distance to cover before it catches up to the practice.

Dialogue Participants

The IGD framework is based off Allport's (1954) intergroup contact hypothesis, which states that under certain conditions, intergroup contact would have positive effects on inter-racial relations (Pettigrew, 1998). The certain conditions that Allport listed as needing to be present for reduction of intergroup prejudice are: equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom (Pettigrew, 1998). Allport's hypothesis has guided research on intergroup interactions up to this day (Miles & Kivlighan, 2012). Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of the research on Allport's intergroup contact theory done between the years 1940-2000. The meta-analysis included 515 studies, 713 independent samples and 1,383 individual tests. The studies included in the analysis had to meet three criteria: 1) intergroup contact was an independent variable and intergroup prejudice was the dependent variable; 2) the study had to involve contact between members of discrete groups; 3) and the study had to report on some degree of direct intergroup interaction (which ruled out studies that use rough proximity of different groups to infer intergroup contact; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The authors coded the different studies along lines of experimental rigor and inclusion of some or all of Allport's four conditions beyond the basic intergroup contact. Of these, 94% of the studies showed effect sizes of -.20 to -.21

(Pearson's *r*) indicating a significant reduction in prejudice with intergroup contact. Of the whole set of 515 studies, 134 studies met the optimal contact conditions of Allport's theory. These studies found a significantly stronger correlation between contact and reduction of prejudice (-.29), as compared to the studies that did not meet Allport's four conditions listed above. Out of the 134 studies that met Allport's optimal conditions, those that were coded as having rigorous experimental control showed an even stronger correlation of -.32 compared to studies within the sample that were less rigorous (*r* = -.20; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This meta-analysis lends strong support to the hypothesis that intergroup contact between two groups reduces intergroup prejudice. The study also showed that increased contact (and not just proximity) between groups had a significant negative correlation with levels of prejudice whether Allport's four conditions were met or not. The inclusion of the four conditions made for a stronger effect but was not a necessary ingredient for prejudice reduction.

Given the effectiveness of intergroup contact, the intergroup contact hypothesis has provided the framework of inter-group dialogues (Miles & Kivlighan, 2012). Specifically, the theory that there must be contact between members of each group in order to reduce prejudice informs the IGD framework. It is no surprise that IGD calls for each dialogue group to be composed of an equal number of members from each target social group. Although this seems like an obvious statement and expectation, in reality this might be hard to achieve. Specifically, those in the powerful and privileged position (e.g., in racial dialogues in the U.S. those who are European-American) may choose not to participate. In fact, it may be that those European-American people who are most racist or hold the most negative views of minorities are the least likely to voluntarily participate in inter-group dialogues. This is a crucial question for the

practical implementation of programs like IGD that seek to expose people of different races to each other.

Another important element of successful inter-group dialogue is preparation of the majority group. It may not be effective to simply place anyone in an inter-group dialogue. Intergroup dialogues can be different experiences for students of color and European-American students (Nagda & Zuniga, 2003). In some cases intergroup dialogues on race can cause more harm than good for students of color (Sue, 2013; Richeson & Shelton, 2007). When students of color must teach European-American participants about White privilege and issues of racism and prejudice in society, these groups become less effective for minorities and the same interactions have been recorded as causing physical symptoms of stress and anxiety in European-American people (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). Also, these dialogues can expose students of color to additional microaggressions causing further frustration, invalidation and exhaustion (Sue, Lin et al., 2009; Dessel, Rogge & Garlington, 2006). Thus, increasing participation of European-American people in these dialogues alone may not be effective. Instead, *intra*-group dialogues in which European-American students learn about White privilege and modern-day racism in a non-mixed racial group might be an important pre-requisite to inter-group dialogues. More research needs to be done in this area. Either way, however, participation of European-Americans, whether in an intra-group or inter-group dialogue is a necessary step in the progress of racial dialogues.

European-American's resistance to participate

Based on the suggestion of the IGD framework and research surrounding Allport's intergroup contact hypothesis, it is important that in dialogues about race both European-American participants and participants of color be present. The research done up to this point

suggests that European-American participants, in general, may be more resistant to volunteering for these dialogues than people of color. Nagda and Zuniga (2003) found that students of color "considered race as a more important identity in the way they thought about themselves, thought more frequently about racial group membership, and indicated a higher level of comfort in communicating across differences than white students" (p. 120). Goff, Steele and Davies (2008) found that European-American students moved their chair farther away from their partner if their partner was a person of color and if the topic of discussion was racial profiling compared to love and relationships. This finding suggests that when the topic of conversation is something like race, European-American people may become more avoidant and actually place more distance between themselves and a person of color.

In their qualitative study looking at European-American counseling trainees' reactions to difficult dialogues on race, Sue et al (2010) catalogued several reported reactions to racial dialogues that European-American trainees had. These reactions included denial of White privilege or any perceived advantage based on one's skin color and an endorsement of the idea of colorblindness in which race should not be acknowledged. Participants who endorsed this thinking were likely to end further racial discussion by asserting that there are no differences across racial categories (Sue et al. 2010). Another common theme among European-American trainees was a fear of appearing racist. This was also characterized by a fear that their confusion or lack of knowledge on race issues would be seen as being close-minded and ignorant. Furthermore, other European-American students professed a feeling that because they had never experienced racism they then had no right to participate in a dialogue on race. They were left with a feeling that they had nothing to contribute to the conversation and anything they did say would not be valid because it did not come from any lived experience of their own. European-

American participants also expressed uncomfortable emotional responses to racial dialogues such as feeling anxious, helpless and misunderstood during such dialogues (Sue et al., 2010).

Other authors have described the avoidance that European-Americans engage in when the topic of race comes up. DiAngelo (2011) calls such behavior "White Fragility" and describes it as defensive behaviors such as arguing, remaining silent or leaving the discussion when the topic turns to race. These behaviors, she explains, serve as barriers to productive discussions on race and act to perpetuate White privilege. Bell (2002) uses a term Feagin (2001) coined, "sincere fictions," which describes the image of "moral superiority" and "merit" that is accompanied by a European-American endorsing colorblindness (p. 237). Bell explains that they are "sincere" in that European-Americans truly believe that they are colorblind and do not endorse prejudice or discrimination in any way. According to Bell, they are "fictions" because endorsing such views as colorblindness is an act of avoidance of the reality of current racism in the United States.

All of the research described above suggests that, in general, European-Americans are more avoidant and dismissive of the topic of race than people of color; however researchers have not directly addressed this question in an empirical way. The literature suggests that in order for dialogues to be effective, members from all relevant social groups must be present. Therefore, the participation of European-Americans in these discussions is an important and necessary part of an effective dialogue intervention. Effective interventions cannot be developed and implemented until the process behind European-American participants' avoidance is better understood.

Possible reasons for European-American's avoidance of racial dialogue

Although there is no direct empirical evidence that European-Americans are in fact more disinclined to participate in discussions on race than people of color, it is a very plausible

assumption. However, it is an assumption that needs to be tested against actual evidence. This is one of the next steps needed for research in this area (see Future Research Directions later in this chapter). Given that the assumption that European-Americans are disinclined to participate in racial dialogues is confirmed, the next important question to ask is "why?". What makes European-Americans more or less inclined to participate in racial dialogue? Developing and implementing effective interventions is the next logical step in increasing the utility and impact of dialogues on race but, first, it is important to understand the mechanisms behind the disinclination to participate. Although research has not been conducted directly on this topic, there are several studies from diverse fields that suggest some possible hypotheses for why European-Americans may be more avoidant of racial dialogue than people of color.

Colorblindness. One of the possible mechanisms creating less interest in participating in racial dialogues among European-Americans is the social norm of colorblindness. Colorblindness is the idea that if race is not noticed or acknowledged then racial biases cannot emerge. It's based on the belief that for true equality to exist, decisions and behaviors must take place in a context where race is not a factor (Apfelbaum, Norton & Sommers, 2012). However, researchers have shown that race is one of the first characteristics one notices about another, with recognition of race occurring even before recognition of another person's gender (Ito & Urland, 2003). Recognition of race is so engrained in humans that babies as young as 3 months of age have shown an ability to discern difference in race (Bar-Haim, Ziv, Lamy & Hodes, 2006).

Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura and Ariely (2006) have studied the social phenomenon of 'colorblindness' and its effect on those who adhere to it. They suggest that adhering to the concept of colorblindness is motivated by a desire to appear unprejudiced. In the culture of the United States the label of 'racist' is highly stigmatized (Crandall, Eshleman &

O'Brien, 2002; Norton et al., 2006), thus the motivation to appear unprejudiced is high in social settings (Plant & Devine, 1998). Norton et al. suggest that noticing race, which would in effect be a necessary precursor to racism, can be perceived as an indication of racism.

Apfelbaum, Sommers and Norton (2008) conducted a series of studies that explored the social norm of colorblindness. In the first study, 101 European-American participants were paired with an African-American or European-American female partner, who was a confederate in the study. Participants were instructed that they would be playing a facial-recognition game in which they and their partner would be presented with 30 headshots of people's faces. The photos differed across several characteristics including race, gender and background color. One of the partners had to choose one picture out of the thirty and the other partner had to guess which photo they had chosen. The guessing partner had to ask 'yes'/'no' questions to try and figure out the photo their partner had chosen. They were told to ask as few questions as possible. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. In one condition, the confederate was in the guessing position first and set a race-norm precedent by either asking questions about race or explicitly avoiding questions about race. In the other condition, the participant guessed first and thus no norm was established.

The outcome variable the researchers evaluated was whether the participant asked questions about race or not. The photos were organized in such a way that asking about race would have narrowed the possible photos significantly and thus would have helped the participant be more efficient in guessing their partner's photo. The researchers coded the degree to which participants used racial descriptors by adding the number of trials in which the participant used racial descriptors (there was a total of four trials) and divided that number by the total number of trials. A 2 x 3 ANOVA showed that the racial norm manipulation (whether the

confederate used race or not in their questions) had an effect on the participant's use of racial descriptors. In the color-blind condition, where the confederate set a norm of not mentioning race, participants used racial descriptors 26.5% of the time compared to those participants in the race-normed condition who used racial descriptors 91.2% of the time. Those in the control condition – who were not exposed to any norm – asked about race 62.9% of the time (Apfelbaum et al., 2008). There was also a significant interaction between race of confederate and condition, with race-related norms that were set by an African-American confederate producing a stronger effect than those set by a European-American confederate.

Only 62.9% of participants in the control condition used racial descriptors. Given that asking about race would have been the most efficient way to guess which photo one's partner had, the fact that 100% of participants did not ask about race suggests that the social norm of colorblindness was having an effect to some degree regardless of condition. The strength of the effect increased or decreased depending on the norm set by the confederate and this effect was stronger if the confederate was African-American than if the confederate was European-American. The fact that the race of the confederate made a difference in the degree to which participants endorsed or did not endorse colorblindness suggests that fears of appearing racist are perhaps partially the motivation behind adhering to the colorblind norm. The participants also took Plant and Devine's (1998) Internal and External Motivations to Respond without Prejudice scales (IMS and EMS, respectively) after playing the game. High EMS scores reflect a higher concern for appearing biased or prejudiced in front of others. High IMS scores reflect internal, personal standards for not having biases or prejudices. Results of a regression analysis showed that scores on the EMS were a significant negative predictor of acknowledging race. Thus, those

who scored higher on the EMS, signaling that they were more motivated to appear unbiased or not racist, were more likely to endorse colorblindness.

In a follow-up study to the one above, Apfelbaum, Sommers and Norton (2008) looked at the effects that adhering to colorblindness has on one's behavior and cognitive ability.   Race is one of the first characteristics that one notices about another person (Ito & Urland, 2003), thus the endorsement of colorblindness or pretending that one does not notice race, could potentially compromise one's cognitive ability. Apfelbaum et al (2008) demonstrated how this incongruence can effect executive cognitive function in a study that examined participants' performances on the Stroop task. In this study, 48 European-American participants played the same facial recognition game described above and then immediately completed a Stroop task to measure their executive function ability. Those participants who had acknowledged race in the facial recognition activity performed better on the Stroop than those participants who did not acknowledge race. The results of this study suggest that the act of endorsing colorblindness compromises one's cognitive functioning.

Evidence for the existence of colorblindness in children was found in another study by Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers and Norton (2008). This study compared two groups of older and younger school children. The first group was comprised of students age 8-9 and the second group had older children of 10-11 years old. The children ($N = 101$) were given a facial recognition task like the one described above, and were told to guess a target photo that the experimenter was holding. The target photo was identical to one of the photos in front of the child. The child's task was to ask the researcher as few 'yes/no' questions as possible to correctly guess which photo they held. Older children have greater cognitive abilities than younger children and therefore should have out-performed the younger students on this task. The

researchers hypothesized, however, that because by age 10 most children have internalized social norms (Turiel, 2008) the older children would avoid using race as a descriptor, exhibiting the internalized social norm of colorblindness. The younger students would not have internalized social norms as much and therefore would be less inhibited to use race as a descriptor and would outperform the older students on this task. The results showed a significant interaction between age of group and task type. The older students who were in a race-neutral condition (all of the faces on their card were European-Americans) outperformed the younger students in corresponding race-neutral conditions as would be expected in a cognitive performance task (Cohen's $d = .68$). The results switched, however, in the race-relevant condition with the younger students outperforming the older group (Cohen's $d = .55$). In the race-relevant condition, 76.5% of children in the younger group acknowledged race, while only 37% of the older children did. These results suggest that the reason the younger students outperformed the older group in the race-relevant condition was because they asked about race, thus increasing their efficiency in identifying their partner's card.

