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Inferring Social Interest from Happiness in Interpersonal Interactions

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Abstract

The present study dealt with people's trust in others' expressions of happiness. It was hypothesized that expressed happiness would be more likely to be judged as indicative of true happiness when it was expressed to a member of the same racial group than when it was expressed to a member of a different racial group. A vignette in the form of a play was prepared describing the initial interaction between college roommates meeting for the first time. Each expressed happiness in this vignette (through smiling, laughing, and statements that they were happy). Four versions were prepared, one each in which: a) both actors were black, b) both actors were white, c) the first actor was white, the second black, and d) the first actor was black, the second white. A diverse sample of participants read the scenarios and judged the extent to which the happiness expressed indicated true happiness. Evidence that expressed happiness is judged to be indicative of true happiness when actors were of the same race (i.e. both black or both white) than when actors were of different races (i.e. black and white) was obtained. Reasons why it should be more difficult to ascertain the correct attributions for expressions of happiness in mixed race setting than in same race settings are discussed.

Inferring Social Interest from Happiness in Interpersonal Interactions

Upon meeting others for the first time, how do we know whether or not they have a social interest in us? Certainly knowing whether another person is interested in a relationship with us is an important piece of information for purposes of developing a social network. Yet people do not openly declare their interest in us and there are good reasons why they do not. For one thing, we may seem attractive to another person as a potential friend or romantic partner, but the other person needs to acquire more information about us before he or she is sure. Perhaps, even more importantly, potential relationship partners are likely to be reluctant to clearly, verbally reveal their interest lest they be rejected. Instead, cues to social interest tend to be very subtle. For instance, I postulate that many of these cues consist of subtle emotional signals. An interested other smiles while interacting with us, may laugh, and may say that he or she is enjoying the interaction. A disinterested other may appear bored or distracted.

There has been little prior work on people's use of subtle emotional cues as signs of social interest within the field of social psychology. In the present paper, I investigate whether expressions of happiness as they occur during natural ongoing interactions between people meeting for the first time are used as cues to social interest. Not surprisingly, I believe that expressions of happiness are often interpreted as signs that the other really is enjoying interacting with us and may wish to pursue a relationship.

If that were the only hypothesis I set forth, however, readers might feel that my thesis was simply designed to show the obvious. In fact, I think using happiness as a cue to social interest is often a complicated affair. Expressing happiness is often but not always a sign that the other is enjoying him/herself. There exist social norms or display rules regarding when we should express happiness (e.g. one should express happiness when receiving a gift whether or not

one likes that gift). A general display rule is that one should express at least mild pleasure upon meeting a new person and, crucial to my own thesis, I believe that there are certain categories of people toward whom people may feel especially compelled to express happiness whether or not one truly feels happy. One category of such people is racial minorities. Most people do not wish to appear prejudiced or bigoted. Thus, it becomes especially important to express happiness to members of racial groups that are not your own. As a consequence, the major prediction for my study is that expressed happiness will be less likely to be taken as indicative of truly felt happiness during social interactions when it occurs within the context of mixed race interactions (black/white) than when it occurs within the context of same race interactions (black/black or white/white). The rationale for my hypotheses appears below.

Attributional Ambiguity

The key to understanding my hypothesis lies in what social psychologists have called attributional ambiguity. First, what is an attribution? An attribution is simply an explanation for another person's behavior. For instance, upon seeing another person smile, we may make the attribution that the person is smiling because he is happy. Attributional ambiguity occurs when it is difficult for us to make a clear attribution for a behavior which has occurred because there is more than one reasonable explanation for the behavior. For example, if a person smiles we may think, he may be smiling because he is happy. But, he may be smiling to be polite. When two explanations for a behavior exist, attributional ambiguity exists and each of the two possible explanations is discounted to some extent. This is what social psychologists call the discounting principle (Kelley, 1972). Thus, if we think a person is smiling because he likes us or because he wishes to be polite, we are less likely to believe he really likes us than if we had not considered the possibility that he was smiling just to be polite. Next consider how the notion of attributional

ambiguity and its consequences for inferences may apply to interactions between people of similar versus dissimilar races.

Attributional ambiguity, as it applies to interactions between people of dissimilar races, is a phenomenon relevant to how stigmatized (stereotyped) groups determine the motives behind behaviors, outcomes, and evaluations received from majority group members (Crocker & Major as cited in Wolfe & Spencer, 1996). Attributional ambiguity "occurs because group membership provides a plausible, alternative explanation for the feedback and treatment that the stigmatized receive" (Major, Feinstein, & Crocker, 1994, p. 114-115). Members of stigmatized groups may experience attributional ambiguity about whether negative feedback (outcomes) they receive is deserved due to their own merit or resulted from prejudice or discrimination based on their group membership. Most importantly to understanding the present honors thesis, members of stigmatized groups may experience attributional ambiguity about whether positive feedback (outcomes) they receive is deserved or based on their group membership as a result of majority group members offering pity, sympathy, concern, or attempting to avoid appearing prejudice (Major et al., 1994).

Attribution theory provides an account for how stigmatized individuals understand positive outcomes. According to Kelley's discounting principle, positive outcomes attributed to one's stigma may decrease attributions of ability or deservingness, resulting in decreased mood and self-esteem (Blaine, Crocker, & Major, 1995). An alternative interpretation based on Kelley's augmenting principle posits that positive outcomes might be attributed to deservingness because one has overcome the obstacle imposed by the stigma, enhancing self-esteem.

