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Addressing an Elephant in the Room: Self-Disclosure and Social Support Following Negative Intergroup Experiences

Alegre, Jan Marie

Princeton, NJ : Princeton University

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ADDRESSING AN ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM:
SELF-DISCLOSURE AND SOCIAL SUPPORT
FOLLOWING NEGATIVE INTERGROUP EXPERIENCES

JAN MARIE RINGPIS ALEGRE

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Abstract

This research examines self-disclosure and social support processes in response to negative intergroup experiences (i.e., experiences of racial or ethnic discrimination). Studies 1a, 1b, 1c, and 2 examine ethnic minorities' disclosure preferences for seeking social support after recalling or imagining a negative interpersonal, ambiguous, or intergroup experience. Results indicate that ethnic minorities hold group-specific preferences for self-disclosure when faced with the opportunity to discuss negative intergroup experiences with others. Specifically, ethnic minorities exhibit greater desire for self-disclosing negative events to same-race friends, particularly when it comes to discussing negative intergroup experiences. This preference is in part explained by individuals' expectations of receiving adequate emotional and instrumental support from others. Studies 3 and 4 utilize vignette- and laboratory-based procedures respectively to examine how Whites and ethnic minorities react to ethnic minority partners who privately disclose experiences of discrimination. Results indicate that contrary to what ethnic minority targets of discrimination might expect, White partners objectively provide more emotional and instrumental support than their ethnic minority counterparts. Moreover, ethnic minority support providers report more negative impressions of support seekers and appear to be less responsive towards their appeals for help. Study 5 examines the proximal impact of same-race and cross-race support provision on ethnic minorities' intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup outcomes. Findings suggest that ethnic minorities who received social support after disclosing intergroup rejection generally felt more understood, accepted, and cared for than others; this was particularly the case after receiving support from cross-race friends. Cross-race support also facilitated interpersonal liking and appeared to attenuate ethnic minority participants' race stigma consciousness after experiencing

intergroup rejection. The implications of this work for understanding processes of intergroup dialogue and cross-race social support are discussed.

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To Mom, Dad, Eric, Leah, Jericho, Lennon, Melissa, Chris, Brandon, Madeline, and Shawn: Thank you for helping me keep my eyes on the horizon and my feet on the ground.

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Introduction

> [A] person of color might be aware of differences and difficulties due to racial issues, but remains silent about them. Instead, the person of color suppresses his true feelings and presents a version of himself he think will please, or at least not trouble, his White friend. Under such conditions, friendship is possible: but we might ask then: What kind of friendship is that? (Mura, 2004, p. 130)

In his memoir *Secret Colors,* Asian American writer David Mura (2004) reflects upon the growth of his racial consciousness as a young adult and its subsequent impact on his personal relationships. As Mura recounts, his growing awareness of the ways in which ethnic identity contributed to disadvantages that he and other people of color experienced in the United States provoked a pain and anguish that he often struggled to comprehend. Efforts to share and discuss the race-related issues that troubled him were sometimes met with incomprehension, conflict, and digressions by some of his closest peers and colleagues—both Whites and ethnic minorities alike. The mixed responses to his initiation of race-related discussions gradually left him more guarded and careful about disclosing his true feelings to certain individuals within his social circle. He mused, "I can't help but sometimes feel that they believe race is simply my problem and not theirs" (Mura, 2004, p. 153).

By the end of his narrative, Mura asserts a belief that true connection within and across racial divides requires the willingness to open oneself up to vulnerability. That is, "real" friendship and connection is devoid of self-censorship; relationships across racial boundaries require the willingness to openly and honestly reexamine positions of privilege and positions of

victimization. It is this willingness to disclose and discuss that facilitates mutual understanding and personal growth.

Mura's personal story brings to light the complications that often arise when discussing sensitive topics of race and social disadvantage between intimates. Indeed, when ethnic minorities perceive that they have been the target of prejudice or discrimination, they may choose to cope with the experience in a number of ways. For instance, they may choose to work through their thoughts and feelings about the situation on their own; suppress their emotions; or minimize the severity of the experience through cognitive reappraisal. They may choose to ignore or directly confront the perpetrator of the offense. While these methods of coping are individual and private in nature, yet another option, exercised substantially by Mura, is to seek out *social support* and talk to other people about the negative intergroup experience. It is this social form of coping that is the focus of this dissertation.

Social Support

Social support is commonly defined as *the presence of individuals in one's social network who are available to provide assistance,* or *the quality of assistance provided by individuals in one's social network* (Sarason, Shearin, Pierce, & Sarason, 1987). Researchers have long theorized that social support benefits psychological and physiological functioning by buffering individuals against the negative effects of stressful experiences (e.g., Cohen & Wills, 1985; Uchino, Cacioppo, & Kiecolt-Glaser, 1996). Accordingly, racial and ethnic discrimination has frequently been conceptualized as a socially stressful experience that greatly impacts physical and mental health outcomes and contributes directly and indirectly to health disparities between ethnic minorities and Whites (Mays, Cochran, & Barnes, 2007; Williams, 1999). Given the widespread interest in identifying ways to reduce these group disparities, scholars in the fields of psychology, sociology, and public health have

hypothesized that social support serves as an important interpersonal resource that ethnic minorities can rely on to cope with experiences of prejudice and discrimination (McNeilly et al., 1996).

Prior work has found that seeking social support from others is, in fact, a commonly used coping strategy among ethnic minorities following incidents of discrimination and intergroup rejection (Harrell, 2000; Krieger, 1990; Krieger & Sidney, 1996; Lalonde, Majumder, & Parris, 1995; Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000). Social support is thought to serve as a powerful external resource for stigmatized group members for several reasons. First, the availability of close others (e.g., friends and family) to consult and discuss experiences of discrimination can help to rebuild an individual's feelings of self-worth and increase their sense of personal control, thereby preventing anxiety, discomfort, stress, and depressive symptoms from developing or worsening. Moreover, telling others about a stressful experience and seeking comfort and advice from them can help stigmatized individuals adapt to a stressful event by changing the way they think or feel about its causes or consequences (Lakey & Cohen, 2000; Miller, 2006). On a practical level, having a network of people to turn to in times of need means that individuals have more access to tangible resources such as health care, food, or financial support (Heckman, Kochman, & Sikkeman, 2002). Lastly, seeking support from others can serve as a way to exercise influence and control over objective events and conditions. After experiencing discrimination, ethnic minorities could turn to fellow ingroup members and mobilize them to demand better treatment; alternatively, they could turn to outgroup members to identify advocates and allies who will prevent others from treating them unfairly.

Despite its perceived effectiveness among the research community, there is a dearth of consistent evidence attesting to social support's benefits for mitigating the negative effects of racial discrimination. One notable reason for the inconsistency of findings lies in how social support has been conceptualized. As shown in Pascoe and Richman's (2009) review of the effects of perceived

discrimination among ethnic minorities, social support has been inconsistently operationalized across studies: the numerical size of an individual's social network structure; self-reported perceptions that support is available to an individual; the mere presence of another ingroup member in the same room. Studies of social support among targets of discrimination are also limited by the generalized manner in which support has typically been measured. The previously mentioned reasons that social support is believed to be beneficial (reducing stress and negative emotions, reframing the way one thinks about a negative event, serving as a source of tangible resources, and initiating collective action and solidarity) imply that social support takes on several specific forms and functions. Therefore, the mixed findings regarding whether social support buffers the negative impact of intergroup rejection could be clarified by moving beyond an assessment of whether support is perceived to be present within one's social structure, to a more specific evaluation of what type of support is sought out and provided when one appeals for it.

The social support literature generally distinguishes between two specific, functional categories of assistance. *Emotional support* involves the provision of warmth and nurturance to another individual and reassurance that he or she is understood, cared for, esteemed, and valued by others (Taylor, 2010). *Instrumental support* involves to the provision of tangible assistance (e.g. advice, specific aid or services, financial support) to another individual (Taylor, 2010). Instrumental support also encompasses the provision of information, strategies, and resources that a person might use to understand and cope with a stressful situation (Pasch, Harris, Sullivan, & Bradbury, 2004). This distinction between emotional and instrumental support can be important in understanding the impact of social support. For instance, social support assessed as the perception that emotional support will be received from someone, rather than assessed as the overall number of relationships a person has, is tied to both direct and buffering effects on mental and physical health (e.g., Wethington & Kessler, 1986).

Researchers have noted that specificity in measuring *categories* of social support, as well as the *providers* of support, is critical to assessing its downstream effectiveness. That is, besides evaluating the form of social support that is provided, it is important to know *who* support-seekers specifically appeal to when coping with certain events and why, and how these support-providers' responses are received by the support-seeker (Dakof & Taylor, 1990). Different forms of support may be particularly beneficial from different members of one's social network. For example, understanding and empathy may be more helpful from intimates, but resented when offered by mere acquaintances. Alternatively, information and advice may be better received from acquaintances (e.g., objective experts) rather than close friends (Dakof & Taylor, 1990). In line with this thinking, a review of literature on cancer patients found that emotional support was most preferred from family members and friends compared to informational support, and had more beneficial effects on patient adjustment (Helgeson & Cohen, 1996).

In accordance with this idea of social support specificity, Harrell (2000) has theorized that when ethnic minorities are confronted with experiences of intergroup rejection, the group membership of potential support providers makes a difference in understanding coping outcomes. In this situation, he posits that support can take on three discrete forms: intragroup or *same-race support*; intergroup or *cross-race support* (i.e., support from others outside of one's racial or ethnic group, including Whites and other minority group members); and environmental and *institutional support* (e.g., policies that protect individuals from discrimination). While this specific approach to examining social support in the face of intergroup rejection has received little to no empirical substantiation, research by Schneider, Major, Luhtanen, and Crocker (1996) suggests that intergroup or cross-race support could be detrimental when the help is unsolicited and offered by relative strangers. However, the literature has not examined the provision and impact of social support when it is intentionally solicited and offered by closer cross-race acquaintances. Furthermore, the

model proposed by Harrell (2000) is limited in that it does not evaluate the factors that determine whether solicitations for support are actually made. Specifically, the factors that influence appeals for social support require further analysis.

Self-Disclosure

In order to understand how social support can mitigate the effects of negative intergroup experiences, it is important to understand how the social support process can be initiated in the first place. Thus, I examine factors that influence self-disclosure. In the context of stressful experiences, self-disclosure signals the beginning of the support-seeking process.

Self-disclosure, or the revealing of personal thoughts, feelings, and experiences to others via verbal communication, is an integral aspect of social communication (Derlega et al., 1993). Disclosure in itself can yield intrapersonal benefits by helping one develop and clarify a sense of self, enabling emotional expression and alleviating inhibitions (Jourard, 1971). However, self-disclosure is also linked to important interpersonal benefits, such as building and maintaining intimacy and liking in personal relationships (Collins & Miller, 1994; Reis & Patrick, 1996). Furthermore, the theoretical and empirical work on self-disclosure decision-making stresses that self-disclosing serves the specific function of garnering social support from others (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010; Omarzu, 2000).

According to the disclosure decision-making model (Omarzu, 2000), decisions to self-disclose and the effectiveness of self-disclosure in eliciting social support depend largely on perceived partner responsiveness—that is, the perceived reaction of the confidant and the perception that support will actually be provided (Lepore, Ragan, & Jones, 2000; Major et al., 1990; Major & Gramzow, 1999; Rodriguez & Kelly, 2006). Similarly, research in help-seeking shows that people are often reluctant to directly ask for assistance from others due to perceptions that the other

person will not respond in a positive manner or comply with their requests (DePaulo, 1982; Flynn & Lake, 2008). Specifically, help seekers fail to appreciate the social costs that people publicly incur for not being responsive. By failing to recognize these social factors that influence responsiveness, help seekers subsequently prefer to withhold making these requests and are less likely to share their problems.

In their model of disclosure decision-making specifically for individuals with concealable stigmatized identities (i.e., individuals with HIV), Chaudoir and Fisher (2010) stress the importance of approach- and avoidance-focused goals in facilitating self-disclosure of a stigma or stigma-related negative experience. For example, stigmatized individuals' decisions to self-disclose to others are theorized to be motivated by the pursuit of positive outcomes (e.g., acquiring understanding and acceptance from others) and/or the prevention of negative outcomes (e.g., further social rejection, lack of positive responses, negative affect).

Taking this into account, one could hypothesize that in the context of a negative intergroup experience, race stigmatized individuals (ethnic minorities) will seek to acquire acceptance and understanding and prevent further rejection by directing their self-disclosures primarily to same-race individuals over cross-race individuals. Individuals will likely feel more comfortable socializing with, talking about, and seeking support from others whom they believe have had similar stress-related experiences based racial/ethnic group membership. In line with this reasoning, research on perceived empathy gaps suggests that individuals show more appreciation for the pain a negative social experience has caused someone when they have experienced it themselves or hold the same group membership as the other person (Nordgren, Banas, & MacDonald, 2011). This underlying assumption is shared by many researchers: ethnic minorities should prefer to seek support from other members of their racial ingroup, and should benefit mainly from receiving same-race social support over support from racial outgroups (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Gaines,

2001; McNeilly et al., 1995). However, to date this assumption has not been tested in a systematic fashion.

Intergroup Dialogue

Seeking support for race-related rejection or mistreatment may entail disclosures that can be anxiety-provoking for the stigmatized support-seeker and the potential (outgroup) support-provider (Herek, 2009). Given the discomfort and threat related with having race-related discussions in intergroup contexts, it is unsurprising that such self-disclosures and discussions across group divides are often avoided (Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008; Johnson, Olson, & Fazio, 2009). However, Lepore and Revenson (2007) posit that these types of social constraints that preclude support-seeking and self-disclosure can limit one's ability to garner the *full* benefits of support from their social network. Is it optimal, or reasonable, for the stigmatized to avoid seeking help from the nonstigmatized? Ethnic minorities could often find themselves in social environments where same-race others are unavailable for support-seeking. Moreover, ethnic minorities tend to have more heterogeneous social networks compared to Whites. By limiting self-disclosures to same-race counterparts, they may be potentially overlooking an important (and perhaps larger) external resource of support among their cross-race friends and acquaintances (Lepore & Revenson, 2007). Therefore, rather than accepting the assumption that cross-race social support is impossible and ineffective, it is important to empirically examine this proposition. That is, focusing mainly on preferences for same-race support may obscure the importance of cross-race dialogue and support in coping with intergroup rejection.

Contrary to what ethnic minorities' may expect, cross-race friends in their social network could be valuable sources of social support that facilitate positive coping outcomes. First, research has found that while Whites might be initially reluctant to discuss controversial and race-related

topics with Blacks, they are more willing to engage in these discussions when Blacks initiate them (Johnson, Olson, & Fazio, 2009). Self-disclosures and discussions about race may not come easily in intergroup interactions, but they can be achieved. Prior research on intergroup contact also finds that having close cross-race relationships (e.g., friendships that are high in disclosure) can yield a range of benefits at the intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup level. For instance, intergroup contact and in particular the development of intimate cross-race friendship is related to decreased prejudice and intergroup anxiety as well as reduced physiological stress and anxiety among people who are particularly sensitive to intergroup rejection (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003; Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008). In addition, self-disclosure in intergroup contexts, when it occurs, improves mutual liking and trust, relationship intimacy, and explicit outgroup attitudes (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Berg & Wright-Buckley, 1988; Ensari & Miller, 2002; Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007). Furthermore, research by Page-Gould (2011) suggests that when people seek social support from outgroup members and friends immediately following an experience of intergroup conflict, they will continue to approach rather than avoid subsequent intergroup social interactions. Thus, evidence suggests that contact in the form of cross-race support following intergroup conflict can have benefits for the maintenance of positive intergroup behaviors. While these results are promising, additional benefits of cross-race social support have yet to be identified. The current research expands on this work and adds to our understanding of intergroup relations and social support processes by examining whether receiving social support from cross-race peers after a negative intergroup encounter has positive effects on a number of downstream intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup outcomes.

Overview of Studies

The current research aims to address the following questions:

1. Do ethnic minorities exhibit preferences in their decisions to self-disclose race-related issues (i.e., intergroup rejection, conflict, and hardship) to others within their social network? If so, what is the nature of these disclosure preferences?
2. What factors influence ethnic minorities' decisions to disclose race-related issues within and across group boundaries?
3. How do Whites and ethnic minorities react to disclosures of intergroup rejection? Specifically, what types of social support do they provide?
4. What are the downstream intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup consequences of disclosing to same-race and cross-race counterparts for support after a negative intergroup experience?

Studies 1a-1c and 2 of this dissertation will address ethnic minorities' disclosure preferences for seeking support after negative intergroup experiences (Questions 1 and 2). I posit that since ethnic minorities perceive more similarity between themselves and other ingroup members and assume that ingroup members share their point of view, they will prefer to seek support from same-race partners over cross-race others. Because of this shared background, ethnic minorities will expect that their preferences, feelings, and needs with regards to intergroup rejection are particularly transparent to same-race friends, thereby making them particularly responsive, insightful and more desirable to seek support from (Vorauer & Cameron, 2002). Thus, ethnic minorities' desire and likelihood of disclosing stressful, negative experiences to others will depend on the nature of the

rejection experience (i.e., whether the rejection is attributable to race/ethnicity or not) and the other person's racial or ethnic background.

Studies 3-5 examine Question 3 by exploring how Whites and ethnic minorities respond when ethnic minorities initiate conversations about intergroup rejection. I hypothesize that though topics of racial inequality are difficult to discuss in intergroup contexts, Whites will feel capable of providing support in these discussions, as these dialogues are initiated by ethnic minority disclosure. Finally, Study 5 examines the proximal impact of same-race and cross-race support provision on ethnic minorities' outcomes (e.g., anxiety, liking of friends, negative outgroup attitudes). Consistent with recent research on the benefits of seeking support from cross-race friends, I predict that cross-race support for intergroup rejection can help mitigate its potentially negative impact on ethnic minorities (Question 4).

Study 1a: Identifying Ethnic Minorities' Disclosure Preferences Following Negative Intergroup Experiences

Study 1a serves as an initial examination of racial and ethnic minorities' self-disclosure preferences following negative intergroup experiences. In particular, I examine ethnic minorities' disclosure preferences after recalling prior experiences of racial discrimination. In this study, ethnic minority participants were asked to describe the demographic composition of their social network, specifically the racial and ethnic backgrounds of their close friends. The salience of racial discrimination was manipulated by randomly assigning participants to recall a recent instance of intergroup rejection or interpersonal rejection. I expected that ethnic minorities would exhibit greater preferences for disclosing negative intergroup experiences to same-race friends compared to cross-race friends. By contrast, I hypothesized that participants who recalled instances of interpersonal rejection (i.e., negative events that are unrelated to race) would not exhibit a significant difference in their preferences to disclose these experiences to same-race or cross-race friends.

Method

A total of 49 ethnic minority undergraduates (38 women) completed a web-based survey in exchange for course credit or monetary compensation. The sample was comprised of 18 African Americans, 28 Asian Americans, and 3 Latino Americans. On average, participants were 20.12 years of age (SD = 1.75).

Participants were informed that the study examined social relationships and everyday stressors among college students. Participants reported information about themselves (i.e., their age, gender, and primary race/ethnicity) and about the friends in their social network. Then they described a recent negative event in their lives. After answering questions about this event, participants were probed for suspicion and task engagement, thanked, and fully debriefed. Overall,

this study employed a two-level (writing prompt: interpersonal rejection vs. intergroup rejection) single-factor between-subjects design.

Social Network Information

Participants listed the first names of three of their closest non-romantic friends from each of four designated racial and ethnic groups (White, Black, Asian, and Latino). They also provided information regarding each friend's gender and rated how close they felt to each friend on a 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*) scale.

Writing Prompt

After providing information about their social network, participants completed a study manipulation designed to heighten the salience of a negative personal experience. They were randomly assigned to one of two writing prompt conditions. Within each condition, there were two versions of writing prompt instructions; participants were randomly assigned to read one version of these instructions.

In the *interpersonal rejection* condition, participants were instructed to either "recall a recent time in which you felt like you were treated unfairly by others" or to "recall a recent time in which you felt like you were treated with less respect by others." In the *intergroup rejection* condition, participants were instructed to either "recall a recent time in which you felt like you were treated unfairly by others *because of your race or ethnicity*" or to "recall a recent time in which you felt like you were treated with less respect by others *because of your race or ethnicity*" (emphasis added to indicate the key difference between prompts in each condition). After writing briefly about this experience, participants answered several questions about what they had described and some additional questions pertaining to the study.