The adherence to colorblind ideology is evident in several settings. Researchers in education have written about the avoidance of race as a topic of discussion in education settings (Case & Hemmings, 2005; Pollock, 2004) despite blatant statistical and anecdotal evidence that shows differences along racial lines in educational achievement. Pollock notes in her book, *Colormute* (2004), the discrepancy between the national reports that consistently use race as a variable in analyzing educational statistics and the silence about race at the individual level in local school systems. Pollock explains in her book that race was something teachers spoke about in hushed tones to each other but was never a topic that was brought up in meetings or formal discussion (Pollock, 2004). Other education researchers have noticed this trend in education,

notably with European-American teacher trainees who avoid examining their own assumptions about race and racism with the claim that race is not something they notice (Bell, 2002).

Modern racism. Another possible reason that European-Americans may be less inclined to join in discussions about race is that perhaps racism still exists, but people are more likely to hide it. A strong social taboo is placed on outward expression of racial biases, which could lead individuals who harbor racist beliefs to nonetheless claim egalitarian values (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). This hypothesis has led some researchers to investigate the existence of implicit biases that European-Americans have that differ from what they explicitly state. If this is true, one could imagine that having racial biases and prejudices would deter someone from participating in a conversation about race especially given the strong taboo against voicing such beliefs.

Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) have termed the phenomenon of having implicit racial biases but explicit egalitarian views 'aversive racism'. They have demonstrated the existence of aversive racism in several studies (Dovidio & Gaertner; Hodson, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2002). In one such study, European-American participants viewed pictures of different college applicants with their corresponding resumes and provided input on admissions decisions. When the applicants were unambiguously qualified for acceptance into the school (high SAT scores and high GPA) there was no difference among race of candidate for whom participants chose to admit. However, when the applicant's qualifications were ambiguous in some way (high SAT scores but low GPA), subjects chose the European-American, ambiguously-qualified candidate significantly more than the candidate of color (Hodson, Dovidio & Gaertner). The researchers proposed that this illustrates what they term "aversive racism". The authors of the paper hypothesize that aversive racism characterizes the racial beliefs of many European-Americans in

the USA who explicitly endorse egalitarian racial views but show racial biases in indiscreet ways that can be rationalized. In the example of the above study, subjects only showed bias against the African-American candidates when they could claim a reason other than race for not choosing them, as was the case in the ambiguously qualified condition. Other studies have replicated this finding (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2015). One of the studies was done in 1989 and again in 1999 (Dovidio & Gaertner) and the findings of European-American subjects favoring a European-American ambiguous candidate over an African-American one was replicated but the overt beliefs of the subjects were more egalitarian in 1999 than in 1989. Thus, although egalitarian views are outwardly more endorsed in 1999 than they were in 1989, implicit racial biases have remained the same. One may hypothesize that overt racial beliefs would continue in this liberalizing, egalitarian trend if this study were done today, but the implicit biases present in 1989 would be the same.

Another study illustrated this discrepancy between what one's stated racial beliefs are and how one actually behaves. Researchers of this study divided participants into two groups: "forecasters" and "experiencers" (Kawakami, Dunn, Karmalie & Dovidio, 2009). The "forecasters" were told a scenario in which a European-American confederate made a racist comment about an African-American confederate after the African-American confederate left the room. The participants in the forecaster condition then had to predict how upset they would feel after hearing the racial slur as well as which person they would choose as a partner in an activity. The vast majority of forecasters expected that they would feel upset after hearing the racial slur and would choose to work with the African-American confederate (83%) as opposed to the European-American confederate who had made the racist comment. The other group of "experiencers" were actually put in this scenario where they were led into a room with two male

confederates, one European-American and one African-American. The African-American confederate left the room, under the auspices of having to retrieve his cell phone, and gently bumped the European-American confederate's leg on his way out. In the control condition nothing happened beyond this incident. In the moderate racial-slur condition the European-American confederate commented, after the African-American confederate had left the room, "Typical, I hate it when Black people do that." In the extreme racial-slur condition the European-American confederate said, "Clumsy, N-word". The African-American confederate returned to the room as did the researcher who subsequently asked the participant who they would like to work with as a partner for the next activity. Those in the "experiencer" condition were more likely to choose the European-American confederate (63%) over the African-American confederate across the two racial-slur conditions and reported little distress. These findings are counter to what the forecasters predicted they would feel and do. The prediction the European-American "forecasters" made of feeling upset after hearing a racial slur and subsequently choosing not to work with the person who had said the racial slur is in direct contrast to what actually happened when the "experiencers" were confronted with that situation. Those who actually heard the slur were not very upset and were more likely to choose to work with the European-American confederate compared to the African-American confederate. This illustrates the idea that European-American people will claim egalitarian views but will often act in a biased manner that is counter to what their stated beliefs are.

The veil of silence. Another possible explanation for why European-American people are less likely to participate in racial dialogue is the self-perpetuating silence surrounding racial issues. Colorblindness is a social norm that is not internalized until around 10 years of age (Apfelbaum et al. 2008). It is a social rule that tells European-American people to act as if race

does not exist. It is a rule that is enforced by social pressures and norms and one whose

influence changes depending on whether the people surrounding someone are endorsing it or not

(Apfelbaum et al. 2008). The more a person's surrounding social circles do not acknowledge

race the more pervasive and powerful the colorblind norm becomes and the less likely one is to

break the norm. One study found that social influence accounted for 45% of variance in stated

anti-racist views (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham & Vaughn, 1994). When people heard someone

condemn racism they themselves stated strong anti-racist views significantly more than people

who heard someone condone racism. In the Apfelbaum et al (2008) study, participants used race

as an identifying quality in a facial recognition game significantly more when their partner, who

was a confederate in the study, used race as an identifying quality. These studies suggest that

people's beliefs and behaviors about race are strongly influenced by their immediate social

surroundings. If that is true, one can imagine that the tendency to not talk about race is self-

perpetuating. European-Americans notice other people not talking about race and the norm is

spread. Crandall et al. (2002) found that people's ideas about what was socially acceptable was

highly correlated with their own personal racial beliefs. This finding supports the idea that a

person's racial beliefs and behaviors are closely linked to the larger social norms around these

issues. Thus, perhaps people's stated racial views and subsequent likeliness to talk about racial

issues is less a reflection of one's deeply rooted, implicit attitudes and more a reflection of the

social influences that are acting on them at the time.

      Motivation to not appear racist. The strength of the taboo against racism and being a

racist is perhaps another reason that European-Americans do not want to participate in racial

dialogues. This reason is related to the colorblind and aversive racism theories that say that

acknowledging race can be seen as racist in and of itself (colorblind protocol) or talking about

racial issues could perhaps reveal the real, racist beliefs a person harbors (aversive racism). There was a moderating variable in Apfelbaum et al.'s study (2008) with participants who scored higher on the external motivation to avoid prejudice scale (EMS) exhibiting more colorblind behavior. The EMS measures the external motivation to not appear racist (Plant & Devine, 1998). Those high in external motivation to not appear racist were less likely to use race as an identifying trait in the facial recognition task. Another study found similar results; participants scoring high on the EMS and low on the internal motivation to avoid prejudice scale (IMS) expected more negative outcomes related to interracial activity, had higher interracial anxiety and more avoidance of interracial interactions (Plant, 2004). In a study by Goff, Steel and Davies (2008) subjects placed their chair farther from their partners' chair when their partner was African-American and they were told they would be discussing racial profiling. If their partner was European-American or the topic of conversation was love and relationships the participant moved their chair closer to their partner (regardless of race). In a variation of this study the participant was told they would be arguing an opinion about racial profiling that was assigned to them and their partner would be notified that the opinion was assigned to them, and thus not their own (Goff et al. 2008). In this context, participants did not place their chairs a different distance from the confederate, regardless of race. However, when participants were instructed to argue their own opinion, they placed their chairs further away from the African-American confederates. Even though the topic was race in both situations, the participant only felt threatened (i.e., placed more distance between themselves and their partner) when they had to argue an opinion that was their own and thus, as the researchers interpreted it, were at risk of being labeled a racist as predicated under the 'stereotype threat' theory. Stereotype threat is defined as the feeling of threat that can be triggered when one feels that she/he could be judged

negatively on the basis of a stereotype about one's group (Steele, 1992, 1997). The threat

requires that, 1) an individual be highly identified with a domain, 2) the individual believes he or

she is being evaluated, and 3) the self-concept be implicated in the evaluation (Steele &

Aronson, 1995). The taboo of being a racist is so strong in modern-day society that the risk

involved in a racial dialogue in which one could either reveal implicit and concealed racist

beliefs or accidentally say something that could be perceived as racist, is too anxiety provoking

for someone and would deter them from entering a conversation around race.

Previous diversity experiences. There has been research done on the effect that previous

experiences with outgroup members has on an individual's level of anxiety and avoidance

related to intergroup interactions. Much of the intergroup contact research is focused on the

contextual factors that promote positive intergroup relations (Allport, 1954; W.G. Stephan &

Stephan, 1989; Pettigrew, 1998). A smaller subset of intergroup research has examined the role

mediator variables play in the effect of contact on intergroup relations. One such variable that

has received attention is intergroup anxiety. Intergroup anxiety has been linked to avoidance of

intergroup contact experiences as well as hostility toward outgroup members (Plant & Devine,

2003). G.W. Stephan and Stephan (1989) proposed a model of the antecedents of intergroup

anxiety. One of the principal antecedents of intergroup anxiety in their model is prior intergroup

relations (W.G. Stephan & Stephan, 1989). Britt, Boniecki, Vescio, Biernat and Brown (1996)

also posit that individual determinants of intergroup anxiety include lack of knowledge about a

given out-group and lack of previous contact with the out-group.

Other researchers have explained the manner in which prior group contact affects

intergroup anxiety. Schlenker and Leary (1982) define social anxiety as "anxiety resulting from

the prospect or presence of personal evaluation in real or imagined social situations" (Schlenker

& Leary, p. 642). The degree of anxiety depends on the extent that the person predicts they will

receive their desired outcome. Thus outcome expectancies, or the anticipated effects of an event,

have a direct effect on the level of anxiety that is experienced. Negative outcome expectancies

in a social situation arise when one feels they do not have the ability to make the desired

impression, or it is believed that the other people in the social context will not receive the efforts

well (Plant & Devine, 2003). Schlenker and Leary posit that when one does not have clear

guides for how to behave in certain situations, the outcome expectancy becomes uncertain or

ambiguous and social anxiety increases. They further hypothesize that many European-

American people do not have extensive experience with people from different racial or ethnic

backgrounds, thus the expectations in social interactions with people from different ethnic/racial

groups is unclear and anxiety increases as a result. Thus according to this model, lack of contact

with people from other social groups means one does not have clear social scripts for how to

behave in a social interaction with that group - this creates an uncertain outcome expectation

which results in intergroup anxiety (Plant & Devine, 2003). Plant and Devine (2003) showed that

the amount of previous contact with outgroup members was not significantly related to outcome

expectancies, but the degree of positive previous contact was. They also showed that positive

previous contact was related to less anxiety in interactions with African-American people and

that positive outcome expectancies were also related to less anxiety in intergroup interactions.

They found that outcome expectancies were a significant mediator of the relationship between

quality of previous contact and intergroup anxiety. Plant and Devine (2003) also revealed that

positive previous contact with outgroup members was a significant negative predictor of hostility

towards African-American people and avoidance of interactions with African-American people.

Furthermore, anxiety was related to a higher stated desire to avoid interactions with African-

American people. Positive previous contact was no longer a significant predictor when anxiety

was included in the model. A modified Sobel test showed that anxiety was a significant

mediator of the relationship between the quality of previous contact and avoidance and hostility.

These models show that contact with members of other social groups can assuage intergroup

anxiety through the function of positive social experiences which create positive outcome

expectations. Intergroup anxiety predicted whether individuals returned for an interracial

interaction and also predicted individual's stated desire to avoid intergroup interactions (Plant &

Devine, 2003).   Thus, previous contact experiences with members from a social outgroup is

related to avoidance of interactions with outgroup members and based on that, a part of

European-American's avoidance of racial dialogues may be the lack of interracial experiences

they have had previously.

Future Research

An important caveat to the following proposed research questions is that increasing

participation of European-Americans in dialogues on race should not be done without awareness

of the complexities of these dialogues and the benefits and drawbacks these experiences can have

for their participants. Participating in a racial dialogue with a European-American person who is

unaware of their own privilege, can have deleterious effects on people of color and cause more

harm than good (R. Perez, personal communication, March 23, 2016). Therefore, it is important

to view the following suggested research questions with the understanding that increasing

participation of European-American people in dialogues may not mean increasing participation

in intergroup, mixed-race dialogues initially. Increasing participation in racial dialogues may

mean increasing participation in intragroup dialogues with only European-American participants

as a prerequisite to joining a mixed-racial intergroup dialogue. These groups can provide a space

to explore and learn about White privilege and other social justice issues before becoming part of an intergroup dialogue with people of color.

Future directions for research

With this caveat in mind the first question to explore is whether it is true that European-Americans are less inclined to participate in race dialogues than people of color. Research has suggested that in informal dialogues, European-American participants are more likely to remain silent and avoid discussion (Sue & Rivera et al. 2009), but no research has been done to show whether European-Americans are less likely to sign up for voluntary dialogues on race than people of color. If it is true that European-Americans are less likely to voluntarily participate in these dialogues, it is important to understand why. Is the social norm of colorblindness so strong that the act of participating in a dialogue on race causes enough discomfort to make it aversive to European-Americans? Is it that most European-Americans really are racist and their dislike for people of color keeps them from taking part in dialogues? Perhaps the norm of colorblindness is not so deeply rooted in European-Americans' consciousness and the expression of it can be manipulated by social pressures (Apfelbaum et al., 2008). If the norm to not talk about race is just a matter of social influences, is there a tipping point of some European-Americans starting to talk about race that suddenly signals to the majority of European-American people that talking about race is okay? Another hypothesis is that the fear of appearing racist is what keeps European-Americans from participating in racial dialogues. If having biases and prejudices was normalized and it was accepted that everyone has them, would this attenuate the fear enough that people would choose to participate? Based on these ideas, I have posed several specific research questions and possible ways to answer them.