Using a role-paying methodology, Blaine et al. (1995) has found that when the interviewer expressed sympathy for past discrimination as the basis of selection for an African-

American or a female applicant, participants reported lower state self-esteem, lower motivation for work, more hostility, and more depression than when the interviewer mentioned the applicant's qualifications or gave no reason for the selection. Parallel results were obtained when the target applicant was a paraplegic, suggesting that the basis of sympathy need not be past discrimination but sympathy for mobility problems. Similar results were found when the target applicant consisted of an individual's particular circumstance, indicating that the negative effects of sympathy were observed regardless of whether the positive outcome was attributed to sympathy for individual or group-based difficulties. Consistent with Kelley's discounting principle, the results of the three experiments imply that attributing sympathy as the basis for selection undermines participants' affect and self-esteem.

Evidence from Crocker et al. (1991) provides additional support for Kelley's discounting principle. In their first experiment, they determined that female participants who attributed negative feedback from a prejudiced male evaluator to the evaluator's prejudice experienced less depressed affect. In their second experiment, they found that African-American participants attributed feedback to prejudice when they received negative feedback and when the evaluator could see them, indicating that African-American students tended to discount interpersonal feedback from White evaluators.

Crocker et al. (1991) also determined that attributional ambiguity appeared to have self-protective consequences for African-Americans who received negative feedback. African-Americans who received negative feedback reported more positive affect and when the evaluator could see them, their self-esteem was not affected. This suggested that their external attribution, the evaluator's prejudice, provided an explanation for the negative feedback. African-American students discounted positive feedback when the evaluator could see them and their self-esteem

decreased, implying that they attributed the positive outcomes to their group membership. They tended to believe the positive feedback when the evaluator could not see them and their self-esteem increased, indicating that they attributed the feedback to their ability. The results from the two experiments reflect an underlying process in which evaluations from others are discounted when the stigmatized have reason to suspect the motives of the evaluators and imply that the stigma has self-protective properties, buffering self-esteem.

The attributional ambiguity framework can account for the relatively high levels of self-esteem among certain stigmatized groups. When the stigmatized attribute negative outcomes or feedback to prejudice or discrimination (external attribution), their self-esteem is not harmed, maintaining their relatively high levels of self-esteem. Supporting this framework, research has shown that some stigmatized groups such as African-Americans and Mexican-Americans have levels of self-esteem that are equal to or higher than that of the non-stigmatized (Crocker & Major as cited in Crocker et al, 1993). However, research also suggests that the stigmatized group of the overweight have low self-esteem (Wadden, Foster, Brownell, & Finley as cited in Crocker et al., 1993).

Evidence from Crocker et al. (1993) showed that the attributional ambiguity framework does not account for the relatively low levels of self-esteem found among the stigmatized group of the overweight. Overweight females attributed negative feedback from a fictitious male evaluator to their weight rather than to the attitudes of the evaluator. Consequently, they reported lower levels of self-esteem and more overall negative affect than overweight females who received positive feedback or normal weight women who received positive or negative feedback. Two explanations are provided as to why these women experienced lower self-esteem and more overall negative affect: (1) overweight women did not make an external attribution

(evaluator's prejudice) for the negative feedback they received which resulted in decreased self-esteem due to an internal attribution or (2) overweight women who received negative feedback failed to take into account the influence their stigma has on interpersonal outcomes though they may recognize their stigma negatively affects their outcomes. Their findings suggest that if the stigmatized recognize the negative effects of their stigma or make an external attribution for negative feedback or outcomes, their stigma will buffer their self-esteem.

The work I have just reviewed deals with the relevance of attributional ambiguity for members of minority groups trying to make sense of performance feedback they may receive. I turn now to the applicability of similar reasoning to understanding affect, trust, and social interest as it occurs between members of different groups.

Affect, Trust, and Social Interest

People often use easily identifiable characteristics, such as emotional expression, when making decisions as to the trustworthiness of others (Eckel & Wilson, in press). Given that people are more likely to overemphasize type than situation when making judgments of behavior, Eckel & Wilson (in press) hypothesized that people are less likely to trust easily identifiable members of an outgroup. Results from their trust game paradigm supported the hypothesis that people use information about their counterpart to judge the trustworthiness of the counterpart. It was also found that members of an ethnic minority group are less likely to be trusted, however, it was uncertain if this effect was due to an ingroup/outgroup effect.

Pataki & Clark (in press) investigated when self-reported happiness does (and does not) reflect true social interest in another person and who will trust other's expressions of happiness and who will not. They found that males inflated self-reports of happiness in public when about to meet an undesirable female while they reported less happiness in private. The authors

hypothesized that the participants inflated their public reports of happiness in order to protect the other person's feelings. In addition, males reported more happiness in private when about to meet a socially desirable partner and suppressed self-reports of happiness in public. The authors hypothesized that the participants suppressed their happiness for self-protection, to avoid hurt or embarrassment. Furthermore, unattractive females reported that they would discount a male's expressed happiness and felt that male's were inflating their expressed happiness in public.