Measures

Perceptions of rejection event. Participants were asked about their perceptions of the rejection experience at the time it occurred. All questions were answered using a rating scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*). Specifically, participants were asked about their perceptions of the *cause of the rejection*: "To what extent did you think the conflict was caused by something about the other person?" and "To what extent did you think the conflict was caused by something about you?" (reverse-coded). They were also asked about the amount of *control* they felt over the negative event: "How much control did you think *you* had over the conflict when it happened?" and "How much control did you think *the other person* had over the conflict when it happened?" (reverse-coded). These items were averaged to form composite measures of perceived cause of (r = .61) and personal control over (r = .55) the negative event. Higher ratings of perceived cause would suggest that the cause of the negative experience was attributed external factors (i.e., the perpetrator of the rejection) more than internal factors (i.e., the self). Higher average ratings of control would indicate that the participant perceived having greater control over the situation they described.

Disclosure preferences. At the end of the online survey, participants were shown a list of the friends that they had reported during the initial part of the study. The friends' names were listed vertically in a randomized order on a single survey page. In a final task, participants were instructed to "rank" these friends starting with the person with whom they would *most* want to discuss the negative experience they described, and ending with the person with whom they would *least* want to discuss it. Participants rearranged (via a drag-and-drop feature) each friend's name to a position higher or lower on the list in order to indicate their preferences. Thus, the friend positioned at the top of the list represented the person that they preferred to disclose the experience to the *most*.

Participants' preference to disclose to same-race friends was calculated based on an average of each same-race friend's ranked position. Similarly, preference for disclosing to cross-race friends

was calculated based on an average of each cross-race friend's ranked position. Prior to making these calculations, the ranked position of each same-race and cross-race friend was reverse-coded; doing so simplified the subsequent interpretation of results, such that higher numerical values were indicative of stronger preferences to self-disclose.

Results

Repeated measures analyses indicated that ethnic minority participants reported feeling closer, on average, to their same-race friends (M = 5.61, SD = 1.05) compared to their cross-race friends (M = 4.85, SD = .88), $F(1, 49) = 21.10$, $p < .01$. Therefore, ratings of same-race and cross-race friend closeness were entered as covariates in subsequent analyses.

Manipulation Check

All writing prompt responses were first read by a research assistant (blind to hypotheses) to confirm that participants discussed rejection based on racial or ethnic group membership in the intergroup, but not interpersonal, rejection condition. Preliminary analyses indicated that there were no differences in participants' perceptions of the cause of the rejection they experienced as a function of writing prompt ($M_{interpersonal}$ = 4.54, SD = .96; $M_{intergroup}$ = 4.46, SD = 1.13), $t(47) = .82$, p = .42. Additionally, there were no differences in their perceptions of control over the negative experience as a function of writing prompt ($M_{interpersonal}$ = 2.21, SD = .99, $M_{intergroup}$ = 2.63, SD = 1.42), $t(47) = -1.21$, $p = .23$. These analyses suggest that the negative experiences described by participants in each condition were qualitatively similar, specifically with respect to these features.

Disclosure Preferences

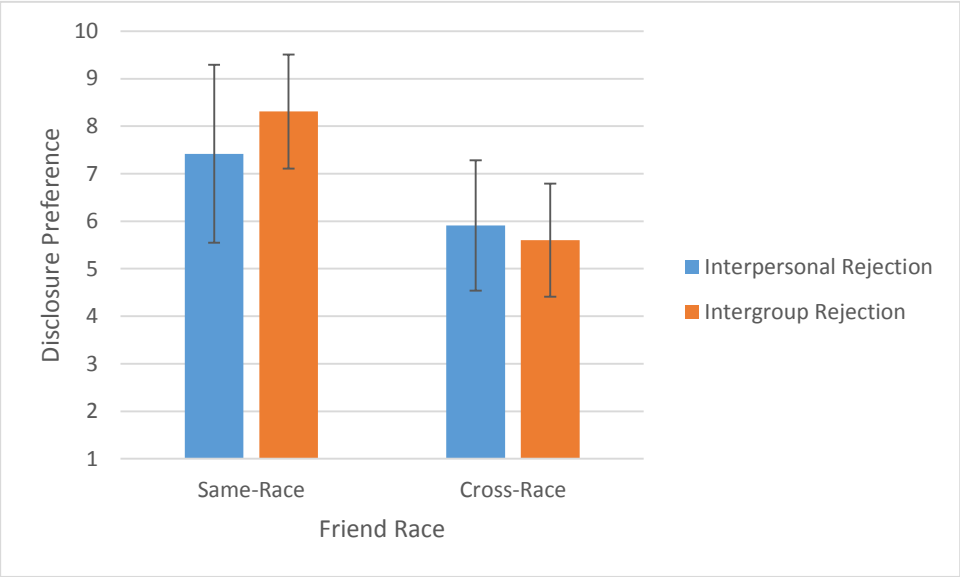
There were no significant differences in same-race and cross-race disclosure preferences as a function of the two types of writing instructions given in each condition. Consequently, the

following results are collapsed across the two interpersonal rejection prompts and two intergroup rejection prompts.

A repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on average same-race and cross-race disclosure preferences, with writing prompt condition entered as a between-subjects variable and same-race and cross-race friend closeness entered as covariates. There was a main effect of disclosure preference, $F(1, 46) = 4.79$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, indicating that ethnic minority participants preferred disclosing their rejection experiences to same-race friends more than cross-race friends. This effect was qualified by a significant writing prompt by disclosure preference interaction, $F(1, 46) = 4.98$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$.

To examine this interaction further, separate repeated measures ANOVAs were run on each writing prompt condition. As shown in Figure 1, when participants wrote about an interpersonal rejection experience, they preferred to disclose the event to their same-race friends ($M = 7.42$, $SD = 1.87$) more than their cross-race friends ($M = 5.91$, $SD = 1.37$), though this difference was not significant, $F(1, 21) = .08$, $p = .78$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$. By contrast, after writing about a personal experience of intergroup rejection, there was a significant difference such that ethnic minorities preferred to disclose the event to their same-race friends ($M = 8.31$, $SD = 1.20$) more than their cross-race friends ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 1.19$), $F(1, 23) = 7.61$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$.

Figure 1. Ethnic minorities' self-disclosure preferences as a function of rejection type and friend race.



There were no differences in ethnic minorities' preferences for disclosing negative interpersonal and intergroup experiences to their cross-race friends, $F(1, 46) = .54$; $p = .48$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. However, results indicated that ethnic minorities had a greater preference for self-disclosing to their same-race friends after writing about an experience of intergroup rejection compared to interpersonal rejection, $F(1, 46) = 5.47$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$.

Discussion

Study 1a provides initial evidence indicating that ethnic minorities hold group-specific preferences for self-disclosure when faced with the opportunity to discuss negative intergroup experiences with others. Specifically, minorities exhibit greater desire for self-disclosing negative events to same-race friends, particularly when it comes to discussing negative intergroup experiences. This finding provides empirical support for a commonly held assumption held by researchers and lay people that ethnic minorities in the United States are more open to discussing

issues of racial discrimination with other ethnic minorities than with those belonging to the privileged majority (i.e., Whites) (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Gaines, 2001). Explanations for why this might be the case are still unestablished. In Study 1b, I aim to conceptually replicate the results of Study 1a and begin to identify mechanisms underlying these self-disclosure preferences.

Study 1b: Understanding Ethnic Minorities' Disclosure Preferences

The objectives of Study 1b are to replicate the initial pattern of findings observed in Study 1a and to identify factors that explain why ethnic minorities exhibit group-specific preferences, particularly when faced with the possibility of self-disclosing negative intergroup experiences. The procedures of the present study were similar to Study 1a but included some changes to address methodological issues. Importantly, the procedure for assessing social network composition was changed to a free response format, which enabled participants to list members of their network without forcing them to generate friends belonging to four specific racial and ethnic groups—a task which may have been somewhat difficult, accounting for the notable differences in same-race and cross-race friend closeness observed in the initial study. As noted previously, the preference disclose is greatly influenced by an individual's perception that their disclosure and appeal for support will be fulfilled (DePaulo, 1982; Flynn & Lake, 2008). Thus, in this study, questions were included to explore the possibility that self-disclosure preferences are explained in part by perceived social support. Specifically, I examined participants' expectations of receiving emotional support from same-race and cross-race friends, as research suggests that this particular form of support plays perhaps the most significant role in protecting individuals from deleterious effects of negative, stressful events (Kessler & McLeod, 1984).

Method

Thirty-four ethnic minorities (22 women) were recruited from an online crowd-sourcing site (Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk, www.mturk.com) to complete a web-based study in exchange for a nominal fee. The study sample was comprised of 13 African Americans, 12 Asian Americans, and 9 Latino Americans. Participants were on average 28.91 years of age (SD = 6.95).

Participants were informed that the study examined everyday social stressors. Similar to the procedures of Study 1a, participants first reported demographic information about themselves (i.e., age, gender, and primary race/ethnicity) as well as the friends within their social network. Then they briefly wrote about a recent negative event in their lives and answered follow-up questions about that event. Finally, participants were probed for suspicion and task engagement, thanked, and debriefed. The study used a two-level (writing prompt: interpersonal rejection vs. intergroup rejection) single-factor between-subjects design.

Social Network Information

Participants listed the first names and surname initials of their 10 closest non-romantic friends and provided information regarding each friend's gender and race/ethnicity. They also rated how close they felt to each friend on a 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*) scale.

Writing Prompt

After describing their social network, participants responded to a writing prompt. The instructions for this study manipulation were the same as those used in Study 1a. Participants were randomly assigned to recall and briefly write about a time in their recent past when they felt they were treated unfairly or with less respect by others (*interpersonal rejection condition*), or treated unfairly or with less respect by others because of their race or ethnicity (*intergroup rejection condition*). As in Study 1a, within each condition, participants were randomly assigned to read one of two versions of writing instructions.

Measures

Perceptions of rejection event. After completing the writing prompt, participants answered questions about their perceptions of the *cause of the rejection* and the amount of *control* they felt over the negative event at the time it occurred (*r*s = .63 and .60 respectively; see Study 1a for the items used to form each composite measure).

To further evaluate participants' perception of how severe and negative the rejection event was, they also rated how upset, distressed, angry, and sad they felt when the event occurred using a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*). These four items were averaged to form a composite measure of *negative affect* elicited by the incident (α = .80).

Disclosure preferences. Participants' preferences were assessed using the same procedures as Study 1a. The names of the friends that the participant reported earlier in the study were listed vertically in a randomized order on a single survey page. Participants indicated their preferences for discussing the recalled negative experience with each friend by rearranging their friends' names to positions vertically higher or lower on the list. The friend positioned at the top of the list represented the person with whom the participant was most willing to discuss the negative event. The ranked positions were reverse-coded before calculating preferences for disclosing to same-race and cross-race friends (i.e., the average value of each same-race friend's ranked position and each cross-race friend's ranked position). As in the previous study, higher numerical values are indicative of stronger preferences for self-disclosure.

Expected social support. Participants were asked to consider how each of their 10 friends might respond if they shared with them the negative experience they wrote about. Their expectations of receiving social support from each friend were measured with two items rated on a 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*) scale: ""How much would you expect [friend's name] to express empathy and understanding about your problem?" and "How much would you expect [friend's name] to be able to see your point of view?" These items were averaged to form composite scores of expected social support from same-race friends and expected social support from cross-race friends (*r*s = .87 and .76, respectively).

Results

All ethnic minority participants were able to generate a full list of 10 friends. However, four participants reported 10 friends who were of the same race, and two participants reported friends who were all of a different race. These six participants were excluded from analysis, leaving a final sample size of 28 (11 in the interpersonal rejection condition, 17 in the intergroup rejection condition).

Repeated measures analyses indicated that there were no significant differences in participants' average ratings of closeness to same-race friends (M = 4.64, SD = 1.34) and cross-race friends (M = 4.61, SD = 1.12), $F(1, 27) = .01$, $p = .92$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$. Additionally, there were no differences in the number of same-race friends (M = 4.96, SD = 2.43) and cross-race friends (M = 5.03, SD = 2.43) that participants reported in their social network list, $F(1, 27) = .01$, $p = .94$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$.

Manipulation Check

The responses to the writing prompts were read by the researcher and a research assistant to verify that participants discussed rejection based on racial/ethnic group membership in the intergroup rejection condition, but not in the interpersonal rejection condition. Preliminary analyses indicated no differences by prompt condition in participants' perceptions of the *cause of the rejection* they experienced ($M_{interpersonal}$ = 4.82, SD = .83; $M_{intergroup}$ = 4.56, SD = .77), $t(25) = .82$, $p = .42$. There were also no differences in their perceptions of *control* over the situation ($M_{interpersonal}$ = 2.36, SD = 1.50; $M_{intergroup}$ = 2.34, SD = 1.17), $t(25) = .04$, $p = .97$. Finally, participants felt similar levels of *negative affect* about the experiences they described in both rejection conditions ($M_{interpersonal}$ = 5.77, SD = 1.20; $M_{intergroup}$ = 5.20, SD = 1.41), $t(25) = 1.09$, $p = .29$. These results suggest that the negative experiences described by participants in each condition were qualitatively similar, particularly with respect to these features.

Disclosure Preferences

In this study, there were no significant differences in the dependent measures as a function of the two versions of instructions administered within each writing prompt condition. Therefore, the following results are collapsed across the two interpersonal rejection prompts and two intergroup rejection prompts.

A repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on average same-race and cross-race disclosure preferences, with writing prompt condition entered as a between-subjects variable and same-race and cross-race friend closeness entered as covariates. Results revealed a marginally significant writing prompt by disclosure preference interaction, $F(1, 25) = 3.45$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$.

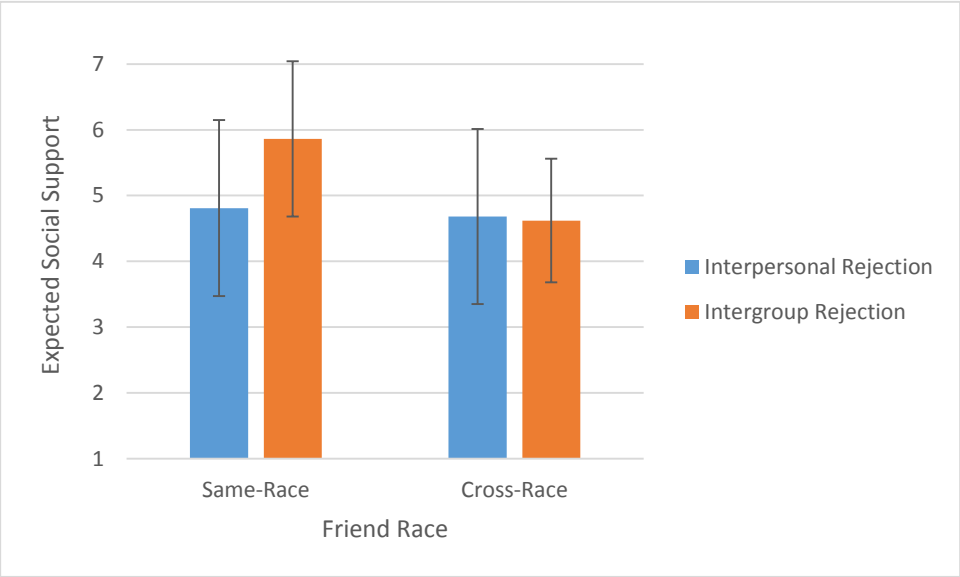
This interaction was examined further by running separate repeated measures ANOVAs on each writing prompt condition. Results indicated that when participants wrote about an interpersonal rejection experience, there were no differences in their preference to disclose the incident to same-race friends (M =4.88, SD = 1.15) compared to cross-race friends (M = 3.91, SD = 2.29), $F(1, 15) = .01$, $p = .92$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$. However, when prompted to write about intergroup rejection, participants preferred to discuss the experience with their same-race friends (M =5.62, SD = 2.08) more than their cross-race friends (M =4.00, SD = 1.32), $F(1, 9) = 10.06$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .53$.

Simple effects analyses indicated no differences in ethnic minority participants' preferences for disclosing negative interpersonal and intergroup experiences to cross-race friends, $F(1, 25) = 2.06$, $p = .16$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. However, participants did have a greater preference for disclosing intergroup rejection experiences more than interpersonal rejection experiences to same-race friends; this difference was marginally significant, $F(1, 25) = 3.01$; $p = .09$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$.

Expected Social Support

Repeated measures analyses also examined ethnic minority participants' expectations of receiving social support from same-race and cross-race friends. Results revealed a writing prompt by social support interaction, $F(1, 25) = 3.626$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. Follow-up repeated measures ANOVAs were run to examine the effect of each writing prompt condition. As illustrated in Figure 2, when participants were asked to consider disclosing the interpersonal rejection experience they wrote about, they expected to receive similar levels of support from same-race friends ($M = 4.81$, $SD = 1.34$) and cross-race friends ($M = 4.68$, $SD = 1.33$), $F(1, 9) = 2.82$, $p = .13$, $\eta_p^2 = .24$. Yet, when participants considered disclosing their intergroup rejection experience, they expected to receive significantly more social support from same-race friends ($M = 5.86$, $SD = 1.18$) compared to cross-race friends ($M = 4.62$, $SD = .94$), $F(1, 15) = 4.63$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .24$. Examined differently, participants expected more support from same-race friends if they disclosed intergroup rejection experiences to them compared to interpersonal rejection experiences, $F(1, 25) = 3.35$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. Yet, participants expected similar levels of support from cross-race friends regardless of what type of rejection experience they considered disclosing, $F(1, 25) = .004$, $p = .94$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$.

Figure 2. Ethnic minorities' expectations of receiving social support as a function of rejection type and friend race.



Mediational Analysis

To evaluate whether expectations of social support help to explain ethnic minorities' preferences for disclosing intergroup rejection to same-race counterparts, procedures recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986) were used to test for mediation in a model examining the relationship between rejection type and same-race friend disclosure preference. The predictor variable, writing prompt (dummy-coded: 0 = interpersonal rejection, 1 = intergroup rejection), significantly predicted the outcome variable, same-race disclosure preference, $\beta = -.37$, $t(26) = -2.04$, $p = .05$. Writing prompt condition also predicted the proposed mediator variable, expected social support from same-race friends, $\beta = .39$, $t(26) = 2.18$, $p = .04$. When disclosure preference was regressed on writing prompt and expected social support, the full model reduced the predictive impact of

stressor, β = -.30, $t(25) = -1.51$, $p = .14$, but yielded no significant effect of support on disclosure, β = -.18, $t(25) = -.92$, $p = .37$. In sum, the full steps outlined for mediation were not satisfied.

Discussion

Consistent with the Study 1a, the ethnic minority participants in Study 1b preferred self-disclosing to same-race friends more than cross-race friends, particularly after recalling recent experiences of intergroup rejection. This preference was observed when social network composition was examined using two different methods—a forced entry format (Study 1a) and a free response format (Study 1b).

Additionally, the results of this study indicate that ethnic minorities anticipated receiving more emotionally supportive responses from same-race friends compared to cross-race friends if they were asked to consider disclosing an intergroup rejection experience to them. In contrast, there were no differences in perceived emotional support from same-race and cross-race friends when participants thought about disclosing interpersonal rejection to them. It was hypothesized that this perceived social support would explain, in part, the relationship between intergroup rejection and preferences to disclose to same-race friends. However, in this study, this mediation model was not fully supported.

There are several limitations to Studies 1a and 1b which prevent strong claims to be made regarding self-disclosure preferences and which could hinder the identification of underlying reasons for these preferences. In particular, though Studies 1a and 1b used different methods of examining social network composition, both measurements implemented a similar ranking procedure in which rankings for one friend were highly interdependent with rankings for other friends. Moreover, in Study 1b, there was variability in the numbers of same-race and cross-race friends that participants named. Both of these factors might account for higher disclosure preference ratings among same-

race friends. Specifically, preference indices based on an average of rank values would be weighted more heavily for same-race friends if more of these friends existed within one's immediate social network. To address these issues and replicate the disclosure preference findings from Studies 1a and 1b, in the next study I implemented new measures that independently assess participants' preference to disclose to each same-race and cross-race friend, as well as their likelihood of disclosing to each friend. Participants answered all questions with respect to two close same-race friends and two close cross-race friends (i.e. Whites), in order to keep the number of friends and the ethnicity of cross-race friends constant across all respondents.

