

TARGET EMPOWERMENT: DOES PERSPECTIVE TAKING REDUCE BIAS
WHEN EMPLOYED BY A STIGMATIZED TARGET?

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ABSTRACT

Over 50 years of research on prejudice has identified dozens of strategies that effectively reduce stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination. However, very few studies have examined if any of these strategies reduce bias when used directly by a stigmatized target. A few studies show that when stigmatized targets attempt to reduce bias by blatantly confronting people, or by presenting counter-stereotypic attributes, outgroup perceivers are threatened and motivated to retaliate against the target (Czopp & Montiel, 2003; Rudman & Glick, 2001). The Target Empowerment Model (or TEM) provides a framework for addressing these problems. The TEM proposes that targets can blatantly challenge bias in others if they first use strategies that diffuse perceptions of threat, like asking self-affirming questions (Stone et al., 2010). Using a social networking paradigm, three experiments tested the effects of asking self-affirming questions, confronting through perspective taking, and the combination of these strategies, on the biases expressed toward an Arab American target individual. Experiment 1 showed that when an Arab American target challenged perceivers by asking them to take their perspective, highly prejudiced participants showed increased dislike and distancing relative to a neutral question control condition. Experiment 2 showed that as predicted by the TEM, distancing in high prejudiced individuals was significantly reduced if the target first asked questions designed to affirm the perceiver's sense of fairness prior to insisting on perspective taking. Experiment 3 demonstrated that when the target affirmed prejudiced perceivers on values related to creativity prior to implementing a perspective taking strategy, perceivers showed less dislike and distancing compared to using either

affirmation or perspective-taking strategies alone. In addition, reductions in the negative emotions directed at the target partially mediated the relationship between the use of different TEM strategies and distancing from the target. Taken together, these studies support the TEM predictions that stigmatized targets can effectively challenge prejudiced perceivers to reduce their biases if they first use a subtle bias reduction strategy that reduces perceptions of threat.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

When a member of a stigmatized group perceives that they may be the target of prejudice during an interpersonal interaction, what is the best strategy they can use to reduce the likelihood they will be discriminated against? Providing an answer to this question is critical for understanding how members of stigmatized groups cope with being the target of intergroup bias. Although we firmly reject the notion that targets should *have to* shoulder the burden of reducing prejudice, it is important to provide targets with potential options should they choose to address bias in an interaction. As highlighted by Major et al. (2000) and Swim, Cohen, and Hyers (1998), by not studying the strategies that targets can use effectively, we risk relegating targets to having a purely passive and impotent role in the process of bias reduction. Therefore, the aim of current research is to investigate the effectiveness of two well established prejudice reduction strategies when implemented by a stigmatized individual. Specifically, affirmation strategies, which focus prejudiced perceivers on an important value to diffuse threat and perspective taking strategies, which encourage perceivers to see the situation from the stigmatized target's perspective. Additionally, this research will demonstrate the benefits of using a combination of affirmation and perspective taking for avoiding the negative personal consequences that sometimes befall targets when interacting with prejudiced perceivers.

The problem: Backlash against targets

Up to this point, most of the existing research investigating target initiated prejudice reduction has focused on the use of strategies that directly challenge perceivers (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). For example, Czopp, Monteith and Mark (2006) found that when targets confronted perceivers about a biased remark, although perceivers exhibited reduced stereotyping towards the target's group, they also responded with anger and irritation toward the target. In addition, confronted participants gave the confronter less favorable evaluations than participants who were not confronted. Research also demonstrates that highly prejudiced individuals become resentful or angry when they feel pressured to behave in a non-prejudiced way (Plant & Devine, 2001). Moreover, Kaiser and Miller (2001) found that participants labeled stigmatized individuals who attribute negative outcomes to discrimination as complainers, even if the actual likelihood of prejudice was fairly blatant. In general, being confronted about bias by a stigmatized target can challenge perceivers' self-perceptions as fair and good individuals. So, rather than reducing the threat that a prejudiced perceiver feels when interacting with a disliked outgroup member, confrontation actually increases negative perceptions and feelings of discomfort.

A counterstereotyping strategy while at first glance seems less explicit than confrontation, can also be viewed as a direct challenge to perceivers that creates negative personal consequences for stigmatized targets (Rudman & Glick, 1999; 2001). When a target uses a counterstereotyping strategy they provide information about themselves that is inconsistent with perceivers' cultural stereotypes about the target group. So, whereas

confrontation likely challenges a perceiver's self-view, a counter-stereotypic outgroup member threatens a perceiver's worldview (Greenberg et al., 1997). More specifically, a counter-stereotypic target poses a symbolic threat to the perceiver's values and beliefs by behaving inconsistently with expectations and cultural stereotypes, thereby invoke feelings of discomfort and anxiety (Schimel et al., 1999). For example, Rudman and Glick (1999) found that women portrayed as inconsistent with traditional stereotypes (e.g., competent and competitive) during a job interview were perceived as more employable, but less likeable, as compared to women who portrayed themselves as communal (e.g., nice and cooperative). In contrast, women portrayed as communal (consistent with stereotypes) were perceived to be more likeable, but because of negative stereotypes about their competence, as less employable. Also within a workplace context, Heilman and Chen (2005) found that when a female target behaved inconsistently with gender stereotypes related to leadership, she faced social disapproval in the form of anger and ostracism from her male colleagues. Taken together, this research suggests that although strategies such as confrontation and counterstereotyping can in some situations attenuate certain forms of group-based bias, they can also be viewed as posing a challenge to either perceivers' self-perceptions or worldview. And therefore can have negative consequences for the target.

Importantly, past research also demonstrates that when effective, confrontational strategies have the potential to produce long lasting changes in attitudes and behavior (Oskamp & Schultz, 2004). In a classic example, Rokeach (1968) reported that when Whites were explicitly confronted with a discrepancy between their values for freedom

and equality, they not only became more positive toward civil rights, but they were also more likely to join a civil-rights group several months later. This suggests that when implemented in a less threatening manner, such as by an ingroup member, confrontational strategies may successfully reduce bias. In summary, bias reduction strategies that challenge either self-perceptions or worldviews are beneficial because they can lead to enduring change in attitudes toward the group, but they can also lead to reactance against the targets themselves. At present, our understanding of how targets can play an active role in the prejudice reduction process is limited to the use of strategies that have the potential to backfire against the targets who use them. What the current literature has not yet addressed is what strategies targets can use to effectively reduce the prejudiced responses of a highly prejudiced perceiver, without fear of repercussions.

A potential solution: The Target Empowerment Model.