Based on their findings, Pataki and Clark (in press) suggest that members of outgroups may often be targets of inflated expressed happiness in initial encounters with ingroup members. In fact, past research (Carver, Glass, Snyder & Katz; Gaertner & Dovidio as cited in Major, Feinstein, & Crocker, 1994) has found that members of nonstigmatized groups sometimes behave in exaggeratedly positive ways toward members of stigmatized groups to avoid appearing prejudice.

Aims and Predictions of the Present Study

The present study explored whether people are more likely to trust expressions of happiness between individuals of the same or of a different race. Research (Crocker et al., as cited in Crocker et al, 1993) indicates that members of stigmatized groups recognize that their stigma plays a significant role in their social interactions and consequently tend to discount the positive feedback or outcomes they receive from non-stigmatized members. Research (Carver, Glass, Snyder & Katz; Gaertner & Dovidio as cited in Major, Feinstein, & Crocker, 1994; Pataki & Clark) also suggests that members of nonstigmatized group inflate positive feelings or behaviors toward stigmatized members.

On the basis of previous research as well as my own theorizing, I predicted that participants would be more likely to discount expressions of happiness during an interpersonal

interaction between members of different races than they would be to discount identical expressions of happiness during identical social interactions occurring between members of the same race. There are two reasons why I predicted these effects would occur: (1) participants, particularly minority participants, are aware that race plays a significant role in interpersonal interactions and will discount the expressed happiness from a non-stigmatized member towards a stigmatized member and (2) participants may suspect that the non-stigmatized member will inflate expressions of happiness in order to avoid appearing prejudice and/or hurting the stigmatized member's feelings. In contrast, I expect participants will feel that the expressed happiness in interpersonal interactions involving individuals of the same race will reflect true social interest. This effect may be pronounced in interpersonal interactions involving minority group members since there is a belief that minority group members feel (especially) happy upon encountering another minority member.

Present Study

The present study predicts that participants will be more likely to trust expression of happiness in interactions between individuals of the same race. In contrast, participants will be more likely to discount the expressions of happiness in the interactions between individuals of different races.

Method

Overview and Design

The study was introduced to participants as a survey on first impressions. The first task, which involved reading a vignette of two college freshman roommates, was designed to subtly cue the reader to the ethnic identity of the actors using ethnic and non-ethnic descript names and organizations. Participants then made judgments about the emotional expression of the actors in

the vignette. The design yielded four different actor 1/actor 2 race combinations: black/black, white/white, white/black, black/white. The identity of the actors in each vignette was varied so that they were identified as a member of a minority group or not. Thus, the study was a 2 (actor 1: black vs. white) x 2 (actor 2: black vs. white) between-subjects design that was tested within four different vignettes.

Participants

A total of 51 participants (26 African-American, 3 Asian, 13 Caucasian, 3 Hispanic, 2 Indian, 1 Middle Eastern, 3 mixed) were approached at a university campus and asked whether they were willing to complete a survey concerning first impressions.

Materials

Prior to the study, a preliminary assessment of ethnically descript names was conducted in order to subtly cue to reader to the ethnic identity of the actors in the vignettes. Sixteen Carnegie Mellon University students, who did not participate in the subsequent study, rated names that were typical of an African-American individual and of a Caucasian individual.

Possible names for the target actors in the vignettes were taken from websites containing press releases for "The Most Common Baby Names" for New York City and Texas as well as several suggested by the author.¹

Participants numbered a blank sheet of paper from one to forty-five. The author randomly read aloud a list of forty-five names. Participants recorded their responses based on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Anglo-Saxon) to 8 (African-American) for each of the names presented. The two African-American names, Khadijah and Aliyah, which received the highest ($\underline{M} = 6.63$ and $\underline{M} = 6.44$ respectively) ratings were selected for the African-American stimulus actors in the study's vignette.² The two Caucasian names, Emily and Sarah, which received the

highest ($M = 2.13$ and $M = 2.06$) ratings were chosen for the Caucasian stimulus actors in the study's vignette. A total of four names were selected (two African-American names and two Caucasian names) for use in the actual study.³ A complete list of the names rated by participants is presented in Appendix A followed by the four versions of the survey presented in Appendix B through Appendix E.

Procedure

After agreeing to fill out a survey on first impressions, all participants received a packet containing (a) a roommate vignette, (b) a brief questionnaire about the vignette, and (c) a demographic questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire requested information such as participants' age, year in school (if applicable), and race. The questionnaire also contained a filler question asking participants to rate how well they got along with their freshman roommate on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Extremely poorly) to 7 (Extremely well).

Participants completed only one questionnaire. Participants were randomly assigned to complete one of four surveys, involving two freshman females assigned to be roommates. The roommate vignettes were a page in length and consisted of a dialogue between two female students with some emotional expressions embedded into the dialogues (e.g. laughs, smiles, and nods). The identity of the students in each condition was manipulated so that they were identified as an African-American or a Caucasian. The students were either given an obviously African-American name or an ethnically nondescript name (Caucasian name).

After reading the roommate vignette, participants were asked to report how sincere the students' expression of happiness towards each other were both publicly and privately and if the students were displaying happiness because they thought it was the right thing to do or because they were truly happy. Participants rated their responses to the six questionnaire items on 7-

point Likert scales ranging from 1 (no happiness, truly happy, right thing to do) to 7 (great deal of happiness, not truly happy, truly feels happy). Participant then filled out the demographics questionnaire. Upon completion of the demographics questionnaire, participants were given an oral debriefing which concluded the procedure.