Studies 1a and 1b both manipulated the salience of a negative intergroup experience through the use of an open-ended writing prompt. While this method enables participants to draw from personally relevant events from the past in order to express their disclosure preferences, it also opens the door for wide variation in the events that are recalled. Preliminary analyses of the manipulation check questions indicated that at least on the surface, the participants' interpretations of past interpersonal or intergroup rejection events seemed to be similar in terms of their perceived cause, controllability, and overall negativity. Although a content review of the writing prompts indicated that participants discussed rejection due to unfair racial or ethnic group treatment only in the intergroup rejection condition, there were still a few instances in which the attribution to intergroup rejection was stated somewhat tentatively (e.g., "I'm *not totally sure but I thought* that they might have been rude to me because of my race…"). In these cases of attributional ambiguity, disclosure preferences and underlying motives for disclosure could be quite different from cases in which negative treatment is explicitly attributed to discrimination. If the reasons for rejection are unclear, the target of that rejection may not express a group-specific disclosure preference. Alternatively, they may express a group-specific preference as a means for receiving some form of informational social support (e.g., receiving useful information in order to understand why the

rejection has occurred). To disentangle these issues, in the next study I examine disclosure preferences in situations where the reasons for the rejection are ambiguous. Additionally, I extend the exploration of mechanism and its relation to rejection type by examining participants' perceptions of receiving emotional support as well as instrumental support (i.e. the provision of useful information and advice) from friends.

Study 1c: Ethnic Minorities' Disclosure Preferences and Expectations of Social Support

This study examined racial and ethnic minorities' preferences for self-disclosure using a more precise method of measurement. Rather than using a rank-based measure in which friends' disclosure preference ratings were directly dependent upon the preference ratings of other friends, in this study I had participants list same-race and cross-race friends, and then rate each friend individually for their desirability as a target of disclosure and the participants' likelihood self-disclosing to that friend. Similar to Studies 1a and 1b, interpersonal and intergroup rejection were examined, and an additional rejection condition was added in which the attribution of rejection to group membership was more ambiguous. In order to better detect potential differences in disclosure preferences as a function of rejection, the rejection conditions were held constant through the use of written vignettes. Finally, in addition to assessing perceptions of emotional support provision from same-race and cross-race friends, I implemented items examining perceptions of instrumental support provision from same-race and cross-race friends.

Method

Seventy-six ethnic minorities (42 women) recruited from an online crowd-sourcing site (Mechanical Turk) completed a web-based study in exchange for a nominal fee. The study sample consisted of 21 African Americans, 38 Asian Americans, 12 Latino Americans, 1 Native American, and 4 participants of other racial/ethnic minority background. On average, participants were 29.88 years of age (SD = 10.13).

Participants were informed that the study examined perceptions of negative situations. First, they provided information about themselves (i.e., age, gender, and race/ethnicity) and the friends in their social network. Then, they read descriptions of various scenarios and answered questions related to each scenario. Finally, participants were probed for suspicion and task engagement,

thanked, and debriefed. Overall, the study employed a three-level (rejection scenario: interpersonal vs. ambiguous vs. intergroup) single-factor within-subjects design.

Social Network Information

Participants listed the first name and surname initials of two friends who fit the descriptions of several types of categories (e.g., friends that live more than five miles away from you). In two of these designated categories, they were prompted to list the names of two friends who were of the same race and two friends who were of a different race (specifically, White). After listing each friend, participants provided information regarding each person's gender and rated how close they felt to them on a 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*) scale.

Scenarios

After providing their social network information, participants were instructed to imagine one interpersonal, one ambiguous, and one intergroup rejection scenario. The scenarios were presented in a randomized order. For each type of rejection scenario, participants were randomly assigned to read one of three vignettes: (1) being passed over for a job after an interview; (2) being ignored by a waiter at a restaurant; and (3) receiving rude treatment and service from a store clerk. There was no duplication in the vignettes participants read across the three rejection scenarios.

The interpersonal rejection scenario vignettes were constructed such that the negative experiences were unlikely to be attributed to an individual's race or ethnicity. The ambiguous rejection scenarios left the cause of the negative experiences unclear. In the intergroup rejection scenarios, the three vignettes were composed so that the negative experiences were blatantly attributed to an individual's race or ethnicity. A complete description of the vignettes used in this study can be found in Appendix A.

Measures

Perceptions of rejection scenario. On a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*), participants rated how *stressful* and *negative* the situation was as they imagined it. A*ttributions* for the negative experience were assessed using two questions: "To what extent do you think the outcome of this event was due to bias?" and "To what extent was the outcome of this event due to unfair treatment against you?" (α = .91).

Expected social support. After reading each scenario, participants were asked to consider how each of their same-race and cross-race friends would respond if they disclosed the rejection experience to them. *Expected emotional support* was assessed using two items: "How *understanding* would [friend's name] be if you were to talk about this situation with [him/her]?" and "How much do you think [friend's name] would be able to *empathize* with your situation?" The items were averaged to form composite scores for expected emotional support from same-race friends and from cross-race friends (across the three scenarios, *r*s ranged from .91 to .93 for same-race friends, .88 to .89 for cross-race friends). *Expected instrumental support* was measured using two items: "How *informative* would [friend's name] be if you were to talk about this situation with [him/her]?" and "How much do you think [friend's name] would be able to *provide you with useful advice* about this situation?" These items were averaged to create composite scores of perceived instrumental support from same-race friends and from cross-race friends (across scenarios, *r*s ranged from .85 to .89 for same-race friends, .88 to .91 for cross-race friends).

Disclosure preferences. Participants' answered two questions to assess their *desire to disclose* the negative experience to each same-race and cross-race friend: "How much would you want to share with [friend's name] that this experience happened to you?" and "How much would you want to talk about this situation with [friend's name]?" These items were averaged to form composite measures of the desire to disclose to same-race friends and to cross-race friends (across scenarios, *r*s

ranged from .94 to .96 for same-race friends, .91 to .94 for cross-race friends). To assess the *likelihood of disclosing* the scenario to each same-race and cross-race friend, participants answered two questions: "How likely would you be to share with [friend's name] that this experience happened to you?" and "How likely would you be to talk about this situation with [friend's name]?" These items were also averaged to create composite measures for the likelihood of disclosing to same-race and cross-race friends (across scenarios, *r*s ranged from .93 to .95 for same-race friends and .92 to .94 for cross-race friends).

Results

All participants were able to generate two names for the designated same-race and cross-race (White) friend categories. Preliminary analyses indicated that on average, participants felt closer to their same-race friends ($M = 4.93$, $SD = 1.53$) than their cross-race friends ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 1.31$), though this difference was not statistically significant, $F(1, 72) = 2.59$, $p = .11$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$.

Manipulation Check

Analyses examined whether there were differences in levels of stressfulness, negativity, and attributions to discrimination among the three different vignettes within each rejection scenario. In general, there were no differences among the vignettes for these measures (all *p*s < .23), so the data were collapsed within each of the interpersonal, ambiguous, and intergroup rejection scenarios.

Repeated measures analyses found that there were no differences in ratings of stressfulness by scenario condition, $F(2, 18) = .03$, $p = .86$. However, there were significant differences by scenario for perceived negativity, $F(2, 140) = 14.26$, $p < .01$. Specifically, the interpersonal rejection scenarios were perceived as less negative ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.48$) than the intergroup rejection ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 1.76$) and ambiguous rejection scenarios ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.50$), *p*s < .01. Moreover, the

intergroup rejection scenarios were perceived as more negative than the ambiguous rejection scenarios, $p = .02$.

Additional analyses were conducted to verify that the intergroup rejection scenarios were perceived to be the most unfair and biased relative to the interpersonal and ambiguous rejection scenarios. Overall, there were significant differences by scenario, $F(2, 148) = 29.76$, $p < .01$. Participants perceived the intergroup rejection scenarios to be more unfair and biased ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 1.77$) than the interpersonal rejection ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.84$) and ambiguous rejection scenarios ($M = 4.43$, $SD = 1.80$), both ps $< .01$. Furthermore, the intergroup rejection scenarios were perceived as more unfair and biased than the ambiguous rejection scenarios, $p < .01$.

To examine whether ethnic minority participants have different expectations of and responses to same-race and cross-race friends as a function of their rejection experiences, the data were subjected to a 2 (friend race: same vs. different/White) x 3 (rejection scenario: interpersonal vs. ambiguous vs. intergroup) repeated measures ANOVA. Similar to Studies 1a and 1b, these analyses also controlled for same-race and cross-race friend closeness. Table 1 summarizes the means and standard deviations for all dependent variables according to rejection scenario and friend race. Each of these variables are discussed further in the sections that follow.

Table 1. Summarization of expected support and disclosure variables in Study 1c as a function of rejection type and friend race.

Dependent Variable	Friend Race	Rejection Scenario		
		Interpersonal	Ambiguous	Intergroup
Expected Emotional Support	Same-Race	4.67 (1.63)	5.41 (1.42)	5.78 (1.26)
	Cross-Race	4.79 (1.75)	4.63 (1.63)	4.56 (1.61)
Expected Instrumental Support	Same-Race	4.48 (1.64)	4.80 (1.54)	5.35 (1.37)
	Cross-Race	4.38 (1.66)	4.28 (1.70)	4.37 (1.56)
Desire to Disclose	Same-Race	4.10 (2.02)	4.20 (1.87)	4.77 (1.86)
	Cross-Race	3.52 (1.90)	3.70 (1.94)	3.97 (1.92)
Likelihood of Disclosure	Same-Race	4.00 (1.90)	4.39 (1.89)	4.98 (1.86)
	Cross-Race	4.18 (2.10)	3.76 (1.93)	4.00 (2.00)

Expected Social Support

Emotional support. Results revealed a main effect of friend race, $F(1, 70) = 10.46$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. Overall, ethnic minority participants expected their same-race friends ($M = 5.32$, $SE = .14$) to respond with more empathy and understanding than their cross-race White friends ($M = 4.64$, $SE = .16$). Moreover, an effect of rejection scenario indicated that participants expected more emotional support from friends if they disclosed experiences of ambiguous and intergroup rejection to them ($M = 5.03$, $SE = .15$ and $M = 5.20$, $SE = .12$, respectively) compared to interpersonal rejection ($M = 4.72$ $SE = .17$), $F(1, 140) = 3.33$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. These main effects were qualified by a friend race and rejection scenario interaction, $F(2, 140) = 2.71$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$.

Separate repeated measures analyses comparing expected emotional support from same-race and cross-race friends in each rejection scenario indicate that participants expected similar levels of emotional support if they considered disclosing the interpersonal rejection experience to their same-race and cross-race friends, $F(1, 70) = .80$, $p = .38$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. However, when participants

considered discussing ambiguous rejection experiences, they expected more emotional support from same-race friends compared to cross-race friends, $F(1, 70) = 13.98$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$. Similarly, participants expected their same-race friends to be more empathic and understanding than cross-race friends when they considered disclosing intergroup rejection to them, $F(1, 70) = 7.15$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$.

Comparing rejection scenarios by friend race indicated that participants expected similar levels of emotional support from cross-race friends across all three scenarios, $F(2, 140) = .84$, $p = .44$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. In contrast, there were significant differences in expected emotional support from same-race friends as a function of rejection scenario, $F(1.73, 121.04) = 5.81$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Specifically, participants expected their same-race friends to respond with more emotional support if they disclosed intergroup or ambiguous rejection to them compared to if they considered disclosing interpersonal rejection, both ps $< .01$. Moreover, they expected more emotional support from same-race friends if they disclosed intergroup rejection to them compared to ambiguous rejection, $p < .01$.

Instrumental support. Analyses indicated a significant main effect of rejection scenario $F(2, 140) = 2.75$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, qualified by a marginal friend race and rejection scenario interaction, $F(1.79, 125.49) = 2.48$, $p = .08$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

Repeated measures analyses comparing expectations of instrumental support from same-race and cross-race friends in each scenario revealed that participants expected similar levels of support from same-race and cross-race friends when they imagined disclosing interpersonal rejection, $F(1, 70) = .87$, $p = .35$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. When participants considered disclosing ambiguous rejection experiences, they expected more instrumental support from same-race friends compared to cross-race friends, though this difference was not significant, $F(1, 70) = 2.00$, $p = .16$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Furthermore, participants expected to receive more useful information and advice from same-race

friends than from cross-race friends if they disclosed intergroup rejection to them, $F(1, 70) = 6.45$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$.

An analysis of rejection scenarios across each friend type indicated that participants expected similar levels of instrumental support from their cross-race friends whether they considered disclosing interpersonal, ambiguous, or intergroup rejection, $F(2, 140) = .19$, $p = .82$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$. However, among their same-race friends, participants expected different levels of instrumental support as a function of the type of rejection they considered disclosing, $F(2, 140) = 6.50$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. Specifically, participants expected same-race friends to give more instrumental support in response to an intergroup or ambiguous rejection disclosure compared to if they responded to an interpersonal rejection disclosure ($p < .01$ and $p = .06$). Furthermore, they expected more instrumental support from same-race friends in response to an intergroup rejection disclosure compared to an ambiguous rejection disclosure, $p < .01$.

Disclosure Preferences

Desire to disclose. Again, the two-way repeated measures analyses revealed main effects of friend race, $F(1, 70) = 7.69$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, and rejection scenario, $F(1.62, 121.49) = 3.83$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, qualified by a significant friend race by rejection scenario interaction, $F(1.83, 137.18) = 4.26$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$.

Analyses comparing same-race and cross-race friends in each rejection condition showed that participants expressed a similar level of desire to disclose interpersonal rejection to same-race and cross-race friends, $F(1, 70) = 1.58$, $p = .21$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. By contrast, participants desired disclosing ambiguous rejection experiences to same-race friends more than cross-race friends ($F(1, 70) = 6.07$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$) and also desired disclosing intergroup rejection to same-race friends more than cross-race friends, $F(1, 70) = 8.87$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$.

Repeated measures analyses comparing rejection scenarios by friend race indicated that participants reported similar levels of desire to disclose to cross-race friends across the three scenario conditions, $F(2, 140) = 1.94$, $p = .15$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Additionally, there were marginally significant differences in their desire to disclose negative experiences to same-race friends, $F(1.70, 1.25.01) = 9.36$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Participants expressed a stronger desire to discuss intergroup rejection with their same-race friends compared to discussing interpersonal rejection ($p = .01$) or ambiguous rejection, $p < .01$. There was no significant difference in participants' inclination to discuss interpersonal compared to ambiguous rejection, $p = .60$.

Likelihood of disclosure. The 2 x 3 repeated measures ANOVA indicated significant main effects of friend race, $F(1, 70) = 8.78$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, and rejection scenario $F(1.66, 127.96) = 3.23$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. These effects were qualified by a significant friend race by scenario interaction, $F(1.88, 131.62) = 4.39$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$.

Repeated measures analyses comparing same-race and cross-race friends in each scenario indicated that participants were just as likely to disclose interpersonal rejection experiences to their same-race friends as to their cross-race friends, $F(1,70) = .29$, $p = .59$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$. When considering the disclosure of ambiguous rejection, participants reported being more likely to discuss the issue with their same-race friends than cross-race friends, though this difference was not significant, $F(1, 70) = .16$, $p = .69$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$. Yet, they reported being significantly more likely to disclose intergroup rejection to same-race friends than to cross-race friends, $F(1, 70) = 10.26$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$.

When comparing the scenarios by friend race, results indicated that participants expressed a similar likelihood of disclosing to their cross-race friends regardless of the type of rejection scenario they considered discussing, $F(1.67, 125.52) = 1.09$, $p = .39$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. However, there were significant differences in participants' likelihood of disclosing to same-race friends depending on the

nature of the rejection experience, $F(1.77, 124.13) = 2.39$, $p < .09$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Specifically, they reported being more likely to turn to same-race friends to talk about intergroup rejection compared to interpersonal and ambiguous rejection, both ps = .01. Participants reported a similar likelihood of discussing interpersonal and ambiguous rejection with same-race friends, $p = .46$.

Mediational Analyses

To examine whether expected emotional and instrumental support from same-race friends explained in part participants' same-race disclosure preferences, I followed guidelines for testing mediation using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression in within-subject designs (Judd, Kenny, & McClelland, 2001). First, mediation was tested in a model examining the relationship between rejection scenario (specifically comparing interpersonal and intergroup rejection, dummy coded: -1=interpersonal, 1=intergroup) and same-race friend disclosure preference. Difference scores were calculated representing contrasts between interpersonal and intergroup rejection in expected emotional support and instrumental support, desire to disclose, and likelihood of disclosure to same-race friends.

Standard OLS regression procedures for mediation were followed using these difference scores (Baron & Kenny, 1986). The first criterion for mediation—for the predictor variable (rejection scenario) to affect the outcome variables (desire to disclose and likelihood of disclosure)—was met by the previous analyses showing differences in participants' desire to disclose and likelihood of disclosure as a function of rejection scenario. The second criterion for mediation—for the predictor variable to affect the proposed mediators—was also met by previous analyses, which showed differences between expected same-race emotional support and instrumental support as a function of rejection scenario. The third and fourth criteria for each outcome variable were tested next.

Desire to disclose. I examined whether differences in expected emotional support and instrumental support from same-race friends mediated the effects of rejection on participants' desire to disclose specifically to same-race friends. Desire to disclose was regressed on the sum of participants' emotional support scores and instrumental support scores, as well as the contrast differences in emotional and instrumental support scores. The third criterion was met for differences in expected emotional support, which was a significant predictor of differences in desire to disclose, $\beta = .25$, $t(71) = 1.96$, $p = .06$. In addition, the third criterion was met for differences in perceived instrumental support, which was a significant predictor of differences in participants' desire to disclose, $\beta = .32$, $t(71) = 2.55$, $p = .01$. The final criterion, for the association between the predictor variable and outcome variable to decrease after inclusion of the mediators in the equation, was fulfilled for both expected emotional support and instrumental support, as the effect of rejection scenario on desire to disclose was reduced to non-significance, $\beta = .23$, $t(71) = 1.40$, $p = .17$ (effects after inclusion of perceived emotional support) and $\beta = .08$, $t(71) = .47$, $p = .64$ (effects after inclusion of perceived instrumental support).

Likelihood of disclosure. I then examined whether differences in expected emotional support and instrumental support from same-race friends mediated the effects of rejection on participants' likelihood of disclosing to same-race friends. Likelihood of disclosure was regressed on the sum of participants' emotional support and instrumental support scores as well as the contrast differences in emotional and instrumental support scores. The third criterion was met for differences in expected emotional support, which was a marginal predictor of differences in likelihood of disclosure, $\beta = .23$, $t(71) = 1.72$, $p = .09$. Additionally, the third criterion was met for differences in perceived instrumental support, which was a significant predictor of differences in likelihood of disclosure, $\beta = .26$, $t(71) = 1.96$, $p = .05$. The final criterion, for the association

between the predictor variable and outcome variable to decrease after inclusion of the mediators in the equation, was fulfilled for expected emotional support and instrumental support, as the effect of rejection scenario on likelihood was reduced, $\beta = .31$, $t(71) = 1.84$, $p = .07$ (effects after inclusion of expected emotional support) and $\beta = -.11$, $t(71) = -.68$, $p = .50$ (effects after inclusion of expected instrumental support).

Discussion

Building on the previous studies, Study 1c provides additional evidence that ethnic minorities prefer disclosing to same-race friends more than cross-race friends, particularly after recalling experiences of intergroup rejection. Moreover, the results suggest that perceived emotional support and perceived instrumental support partially explain ethnic minorities' disclosure preferences regarding intergroup rejection. Specifically, ethnic minorities perceive more emotional support (i.e., empathy and understanding) and instrumental support (i.e., information and useful advice about the situation) coming from same-race friends after disclosing intergroup rejection, which predicts a greater desire to disclose to these friends and greater likelihood of disclosing to them.

Additionally, this study begins to examine ethnic minorities' preferences to disclose ambiguous rejection experiences. The data suggest that similar to intergroup rejection, participants desired discussing ambiguous situations with same-race others and felt that they would be more likely to discuss them with same-race friends than with cross-race friends. However, the data also suggest that for participants, these levels of desire and likelihood to discuss ambiguous rejection are similar to those reported for interpersonal rejection and lower than the desire and likelihood of discussing intergroup rejection. This is curious, as participants perceive that same-race friends

would provide some amount of emotional and instrumental support to them if they disclosed ambiguous rejection (i.e., disclosing could be potentially helpful, to some extent).