We approach the target's role in the process of prejudice reduction as one of "empowerment," or as having the resources and skills to control important outcomes by using interpersonal influence strategies that are tailored to change a perceivers' beliefs, attitudes, and behavior toward themselves and/or their group. We call this approach the Target Empowerment Model or TEM (Schmader & Stone, 2008; Stone, Whitehead, & Schmader 2010; Whitehead, Schmader & Stone, 2010). The TEM asserts that targets can play an active role in prejudice reduction if they implement the right combination of strategies. By viewing prejudice reduction as a special case of interpersonal influence, the TEM provides a framework for predicting which strategies might be more or less effective when initiated by stigmatized targets. Specifically, the TEM proposes that

stigmatized targets can effectively reduce perceivers' biases if they employ strategies that decrease perceptions of threat. And perhaps even more importantly, targets can invoke the persuasive power of bias reduction strategies that may challenge perceivers, as long as they precede it with a strategy that reduces perceptions of threat. Recent work testing the TEM has demonstrated the effectiveness of both common identity and affirmation as target initiated bias reduction strategies (Whitehead et al., 2010; Stone et al., 2010).

Common identity strategies include those that highlight characteristics shared in common among individual members of different groups (Brewer, 2000; Doise, 1978). Past research has shown that situations which cue a common identity allow perceivers to view an outgroup target as part of the self (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999). Because highlighting a shared identity does not necessitate calling attention to an individual's prejudices, this strategy should be particularly effective at bypassing the negative consequences linked to strategies such as confrontation, which can induce threat. For example, Whitehead and colleagues (2010) demonstrated that a gay target could use a common identity strategy to accomplish the goal of being liked and reduce the chance that perceivers would discriminate against them. Specifically, when a gay target primed a sense of common identity during a mock hiring context, both low and highly prejudiced participants were more likely to choose the gay target for an interview. In addition, participants' choice of the gay target was mediated by the increased positive impressions that they formed about the target.

Past research has also shown self-affirmation to be effective at reducing perceivers' biases. Affirmation strategies function by reducing threat through

encouraging people to reflect on their most important values or positive self-attributes (Steele, 1988; Sherman & Cohen, 2006). For example, Cohen, Aronson, and Steele (2000) found that participants given the opportunity to self affirm were less threatened, more accepting of disconfirming evidence, and more likely to change their attitudes. In addition, Schmeichel and Martens (2005) demonstrated that when participants completed a value affirmation (choosing and writing about a value they find important); they were less likely to derogate an individual who violated their worldview. Similarly, other research shows that when participants were given the opportunity to self-affirm prior to a self-image threat it decreased their tendency to form stereotypic impressions of a gay target (Fein & Spencer, 1997). Also, in support of the contention that affirmation reduces threat, research by Correll, Spencer, and Zana (2004) demonstrates that compared to non-affirmed participants, participants who were self-affirmed were more persuaded by arguments that were counter to an important attitude. Additionally, multiple studies have found that self-affirmation is effective regardless of whether it is presented before the threatening information to buffer against experiencing feelings of threat or after to directly reduce feelings of threat (McQueen & Klein, 2009; Sherman, Nelson, & Steele, 2000). In the only research where self-enhancement was induced directly by a target, Sinclair and Kunda (1999) found that Whites showed less stereotype activation after they received positive feedback from a Black compared to when the feedback was negative or directed at another person. Taken together, this work clearly shows that self-affirmation is able to reduce feelings of threat and defensiveness by positively inoculating the self.

In two experiments testing predictions stemming from the TEM, Stone and colleagues (2010) showed that both a gay and female target could reduce intergroup threat if they asked questions that, when answered by highly prejudiced perceivers, induced affirmation processes. In Experiment 1, a qualified gay job applicant was able to reduce stereotyping against himself when he asked self-affirming questions of the perceiver. Similarly, in a second experiment, asking self-affirming questions increased perceptions of a female target's positive attributes, even when she directly threatened male perceiver's views of women. In sum, invoking affirmation processes seems to attenuate the threat that prejudiced people often experience when they interact with an individual from a disliked or negatively stereotyped group.

The present research

The purpose of this research is to provide the first evidence in support of the full predictions made by the Target Empowerment Model (Whitehead et al., 2010; Stone et al., 2010). Specifically, The TEM combines literatures on prejudice reduction and persuasion to propose three basic hypotheses: (1) Stigmatized individuals can effectively use prejudice reduction strategies that diffuse perceptions of threat, like asking self-affirming questions; (2) Stigmatized targets are less effective than non-stigmatized sources at using strategies that challenge and threaten perceivers, like confrontation or perspective taking; (3) Nevertheless, stigmatized targets can effectively implement strategies perceived to be confrontational if they are preceded by the use of a threat reduction strategy as an "icebreaker". To test these predictions, the experiments in this

dissertation will investigate the effectiveness of a threat invoking perspective taking strategy paired with a threat reducing self-affirmation strategy.

Perspective taking is a bias reduction strategy that research has shown to be quite effective at reducing not only prejudicial attitudes but also in reducing stereotyping both about the target person and about the group more broadly. In perspective taking, perceivers are encouraged to take the viewpoint of the target, fostering perceivers to empathize with the target and view them as part of the self (Aron et al., 1991; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003). For example, Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000) found that participants who were asked by the experimenter to take the perspective of an elderly man showed less accessibility of elderly stereotypes, more overlap between representations of the self and the elderly.

Nevertheless, when a target individual asks a highly prejudiced perceiver to see things from their viewpoint, perspective taking is a strategy that is likely to invoke threat in highly prejudiced perceivers. Building from the logic of the TEM, I propose that when a target asks a prejudiced person to take his or her perspective, it will threaten prejudiced individuals' worldview, and motivate them to negatively stereotype, dislike, and discriminate against the target. Previous research demonstrates that high prejudiced individuals hold and value beliefs related to meritocracy; they believe that stigmatized individuals do not deserve preferential treatment and should have to earn their way just like everyone else (Feather, 1984; Katz & Hass, 1988; Monteith & Walters, 1998). The concept that 'everyone should be treated equal' just to be fair, regardless if they have proven their worth is inconsistent with the worldview of highly biased individuals who

generally relate success and fairness to hard work, discipline, and merit. Thus, when blatantly asked to take a stigmatized targets perspective it may signal a request to dismiss merit, which will threaten a highly prejudiced individuals' worldview regarding meritocracy (Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Solomon, 1999). And because individuals' worldviews provide them with a sense of stability and predictability, highly prejudiced perceivers will respond to this worldview threat by rejecting people and ideals that violate their worldview. In addition, high prejudiced individuals perceive disliked targets as very dissimilar from themselves and therefore should find including these targets as part of their self-concept to be repulsive. Therefore, for highly prejudiced perceivers a target implemented perspective-taking strategy should induce threat on two fronts. One, taking on the perspective of a disliked outgroup member should challenge their worldview and two, just being asked to engage in perspective taking by an outgroup member who is viewed as dissimilar from the self should induce discomfort. On the other hand, low prejudiced individuals who are not prejudiced against the target group should not be threatened if a target initiates perspective taking because they should be able to perceive some similarities between themselves and the target making it easier to empathize. So, although there is clear evidence that perspective taking can be successful at reducing bias when implemented by a neutral third party, there is no evidence that stigmatized individuals themselves can effectively reduce bias by inducing perspective taking in prejudiced perceivers. Indeed, such a strategy might backfire.

