Presentation: Asymmetries in Trust and Goals During Interethnic Interactions

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Abstract: As work on interethnic relations moves beyond its historical emphasis on animus, social psychological research is increasingly investigating additional phenomena and processes besides prejudice (e.g., anxiety, pluralistic ignorance, evaluative concerns) that can undermine interethnic interactions. Increasing ethnic diversity in our schools and workplaces elevates the urgency of identifying and understanding psychological barriers, other than sheer prejudice, that impede effective cooperation between pairs or teams of people from different ethnic backgrounds.

My work uses an experimental approach to focus on social psychological phenomena for which members of higher- versus lower-status groups report asymmetric expectations and experiences in interethnic interactions. Previously, my collaborators and I have tested the hypothesis that in interethnic interactions, White Americans pursue the goal of being liked and seen as moral, whereas ethnic minorities (Black and Latino Americans) seek to be respected and seen as competent. We theorized that these divergent goals stem from the desire to disconfirm stereotypes of Whites as prejudiced and of minorities as incompetent, such that Whites and minorities do not report asymmetric goals when interacting with members of their own ethnic group. Moreover, divergence in goals translates into incompatible impression-management behavior, which can undermine coordination and communication in interethnic interactions, resulting in asynchronous and frustrating encounters (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010).

Notably, Whites and ethnic minorities diverge not only in the goals that they bring to interethnic interactions, but also in their responses when another person betrays their trust. My current work investigates interethnic trust, asserting that, relative to ingroup trust, trust placed in outgroup members is asymmetric and fragile. Specifically, I predict that members of lower-status, historically victimized groups (e.g., Black Americans) are more likely to distrust members of high-status groups (e.g., White Americans) than vice-versa after an interpersonal trust betrayal, especially when subjective closeness to outgroup members is low. Moreover, I hypothesize that experimentally inducing greater closeness between individuals of different ethnic backgrounds facilitates trust repair following betrayals, attenuating the trust asymmetry between Whites and Blacks. Finally, I theorize that because trusting someone entails interdependence and accepting vulnerability, whereas merely liking or getting along with someone does not, an outgroup member's betrayal harms trust to a greater extent than liking, especially for members of lower-status, historically victimized groups.

A series of experiments investigated trust repair among White and Black participants following an interpersonal trust violation by an ingroup or outgroup individual. In Experiments 1a and 1b (Ns = 124 & 133), White and Black students imagined a White or Black friend engaging in a series of relational behaviors over time, either including a trust violation or not, then reported their closeness, liking, and trust toward that friend. In each study, Black participants reported lower interethnic trust (but not liking) levels after imagining a betrayal by a White friend as opposed to a Black friend. This outgroup trust deficit was moderated by subjective closeness to the friend. (White participants who imagined a betrayal and all participants in the no-betrayal condition reported comparable trust and liking for ingroup and outgroup friends.)

Experiment 2 entailed having White and Black students (N = 120) in the lab complete either closeness-inducing or control tasks together in dyads. Next, they completed an iterative prisoner's dilemma game that included either a simulated partner defection or constant cooperation. Finally,

participants reported how much they trusted and liked their partner. Black participants in the no-betrayal condition and all White participants reported comparable trust and liking for ingroup and outgroup partners. As predicted, after a partner's ostensible defection, Black participants reported lower trust (but not liking) for White than Black partners in the control-task condition; however, in the closeness-induction condition, this outgroup trust deficit disappeared. These results underscore the centrality of trust (not mere liking) and closeness for cooperative intergroup relations.

Collectively, these experiments demonstrate ethnic asymmetries for key psychological phenomena, highlighting the need to consider ethnic groups' relationships to stereotypes, status, and subjugation when predicting their experiences and reactions in interethnic interactions. For members of higher-status groups who have less exposure to discrimination and are sometimes stereotyped as bigots, interethnic interactions may present an opportunity to demonstrate that they are moral and not prejudiced, and they may more readily forgive an outgroup member who violates their trust once but otherwise behaves in a trustworthy manner. In contrast, for members of lower-status groups who have encountered discrimination and stereotypes of their group as incompetent, gaining outgroup member's respect may be of paramount importance, and they remain vigilant to cues that could signal a high-status outgroup member's intent to exploit them. Notably, this White/Black interethnic trust gap disappeared when participants either reported feeling or were induced to feel greater subjective closeness to outgroup members. In conclusion, although psychological barriers to successful interethnic interactions persist, problems are not inevitable: Minorities who felt close to a person who had betrayed them reported trusting ingroup and outgroup individuals equally.