There are some limitations to note in this particular study. First, these findings raise the question of whether the effects of intergroup rejection on disclosure preference are specific to same-race friends, or if ethnic minorities will prefer to disclose intergroup rejection to same-race friends as well as other ethnic minority friends. Additional analyses of the Studies 1a and 1b compared participants' preferences for disclosing to ethnic minority friends (rather than same-race friends) versus White friends. Results indicate a similar pattern of results in which minorities prefer disclosing to other ethnic minorities over Whites, but the interaction between racial/ethnic status and writing prompt was not significant. Thus, self-disclosure preferences may be more strongly influenced by shared racial and ethnic background, rather than shared social status; this issue warrants further research. One possible direction for addressing this issue is to slightly alter the current study paradigm so that participants list same-race friends, White friends, and other ethnic minority friends, and then rate each friend on the disclosure measures used here.

While perceived emotional and instrumental support appear to be important mediators of intergroup rejection disclosures, other factors could also be related to it. Disclosing in order to acquire empathy and understanding, useful information, and advice are all suggestive of approach-oriented motivations for disclosing to same-race friends. In addition these approach-oriented factors, it would be important to examine avoidance-oriented motives in future studies, which could help explain decisions to *not* disclose intergroup rejection cross-race friends for support. Examples might include perceived negative responses or unresponsiveness from cross-race friends, perceived misunderstanding, and concerns about being viewed and treated in a stereotypical fashion by cross-race partners (i.e., meta-stereotyping). Notably, work by Nordgren, Banas, and MacDonald (2011) suggests that perceived empathy gaps may govern how people react to socially distressing events.

Specifically, people tend to underestimate the severity of social pain experienced by others as a result of negative events, such as ostracism and other forms of social exclusion. However, this biased underestimation is "corrected" when those individuals have experienced the pain themselves and/or are highly identified with the group member who experienced the distressing event. It is possible that individuals who experience social exclusion perceive that this underestimation of social pain is likely to occur with certain people in their network, and will consequently choose not to disclose these experiences with them. This point will be explored in the next study.

It is important to point out that in these first few studies, ethnic minority participants were always asked to consider same-race or cross-race *friends* as the targets of disclosure (i.e., seemingly supportive, "safe" intragroup and intergroup contexts). Thus, these studies are limited in their potential to address the question of whether target closeness or relationship actually matters when making decisions to discuss race-related hardships. It could be the case that disclosure preferences are the result of an interaction of both target race and target relation, such that minorities experiencing intergroup rejection could have the greatest preference for discussing such issues with same-race friends, followed by cross-race friends, and similarly low preferences to talk to same-race acquaintances and cross-race acquaintances. Alternatively, it is possible that target race matters more than one's relation to that target. Minorities may prefer disclosing to same-race others, regardless of whether they are close friends or mere acquaintances, perhaps due to assumptions that same-race individuals have had similar experiences of race-based rejection and are therefore most able to provide adequate emotional and instrumental social support for these situations. Research by Stangor, Swim, Van Allen, and Sechrist (2002) provides some indication that this might be the case. In their work, they found that members of stigmatized groups (i.e., African Americans, women) were more willing to publicly and privately claim that a negative event that occurred to them was the result of discrimination when they were in the presence of an ingroup member

(specifically, an acquaintance), but not when in the presence of a nonstigmatized outgroup member (also an acquaintance). To address this particular issue, in Study 2, I specifically test for systematic differences in perceptions of social support and disclosure preferences as a function of the disclosure target's race and relationship.

Study 2: Ethnic Minority Disclosures as a Function of Race and Interpersonal Closeness

The current study is similar to the Study 1c, but with three notable differences. First, participants only read and imagined one scenario, which varied in the type of rejection described (interpersonal, ambiguous, or intergroup). In addition to identifying same-race and cross-race friends, respondents also identified same-race and cross-race acquaintances and rated all of these individuals on their perceived ability to provide emotional and instrumental support, as well as their disclosure preferences (i.e., their desire and likelihood of disclosing to each individual). To further explore ethnic minorities' perceptions of how others regard their experiences of intergroup conflict and hardship (and particularly, ethnic minorities' perceptions of empathy gaps among Whites with regards to intergroup rejection), questions about participants' feelings of social pain and their perceptions of others' assessments of their pain were included in this study.

Method

Sixty ethnic minority participants (35 females) were recruited from an online crowdsourcing site (Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk) to complete a web-based study in exchange for a nominal fee. The study sample consisted 31 African Americans, 18 Asian Americans, 10 Latino Americans, and 1 Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander. The average age of participants was 30.57 years old (SD = 12.60).

Participants were informed that the study surveyed their evaluations of different social situations. They first provided information about themselves (i.e., age, gender, and race/ethnicity) and about different individuals within their social network. Next, they read a description of a scenario and answered a series of questions related to that scenario and target individuals that they had initially described. Participants were finally probed for suspicion and task engagement, thanked, and debriefed. Overall, the study employed a 2 (target race: same-race vs. cross-race) x 2 (target

relationship: acquaintance vs. friend) x 3 (rejection scenario: interpersonal vs. ambiguous vs. intergroup) mixed design with repeated measures for the first two factors.

Social Network Information

Participants listed the first name and surname initials of two individuals in their social network who fit the descriptions of several designated categories (e.g., friends who live more than five miles away from you). Notably, participants were prompted to list two friends what were of the same race or ethnicity; two acquaintances that were of the same race or ethnicity; two friends that were of a different race (White); and two acquaintances that were of a different race (White). After listing each individual, participants provided information regarding each person's gender and rated how close they felt to them on a 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*) scale.

Scenario

After providing their social network information, participants were instructed to read and imagine social situation ostensibly chosen at random from a pool of everyday scenarios: interviewing and being rejected for a job opportunity. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of three scenario conditions, which varied according to the attributions made for the interview outcome. In the *interpersonal rejection* condition, participants read that they suspected being rejected for the job because they were not as qualified as other applicants. In the *intergroup rejection* condition, participants read that they suspected they were not hired because of their racial/ethnic group membership. The *ambiguous rejection* condition gave participants no additional written information regarding attributions for the job interview outcome.

Measures

Perceptions of rejection scenario. After reading and imaging the scenario, participants rated the *severity* of the outcome on a scale from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*) (reverse-scored). Additionally, participants rated how *stressful* the situation was as they imagined it. To assess

participants' *attributions* for the negative experience, they rated the extent to which they thought the outcome of the situation was due to discrimination, specifically (1) the interviewer's bias and (2) unfair treatment against them. These two items were averaged to form a composite measure of attributions to discrimination (r=.85).

Social pain. Participants completed the Faces Pain Rating Scale-Revised (Bieri, Reeve, Champion, Addicoat & Ziegler, 1990), the scale used in Nordgren et. al.'s (2011) research to measure social pain intensity, to indicate how much social pain they felt about the rejection scenario. This measure consists of pictures of faces distributed across an 11-point scale. The faces vary according to the magnitude of pain they express, with higher scale ratings reflecting greater pain. To examine participants' perceptions of their friends' and acquaintances' sensitivity to their social pain, they also answered questions regarding how much pain each target individual (friends and acquaintances) would rate them as feeling if they disclosed the imagined scenario to them (rs = .85 and .78 for same-race and cross-race friends respectively; .82 and .70 same-race and cross-race acquaintances respectively).

Expected social support. The same items from Study 1c were used to assess participants' expectations of receiving social support from same-race and cross-race friends and acquaintances in their social network. The composite measures of *expected emotional support* met acceptable standards for reliability across the different types of disclosure targets (rs = .85 for same-race friends, .79 for cross-race friends, .86 for same-race acquaintances, .87 for cross-race acquaintances). The composite measures of *expected instrumental support* also met acceptable reliability standards (rs = .85 for same-race friends, .79 for cross-race friends, .88 for same-race acquaintances, .84 for cross-race acquaintances).

Disclosure preferences. The same items from Study 1c were asked to form composite measures of participants' preferences for discussing the rejection experience with friends and

acquaintances. Items were averaged to create a measure of their *desire to disclose* the experience to each type of target (*r*s = .91 for same-race friends, .86 for cross-race friends, .93 for same-race acquaintances, .90 for cross-race acquaintances) as well as their *likelihood of disclosing* the experience to each target (*r*s = .89 for same-race friends, .87 for cross-race friends, .92 for same-race acquaintances, .90 for cross-race acquaintances).

Results

All participants were able to generate two names for the designated same-race and cross-race (White) friend and acquaintance categories. Preliminary analyses examined whether the acquaintances and friends participants listed differed in ratings of felt closeness. There was an effect of target relationship on closeness, $F(1, 57) = 127.60$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .69$. Pairwise comparisons (LSD) showed that, as anticipated, participants felt closer to friends ($M = 5.08$) than acquaintances ($M = 3.05$) in their social network. In addition, there was an effect of target race, $F(1, 57) = 10.53$, $p < .01$, such that participants felt closer to same-race than cross-race friends. Target race and relationship did not significantly interact with one another, $F(1, 57) = 3.03$, $p = .27$. There were also no significant differences in ratings of closeness as a function of rejection scenario condition, $F(2, 55) = .86$, $p = .43$.

Manipulation Check

A three-level (rejection scenario: interpersonal, ambiguous, intergroup) single-factor between-subjects ANOVA was conducted on participants' perceptions of scenario severity, stressfulness, attributions to discrimination, and social pain. Results for outcome severity indicated that participants perceived the three job rejection conditions ($M_{interpersonal} = 5.51$, $SD = 1.34$; $M_{ambiguous} = 5.26$, $SD = 1.34$; $M_{intergroup} = 5.70$, $SD = 1.21$) to be similarly negative, $F(2, 55) = .60$, $p = .55$. Additionally, the three scenarios ($M_{interpersonal} = 5.04$, $SD = 1.63$; $M_{ambiguous} = 5.08$, $SD = 1.83$; $M_{intergroup} =$

5.26; *SD* = 1.68) were perceived to be similarly stressful, $F(2, 55) = .07$, $p = .93$. There were also no significant differences in the levels of social pain elicited by each scenario, $F(2, 55) = .07$, $p = .93$. Moderate levels of social pain were reported in response to imagining the interpersonal (*M* = 6.28, *SD* = 2.29), ambiguous (*M* = 6.54, *SD* = 2.62), and intergroup (*M* = 6.53; *SD* = 2.23) job rejection scenarios.

Although the scenarios were perceived as similarly negative in nature, there were significant differences in participants' perception of discriminatory treatment across the rejection scenarios, $F(2, 55) = 5.97$, $p < .01$. Pairwise comparisons indicated that participants in the intergroup rejection condition (*M* = 4.89, *SD* = 1.44) perceived the situation as more biased and unfair than participants who imagined ambiguous rejection (*M* = 3.11, *SD* = 1.76; $p < .01$) and interpersonal rejection (*M* = 4.00, *SD* = 1.63; $p = .02$) scenarios. Respondents imagining ambiguous rejection saw the situation as being less discriminatory than those imagining interpersonal rejection, but this difference was not significant, $p = .24$.

Perceptions of Social Pain

To examine whether participants expected empathy gaps in others' perception of their pain as a function of rejection type, I calculated a difference score between their actual ratings of social pain and their ratings of same-race and cross-race friends' and acquaintances' perception of their pain. The data were then subjected to a 2 (target race) x 2 (target relationship) x 3 (rejection scenario) mixed ANOVA with repeated measures on the first two factors.

Results revealed a main effect of target relationship ($F(1, 57) = 7.91$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$) qualified by a target race and relationship interaction, $F(1, 57) = 6.44$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. There was no significant main effect of or interaction with rejection scenario, both ps < .59. Table 2 summarizes the means and standard deviations of perceived social pain disparities as a function of target race and relationship.

Table 2. Average differences between ethnic minorities' felt pain and others' perception of their pain as a function of target race and relationship.

	Target Relationship	
	Acquaintance	Friend
Same-Race Target	.11 (.32)	.29 (2.56)
Cross-Race Target	1.08 (3.06)	.07 (2.57)

Further analysis of the target race and relationship interaction found that participants expected a larger empathy gap among cross-race (White) acquaintances compared to cross-race friends, $F(1, 53) = 25.59$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .29$. However, participants did not perceive significant disparities between their felt pain and same-race friends' and acquaintances' ratings of this pain, $F(1, 55) = .91$, $p = .34$, $\eta_p^2 = 01$. Examined differently, participants expected larger empathy gaps among cross-race acquaintances compared to same-race acquaintances, $F(1, 59) = 7.51$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. This difference was not observed between cross-race and same-race friends, $F(1, 59) = .02$, $p = .89$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$.

Table 3. Means and standard deviations of expected support and disclosure variables as a function of rejection type and target race, Study 2.

Dependent Variable	Target	Rejection Scenario Type		
		Interpersonal	Ambiguous	Intergroup
Expected Emotional Support	Same-Race	5.15 (1.30)	4.91 (1.50)	5.66 (1.06)
	Cross-Race	4.80 (1.39)	4.90 (1.22)	4.10 (1.36)
Expected Instrumental Support	Same-Race	4.73 (1.21)	4.10 (1.52)	5.80 (1.48)
	Cross-Race	4.66 (1.27)	4.41 (1.06)	4.17 (1.67)
Desire to Disclose	Same-Race	4.10 (1.50)	3.95 (1.72)	4.86 (1.62)
	Cross-Race	3.94 (1.69)	3.88 (1.53)	3.33 (1.68)
Likelihood of Disclosure	Same-Race	4.45 (1.28)	4.40 (1.71)	5.69 (1.47)
	Cross-Race	4.27 (1.80)	4.52 (1.34)	3.73 (1.57)

Expectations of Social Support

Emotional support. A 2 (target race) x 2 (target relationship) x 3 (rejection scenario) mixed ANOVA with repeated measures on the first two factors revealed main effects of target race ($F(1, 57) = 12.55, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .24$) and target relationship ($F(1, 57) = 35.93\ p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .39$), but not rejection scenario ($F(2, 57) = .51, p = .60, \eta_p^2 = .02$) on participants' expectations of receiving emotional support from individuals in their social network. Target relationship also did not interact with target race or scenario type, ps > .67. However, there was a significant target race by rejection scenario interaction, $F(2, 57) = 6.43\ p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .18$.

Table 3 summarizes the means and standard deviations for the expected emotional support variable as a function of rejection scenario and target race. Simple effects analyses of each rejection scenario revealed that participants expected same-race others to provide more emotional support than cross-race (White) others after disclosing an interpersonal rejection experience, though this difference was not significant, $F(1, 24) = 3.07, p = .10, \eta_p^2 = .17$. Participants expected similar levels of emotional support from same-race and cross-race others when they considered disclosing ambiguous rejection, $F(1, 24) = .001, p = .97, \eta_p^2 = .00$. However, participants in the intergroup rejection condition expected more emotional support from same-race others compared to cross-race others, $F(1, 19) = 9.35, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .33$. When examining the expected emotional support of cross-race counterparts as a function of rejection scenario, participants expected similar levels of emotional support from cross-race counterparts regardless of rejection scenario, $p = .40$. However, participants expected more support from same-race others in response to intergroup rejection disclosures compared to interpersonal rejection disclosures ($p = .09$) and ambiguous rejection disclosures ($p = .02$). Furthermore, participants perceived that similar levels of emotional support would be given in response to interpersonal and ambiguous rejection disclosures, $p = .20$.

Instrumental support. Results indicated no significant main effects of target race ($F(1, 57) = .005$, $p = .94$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$) or scenario type ($F(2, 57) = 1.15$, $p = .32$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$) on expectations of receiving instrumental support, but there was an effect of target relationship ($F(1, 57) = 24.63$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$). Target relationship did not interact with target race or rejection scenario, ps > .49. However, the target race by rejection scenario interaction was significant, $F(2, 57) = 3.32$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Simple effects analyses for each rejection scenario were conducted to examine the pattern of the interaction.

Table 3 summarizes the means and standard deviations for the expected instrumental support variable as a function of rejection scenario and target race. When participants considered disclosing interpersonal rejection, they exhibited no differences in the instrumental support they expected from same-race and cross-race others, $F(1, 24) = .07$, $p = .80$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$. There were also no significant differences based on target race when they considered disclosing ambiguous rejection to same-race or cross-race counterparts, $F(1, 24) = 2.46$, $p = .13$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Notably, when participants considered disclosing intergroup rejection, they expected same-race others to provide marginally more instrumental support compared to cross-race others in their network, $F(1, 24) = 3.55$, $p = .08$, $\eta_p^2 = .23$. Examined differently, participants expected similar levels of instrumental support from cross-race counterparts regardless of rejection scenario, $p = .44$. Participants expected same-race counterparts to provide more instrumental support in response to intergroup rejection disclosures compared to interpersonal rejection ($p = .08$) and ambiguous rejection disclosures ($p = .07$). Additionally, they expected similar levels of instrumental support for interpersonal and ambiguous rejection disclosures ($p = .13$).

Disclosure Preferences

Desire to disclose. Participants exhibited a greater preference to disclose negative events to same-race others than cross-race others, $F(1, 57) = 4.38$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$, and disclosing to friends more than acquaintances, $F(1, 57) = 48.28$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .42$. There was no main effect of rejection scenario, $F(2, 57) = .07$, $p = .93$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$. The target race by rejection scenario interaction was significant, $F(2, 57) = 3.31$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$.

Table 3 summarizes the means and standard deviations for the desire to disclose variable as a function of rejection scenario and target race. Simple effects analyses indicated that when participants considered disclosing interpersonal rejection, there were no significant differences in their desire to disclose the experience to same-race or cross-race others, $F(1, 24) = .33$, $p = .57$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. This was also the case when they considered disclosing an ambiguous rejection experience to a same-race or cross-race counterpart, $F(1, 24) = .11$, $p = .74$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Yet, when participants considered disclosing intergroup rejection to friends and acquaintances, they expressed a stronger desire to disclose the experience to same-race compared to cross-race others, $F(1, 19) = 6.36$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$. Ethnic minority participants reported similar desire to disclose to cross-race counterparts regardless of rejection scenario, $p = .39$. Participants desired discussing intergroup rejection disclosures with same-race others more than interpersonal disclosures ($p = .09$) and ambiguous disclosures ($p = .08$). However, they desired to discuss interpersonal and ambiguous rejection disclosures with same-race others to a similar extent ($p = .12$).

Likelihood of disclosure. Again, there was a main effect of target race on participants' likelihood of disclosing negative experiences ($F(1, 57) = 4.38$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$), as well as an effect of target relationship ($F(1, 57) = 48.28$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .46$), but not rejection scenario, $F(2, 57) = .07$, $p = .93$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$. Target relationship also did not significantly interact with target race or rejection

scenario. The overall target race by rejection scenario interaction was significant ($F(2, 57) = 3.81$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$).

As noted in Table 3, the pattern of results paralleled those of the other dependent measures of interest in this study. Simple effects tests for each rejection scenario revealed no differences in participants' likelihood of disclosing interpersonal rejection experiences to same-race and cross-race others, $F(1, 24) = .53$, $p = .47$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$). There were also no significant differences for disclosing ambiguous rejection as a function of target race, $F(1, 24) = .20$, $p = .66$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. However, when respondents considered disclosing intergroup rejection, they expressed greater likelihood of self-disclosing to same-race others than cross-race others, $F(1, 19) = 7.12$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$. There were no significant differences in participants' likelihood of discussing negative experiences with cross-race counterparts as a function of the type of experience, $p = .28$. On the other hand, participants reported being more likely to discuss intergroup rejection experiences with same-race others compared to interpersonal ($p = .06$) and ambiguous rejection ($p = .05$) experiences. They reported being equally likely to discuss interpersonal and ambiguous experiences with same-race counterparts, $p = .91$.

Mediational Analyses

I examined whether expected emotional and instrumental support from same-race friends partly helped to explain participants' same-race disclosure preferences. Mediation was again tested in a model examining the relationship between rejection scenario (comparing interpersonal and intergroup rejection, dummy coded: -1=interpersonal, 1=intergroup) and same-race friend disclosure preference. Difference scores were calculated representing contrasts between interpersonal and intergroup rejection in expected emotional support and instrumental support, desire to disclose, and likelihood of disclosure to same-race friends. Initial criterion for mediation was fulfilled via previous analyses indicating differences in participants' desire and likelihood of

disclosing as a function of rejection scenario (the predictor variable affected outcome variables of interest). The second criterion for mediation was also met such that there were differences between expected same-race emotional and instrumental support as a function of rejection scenario (the predictor variable affected proposed mediators).