Are European-American people less likely to participate in dialogues?

Are people of color more likely to sign up for voluntary racial dialogues than European-Americans? Would the European-Americans who did sign up for these dialogues be qualitatively different in some way than the European-Americans who did not? The first question can be answered with a simple survey that explains an intergroup or intragroup dialogue program on race and asks participants if they would participate. The race and ethnicity of those who said they would be interested in participating could be compared to those who did not. A further measure of participation could be tracking the people who actually show up to the dialogue.

Does the norm of colorblindness stop European-American people from taking part in racial dialogues?

Would the participants who endorsed colorblindness in the facial recognition game (Apfelbaum et al. 2008) be less likely to sign up for a racial dialogue? Researchers could examine whether there is a correlation between individuals who endorse more colorblind behavior and willingness to sign up for a dialogue about race. They could also investigate whether manipulating the norm of colorblindness increases or decreases individuals' likeliness to sign up for a dialogue on race.

Does racism keep European-Americans from participating in racial dialogues?

If European-Americans' racism is a barrier to them participating in racial dialogues one could assume that those who were less racist would be more likely to participate. There is, one might presume, a difference in overt racism and the implicit, below-consciousness racism that Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) describe as aversive racism. Do these different types of racism predict different levels of participation among European-American participants? Would implicit,

subtle expressions of racism predict one's willingness to sign up for a racial dialogue? Researchers could explore the difference between participants' stated racial beliefs and their implicit racial behaviors as investigated in Dovidio and Gaertner's work (2000). Those who have a greater discrepancy between their overt views and their implicit racial beliefs may be less inclined to participate in a dialogue on race.

Would manipulating the social norms about racial dialogue increase participation of European-American people?

If behaviors and beliefs about social norms are learned from our surrounding social groups (Sherif & Sherif, 1953), then setting a norm of participating in racial dialogues should increase participation of European-American people. If leaders or organizations with social influence on college campuses, like fraternities or sororities, began endorsing racial dialogues would more European-Americans willingly sign up to participate? To answer this question, researchers could conduct a study with two conditions, one in which a social norm of racial dialogue participation was set and a control group where no norm was set. In the treatment group several confederates could be in the same room as the participant and could be talking about being part of a dialogue group and endorsing its value. At some point later in the study, the participant could be asked if they would like information about a dialogue group or if they would be interested in participating in one. A simple ANOVA could show whether the social-normed condition had an effect on how many participants expressed interest in learning about a dialogue group or in actually attending one.

Is the motivation to not appear racist a barrier to racial dialogue participation?

The stakes for not appearing racist are arguably higher in today's society than they were in the past. Is the stigmatization of being a racist keeping European-Americans from

participating in dialogues for fear of being labeled racist? One way to test this hypothesis would

be to set a norm that asserts that having biases is normal. Participants could be given a flyer that

explained that all people have biases and prejudices and that the fear of exposing these biases is

something all people experience. Those participants who received this flyer would be compared

to those who did not to determine if there was a difference in those who signed up for a racial

dialogue.

Another way to test this hypothesis would be to describe two different dialogue groups.

One could use strong, condemning language that would set a norm of stigmatizing prejudice and

racism. The description may present the group as having the purpose of fighting racism and the

evils of prejudice. The other group could be presented in a way to normalize biases and

prejudices and could present itself as a place to be open and honest and explore one's ingrained

biases and prejudices in a safe environment. The risk with a study like this is that if it is not done

carefully, normalizing biases and prejudices could be interpreted by some participants as an

endorsement of being biased and prejudiced. There would need to be care taken in the way it

was worded so as not to be an encouragement of racist attitudes but rather a non-judgmental tone

in exploring our human imperfections related to race relations.

Mediating effect of previous contact experiences

The mediating effects of previous contact experience on European-Americans' level of

interest in participating in an intergroup dialogue could be studied by including a measure in

each of the above research designs to assess whether degree and quality of previous contact with

people of color had an effect on whether participants signed up for a dialogue group or not.

Current Study

Previous research from diverse fields suggests that European-American participants in racial dialogues are inclined to act in avoidant ways. However, I was unable to find any empirical study that directly tested this specific hypothesis, despite evidence reviewed above that suggests that European-Americans are likely to avoid racial discussions. In addition, the research suggests many reasons why European-Americans may be avoidant of racial issues and also gives direct examples and support of this avoidant behavior. The direct implications of this for dialogues on race, however, has never directly been studied. The most extensive research project done to date on intergroup dialogue groups is with participants who willingly signed-up for a course on racial dialogues (MIGR study; Gurin et al., 2013). Thus, no research has been done on those participants who did not self-select for such a group. One can imagine that the European-American participants in the MIGR study are qualitatively different from the majority of the European-American population who has been shown to exhibit avoidant or dismissive behavior about racial topics. Dialogues are an important venue to educate those from the privileged group and break-down racial barriers, yet it is necessary to have the participation of both social groups – the privileged and the oppressed – for the positive effects of the dialogue to take hold.

D.W. Sue has compiled a list of helpful strategies for facilitating a classroom discussion on race based off his qualitative research (Sue, 2013). The suggested practices address many of the hypothesized fears and barriers that impede European-Americans from fully participating in these dialogues. These suggestions are also reflected in best practices for facilitating classroom discussion on race that are espoused by the field of education. Although these practices are supported by qualitative research in both counseling psychology and education, I was not able to find any quantitative studies that systematically looked at the effectiveness of these practices.

The field of education has generated different classroom strategies that teachers can use to facilitate dialogues on race. The research that has been done to date on strategies for facilitating a racial dialogue are largely qualitative in nature (e.g., Sue, 2013; Quaye, 2014). Some of the suggestions for facilitators of these discussions that have been posited by D.W. Sue (2013) include acknowledging one's own racial biases, controlling the process but not the content of the dialogue, giving verbal validation to students who make themselves vulnerable and teaching others to be open to racial blunders. In the book and classroom resource, *Courageous Conversations*, other suggestions for facilitating dialogues in the classroom are given such as laying "ground-rules" for racial dialogues in classrooms (Singleton & Linton, 2005). Implicit in these ground rules are many of the suggestions that Sue's research found to be helpful in facilitating productive dialogues. These ground-rules also directly address many of the factors discussed above that may contribute to European-American individuals' avoidance of race such as being taught by society not to discuss race and the subsequent discomfort and anxiety that arises when the topic of race is broached in a conversation.

The current study aims to investigate whether these proposed strategies for facilitating racial dialogues actually do increase European-American participants' willingness to participate. This study also looks to address what effect, if any, the racial make-up of the group has on European-American participants' level of participation and willingness to share in the group. Such research has important long-term repercussions for the future of intergroup dialogue research and race relations in the USA at large. Given the findings from previous research of the antecedents of European-Americans' avoidant behavior regarding race, I have proposed a set of hypotheses, which are described below.

Hypotheses

Participants will read a vignette about a racial dialogue in which they will imagine themselves as a group member. In some of the vignettes the facilitator will structure the dialogue using the "ground-rules" from the text, *Courageous Conversations* (structured condition) and in the other vignettes the facilitator will merely introduce the conversation topic (not-structured condition). The vignettes will depict a mixed-race group (intergroup) or an all- European-American group (intragroup). The participants will be asked to share their honest reactions to the conversation topics and then asked to rate how likely they would be to actually share their honest thoughts with the group. They will also rate the likelihood of responding to the discussion with hypothetical responses including: remaining silent, providing a response that is not in support of the Black Lives Matter movement or minority-only scholarships, and providing a response that supports the Black Lives Matter movement or the existence of minority-only scholarships. They will then rate the degree to which they would be (a) likely to sign up for a group like the one depicted and (b) whether they would like to receive information (yes or no) about groups like this that take place on campus.

Set 1: Hypothetical Responses to a Vignette of a Racial Dialogue

H₁: Dialogue structure. Participants reading a vignette where the facilitator provides structured guidelines (structured condition) will report being (a) more likely to share their honest thoughts with the group, (b) less likely to remain silent, and (c) more likely to endorse a pre-scripted response that reflects their beliefs about Black Lives Matter and minority-only scholarships compared to participants in the not-structured condition.

H₂: Racial make-up. Participants reading a vignette that describes an intragroup dialogue—one that includes all European-American participants—will report being (a) more

likely to share their honest thoughts, (b) less likely to remain silent, and (c) more likely to endorse a pre-scripted response that reflects their beliefs about Black Lives Matter and minority-only scholarships compared to participants in the mixed-race group condition (intergroup condition).

H₃: Dialogue structure by racial make-up interaction. Participants reading a vignette where the facilitator provides structure (structured condition) *and* describes an intragroup dialogue (all- European-American group) will report being (a) more likely to share their honest thoughts with the group, (b) less likely to remain silent, and (c) more likely to endorse a pre-scripted response that reflects their beliefs about Black Lives Matter and minority-only scholarships compared to participants in the not-structured and intergroup condition.

Set 2: Vignette Outcome Responses

H₄: Dialogue structure. Participants reading a vignette where the facilitator provides structured guidelines (structured condition) will (a) be more likely to sign up for a group like the one depicted, and (b) be more likely to indicate that they would like to receive information (yes or no) about groups like the one depicted that take place on campus.

H₅: Racial make-up. Participants reading a vignette that describes an intragroup dialogue—one that includes all European-American participants— will (a) be more likely to sign up for a group like the one depicted, and (b) be more likely to indicate that they would like to receive information (yes or no) about similar groups on campus than participants in the intergroup (mixed-race) condition.

H₆: Dialogue structure by racial make-up interaction. Participants reading a vignette where the facilitator provides structure (structured condition) *and* describes an intragroup dialogue (all- European-American group) will (a) be more likely to sign up for a group like the

one depicted, and (b) be more likely to indicate that they would like to receive information (yes or no) about groups like the one depicted than participants in the not-structured, mixed-race condition.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Pilot Testing

I conducted two rounds of pilot testing prior to the data collection for the main study to assess the quality of the vignette conditions. The first round of pilot testing was to affirm that the structured and not-structured dialogue vignettes were perceived as believable by participants and did not differ significantly in their level of believability across the two conditions. The second round of pilot testing was to assess whether participants perceived a significant difference in level of structuring between the structured and not-structured vignettes. I collected all pilot data using Mechanical Turk (MTurk), a crowdsourcing platform managed by Amazon whose purpose is to connect researchers with participants across the country.

Participants and procedures for round 1 of pilot testing

A total of 135 participants engaged in the first round of pilot testing. Of those, 38 participants did not finish the full survey, so their data were not used in the analysis. There were an additional 28 participants who either did not specify their race or identified as belonging to a racial/ethnic group that was not Caucasian or European-American from the United States. The data from these participants were also not used, leaving a total of 69 participants for the final analysis. The mean age of respondents was 25.12 years old (SD=5.23). The youngest respondent was 18 years old and the oldest was 41 years old. The respondents were from across the United States.

The participants read a randomly-assigned vignette of either the structured or not-structured dialogue including the conversation prompts about both Black Lives Matter and minority-only scholarships. The only difference between these vignettes and the ones that were

used for the main study is that the racial make-up of the group was not mentioned in the pilot study. After reading the vignette participants answered an item asking to what degree the scenario was believable on a Likert-scale of 1 (*extremely unbelievable)* to 9 (*extremely believable).*

I conducted an independent-samples t-test with structure of dialogue (structured vs. not-structured) as the independent variable and 'level of believability' as the dependent variable. The t-test was not significant t (67) = .82, p =.42 indicating that the two dialogue conditions are equally believable as hypothetical scenarios. On average, participants rated the structured dialogue (M = 7.23, SD = 1.94) and not-structured dialogues (M = 7.58, SD = 1.65) less than two points below 'extremely believable'.

Participants and procedures for round 2 of pilot testing

There were originally 118 participants in the original dataset for the second round of pilot testing. Of those, 16 participants did not finish the survey and were not included in the final analysis. There were 19 participants who either did not specify their race or identified as being a race other than European-American or Caucasian from the United States. There were 83 participants remaining who were used in the final analysis. The mean age of respondents was 25.08 years of age (*SD*=5.88). Participants ranged from 18 to 47 years old. Participants were all located in the United States.

The participants were randomly assigned to either the structured dialogue condition or the not-structured dialogue condition. The racial make-up of the dialogue groups was not mentioned. Participants were then presented with the conversation prompt for the Black Lives Matter conversation condition. After reading the vignette participants were presented with the following item:

In some discussions a facilitator may provide guidelines or structure as a way to lay

ground rules for the conversation. Other facilitators may not provide any guidelines

besides presenting the topic to be discussed. In the scenario that you read, to what degree

did the facilitator provide guidelines or ground rules for the discussion (besides just

presenting the conversation topic)?

The item had a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (*instructor did not provide any guidelines besides*

presenting the topic) to 9 (*instructor gave a lot of detailed guidelines, rules or "agreements" for*

the discussion).

I conducted an independent-samples t-test with structure of dialogue (structured vs. not-

structured) as the independent variable. The dependent variable was the degree of structure the

participant perceived in the vignettes. Results indicate that the dialogue intended to be structured

was rated by participants as significantly more structured ($M = 6.28$, $SD = 2.58$) than the vignette

intended to be not-structured ($M = 3.92$, $SD = 2.16$), $t(100)=-5.01$, $p<.001$. It should be noted

that the not-structured condition was still perceived to be slightly structured. A mean of 3.92

suggests that participants perceived that the facilitator in the not-structured condition provided

"hardly any to a few" guidelines. Thus the condition is not perceived as totally unstructured, but

it is perceived as significantly less structured than the structured condition. This provides

evidence for validity of the vignettes that were used in the main study to manipulate the amount

of structure present in the dialogue.

