

When Having Black Friends Isn't Enough: How Threat Cues Undermine Safety Cues in Friendship Formation

Social Psychological and
Personality Science
2014, Vol. 5(7) 844-851
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DOI: 10.1177/1948550614535820
spps.sagepub.com



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Abstract

People's concerns about being rejected temper their interest in forming interracial friendships. For Blacks, identity threat can magnify their rejection concerns and reduce friendship interest. The present research explores the role that threat and safety cues play in Blacks' concerns about being rejected by Whites. Prior to an interaction, participants learned information about their partner that was comprised of two safety cues or a safety cue accompanied by a threat cue. In Study 1, Blacks who received both a safety and a threat cue were more concerned about being rejected and were less interested in forming an interracial friendship than Blacks who received only safety cues. Whites were unaffected by these cues. In Study 2, Blacks' perceptions of their interaction partner's warmth mediated the cues' effects on rejection concerns and friendship interest. This research suggests that a single threatening cue can undermine safety cues during interracial interactions.

Keywords

intergroup interactions, interracial friendships, race, social identity threat

Interracial friendships have been shown to reduce prejudice, foster positive explicit and implicit racial attitudes, and increase cultural awareness (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003). Despite these benefits, people's concerns about being rejected temper their interest in forming interracial friendships (Mallett, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2008; Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006). For stigmatized social groups, such as Blacks, identity threat concerns (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002), like being negatively stereotyped or devalued, can amplify their rejection concerns and decrease their interest in interacting with Whites (Murphy & Taylor, 2011; Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005; Steele et al., 2002; Tropp, 2003). Previous research has shown that contextual cues of safety lessen identity threat concerns, while cues of threat heighten these concerns (Wout, Murphy, & Steele, 2010; Wout, Shih, Jackson, & Sellers, 2009). The present research explores how threat and safety cues can interact to affect Blacks' concerns about being rejected by Whites. As an understudied social group in intergroup research (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), the present studies seek to add greater understanding of the challenges that Blacks face when interacting with Whites.

up to various social identity threats (e.g., being negatively stereotyped, devalued, excluded, or isolated). As a result of these potential threats, they attempt to assess whether their stigmatized social identity is relevant in a given context (Cohen & Garcia, 2008). In contexts where their identity is relevant, they vigilantly search for contextual cues that inform them of the probability of experiencing these threats. These cues can range from seemingly innocuous pictures on a wall to overt expressions of prejudice (for reviews, see Cohen & Garcia, 2008; Kaiser, Vick, & Major, 2006; Murphy & Taylor, 2012; Steele et al., 2002). When stigmatized social groups observe cues suggesting that the probability of experiencing a social identity threat is low (safety cues), vigilance is relaxed. In contrast, when they observe cues that signal that the probability of a social identity threat is relatively high (threat cues), vigilance increases as they prepare to cope with this threat. In academic contexts, experiencing identity threat has been shown to impair the test performance of Black students

Vigilance to Threat and Safety Cues

Stereotype threat theory (Steele, 1997) and social identity threat theory (Steele et al., 2002) suggest that stigmatized social groups are aware that their stigmatized status opens them

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(Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2002; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Wout et al., 2009).

As with academic contexts, interracial contexts are ones in which Blacks must determine whether they will experience social identity threat (Wout et al., 2010). Threat cues can have a profound negative impact on their interest in, and experience during, interactions with Whites. For instance, Blacks who expect to be the target of stereotyping and prejudice avoid interracial interactions, and when that is not possible, they engage in compensatory coping strategies that are cognitively costly (Shelton et al., 2005; Steele et al., 2002). While these compensatory strategies make their White interaction partner more comfortable, Blacks feel less authentic and are more likely to dislike their partner. Safety cues, in contrast, can foster positive interracial interactions. For example, people are less concerned about being rejected by racial out-group members when they share a common friend (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). Thus, safety cues in the context of interracial interactions alleviate people's rejection concerns and facilitate positive intergroup experiences.