Results

The two independent variables are: (1) race of the first actor (black vs. white) and (2) race of the second actor (black vs. white). The primary dependent measure in this study was each participant's rating of happiness on the questionnaire they filled out regarding the roommate vignette. We examined the pattern of these results to determine, whether, as expected, participants reading vignettes of an interaction between individuals of different races will feel that expressions of happiness are inflated publicly. We also examined the pattern to determine, whether, as expected, participants reading vignettes of an interaction between individuals of the same race will feel that public expressions of happiness reflect true levels of private happiness. We further examined the pattern to determine, whether, participants felt expressions of happiness were truly being expressed or were being expressed because it was the right thing to do.

The means for the overall difference between public and private happiness for the same and different race conditions are shown in Table 1. Negative values would indicate that the actors are suppressing true levels of private happiness whereas positive values would indicate that the actors are inflating happiness publicly. A zero value would indicate true levels of happiness and hence no difference in expressed happiness in public and in private for the target speakers. As seen and as predicted, participants felt that expressed happiness was inflated more in the interactions between individuals of different races ($\underline{M} = 2.64$ in which the first actor is white and the second black and $\underline{M} = 2.31$ in which the first actor is black and the second white)

than in the interactions between individuals of the same race ($\underline{M} = 0.85$ in which both actors are black and $\underline{M} = 1.00$ in which both actors are white). The results were analyzed with a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA). The predicted main effect for the Different/Same Race conditions was not significant, $\underline{F}(3, 47) = 1.73$, $p < .17$.

The means for expressed happiness as being truly expressed versus expressed happiness because it was the right thing to do (for question five) are shown in Table 2. Higher numbers indicate that the expressed happiness was truly being expressed whereas lower numbers indicate that the target individual expressed happiness because it was the right thing to do. As seen and as expected, participants felt that the expressed happiness was viewed more as the right thing to do in the interactions between individuals of different races ($\underline{M} = 3.36$ in which the first actor is white and the second black and $\underline{M} = 2.92$ in which the first actor is black and the second white) and felt that happiness was truly being expressed in the interactions between individuals of the same race ($\underline{M} = 4.08$ in which both actors are black and $\underline{M} = 2.55$ in which both actors are white). The results were analyzed with a one-way analysis of variance. The predicted main effect for the Different/Same Race condition was significant, $\underline{F}(3,47) = 3.05$, $p < .05$. Both questions five and six addressed whether the expressed happiness was being truly expressed versus expressed because it was the right thing to do; question five concerned the first actor and question six the second actor. However, the effect was not significant for question six, $\underline{F}(3,47) = .997$, $p < .40$.

Discussion

We explored whether people are more likely to trust expressed happiness in interactions between individuals of the same race than between individuals of different races. The results of the present study supported this hypothesis. Participants thought the expressed happiness

between individuals of different races were inflated and were expressed because it was the right thing to do whereas the expressed happiness between individuals of the same race was truly being expressed.

Why was support for the hypotheses obtained on some measures and not on others?

I was pleased to obtain support for my hypotheses when measuring the extent to which people interpret expressed happiness as indicative of true happiness on my first measure (i.e. a difference score measure between public and private expressed happiness).

Regarding my second measure, whereas the results for question five suggested that blacks paired with blacks were least likely to feel the other was acting happy because it was the right thing to do (a suggestion that fits with my overall hypotheses), these results did not similarly suggest that whites paired with white were unlikely to feel the other was acting happy because it was the right thing to do (a finding which does not fit my hypothesis.) Moreover, the results obtained for question five would seem to tell a different story than to the overall difference scale results (first measure).

Question five was designed to tap the extent to which the first person in the interaction was expressing happiness because she truly felt happy versus because she thought expressing happiness was the right thing to do. I think the difference scores did tap just what I had hoped they would (i.e. the perceived difference between felt and perceived happiness). In contrast, I think question five came closer to tapping how happy people really believed the first person in the interaction was. That is, the happier participants thought the person was, the higher the score allocated to that person. Considered from that perspective the "correct" interpretation of the results for question five is that an African-American student placed with another African-American student was seen as likely happier with the pairing than were students placed in mixed

pairs or Caucasian students placed with other Caucasian students. This might be due to the fact that being a minority student in at a predominantly white university is not the most comfortable position in which to be. Having a similar other as a roommate in such a situation might be particularly welcomed. Caucasian students paired with another Caucasian student might not be especially relieved or pleased both because the pairing was completely expected and because in the wider campus community, they are not in the same position as are black students.

I wish to address another puzzle in connection with the results for questions five and six. Question six was exactly parallel to question five except that it was designed to tap the extent to which the second person in the interaction was expressing happiness because she truly felt happy versus because she thought it was the right thing to do although, as in question five, I now think it came closer to tapping how happy people really believed the second person in the interaction was. Significant results were obtained for question five, however, no significant results were obtained for question six. Of course, any post hoc interpretation of null results must be considered to be speculative. However, I believe the reason that a significant result was not obtained on Question six may have been inherent in the nature of the written vignettes that I prepared in order to test my hypothesis.