Main Study

Participants

Initially, 294 undergraduate students from a large Midwestern university participated. Because this study was designed to understand European-American participants' behaviors in racial dialogues any participant who indicated a racial identity that was something other than non-Hispanic, European-American (or White) from the USA was excluded. There were 18 participants who were removed for identifying as belonging to a racial category other than European-American or Caucasian from the USA. An attention check was created to identify random responders or those participants who were not reading the questions closely. For the attention check an item was placed in the middle of the study that told participants to respond to the item by selecting "3". There were 18 participants who selected an answer other than "3" and were not included in the analyses. Another participant who identified as 37 years old, was removed for being more than five standard deviations above the mean age (*M*=19.21, *SD=1.49*). There was also one multivariate outlier who was more than five standard deviations from the mean Mahalnobis distance (*M*=8.96, *SD* = 5.96). This participant was also deleted. The remaining 256 participants were 49.6% male and 50.4% female. The majority of participants were first year undergraduates (47.7%), followed by sophomores (27.3%), juniors (15.8%), seniors (7.3%) and 1.9% did not answer the question.

Power analysis

I used the program G-power (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009) to find the necessary sample size to detect a medium effect for the F-test of a 2x2 ANCOVA with an interaction and three covariates. The analysis was conducted to account for two independent variables with power at .80 and an alpha level of .05. The suggested sample size for these

parameters according to G-power was 128 participants. I also conducted the same analysis to determine how many participants would be needed to detect a small effect. According to G-power, 787 participants would be required to detect a small effect given our chosen analysis. Therefore, the current study would be unlikely to detect a small effect, if one existed, but a sufficient size to detect an effect between small and medium.

Measures

Internal and External Motivations to Respond without Prejudice (IMS/EMS)

The Internal and External Motivations to Respond without Prejudice scales (IMS and EMS) are subscales of a 10-item instrument measuring individual's motivations to respond in non-prejudiced ways towards African-American people (Plant & Devine, 1998). The instrument has two separate scales that measure internal motivation to respond without prejudice and external motivation to respond without prejudice. Both scales have 5-items that are rated on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strong disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*). IMS scores are meant to represent the degree to which one has internalized a value of not being prejudiced that is central to one's self concept. An example IMS item is, "I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me," (Plant & Devine, 1998, p. 830). High scores on the IMS predict less prejudiced beliefs, as well as more positive outcome expectancies for interracial interactions, and less desire to avoid interracial interactions (Plant, 2004). Scores on the EMS represent the degree to which one feels pressure from outside sources to not appear prejudiced. An example EMS item is, "Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people," (Plant & Devine 1998, p. 830). High scores on the EMS are slightly correlated with measures of prejudiced attitudes. EMS scores are also only slightly correlated with social evaluation scores suggesting that the scale captures a distinct

construct of concern over appearing prejudiced as opposed to a general anxiety about how one is socially evaluated (Plant, 2004). Apfelbaum et al (2008) found that high scores on the EMS were correlated with lower use of racial descriptors in a facial recognition game. Reliability of the IMS and EMS is acceptable with alpha levels ranging from .76 to .85 (Plant & Devine, 1998). The Cronbach's alpha for the EMS and IMS with the current sample was .72 and .86 respectively.

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS)

The Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) is a 20-item instrument measuring individuals' levels of color-blind racial attitudes (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). The authors of the scale contend that color-blind racial attitudes are conceptually different from racism. They argue that endorsing color-blind racial attitudes does not imply that one has negative attitudes towards people of color, but rather holds a distorted view of racial and ethnic minorities as well as race-relations in the U.S. (Neville, et al. 2000).

The CoBRAS has a three factor structure allowing it to be calculated as a total score or broken into three sub-scales: Racial Privilege, Institutional Discrimination and Blatant Racial Issues. The first factor, Racial Privilege, consists of 7 items. A factor analysis conducted by the authors of the scale found that it accounted for 31% of the variance (Neville, et al. 2000). An example of an item that in this factor is, "White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin," (Neville, et al. 2000, p. 63). The second factor, Institutional Discrimination, consists of seven items and accounts for 8% of the variance. An example of an item from this factor is, "Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people," (Neville, et al. 2000, p. 63). The third factor, Blatant Racial Issues, was found to account for an additional 6% of the variance. The subscale consists of 6 items. An example of

an item from this sub-scale is, "Social problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations," (Neville, et al, 2000, p. 63). The items are rated on a Likert-scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 7 (*strongly agree).*

The authors looked at correlations between the CoBRAS factors and the Global Belief in a Just World Scale (GBJWS) and the Multidimensional Belief in a Just World Scale (MBJWS). The authors argue that there is a conceptual link between colorblind racial attitudes and a belief in a just world as both represent a lack of awareness of the negative facets of society. Both attitudes would also tend to put the blame on individuals for their circumstances as opposed to acknowledge the role that social structures play in people's misfortunes. The authors argue that the finding that the CoBRAS was significantly positively related to both these scales serves as support for its concurrent validity. The CoBRAS was also found to be related to other measures of discrimination and racism, serving as further support for its concurrent validity. Discriminant validity was established, the authors contend, by the finding that social desirability was not significantly related to any of the factors of the scale. The 2-week test-retest reliability estimate for two of the factors was .80 (Racial Privilege and Institutional Discrimination) while it was only .34 for Blatant Racial Issues. The reliability estimate for the total scale was .68. The Guttman split-half reliability estimate when the authors tested it was .72. The Cronbach's alpha for the scale, which was used for this study, with the current sample was .90.

Positive Previous Experience with African Americans

Positive Previous Experience with African-Americans is a 3-item sub-scale that was written by Plant and Devine (2003). The items are rated on a Likert scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree).* An example item from this scale is, "Over the course of my life, I have had many friends who are Black" (Plant & Devine, p. 800). The sub-scale was written to

analyze the relationship between previous experiences with African-Americans and interracial anxiety. The authors found that it was related to interracial anxiety as well as outcome expectancies for interracial interactions in a sample of European-American participants. The authors found it to have an internal reliability measure of .79. The Cronbach's alpha for the scale used for this study, with the current sample was .65.

Crowne & Marlowe Social Desirability Scale – Short

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (SDS) was developed as a means to detect respondents who answered surveys in socially desirable ways (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). The original scale contains 33 true-false items asking about the occurrence of socially desirable behaviors that in reality have a very low occurrence rate. If scores on the SDS are found to correlate with other surveys, the results of the other, correlated surveys should be interpreted with caution as the respondent may not be answering the items in an honest and straightforward manner. The length of the original measure has been cited as an issue and several short forms have been published since the original was introduced. Fischer and Fick (1993) did an analysis of several of the short forms to compare them to one another as well as the original scale. The short form used for this study was developed by Strahan and Gerbasi (1972) and includes 6 items taken from the original scale. It was found to have not as high an alpha as the original form but the authors still found it to have a reasonable fit of .76. The Cronbach's alpha for the scale which was used for this study, with the current sample was .58.

Demographic items

The demographic items: race/ethnicity, gender, age, year in school, religious affiliation and marital status were collected using open-ended text boxes.

Vignette response items

Participants shared their reactions and thoughts to the two conversation prompts in open-ended text boxes. Following the vignettes, participants read the following prompt: "Take a moment and imagine this scene and what you might initially think/feel. If you were completely honest, what are your uncensored thoughts/feelings about the 'Black Lives Matter' movement (or minority-only scholarships)?" These items (one for Black Lives Matter and one for minority-only scholarships) were then followed by an item that asked participants to rate how likely they would be to actually share their thoughts with the group. Participants rated how likely they would be to share their thoughts on a 1 (*extremely unlikely)* to 9 (*extremely likely)* Likert scale. There were also six items that presented hypothetical responses to the two conversation topics presented in the vignette and the individual was asked to rate how likely it is that they would respond in that way. Each item was measured by a Likert scale asking the participant to rate the degree to which they would be likely to say or do the presented scenario; the Likert scale ranges from 1 (*extremely unlikely)* to 9 (*extremely likely say this).* The first item presented after each conversation topic represented an avoidant response in which the person does not participate in the discussion. It says, "You remain silent and wait for others to pick up the conversation." The second item represented a negation of either the Black Lives Matter movement or minority-only scholarships. The item following the Black Lives Matter conversation prompt was:

It feels kind of racist towards White people that they are saying "Black Lives Matter" and not including other races as well. I think it should be "All Lives Matter".

The item following the 'minority-only scholarships' conversation prompt was:

I think that all scholarships and financial aid should be based on merit (what an individual does or achieves), financial need, and not the color of someone's skin.

The third item presented after the conversation prompt represented an endorsement of either the

Black Lives Matter movement or minority-only scholarships. The item following the Black

Lives Matter conversation prompt was:

> I think it's important that there is a movement like this to raise awareness of the racial
>
> issues in this country. I think people probably do have knee-jerk reactions to people of
>
> other races and we need to start addressing this or at least talking about it.

The item following the 'minority-only scholarships' conversation prompt was:

> I think that people of color, in general, have more obstacles getting ahead than White

people and minority-specific scholarships are an important way to help even the playing field.

Vignette outcome items

 Two items were used to assess different reactions to the vignettes. The first item asks

participants how likely they would be, on a 1 (*extremely unlikely)* to 9 (*extremely likely)* Likert

scale, to sign-up to be part of a dialogue group like the one presented. The second item asked

participants whether they would like to receive information about racial dialogue groups that

take place on campus. Participants could choose either yes or no.

<div align="center">

Procedures

</div>

Participants enrolled in psychology and communications classes signed up for this study

through the SONA system, the online platform used to recruit undergraduate students for

research projects. All participants were offered alternative methods for receiving class credit to

ensure that their participation was voluntary. Participants signed up for and completed the study

online. Upon reading the informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to one of four

vignette conditions (see below). After reading the vignette the participant completed items that

assess their likelihood of responding in particular ways if they participated in that group (see

Measures section). After reading the vignette and completing the items corresponding to the

vignette, the participants completed the rest of the questionnaires. After completing these, the

participants received a debriefing form and received credit for their participation. The university

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved the study procedures (see Appendix B for a copy of

the IRB approval).

Vignette conditions

Participants read a vignette about a racial dialogue in which they imagined themselves as

a group member. The vignettes varied along two factors: structure of the dialogue and race of

the dialogue group members. This yielded a 2 (dialogue structure: structure vs. not-structured) x

2 (racial make-up of group: all- European-American vs. mixed-race) between-subjects design.

The introduction to the vignette explained that the dialogue group was either mixed-race and

included both African-American and European-American participants (an intergroup dialogue)

or was an all- European-American group (an intragroup dialogue). Then participants read the

vignettes and answered questions about them. In the structured condition, the facilitator

introduced the "ground-rules" taken from the text, *Courageous Conversations,* before

introducing the conversation topic (Singleton & Linton, 2011). In the 'not-structured' condition

the facilitator introduced the conversation topic without providing any ground-rules. The two

conversation topics included the Black Lives Matter movement and minority-only scholarships

at the participants' home university. The conversation topics were presented in random order to

each participant. For specific wording of each condition, please see Appendix A.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Missing values

All study questions and survey items were programmed with a forced-choice option, meaning participants could not continue onto the next page of the questionnaires if they had left a question blank. Thus, there were no missing values because participants left items blank; however, participants were able to choose a 'prefer not to answer' option for each question. Items that were marked 'prefer not to answer' were coded as missing data. Of the total sample, 18.8% ($N = 48$) chose 'prefer not to answer' for at least one item. Across all the data collected this accounted for less than 1% of the total data pool. Pairwise deletion was used for participants who had more than 20% of items for a particular scale coded as 'prefer not to answer' per recommendations by previous researchers (Schlomer, Bauman, & Card, 2010). This resulted in a total of 8 cases being deleted across two different covariate variables. For those questionnaires that had some missing data, but less than 20%, the mean of the other items on that particular scale were imputed to account for the missing item.

Descriptives and correlations

To describe the data, I created a table that displays the minimum and maximum values, means, and standard deviations of all continuous study variables. Frequencies were conducted for the one dichotomous dependent variable (see Table 1).

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of All Dependent Variables and Covariates

Item	*n*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Range*
CoBRAS	256	3.7	1.1	1.05 - 7
EMS	251	5.5	1.7	1 - 9
Positive Previous Experiences with African Americans	253	6.9	1.5	1.67 - 9
Likeliness to Share (BLM)	254	6.4	2.5	1 - 9
Likeliness to remain silent (BLM)	255	5.6	2.4	1 - 9
Likeliness to respond with anti-BLM comment	254	5.8	2.7	1 - 9
Likeliness to respond with pro-BLM comment	255	6.2	2.2	1 - 9
Likeliness to Share (MOS)	255	6.4	2.3	1 - 9
Likeliness to remain silent (MOS)	255	5.8	2.3	1 - 9
Likeliness to respond with anti-MOS comment	255	6.3	2.4	1 - 9
Likeliness to respond with pro-MOS comment	254	5.7	2.5	1 - 9
Likelihood to sign-up for similar group on campus	254	4.4	2.4	1 - 9
Interest in receiving information about similar groups	256	204 (no) 40 (yes) 12 (preferred not to answer)		

Note. CoBRAS = Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale. EMS = External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Scale. BLM = Black Lives Matter. MOS = minority-only scholarship. Likeliness to Share (BLM and MOS) refers to the two variables that measured participants' likeliness to share their honest thoughts in each conversation topic. Likeliness to remain silent (BLM and MOS) refers to the two variables that measured participant's likeliness to not say anything in each conversation topic. Likeliness to respond with a pro-BLM or MOS comment refers to the two variables that measured participants' likeliness to endorse a comment that was pro-BLM or pro-MOS. Likeliness to respond with an anti-BLM or MOS comment refers to the two variables that measured participants' likeliness to endorse a comment that was against BLM or MOS.