However, when dealing with a high prejudiced individual, if targets first initiate the use of a self-affirmation strategy to reduce the threat to perceivers' worldview, then

prejudiced perceivers should be less resistant to ‘cooperating’ with the targets request to take the targets’ perspective. Building from initial research on the TEM model (Whitehead et al., 2010; Stone et al., 2010), I predict that asking self-affirming questions should decrease the threat posed by the target and allow a perspective taking to effectively decrease perceivers’ biases. Additionally, because low prejudiced individuals are already motivated to respond without prejudice they should not be adversely affected by the implementation of a perspective taking strategy and may even show increased positive attitudes after taking the perspective of the target.

The current studies extend work on the TEM by examining these strategies with a new group, namely Arab Americans. In light of the current ‘war on terror’ since September 11, 2001, within the United States, Arab Americans are a group who are likely to face increased prejudice against them. In three studies, participants with either low or high levels of prejudice toward Arab Americans reviewed MySpace page profiles ostensibly created by students the previous semester. Two of the profiles were filler pages created by White students. Ostensibly, an Arab American student created the target page, and the Arab target employed different combinations of prejudice reduction tactics by embedding them within his MySpace profile. After reviewing each profile, participants completed measures of how much they want to meet the target, emotional reactions to the target (Study 1 & 3), self-other overlap (Study 1), stereotypes (Study 2 & 3), and level of prejudice toward the group (Study 3).

I predict that when the Arab target uses a perspective taking strategy by itself, highly prejudiced individuals will respond with less desire to meet the target, increased

negative emotions and stereotyping, and increased prejudice toward the group. However, if the target first asks self-affirming questions before using the perspective taking strategy, I expect that highly prejudiced individuals will report a stronger interest in meeting the target, more self-other overlap, decreased negative emotions and stereotyping, and decreased prejudice toward Arabs as a group. Finally, I predict that low prejudiced individuals will respond without prejudice whether or not the Arab target initiates any prejudice reduction tactics. However, they may show some increased interest in meeting the target after a perspective taking strategy because they will feel even more connected with the target.

Chapter 2

Experiment 1

Method

Participants

Participants were 162 (73 males and 89 females) undergraduate students from a large southwestern university. The majority of participants were White (75.2%). The remaining participants self-identified as Hispanic (12.4%), Asian (2.8%), Black (3.4%), or 'other' (6.2%).¹ All provided responses to a modified version of the *Blatant and Subtle Prejudice* scale during an earlier mass-testing session ($\alpha = .79$; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) to assess their prejudice toward Arab Americans. Participants responded to 8 items that were measured on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*), and sample statistics, $M = 3.58$, $SD = 1.51$. Those who were recruited scored either above or below the median for the distribution on the scale (3.5).

Design

The experiment utilized a 2 (Prejudice: low, high) x 3 (TEM Strategy: no strategy, perspective taking, affirmation and perspective taking) between subjects design. Dependent variables included ratings of participants desire to meet the target, negative emotions toward the target, and self-other overlap.

¹ This study recruited non-Whites, as well as Whites, because preliminary analyses showed there was no difference among racial or ethnic groups in their prejudice towards Arabs.

Materials and Procedure

Participants were recruited for a study investigating “how people form first impressions based on only a ‘thin slice’ of information”. To do this, experimenters told participants they would view MySpace pages that were created by students during the previous semester. Their task was to examine three MySpace pages and evaluate each page accordingly. Each MySpace page included information about the student’s race, age, and hobbies. There was also a ‘Who I’d like to meet’ section where the MySpace page author posed questions to potential online friends and a ‘soap box’ section where they voiced their opinion about an issue. The race of each MySpace page author was indicated by the name of the applicant and the ethnicity question (Wheeler, Jarvis, & Petty, 2001). All of the MySpace authors were male; two were portrayed as European American (i.e. Jason and Chris) and the third as Arab American (i.e. Ahmad). The two pages with European American authors were included as filler information to reduce suspicion. Additionally, to avoid order effects, the three MySpace pages were counterbalanced.

TEM Strategy Manipulation. Perspective taking or the combination of self-affirmation and perspective taking were embedded on the MySpace page of Ahmad in the ‘who I’d like to meet’ and ‘soap box’ sections. Specifically, in the perspective taking condition, the target asked participants to reflect on how it feels to be an Arab American after 9/11. In the combination self-affirmation and perspective taking condition, to induce self-affirmation, participants were asked to reflect on their values in the ‘who I’d like to meet’ section and before they were asked to reflect on how it might feel to be an Arab

American in today's society. In the control condition neither strategy was present; participants instead viewed neutral questions in the 'who I'd like to meet' section and an argument about the lack of healthy food choices in the 'soap box' section (See Appendix A). The pages of the two European Americans had identical sections, but included information that was designed to be nonthreatening. For example Jason was a senior at the University of Arizona and lamented about Tucson's public transportation system and Chris was a junior philosophy major lamenting about the cost of tuition.

Dependent Variables

Emotions toward Target. After reviewing each MySpace page, participants rated the extent to which they experienced different emotions while reviewing each MySpace page on a scale of 1(*Not at all*) to 7(*Extremely*). The negative emotions (*disgust, fear, anger, and sadness*) were averaged together to form a negative emotions composite ($\alpha = .77$). The positive emotions (*sympathy, empathy, compassion*) were averaged together to form a positive emotions composite ($\alpha = .76$).

Self-other overlap. Participants selected which set of interlocking circles best represented how similar they felt to that candidate (Aron et al., 1991).

Desire to Meet Target. Lastly, after reviewing all three MySpace pages participants reported how much they would like to meet the Arab MySpace author on a scale of 1(*Do not want to meet*) to 7(*Would definitely want to meet*).

Results

Preliminary analysis revealed no gender differences, and thus conditions were collapsed across gender.

Manipulation Check. The manipulation check on the target's race was embedded in a series of questions about the candidates (*One of the MySpace users was Arab American*). A majority (91.6%) of participants correctly identified the intended MySpace user as Arab American. Those who did not were excluded from all analyses leaving a final sample of 145 participants (63 males and 82 females).