Although the vignette included expressions of happiness from both individuals, a careful examination reveals that the first person in the vignette expresses more happiness in more ways than does the second person. It also is the case that the first person takes the lead in the interaction and the second person consistently reacts to the first person. I believe that these two facts, taken together, resulted in the participants having both: a) more expressed happiness to explain altogether when making judgments about the first person in the vignette, and b) the first person's expressed happiness seeming far less constrained by what the other person had already

expressed than was the second person's expressed happiness. Perhaps it was the case that the participants tended to explain what little happiness the second person expressed as due to the fact that the first person had already expressed happiness and the second person felt compelled to reciprocate. This would leave them with just the first person's expressed happiness to explain. It may have been only for this second person that the participants puzzled over the question of whether the expressed happiness was true happiness or, in the mixed race conditions, was expressed to guard against being judged to be prejudiced. Overall, these results are consistent with previous research on attributional ambiguity as well as research on affect and social interest. These results have several important implications as well.

Importance of the Present Theorizing and Findings

Previous work has already demonstrated that members of minority groups face a special challenge when receiving performance feedback from members of majority groups. They find themselves in a situation fraught with attributional ambiguity whether they receive negative performance feedback or positive performance feedback. If feedback is negative, they must ponder, is my performance really that weak or might my evaluator be prejudiced against me? If feedback is positive, they must ponder, is my performance really that good or might my evaluator be bending over backwards to make sure that he does not appear to be prejudiced against me? Affirmative action programs, while terrific in some respects, often result in similar states of attributional ambiguity for minority individuals. They must ponder, was I admitted to this school or given this job because I am good or might I have been admitted because I am a member of a minority group? Not being able to make clear attributions is not only an uncomfortable position to find oneself in, it also may prevent talented, hard-working members of minority groups from being able to enjoy the just fruits of their skills.

The present research is important, I believe, because it begins to demonstrate that attributional ambiguity is a likely problem for minority groups not only when they are receiving performance feedback, but also much more generally in their lives. People (particularly students) do receive performance feedback often but once out of school, we generally do not receive performance feedback from others as often. On the other hand, interacting with people and encountering new people is a common everyday occurrence and for minority group members, interacting across racial lines is a very common phenomenon. Indeed, the smaller the minority group the more common the occurrence of such interactions. The present results provide the first evidence of which I know that members of such minority groups may find it difficult to easily interpret other's expressed happiness. In turn, members of such groups may be reluctant to pursue associations with others across racial lines even when others' expressions of happiness are real.

Limitations and Future Prospects

Although the results provided some support for my hypotheses, there are limitations to the study. Most notably, the participants were not actively involved in meeting others of the same and/or of a different race who expressed happiness. Instead, they were reading about two other people who were interacting. This was necessary as I did not have access to the psychology department's participant pool to run this study and because I did not have funds to be able to pay participants. However, it would be worthwhile to test whether people who actually interact with others trust such others expressions of happiness more when the other matches their own race than when the other does not match their race.

It is also the case that I only examined individuals' trust in the expression of a single emotion, the emotion of happiness. Happiness may well be the most commonly expressed emotion it is an indicator of social interest so it seemed reasonable to start with this emotion. However, it would be interesting to extend my analysis to examining trust in expressions of other emotions as well. For instance, one might examine whether there would be differences in people's interpretations of expressions of annoyance or disgust in same versus mixed racial groups. It might be that expressions of the racial composition of dyads will also influence people's interpretations of negative emotions although in a somewhat different manner than discussed in this paper. Specifically, when in mixed race groups, expressed annoyance and disgust may be chalked up to bias or prejudice. In same race groups, those same emotions may be interpreted as indicating something negative about ourselves.

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Appendix A

Results of Name Ratings, scale ranging from 1 (Anglo-Saxon) to 7 (African-American)

1 Jacob	Mean 2.88	Min 1.00	Max 7.00
2 Hannah	Mean 2.50	Min 1.00	Max 7.00
3 Jasmine	Mean 5.13	Min 1.00	Max 7.00
4 Joshua	Mean 2.69	Min 1.00	Max 5.40
5 Christopher	Mean 2.20	Min 1.00	Max 4.00
6 Jordan	Mean 4.13	Min 1.00	Max 7.00
7 Michael	Mean 3.13	Min 1.00	Max 5.00
8 Madison	Mean 2.13	Min 1.00	Max 4.00
9 Kayla	Mean 4.75	Min 1.00	Max 7.00
10 Cameron	Mean 3.81	Min 1.00	Max 7.00
11 Matthew	Mean 2.75	Min 1.00	Max 5.00
12 Emily	Mean 2.13	Min 1.00	Max 2.75
13 Taylor	Mean 2.69	Min 1.00	Max 3.00
14 Isaiah	Mean 5.06	Min 1.00	Max 8.00
15 Sarah	Mean 2.06	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
16 Destiny	Mean 6.19	Min 3.00	Max 7.00
17 Jada	Mean 6.00	Min 2.00	Max 7.00
18 Christian	Mean 2.44	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
19 William	Mean 2.81	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
20 Lauren	Mean 3.00	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
21 Alexis	Mean 3.06	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
22 Zachary	Mean 2.93	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
23 Andrew	Mean 2.56	Min 1.00	Max 4.00
24 Ashley	Mean 2.75	Min 1.00	Max 7.00
25 Brianna	Mean 4.81	Min 3.00	Max 7.00
26 John	Mean 3.13	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
27 Alyssa	Mean 3.13	Min 2.00	Max 6.00
28 Xavier	Mean 4.25	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
29 Ronette	Mean 5.69	Min 3.00	Max 7.00
30 Ryan	Mean 2.81	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
31 Diamond	Mean 5.38	Min 2.00	Max 8.00
32 Anthony	Mean 3.31	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
33 Alyiah	Mean 6.63	Min 5.00	Max 7.00
34 Elizabeth	Mean 2.50	Min 1.00	Max 4.00
35 Kennedy	Mean 2.56	Min 1.00	Max 7.00
36 Jalen	Mean 6.00	Min 4.00	Max 7.00
37 Jenneca	Mean 3.13	Min 1.00	Max 6.00
38 Nikia	Mean 5.06	Min 3.00	Max 7.00
39 Abigail	Mean 6.25	Min 2.00	Max 8.00
40 Kiara	Mean 2.81	Min 1.00	Max 7.00
41 Shameeka	Mean 6.38	Min 4.00	Max 8.00
42 Nadia	Mean 6.50	Min 1.00	Max 8.00