Desire to disclose. Next, I examined whether differences in expected emotional support and instrumental support from same-race friends mediated the effects of rejection on participants' desire to disclose to same-race friends. Desire to disclose was regressed on the sum of participants' emotional support scores and instrumental support scores, as well as the contrast differences in emotional and instrumental support scores. The third criterion was met for differences in expected emotional support, which was a predictor of differences in desire to disclose, $\beta = .22$, $t(55) = 1.49$, $p = .07$. In addition, the third criterion was met for differences in perceived instrumental support, which was a significant predictor of differences in participants' desire to disclose, $\beta = .35$, $t(55) = 1.62$, $p = .06$. The final criterion, for the association between the predictor variable and outcome variable to decrease after inclusion of the mediators in the equation, was fulfilled for expected emotional support and instrumental support; the effect of rejection scenario on desire to disclose was reduced, $\beta = .20$, $t(55) = 1.19$, $p = .12$ (effects after inclusion of perceived emotional support) and $\beta = .28$, $t(55) = .85$, $p = .20$ (effects after inclusion of perceived instrumental support).

Likelihood of disclosure. I also examined whether differences in expected emotional support and instrumental support from same-race friends mediated effects of rejection on participants' likelihood of disclosing to same-race friends. Likelihood of disclosure was regressed on the sum of participants' emotional support and instrumental support scores, and the contrast differences in emotional and instrumental support scores. The third criterion was met for differences in expected emotional support, which was a marginal predictor of differences in likelihood of disclosure, $\beta = .23$, $t(55) = 1.42$, $p = .08$. The third criterion was also met for

differences in perceived instrumental support, which was a predictor of differences in likelihood of disclosure, $\beta = .26$, $t(55) = 1.78$, $p = .04$. The final criterion, for the associations between the predictor variable and outcome variable to decrease after inclusion of the mediators in the equation, was fulfilled for expected emotional support and instrumental support. The effect of rejection scenario on likelihood was reduced, $\beta = .12$, $t(55) = .62$, $p = .27$ (effects after inclusion of expected emotional support) and $\beta = .19$, $t(55) = .42$, $p = .34$ (effects after inclusion of expected instrumental support).

Discussion

The results of this study are generally consistent with the preceding Studies 1a – 1c. Ethnic minorities expect same-race others to be better able to provide emotional and instrumental social support to them after experiencing intergroup rejection. In line with this finding, they also perceive same-race others to be more attuned to their experiences of intergroup rejection—that is, they perceived that same-race others would rate them as feeling some amount of social pain ("empathizing") about intergroup rejection compared to cross-race others. Finally, in this study, minorities preferred disclosing to same-race others more than cross-race others after recalling experiences of intergroup rejection, compared to experiences of interpersonal and ambiguous rejection. This result is consistent with results from Study 1c, in which the preference to disclose negative events to same-race counterparts is highest when the attribution to discrimination is clear.

This study additionally addressed whether disclosure preferences would vary by both disclosure target race and relationship closeness by comparing same-race and cross-race friends and acquaintances. Surprisingly, disclosure target relation did not interact with target race or rejection scenario type to impact minorities' perceptions of social support and their disclosure preferences. The only consistent interaction pattern to emerge across the study outcomes involved target race

and scenario type. Specifically, when ethnic minorities imagined intergroup rejection, they expected same-race others to be more sensitive to their feelings and needs for support, and preferred disclosing to them over cross-race others. This target race difference was not observed in the interpersonal or ambiguous conditions.

The studies thus far have looked at the perspective of ethnic minorities as the target of negative experiences. Such an examination is ecologically valid as ethnic minorities are vulnerable to experiencing negative events as a result of their racial/ethnic background (Krieger, 1990; Williams et al., 1997). Yet, in order to get a more complete understanding of the processes of self-disclosure and social support that occur when discussing issues of race as well as their impact, an examination of majority-group (White) members' point of view—that is, their responses to and perceptions of ethnic minorities' disclosures—would also be informative. In the next study, I seek to acquire insight into whether ethnic minorities perceptions of outgroups' sensitivity (or, insensitivity) to negative intergroup disclosures are discordant with White's actual responses.

Study 3: Examining Whites' Perceptions of Ethnic Minority Disclosures

In this study, White participants read about and imagined a scenario involving a White (same-race) or Black (cross-race) target individual, who was either presented as an acquaintance and friend. The scenario involved an interpersonal, ambiguous, or intergroup rejection. After reading the scenario, the White respondents answered questions about their perceptions of the scenario and of the targets' pain, their perceptions of their own ability to provide emotional and instrumental support (i.e., their intended social support), and their perceptions of targets' willingness and likelihood to disclose the problem to them.

Method

Two hundred and seventy-nine White participants (162 females) were recruited from an online crowdsourcing site (Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk) to complete a web-based study in exchange for a nominal fee. Participants were all born in and currently residing in the United States. The average age of participants was 34.72 years (SD = 13.44).

Participants were informed that the study examined individuals' assessments of various social situations. They read a scenario (ostensibly selected at random from a pool of topics) involving a target person's negative experience and then answered some questions regarding that scenario. After being probed for suspicion and task engagement, all participants completed a set of manipulation check questions (i.e., "What was the [name/gender/race] of the individual in the scenario?"; "What was the individual's relationship to you in the scenario?"), and were thanked and debriefed. Overall, the study utilized a 2 (target race: same-race vs. cross-race) x 2 (target relationship: acquaintance vs. friend) x 3 (rejection scenario: interpersonal vs. ambiguous vs. intergroup) between-subjects design.

Scenario

Participants were told that they would be asked to read and then answer questions about a social situation randomly selected from a pool of common situations that people might find themselves in. In actuality, all participants read the same story about a gender-matched target individual interviewing and subsequently being rejected for a highly desirable job opportunity. Participants were randomly assigned to read scenarios that varied slightly by condition. Specifically, the characteristics of the individual in the scenario varied based on the *target's race* (White or Black, i.e. same-race or cross-race) and the *target's relationship* to the participant (acquaintance or friend). Additionally, the attribution of the *rejection scenario* was manipulated such that the target believed that they were not hired for the job because they were not as qualified as other job applicants (interpersonal rejection condition); the target believed they were not hired because of their race/ethnicity (intergroup rejection condition); or no additional information was provided regarding the target's attributions for the negative outcome (ambiguous rejection condition). See Appendix B for these scenario materials.

Measures

Perceptions of rejection scenario. Participants answered the same questions used in Study 2 to examine their perceptions of the scenario. Specifically, they rated the *severity* of the outcome for the target individual, how *stressful* they thought the situation was for the target individual, and answered questions about their *attributions* for the negative outcome (i.e., interviewer bias, unfair treatment against the target individual; r=.88).

Perceptions of social pain. Participants completed the 11-point Faces Pain Rating Scale-Revised (Bieri et al., 1990) to indicate how painful they thought the situation was for the target individual.

Intended social support. Participants were asked to give a self-assessment of how much social support they would provide if the target individual shared the negative experience with them. On a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*), they rated how much they expected to be able to show understanding and empathy (*perceived emotional support*, two items; r = .80) and provide useful information and advice (*perceived instrumental support*, two items; r= .83).

Perceived disclosure preferences. On a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*), participants rated how much they thought the target would actually want to share and discuss the experience with them (*perceived desire to disclose*, two items; r=.95) and how likely the target would be share and talk about the experience with them (*perceived likelihood of disclosure*, two items; r=.97).

Results

The data were subjected to a 2 (target race) x 2 (target relationships) x 3 (rejection scenario) between-subjects ANOVA.

Perceptions of Rejection Scenario

Outcome severity. There were no significant main effects by scenario type (p = .94), target race (p = .22), or target relation (p = .15). Moreover, these variables did not significantly interact with one another. The average ratings across all conditions in this study were above the midpoint of the scale (Grand M = 5.30), suggesting that participants perceived the outcome of the scenarios to be similarly negative in nature.

Perceived stress. There was a main effect of job scenario type, $F(2, 267) = 8.14$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, such that participants perceived intergroup rejection (M = 5.76, SD = 1.20) to be significantly more stressful than interpersonal (M = 5.06, SD = 1.27), but not ambiguous rejection (M = 5.47, SD = 1.18), ps = .01 and .10 respectively. This effect was qualified by a significant target race by rejection scenario interaction, $F(2, 267) = 3.96$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

Simple effects analyses indicated that White participants who read about a same-race target perceived the three rejection scenarios to be similarly stressful for them, $F(2, 134) = .56$, $p = .57$. By contrast, participants who read about a cross-race (Black) target perceived the scenarios to be different in levels of stressfulness, $F(2, 139) = 12.01$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$, with intergroup rejection being the most stressful experience ($M = 6.06$, $SD = 1.15$) compared to ambiguous ($M = 5.48$, $SD = 1.16$) and interpersonal ($M = 4.89$, $SD = 1.16$) rejection, ps $< .01$ Examined further, participants perceived interpersonal rejection as similarly stressful for same-race ($M = 5.22$, $SD = 1.17$) and cross-race ($M = 4.89$, $SD = 1.20$) targets, $F(1, 91) = 1.90$, $p = .17$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. They also saw ambiguous rejection as similarly stressful for same-race and cross-race targets, $F(1, 91) = .004$, $p = .95$. However, participants rated intergroup rejection as more stressful for cross-race targets ($M = 6.06$, $SD = 1.20$) compared to same-race targets ($M = 5.46$, $SD = 1.36$), $F(1, 91) = 6.28$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$.

Attributions to discrimination. Results revealed a main effect of rejection scenario, $F(2, 267) = 8.41$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. White participants perceived the intergroup rejection scenario to be more discriminatory in nature ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.47$) than both the ambiguous ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.44$) and interpersonal ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.44$) rejection scenarios, ps $< .01$. Additionally, a main effect of target race indicated that cross-race (Black) targets were seen as recipients of unfair treatment more than same-race (White) targets, $F(1, 267) = 11.39$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$.

Table 4. Means and standard deviations of perceived social pain and intended social support as a function of rejection type and target race, Study 3.

Dependent Variable	Target	Rejection Scenario Type		
		Interpersonal	Ambiguous	Intergroup
Perceived Social Pain	Same-Race	7.00 (1.93)	7.00 (1.99)	6.62 (1.75)
	Cross-Race	6.40 (1.98)	6.98 (2.09)	8.04 (1.91)
Intended Emotional Support	Same-Race	5.64 (1.49)	5.76 (0.94)	4.57 (1.00)
	Cross-Race	5.62 (1.24)	5.41 (1.01)	5.10 (1.23)

Perceptions of Targets' Social Pain

There was an effect of rejection scenario ($F(2, 267) = 2.69$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$). Participants perceived intergroup rejection ($M = 7.30$, $SD = 2.05$) to be significantly more painful for the target individual than interpersonal ($M = 6.62$, $SD = 1.92$) but not ambiguous rejection ($M = 6.99$, $SD = 2.03$), ps = .02 and .28 respectively. This effect was qualified by a significant target race by rejection scenario interaction, $F(2, 267) = 6.24$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$.

To probe this interaction further, simple effects analyses were conducted for each target race. As noted in Table 4, for same-race (White) targets, participants perceived interpersonal, ambiguous, and intergroup scenarios to be similarly painful, $F(2, 134) = .65$, $p = .53$. Notably, there were significant differences in perceptions of pain among cross-race targets across the scenarios, $F(2, 139) = 8.03$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Specifically, intergroup rejection was perceived as being the most painful for cross-race (Black) targets compared to ambiguous and interpersonal rejection, ps < .01. When examined by scenario type, participants perceived similar levels of pain for same- and cross-race targets in the interpersonal rejection ($F(1, 91) = 1.18$, $p = .28$) and ambiguous rejection scenarios ($F(1, 91) = .002$, $p = .96$). However, White participants rated cross-race targets as

experiencing significantly more pain than same-race targets in the intergroup rejection scenario, $F(1, 91) = 14.26, p < .01$.

Intentions for Providing Social Support

Emotional support. Descriptive statistics for this variable can be found in Table 4. Results revealed a main effect of scenario type, $F(2, 267) = 13.11, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .09$. This effect was qualified by a significant target race by rejection interaction $F(2, 267) = 3.21, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Simple effects analyses indicated significant differences in participants' perceptions of their ability be emotionally supportive to same-race targets, $F(2, 134) = 13.67, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .17$. Specifically, White participants expected that they would provide less emotional support to same-race targets if those individuals disclosed intergroup rejection compared to ambiguous or interpersonal rejection, ps < .01. They also expected to provide the same levels of emotional support in response to an ambiguous or interpersonal rejection disclosure from a same-race target, $p = .49$. However, there were no significant differences in their expectations of providing emotional support to cross-race targets ($F(2, 142) = 1.73, p = .18$); they expected to provide similar levels of support to disclosures of intergroup rejection, ambiguous rejection, and interpersonal rejection.

Examined further, participants expected to provide similar levels of emotional support to same-race and cross-race targets if they disclosed interpersonal rejection ($F(1, 91) = .003, p = .95$) or ambiguous rejection ($F(1, 91) = 2.83, p = .11$). Yet, they expected to provide significantly more emotional support to cross-race targets than same-race targets who made intergroup rejection disclosures, $F(1, 91) = 3.276, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .04$.

Instrumental support. Analyses revealed only a main effect of scenario type, $F(2, 269) = 5.92, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .04$. White participants felt least capable of providing useful information and advice to others in response to intergroup rejection disclosures ($M = 4.09$, $SD = 1.37$) compared to

disclosures of ambiguous (M = 4.42, SD = 1.34, p = .05) and interpersonal (M = 4.73, SD = 1.11, p < .01) rejection. Participants expected to provide more instrumental support for disclosures of interpersonal rejection compared to ambiguous rejection, p = .18.

Perceived Disclosure Preferences

Perceived desire to disclose. Results indicated no significant main effects or interactions. Notably, the average ratings across all of the study conditions were above the midpoint of the scale (Grand M = 5.12), suggesting that participants expected that target individuals would have similarly moderate levels of desire to sharing and talking about their negative experiences regardless of target race, relationship, and type of rejection.

Perceived likelihood of disclosure. There was a marginal effect of scenario type on perceived likelihood of disclosure, $F(2, 269) = 2.66$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. White participants perceived that target individuals would be less likely to disclose intergroup rejection experiences to them (M = 5.00, SD = 1.47) compared to interpersonal (M = 5.38, SD = 1.15, p = .12) and ambiguous rejection (M = 5.17, SD = 1.30, p = .36), but these pairwise comparisons did not approach statistical significance.

Discussion

Study 3 serves as an initial examination of Whites' perceptions of ethnic minorities' negative intergroup experiences and their willingness to discuss these experiences with them. First, White respondents tended to perceive intergroup rejection experiences as being more discriminatory when they occurred to Black targets compared to White targets. The results also suggest that Whites have some sensitivity towards the experiences of Blacks experiencing intergroup rejection. Compared to White counterparts, Blacks were rated as experiencing more stress, social pain, and severe negative outcomes when faced with intergroup rejection. Interestingly, White participants expressed being

capable of providing emotional support (i.e., expressing understanding and empathy) to Blacks across all three types of rejection scenarios, and reported being *less* able to provide emotional support to White targets experiencing intergroup rejection compared to Black targets. Moreover, White participants perceived that they were less capable of providing instrumental support to both Whites and Blacks experiencing intergroup rejection, and anticipated that all targets in general (White and Black) would prefer to not disclose intergroup rejection experiences to them.

Similar to Study 2, Study 3 examined whether perceptions of disclosures would vary by race and by relationship to the discloser, as well as by the type of rejection disclosure. With the exception of perceived stressfulness, target relationship did not interact with target race or rejection scenario type for any of the dependent variables, suggesting that closeness does not necessarily increase one's attunement to others' rejection experiences. As with Study 2, the only consistent interaction patterns in the results involved target race and scenario type. Whites in this study appear to have a general awareness that intergroup rejection is unfair and painful for the individuals experiencing it, particularly among Blacks. However, Whites are less sure about how to provide tangible assistance or advice when these experiences come to light.

Thus far, Studies 1-3 have been limited in their ability to gauge individual's objective responses to ethnic minority self-disclosures of negative intergroup experiences. While these studies provide tentative evidence indicating that 1) ethnic minorities perceive majority group members (Whites) to be poor sources of social support after experiencing negative intergroup events, and 2) Whites perceive others as reluctant to discuss negative intergroup experiences with them but still see themselves as capable of providing sufficient levels of emotional support to minorities who do disclose them, we are still left with the question of whether these perceptions and intended support behaviors are applied in *in vivo* situations. In an effort to capture the processes and impact of self-disclosure and social support in intergroup settings, Studies 4 and 5 utilize live laboratory paradigms

that specifically examine rejection with clear attributions to either personal factors (interpersonal rejection) or race/ethnicity factors (intergroup rejection). Study 4 examines the interpersonal responses of White and ethnic minority participants in situations where ethnic minorities disclose negative experiences to them. Study 5 then examines the downstream intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup impact of self-disclosing negative intergroup experiences for ethnic minorities to same-race and cross-race partners.

Study 4: Assessment of Responses to Ethnic Minority Self-Disclosures

The previous studies suggest that ethnic minority targets perceive close cross-race (White) peers and acquaintances to be less responsive (i.e., less supportive) and less adequately able to provide social support for self-disclosures about intergroup rejection experiences. The objective of Study 4 is to examine how Whites and ethnic minorities objectively respond and perceive their own support provision when ethnic minority peers (i.e., fellow undergraduate students) disclose experiences of rejection in a controlled laboratory setting. In this study, White and ethnic minority participants viewed private disclosures made by ethnic minority confederates who ostensibly received rejecting feedback attributed to either a failure in their personal performance or racial/ethnic discrimination.

In the previous studies, participants were asked about their behavioral expectations, without strong consideration of whether these expectations reflected reality. The current study takes an important step in approaching a more objective measurement of social support responses. In addition to examining emotional and instrumental support, in this study I begin exploring potential interpersonal consequences of the social support process by measuring participants' responses toward the discloser, specifically their liking towards and positive/negative impressions of the discloser. Research suggests that when self-disclosure occurs in intergroup interactions, it promotes mutual liking and further relationship intimacy between individuals (e.g., Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Berg & Wright-Buckley, 1988, Ensari & Miller, 2002). However, other literature suggests an alternative prediction—that disclosing personally negative events attributed to discrimination can incur negative, interpersonal costs (e.g., being disliked and derogated, being labeled as a complainer) (Kaiser & Miller, 2003; Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy, & Wilkins, 2009). The current study will explore these competing hypotheses in the context of an intergroup social support paradigm.

Methods

One hundred and eight undergraduate students (79 female; 57 Whites, 51 ethnic minorities) participated in a laboratory experiment in exchange for course credit or monetary compensation. The ethnic minorities in this sample were comprised of 25 African Americans and 26 Asian Americans. The average age of participants was 19.77 years old (SD = 1.44).

Participants were informed that the study examined how peers might serve as resources in students' career and job exploration process. They completed an online premeasure approximately 24 hours prior to arriving to their scheduled lab session. Ostensibly, this study was a part of a larger project analyzing career assessment tools and another pool of students had already taken part in the first of two career assessment sessions conducted in the lab by an off-campus consulting group. After receiving feedback on their performance on this career assessment, those students took part in a recorded debriefing session discussing their assessment experience with a lab researcher, followed by a privately recorded comment session that would be viewed by a "student peer."

In the lab, an experimenter (blind to condition) explained to the participant that they would be viewing the video recording of one student, supposedly selected at random from the pool of students who completed the first career assessment and agreed to have their recording viewed by someone else. After viewing the video recording, participants were asked to record an open-ended message to this student that addressed any thoughts, feelings, and concerns the student might have discussed in their private comments. The other student would ostensibly be shown the participant's message in private before they completed their follow-up (second) career assessment several weeks later.

After completing their recorded response, participants answered questions about the study (they were all informed that their responses to these questions would be confidential and not shared with the other student) and were thanked and debriefed. In sum, the study used a 2 (rejection

disclosure: interpersonal vs. intergroup) x 2 (supporter race: same-race vs. cross-race) between-subjects design.

Student Response

Four African American (2 female, 2 male) and four Asian American (2 female, 2 male) undergraduate student actors recorded a scripted interview with a lab experimenter regarding their supposed career assessment. In the first half of the video, a female lab researcher (speaking off-camera) asked the student a series of "debriefing" questions about their experience during their first career assessment. In this debriefing interview the student expressed trying their best but feeling distressed while completing the assessment, particularly during portions of the session involving an assessment of their verbal and quantitative skills, an analysis of their resume, and a mock interview with a consultant.