Recent research has shown that the racial makeup of an interaction partner's friendship network can also serve as a meaningful cue during interracial interactions (Shapiro, Baldwin, Williams, & Trawalter, 2011; Wout et al., 2010). Wout, Murphy, and Steele (2010) led Black and White college students to believe that they were going to interact with a White student who had either a homogeneously White network of friends (five White friends) or a racially diverse network of friends (three White friends and two Black friends). Black participants were less concerned about being negatively stereotyped and anticipated a less challenging interaction when their White interaction partner had a racially diverse network of friends compared to when their partner had a homogeneously White network of friends. Thus, for Blacks, who were engaging in an *interracial* interaction, a White partner's diverse friendship network served as an identity safety cue, while a White partner's racially homogeneous friendship network served as an identity threat cue. Since White participants were engaging in an *intra-racial* interaction, social identity concerns were not relevant and, therefore, friendship cues did not constitute either an identity safety or threat cue. As a result, the racial composition of their White partner's friendship network had no effect on their stereotype concerns or the challenges they expected to face during the interaction. These findings suggest that the racial composition of friendship networks is a meaningful cue in interracial interactions but not in intraracial interactions.

Exposure to Multiple Contextual Cues

While previous research has illuminated the importance of safety and threat cues in interracial interactions and in the formation of interracial friendships, a limitation of this work is that it has primarily isolated the effect of a singular contextual cue, while ignoring the impact of other cues. However, in real-life interracial interactions, people are often exposed to

multiple contextual cues simultaneously. Often these cues are complementary in that they consistently signal threat or safety. In these circumstances, the initial cue is likely reinforced by subsequent cues that signal the same safety or threat message. What remains unclear is how safety and threat cues interact to affect people's concerns when engaging in interracial interactions. Three distinct possibilities exist. First, safety and threat cues could offset each other, such that the net effect is one in which people do not experience identity threat or safety. Another possibility is that once a safety cue is introduced, people's vigilance is relaxed such that they ignore, or fail to notice, a subsequent threat cue. A final possibility is that the psychological benefits of an initial safety cue are overridden by a subsequent threat cue. That is, people's vigilance is relaxed as a result of a safety cue and then is reactivated when they encounter a threat cue. The present research tests these three possibilities by examining how Blacks' rejection concerns and friendship interest are affected when they receive a safety cue followed by either a threat cue or safety cue from a White interaction partner.

While there is a dearth of research on how threat and safety cues interact to influence rejection concerns and friendship interest, there is reason to believe that threat cues will override safety cues. First, people place more evaluative importance on negative information than on positive information (i.e., negativity bias) and view it as more diagnostic and informative (Anderson, 1965; Fiske, 1980). Likewise, stigma researchers theorize that individuals are motivated to perceive threats when they exist (Steele et al., 2002) and may rely on a more vigilant, zero-miss strategy in an attempt to avoid missing potential threats in the environment (Feldman-Barrett & Swim, 1998; Grier & Cobbs, 1968). Additionally, research on stereotype threat found that Black students' test performance was buffered from stereotype threat when they learned that their evaluator was Black (safety cue) but was negatively impacted when they subsequently learned that the Black evaluator endorsed racial stereotypes (threat cue; Wout et al., 2009). In other words, the identity safety that Blacks derived from having a same-race evaluator was overridden by the threat that the evaluator would likely stereotype them. Consistent with these findings, we propose that Blacks will place more meaning and importance to threat cues than to safety cues. Thus, we predict that when Blacks are exposed to both a safety and a threat cue prior to interacting with a White partner, the negative effects of the threat cue will undermine the positive effects of the safety cue, heightening rejection concerns and suppressing interest in becoming the White partner's friend.

The present research examines Black students' rejection concerns and interest in forming a friendship with a White student after being exposed to either two safety cues or to one safety cue and one threat cue. In Study 1, Black and White students were initially exposed to a cue known to produce identity safety for stigmatized groups (information about their interaction partner's diverse friendship network; Wout et al., 2010) followed by either an additional identity safety cue or an identity threatening cue. We hypothesized that Black participants

who were exposed to both a safety and a threat cue would be more concerned about being rejected, and would be less interested in forming a friendship, than Blacks exposed to only safety cues.