43 Kamilah	Mean 3.88	Min 1.00	Max 7.00
44 Khadijah	Mean 6.44	Min 4.00	Max 7.00
45 Aisha	Mean 6.20	Min 4.00	Max 8.00

Appendix B

Survey in which both actors are black

We are interested in looking at different forms of expressions during interactions. Please read the excerpt from an interaction involving two students assigned to be roommates:

Khadijah, a new college freshman arrived at her assigned dorm early in the day and has already settled into her room. She has just returned from lunch with her parents who just left to start their long drive home to Connecticut. She is lying on her bed when her new roommate Aliyah walks in.

- Aliyah: (sitting down on remaining free bed and looking a bit nervous but making herself smile) Hi -- I'm Aliyah and you must be Khadijah. Right? Great to meet you.
- Khadijah: Yes. I got in this morning so I already picked my side of the room (returns the smile and laughs in a friendly manner).
- Aliyah: (Nodding) Oh...that's fine. Where are you from?
- Khadijah: Connecticut and you?
- Aliyah: New York. See my parents didn't want to drive that long (rolling her eyes) so they shipped my stuff. I took the plane. So now I've got to figure out where my stuff was delivered. Otherwise you'll be seeing a lot of me in this outfit. (They both laugh)
- Khadijah: So why did you pick this school?
- Aliyah: I think I want to go into Business Administration. They had a program that seemed good. And, of course, this place accepted me, I also wanted to go to a school that was big and one with more than just a few other black students like me. So why did you pick it?
- Khadijah: English.
- Aliyah: I could never be an English major, I absolutely hate writing papers (laughs). (Then, smiling). I hope that no one in a business course even thinks about making me write a paper!
- Khadijah: (nods) Well, I'm used to it. I was on the yearbook committee and I was a member of a group called Black Awareness. Whenever they had something to write they asked me. Did you do any activities in school?
- Aliyah: I was a cheerleader my last year. Believe me, my parents would have preferred me to be on the yearbook staff and in a group called Black Awareness. They considered cheerleading to be a little too lightweight. (with a smile) I'll just tell them my new roommate will be a good influence.
- Khadijah: Are you thinking of getting a job here?
- Aliyah: I think I might. It would be good to have extra money so I won't have to keep asking my parents for money (laughs). I hope it won't interfere with my schoolwork though. Are you thinking of getting one?
- Khadijah: No but I'm sure you'll get a job easily and I'm sure you can handle it (smiles).
- Aliyah: Have you talked to anyone else on the floor?
- Khadijah: No. I haven't had a chance.
- Aliyah: Maybe we should go introduce ourselves.
- Khadijah: (sighs) Yea, I guess we should.

1. How much happiness does Aliyah express (publicly) upon meeting Kahdijah?

No happiness 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal of happiness

2. How much happiness does Kahdijah express (publicly) in response?

No happiness 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal of happiness

3. How truly happy do you suspect Aliyah is (privately) during this interaction with her new roommate Kahdijah?

She is definitely truly happy 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She is definitely not truly happy

4. How truly happy do you suspect Kahdijah is upon finding out that her roommate is Aliyah?

She is definitely truly happy 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She is definitely not truly happy

5. To what extent do you think Aliyah is smiling and laughing because she thinks it is the right thing to do versus because she truly feels happy?

She thinks it is the right thing to do 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She truly feels happy

6. To what extent do you think Kahdijah is smiling and laughing because she thinks it is the right thing to do versus because she truly feels happy?

She thinks it is the right thing to do 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She truly feels happy

Appendix C

Survey in which both actors are white

We are interested in looking at different forms of expressions during interactions. Please read the excerpt from an interaction involving two students assigned to be roommates:

Sarah, a new college freshman arrived at her assigned dorm early in the day and has already settled into her room. She has just returned from lunch with her parents who just left to start their long drive home to Connecticut. She is lying on her bed when her new roommate Emily walks in.

Emily: (sitting down on remaining free bed and looking a bit nervous but making herself smile) Hi -- I'm Emily and you must be Sarah. Right? Great to meet you.