Asymmetries in Trust and Goals During Interethnic Interactions

IZA Workshop on Discrimination and Ethnicity

Hilary Bergsieker, Princeton University

Background: Interethnic Asymmetries

▸ **Divergent experiences of discrimination and social status**
  ▸ Whites oppressed Blacks for centuries in US (Litwack, 1999)
  ▸ Economic, educational, health inequities today (Wilson, 2009)

▸ **Divergent group stereotypes**
  ▸ Societally prevalent [meta-]stereotypes (Krueger, 1996)

▸ **Divergent White/minority perspectives**
  ▸ Prejudice concerns and affect (Shelton, 2003; Shelton & Richeson, 2006)
  ▸ Impression management goals (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010)

Overview

▸ **Background: Divergent Impression Management Goals**
  ▸ Evidence: self-reports, coded behaviors, link to negative affect

▸ **Is Trust Asymmetric? Building, Betraying, & Buffering Trust**
  ▸ Significance, theory, definitions, predictions
  ▸ Study 1: Trust and betrayal in simulated interactions
  ▸ Study 2: Trust, betrayal, and closeness in an economic game

▸ **Implications & Future Directions**
  ▸ Generalizability, underlying mechanisms, theoretical tensions

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Goals: Whites Seek Liking

NICK ADAMS

Making Friends With Black People

Source: http://BlackPeopleLoveUs.com
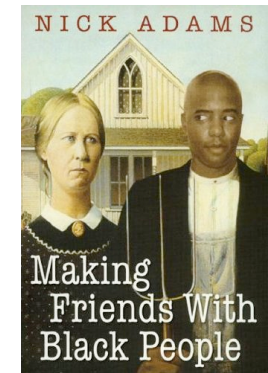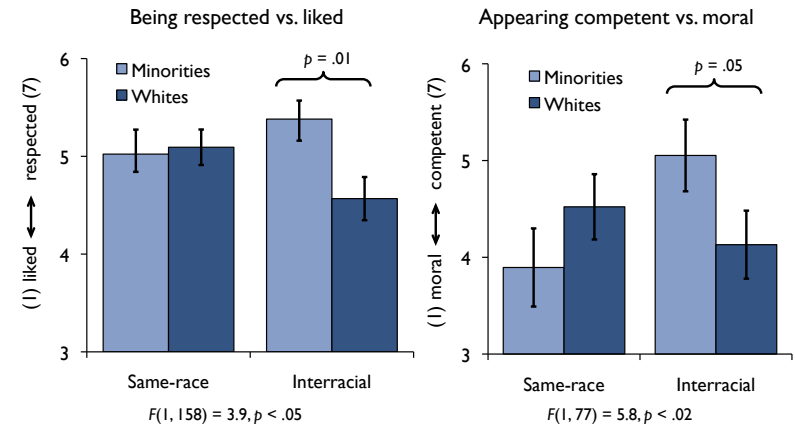
Goals: Minorities Seek Respect

J. D. Pooley for The New York Times

Residents of Lima, Ohio, posted a sign at the house where Ms. Wilson, 26, was killed and her 14-month-old son was injured.

Divergent Goals for Desired Impressions

▸ Self-reported goals in imagined interactions
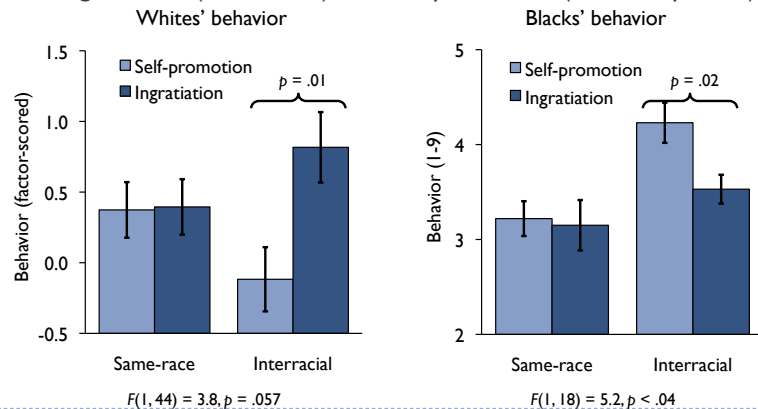