We included White participants as a control group to demonstrate that these cues have meaning for identity safety or identity threat in *interracial* interactions but not in *intraracial* interactions. Because the potential for race-based rejection is less relevant in intraracial interactions (Frey & Tropp, 2006), we hypothesized that neither safety nor threat cues communicated by a White interaction partner would influence White participants' rejection concerns or friendship interest.

In Study 2, we replicated the effects of these contextual cues for Blacks and tested whether participants' perception of their partner's warmth affected their rejection concerns and interest in forming a friendship.

Study 1

Participants and Method

Fifty-eight (23 Black, 35 White; 41 females) undergraduates from the University of Illinois at Chicago participated for course credit. The protocol was similar to that of Wout et al. (2010, Study 2). All participants were run in individual experimental sessions. Upon arrival, the experimenter informed participants that they would receive information from a student in another lab room (a confederate) via Instant Message (IM), form an impression of the student, and then have a 20-min web-video conversation together. This conversation never actually occurred as the experiment ended after participants made an impression of their partner. During the information exchange, participants learned that their interaction partner was White via the picture displayed in the IM dialogue box. The experimenter told participants that their interaction partner was instructed to report their name, gender, year in school, and the names, gender, and race of their five closest friends. Here, the partner always reported having a racially diverse set of friends (three White and two Black friends)—a cue of safety in interracial interaction (Wout et al., 2010). Next to each friend, the partner listed the five most common activities that he engages in with each of those friends.

Participants were then provided with either another safety cue or a threat cue. Group-based devaluation and marginalization are core components of most stigma theories (for reviews, see Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Goffman, 1963; Major & O'Brien, 2005). Similarly, stigmatized social groups are vigilant to contextual cues that suggest that their group will be marginalized (Murphy & Taylor, 2012). Thus, we reasoned that when interacting with a White partner, previously unknown to the participant, Blacks would be vigilant to any cue that suggests that the partner treats Blacks differently than they do Whites. The meaning derived from this differential treatment cue should be especially threatening when the White partner's treatment of, or interaction with, Blacks is consistent with Black stereotypes. To examine the effects of such a cue,

participants either learned that their partner engaged in stereotypically Black and stereotypically White activities equally with his or her Black and White friends (safety cue) or they learned that their partner segregated these activities, engaging in stereotypically Black activities with only Black friends and stereotypically White activities with only White friends (threat cue).

Based on an independent sample of students, we selected activities that were more stereotypically associated with Black people than White people (e.g., listening to hip-hop and playing basketball) and activities that were more stereotypically associated with White people than Black people (playing tennis and studying). Participants in the "*safety/safety cues*" condition learned of their partner's racially diverse friendship network and then learned their partner engaged in both types of activities with his or her Black and White friends. If integrating activities are a cue to safety, then Black participants whose White partner integrates their activities across their friendship network should experience little identity threat. In contrast, participants in the "*safety/threat cues*" condition learned of their partner's racially diverse friendship network and then learned that their White partner engaged in stereotypically Black activities with their Black friends and stereotypically White activities with their White friends. If segregation is a cue to identity threat, then Black participants should experience more identity threat when their White interaction partner segregates their activities along racial lines. That is, Black participants should report more rejection concerns and less interest in befriending their partner in this condition.

Next, participants completed 2 items assessing their beliefs about whether their partner would reject them as a friend: "I think this student would like to be my friend" and "I think this student would accept me as a friend" (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*). These items were reverse coded and combined to form a *rejection concerns* composite ($r = .71$). Two items also assessed participants' interest in befriending their partner: "I would like to be this student's friend" and "I would accept this student as a friend." These items were combined to create a *friendship interest* composite ($r = .65$). After completing these measures, participants were debriefed and provided course credit.

Results and Discussion

A 2 (participant race: Black vs. White) \times 2 (contextual cues: safety/safety vs. safety/threat) analysis of variance (ANOVA) on participants' rejection concerns revealed a main effect of participant race, $F(1, 54) = 6.93, p = .01$, which was qualified by a Race \times Contextual Cues interaction, $F(1, 54) = 5.40, p = .02$ (see Table 1 for means). Supporting our hypothesis, Black participants in the safety/threat condition expressed more concern about being rejected by their White partner than Blacks in the safety/safety condition, $F(1, 54) = 5.06, p = .03, d = .92$. The cues manipulation had no effect on White participants' concerns about being rejected by their White partner, $F(1, 54) = .21, p = .65, ns$.