Desire to Meet Target. To test the effectiveness of target employed affirmation and perspective taking strategies a 2 x 3 ANOVA was performed on the extent to which participants wanted to meet the Arab American MySpace author. There was a main effect for level of prejudice $F(1, 139) = 16.81$ $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$. As expected low prejudiced individuals ($M = 3.73$) reported a stronger preference for meeting the Arab target compared to highly prejudiced individuals ($M = 2.56$). This was qualified by a prejudice level x strategy type interaction, $F(2, 139) = 3.44$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .02$ (See Figure 1). As predicted simple effects showed that exposure to just the perspective taking strategy led highly prejudiced participants ($M = 2.30$) to report decreased desire to meet the target compared to the control ($M = 3.19$), $p < .05$. Contrary to expectations, highly prejudiced participants also indicated less desire to meet the Arab target when the self-affirmation strategy preceded the perspective taking strategy ($M = 2.28$) compared to the

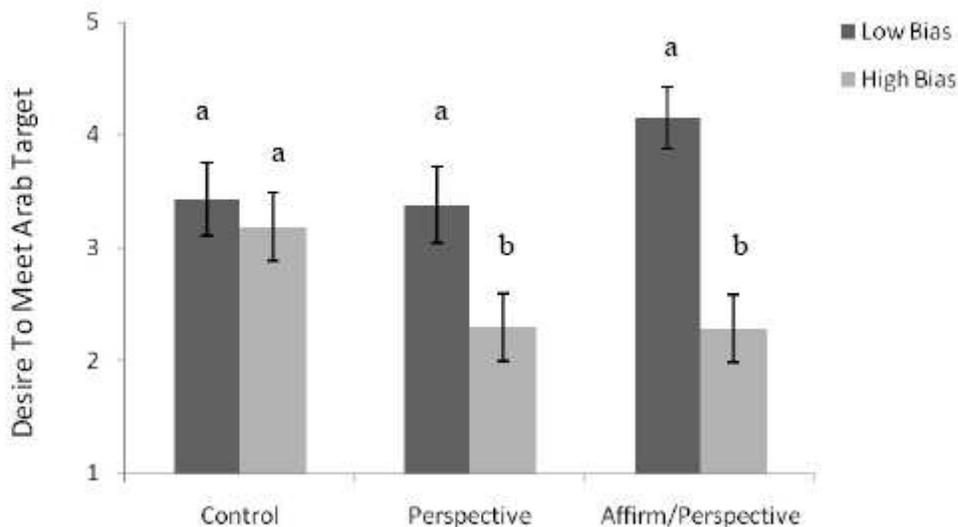


Figure 1. Participants' desire to meet the Arab MySpace author in person after Experiment 1.

no strategy control ($M = 3.19$), $p = .05$. There was no difference among low prejudiced participants across strategy type ($M_{control} = 3.43$; $M_{perspective} = 3.38$; $M_{affirm/perspective} = 4.15$), $p > .05$.²

Emotions toward Target. A 2 x 3 ANOVA was also performed on the composite of negative emotions. Results found a main effect of level of prejudice on negative emotions toward the Arab target, $F(1, 139) = 11.28$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$. As predicted, low prejudice participants ($M = 1.65$) reported less negative emotion toward the Arab target compared to high prejudice participants ($M = 2.19$). There was also a main effect of strategy type, $F(2, 139) = 15.45$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$. In general, participants reported

² In Experiment 1 there was no effect of prejudice level or strategy type on preference to meet either of the filler pages ostensibly created by White students, $F(2, 139) = .40$, $p = .68$ and $F(2, 139) = .001$, $p = .99$.

increased negative emotions toward the Arab target in both the perspective taking ($M = 2.10$) and affirmation perspective-taking combination ($M=2.30$) compared to control ($M = 1.27$), p 's $< .001$.

The main effects were again qualified by a prejudice x strategy type interaction, $F(2, 139) = 4.96, p = .008, \eta^2 = .05$. As expected, simple effects showed that highly prejudiced participants reported more negative emotions toward the Arab target when the target employed perspective taking ($M=2.52$) compared to when no prejudice reduction tactics were employed ($M = 1.18$), $p < .001$. Inconsistent with predictions, participants also reported more negative emotions when a combination of affirmation and perspective taking ($M=2.77$) was employed compared to no strategy, $p < .001$. There was no difference across strategy type for the low prejudiced individuals ($M_{control} = 1.36$; $M_{perspective} = 1.68$; $M_{affirm/perspective} = 1.82$), p 's $> .1$.

Another 2 x 3 ANOVA was performed on the composite of positive emotions and found a main effect of level of prejudice on positive emotions toward the Arab target, $F(1,139) = 6.00, p = .02, \eta^2 = .03$. As expected, low prejudiced individuals ($M = 3.48$) reported more positive emotions toward the Arab target compared to high prejudiced individuals ($M = 2.92$). There was also a main effect of strategy type, $F(2, 139) = 11.22, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$. Overall, participants reported more positive emotions toward the target when they employed either prejudice reduction strategy ($M_{perspective} = 3.53$; $M_{affirm/perspective} = 3.58$) compared to the control ($M = 2.41$), p 's $< .001$. The prejudice level x strategy interaction on positive emotions was not significant, $F < 1$.

Self Other Overlap. Lastly, a 2 x 3 ANOVA was performed on participants' ratings of self-other overlap with the Arab target. Results showed a main effect of level of prejudice on self other overlap with the Arab target, $F(1,139) = 3.79, p = .05, \eta^2 = .02$. As expected, high prejudice participants ($M = 2.24$) reported less self other overlap with the Arab MySpace author than low prejudice participants ($M = 2.76$). This was qualified by a prejudice level x strategy type interaction, $F(2,139) = 3.27, p = .04, \eta^2 = .04$. Also in line with predictions, simple effects demonstrated that low prejudiced participants exposed to the affirmation-perspective taking combination strategy ($M = 3.21$) reported more self-other overlap compared to those in the no strategy control ($M = 2.30$) and marginally more than those in the perspective taking condition, $p = .01$ and $p = .06$, respectively. There was also no difference in self-other overlap across strategy condition among highly prejudiced participants, although the means follow a trend similar to the other dependent variables ($M_{control} = 2.48; M_{perspective} = 2.22; M_{affirm/perspective} = 2.04$), p 's $> .1$.

Discussion

In support of predictions, Experiment 1 showed that when an Arab target attempted to induce a perspective taking strategy with highly prejudiced individuals, it backfired by increasing bias toward the target. As theorized, highly prejudiced participants seemed to view the target's use of perspective taking as threatening and therefore showed decreased interest in meeting the target and increased dislike for the target compared to control conditions.