Being respected vs. liked

$F(1, 158) = 3.9, p < .05$

Appearing competent vs. moral

$F(1, 77) = 5.8, p < .02$

(Bergsieker et al., 2010, Studies 1a & 1b)

Divergent Goal-Seeking Behavior

▸ Coded verbal and nonverbal behavior during interactions

  ▸ Ingratiation (to be liked) and self-promotion (to be respected)

Whites' behavior

$F(1, 44) = 3.8, p = .057$

Blacks' behavior

$F(1, 18) = 5.2, p < .04$

(Bergsieker et al., 2010, Studies 3a & 3b)

Divergent Goals Tied to Negative Affect

▸ Reported goals and negative affect right after interacting

Goal difference: morality <---> competence

Minority/White $r(26) = .43*$

White/White $r(52) = .06$

White/Minority $r(26) = -.37*$

Negative other-directed affect

$*p < .05$
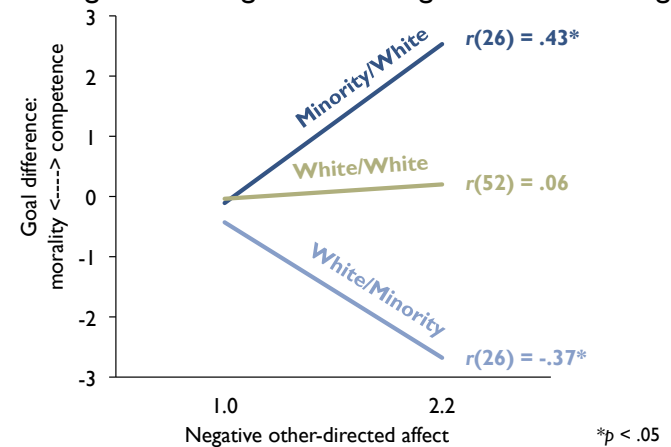
(Bergsieker et al., 2010, Study 4)

Trust: Blacks' Wariness Toward Whites

▸ Cultural mistrust inventory (Terrell & Terrell, 1981)
  ▸ Probably the biggest reason whites want to be friendly with Blacks is so they can take advantage of them.
  ▸ A promise from a white is about as good as a three dollar bill.

▸ Blacks who reported experiencing more discrimination scored higher on cultural mistrust toward Whites

Why Study Trust (vs. Prejudice)?

□ Foundational construct in social psychology
  □ Core social motive (Fiske, 2010)
  □ Needed for societal cohesion (Hardin, 2002)
  □ Critical in interdependent contexts (Thibaut & Kelley, 1978)
  □ Fundamentally *relational* phenomenon (Simpson, 2007)

□ Functional, strategic value in intergroup encounters
  □ Trust predicts intergroup intentions (Tam et al., 2009)
  □ Trusting coalitions better than bias reduction (Dovidio, 2008)
  □ Ethnicity "most important determinant" of trust (Smith, 2010)

Trust: Racial Gaps

▸ Minorities report less generalized trust than Whites
  ▸ Blacks trust least, then Asians, Native Americans, Latinos
  ▸ Black/White gap starkest, not accounted for by SES (Smith)
  ▸ Causes: Discrimination, community context, socialization

WHOM DO WE TRUST?

Trust: Conceptual Definition

▸ Individual difference approach
  ▸ Overestimating others' benevolence (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994)
▸ Group-level approach
  ▸ e.g., You must be wary and not rely on Jews (Saguy et al., 2009)
▸ Current approach: Trust in specific outgroup other(s)
  ▸ Specific belief held by individual A that individual B will perform action X in situation S (Cook et al., 2005)
  ▸ Psychological state involving willingness to accept vulnerability based on confident expectations of an actor's positive intentions or behavior toward oneself (Rousseau et al., 1998)

Trust & Inclusion-of-Other-in-Self (IOS)

- "Encapsulation" of self- and other-interest thought to undergird trust (Hardin, 2002)
- Identification-based trust theorized to be slowest to develop but most powerful (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995)
- IOS scale (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992)
  - Please circle the picture below which best describes your relationship:
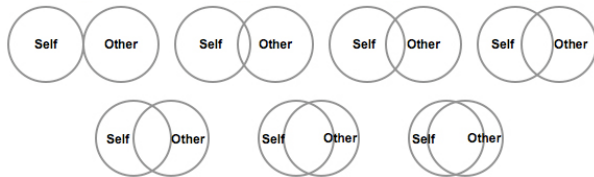
Trust: Hypotheses