Table 1. Condition Means and Standard Deviations for Rejection Concerns and Friendship Interest for Study 1.

Dependent variables	Experimental Condition			
	Black Participants		White Participants	
	Safety/Safety Cues	Safety/Threat Cues	Safety/Safety Cues	Safety/Threat Cues
Rejection concerns	2.45 _a (0.98)	3.42 _b (1.12)	3.69 _b (0.77)	3.50 _b (0.87)
Friendship interest	5.65 _a (0.85)	4.69 _b (0.88)	4.36 _b (0.92)	4.79 _b (1.12)

Note. Means with different subscripts in the same row differ significantly from one another at the $p < .05$ level. The numbers in parentheses are the standard deviations.

An ANOVA on participants' interest in befriending their partner revealed only a participant Race \times Contextual Cues interaction, $F(1, 54) = 4.55, p = .04$. Consistent with our hypothesis, Black participants were less interested in befriending the White partner in the safety/threat condition than in the safety/safety condition, $F(1, 54) = 4.71, p = .03, d = 1.11$. White participants' interest in befriending their White interaction partner was unaffected by these cues, $F(1, 53) = .16, p = .69, ns$.

The results of Study 1 demonstrated that Black students were more concerned about being rejected and were less interested in befriending a White interaction partner who communicated both a safety cue and a threat cue relative to a partner who communicated two safety cues. These findings suggest that consistent cues of identity safety (as found in the safety/safety condition) engender positive intergroup outcomes. In the safety/threat condition, however, the identity safety that Blacks typically derive from the racial diversity of their partner's friendship network (Wout et al., 2010) was undermined when they learned that the partner segregated their friendship activities along racial lines. The presence of a threat cue, even in the context of a safety cue, undermined positive interracial interactions.

The *intra-racial* nature of White participants' interactions meant that these individuals did not contend with similar identity threat concerns. Thus, the threat and safety cues had no effect on White participants' rejection concerns or friendship interest (see Frey & Tropp, 2006). The safety and threat cues were relevant and imbued with meaning for how Black participants expected to be treated because of their race, but likely had little meaning for how White participants expected to be treated because of their race. Thus, while White participants in both conditions were somewhat uneasy about the upcoming interaction, this unease was not a function of the manipulation.

Study 2

Study 1 provided initial evidence that threat cues can override safety cues in interracial but not in intraracial interactions. One limitation of this study was that it lacked a control condition in which only the single safety cue of friendship diversity was communicated to participants (Shapiro et al., 2011; Wout et al., 2010). Thus, Study 1 was unable to discern the relative impact of the additional threat or safety cue above and beyond the single safety cue manipulated in previous research (Wout

et al., 2010). That is, do two safety cues further reduce Blacks' rejection concerns, conferring additional identity safety than a single safety cue? Or, does the safety/threat combination increase Blacks' rejection concerns relative to the safety cues, as hypothesized by the vigilance processes proposed by identity threat theory? Examining the effects of two safety cues versus a single safety cue will shed light on whether there is an additive effect of two safety cues or whether identity safety is more of a threshold in which additional safety cues do not produce additional safety. To investigate these possibilities, Study 2 included a single safety cue control condition similar to those used in previous research (Shapiro et al., 2011; Wout et al., 2010).

Study 2 also investigated whether safety and threat cues communicate something about a partner's warmth and friendliness. The stereotype content model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) suggests that in social interactions, people seek to determine whether other's intentions are good or bad (i.e., the warmth dimension of social perception) and whether they are capable of acting on those intentions (i.e., the competence dimension of social perception). Because warmth traits allow individuals to quickly assess whether a social group has good or ill intentions toward one's own group, the model characterizes warmth as the primary dimension for understanding intergroup behavior. We propose that the safety and threat cues in Study 1 would modulate participants' perceptions of their partner's intentions (the warmth dimension of person perception) but would be less relevant to their perceptions of their partner's competence. Therefore, we propose that when only safety cues were present, Black participants would perceive that their partner was warmer, which would decrease their rejection concerns and increase their friendship interest. In contrast, we propose that when a threat cue was present, Blacks would conclude that their partner was less warm, which would increase their rejection concerns and decrease their friendship interest. Study 2 tested these propositions.