Another interpretation of the data in Experiment 1 is that rather than feeling threatened by a target implemented perspective taking strategy, participants generally viewed the Arab target as a complainer, which motivated them to dislike and avoid meeting with him. However, several findings in Experiment 1 do not support this alternative. For example, if his use of perspective taking was perceived as complaining, both low and highly prejudiced individuals should have responded negatively toward the Arab target when he employed the strategy. The data show that only those who were highly biased had a negative reaction to the use of a target implemented perspective taking strategy, which is consistent with our threat interpretation. In addition, the perspective taking strategy led to increased self-other overlap among low prejudice individuals, and also caused both low and high prejudice participants to report more positive emotions toward the target. These responses would theoretically not have occurred if the use of perspective taking by the Arab target was perceived as complaining about discrimination against his group.

An important limitation to the findings in Experiment 1 was that the manipulation of self-affirmation was not successful at reducing threat, and as a result, it did not prevent the perspective taking from increasing dislike for the target. One explanation for why the affirmation strategy was not able to reduce threat is that the manipulation was not sufficiently engaging and therefore did not activate the self-reflective processes necessary for affirmation. Self-affirmation is traditionally manipulated by asking participants to explicitly write out answers to the questions about their most important value. In the current experiment the questions were simply stated along with a list of possible values

on the MySpace page. In addition, the MySpace page also included many other pieces of information about the target that may have distracted participants from the manipulation. Because of the amount of information present it is possible that participants were distracted or felt overwhelmed and therefore did not actually answer the affirming questions. In the current paradigm, a more effective approach to inducing a TEM affirmation process may be to reduce the amount of information and have the stigmatized target ask the perceiver to reflect on one specific value or trait that is important to them.

In sum, the current study provides support for the TEM assumption that stigmatized targets are not able to effectively reduce bias using a strategy that challenges perceivers' worldview and brings issues of prejudice to the forefront. An important limitation of the current experiment is that it was not able to clearly determine whether a threat reducing affirmation strategy could successfully pave the way for implementation of a blatant perspective taking strategy. A second limitation to the present experiment is that although in general participants with a high level of prejudice wanted to meet the Arab target less than those with low levels of prejudice this difference was not clearly demonstrated in the control condition. Experiment 2 will address these limitations and provide further evidence of the negative personal consequences related to use of some prejudice reduction tactics.

Chapter 3

Experiment 2

Experiment 2 was designed to accomplish three goals 1) replicate the finding that perspective taking increased bias (decreased interest in meeting the Arab target) among highly prejudiced participants, 2) address the limitations of the previous affirmation manipulation, and 3) extend our knowledge by investigating the effect of affirmation and perspective taking on stereotyping as well as behavioral intentions.

In the first experiment, we attempted to modify a traditional affirmation manipulation of values (Steele & Liu, 1983), but we believe it failed either because it was ineffective at actively engaging participants and inducing them to answer the questions to induce self-affirmation processes, Therefore, to improve the manipulation in the current experiment, we asked direct rhetorical questions related to one specific trait (rather than listing a set of values) to invoke a response from participants. Past research demonstrates that asking rhetorical questions not only increases cognitive elaboration of a persuasive message (Petty, Cacioppo, & Heesacker, 1981; Blakenship & Craig, 2006), but also stimulates the audience to spontaneously answer the questions implicitly (Ahluwalia & Burnkrant, 2004). Additionally, according to recent reviews (McQueen & Klein, 2006; Sherman & Cohen, 2006), affirmation processes do not depend on a specific method of induction in order to become active; providing positive feedback to individuals, having individuals make choices on a value scale, or write a brief essay about their core values are equally effective for inducing affirmation processes. Evidence provided by Stone and

colleagues (2010) showed that a gay target who embedded rhetorical affirming questions within a job application was less likely to be stereotyped by a high prejudice perceiver. Therefore, in experiment 2 we attempted to initiate affirmation processes by asking rhetorical questions about a specific trait rather than a set of general questions about values.

The specific questions were designed to affirm perceivers on the positive value of “fairness.” Past research has demonstrated that affirming participants on an individual attribute can effectively reduce biased processing of negative self-relevant information. Specifically, Reed and Aspenwall (1998) found that participants who engaged in an affirmation on the attribute of “kindness” more quickly approached negative health information related to caffeine consumption compared to participants who did not affirm. We specifically choose to affirm participants on their sense of fairness because issues of fairness and justice are thought to be fundamental human values that are important to a majority of people (Folger & Cropanzano, 1998; Van Den Bos, 2001). A large body of research demonstrates that in most situations individuals see unfair procedures as a violation of important cultural norms and values (see Lind & Tyler, 1988 for a review). For example, Wiesenfeld, Brockner, and Martin (1999) found that perceptions of procedural unfairness during workplace downsizing threatened individuals’ self-integrity and had adverse effects on work attitudes and behaviors. Building from terror management theory (Greenberg et al., 1997), Van den Bos (2001) showed that a mortality salience manipulation increased the importance of fairness perceptions and thereby increased people’s negative reactions to unfair procedures. In concert, these studies

provide support for the assumption that fairness is viewed by most as an important value and that prompting individuals to remember a time when they behaved consistently with this important value should be affirming.

We predict that affirming individuals on the value of fairness should be particularly effective at reducing the threat ignited by a confrontational perspective taking strategy because it should be consistent with the worldview of both low and highly prejudiced individuals. Individuals with low levels of bias should value the egalitarian ideals of treating people with equality and respect (Katz & Hass, 1988). In addition, research by Monteith and Walters (1998) indicates that high prejudice people associate fairness and egalitarianism with either rewarding individual merit or with a moral imperative toward equality. Therefore, encouraging highly prejudiced individuals to think about a past incident when they treated someone fairly should affirm them by bringing to mind worldview consistent values. Experiment 2 uses a procedure similar to Experiment 1 to test the following hypotheses:

Replicating the first experiment, we expect that when the Arab MySpace author uses a perspective taking strategy by itself, highly prejudiced participants will backlash and show less interest in meeting the target and increased negative stereotyping of the target compared to when no strategy is employed. However, if the Arab target first asks questions designed to affirm their sense of fairness, highly prejudiced participants will report an increased preference toward meeting the Arab target and less negative stereotyping compared to both the perspective taking and control. Lastly, we predict that

regardless of TEM condition, low prejudiced individuals will indicate more desire to meet and be less likely to stereotype the Arab compared to highly prejudiced individuals.