In the second half of the video, the student privately expressed feeling very upset at receiving negative feedback from the consulting representative about their assessment performance. In their recorded *disclosure*, the student's attribution for the negative feedback varied. In the *interpersonal rejection condition*, the student stated that they felt the negative feedback from the consulting group representative was due to not performing well in the assessment ("the representative said that I exhibit traditional thinking where creative thinking is more appropriate for the types of careers I'm interested in, and that I should work on my public speaking skills"). In the *intergroup rejection condition*, the student disclosed that they thought the negative feedback was due to the representative's bias against minorities ("the representative said that like a lot of other Asians, I exhibit traditional thinking whereas creative thinking is more appropriate for the types of careers I'm interested in, and that I should work on my command of the English language and being a more articulate speaker"). At the end of the disclosure, all students stated being worried about their

follow-up assessment and not knowing "what to do or what to think or how to feel," thus providing some motivation for participants to provide support to the student in their own recorded response.

In this study, participants were randomly assigned to view either the interpersonal or intergroup rejection version of the disclosure. The student in the video was gender-matched to the participant. Ethnic minority participants viewed the videos of individuals sharing their specific racial/ethnic identity (*same-race supporter condition*), while White participants were randomly assigned to view the video of either an Asian American or African American student (*cross-race supporter condition*).

Measures

Manipulation check. After watching the video, participants completed a set of manipulation check questions to verify that they correctly identified the gender and race/ethnicity of the student in the video and to verify whether the participant had ever met the other student before.

Perceptions of rejection. Participants answered questions to examine their perceptions of the rejection disclosed by the other student. The *severity* of the outcome for the student was assessed using seven items ($\alpha = .84$). Sample questions included, "To what extent did the student think the assessment situation was positive?" (reverse-coded) and "To what extent did the student think the assessment situation was upsetting?" To measure how *stressful* the outcome was for the student, participants answered two items: "Overall, to what extent did the student think the assessment situation was stressful?" and "Overall, to what extent did the student think the assessment situation was distressing?" ($r = .50$). Participants' *attributions* for the negative assessment feedback were measured using three items (e.g., "Overall, to what extent did the student think his/her assessment feedback was due to unfair treatment?"; $\alpha = .71$).

Perceptions of social pain and affect. Participants completed the 11-point Faces Pain Rating Scale-Revised (Bieri et al., 1990) to indicate how painful they thought the situation was for the student shown in the video. Participants also indicated their perceptions of the other student's

feelings using the 20-item Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS). Sample items measuring positive affect included active, enthusiastic, and excited (α = .86); negative affect items included ashamed, upset, and distressed (α = .81).

Liking and Attitudes Towards the Discloser. Participants' *liking* of the student disclosing their negative experience was measured with two items (*r* = .76): "I like this student" and "This student is likable." In addition, their *willingness to engage in future interactions* with the other student was measured using five items from Coyne's (1976) Future Interaction Questionnaire. Sample questions included, "Would you like to meet this person?", "Would you be willing to work with him/her on a job?", and "Would you admit him/her to your circle of friends?" (α = .74). Negative *attitudes* toward the student were assessed using six items: "This student is irritating," "This student is smart" (reverse-coded), "This student is a good person" (reverse-coded), "This student is a complainer," "This student is capable" (reverse-coded), and "This student is argumentative" (α = .75).

Perceived social support. After creating their recorded message, participants were asked to give a self-assessment of how much support they conveyed to the other student. This self-assessment provided an index of participants' perceptions of their own supportive behavior and its effectiveness. Items were adapted from questions used in previous research by Cameron and Robinson (2010). On a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*), they rated how much they thought they were able to show emotional support, including encouragement, concern and caring, agreement with their point of view, reassurance, empathy and understanding, and optimism in their message (*perceived emotional support*, six items; α = .87). They also rated how much they provided advice, suggestions, help, and reassessments of their situation (*perceived instrumental support,* five items, α = .67). In addition, they rated the *perceived effectiveness* of the support they conveyed in their message using seven items (α = .82) adapted from Kirschbaum, Klauer, & Filipp's (1995) Perceived Support Effectiveness Scale, such as, "The other student will probably feel supported by my message" and

"My message will probably be helpful to the student as he/she prepares for the second assessment." Finally, participants answered questions to measure their *perceived responsiveness* towards the other student (three items; α = .86): "The other student will probably feel [understood/accepted/cared for] after receiving my message."

Enacted social support. The participant's primary task in the study was to record an open-ended message to this student, focusing on addressing the thoughts, feelings, and concerns the student might have discussed in their privately recorded comments to them. Participants were given two minutes to prepare and five minutes to record their message in private. The experimenter informed the participant that their videotaped message would ostensibly be shown to the other student before the student completed their follow-up assessment in a few weeks.

To obtain an objective measure of participants' actual social support provision and observed responsiveness to disclosure, each participants' videotaped response was coded by two researchers (one Asian American, one African American) using a modified version of the Social Support Interaction Coding System (SSICS) (Pasch, Harris, Sullivan, & Bradbury, 2002). The SSICS is a micro-analytic coding scheme commonly used to study both (verbal) support-seeking and support-provision behaviors in interactions between couples and friends. Due to the one-sided nature of the current study paradigm and video recordings, our coding focused only on coding support-provision behaviors from "helpers". The frequencies of participants' *positive emotional support* (e.g., providing reassurance and encouragement), *positive instrumental support* (e.g., making specific suggestions), *other positive responses unrelated to the disclosure* (e.g., summary or general analysis of the problem), *negative responses* (e.g., criticizing the other person), *neutral responses* (e.g. behaviors that relate to closely related issues), and *off-task responses* (e.g., behaviors not relevant to the disclosure) were coded. Respective inter-rater reliability using intraclass correlations were: positive = .88, negative = .84, neutral = .90, off-task = .99. Additionally, to measure *overall responsiveness* to the other student's self-disclosure,

coders evaluated how well they felt the participant appeared warm, negative (reverse-coded), understanding, accepting, and caring towards the other student in their recorded message on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*), inter-rater reliability = .69.

Results

Out of the 108 undergraduates who participated in this study, 25 either recognized the confederate actor in the video or expressed suspicion about the purposes of the study. These individuals were subsequently dropped from the analyses, leaving 83 participants (49 Whites, 34 ethnic minorities) in the final study sample.

In order to determine whether ethnic minorities' expectations about same-race and cross-race social support paralleled observed patterns in a helper-focused support paradigm, the data were submitted to a 2 (rejection disclosure: interpersonal vs. intergroup) x 2 (supporter race: same-race vs. White) analysis of variance (ANOVA).

Perceptions of Rejection Disclosure

Outcome severity. There were no main effects or interaction of rejection disclosure or supporter race, suggesting that participant supporters perceived the other student's experience of the career assessment to be similarly negative across all conditions (all *p*s > .29).

Perceived stress. No significant main effects or interaction were found. Across all conditions, participants perceived the other student's experience to be highly stressful, all *p*s > .56. Average ratings of stressfulness across all conditions were equal to or greater than 6.02 on a seven-point scale.

Attributions to discrimination. Results revealed a main effect of rejection disclosure, confirming that disclosures in the intergroup rejection condition ($M = 5.53$, $SD = 1.11$) were more likely to be attributed to discrimination compared to disclosures in the interpersonal condition ($M =$

3.87, *SD* = .86), $F(1, 79) = 58.00$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .42$. There was a marginal effect of supporter race, such that White (cross-race) participants attributed the ethnic minority student's disclosure to bias ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 1.29$) more than ethnic minority (same-race) participants did, ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 1.32$), $F(1, 79) = 3.25$, $p = .08$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. No significant interactions emerged.

Perceptions of social pain and affect. No significant main effects or interaction emerged in participants' perceptions of the student's social pain, all *p*s > .47. Average ratings ranged from 7.17 to 7.47 across all conditions on an 11-point scale, suggesting that participants perceived that the student in the video felt a moderate level of social pain as a result of their negative assessment experience. In addition, there were no significant main effects or interactions in participants' perceptions of the student's positive affect and negative affect as displayed in their recorded disclosure.

Perceptions of the Ethnic Minority Discloser

Liking. Descriptive statistics for this variable can be found in Table 5. There were no main effects of rejection disclosure or supporter race, both *p*s > .14. However, results revealed a marginally significant rejection disclosure by supporter race interaction, $F(1, 79) = 3.21$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Simple effects analyses indicated that ethnic minority participants liked same-race disclosers significantly less when they shared intergroup rejection compared to when they shared interpersonal rejection, $F(1, 32) = 5.00$, $p = .03$. White participants reported similar levels of liking for the ethnic minority discloser regardless of whether they shared an interpersonal or intergroup rejection experience, $F(1, 47) = 05$, $p = .83$. When ethnic minority students disclosed interpersonal rejection, White and ethnic minority participants reported similar levels of liking for that student, $F(1, 39) = .37$, $p = .55$. However, when ethnic minority students disclosed intergroup rejection, cross-race (White) participants liked that student more than same-race participants did, $F(1, 40) = 3.81$ $p = .06$.

Willingness to engage in future interactions. Results revealed a marginal rejection disclosure by supporter race interaction, $F(1, 79) = 2.81$, $p = .09$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. As reflected in Table 5, simple effects analyses indicated that ethnic minority participants had less interest in being friends with same-race disclosers when these individuals disclosed intergroup compared to interpersonal rejection, $F(1, 32) = 5.12$, $p = .03$. White participants showed similar levels of interest in being friends with ethnic minority students who disclosed negative interpersonal or intergroup rejection experiences, $F(1, 47) = .08$, $p = .78$. Furthermore, when the ethnic minority student disclosed intergroup rejection, cross-race (White) participants expressed more interest in befriending them than same-race participants did, $F(1, 40) = 5.78$, $p = .02$. This difference in friendship interest did not emerge when ethnic minority students disclosed interpersonal rejection, $F(1, 39) = .03$, $p = .87$.

Attitudes towards discloser. A rejection disclosure by supporter race interaction was found for participants' negative attitudes and impressions of the other student, $F(1, 79) = 3.48$, $p = .07$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$ (see Table 5 for means and standard deviations). Simple effects analyses indicated that ethnic minority participants had more negative impressions of same-race students when they disclosed intergroup rejection compared to when they disclosed interpersonal rejection, $F(1, 32) = 3.87$, $p = .06$. There were no differences in Whites' impressions of ethnic minorities who disclosed negative interpersonal and intergroup experiences $F(1, 47) = .79$, $p = .38$. Disclosers of interpersonal rejection were viewed similarly by White and ethnic minority participants, $F(1, 39) = 1.48$, $p = .23$. But, when the discloser shared intergroup rejection, ethnic minority participants had more negative impressions of them compared to White participants, though this difference was not significant, $F(1, 40) = 2.07$, $p = .15$.

Table 5. Means and standard deviations of variables pertaining to perceptions of ethnic minority self-disclosers as a function of rejection type and supporter race, Study 4.

Dependent Variable	Supporter	Rejection Scenario Type	
		Interpersonal	Intergroup
Liking of Discloser	Same-Race	5.60 (0.89)	4.79 (1.16)
	Cross-Race	5.38 (1.19)	5.45 (1.05)
Willingness to Engage in Future	Same-Race	5.12 (0.90)	4.42 (0.89)
	Cross-Race	5.06 (1.23)	5.16 (1.06)
Attitudes Towards Discloser	Same-Race	2.10 (0.68)	2.57 (0.70)
	Cross-Race	2.45 (0.98)	2.21 (0.88)

Perceived Social Support.

Emotional support. There was a significant rejection disclosure by supporter race interaction, $F(1, 79) = 5.18$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Simple effects analysis showed that minority participants perceived themselves to be less emotionally supportive of same-race students who disclosed intergroup ($M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.36$) compared to interpersonal ($M = 5.99$, $SD = 1.07$) rejection, $F(1, 32) = 2.73$, $p = .10$. By contrast, White participants saw themselves as showing the same amount of emotional support for cross-race students who disclosed interpersonal ($M = 5.43$, $SD = 1.33$) or intergroup ($M = 5.91$, $SD = .75$) rejection experiences, $F(1, 47) = 2.29$ $p = .14$. White and ethnic minority participants perceived themselves as similarly emotionally supportive of students who disclosed interpersonal rejection, $F(1, 39) = 1.93$, $p = .17$. However, White participants thought that they conveyed more emotional support in their recorded message than ethnic minority participants thought they did when the other student shared intergroup rejection, $F(1, 40) = 3.55$, $p = .06$.

Instrumental support. There were no significant main effects of rejection type ($p = .95$) or supporter race ($p = .20$), nor was there as significant interaction ($p = .74$). Average ratings of

perceived instrumental support given to the other student ranged from 4.8 to 5.28 across all conditions, suggesting that all participants thought that they provided at least some moderate amount of helpful advice and information to the other student.

Responsiveness. There were no significant main effects of rejection type (p = .47) or supporter race (p = .53), nor was there as significant interaction (p = .29). Average ratings of perceived responsiveness towards the other student ranged from 4.37 to 4.87 across all conditions, suggesting that participants perceived their own recorded message to be somewhat responsive to the distress expressed by the student in the video.

Enacted Social Support

The 2 x 2 ANOVAs indicated no significant effects or interactions for coded neutral responses, off-task responses, and other positive responses to the ethnic minority support seeker's disclosure. However, there were a few noteworthy findings with respect to positive emotional support, positive instrumental support, negative responses, and global ratings of responsiveness. Results are summarized in Table 6 and described in more detail below.

Table 6. Means and standard deviations of variables pertaining to enacted social support as a function of rejection type and supporter race, Study 4.

Dependent Variable	Supporter	Rejection Scenario Type	
		Interpersonal	Intergroup
Emotional Support	Same-Race	5.27 (1.16)	4.79 (1.13)
	Cross-Race	5.19 (1.20)	5.83 (1.13)
Instrumental Support	Same-Race	5.87 (1.19)	5.21 (1.18)
	Cross-Race	5.35 (1.20)	5.83 (1.03)
Negative Responses	Same-Race	2.67 (1.68)	3.32 (1.25)
	Cross-Race	2.77 (1.24)	2.39 (0.72)

Emotional support. There was a main effect of supporter race, $F(1, 79) = 4.06$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, suggesting that on average, White participants ($M = 5.49$, $SD = 1.04$) verbalized significantly more positive emotional support to the ethnic minority student overall compared to same-race participants ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.15$). This effect was qualified by a significant rejection disclosure by supporter race interaction, $F(1, 79) = 5.42$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$.

Simple effects analyses indicated that there were no significant differences in emotional support conveyed by ethnic minority participants who viewed either of the rejection disclosure conditions, $F(1, 32) = 1.45$, $p = .24$. By contrast, White participants were observed to be more emotionally supportive towards ethnic minorities who disclosed intergroup compared to interpersonal rejection, $F(1, 47) = 4.87$, $p = .03$. When the ethnic minority student in the video disclosed interpersonal rejection, there were no differences between White and ethnic minority participants in the levels of emotional support they conveyed, $F(1, 39) = .04$, $p = .85$. However, when the ethnic minority student disclosed intergroup rejection, White participants expressed more positive emotional support than their ethnic minority counterparts did, $F(1, 40) = 12.98$, $p < .01$.

Instrumental support. Results revealed a significant rejection disclosure by supporter race interaction, $F(1, 79) = 4.87$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Simple effects analyses indicated that ethnic minority participants conveyed comparable levels of positive instrumental support to same-race students who disclosed either interpersonal or intergroup rejection $F(1, 32) = 2.57$, $p = .12$. This was also the case among White participants, who provided similar levels of support to students who disclosed negative interpersonal or intergroup rejection experiences, $F(1, 47) = 2.23$, $p = .14$. Examined differently, although minority and White participants provided comparable levels of instrumental support to students who experienced interpersonal rejection, $F(1, 39) = 1.80$, $p = .18$, White participants provided slightly more support to students than ethnic minority participants did when the disclosure involved intergroup rejection, $F(1, 40) = 3.25$, $p = .07$.

Negative responses. There was an interaction between rejection disclosure and supporter race for participants' negative responses to ethnic minority students' self-disclosures, $F(1, 79) = 3.52$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Further analyses found that there were no significant differences in ethnic minority participants' negative responses to interpersonal and intergroup disclosures, $F(1, 32) = 1.68$, $p = .21$. The same was true among White participants who responded to interpersonal or intergroup disclosures, $F(1, 47) = 1.64$, $p = .21$. Examined differently, when ethnic minority students disclosed interpersonal rejection, White and minority participants conveyed similarly low levels of negativity, $F(1, 39) = .05$, $p = .82$. However, ethnic minority (same-race) participants responded with more negativity than White participants following an intergroup rejection disclosure, $F(1, 40) = 8.99$, $p = .01$.

Responsiveness. There was a significant rejection disclosure by supporter race interaction, $F(1, 79) = 9.75$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Follow-up analyses indicated that ethnic minority participants were rated as appearing less responsive towards same-race students who disclosed intergroup ($M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.11$) compared to interpersonal rejection ($M = 5.93$, $SD = .94$), $F(1, 32) = 4.36$, $p = .05$. By contrast, White participants appeared more responsive towards cross-race students who disclosed intergroup ($M = 5.96$, $SD = .77$) compared to interpersonal rejection ($M = 5.33$, $SD = 1.03$), $F(1, 47) = 5.35$, $p = .03$. Compared to Whites, ethnic minority participants appeared more responsive to other minorities who disclosed interpersonal rejection, $F(1, 39) = 3.51$, $p = .07$. However, when ethnic minorities disclosed intergroup rejection, White participants appeared more responsive compared to ethnic minority participants, $F(1, 40) = 6.65$, $p = .01$.

Discussion

Contrary to the perceptions expressed by ethnic minorities in Studies 1-2 and the perceptions expressed by Whites in Study 3, Study 4 paints a more nuanced picture of how

individuals respond when ethnic minorities disclose negative intergroup experiences. Recall that in the prior writing prompt and vignette-based studies, ethnic minorities reported expecting less emotional and instrumental support from Whites (compared to same-race counterparts) for their disclosures of negative intergroup experiences. However, in a laboratory setting in which Whites and ethnic minorities provide open-ended verbal responses to ethnic minority disclosures, there is some evidence of the opposite behavior occurring. Specifically, ethnic minorities in this study actually express *less* emotional and instrumental support for same-race support seekers, more negativity, and appear to be less responsive towards those who disclose experiences of rejection that is attributed to discrimination.

These findings are consistent with results by Kaiser and colleagues (2009) indicating that ethnic minorities will derogate other members of their group who claim being the target of discrimination. There are a few reasons why this may be the case. First, minorities who highly identify with their racial or ethnic group may find individuals who claim discrimination to be threatening to the integrity of the ingroup, and will thereby label them as a "black sheep." Second, it could also be the case that claims of discrimination are threatening to an individual's worldview, specifically the view that hard work and talent are valued and individuals are generally rewarded based on merit (Major et al., 2011; Townsend et al., 2010). That is, if an ethnic minority group member generally believes that hard work is justly rewarded, then another minority's claims of discrimination (e.g., not receiving a job promotion despite one's qualifications) will be discounted and frowned upon. These are issues that will be further explored in the next study.

The Study 3 vignette study indicated that Whites anticipated being able to provide emotional support to ethnic minorities who disclosed intergroup rejection, and they also saw themselves as being less capable of providing instrumental support. In the current study, White participants were actually *more* emotionally supportive than their minority counterparts. Furthermore, contrary to their

perceptions, they provided objectively more instrumental support compared to their ethnic minority counterparts. This difference between Whites' intended and enacted support could be rooted in the higher stakes involved in the current study paradigm. In this laboratory study, participants may have expected that there was greater likelihood of running into the student in the video on campus in the future. Moreover, White participants may have been particularly concerned with making a positive impression on the ethnic minority student in the video and not appearing racist after receiving a disclosure specifically claims of discrimination. Thus, the enactment of emotional and instrumental social support may serve an impression management function.

In the final study, I extend the laboratory paradigm by examining the proximal impact of self-disclosure and social support on same-race and cross-race dyad relationships and subsequent intergroup attitudes and behaviors.