Sarah: Yes. I got in this morning so I already picked my side of the room (returns the smile and laughs in a friendly manner).

Emily: (Nodding) Oh...that's fine. Where are you from?

Sarah: Connecticut and you?

Emily: New York. See my parents didn't want to drive that long (rolling her eyes) so they shipped my stuff. I took the plane. So now I've got to figure out where my stuff was delivered. Otherwise you'll be seeing a lot of me in this outfit. (They both laugh)

Sarah: So why did you pick this school?

Emily: I think I want to go into Business Administration. They had a program that seemed good. And, of course, this place accepted me, I also wanted to go to a school that was big and one with more than just a few students like me. So why did you pick it?

Sarah: English.

Emily: I could never be an English major, I absolutely hate writing papers (laughs). (Then, smiling). I hope that no one in a business course even thinks about making me write a paper!

Sarah: (nods) Well, I'm used to it. I was on the yearbook committee and I was a member of a group called Awareness. Whenever they had something to write they asked me. Did you do any activities in school?

Emily: I was a cheerleader my last year. Believe me, my parents would have preferred me to be on the yearbook staff and in a group called Awareness. They considered cheerleading to be a little too light weight. (with a smile) I'll just tell them my new roommate will be a good influence.

Sarah: Are you thinking of getting a job here?

Emily: I think I might. It would be good to have extra money so I won't have to keep asking my parents for money (laughs). I hope it won't interfere with my schoolwork though. Are you thinking of getting one?

Sarah: No but I'm sure you'll get a job easily and I'm sure you can handle it (smiles).

Emily: Have you talked to anyone else on the floor?

Sarah: No. I haven't had a chance.

Emily: Maybe we should go introduce ourselves.

Sarah: (sighs) Yea, I guess we should.

1. How much happiness does Emily express (publicly) upon meeting Sarah?

No happiness 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal of happiness

2. How much happiness does Sarah express (publicly) in response?

No happiness 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal of happiness

3. How truly happy do you suspect Emily is (privately) during this interaction with her new roommate Sarah?

She is definitely truly happy 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She is definitely not truly happy

4. How truly happy do you suspect Sarah is upon finding out that her roommate is Emily?

She is definitely truly happy 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She is definitely not truly happy

5. To what extent do you think Emily is smiling and laughing because she thinks it is the right thing to do versus because she truly feels happy?

She thinks it is the right thing to do 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She truly feels happy

6. To what extent do you think Sarah is smiling and laughing because she thinks it is the right thing to do versus because she truly feels happy?

She thinks it is the right thing to do 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She truly feels happy

Appendix D

Survey in which the first actor is white and the second is black

We are interested in looking at different forms of expressions during interactions. Please read the excerpt from an interaction involving two students assigned to be roommates:

Khadijah, a new college freshman arrived at her assigned dorm early in the day and has already settled into her room. She has just returned from lunch with her parents who just left to start their long drive home to Connecticut. She is lying on her bed when her new roommate Emily walks in.

Emily: (sitting down on remaining free bed and looking a bit nervous but making herself smile) Hi -- I'm Emily and you must be Khadijah. Right? Great to meet you.

Khadijah: Yes. I got in this morning so I already picked my side of the room (returns the smile and laughs in a friendly manner).

Emily: (Nodding) Oh...that's fine. Where are you from?

Khadijah: Connecticut and you?

Emily: New York. See my parents didn't want to drive that long (rolling her eyes) so they shipped my stuff. I took the plane. So now I've got to figure out where my stuff was delivered. Otherwise you'll be seeing a lot of me in this outfit. (They both laugh)

Khadijah: So why did you pick this school?

Emily: I think I want to go into Business Administration. They had a program that seemed good. And, of course, this place accepted me, I also wanted to go to a school that was big and one with more than just a few other students like me. So why did you pick it?

Khadijah: English.

Emily: I could never be an English major, I absolutely hate writing papers (laughs). (Then, smiling). I hope that no one in a business course even thinks about making me write a paper!

Khadijah: (nods) Well, I'm used to it. I was on the yearbook committee and I was a member of a group called Black Awareness. Whenever they had something to write they asked me. Did you do any activities in school?

Emily: I was a cheerleader my last year. Believe me, my parents would have preferred me to be on the yearbook staff and in a group called Awareness. They considered cheerleading to be a little too light weight. (with a smile) I'll just tell them my new roommate will be a good influence.

Khadijah: Are you thinking of getting a job here?

Emily: I think I might. It would be good to have extra money so I won't have to keep asking my parents for money (laughs). I hope it won't interfere with my schoolwork though. Are you thinking of getting one?

Khadijah: No but I'm sure you'll get a job easily and I'm sure you can handle it (smiles).

Emily: Have you talked to anyone else on the floor?

Khadijah: No. I haven't had a chance.

Emily: Maybe we should go introduce ourselves.

Khadijah: (sighs) Yea, I guess we should.

1. How much happiness does Emily express (publicly) upon meeting Khadijah?

No happiness 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal of happiness

2. How much happiness does Khadijah express (publicly) in response?

No happiness 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal of happiness

3. How truly happy do you suspect Emily is (privately) during this interaction with her new roommate Khadijah?

She is definitely truly happy 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She is definitely not truly happy

4. How truly happy do you suspect Khadijah is upon finding out that her roommate is Emily?

She is definitely truly happy 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She is definitely not truly happy

5. To what extent do you think Emily is smiling and laughing because she thinks it is the right thing to do versus because she truly feels happy?