I also created a correlation table with all main study variables (see Table 2). The

correlation table shows that the measure of social desirability was not significantly correlated

with the majority of the study variables. It was, however, found to be significantly correlated to two outcome variables in the minority-only scholarship condition ('likeliness to share' and 'likeliness to endorse a pro-MOS comment'). The correlations were both small ($r<-.15$; Cohen, 1992) but significant at the $p=.05$ threshold.   As a result, this variable was included in a preliminary MANCOVA for the MOS outcome items to assess whether it was necessary to control for it as a covariate in this conversation condition (see the *Primary Analyses* section for more on this). In addition, the correlation table provides initial evidence that several potential covariates might exist: positive prior experiences with African Americans, external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS) and colorblindness. All of these variables are significantly correlated with the outcome variables shown. Many of them are also related to each other. To determine which of these were uniquely related to the outcomes and therefore most useful as covariates in the primary analyses, I conducted one linear regression analysis using these potential covariates as predictor variables and likeliness to share honest thoughts in response to the BLM dialogue as the dependent variable. This was chosen for the dependent variable because it was one of the primary outcomes of choice and also was one of the most difficult to endorse. Results of this analysis indicated that positive previous experiences with African-Americans, EMS and colorblindness all significantly and uniquely predicted the likeliness to share during the BLM dialogue. Therefore, these three variables were used as covariates in all of the primary analyses so that there was continuity across the analyses.

Table 2

Correlations of All Dependent Variables and Covariates

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.Positive Previous Experience with African-Americans														
2.IMS	.42**													
3.EMS	-.08	.03												
4.CoBRAS	-.26*	-.50**	.15*											
5.Social Desirability	-.10	.07	.06	.05										
6.Likeliness to share (BLM)	.24**	.12	-.29**	-.29**	-.06									
7.Likeliness to remain silent (BLM)	-.15*	-.07	.25**	.12*	-.04	-.57**								
8. Likeliness to respond with anti-BLM response	.07	-.01	-.10	.00	-.09	.33**	-.29**							
9. Likeliness to respond with pro-BLM response	.31**	.26**	-.11	-.40**	-.10	.54**	-.37**	.38**						
10.Likeliness to share (MOS)	.12	.05	-.19**	-.11	-.14*	.49**	-.37**	.41**	.45**					
11.Likeliness to remain silent (MOS)	-.10	.02	.23**	.01	.05	-.32**	.52**	-.19**	-.26**	-.49**				
12. Likeliness to respond with anti-MOS response	.05	.05	-.05	.11	-.07	.37**	-.29**	.35**	.27**	.47**	-.36**			

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
13. Likeliness to respond with pro-MOS response	.19**	.09	-.25**	-.28**	-.14*	.49**	-.39**	.32**	.44**	.52**	-.44**	.45**		
14. Likelihood to sign-up for similar group	.22**	.15*	-.16*	-.29**	-.03	.49**	-.35**	.24**	.39**	.38**	-.32**	.26**	.44**	
15. Interest in receiving information about similar group	.16*	.23**	-.06	-.33**	.06	.23**	-.21**	.09	.29**	.28**	-.13*	.18**	.22**	.46**

Note. IMS = Internal Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Scale; EMS = External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Scale; CoBRAS = Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale.

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

Randomization of conversation topics

      All participants read two conversation vignettes, one about Black Lives Matter (BLM) and one about minority-only scholarships (MOS). The online survey software presented these conversations to participants in random order. To test for differences in the outcome variables due to the order in which participants read the conversation topics, I conducted independent samples t-tests on all outcome variables. For the outcome variables related to the BLM conversation topic (likelihood of sharing honest thoughts, likelihood of remaining silent, likelihood of sharing a response that endorsed or did not endorse BLM) there was no difference on any of the variables between those participants who read the BLM topic first compared to those who read the MOS topic first (see Table 3).

Table 3

Effects of Conversation Topic Order on Dialogue Outcome Variables

	Outcomes	Groups (Condition)						*t*	*p*
		BLM first			BLM second				
		M	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*N*		
	Likeliness to share	6.4	2.5	126	6.4	2.6	128	.14	.88
	Likeliness to remain silent	5.7	2.3	127	5.6	2.5	128	.43	.67
BLM	Likeliness to respond with anti-BLM comment	5.7	2.7	127	5.9	2.7	127	-.35	.73
	Likeliness to respond with pro-BLM comment	6.3	2.2	127	6.2	2.3	128	.34	.73
	Likeliness to share	6.7	2.2	126	6.0	2.4	129	2.38	.018*
	Likeliness to remain silent	5.3	2.3	126	6.2	2.1	129	-3.23	.001**
	Likeliness to respond with anti-MOS comment	6.6	2.2	126	6.0	2.5	129	2.01	.045*
MOS	Likeliness to respond with pro-MOS comment	5.9	2.4	125	5.6	2.5	129	1.09	.276

Note. *p≤.05. ** *p≤.001.

However, there were differences in the MOS outcome variables depending on the order that participants read the conversation topics. Participants who read the MOS conversation second were more likely to share their honest thoughts about minority-only scholarships with the group than those who read it first. They were also less likely to remain silent than those who read it first, and more likely to share a response that was anti-MOS than those participants who read the MOS conversation first.[1]

Primary Analyses

Hypothesis set 1: Hypothetical responses to vignettes of racial dialogues

To examine the hypotheses in set one, I conducted two multivariate analyses of covariance (MANCOVA), one analyzing responses to the Black Lives Matter vignette and one analyzing the responses to the minority-only scholarships. In both MANCOVAs I used the same independent variables, namely, level of structuring provided by the facilitator (structure vs. not-structured), racial make-up of the group (all- European-American or mixed-race) and their interaction. Dependent variables included participants': likeliness to share their honest thoughts, likeliness to remain silent, and likeliness to endorse two pre-scripted responses that reflected one pro and one con view on Black Lives Matter and minority-only scholarships. Given the level of significance and unique variance explained in predicting participants' likeliness to share their honest thoughts, participants' levels of colorblindness, external motivation to respond without

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[1]I ran the MANCOVA for the main analyses with 'topic order' included as an independent variable. The results showed that this variable had no other significant main effect or interaction effect in either model (BLM or MOS) besides the main effect we found for the 'MOS' outcome variables, therefore we did not include it as an independent variable in the main analyses.

prejudice and positive prior experiences with African Americans were used as covariates. Prior

to conducting these analyses I assessed whether the data met the assumptions of MANCOVA. [2]

Assumptions of MANCOVA. The data were screened for violations of MANCOVA

including normality, homogeneity of variance-covariance, univariate and multivariate outliers,

linearity, and multicollinearity (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). An examination of the histogram

for each dependent variable shows that several of the variables may be skewed. The Shapiro-

Wilkes test for each dependent variable supported the finding that the assumption of normality

may have been violated in this sample. Univariate *F*, however, has been reported to be robust to

modest violations of normality as long as there are at least 20 degrees of freedom for error

(Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). A visual analysis of the histograms of each dependent variable

also shows that there is a range of answers across each item, so although there is some skewness,

there does not appear to be a floor or ceiling effect. An examination of Box's Test of Equality of

Covariance Matrices shows a nonsignificant result (*p*>.05) indicating that the covariance of the

dependent variables are equal across groups. With this in consideration we argue that it is still

appropriate to analyze and interpret the data. There was a significant result for two outcome

variables on Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances; however, despite the significant

difference, the magnitude of the differences in the standard deviations between groups were

modest. Therefore we decided to continue with data analysis. An examination of the

Mahalanobis distance of cases revealed one significant multivariate outlier (*p*<.001), which was

removed from the sample. An analysis of the matrix scatterplot demonstrated that there was no

curvilinear relationship between variables, therefore the assumption of linearity appears to be

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[2] Given the significant correlation of the social desirability scale with two of the outcome variables in the MOS condition, I included social desirability as a covariate in the MOS MANCOVA. It was not a significant predictor in the full model for this conversation topic, therefore I did not include it in the main analyses reported above.

met. An analysis of the bivariate correlations between all dependent, independent and covariate variables reveals that most variables are significantly related but are not so high that multicollinearity is a threat (all $r's < .50$).

H₁: In this hypothesis, I predicted that participants in the structured dialogue group would be: more likely to share their honest thoughts with the group for each of the conversation topics, less likely to remain silent in each of the conversation topics, and more likely to endorse a pre-scripted response that is for or against Black Lives Matter and minority-only scholarships.

The MANCOVA that was conducted for the Black Lives Matter conversation topic showed no main effect for structure, Wilk's $\Lambda = .988$, $F (4, 235) = .694$, $p = .596$, $\eta^2 = .012$. There was also no main effect for structure in the conversation condition of minority-only scholarships, Wilk's $\Lambda = .987$, $F (4, 237) = .792$, $p = .531$, $\eta^2 = .013$. Contrary to my hypotheses, structure of the dialogue did not have an effect on the outcome variables in either of the conversation topics.

H₂: I predicted that participants reading a vignette that describes an intragroup (all-European-American) dialogue would report being: more likely to share their honest thoughts with the group for each conversation topic, less likely to remain silent for each of the conversation topics, and more likely to endorse two pre-scripted responses that reflected their views on Black Lives Matter and minority-only scholarships.

The MANCOVA for the Black Lives Matter conversation topic showed no main effect for racial make-up of the dialogue, Wilk's $\Lambda = .975$, $F (4, 235) = 1.480$, $p = .209$, $\eta^2 = .025$. The MANCOVA conducted for the minority-only scholarship conversation condition also showed no main effect for racial make-up of the dialogue, Wilk's $\Lambda = .989$, $F (4, 237) = .627$, $p = .627$, η^2

=.011. Contrary to my hypothesis, being in an all- European-American dialogue group did not have a significant effect on any of the outcome variables in either of the conversation topics.

H3: In hypothesis 3, I predicted that the interaction between structure and racial make-up of the group would affect the participants' responses, such that participants in the intragroup dialogue (all- European-American group) in which the facilitator provides structure (structured condition) would: report being more likely to share their honest thoughts with the group for each conversation topic, less likely to remain silent for each of the conversation topics, and more likely to endorse two pre-scripted responses that reflected their views on Black Lives Matter and minority-only scholarships.

The MANCOVA for the Black Lives Matter conversation topic revealed a significant interaction between structure of group and racial make-up of the group, Wilk's Λ = .959, F(4, 235) = 2.509, p = .043, η^2 =.041. The interaction was not significant for the conversation topic of minority-only scholarships, Wilk's Λ = .984, F (4, 237) = .934, p = .445, η^2 =.016.

To further examine the impact of the interaction term on each of the dependent variables for the Black Lives Matter condition, I looked at each of the individual outcome items separately. The effect of the interaction term for 'likeliness to share' in the Black Lives Matter conversation was significant, F (1, 238) = 7.122, p=.008, η^2 =.029. There was also a significant effect of the interaction term on likelihood to respond in a way that is in support of Black Lives Matter, F (1, 238) = 7.066, p =.008, η^2 =.029. In contrast, there was not a significant effect of the interaction term for either 'likeliness to remain silent' in the Black Lives Matter conversation, F (1, 238) = 1.198, p = .275, η^2 =.005, or for responding in a way that was against Black Lives Matter, F (1, 238) = 1.034, p =.31, η^2 =.004.

Figure 1 illustrates the interaction term for participants' reported likeliness to share their honest thoughts in the Black Lives Matter conversation. I hypothesized that there would be a significant interaction between the structure of the group and the racial make-up of the group such that those in the structured, all- European-American group would report being the most likely to share compared to the other three groups. The actual interaction, however, was

Structure of Group

Figure 1. Interaction of structure of dialogue group and racial make-up of dialogue group on participants' likeliness to share their honest thoughts in the Black Lives Matter conversation condition.

in the opposite direction of what I hypothesized. Participants in the structured, mixed-race group reported being more likely to share their honest thoughts (M_{adj} = 6.95, SD = 4.54) than those in the not-structured, mixed race group (M_{adj} = 6.04, SD = 4.71), ΔM = .91, 95% CI of ΔM[.09, 1.73], p = .03. Participants in the structured, mixed-race group also reported being more likely to share their honest thoughts than participants in the structured, all- European-American group (M_{adj} = 5.87, SD = 4.64), ΔM = 1.08, 95% CI of ΔM[.26, 1.89], p = .01. Participants in the not-

structured, all- European-American group (M_{adj} = 6.58, SD = 4.60) were no more or less likely to share their honest thoughts than the other conditions.