Participants and Method

Forty-five (33 females and 12 males) Black John Jay College undergraduates participated for either course credit or US\$15. The procedures for Study 2 were identical to Study 1 with three modifications. First, we included a single safety cue control condition in which only the interaction partner's

Table 2. Condition Means and Standard Deviations for Partner Warmth, Rejection Concerns, and Friendship Interest for Study 2.

Dependent Variables	Experimental Condition		
	Single Safety Cue	Safety/Safety Cues	Safety/Threat Cues
Partner's warmth	5.64 _a (0.90)	5.80 _a (0.65)	4.95 _b (0.75)
Partner's competence	5.22 _a (0.92)	5.45 _a (0.88)	5.28 _a (0.69)
Rejection concerns	2.90 _a (1.31)	2.87 _a (0.88)	3.83 _b (1.28)
Friendship interest	5.30 _a (1.26)	5.20 _a (0.70)	4.50 _b (0.76)

Note. Means with different subscripts in the same row differ significantly from one another at the $p < .05$ level. The numbers in parentheses are the standard deviations.

racially diverse friendship network was provided. This condition is an exact replication of previous research demonstrating the identity safety nature of this cue (Wout et al., 2010). Second, to examine mediation by warmth participants reported their perceptions of their partner prior to reporting their rejection concerns and friendship interest. Finally, to continue the focus on Blacks' responses to interpersonal cues in interracial interaction, and because they were not influenced by the cues in Study 1, Whites were not included in Study 2.

Participants reported their perceptions of their partner by indicating the likelihood that their partner possessed specific traits on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = *very unlikely*, 7 = *very likely*). Based on the SCM (Fiske et al., 2002), 7 items measured perceptions of *warmth*: friendly, trustworthy, sociable, open minded; rude (reverse-coded), arrogant (reverse-coded), unkind (reverse-coded), and insensitive (reverse-coded) and 4 items measured perceptions of *competence*: intelligent, smart, well spoken, and qualified. Both measures were internally valid (warmth $\alpha = .80$; competence $\alpha = .81$). We used the same measures from Study 1 to assess rejection concerns ($r = .72$) and friendship interest ($r = .55$).

Results

Consistent with our hypotheses, there was a significant effect of cues on partner's warmth, $F(2, 42) = 5.10, p = .01$ (see Table 2). Participants in the safety/threat condition viewed their partner as less warm than participants in either the single safety cue condition, $t(42) = 2.43, p = .02, d = .83$, or the safety/safety cues condition, $t(42) = 3.01, p = .004, d = 1.21$. Participants in the single safety cue and safety/safety conditions perceived their partner as equally warm, $t(42) = .58, p = .57, ns$. Perceptions of competence did not differ by condition, $F(42) = .31, p = .74, ns$.

As hypothesized, the cues manipulation influenced participants' concerns about being rejected by their partner, $F(2, 42) = 3.29, p = .05$. Participants in the safety/threat condition expressed more concerns about being rejected than participants in either the single safety cue, $t(42) = 2.18, p = .04, d = .72$, or safety/safety conditions, $t(42) = 2.26, p = .03, d = .87$. Participants in the single safety cue and the safety/safety conditions did not differ in their rejection concerns, $t(42) = .08, p = .94, ns$.

The cues also influenced participants' interest in befriending their partner, $F(2, 42) = 3.21, p = .05$. Specifically, participants

in the safety/threat condition were less interested in befriending their partner than participants in either the single safety cue, $t(42) = 2.33, p = .03, d = .77$, or the safety/safety conditions, $t(42) = 2.03, p = .05, d = .96$. Again, participants' interest in befriending their partner did not differ between the single safety cue and safety/safety conditions, $t(42) = .29, p = .79, ns$.

Mediation Analysis

To examine whether participants' perceptions of their partner's warmth mediated their rejection concerns and friendship interest, we tested for indirect effects using bootstrapped confidence intervals (CIs) following the guidelines of Hayes (2013). The significance of the indirect effect is judged in relation to whether the bias-corrected 95% confidence levels include 0. Because we neither predicted, nor found, differences between participants in the single safety cue and safety/safety conditions on the dependent variables, those conditions were combined and compared to the safety/threat condition to simplify the model.