She thinks it is the right thing to do 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She truly feels happy

6. To what extent do you think Khadijah is smiling and laughing because she thinks it is the right thing to do versus because she truly feels happy?

She thinks it is the right thing to do 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She truly feels happy

Appendix E

Survey in which the first actor is black and the second is white

We are interested in looking at different forms of expressions during interactions. Please read the excerpt from an interaction involving two students assigned to be roommates:

Sarah, a new college freshman arrived at her assigned dorm early in the day and has already settled into her room. She has just returned from lunch with her parents who just left to start their long drive home to Connecticut. She is lying on her bed when her new roommate Aliyah walks in.

- Aliyah: (sitting down on remaining free bed and looking a bit nervous but making herself smile) Hi -- I'm Aliyah and you must be Sarah. Right? Great to meet you.
- Sarah: Yes. I got in this morning so I already picked my side of the room (returns the smile and laughs in a friendly manner).
- Aliyah: (Nodding) Oh...that's fine. Where are you from?
- Sarah: Connecticut and you?
- Aliyah: New York. See my parents didn't want to drive that long (rolling her eyes) so they shipped my stuff. I took the plane. So now I've got to figure out where my stuff was delivered. Otherwise you'll be seeing a lot of me in this outfit. (They both laugh)
- Sarah: So why did you pick this school?
- Aliyah: I think I want to go into Business Administration. They had a program that seemed good. And, of course, this place accepted me, I also wanted to go to a school that was big and one with more than just a few other black students like me. So why did you pick it?
- Sarah: English.
- Aliyah: I could never be an English major, I absolutely hate writing papers (laughs). (Then, smiling). I hope that no one in a business course even thinks about making me write a paper!
- Sarah: (nods) Well, I'm used to it. I was on the yearbook committee and I was a member of a group called Awareness. Whenever they had something to write they asked me. Did you do any activities in school?
- Aliyah: I was a cheerleader my last year. Believe me, my parents would have preferred me to be on the yearbook staff and in a group called Black Awareness. They considered cheerleading to be a little too light weight. (with a smile) I'll just tell them my new roommate will be a good influence.
- Sarah: Are you thinking of getting a job here?
- Aliyah: I think I might. It would be good to have extra money so I won't have to keep asking my parents for money (laughs). I hope it won't interfere with my schoolwork though. Are you thinking of getting one?
- Sarah: No but I'm sure you'll get a job easily and I'm sure you can handle it (smiles).
- Aliyah: Have you talked to anyone else on the floor?
- Sarah: No. I haven't had a chance.
- Aliyah: Maybe we should go introduce ourselves.
- Sarah: (sighs) Yea, I guess we should.

1. How much happiness does Aliyah express (publicly) upon meeting Sarah?

No happiness 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal of happiness

2. How much happiness does Sarah express (publicly) in response?

No happiness 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A great deal of happiness

3. How truly happy do you suspect Aliyah is (privately) during this interaction with her new roommate Sarah?

She is definitely truly happy 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She is definitely not truly happy

4. How truly happy do you suspect Sarah is upon finding out that her roommate is Aliyah?

She is definitely truly happy 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She is definitely not truly happy

5. To what extent do you think Aliyah is smiling and laughing because she thinks it is the right thing to do versus because she truly feels happy?

She thinks it is the right thing to do 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She truly feels happy

6. To what extent do you think Sarah is smiling and laughing because she thinks it is the right thing to do versus because she truly feels happy?

She thinks it is the right thing to do 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 She truly feels happy

Footnotes

¹The first website is from the New York City Department of Health, Office of External Affairs regarding "The Most Popular Baby Names for 1996"
<http://www.ci.nyc.ny.us/html/doh/html/public/press/pr26-997.html>. The second website is from THD Accent on Health, February 4, 2002 regarding "Baby Names in Texas in 2000"
<http://www.tdh.state.tx.us/./news/ac020402.htm>.

²The name Nadia had a higher rating than Khadijah ($\underline{M} = 6.50$ and $\underline{M} = 6.44$ respectively) see appendix. However, Nadia was discarded in favor of Khadijah because it is also a common Russian name.

³The name Madison had a higher rating than Sarah ($\underline{M} = 2.13$ and $\underline{M} = 2.06$ respectively) see appendix. However, Madison was discarded in favor of Sarah because it is regarded as a unisex name.

Table 1

Mean Scores for the Overall Difference between Public and Private Happiness for the Same and Different Race Conditions

		First Actor	
		Black	White
Second Actor	Black	0.85	2.64
	White	2.31	1.00

Note: Dependent measure: difference between participants' public and private ratings of expressed happiness for both speakers. Scores could range from 1 to 7. Higher numbers indicate greater inflation of happiness.

Table 2

Mean Scores for Expressed Happiness as Being Truly Expressed Versus Right Thing To Do

(Question 5)

		First Actor	
		Black	White
Second Actor	Black	4.08	3.36
	White	2.92	2.55

Note: Scores could range from 1 to 7. Higher numbers indicate greater happiness truly expressed.