The interaction also had a significant effect on participants' reported likelihood to respond with a comment that was in support of Black Lives Matter (see Figure 2). The interaction was in the same direction as the 'likeliness to share honest thoughts' variable. The group with the highest estimated marginal mean for likeliness to respond with a pro-BLM comment was the structured, mixed-race group (M_{adj} = 6.59, SD = 3.89). This group was
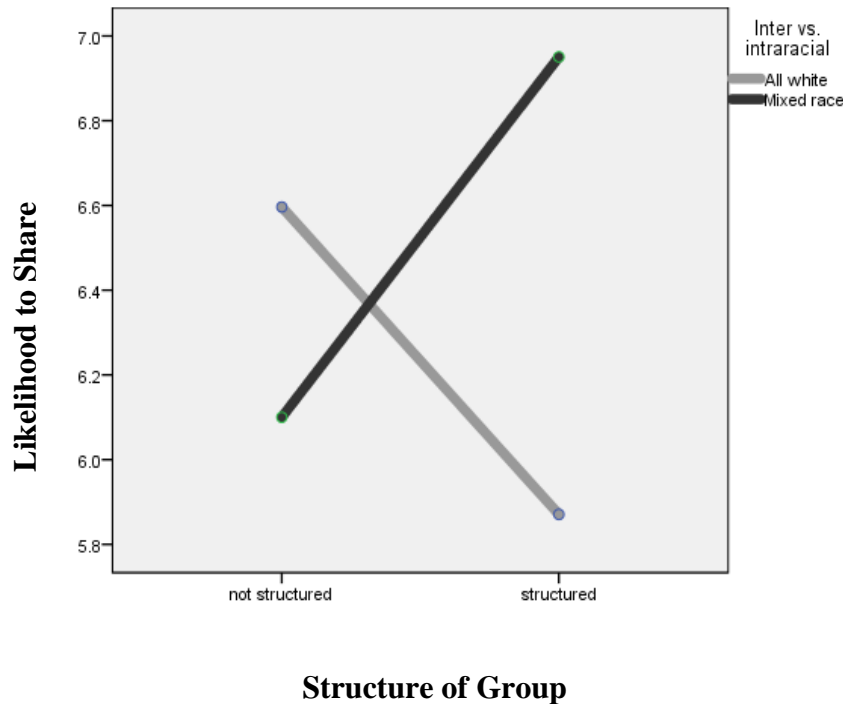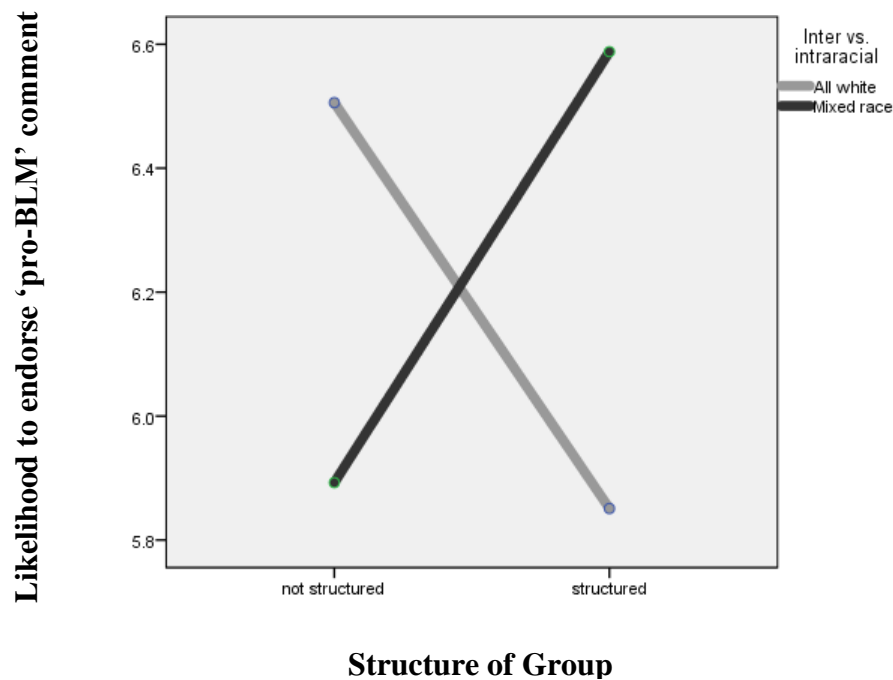

Figure 2. Interaction of structure of dialogue group and racial make-up of dialogue group on participants' likeliness to endorse a pro-BLM comment.

approaching significance for being more likely to respond with a pro-BLM comment than those in the not-structured, mixed-race group (M_{adj} = 5.89, SD = 4.07), ΔM = .69, 95% CI of ΔM[-.01, 1.40], p = .053. Participants in the structured, mixed-race group were also more likely to respond with a pro-BLM comment than those in the structured, all- European-American group

(M_{adj} = 5.87, SD = 3.94), ΔM = .71, 95% CI of ΔM[.01, 1.41], p = .046. Participants in the not-structured, all- European-American group (M_{adj} = 6.58, SD = 4.60) were no more or less likely to endorse a pro-BLM comment than those in the other groups.

Hypothesis set 2: Vignette outcome responses

For the second set of hypotheses I used two different statistical analyses to examine the outcome variables. I conducted an ANCOVA with participants' level of colorblindness, external motivation to respond without prejudice, and past positive experiences with African Americans as covariates. The independent variables were structure of the group (structured vs. not-structured) and racial make-up of the group (all- European-American vs. mixed-race). The dependent variable was participants' reported likelihood to sign up for a group similar to the one presented taking place on campus. To examine the second outcome variable, I conducted a logistic regression with the same independent variables and the dependent variable of participant's likeliness to indicate that they would like to receive information (yes or no) about groups like the one depicted taking place on campus.

H₄: I predicted that participants in the structured dialogue group would report being more likely to sign up for a group like the one depicted and more likely to indicate that they would like to receive information (yes or no) about groups like the one depicted that take place on campus. As predicted, the ANCOVA showed that there was a significant main effect for structure on 'likeliness to sign up for a similar group', F (1, 239) = 5.712, p = .018, η^2 = .023 (see Table 4). Participants in the structured condition reported greater likeliness to sign up for a similar group (M_{adj} = 4.8, SD = 0.2, n = 125) than those in the not-structured condition (M_{adj} = 4.1, SD = 0.2, n = 121). Thus, my hypothesis was supported.

In contrast, my hypothesis that participants in the structured dialogue group would be more likely to indicate that they would like to receive information (yes or no) about similar groups on campus was not supported. Although the overall model was significant, Negelkerke $R^2 = .19$, $\chi^2 = 29.02$, $p < .001$, the logistic regression indicated that after controlling for covariates, structure of the dialogue did not significantly increase participants' desire to receive more information ($\beta = -.03$, $SE = .58$, Wald (1) $= .002$, $p = .96$, Exp (B) $= .98$).

H$_5$: I predicted that participants reading a vignette that describes an intragroup dialogue—an all- European-American group—would report being more likely to sign up for a group like the one depicted and be more likely to indicate that they would like to receive information (yes or no) about groups like the one depicted that take place on campus. The results of the ANCOVA showed that there was no main effect for racial make-up of the dialogue group on 'likeliness to sign up for a similar group', F (1, 239) $= .86$, $p = .35$, $\eta^2 = .004$. Thus, my hypothesis that racial make-up of the dialogue group would have a significant effect on participants' likeliness to sign up for a similar group was not supported.

The results of the logistic regression also did not support the hypothesis that those in an all- European-American group would be more likely to indicate interest in receiving information about similar groups. Racial make-up of the dialogue was not a significant predictor, after controlling for covariates, of participants' desire to receive information ($\beta = -.22$, $SE = .57$, Wald (1) $= .15$, $p = .69$, Exp (B) $= .80$).

H$_6$: I predicted that participants reading a vignette where the facilitator provides structure (structured condition) *and* describes an intragroup dialogue (all- European-American group) would report being more likely to sign up for a group like the one depicted and more likely to indicate that they would like to receive information (yes or no) about groups like the

one depicted. The results of the ANCOVA showed that the interaction did not have a significant effect on 'likeliness to sign up for a similar group,' $F(1, 239) = 3.36$, $p = .068$, $\eta^2 = .014$.

Furthermore, the interaction was not a significant predictor of participants' interest in receiving information about similar groups ($\beta = .99$, SE $=.79$, Wald (1) $=1.59$, $p = .21$, Exp (B) $=2.69$). My hypothesis that those in a structured, all- European-American group would be more likely to report wanting information was not supported.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of my study was to increase understanding of the specific factors that contribute to European-American participants' willingness and likelihood to engage in a dialogue on race. The two factors that I examined were the facilitator's use of ground-rules to structure the dialogue and the racial make-up of the dialogue group. The use of expectations or dialogue "norms" has been supported by qualitative research on racial dialogues in the classroom (Sue, Torino, et al, 2009). Experts in the field of education also suggest the use of ground-rules when discussing race in the classroom (e.g. Singleton & Linton, 2005; Flanagan & Hindley, 2017). The qualitative research in the field of counseling psychology and the suggested practices in education support the use of structuring dialogues with norms, but I could not find empirical data to support the effectiveness of structuring a dialogue with ground-rules. The current study addressed this gap in the research. The results of this study and the ways these factors (structure and racial make-up of group) were found to affect European-American individual's reported behaviors in a dialogue group are discussed in further detail below.

Structuring of the dialogue

I found no significant main effect for structuring of the dialogue for likeliness to share what participants were thinking or for likeliness to remain silent. Similarly, structure had no effect on the desire to receive information about similar dialogue groups occurring on campus. There was, however, a main effect for structure of the group on likeliness to participate in a similar dialogue group on campus; those who read the structured vignette were more likely to indicate a willingness to participate in a similar group. This finding should be interpreted with the scale the participants used in mind. The Likert scale anchors ranged from 1 (*extremely*

unlikely) to 9 (*extremely likely)* for participants to choose from. The adjusted mean for the structured condition was 4.77 while the adjusted mean for the not-structured condition was 4.10. There was an anchor in the middle of the scale with 5 representing "neither likely nor unlikely". Therefore, although the means of the structured and not-structured groups were significantly different it should be noted that both group averages fell between "somewhat unlikely" and "neither likely nor unlikely" on the scale. The participants in the structured group still did not respond in a way to signal that they were likely to participate in such a group. So, in general, the hypothesis that a structured dialogue, by itself, is an important component of racial dialogue groups was not strongly supported by the current research. This finding was counter to what has been found in group psychotherapy research, which has shown that structure prior to the beginning of a therapy group in the form of education about how a therapeutic group functions, increased group members participation in the early stages of the group (e.g. D'Augelli & Chinsky, 1974). Some possible reasons for the finding in this study that was counter to what this previous research found and to what our hypothesis predicted, are outlined below.

One reason for the lack of significant main effects found for structure of the dialogue could be that structuring of the dialogue is not as important as past literature has suggested (i.e., Sue, Torino, et al., 2009). It could also be that the previous literature that has suggested structuring a dialogue assumes that the group is a diverse group of individuals from different racial backgrounds. The effects of structuring a dialogue were different when the racial make-up of the group was mixed as opposed to all- European-American (see the discussion section on the interaction effect below for a more on this). Thus, structuring of the dialogue appears to be helpful but only under certain circumstances.

Another reason for the lack of main effects of structure could be that none of the outcome variables in this study were strongly influenced by the structure of the group, but other outcome variables not explored may be affected by the structure of the group. For example, structure of the group may have an effect on participants' levels of anxiety or comfort in a group. Outcome variables that measured either of these constructs may have revealed a significant main effect for structure of the group. Another hypothesis for why structure was not as significant could be due to the use of vignettes in the experimental design as opposed to real-life dialogues. Preliminary pilot-testing was carried out to test the face-validity of the dialogue conditions and results showed that participants found the vignettes believable. The experience, however, of reading a vignette as opposed to being part of a real dialogue are not the same and the effect of structure on participants' real and imagined behaviors would presumably be different across those two scenarios.

Another potential reason for the lack of a main-effect of structure on the outcome variables can be explained by the finding by Kilman, Albert, and Sotile (1975), which showed that participants' levels of internal and external locus of control dictated the effect that structure of the group had on their outcome in the group. Individuals who had a high external locus of control benefitted most in the structured group setting compared to individuals with a high internal locus of control, who fared better in the group with little structuring. Participants' locust of control was not a variable in this study, but it is possible that this variable or other personal variables could have an effect on the way participants responded to the structure of the group. Without controlling for these variables the main effect of structure would not appear in the analyses.

Racial make-up of the dialogue group

I hypothesized that the participants in this study (who were all European-American) would be more willing to share their honest thoughts, less likely to remain silent, more interested in participating in similar dialogues on campus and in receiving information about similar dialogues taking place when they were in a dialogue of all- European-American individuals as opposed to a mixed- race group. Prior research has suggested that European-American individuals may act differently around African-American individuals, especially if the topic of race is broached (e.g. Goff, Steel & Davies, 2008). The finding that European-American individuals may be avoidant of the topic of race due to a fear of appearing racist (Sue, 2013) adds further reason to believe that European-American individuals may experience more anxiety and exhibit more avoidant behavior when discussing race around African-American individuals or other individuals of color. Surprisingly, however, there was no main effect found for racial make-up of the group on any of the outcome items.

A potential reason for the lack of effect of racial make-up could be that the racial make-up of a dialogue group really does not have a large effect on European-American participants' behaviors. It could also be that race does matter but depending on the context, the effect of racial make-up of a group changes. If this is the case, any effects of racial make-up of the group would not be captured because it would average out across groups (see the discussion section on the interaction effect of group structure and racial make-up below for more on this).

Another reason the effects of racial make-up were not observed could be due to the specific nature of the outcome variables as well as the nature of the experimental design. I could not find prior research that looked at the effect of group racial make-up on European-American individuals' behavior in a dialogue. Previous research has looked at specific behaviors of

interracial interaction, such as eye-contact, smiling, and placement of the chair of European-American individuals (e.g., Goff, Steele & Davies, 2008). . These kinds of behaviors cannot be captured by a study like this one that used hypothetical vignettes.

Interactive effect of structure of dialogue and racial make-up of group

Given my hypotheses that a structured dialogue and an all- European-American group would increase participants' willingness to share as well as increase their interest in participating in similar groups on campus, I predicted that those in a structured, all- European-American dialogue would be even more likely to share and be more interested in participating in similar groups on campus. There was a significant interaction between racial make-up of the dialogue group and the structure of the dialogue group for some of the outcome variables, but it was not in the direction I hypothesized. Individuals in a structured dialogue were more likely to share their honest thoughts when the group was mixed-race. Participants were less likely to share in a structured group however, when the group was all- European-American.

It is important to note that this effect was only significant in the conversation topic condition of 'Black Lives Matter'. When the conversation topic was 'minority-only scholarships' this interaction effect was not significant. Possible explanations for this difference is the fact that the Black Lives Matter movement was a contentious topic that was widely covered by the media during the time the data was collected for this study (September to December 2016). The 'Black Lives Matter' movement received a lot of attention in the media and press. The movement fueled widespread protests across the country and counter movements developed in response such as 'All Lives Matter' or 'Blue Lives Matter'. Minority-only scholarships, on the other hand, in general received very little attention in the media with no visible controversy. Thus, despite a similar goal of racial equality, minority-only scholarships as

a topic most likely triggered a much smaller emotional reaction and less anxiety in participants than the topic of 'Black Lives Matter'. It is possible that the level of structuring provided by the facilitator would not have much of an effect on participants' likeliness to share when the discussion topic did not elicit a strong reaction or create much anxiety amongst participants.