Method

Participants

Participants were 185 (97 males and 86 females) undergraduate students from a large southwestern university. The majority of participants were White (65.6%). The remaining participants self-identified as Hispanic (14.1%), Asian (6.6%), Black (5.5%), or 'other' (8.2%). All provided responses to a modified version of the *Blatant and Subtle Prejudice* scale during an earlier mass-testing session ($\alpha = .79$; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) to assess their prejudice toward Arab Americans. Participants responded to 8 items that were measured on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*), and sample statistics, $M = 3.53$, $SD = 1.48$. Participants were recruited scored either above or below the median for the distribution on the scale (3.5).

Design

The experiment utilized a 2 (Prejudice level: low, high) x 3 (TEM Strategy: no strategy, perspective taking, fairness affirmation and perspective taking) between subjects design. Dependent variables included ratings of participants desire to meet the target and stereotyping.

Materials and Procedure

Similar to Study 1 participants were recruited for a study investigating "how people form first impressions based on only a 'thin slice' of information". The materials

and procedure for the three MySpace pages were identical to Experiment 1 with the exception of the affirmation manipulation.

Affirmation Manipulation. Perspective taking or the combination of affirmation and perspective taking were again embedded in Ahmad's MySpace page in a 'what's your style' and 'soap box' section. As in Study 1, in the perspective taking condition, the target asked participants to reflect on how it feels to be an Arab American after 9/11. In the combination affirmation-perspective taking conditions, participants were asked two rhetorical questions related to fairness in the 'what's your style' section prior to the perspective taking induction. The questions were 1) How did someone *treat you fairly* this week? And 2) How did *you treat someone fairly* this week? In the control condition neither strategy was present, and participants instead viewed neutral questions and an argument about the lack of healthy food choices from the Arab American MySpace author (See Appendix B).

Dependent Variables

Negative Stereotypes. After reviewing each MySpace page, participants rated the extent to which several different positive and negative traits best described the each MySpace author on a scale of 1(*Not at all*) to 7(*Extremely*). Included within the list of traits were negative stereotypes associated with Arabs. The negative traits (*irrational, untrustworthy, dangerous, and close-minded*) were averaged together to form a negative stereotype composite ($\alpha = .74$).

Desire to Meet Target. Lastly, after reviewing all three MySpace pages participants reported how much they would like to meet the Arab MySpace author on a scale of 1(*Do not want to meet*) to 7(*Would definitely want to meet*).

Results

Again, preliminary analysis revealed no gender differences, and thus conditions were collapsed across gender.

Manipulation Check. The manipulation check on the target's race was embedded in a series of questions about the candidates (*One of the MySpace users was Arab American*). A majority (96.8%) of participants correctly identified the intended MySpace author as Arab American and those who did not were excluded from all analyses. This left a final sample of 179 participants (95 males and 84 females).

Desire to Meet Target. To test the hypotheses a 2 x 3 ANOVA was performed on participants desire to meet the Arab American MySpace author. There was a main effect for level of prejudice $F(1, 173) = 31.27, p < .001, \eta^2 = .14$. As expected low prejudice individuals ($M=4.28$) reported a stronger preference for meeting the Arab target compared to high bias individuals ($M=3.16$). This, however, was qualified by a significant prejudice level x strategy type interaction, $F(2, 173) = 4.73, p = .01, \eta^2 = .04$ (See Figure 2). First, there was clear evidence of bias such that in the control condition low prejudice participants ($M= 4.21$) wanted to meet the Arab target significantly more than highly prejudiced participants ($M=3.11$), $p = .002$. Second, replicating experiment 1, simple effects showed that highly prejudiced individuals exposed to the perspective taking strategy reported marginally less desire to meet the target ($M = 2.50$) compared to

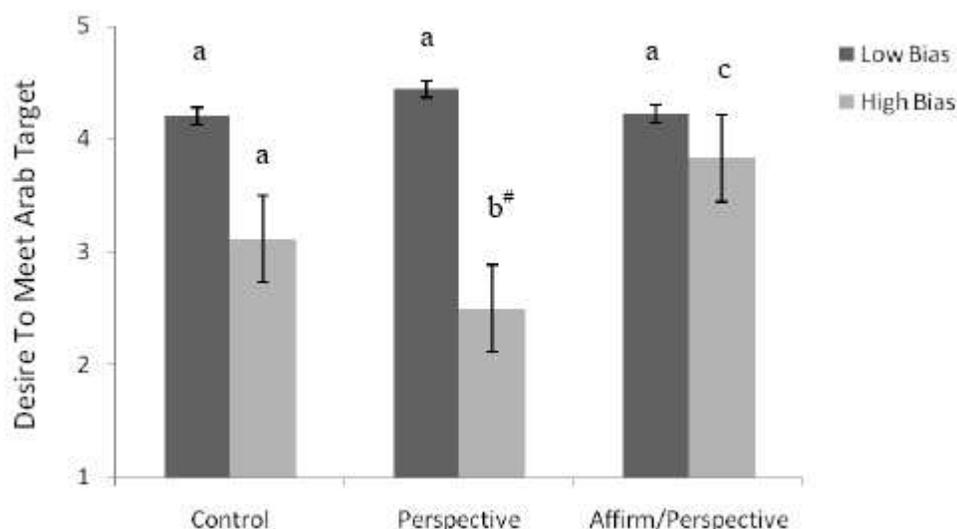


Figure 2. Participants' desire to meet the Arab MySpace author in person after Experiment 2.

when no strategy ($M=3.11$) was initiated, $p = .07$. Nevertheless, in support of the assumptions made by the TEM, when highly prejudiced participants were affirmed their values related to fairness prior to the perspective taking strategy they reported increased preference to meet the Arab target ($M = 3.83$) compared to when perspective taking was used by itself or when no strategy was employed, $p < .001$, $p = .03$, respectively. Finally, when affirmation of fairness values preceded perspective taking high prejudice participants ($M = 3.83$) were just as likely as low prejudice participants ($M = 4.22$) to want to meet the Arab target, $p > .05$.³

Negative Stereotypes. To test the prediction that perceivers first affirmed on their sense of fairness prior to a perspective strategy would be less likely to engage in negative

³ In Experiment 2 there was no effect of prejudice level or strategy type on preference to meet either of the filler pages ostensibly created by White students, $F(2, 173) = 1.28$, $p = .28$ and $F(2, 173) = .13$, $p = .88$.

stereotyping we conducted a 2 x 3 ANOVA on endorsement of negative stereotypes. As predicted results revealed a main effect of prejudice level, $F(1, 173) = 27.32, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$, such that high prejudice participants ($M = 2.14$), were more likely to ascribe negative stereotypes to the Arab target as compared to low prejudice participants ($M = 1.53$). This was qualified by a significant prejudice level x strategy type interaction, $F(2, 173) = 3.90, p = .02, \eta^2 = .04$. Consistent with expectations, highly prejudiced individuals were more likely to negatively stereotype the Arab target when he initiated perspective taking ($M = 2.37$) as compared to when no strategy was implemented ($M = 1.95$), $p < .05$. Unexpectedly though, when the Arab target initiated both an affirmation and perspective taking strategy in combination ($M = 2.14$) highly prejudiced participants endorsed negative stereotypes of the Arab target to the same degree as when the target employed no bias reduction tactic, $p > .1$. Low prejudice participants on the other hand were less likely to ascribe negative stereotypes to the Arab target when he implemented a perspective taking strategy ($M = 1.26$) compared to the control ($M = 1.70$), $p < .05$. However, there was no difference in endorsement of stereotypes when low prejudiced individuals were exposed to an affirmation and perspective taking strategy ($M = 1.52$) or no strategy at all, $p > .1$.