Study 5: Downstream Effects of Ethnic Minorities' Self-Disclosure and Social Support

The primary objective of Study 5 is to examine the downstream effects of ethnic minorities' receipt of social support from same-race and cross-race (White) partners after they have made self-disclosures about negative intergroup experiences. In an extension of Study 4, I recruited same-race and cross-race friends in order to more systematically trace the effects of ethnic minorities' self-disclosures of intergroup rejection on partner social support. Furthermore, I examine the impact that partner social support has on ethnic minorities' intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup outcomes.

Study 5 aims to track specific parts of the social support process that were only partially captured in the previous studies. First, the study examines the effect of partner race on ethnic minorities' level of self-disclosure and their perceptions of receiving social support. In particular, after receiving rejecting intergroup feedback, minority participants report their level of self-disclosure, their comfort with disclosing to their partner, their perceptions of their own support needs, and their perceptions of the support their partner is able to provide. The study also examines the effect of making a negative disclosure about discrimination on partners' perceptions of their friends and their subsequent support behavior. Specifically, after partners hear their friends' self-disclosure, I examine partners' liking and positive/negative impressions towards their friend, their perceptions of the support they provided to their friend, and the actual support they provided.

Finally, I examine the effects of receiving or not receiving support on several key outcomes. At the intrapersonal level, I examine ethnic minorities' feelings of esteem and validation after receiving (or not receiving) support, their affect, and their self-esteem, as these factors are frequently implicated in the social support literature as benefiting from social support provision (Taylor, 2010). At the interpersonal level, I examine ethnic minorities' liking and trust in their partner. Notably,

self-disclosure is thought to promote reciprocal trust as a result of mutually escalating exchanges during relationship development (Miller, 2002). If a disclosure is not recognized, appreciated, or reciprocated by a listener through the provision of a support response, it is possible that trust in a partner may decline. Thus, I predict that at the interpersonal level, receiving support will be related to more positive attitudes towards one's partner in the form of more liking and trust. At the intergroup level, I examine ethnic minorities' explicit outgroup attitudes (i.e., feelings of warmth towards Whites) and race-based stigma consciousness (i.e., one's level of self-consciousness and concern regarding their stigmatized or devalued social status). As previously noted, research has found that mutual self-disclosure in intergroup contexts has a positive effect on outgroup attitudes (Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007). Additionally, as research suggests that stigma consciousness can be situationally induced by reminding individuals of past mistreatment (Brown & Pinel, 2003; Pinel, 1999), I examine the role that social support might have in attenuating it post-disclosure. Specifically, I anticipate that receiving support from a White friend will prevent an increase in minorities' negative attitudes towards Whites as a group, and prevent an increase in their perceptions that Whites will view and treat them in a stereotypical fashion (race-based stigma consciousness).

Methods

Fifty-nine pairs of same-race (ethnic minority-ethnic minority) and cross-race (ethnic minority-White) friends (gender-matched, 81% female) were recruited to participate in a laboratory experiment in exchange for monetary compensation. The racial breakdown in this sample was: 12 Black-Black dyads, 18 Asian-Asian dyads, 14 White-Black dyads, and 15 White-Asian dyads. The average age of participants was 19.47 years old (SD = 1.54). Overall, the study utilized a 2 (partner race: same-race vs. cross-race) x 2 (partner provision: support vs. no support) between-subjects design.

Participants were asked to complete an online premeasure approximately 24 hours prior to arriving to their scheduled lab session. Upon their arrival at the session, participant pairs were told that the study was a part of a larger project conducted in partnership with another university to pilot new career assessment tools. Ostensibly, the study examined the role of peers in students' career development and job exploration process. During the session, participants were told that they would complete various pilot assessments and share their experiences of the assessments with one another at various points. All participants were informed that their survey and recorded responses would be confidential and not shared with their partner unless explicitly stated otherwise. After signing an initial assent form, participants were then escorted into separate rooms.

The experimenter informed each participant that they would first be completing pilot assessments ostensibly examining sets of cognitive and non-cognitive skills (e.g., creativity, communication, interpersonal skills). Notably, the White participant from each cross-race dyad and one randomly selected ethnic minority participant from each same-race dyad completed a longer version of this bogus assessment, while the other participant in the pair completed a shorter version.

The experimenter informed the ethnic minority participants who completed the shorter pilot assessment that an assessment specialist from another institution scored and evaluated the online premeasures that they completed prior to the lab session. They were told that all participants completed different subsets of assessments in the premeasure, so the questions they answered were not necessarily the same ones asked in their partner's premeasure. However, the next task of the session was aimed at examining how performance in their subset of premeasures predicted performance in a mock interview assessment. Before completing the mock interview, the ethnic minority interviewee would have the opportunity to read the specialist's score and evaluation of their premeasure performance, which was ostensibly submitted to a private online database. To make clear that the experimenter was unaware of the specialist's feedback, the experimenter provided the

participant with a log-in password to retrieve and privately read their premeasure assessment feedback from the online database.

Feedback

The premeasure assessment feedback conveyed low evaluations and negative comments made in passing regarding the interviewees' racial group (i.e., "like most Asians, you tend to exhibit traditional thinking where creative thinking is more appropriate for the types of careers you're interested in"). Thus, in this study an ethnic minority in each dyad experienced intergroup rejection from a White evaluator. This feedback was adapted from past work by Stangor et al. (2002) and Townsend et al. (2010), who have effectively used a similar intergroup rejection manipulation in both written and verbally delivered forms.

After reading their premeasure feedback, these participants were asked to share with to their partner in the other room (via a short four-minute video recording) their experience thus far in the assessment process. The experimenter provided the participants with several prompts to facilitate the disclosure of their assessment feedback in the recording. Specifically, the experimenter started the recording by briefly describing (from off-camera) the specific set of assessment questions that they had completed in their particular premeasure. The experimenter then asked the participant to start their video recording by reading the premeasure feedback they just received from the computer screen and then responding to a short list of questions from a sheet of paper (i.e., talk about their perceptions and feelings about the feedback they received, the accuracy and bias of the assessment and feedback, how they felt about the upcoming interview assessment task). Participants were informed that depending on the session timing, their partner would have an opportunity to watch and respond to their comments and provide them with input before their mock interview. After answering all of the questions, the participants were prompted to recite a final line from the question sheet, intended to elicit support provision from their friend: "What thoughts, feelings, or advice

would you have for completing the next task?" After completion of this recording, the participants answered a set of survey questions.

Support

While this participant completed survey questions, their partner in the other room (who by then had completed the longer pilot assessment) were told that they and their partner would have a chance to record and (if time permitted) to share their perceptions and feelings about the assessment experience thus far.

Half of these partners viewed their friend's recording and were asked to record their own brief, three-minute open-ended response. Specifically, the experimenter instructed the partner to talk about their assessment, but to "focus on addressing any thoughts, feelings, and concerns your friend might have brought up in their recording and provide them with input for completing their next assessment task successfully" (*support condition*). This response was electronically sent to the participant in the other room to view and then both the participant and their partner immediately answered a series of follow-up survey questions.

The other half of the partners recorded a brief, three-minute open-ended response about their own assessment experience first (using the same short list of question prompts), then viewed their friend's recording but did not provide a reply (*no support condition*). Both the partner and the other participant answered a set of follow-up questions.

For the mock interview task, ethnic minority participants were given two minutes to prepare and four minutes to deliver a recorded speech about their dream job and why they would be qualified for it. They were informed that a different assessment specialist would be evaluating their recorded speech. After their speech, they completed a final set of measures.

All participants went through a funnel debriefing with their partner at the end of the session to carefully point out the aspects of the study involving false feedback, explain the purposes of the study, answer questions, and obtain final consent to analyze their data.

Measures

Premeasure. Participants completed a brief premeasure at least 24 hours before their scheduled lab session. They answered questions regarding their friend (i.e., length of acquaintanceship and how close they felt to their friend). This premeasure also included other filler measures (e.g., assessments of working style and job preferences) to bolster the cover story of the project.

Manipulation check. After receiving their premeasure feedback and before creating their recording, ethnic minority participants used a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*) to rate the *severity* of the assessment feedback thus far ("To what extent you think your assessment situation is positive?" (reverse-coded)), how *stressful* the assessment session was, and the perceived *fairness* (reverse-coded) of the assessment and the feedback they received (2 items, $r = .78$). The ethnic minority participants' partners also rated these items after viewing their friend's videotaped message; the items were reworded to ask about their perceptions of their friend's assessment experience.

Post-feedback social pain and affect. After the manipulation check questions, the ethnic minority participants also completed the 11-point Faces Pain Rating Scale-Revised (Bieri et al., 1990) to indicate how painful they thought their assessment feedback was. They also reported their current feelings using the 20-item Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; positive affect $\alpha = .88$, negative affect $\alpha = .82$).

Their partners also completed these items, reworded to ask about their perception of how their partner must be feeling at that moment. Additionally, partners answered questions regarding how much they currently felt towards their friend after the disclosure using Study 4 *liking* items ($r =$

.80) and select *attitudes* items (e.g., "My friend is capable" (reverse-coded), "My friend is being irritating", α = .65).

Self-disclosure. Ethnic minority participants answered questions regarding the degree to which they disclosed their assessment experience to their partner using a 1 (*very little*) to 7 (*very much*) scale. Items included, "How much of your feelings did you express to your friend?" and "How much personal information (e.g., information about you and your views) did you disclose to your friend?" (3 items, α = .78). Additionally, I examine how willing these participants were to disclose the intergroup rejection to their ethnic minority or White partner, specifically how anxious and comfortable they felt sharing the details of their assessment experience (*r* = .85).

Expected social support. After recording their message, ethnic minority participants answered questions regarding their own *perceptions of their social support needs* (Cameron & Robinson, 2010) for the upcoming interview task using items reworded from Study 4. Sample items included, "It is important to me that my partner reassure me that everything will be fine" (emotional support needs, α = .87) and "It is important to me that my partner give me some advice" (instrumental support needs, α = .70). They also answered questions regarding their *expectations of social support* from their partner on a scale from 1 (*not likely at all*) to 7 (*extremely likely*). Sample items included, "My partner will be able to reassure me that everything will be fine" (expected emotional support, α = .80) and "My partner will be able to give me some advice" (expected instrumental support, α = .76).

Participants' partners also completed the above items, reworded to ask about their *perceptions of their friends' social support needs*. After creating their recorded responses, partners in the support provision condition rated how much they thought they were able to show emotional support, including encouragement, concern and caring, agreement with their point of view, reassurance, empathy and understanding, and optimism (*perceived emotional support,* , α = .88). They also rated how

much they provided advice, suggestions, help, and reassessments of the assessment situation (*perceived instrumental support*, α = .70). Additionally, these partners rated the *perceived effectiveness* of the support they conveyed in their message using seven items adapted from Kirschbaum, Klauer, & Filipp's (1995) Perceived Support Effectiveness Scale (α = .60), including, "My partner will probably feel supported by my message" and "My message will probably be helpful to my partner as he/she prepares for the next assessment task." Finally, partners answered three questions to examine their *perceptions of their own responsiveness* (α = .89): "My partner will probably feel [understood/accepted/cared for] after receiving my message."

Pre-Interview Task Measures. Prior to the mock interview task, participant interviewees answered several questions to examine intrapersonal outcomes of receiving support, including their feelings in response to their partners' responsiveness (i.e., "Right now, I feel [understood/accepted/cared for]; α = .92), the 20-item PANAS, and a brief state self-esteem measure (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991). To examine interpersonal outcomes of receiving support, participants completed items about their liking and attitudes toward their study partner.

Post-Interview Task Measures. After the mock interview task, all participants completed final items regarding *interpersonal trust* and *cultural trust* in their partner, including, "My partner is usually dependable, especially for things that matter to me", and "My partner would not second-guess my reaction if I found someone's comments culturally offensive." In addition, to examine intergroup level outcomes of receiving support they completed Pinel's (1999) race stigma consciousness scale, and a feeling thermometer to assess their feelings towards various racial groups (Greenwald et al., 1998).

Video Coding. To examine both support-seeking and support-provision behaviors in the friend dyads, videotaped responses were coded using the complete Social Support Interaction Coding System by Pasch and colleagues (2002). An Asian American researcher coded all verbalized

responses from support-seekers and support-providers. Approximately 25% of the responses were selected at random and coded by an African American research assistant to establish rater reliability. Among the support-seeking participants, frequencies of *positive help-seeking behaviors* (e.g., offering specific, clear analysis of the issue), *negative help-seeking behaviors* (e.g., making demands for help), *off-task behaviors* (e.g., behaviors not relevant to the topic under consideration), and *neutral behaviors* (e.g., behaviors that are tangentially related to the topic under consideration) were coded. Among the support-providers, the frequencies of *positive emotional support* (e.g., providing reassurance and encouragement), *positive instrumental support* (e.g., making specific suggestions), *other positive responses unrelated to the disclosure* (e.g., summary or general analysis of the problem), *negative responses* (e.g., criticizing the other person), *neutral responses* (e.g. behaviors that relate to closely related issues), and *off-task responses* (e.g., behaviors not relevant to the disclosure) were coded. Inter-rater reliabilities using intraclass correlations for the support-seekers were: positive = .97, negative = .95, neutral = .89, off-task = .80. Correlations for support-providers were: positive = .85, negative = .84, neutral = .89, off-task = .90.

A recording of the mock interview task performance was also viewed and participants were rated on global dimensions of anxiety ("How [anxious/comfortable] did the participant appear overall?", "How much eye contact did the participant make?", "How much did the participant fidget?", $\alpha = .62$) and task engagement ("How [positive/engaged] did the participant appear overall?", $r = .92$).

Results

Of the 59 dyads who participated in this study, 10 contained at least one participant who expressed suspicion about the purposes of the study (i.e., the negative assessment feedback) and/or failed to follow instructions during the recorded portions of the study. These friend pairs were

subsequently dropped from the analyses, leaving 49 dyads (9 Black-Black, 15 Asian-Asian, 11 White-Black, and 14 White-Asian) in the final study sample.

The primary analyses of Study 5 focus on three effects: 1) the effect of intergroup rejection on ethnic minorities' levels of self-disclosure to same-race and cross-race partners and their expectations of social support; 2) the effect of self-disclosure on social support provision; 3) the effect of same-race and cross-race social support on ethnic minorities' immediate intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup outcomes.

Manipulation Check

First, a two-level (partner race: same-race vs. cross-race) single-factor between-subjects ANOVA was run on participant ratings of assessment feedback severity, perceived stressfulness of the assessment, their attributions to discrimination, and self-reported social pain and affect. There was no significant difference by partner race on outcome severity as rated by the ethnic minority participants who received the premeasure feedback and as rated by their White or ethnic minority partners, who heard about the negative feedback from their friends (all ps > .35). That is, ethnic minority participants and their same-race or cross-race partners perceived the assessment feedback to be similarly negative (average ratings were above the midpoint of the scale).

Additionally, the effect of partner race on perceived stressfulness was not significant. That is, ethnic minority participants in same-race and cross-race pairs found the negative feedback they received to be similarly stressful, as did partners who viewed their recorded self-disclosures, all ps > .60. Average ratings of stressfulness among ethnic minority feedback recipients and their same-race or cross-race partners were equal to or greater than 5.2 on a seven-point scale.

Results also indicated no significant difference by partner race on ratings of assessment fairness, ps > .22. Average ratings were below the midpoint of the seven-point scale among all

recipients of the negative feedback and among their partners, suggesting that to some extent, they all perceived the premeasure assessment feedback to be biased and unfair.

Finally, there was no significant difference by partner race on participants' reported social pain and their partners' perceptions of their pain. Average ratings for among feedback recipients and their ethnic minority or White partners were 7.82 or above on an 11-point scale, suggesting that study participants and their partners found the rejecting feedback to be moderately painful. There were also no significant differences in participants' and partners' self-reports of positive affect or negative affect as a function of partner race, all *p*s > .19.

Effect of Partner Race on Self-Disclosure and Social Support Expectations

Ratings of ethnic minorities' self-reported disclosures were submitted to a one-way ANOVA with partner race entered as the between-subjects factor with friend closeness entered as a covariate. Results indicated a marginal effect of partner race on ethnic minorities' perceived level of self-disclosure, $F(1, 46) = 3.52$, $p = .07$. Specifically, ethnic minorities saw themselves as being less forthright with their thoughts, feelings, and personal views about their negative intergroup experience (i.e., receiving biased feedback from a White evaluator) when disclosing to a White partner ($M = 4.32$, $SD = 0.60$) rather than a same-race partner ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 0.62$). Additionally, they indicated feeling less comfortable with sharing details about their negative experience with cross-race (White) partners ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 0.60$) compared to same-race partners ($M = 5.73$, $SD = 0.75$), $F(1, 46) = 4.01$, $p = .05$.

Ratings of participant's social support needs were examined using a 2 (partner race: same-race vs. cross-race) x 2 (support type: emotional vs. instrumental) ANOVA with support type entered as a repeated measure and closeness entered as a covariate. There was only an effect of support type, $F(1, 46) = 4.42$, $p = .04$, indicating that overall, ethnic minority participants perceived

needing more emotional support (M = 6.50) than instrumental support (M = 5.01) from partners after receiving negative feedback.

Next, I examined whether ethnic minority participants had different expectations of receiving emotional and instrumental social support as a function of their partners' race. Results indicated a main effect of partner race on support expectations, $F(1, 46) = 3.62$, $p = .06$, such that participants expected to receive less emotional and instrumental support from cross-race (White) partners compared to same-race partners.

This effect was qualified by a significant partner race by support type interaction, $F(1, 46) = 6.18$, $p = .02$. To examine this interaction further, separate repeated measures ANOVAs were run on each partner condition. Among ethnic minority participants with same-race partners, there were no significant differences in their expectations of receiving emotional or instrumental support, $F(1, 21) = .07$, $p = .80$. However, participants with cross-race (White) partners expected to receive more emotional support than instrumental support, $F(1, 23) = 5.35$, $p = .03$. On average, ethnic minority participants expected more emotional support from same-race partners (M = 5.42, SD = .91) compared to White partners (M = 4.96, SD = 1.12), though this difference was not statistically significant, $F(1, 46) = 1.30$, $p = .26$. By contrast, ethnic minority participants expected to receive significantly less instrumental support from White partners (M = 3.12, SD = .80) compared to same-race partners (M = 5.09, SD = 1.01), after disclosing their negative assessment experience, $F(1, 46) = 6.18$, $p = .02$.

Effect of Disclosure on Partner Perceptions and Support Provision

White and ethnic minority partners' perceptions of their self-disclosing friend and their subsequent support behavior were examined in a two-level (partner race: same-race vs. cross-race) single-factor between-subjects ANOVA. Results revealed marginal effects of partner race on liking, $F(1, 46) = 3.26$, $p = .08$ and partners' negative impressions of their friend, $F(1, 46) = 2.98$, $p = .09$.

Specifically, ethnic minority partners liked their ethnic minority friend who disclosed the negative intergroup experience slightly less (M = 5.80, SD = .40) than White partners did (M = 6.32, SD = .30) and had slightly more negative impressions of them (M = 2.70, SD = .70) compared White partners (M = 1.64, SD = .45).

Among the participants in the support-providing condition, there was a difference by partner race on perceptions how much emotional support they conveyed in their videotaped message, $F(1, 29) = 5.18$, $p = .03$, but not the amount of instrumental support they thought they conveyed, $F(1, 29) = 1.18$, $p = .29$. Specifically, White partners thought that they expressed more emotional support to their ethnic minority friends than ethnic minority partners thought they did (Ms = 6.00 and 5.22, respectively). However, White and ethnic minority partners perceived that they provided similar levels of instrumental support to their friend, Ms = 4.80 and 5.02, respectively. There was also no difference in perceptions of responsiveness towards friends' disclosures as a function of partner race, $p > .38$, suggesting that White and ethnic minority partners who provided support saw that support as being similarly responsive to their friends' needs.

Analysis of White and ethnic minority partners' actual (coded) support provision behaviors indicated no significant differences by race on negative support responses, neutral responses, off-task responses, or other positive responses. However, there was a significant effect of partner race on enacted emotional support, $F(1, 29) = 3.83$, $p = .06$. That is, Whites expressed more positive emotional support behaviors (M = 5.82, SD = .55) towards their ethnic minority friends compared to same-race partners (M = 4.76, SD = .60). On average, White partners also provided marginally more instrumental support (M = 5.73, SD = .80) than ethnic minority partners (M = 4.89, SD = .64), $F(1, 29) = 3.19$, $p = .08$. Finally, results indicated that there were differences in global ratings of responsiveness as function of partner race, $F(1, 29) = 4.89$, $p = .04$. Specifically White partners who

provided social support appeared more responsive in their message (M = 6.01, SD = .58) compared to ethnic minority partners (M = 5.28, SD = .42).