- Discriminant validity
  - Trust is distinct from liking (or general positive evaluations)
- Ingroup bias
  - High trust levels in same-ethnicity interactions
  - Intergroup trust is more fragile for low-status groups
    - Minorities trust less after Whites betray them than vice-versa
  - Ethnicity-based asymmetry specific to trust, not liking
- Inclusion-of-other-in-self (IOS)
  - Closeness (or self-other overlap) attenuates trust asymmetry

Pilot Work: Discriminant Validity

- Think of someone you know personally whom you…
  - …trust more than you like
  - …like more than you trust

An annoying but reliable colleague?

An endearing but unfaithful partner?

Pilot Work: Measures

- Liking items:
  - I enjoy being around ____.
  - I find ____ irritating or unpleasant.
- Trust items:
  - I can count on ____ to be concerned about my well-being.
  - Sometimes I worry that ____ may take advantage of me.
- Cultural trust items:
  - If we disagreed over a cultural difference, ____ would respect my opinions and position.
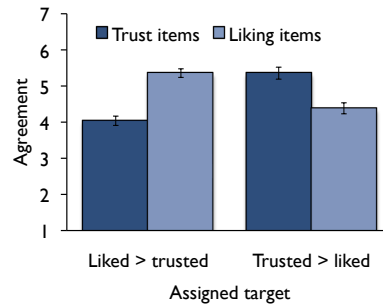 - If I said something that might seem culturally insensitive, ____ would give me the benefit of the doubt.

Pilot Work: Results

- Pooled results of 2 pilots (*Ns* = 39 & 66)

- MANOVA, DFA, *t* tests confirmed that trust and liking items differentiated trusted vs. liked targets

- CFA/SEM confirmed:
  - Liking ≠ trust

(Bar chart: y-axis "Agreement" from 1 to 7; legend: Trust items, Liking items; x-axis "Assigned target" with categories "Liked > trusted" and "Trusted > liked")

Study 1: Design Overview

- Paradigm: Facebook-style vignette study
- Participants:
  - 124 undergrads (39 male; 86 White; 38 Black) (Study 1a)
  - 133 undergrads (41 male; 75 White; 58 Black) (Study 1b)
- IVs:
  - Betrayal: none vs. early vs. late (early condition omitted in 1b)
  - Target ethnicity: ingroup vs. outgroup
  - Participant ethnicity: White vs. Black
- DVs:
  - Subjective closeness to target, trust, and liking
  - Manipulation checks: target ethnicity, gender, and behavior

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Study 1: Target Ethnicity Manipulation

- Color high school yearbook photos from another state
  - 2 White females, 2 Black females, 2 White males, 2 Black males
- Rated in pilot testing to be comparable and moderate on:
  - Attractiveness
  - Friendliness
- Rated as unfamiliar to pilot Ps and suitable for Facebook
- No systematic differences emerged between photos

Study 1: Profile of Devon Walker

Study 1: Betrayal Manipulation

▸ Devon's actions in never/early/late condition

INTERACTION TIMELINE

NEVER   Meets you · Shares notes · Sends website · Chats late · Asks due date · Offers coffee · Suggests eateries

EARLY   Meets you · (Misses meeting) · Sends website · Chats late · Shares notes · Offers coffee · Suggests eateries

LATE   Meets you · Shares notes · Sends website · Chats late · (Misses meeting) · Offers coffee · Suggests eateries

▸ Early and late betrayals combined (no systematic differences)
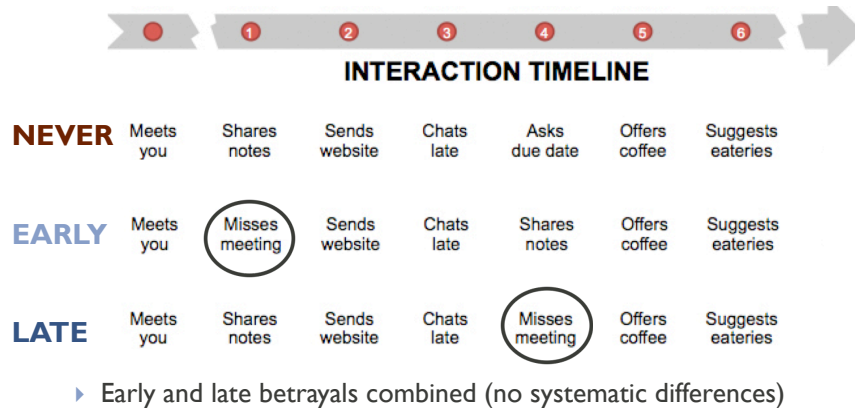
Study 1: Ditching, Deceiving = Betrayal!