Discussion

Experiment 2 successfully replicated Experiment 1 by showing that the use of a perspective taking strategy by a target threatened perceivers and led to an increase in both biased behavioral intentions and negative stereotyping. However, as predicted by the TEM, when the target asked questions designed to affirm perceivers' sense of fairness

before using the perspective taking strategy, highly prejudiced individuals showed less biased behavioral intentions compared to when targets did not implement a bias reduction tactic. This demonstrates that a stigmatized target can successfully use a prejudice reduction strategy that challenges perceivers if they first employ a strategy that can diffuse perceptions of threat.

We did not find evidence that affirmation worked by reducing negative stereotyping of the Arab target. As expected, the use of a perspective taking strategy increased endorsement of negative stereotypes for highly biased individuals and in line with previous research decreased endorsement of negative stereotypes for low prejudiced individuals (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). However, the affirmation should have allowed participants to more objectively process the information presented and therefore engage in less stereotyping of the target (Correll, Spencer, & Zanna, 2004). The data show that although use of an affirmation strategy in combination with perspective taking increased preference to meet the target, it did not affect highly prejudiced perceivers' beliefs about the target individual. Indeed, examination of the within-cell correlations for highly prejudiced participants showed that there was no relationship between their interest in meeting the target and endorsement of negative stereotypes regardless of the TEM strategy that the target employed ($r_{control}(36) = -.32, p=.07$; $r_{perspective-taking}(28) = -.23, p=.24$; $r_{affirm/perspective}(30) = .13, p=.49$). Low prejudiced individuals also showed no relationship between their reported interest in meeting the target and endorsement of negative stereotypes when the target implemented no bias reduction strategy, $r(28) = -.35, p=.07$, or a perspective taking strategy by itself, $r(27) = -.26, p=.19$. However, low

prejudiced participants interest in meeting the Arab target was negatively related to their endorsement of negative stereotypes when the target implemented a combination of affirmation and perspective taking, $r(30) = -.47, p=.008$. Therefore, it seems that only when low prejudiced participants were affirmed did their beliefs about the target direct their interest in meeting the target. Perhaps when affirmed by the target, these individuals processed more objectively and relied on their beliefs rather than an affective reaction to the target. In general, these data provide evidence that in this particular experiment, participants' beliefs about the Arab target did not influence their reported interest in wanting to interact with the target in person.

Chapter 4

Experiment 3

The evidence in Experiment 2 showing that a stigmatized target can induce affirmation and perspective taking to reduce prejudice is unique in the literature on prejudice reduction. Nevertheless, there are still some unanswered questions. Specifically, a plausible alternative explanation for the previous findings is that rather than initiating the self-reflective processes that are necessary to induce self-affirmation, the manipulation of fairness actually primed social fairness norms that induced demand characteristics or activated a goal to evaluate the target objectively (Katz & Hass, 1988).. A third experiment was designed to address this limitation and provide further evidence that affirmation processes in combination with perspective taking are responsible for the reduction of bias demonstrated in the previous experiment.

Whereas some research has found that priming egalitarian values can lead to empathy for and increased positive attitudes toward minority groups (Katz & Hass, 1988), other research has shown that when individuals are reminded of societal fairness norms they become angry and resentful, backlashing both attitudinally and behaviorally (Devine & Plant, 2001; Monteith, Devine, & Zuwerink, 1993). In addition, the limited research that has investigated highly prejudiced individuals' response to the salience of social norms regarding equality and justice shows that highly prejudiced individuals generally respond with some form of reactance and report heightened negative affect toward the stigmatized group (Devine, Plant, & Buswell, 2000; Monteith 1993; Zuwerink

et al., 1996). Taken together, this work suggests that priming social justice norms for highly prejudiced individuals does not necessarily reduce threat, and it might actually lead to increased negative responses toward the target.

Nevertheless, self-affirmation should operate independently of fairness norms for reducing prejudice. One way to disentangle these two processes is to have the target ask questions that affirm the perceiver on an important positive self-attribute that is unrelated to fairness and equality. Past research has demonstrated that creativity is a positive self-attribute that can successfully activate self-affirmation processes (Aronson, Blanton, & Copper, 1995; Blanton, Cooper, Skurnik, & Aronson, 1997; Stone & Cooper, 2003). Asking questions about a persons' creativity should be affirming because it will encourage perceivers to focus on a positive self-attribute that is generally viewed as important. Among a college student sample, thinking about an instance of creativity should also bring to mind other positive self-descriptive attributes such as intelligence. Therefore, when a target asks a highly prejudiced individual to recall a time when they were creative should induce the positive self-reflective processes necessary for affirmation, which will lead to a decrease in perceptions of threat.

The current experiment was also designed to extend the previous finding by investigating the mechanisms for how affirmation and perspective taking might work to reduce bias toward an individual target who uses the strategy. For example, negative emotions, negative stereotypes, and attitude toward the target were measured to shed light on highly prejudiced individuals' reaction to being asked to take the perspective of a stigmatized target and how affirmation attenuates this reaction. When a disliked outgroup

member asks a highly prejudiced individual to take their perspective, the prejudiced perceiver may have a gut level negative emotional response, or may attempt to discredit the target by endorsing negative stereotypes.

Perceptions of injustice and guilt may also mediate the relationship between perspective taking and behavior towards the target (Dovidio et al., 2004). We chose to measure both injustice and guilt in this experiment because if an affirmation strategy allows highly biased individuals to take the perspective of a disliked outgroup member, then they should perceive the situation as unjust. Lastly, a measure of intergroup anxiety was collected to measure participants' perceptions of threat about dealing with a disliked outgroup member and to show that perspective taking by itself increases perceptions of threat and affirmation attenuates those feelings of threat.