Related to this difference across conversation topic conditions is the effect we found for the order in which conversation topics were presented. Participants who were presented with the Black Lives Matter topic before the minority-only scholarship topic were more likely to share their honest thoughts, less likely to remain silent and more likely to share a response in support of the minority-only scholarships than those participants who read the Black Lives Matter (BLM) conversation second.

The work of researchers in the field of education may help give some insight to the differences that were found between the two conversation topics. Hess (2009) has studied different teaching techniques for facilitating classroom discussions on controversial issues. One of the prerequisites for an effective dialogue, she states, is preparation prior to the discussion. She contends that students must be knowledgeable about the topic they are discussing before a dialogue begins to ensure that it is a successful dialogue with full participation by attendees. Participants' level of knowledge of the Black Lives Matter movement and minority-only scholarship was not controlled for in our analyses. It is possible, given the broad media coverage that was happening at the time of the Black Lives Matter movement that participants felt more familiar with this topic and were therefore more willing to voice their thoughts about it than in the minority-only scholarship condition. The fact that this was not investigated means that there is no way to test whether previous knowledge of the topic had an effect on participants'

responses. This is a possible explanation, however, for the different results in the two

conversation topics.

Another distinction that Hess contends is important to make, is the level of specificity of

the conversation topic. In her classroom observations of discussions of controversial topics she

found that the more specific the topic the more successful the discussion. She differentiates

between topic, which is the more broad category (e.g. healthcare), a problem which is more

specific (e.g. lack of access to healthcare) and a political issue which is the most specific (e.g.

whether the US should adopt a national healthcare system) (Hess, 2009). She argues that for the

most productive dialogue, the focus should be on a political issue, as opposed to a larger topic or

problem, to prevent participants from talking past one another and also to help them create a

focused argument.

The conversations that Hess is interested are what she calls "controversial". She defines

controversial political issues as, "questions of public policy that spark significant disagreement,"

(Hess, 2009, p. 37). The level of controversy around a specific issue, however, is not set in stone

according to Hess. Different issues may be controversial in one country but not in another and

they may change in level of controversy in one country over time. She describes issues that are

not controversial to be "closed" in that there is not a significant amount of public disagreement

about the topic. An example of a closed issue, is socialized healthcare, which is accepted as a

citizen right in much of Europe. This issue, however, is "open" or "tipping" (the term she uses

when a topic is moving from closed to open or vice versa) in the United States. This means that

there is still considerable disagreement about this issue and thus it is still considered

controversial. At one point the issue of women's suffrage was an open issue in the U.S. and

slowly tipped to a closed issue over time. In the modern-day U.S. society the vast majority

supports women's right to vote and those who do not would now be considered to hold extreme or antiquated views.

In terms of how Hess would define the two conversation conditions in this study, the existence of minority-only scholarships would fall under the category or political issue. There is a specific issue, whether or not scholarships that are exclusively for students of color should be allowed to exist. Black Lives Matter however does not represent a specific political issue. It is what Hess would define as either a topic or problem. The problem that Black Lives Matter intends to address is racism or White supremacy, but there is not a specific political issue that Black Lives Matter is focused on. The differing levels of specificity between the two conversation topics was not something that was controlled for in this study and could also partially explain why participants responded differently across the two conditions.

The two conversation topics were chosen because of what the author perceived as their controversial nature. The level of controversy, however, for each topic was also not assessed. Thinking in terms of Hess' theory of "tipping" the two topics could be at different points between open and closed in terms of how controversial the general public views them. Affirmative action has been a policy since the 1960's, therefore, although it is still a contested public issue, the fact that it has existed for several decades may mean that the public perceives it as more of a closed issue. Black Lives Matter is very new social movement, and although we cannot call it an "issue" according to Hess, it questions the existence of racism in this country, which is still a contested fact for many people in this country, and therefore may still be an open issue.

The same reason for why the effect was found in the 'Black Lives Matter' condition but not the minority-only scholarship condition may also explain why structuring of the dialogue

made a difference in the mixed-race group, but not the all- European-American group. When participants' anxiety is higher, structure provided by ground-rules may be necessary to make the participants feel safe enough to share their honest thoughts. It is likely that participants' anxiety would be higher in the mixed-race group than the all- European-American group and therefore the structuring of the dialogue would have more of an effect. In an all- European-American group, structuring of the dialogue may actually have the counter effect and make individuals share less, as evidenced by our results. Participants' fears of appearing racist may not be salient in an all- European-American group and therefore the stated ground-rules acknowledging fears of being racist may be incongruent with participants' experience in the group and could actually deter participants from sharing more.

It is not clear why the interaction of structure of the dialogue and racial make-up of the group did not have a significant effect on participants' stated interest in participating in a similar group on campus. The interaction effect approached significance but did not reach the critical threshold to be a significant effect. There was, however, a significant main effect of structure on participants' stated interest in participating in a similar dialogue on campus. It is possible that the structuring of the dialogue gave the impression of a more organized or planned dialogue than the not-structured dialogue condition. This factor may have been what participants focused on when they thought about participating in a similar dialogue on campus. It is possible that the imagined anxiety of discussing race in a mixed-race group contributed to a smaller effect for interest in participating in a similar dialogue when the interaction term was used to predict this outcome. Although participants were less likely to share in a structured, all- European-American dialogue, they may still prefer that condition to a mixed-race, structured dialogue. This study did not look at participants' emotional experience or anxiety level in the dialogue condition. A

participant may have had a more negative affect or higher anxiety in the mixed-race, structured group. The structuring of the group may have contributed to their willingness to share despite their increased anxiety, but the anxiety still could be a deterrent to choosing to participate in similar groups. Future research should investigate this effect further.

It is interesting that structure significantly affected interest in participating in a similar group on campus, but had no effect on participants' interest in receiving information about groups on campus. It is possible that this reflects a more general desire to avoid receiving "junk" email or promotional materials and people's reaction to receiving more information is more indicative of a reflexive tendency to say 'no' as opposed to a genuine lack of interest in participating in future dialogue groups on campus. It is possible, however, that individuals are truly not interested in participating in a racial dialogue, or at least spending their free-time participating in a dialogue that is not required by school or happening spontaneously within a classroom. Research that specifically investigates factors that might influence European-American college students to participate in racial dialogues is an important step that could add to our understanding of these findings.

Limitations

One limitation of this study that was discussed some above, is the fact that the experimental conditions used vignettes as opposed to actual dialogue groups. The effect of the independent variables, structuring of group and racial make-up of group, would undoubtedly be different in a real-world setting than when an individual is imagining the scenario in their head. The other risk involved in using vignettes is that participants may not read the vignettes closely and miss some of the important parts of the manipulation (i.e., the fact that the group was mixed-race). An attention check included in the study was used to filter out participants who were not

reading the vignettes or items closely, but there is no way to fully control for participants' level of concentration while doing a study. With this in mind, however, one could imagine that the effect of the independent variables would most likely be larger in a real-world setting than as imagined in a hypothetical scenario. The likelihood of a type 2 error occurring, in which we missed a significant effect that is actually there in real life, is greater than that of a type 1 error, or a false positive, occurring.

Another limitation of this study to take into consideration is the fact that a few of the assumptions of a MANCOVA, such as normality of variables, were violated. To correct for the violation of this assumption, transformations of the outcome variables could have been done. Previous literature, however, has suggested that the trade-off of doing transformations of data to retain more valid results is often not worth the effort and makes interpretations of the data more complicated (Glass, Peckham & Sanders, 1977). MANCOVAs are also reported to be robust to modest violations of normality as long as there are at least 20 degrees of freedom for error, which this study far exceeded (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). For these reasons, although it is important to be aware of these violations, we do not consider them great enough to disregard the findings of this study.

The limited sample in this study is another limitation. The sample for this study was comprised of college students at a state university in the upper Midwest. One can imagine that the student population in other parts of the country, such as in the south or on the east or west coast may respond to the vignettes and outcome items differently. This sample also only included conventionally-aged college students which means findings cannot be generalized to older adults or to those with less education.

The vignettes that were used were also limited in scope. The longest vignette (the structured condition) was under 350 words. One reason to limit the vignettes in length was to maintain participants' interest and attention. Longer vignettes, however, would have allowed us to explore other variables, such as the effect of other dialogue members on the participants' reaction to the dialogue.

Future Directions

This study offers new insight into our understanding of what factors affect European-American individuals' willingness to engage in racial dialogues in a genuine way. There are several routes future research can take to continue to expand our understanding of racial dialogues. One idea for a follow-up study is to re-create the vignette conditions with real dialogue groups. A study looking at real dialogues could compare participants' reactions and actual behaviors in the dialogue to the results found in this study. A study with real dialogue groups could also look at the effects of facilitator behavior for the duration of the group. Do European-American participants in all- European-American groups participate more if the entirety of a two-hour dialogue is not-structured or is some kind of structuring helpful at different points in a dialogue? How would this change in a mixed-race group?

Another future avenue of research could recreate the current study with different samples of participants. How would African-American participants respond to the different dialogue conditions? Would participants of different racial minority identities respond differently from one another or would there be common findings across racial groups? Recreating this study with other European-American participants who are outside the college population would also be important. Older, European-American adults or European-American individuals who did not

attend college may have different reactions to the different dialogue conditions from what we found in the current sample. It would be important to understand these differences if they exist.

Another important question that future researchers should seek to answer is how do we increase participants' interest in signing up for racial dialogue groups? What are the barriers for European-American people to sign up for racial dialogues and how do those differ from the barriers people of color experience? This study found that structure of the dialogue was predictive of participants wanting to sign up for a similar dialogue. What is it specifically about a structured group that makes participants express more interest in participating in future groups? Future research should also seek to answer the question of, what are the differential outcomes of an all- European-American group vs. a mixed-race group for a European-American participant. Are there individual qualities that predict who would benefit most from an all- European-American group compared to a mixed-race group? How does this differ for participants of color?

Implications for the practice of dialogues

The results of this study suggest that one factor that could increase the likelihood of European-American participants signing up for a dialogue is the perceived level of structure of the dialogue. This could be potentially important information for educators or facilitators of a dialogue who are trying to recruit participants. Flyers, brochures, websites or other avenues for relaying information for recruiting participants may benefit from including a description of the structuring of the group to increase prospective participants' interest.

Conclusion

The main finding in this study suggests that the practice of structuring racial dialogues is only helpful in certain contexts. In a dialogue group or classroom of all European-American individuals, structuring the dialogue may actually impede participants' willingness to engage in the conversation. This is an important finding, especially in light of the fact that intra-group (all-European-American) dialogues have been deemed a helpful prerequisite to inter-group (mixed-race) dialogues for some individuals (R. Perez, personal communication, March 23, 2016). The variables that are effective in facilitating a mixed-race dialogue should not be applied indiscriminately to all- European-American racial dialogues. The results of this study do, however, lend empirical support for using ground-rules to structure racial dialogues in mixed-race groups. Up until this point, the research done on helpful practices in racial dialogues has been largely qualitative in nature. This study offers a unique contribution to the fields of counseling psychology and education in the way of empirical support for the current suggested practices of facilitating racial dialogues if the group is mixed-race. The effectiveness of structuring the dialogue also appears to be dependent on how contentious the topic being discussed is. "Hot button" topics like the Black Lives Matter movement, may require more structuring in mixed-race groups than other, less triggering topics around race. This study deepened our understanding of the effect of different variables on participants in a racial dialogue. Future research in this area is needed to continue to expand our understanding of these variables to continue to improve the effectiveness of racial dialogue interventions.

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APPENDIX A

INTERNAL/EXTERNAL MOTIVATION TO RESPOND WITHOUT PREJUDICE SCALES

(IMS/EMS)

Instructions: The following questions concern various reasons or motivations people might have for trying to respond in nonprejudiced ways toward Black people. Some of the reasons reflect internal-personal motivations whereas others reflect more external-social motivations. Of course, people may be motivated for both internal and external reasons; we want to emphasize that neither type of motivation is by definition better than the other. In addition, we want to be clear that we are not evaluating you or your individual responses. All your responses will be completely confidential. We are simply trying to get an idea of the types of motivations that students in general have for responding in nonprejudiced ways. If we are to learn anything useful, it is important that you respond to each of the questions openly and honestly. Please give your response according to the scale below.

External motivation items:
1. Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people.

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

2. I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others.

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

3. If I acted prejudiced toward Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

4. I attempt to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others.

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

5. I try to act nonprejudiced toward Black people because of pressure from others.

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

Internal motivation items:

1. I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me.

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

2. According to my personal values, using stereotypes about Black people is OK. (R)

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

3. I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward Black people.

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

4. Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about Black people is wrong.

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

5. Being nonprejudiced toward Black people is important to my self-concept.

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

Note. (R) indicates reverse coded item. When participants complete the scales, the IMS and EMS items are intermixed.

POSITIVE PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH AFRICAN AMERICANS

Instructions: Using the scale below, please rate the extent to which you agree to each statement.

[1]   [2]   [3]   [4]   [5]   [6]   [7]   [8]   [9]
Strongly   Undecided   Strongly
disagree   agree

Positive Previous Experience with African Americans

1. In the past, my experiences with Black people have been pleasant.
2. Over the course of my life, I have had many Black friends.
3. I have had many positive experiences with Black people.

COLOR BLIND RACIAL ATTITUDES SCALE (COBRAS)

Instructions: Please indicate according to the scale below what degree you agree or disagree with each statement below.

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
Strongly			Neither agree			Strongly
disagree			nor disagree			agree

1. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.
2. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
3. Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.
4. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.
5. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.
6. Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S.
7. White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than racial and ethnic minorities
8. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people.
9. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.
10. English should be the only official language in the U.S.
11. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.
12. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
13. It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.
14. Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.
15. Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.
16. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.
17. Racism is a major problem in the U.S.
18. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.
19. It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.
20. Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.