▸ One day after class, you and Devon decide that you should get together that night to go over a problem set that is due after the weekend. Devon promised to call you to let you know when to meet up. Instead, Devon sends you a last-minute text message saying that night won't work. The next day, you see on Facebook that Devon has been tagged in several photos from a party that happened the same night you had been planning to go over the problem set together.

▸ All other scenarios used positive, trustworthy behaviors

Study 1a: Manipulation Check

Y-axis: Change (final - baseline), 0 to 60. Bars for Trust and Liking with No betrayal and Betrayal legend.

▸ Betrayals reduced trust more than liking
  ▸ $t(116) = 3.16, p = .002$
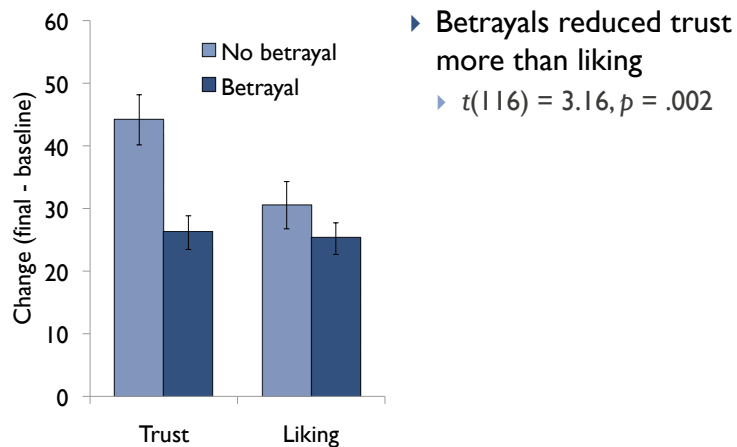
Study 1a: Liking by Target

▸ No significant effects for liking:

Y-axis: Liking (1-7), 3 to 6. X-axis: Black Ps, White Ps (No betrayal), Black Ps, White Ps (Betrayal). Legend: Ingroup target, Outgroup target.
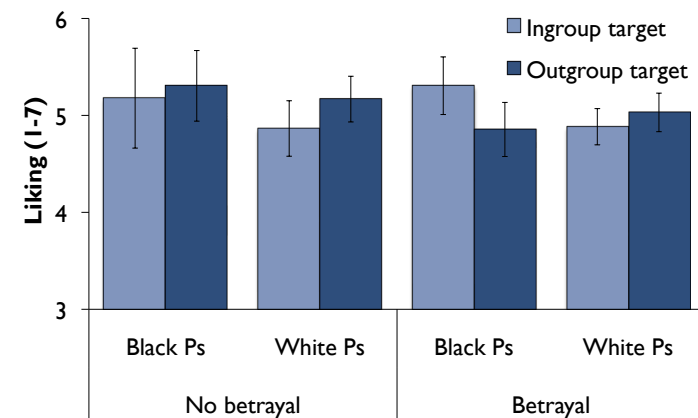
Study 1a: Cultural Trust by Target