Results revealed that the direct effect of the cues on rejection concerns was mediated by perceptions of the partner's warmth ($B = .42, 95\% \text{ CI: } [0.03, 1.04]$). Participants exposed to both safety and threat cues (vs. participants exposed to only safety cues) perceived their partner as less warm and had more rejection concerns (see Figure 1, Panel A). The mediation model fits the data well, $F(2, 42) = 6.92, p < .01, R^2 = .25$.

Friendship interest showed the same pattern. The direct effect of the cues on friendship interest was also mediated by perceived warmth ($B = -.42, 95\% \text{ CI: } [-0.82, -0.17]$). Participants exposed to both safety and threat cues (vs. participants exposed to only safety cues) perceived their partner as less warm and were less interested in befriending their partner (see Figure 1, Panel B). This model also fit the data well, $F(2, 42) = 9.31, p < .001, R^2 = .31$.

General Discussion

Although interracial friendships confer many benefits, the formation of these friendships is often fraught with challenges. Stigmatized groups have the added burden of having to contend with the threat of being the target of stereotyping and prejudice. Safety cues signal to people of color that they are unlikely to be targeted by stereotypes and prejudice, whereas threat cues signal that they are more likely to be targeted by stereotypes and prejudice.

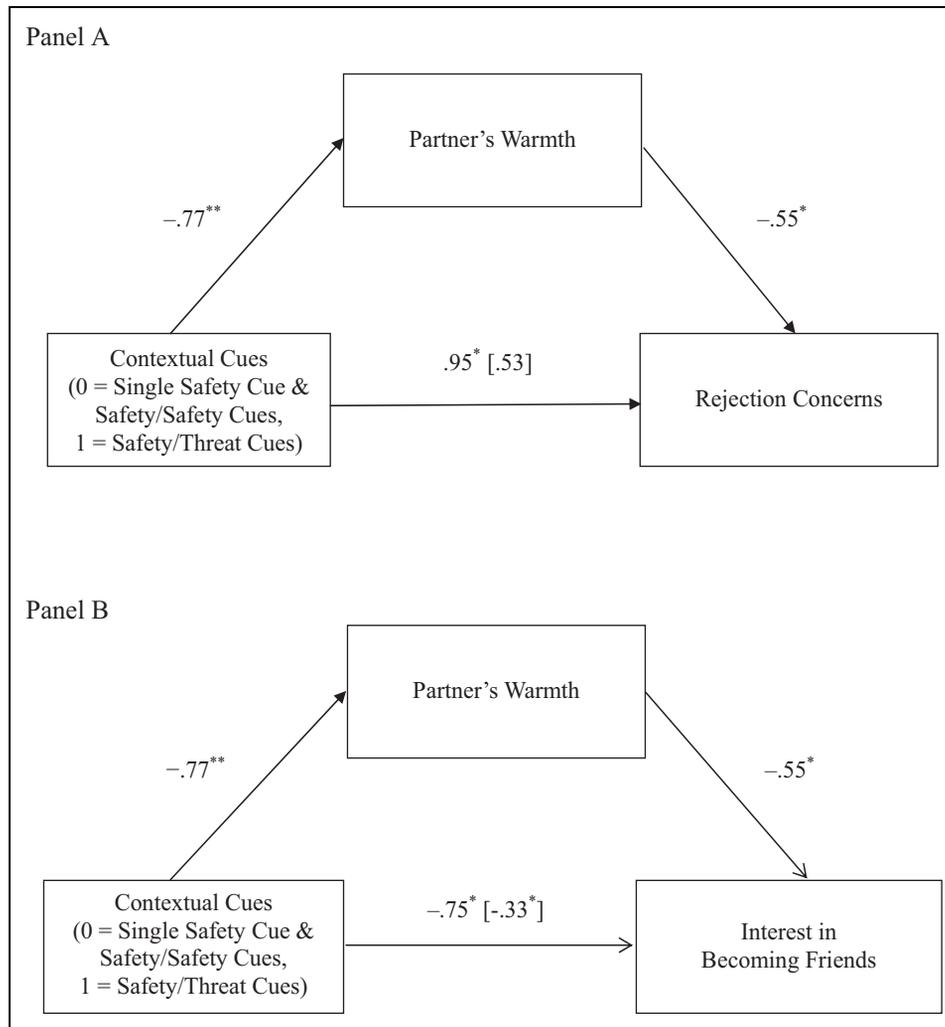


Figure 1. Mediation of contextual cues on rejection concerns (Panel A) and friendship interest (Panel B) by warmth meta-perceptions (Study 2). Values represent unstandardized regression coefficients. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

The present research is the first to examine how Blacks incorporate multiple identity cues within the context of an interracial interaction. In Study 1, Blacks who were engaging in an interracial interaction and who received both a safety and a threat cue were more concerned about being rejected and were less interested in forming an interracial friendship than Blacks who received only safety cues. White participants, who were engaging in an intraracial interaction, were unaffected by these cues. In Study 2, Black participants who encountered either one or two safety cues perceived that their partner was warmer and reported less rejection concerns and more friendship interest than participants who encountered a safety and a threat cue. Consistent with the SCM, Blacks' perceptions of their partner's warmth mediated the effect of these cues on both rejection concerns and friendship interest. These findings suggest that the presence of a threat cue (even though their partner also communicated a safety cue) may lead Blacks to perceive their partner as less warm, which may have increased their rejection concerns and decreased their friendship interest. Collectively, these findings suggest that threat

cues can override the positive effect of safety cues in interracial interaction.

These findings also shed more light on the vigilance process involved in social identity threat. Specifically, they suggest that stigmatized individuals' vigilance is not completely put to rest when an identity safety cue is encountered; instead, it flexibly responds when they encounter a threat cue. Stigmatized individuals are active social perceivers who continually incorporate all relevant contextual cues available to them, safety and threat alike. When new information contradicts previous cues, they reassess the probability of the threat. In the present interracial interaction context, when Blacks received a safety cue accompanied by a threat cue, they experienced more identity threat than when they received only safety cues.