MARLOW-CROWNE SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALE - SHORT FORM

Answer T (true) or F (false) below for each statement as it pertains to you.

1. I have never intensely disliked anyone.   T   F

2. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority
   Even though I knew they were right.   T   F

3. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.   T   F

4. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable. T   F

5. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.   T   F

6. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune
   of others.   T   F

DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS

1. Your gender: _____

2. Your race/ethnicity: _____

3. Your age: _____ years old

4. Your religious/ spiritual affiliation (for example: Baptist, Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim,

    Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Agnostic, None . . .): _____

5. Your year in school: _____

6. Your major or intended major: _____

7. Your hometown and state (or where you spent most of your childhood):

    _____

CONVERSATION TOPIC 'BLACK LIVES MATTER' AND OUTCOME ITEMS

(All participants will view this. The order of conversation topic A and B will be randomly assigned for every participant).

The facilitator then directs the topic of conversation to the Black Lives Matter movement. The facilitator explains that the movement emerged after several unarmed Black men were fatally shot by policemen. The movement has organized protests around the country with its stated mission of "working for the validity of Black life". The movement is well known for its supporters using the hashtag, #blacklivesmatter on social media. After giving this background information the facilitator then turns to the group and asks what your thoughts and feelings are about the movement.

1. Take a moment and imagine this scene and what you might initially think/feel. If you were completely honest, what are your uncensored thoughts/feelings about the 'Black Lives Matter' movement?

    *Remember your response is completely anonymous. It is very important for our research that you share you true, honest thoughts.

    Please list out your honest, uncensored thoughts in the box below.

2. How likely would you be to actually share these thoughts with the group?

1 - Extremely unlikely
2
3 - Somewhat unlikely
4
5 - Neither likely nor unlikely
6
7 - Somewhat likely
8
9 - Extremely likely

Listed below are other possible responses one could have to the facilitator's question about the Black Lives Matter movement. Please rate how likely you would be to respond in the ways presented (to actually say this in the group setting):

    3.   You remain silent and wait for others to pick up the discussion.

1 - Extremely unlikely
2
3 - Somewhat unlikely
4
5 - Neither likely nor unlikely
6
7 - Somewhat likely
8
9 - Extremely likely

Listed below are other possible responses one could have to the facilitator's question.

Please first rate how much you agree with the statement.

1. It feels kind of racist towards White people that they are saying "Black Lives Matter" and not including other races as well. I think it should be "All Lives Matter".

1 – Completely disagree
2
3 – Somewhat disagree
4
5 – Neither agree nor disagree
6
7 – Somewhat agree
8
9 – Completely agree

Now rate how likely you would be to actually respond in this way (to actually say this in the group):

1 - Extremely unlikely
2
3 - Somewhat unlikely
4
5 - Neither likely nor unlikely
6
7 - Somewhat likely
8
9 - Extremely likely

Please first rate how much you agree with the statement.

2.   I think it's important that there is a movement like this to raise awareness of the racial issues in this country. I think people probably do have knee-jerk reactions to people of other races and we need to start addressing this or at least talking about it.

1 – Completely disagree
2
3 – Somewhat disagree
4
5 – Neither agree nor disagree
6
7 – Somewhat agree
8
9 – Completely agree

Now rate how likely you would be to actually respond in this way (to actually say this in the group):

1 - Extremely unlikely
2
3 - Somewhat unlikely
4
5 - Neither likely nor unlikely
6
7 - Somewhat likely
8
9 - Extremely likely

CONVERSATION TOPIC 'MINORITY ONLY SCHOLARSHIPS' AND OUTCOME ITEMS

(All participants will view this. The order of conversation topic A and B will be randomly assigned for every participant).

The facilitator then directs the conversation toward potential racial matters on campus. The facilitator informs the group that over 25% of the university-wide scholarships for undergraduates at your college (representing thousands of dollars) are exclusively for students of color, adding that students of color make up just about 12% of the student population. The facilitator then asks the group to share their thoughts about scholarships specifically for minority students.

1. Take a moment and imagine this scene and what you might initially think/feel. If you were completely honest, what are your uncensored thoughts/feelings or questions about the minority-only scholarships at your college?

   *Remember that your response is completely anonymous. It is very important for our research that you share your true, honest thoughts.

   Please list out your honest, uncensored thoughts in the box below.

2. How likely would you be to actually share these thoughts with the group?

   1 - Extremely unlikely
   2
   3 - Somewhat unlikely
   4
   5 - Neither likely nor unlikely
   6
   7 - Somewhat likely
   8
   9 - Extremely likely

Listed below are other possible responses one could have to the facilitator's question about minority scholarships at your college.

Please rate how likely you would be to respond in the ways presented (to actually say this in the group setting):

3. You remain silent and wait for others to pick up the discussion.
    1 - Extremely unlikely
    2
    3 - Somewhat unlikely
    4
    5 - Neither likely nor unlikely
    6
    7 - Somewhat likely
    8
    9 - Extremely likely

Listed below are other possible responses one could have to the facilitator's question.

Please first rate how much you agree with the statement.

1. I think that all scholarships and financial aid should be based on merit (what an individual does or achieves) and financial need and not the color of someone's skin.

1 – Completely disagree
2
3 – Somewhat disagree
4
5 – Neither agree nor disagree
6
7 – Somewhat agree
8
9 – Completely agree

Now rate how likely you would be to actually respond in this way (to actually say this in the group):

1 - Extremely unlikely
2
3 - Somewhat unlikely
4
5 - Neither likely nor unlikely
6
7 - Somewhat likely
8
9 - Extremely likely

Please first rate how much you agree with the statement.

2. I think that people of color, in general, have more obstacles getting ahead than White people and minority-specific scholarships are an important way to help even the playing field.

1 – Completely disagree
2
3 – Somewhat disagree
4
5 – Neither agree nor disagree
6
7 – Somewhat agree
8
9 – Completely agree

Now rate how likely you would be to actually respond in this way (to actually say this in the group):

1 - Extremely unlikely
2
3 - Somewhat unlikely
4
5 - Neither likely nor unlikely
6
7 - Somewhat likely
8
9 - Extremely likely

Other Outcome Variables (These will be presented after the vignette and conversation topic A and B and their corresponding outcome items).

1. How likely would you be to sign up for a dialogue group like the one presented?

   1 – Extremely unlikely
   2
   3 – Somewhat unlikely
   4
   5 – Neither likely nor unlikely
   6
   7 – Somewhat likely
   8
   9 – Extremely likely

2. Would you like to receive information about dialogue groups like this that take place on campus?

   [] yes   [] no

VIGNETTES

NOT-STRUCTURED/ INTERGROUP DIALOGUE

Picture the following:

You are going through college orientation for new and returning students at the beginning of the school year. One of the required workshops is a dialogue on racial issues that is led by a facilitator. You will be with the same group of eight students that you have been with all week through orientation. You know everyone in the group fairly well by now and feel comfortable with them. All of the students in your group are 18 years old. Three students come from out of state. Four of the students in the group are Black.

For the discussion, the room is set up so that you and the other students are sitting in chairs in a circle. The facilitator explains that you will be spending the afternoon having discussions on racial issues.

NOT-STRUCTURED/INTRAGROUP DIALOGUE

Picture the following:
You are going through college orientation for new and returning students at the beginning of the school year. One of the required workshops is a dialogue on racial issues that is led by a facilitator. You will be with the same group of eight students that you have been with all week through orientation. You know everyone in the group fairly well by now and feel comfortable with them. All of the students in your group are 18 years old. Three students come from out of state. All of the students in the group are White.

 For the discussion, the room is set up so that you and the other students are sitting in chairs in a circle. The facilitator explains that you will be spending the afternoon having discussions on racial issues.

STRUCTURED/INTRAGROUP DIALOGUE

Picture the following:

You are going through college orientation for new and returning students at the beginning of the school year. One of the required workshops is a dialogue on racial issues that is led by a facilitator. You will be with the same group of eight students that you have been with all week through orientation. You know everyone in the group fairly well by now and feel comfortable with them. All of the students in your group are 18 years old. Three students come from out of state. All of the students in the group are White.

 For the discussion, the room is set up so that you and the other students are sitting in chairs in a circle. The facilitator explains that you will be spending the afternoon having discussions on racial issues.

The facilitator then says the following:

 When we talk about something difficult, like race, it can be helpful to have some guidelines for the conversation. There are four guidelines that I use when leading a discussion on race that I call 'agreements'.

The first agreement is to stay engaged. This means to not let your heart or mind "check out" of the conversation while you are sitting here. This can be hard given that many of us, especially those of us who are White, have been taught throughout our lives to not talk about race. So the challenge is to resist the urge to mentally check out of the conversation.

The second agreement is to speak your truth. This requires a willingness to take risks and be absolutely honest about your thoughts, feelings and opinions. A lot of times in these discussions we have an urge to say what we think others want us to say or what we think we should say. We don't speak our truth out of a fear of offending or sounding ignorant. So I ask that you resist the urge to say what you think you should say and instead say what you honestly think or feel.

The third agreement is to be willing to experience discomfort. Often to avoid the discomfort in these conversations we try to focus on ways in which we are all alike. Doing this, however, ignores our obvious differences and lets us avoid dealing with the reality of race in an honest and genuine way. Talking honestly about race brings up anxieties which feel uncomfortable. We have to be willing to feel some discomfort and sit with that anxiety to be able to have an honest discussion.

The fourth agreement is to expect and accept non-closure. This agreement recognizes that there are no "quick-fixes" to racial issues and having an honest discussion about these issues is where we begin to see the solution revealed in and of itself.

STRUCTURED/INTER-GROUP DIALOGUE

Picture the following:

You are going through college orientation for new and returning students at the beginning of the school year. One of the required workshops is a dialogue on racial issues that is led by a facilitator. You will be with the same group of eight students that you have been with all week through orientation. You know everyone in the group fairly well by now and feel comfortable with them. All of the students in your group are 18 years old. Three students come from out of state. Four of the students in the group are Black.

For the discussion, the room is set up so that you and the other students are sitting in chairs in a circle. The facilitator explains that you will be spending the afternoon having discussions on racial issues.

The facilitator then says the following:

When we talk about something difficult, like race, it can be helpful to have some guidelines for the conversation. There are four guidelines that I use when leading a discussion on race that I call 'agreements'.

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The second agreement is to speak your truth. This requires a willingness to take risks and be absolutely honest about your thoughts, feelings and opinions. A lot of times in these discussions we have an urge to say what we think others want us to say or what we think we should say. We don't speak our truth out of a fear of offending or sounding ignorant. So I ask that you resist the urge to say what you think you should say and instead say what you honestly think or feel.

The third agreement is to be willing to experience discomfort. Often to avoid the discomfort in these conversations we try to focus on ways in which we are all alike. Doing this, however, ignores our obvious differences and lets us avoid dealing with the reality of race in an honest and genuine way. Talking honestly about race brings up anxieties which feel uncomfortable. We have to be willing to feel some discomfort and sit with that anxiety to be able to have an honest discussion.

The fourth agreement is to expect and accept non-closure. This agreement recognizes that there are no "quick-fixes" to racial issues and having an honest discussion about these issues is where we begin to see the solution revealed in and of itself.

APPENDIX B

IRB APPROVAL

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Institutional Review Board
Office for Responsible Research
Vice President for Research
1138 Pearson Hall
Ames, Iowa 50011-2207
515 294-4566
FAX 515 294-4267

Date: 9/2/2016

To: Meredith Tittler **CC:** Dr. Nathaniel Wade
4800 Mortensen Rd.Unit 108 W112 Lagomarcino
Ames, IA 50014

From: Office for Responsible Research

Title: Participant Responses to a Dialogue on Racial Issues

IRB ID: 16-358

| **Approval Date:** | 9/1/2016 | **Date for Continuing Review:** | 8/31/2016 |
| **Submission Type:** | New | **Review Type:** | Expedited |

The project referenced above has received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Iowa State University according to the dates shown above. Please refer to the IRB ID number shown above in all correspondence regarding this study.

To ensure compliance with federal regulations (45 CFR 46 & 21 CFR 56), please be sure to:

- **Use only the approved study materials** in your research, **including the recruitment materials and informed consent documents that have the IRB approval stamp.**

- **Retain signed informed consent documents for 3 years after the close of the study,** when documented consent is required.

- **Obtain IRB approval prior to implementing <u>any</u> changes** to the study by submitting a Modification Form for Non-Exempt Research or Amendment for Personnel Changes form, as necessary.

- **Immediately inform the IRB of** (1) **all serious and/or unexpected adverse experiences** involving risks to subjects or others; and (2) **any other unanticipated problems involving risks** to subjects or others.

- **Stop all research activity if IRB approval lapses,** unless continuation is necessary to prevent harm to research participants. Research activity can resume once IRB approval is reestablished.

- **Complete a new continuing review form** at least three to four weeks prior to the **date for continuing review** as noted above to provide sufficient time for the IRB to review and approve continuation of the study. We will send a courtesy reminder as this date approaches.

Please be aware that IRB approval means that you have met the requirements of federal regulations and ISU policies governing human subjects research. **Approval from other entities may also be needed.** For example, access to data from private records (e.g. student, medical, or employment records, etc.) that are protected by FERPA, HIPAA, or other confidentiality policies requires permission from the holders of those records. Similarly, for research conducted in institutions other than ISU (e.g., schools, other colleges or universities, medical facilities, companies, etc.), investigators must obtain permission from the institution(s) as required by their policies. **IRB approval in no way implies or guarantees that permission from these other entities will be granted.**

Upon completion of the project, please submit a Project Closure Form to the Office for Responsible Research, 202 Kingland, to officially close the project.

Please don't hesitate to contact us if you have questions or concerns at 515-294-4566 or IRB@iastate.edu.