▸ Target group x betrayal x P race (p = .050):
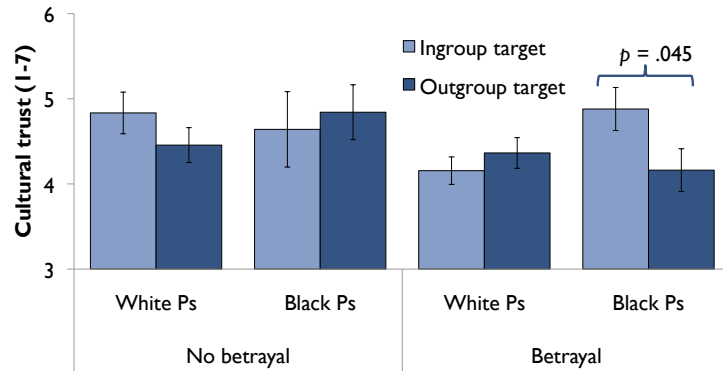
Study 1b: Cultural Trust by Target
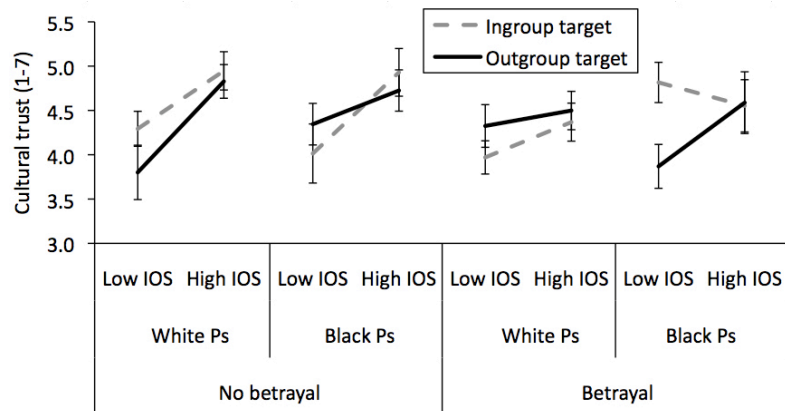
▸ Target group x betrayal x P race (p = .070):
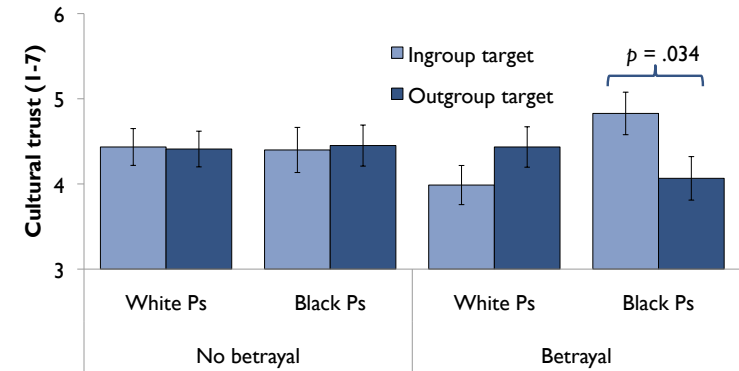
Studies 1a & 1b: Closeness Moderation

▸ Closeness moderates target x betrayal x P race effect, p = .036

Study 1: Conclusions

▸ Trust (vs. liking) is especially sensitive to betrayals
▸ After betrayal, Black Ps trusted ingroup > outgroup targets, but showed no difference in liking
▸ Closeness moderates racial group effects on cultural trust

Study 2: Trust & Prisoner's Dilemma

- ▸ Paradigm: Dyadic interaction, IOS induction, PDG
- ▸ Ps: 60 dyads (30 White/Black, 19 W/W, 11 B/B; 30% male)
- ▸ IVs:
  - ▸ Dyad race: same-ethnicity vs. interethnic
  - ▸ IOS task: neutral vs. closeness-inducing
  - ▸ Betrayal: cooperation vs. defection in PDG
  - ▸ P race: White vs. Black
- ▸ DVs:
  - ▸ Cooperation in PDG
  - ▸ IOS, trust, liking

Study 2: Procedure

1. 3 joint tasks together
   - ▸ Closeness-inducing vs. neutral
2. Initial survey (manipulation check) in separate rooms
3. 20 PDG trials with pre-programmed responses
   - ▸ Constant cooperation vs. initial defection (Lount & Zhong, 2008)
4. Exit survey with trust, liking, and manipulation checks

Study 2: IOS/Closeness Induction

- ▸ 1. Similarities task:
  - ▸ Fill in as many similarities as you can:
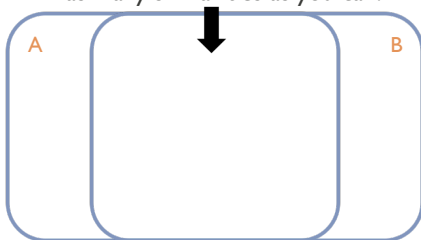
- ▸ 2. Face-drawing task: Draw half of own and partner's face
- ▸ 3. Discussion task: Self-disclosure prompts
  - ▸ In neutral condition, pairs completed tasks about another person of their choosing, then discussed small talk prompts

Study 2: Prisoner's Dilemma Set-Up

- ▸ Rigged PDG with partner responses programmed (Lount et al., 2008)
- ▸ Betrayal: two sequential partner defections at start
- ▸ Cooperation DV: Ps' own choices for next 20 trials
- ▸ Endgame alert included
- ▸ Drawing for real earnings

	X	Y
X	$7 for you / $7 for partner	$0 for you / $10 for partner
Y	$10 for you / $0 for partner	$3 for you / $3 for partner

Study 2: Comprehension Check

Study 2: Embedded Participant Photos

Study 2: Constant Cooperation

Study 2: Initial Defection = Betrayal!