The present research also provides initial insight into whether identity safety is an additive experience. In Study 2, participants exposed to either one or two safety cues reported equally low rejection concerns and equally high friendship interest; and both intergroup outcomes were significantly better than those reported by participants in the safety/threat

condition. This pattern suggests that in interracial contexts, identity safety may not be additive. These findings complement those of Wout, Shih, Jackson, and Sellers (2009, Study 2), which found that test performance of Blacks exposed to two safety cues did not differ from that of Blacks exposed to one safety cue. Collectively, these findings suggest a threshold model may be more accurate when considering identity safety, such that when the subjective experience of identity safety approaches a certain threshold, additional consistent cues do not inspire additional safety. More research is needed to directly compare and contrast models of identity safety or identity threat.

While the present research provides valuable insights into the challenges that Blacks face when interacting with Whites, it is worth noting that the samples employed were relatively small. Collecting data on students of color is notoriously difficult, given their relatively few numbers on most college campuses. While the sample sizes in the present studies are not large, the results for Black participants were consistent across both studies, and the effect sizes were medium to large (ranging from 0.92 to 1.11 in Study 1 and from 0.72 to 1.21 in Study 2). Finally, with the recommended level of 80% power, and α of .05, previous research suggests that approximately 12–18 participants per condition would be required to obtain a significant result. The samples for the present studies are in this range.

On a practical level, the present research suggests that information revealed during interracial interactions is important and that people's trust in these burgeoning relationships is fragile. Friendship diversity is not necessarily sufficient to signal identity safety in an interracial context. Threatening information that contradicts safety cues is likely to undermine them. Black participants were relatively trusting of a White partner who engaged in stereotypically Black activities, but not when these activities were performed only with the partner's Black friends. Thus, it was not distressing to Black participants that the White partner engaged in "Black" activities, but rather that their participation in these activities differed systematically across racial lines. Collectively, this research suggests that living a truly integrated life has the most positive implications for future interracial friendship.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

This research was funded by a National Science Foundation Grant (#1226562) that was awarded to Daryl A. Wout and Mary C. Murphy.

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