Effect of Support Provision on Downstream Outcomes

Intrapersonal outcomes. To examine the effect of receiving social support on ethnic minorities' intrapersonal outcomes, I ran a 2 (partner race: same-race vs. cross-race) x 2 (partner provision: support vs. no support) between-subjects ANOVA on participant's reactions to partners' responsiveness (i.e., how understood, accepted, and cared for they felt), their positive and negative affect, and state self-esteem.

Analyses indicated that there was an effect of partner support provision on reactions to responsiveness, $F(1, 46) = 4.13$, $p = .05$. Ethnic minority participants who received support from their partner felt more understood, accepted, and cared for by them compared to participants who received no support. This main effect was qualified by a significant partner race by partner provision interaction, $F(1, 46) = 6.48$, $p = .01$. Simple effects analyses indicated that ethnic minority participants who received no support from same-race partners (M = 5.04, SD = .68) and cross-race partners (M = 5.10, SD = .50) reported similar levels of feeling understood, accepted, or cared for. However, minority participants who received support felt more validated by their cross-race partners (M = 5.97, SD = .45) compared to same-race partners (M = 5.18, SD = .56), $F(1, 29) = 4.62$, $p = .04$. There were no significant differences in how participants felt as a function of receiving or not receiving support from same-race partners. Yet, ethnic minority participants felt more validated by their White partners after receiving support compared to not receiving support, $p = .04$.

No significant effects of partner race or partner support provision emerged for minority participants' self-reported positive affect, negative affect, and state self-esteem after self-disclosing negative feedback, ps > .19.

Interpersonal outcomes. To examine the effect of social support on interpersonal outcomes, I ran a 2 (partner race: same-race vs. cross-race) x 2 (partner provision: support vs. no support) between-subjects ANOVA on participant's liking and trust towards their partner.

Results indicated that on average, participants who received support liked their partners more (M = 6.78, SD = 1.12) than those who did not receive support from their partners (M = 6.08, SD = 1.01), though this difference was not significant, p = .18. There was a marginal partner race by partner provision interaction, $F(1, 46) = 2.96$, p = .09. Follow-up analyses indicated that participants liked cross-race friends more after receiving support from them (M = 6.76, SD = .45), compared to not receiving support (M = 6.06, SD = .50), $F(1, 23) = 3.13$, p = .09. There were no significant differences in how much participants liked their same-race friends whether they provided support (M = 6.40, SD = .60) or not (M = 6.21, SD = .71), $F(1, 21) = .15$, p = .70.

The effects of partner race and partner provision were not significant for participant's interpersonal trust in their partner, $F(1, 46) = 1.12$, p = .30, or their cultural trust in their partner, $F(1, 46) = 2.66$, p = .13. When it came to cultural trust, participants who received no support reported lower average levels of cultural trust for cross-race friends (M = 5.65) compared to same-race friends (M = 6.25). Moreover, among participants who received support, there were similar levels of cultural trust in cross-race friends (M = 5.97) compared to same-race friends (M = 6.29). However, these overall patterns are not significant.

Intergroup outcomes. In this set of analyses, the two outcomes of interest were race-related stigma consciousness and explicit outgroup attitudes (in particular, ethnic minorities' feelings of warmth towards their racial or ethnic ingroup and towards Whites). Analyses revealed a partner race by support provision interaction on participants' race stigma consciousness, $F(1, 46) = 3.72$, p = .06. Simple effects analyses indicated that ethnic minority participants who received support from their same-race friends (M = 3.89, SD = .45) expressed lower levels of stigma consciousness

compared to those who received support from White friends (M = 4.46, SD = .45), though this difference was not significant, $F(1, 29) = 1.72$, $p = .20$. For participants who received no support, there was a marginal difference such that those who received no support from same-race friends reported somewhat lower levels of stigma consciousness (M = 4.52, SD = .70) compared to those who received no support from White friends, (M = 5.21, SD = .52), $p = .09$. Examined differently, participants with same-race partners reported having lower levels of stigma consciousness after receiving support from them compared to not receiving support but this difference was not significant, $F(1, 21) = 1.67$, $p = .21$. In comparison, participants with White partners reported having marginally lower levels of stigma consciousness after receiving support compared to not receiving support, $F(1, 23) = 3.40$, $p = .07$.

To examine feelings of warmth towards outgroups, I ran a 2 (partner race: same-race vs. cross-race) x 2 (partner provision: no support, support) x 2 (feeling thermometer: ingroup vs. outgroup/White) ANOVA with feeling thermometer ratings entered as a repeated measure. There was an effect of feeling ratings, such that warmth towards ingroups were on average higher than warmth towards Whites, $p < .01$. However, the omnibus three-way interaction was not significant, $F(1, 46) = .97$, $p = .33$. Interestingly, in terms of general descriptive patterns, ethnic minority participants who did not receive support from cross-race partners reported less warmth towards Whites (M = 79.3) compared to participants who did not receive support from same-race partners (M = 81.2). Participants who received support from cross-race partners reported more warmth towards Whites (M = 83.5) than those who received no support from them, as well as those who received support from same-race partners (M = 82.0).

Task performance. A 2 (partner race: same-race vs. cross-race) x 2 (partner provision: no support, support) ANOVA on ratings of anxiety and engagement revealed a main effect of support provision on coded ratings of anxiety, $F(1, 46) = 4.57$, $p = .04$ and task engagement, $F(1, 46) = 3.96$,

p = .05. On average, participants who received support from their partner prior to the speech appeared more comfortable and more engaged when completing the task. The interactions of partner race and support provision were not significant for both variables.

Discussion

Study 5 aimed to systematically track the effects of a negative intergroup experience on an ethnic minority's self-disclosures to same-race and cross-race friends. Additionally, this study aimed to examine the impact of disclosure of a negative intergroup experience on the support behaviors of same-race and cross-race friends as well as the effects of receiving or not receiving this support. Finally, the limitations of vignette studies and one-sided lab interactions are addressed by tracking the processes of self-disclosure and social support between two individuals.

In general, the results of this lab study appear to parallel the findings of the previous studies. Specifically, in this study, we find that after experiencing the same type of intergroup rejection in the form of negative and biased career assessment feedback, ethnic minorities perceived themselves as disclosing less to cross-race (White) friends, felt less comfortable making disclosures, and expected to receive less emotional and instrumental support from their cross-race friends. In turn, after hearing disclosures from ethnic minority friends, same-race partners appeared to like them marginally less compared to cross-race partners, and perceived themselves as responding in a less emotionally supportive manner. From an "objective" (coded) standpoint, White partners actually provided more social support compared to ethnic minorities (as measured by behavior frequencies) and appeared more responsive to their friends' disclosures.

The current study extends the previous findings to examine the impact of support provision on a number of ethnic minorities' outcomes. In particular, minorities who received support from friends in general reported feeling more understood, accepted, and cared for than others.

Additionally, minorities felt particularly more understood, accepted, and cared for after receiving social support from cross-race friends. Minorities who received support from friends also reported liking friends more particularly after receiving support from cross-race friends. There was also evidence to suggest that receiving cross-race social support can have a buffering effect on some intergroup outcomes. Ethnic minority participants who received support from cross-race friends maintained levels of race stigma consciousness comparable to those who received support from same-race friends, while participants who received no support from cross-race friends after disclosing a negative intergroup experience reported higher levels of stigma consciousness.

Study 5 takes an important step in understanding self-disclosure and social support across racial group boundaries by focusing on how these factors come together to impact a dyadic interaction. However, there are limitations to the lab paradigm that would need to be addressed in future research studies. First, the current design is such that ethnic minority participants are all prompted to make self-disclosures about intergroup rejection. The data suggest that minorities feel less comfortable with self-disclosing to White friends. Thus, this paradigm cannot address the extent to which minorities spontaneously share negative intergroup experiences with same-race and cross-race peers, and how these disclosures compare to the spontaneous sharing of negative experiences that do not possess a racially biased component to them. Future research should examine the natural disclosure of both interpersonal and intergroup experiences in dyadic settings, either in the lab or in the field. Additionally, the study set-up aimed to tightly control the flow of support from Whites and minorities to participants making disclosures. Consequently, the impact of not receiving support at all could be qualitatively different from receiving very low levels of support or support that is inappropriate to the situation. While the current study takes an important step in understanding the impact of intergroup social support, future studies will have to examine this issue, further, perhaps by manipulating the provision of different forms of support in varying levels,

negative support behaviors, or neutral/off-topic responses. Finally, the impact of support provision on intergroup outcomes suggests that there may be benefits to receiving support from cross-race counterparts in the face of negative intergroup experiences. Despite expectations that cross-race counterparts will not be as supportive as individuals of the same-race, it seems that in some contexts, cross-race partners have the potential to provide useful levels of both emotional and instrumental support. Furthermore, receiving support from cross-race friends appears to buffer ethnic minorities from feeling some of the negative effects of intergroup rejection, specifically with respect to increases in race-related stigma consciousness.

General Discussion

Collectively, these studies underscore the importance of understanding the processes of intergroup dialogue and how navigating challenging discussions of racial inequality impacts all individuals involved. As a start, the empirical work described here suggests that the initiation of these discussions by way of self-disclosure can be detrimentally affected by one's perceptions of how these disclosures will be received. As demonstrated in this research, the disclosure of negative intergroup experiences is less likely when ethnic minorities expect their social support needs to be unfulfilled by others. However, we also observe that there are some instances in which this may not be the case. In the context of social relationships in which future contact might be anticipated (e.g., a fellow undergraduate at a small university, or a long-term friendship), it seems to be the case that cross-race partners can be potentially useful sources of emotional and informational support for ethnic minorities. In Studies 4 and 5, we see that Whites appear to be more responsive than ethnic minorities when disclosures of intergroup rejection are made. Yet, it is still unclear what the motives are for this responsiveness. For example, the boost in responsiveness on the part of White support providers may be driven by metaperceptual concerns (e.g., concerns about appearing prejudiced), while the lack of responsiveness on the part of minorities may be driven by threats to meritocracy beliefs (Kaiser et al., 2009). Accordingly, future research should explore how compassionate goals (e.g., earnest goals of helping the person in distress) and personal goals (e.g., impression management) shape the processes of support-seeking and support-giving in intergroup relationships.

Broadly, the implications of this work can be situated within the contemporary milieu, particularly as it relates to a "national" conversation about race relations. Despite the optimistic view that President Obama's election would signal the end of race as a topic of debate, recent events across the United States suggest that issues of race and racism are still part and parcel of the country's social fabric and history, and the conversation is far from over. And yet, public

discussions of race and racism continue to be wrought with conflict and misunderstanding raising questions about how best to initiate these discussions, how effective they actually are, and whether these discussions should even be held in such a "top-down" fashion. As writer Jonathan Capehart of the Washington Post puts it, "National conversations on race, whether convened by political leaders or sparked by collective outrage, never last long. We say we want the conversation. But we just can't handle it—especially in public" (Capehart, 2014).

The present work highlights the point that frank race talk is difficult to initiate, not just at the public level, but also at the private level, even with close intimates and cross-race friends whom we trust and hold in high regard. However, at the private, interpersonal level, self-disclosures and mutual exchanges of about racial issues—although potentially ugly and painful—can be potentially beneficial. There is a robust amount of work to support that intergroup interactions are anxiety-provoking and susceptible to conflict and misunderstandings, and race-related discussions are apt to be avoided in these contexts. But as the current research indicates, initiating discussions about racial discrimination through self-disclosure, particularly across racial lines, can open the doors to an otherwise neglected and underutilized source of social support. Results in this work suggest that cross-race social support can benefit an individual's feelings of validation, foster liking and more positive attitudes between friends, and allay feelings of stigma consciousness among ethnic minorities. With demographic shifts in the United States producing a more racially and ethnically diverse country and new challenges arising from growing social inequalities, intergroup dialogue is becoming an increasingly important, necessary, and perhaps even unavoidable form of communication.

Additionally, this research informs important theorizing about intergroup interactions, more specifically, the factors that motivate support-seeking and support-providing behaviors in these contexts. Elaborating on ideas proposed by Harrell (2000), I identify a key determining factor in

initiating the support-seeking process—one's perceptions of how supportive a support-provider will actually be in response to a disclosure. Because ethnic minorities tend to assume that Whites are inadequate providers of emotional and instrumental support, cross-race support is given less attention than same-race support. This can be problematic, as the current suggests that contrary to assumptions and expectations, Whites can be quite capable support providers if given the opportunity. In future research, it will be worthwhile to examine contextual factors and interventions that can facilitate disclosure and the solicitation of support from cross-race others.

Finally, this research adds to the body of literature attesting to the benefits of intergroup contact and cross-race friendship. As noted previously, research has found that seeking cross-race support from one's social network immediately following a negative intergroup experience can be beneficial—specifically, individuals continue to engage in intergroup social interactions after acquiring support from a cross-race friend (Page-Gould, 2011). Similarly, the current work uncovers evidence that receiving cross-race social support after experiencing intergroup rejection can restore one's feelings of acceptance and being cared for, promote more liking of cross-race friends, and attenuate levels of race stigma consciousness. Given the controlled nature of the studies in this dissertation, additional research will be needed to examine how natural, spontaneous disclosures and support provision impact cross-race friendships. Moreover, future research should seek to identify specific factors and boundary conditions in which cross-race support is detrimental to the individual and their relationship.

Implications and Contributions to Social Support Research

Although social support is assumed to serve as an effective resource for coping with prejudice and discrimination, there has been limited experimental research testing this hypothesis. Empirical evidence of a buffering relationship between social support and the psychological and

physiological effects of racial and ethnic discrimination are mixed. Recent findings from a small meta-analysis and literature review contrast largely with anecdotal reports and results from qualitative studies of social support and discrimination; these findings also contrast with results from other research examining the buffering effects of support in the face of other types of stressors (e.g., cancer) (see Brondolo, Ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, & Contrada, 2009; Pascoe & Richman, 2009). Because social support is primarily elicited in interpersonal interactions by way of self-disclosure (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010; Derlega, Winstead, Greene, Serovich, & Elwood, 2004), a useful starting point for understanding how support impacts minorities lies in understanding the personal and situational factors that affect whether or not self-disclosure occurs in the first place. In this work, I explore one important factor that can impact individuals' help-seeking and who individuals seek help from: perceptions and expectations of having their needs met by others.

A major drawback to the existing research on social support and discrimination lies in the inconsistent and nonspecific conceptualization and measurement of social support. Most research examining the impact of social support on coping with prejudice and discrimination has operationalized support as a one's overall social network size or an individuals' general perception that social support is available to them. In the research conducted here, I build a case for more specificity in defining social support, not only in terms of the source of support (i.e., same-race or cross-race others in the social network) but also the specific forms of support that are conveyed by that source (i.e., emotional or instrumental support). Future work examining the social support in intergroup relationships will benefit from this type of specificity if we are to understand how and why social support could mitigate the negative effects of racial and ethnic discrimination.

The Case of Ambiguous Discrimination

In this dissertation, I have focused primarily on support-seeking and support-giving in instances of interpersonal rejection and intergroup rejection—that is, situations in which attributions to discrimination are explicit to the perceiver. However, given the more subtle nature of discrimination in contemporary American society, it would behoove researchers to give greater attention to cross-race dialogues about ambiguous discrimination. As Major and colleagues have found, ambiguous discrimination can have more insidious impact on ethnic minorities' psychological well-being and physical health than overt forms of racism (Major & Crocker, 1993; Mendes, McCoy, Major, & Blascovich, 2008). The results of Studies 1c and 2 show less consistent, tentative evidence suggesting that the preference to disclose ambiguous rejection is similar to preferences to disclose interpersonal rejection. However, these findings are limited in that ambiguous rejection is merely instantiated through the omission of attribution information in a written vignette. In future research, the lab interaction paradigm could be expanded to include a condition of less overt discrimination. It could be that the motivation for disclosing ambiguous feedback is different from the motivation for disclosing explicitly biased feedback—for instance, emotional support needs and instrumental support needs (i.e., providing information confirming or disconfirming that discrimination has in fact occurred) may be equally important in this case.

Positive Intergroup Experiences

Most research on self-disclosure and social support in intergroup contexts has focused on its role in mitigating the effects of negative intergroup experiences. To my knowledge, no research has examined the impact of disclosing positive intergroup experiences with others—for example, having a positive experience meeting new people and learning about a new culture when traveling abroad; having someone intervene and confront a perpetrator of racial prejudice on your behalf; making a

new friend from another racial or ethnic background. Work by Gable (2006) on the sharing of positive experiences with others indicates that doing so can augment people's reactions to good events; this form of "capitalization support" is theorized to be beneficial to individuals' mental health. Future research can be expanded to explore the impact of capitalization support on intergroup relationships, and particularly examine how capitalization support can be utilized as an intervention for mitigating potentially detrimental effects of racial discrimination among minorities.

Concluding Thoughts

The process of social support seeking and social support provision is complicated. The manifestation of this process within the context of a negative intergroup experience adds further complication that warrants careful analysis of this issue. Acknowledging the complex nature of the relationships between support seekers and support providers, and between ethnic minorities and whites, will allow us to better construct prosocial intergroup relationships in a way that promotes equality, respect, and thriving for all parties involved.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Study 1c Scenarios

Interpersonal rejection condition

1. Imagine that you are in a busy restaurant trying to get the attention of your waiter. A lot of other people are trying to get the waiter's attention as well. The waiter seems to be attending to everyone else right away and ignoring you. *You suspect that you are being overlooked because the kitchen door is obstructing the waiter's view of your table.*
2. Imagine that you are shopping at a store, trying to pick out a few items. While you are looking at the different brands, you notice one of the store clerks glancing your way. When you ask the clerk a question about one of the items, the clerk replies disrespectfully. *You suspect that you were treated with less courtesy because the store is crowded and busier than usual.*
3. Imagine you have just completed a job interview over the telephone. You are in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about your application. Several days later you complete a second interview in person. A week later, the interviewer informs you that the position has been filled. *You suspect that you were not hired because you were not as qualified as the other applicants*.

Ambiguous rejection condition

1. Imagine that you are in a busy restaurant trying to get the attention of your waiter. A lot of other people are trying to get the waiter's attention as well. The waiter seems to be attending to everyone else right away and ignoring you.
2. Imagine that you are shopping at a store, trying to pick out a few items. While you are looking at the different brands, you notice one of the store clerks glancing your way. When you ask the clerk a question about one of the items, the clerk replies disrespectfully.

3. Imagine you have just completed a job interview over the telephone. You are in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about your application. Several days later you complete a second interview in person. A week later, the interviewer informs you that the position has been filled.

Intergroup rejection condition

1. Imagine that you are in a busy restaurant trying to get the attention of your waiter. A lot of other people are trying to get the waiter's attention as well. The waiter seems to be attending to everyone else right away and ignoring you. *You suspect that you are being overlooked because of your race/ethnicity.*
2. Imagine that you are shopping at a store, trying to pick out a few items. While you are looking at the different brands, you notice one of the store clerks glancing your way. When you ask the clerk a question about one of the items, the clerk replies disrespectfully. *You suspect that you were treated with less courtesy because of your race/ethnicity.*
3. Imagine you have just completed a job interview over the telephone. You are in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about your application. Several days later you complete a second interview in person. A week later, the interviewer informs you that the position has been filled. *You suspect that you were not hired because of your race/ethnicity.*

Appendix B: Study 3 Scenarios

Interpersonal rejection condition

Imagine that a [White/Black] [friend/acquaintance] of yours has just completed a job interview over the telephone. This person is in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about their application. Several days later they complete a second interview in person. A week later, the interviewer informs your [friend/acquaintance] that the position has been filled. Your [friend/acquaintance] suspects that they were not hired because they were not as qualified as the other applicants.

Ambiguous rejection condition

Imagine that a [White/Black] [friend/acquaintance] of yours has just completed a job interview over the telephone. This person is in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about their application. Several days later they complete a second interview in person. A week later, the interviewer informs your [friend/acquaintance] that the position has been filled.

Intergroup rejection condition

Imagine that a [White/Black] [friend/acquaintance] of yours has just completed a job interview over the telephone. This person is in good spirits because the interviewer seemed enthusiastic about their application. Several days later they complete a second interview in person. A week later, the interviewer informs your [friend/acquaintance] that the position has been filled. Your [friend/acquaintance] suspects that they were not hired because of their race/ethnicity.