Study 2: Manipulation Checks

Closeness Manipulation

- IOS scale rating higher after closeness induction ($M = 3.39$) than in neutral conditon ($M = 2.85$).
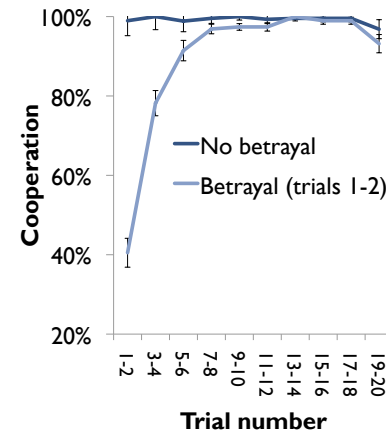 - $F(1, 104) = 5.5, p = .02$

Betrayal Manipulation

- Betrayal reduced trust (M 0.54 below the constant cooperation condition).
  - $F(1, 104) = 11.7, p < .001$
- Betrayal reduced liking half as much ($M = -0.25$).
  - $F(1, 104) = 5.3, p = .02$

Study 2: Cooperation in PDG

- Betrayal main effect
  - $F(1, 103) = 50.4, p < .001$
  - Fades after early trials
- Cooperation ceiling effect:
  - Over 95% on most trials
  - Over 85% even on final trial
  - All Fs < 1 (except betrayal)

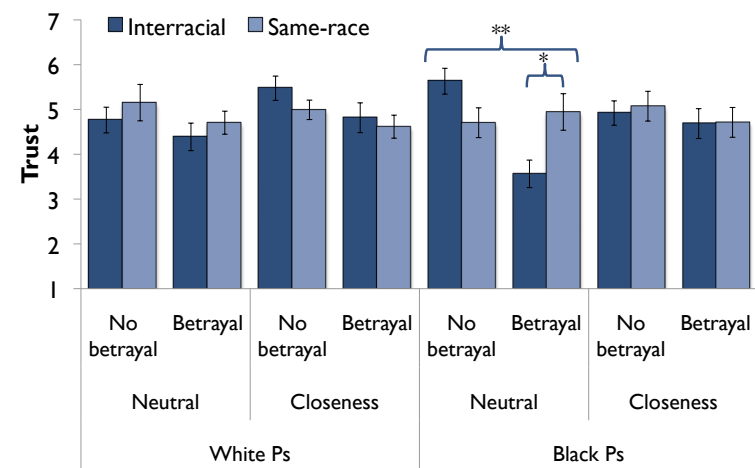## Study 2: Trust vs. Liking

- In Betrayal x Closeness x Dyad ethnicity x Participant ethnicity analysis, no significant 3- or 4-way interactions emerged for liking, but the 4-way interaction was significant for trust, $F(1, 104) = 5.0, p = .028$

Study 2: Betrayal, Closeness, & Trust

Study 2: Conclusions

- Trust (vs. liking) is especially sensitive to betrayals
- After betrayal, Black Ps in the neutral condition trusted ingroup (vs. outgroup) targets more, but showed no difference in liking
- Under conditions of induced closeness, this outgroup trust differential for Black Ps disappeared

Trust: Conclusions

1. Discriminant validity
   - Trust is distinct from liking
2. Ethnicity-based trust asymmetry
   - Ingroup is trusted more than outgroup for Black Ps following a betrayal, unless closeness has been induced
3. Inclusion-of-other-in-self/closeness
   - Increased IOS/closeness reduces interethnic trust asymmetry

Implications & Future Directions

- Generalizability
  - Specific to Black Americans vs. other groups?
- Mechanism for trust asymmetry
  - Due to status? (Lount, in press)
  - Due to salience of past group victimization? (Rotella et al., in prep)
- Separate trust vs. liking inductions
  - Discriminant validity in predicting different behaviors?

Acknowledgements