In addition, this project explored if a target who employs a combination of affirmation and perspective taking while interacting with a highly prejudiced individual can reduce prejudice towards the group as well as towards themselves. The use of a perspective taking strategy should be particularly effective at changing attitudes toward the group because when a perceiver takes the perspective of a member of the target group they essentially are stepping in to what it is like to be part of that group. When highly prejudiced individuals' perceptions of threat are reduced through affirmation before they are focused on what it is like to be a member of a stigmatized group it should allow them to empathize with the group and feel injustice for the circumstances the group has faced.

I predict that if targets first affirm individuals on an important value and then employ perspective taking, highly prejudiced perceivers will show increased desire to

meet the Arab target and greater liking for the target group compared to when they employ either strategy alone or no prejudice reduction tactics. Additionally, I hypothesized that when a target initiates a confrontational perspective taking strategy without first reducing the threat, prejudiced participants will show less interest in meeting the Arab target compared to if the target did nothing at all.

Method

Participants

One hundred and forty two undergraduate students (62 male and 80 female) from a large southwestern university participated. The majority of participants were White (79%). The remaining participants self-identified as Hispanic (13.3%), Asian (6.3%), Black (.7%). Everyone provided responses to a modified version of the *Blatant and Subtle Prejudice* scale during an earlier mass-testing session ($\alpha = .79$; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) to assess their prejudice toward Arab Americans. Participants responded to 8 items that were measured on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*), and sample statistics, $M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.49$. All participants had scored above the median ($Median = 3.5$) demonstrating a higher level of prejudice toward Arab Americans.

Design

The experiment utilized a 2 (Affirmation) x 2 (Perspective Taking) between subjects design. Dependent variables included ratings of participants' desire to meet the target and attitude toward the target's group. Target directed negative emotions, negative stereotypes, attitude toward the target, perceived injustice, guilt, and intergroup anxiety were measured as potential mediators.

Materials and Procedure

The procedures for exposing participants to the MySpace profiles were identical to Experiments 1 and 2. After reviewing the MySpace profiles the experimenter gave them an evaluation form and ‘randomly’ assigned them to evaluate the Arab MySpace author. When finished, participants completed a final questionnaire assessing their attitudes towards many different social groups. To reduce suspicion the experimenter told participants that the experiment was over prior to giving them the ‘cultural perceptions’ questionnaire. They then asked participants if they would complete one unrelated questionnaire that the research lab collects at the end of all experiments assessing individuals’ perceptions of many different social groups. Finally, the experimenter debriefed participants and awarded them class credit.

TEM Strategy Manipulation. Similar to the previous studies the perspective taking manipulation was embedded within the ‘soap box’ section and the affirmation manipulation was part of the ‘What’s your style?’ section on Ahmad’s MySpace page. The affirmation manipulation was modified slightly from experiment 2 so that the target asked one set of rhetorical question about how the participant exemplified an unrelated, but important positive value; creativity. Specifically, when affirmation was present the Arab MySpace author asked, ‘*When were you really creative? How?*’ In the control condition the question posed was, ‘*When were you really bored? How?*’ Similar to the previous studies, perspective taking was manipulated next when the Arab target asked participants to reflect on how it feels to be an Arab American after 9/11 and in the control lament about the lack of healthy food choices at the university (See Appendix C).

Dependent Variables

Emotions. While evaluating the Arab MySpace page participants rated the extent to which they experienced several different emotions (*anger, disgust, empathy, sympathy, compassion*) on a scale of 1(*Not at all*) to 7(*Very Much*). Specifically, they were asked "While reviewing the MySpace profile I felt (emotion) toward the author. Ratings of anger and disgust were averaged together to form a composite score of negative emotions directed at the target ($\alpha = .68$). Empathy, sympathy, and compassion were also averaged to form a composite score of positive emotions directed at the target ($\alpha = .81$).

Negative stereotypes. Participants next rated the extent to which several different positive and negative traits best described the each MySpace author on a scale of 1(*Not at all*) to 7(*Very Much*). The negative traits used were expanded from experiment 2 to include: *angry, confrontational, irrational, untrustworthy, dangerous, and close-minded* and were averaged together to form a negative stereotype composite ($\alpha = .70$).

Liking. To assess participants attitude toward the target participants responded to a single item, 'How much do like the MySpace author?' on a scale from 1(*Not at all*) to 7(*Very Much*).

Perceptions of Injustice and guilt. To evaluate perceptions of injustice participants rated on a scale from 1(*Not at all*) to 7(*Very Much*) how they felt (*irritated, angered, annoyed, alarmed, outraged, and bothered*) after reading the 'Soap Box' section of the MySpace profile ($\alpha = .78$; see Dovidio et al., 2004). In addition, participants also rated how much guilt they experienced while reading the soap box section.

Intergroup Anxiety. In addition, participants reported the extent to which they believed they would experience 12 different emotions when interacting with the Arab target on a scale of 1(*Not at all*) to 7(*Extremely*). The emotions measured were: *apprehensive, uncertain, worried, awkward, anxious, threatened, comfortable, trusting, friendly, confident, safe, and at ease* (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Positive emotions were reverse coded and the items were averaged to create a composite measure of intergroup anxiety ($\alpha = .84$).

Desire to Meet Target. After reviewing all three MySpace profiles participants reported how much they would like to meet the Arab MySpace author on a scale of 1(*Do not want to meet*) to 7(*Would definitely want to meet*).

Prejudice Toward the Group: Lastly, ostensibly as part of a related study, participants completed the Pettigrew & Meertens (1995) *Blatant and Subtle Prejudice* scale ($\alpha = .70$; See Appendix D).

Results

Again, preliminary analysis revealed no gender differences, and thus conditions were collapsed across gender.

Manipulation Check. The manipulation check on the target's race was embedded in a series of questions about the candidates (*One of the MySpace users was Arab American*). A majority (95.1%) of participants correctly identified the intended MySpace author as Arab American and those who did not were excluded from all analyses. This left a final sample of 135 participants (60 males and 75 females).

Desire to Meet Target. To test the hypotheses a 2 x 2 ANOVA was performed on participants desire to meet the Arab American MySpace author. There was a main effect for affirmation, $F(1, 131) = 31.94, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$, such that when exposed to an affirmation strategy ($M = 4.86$) highly prejudiced participants reported more desire to meet the Arab target compared to the control ($M = 3.04$). This was qualified by the predicted affirmation x perspective taking interaction, $F(1, 131) = 8.90, p = .003, \eta^2 = .05$ (See Figure 3). Consistent with predictions made by the TEM model, simple effects showed that highly prejudiced individuals exposed to the perspective taking strategy reported less desire to meet the target ($M = 2.61$) compared to when no strategy ($M = 3.51$) was initiated, $p < .05$. Most importantly, in support of the TEM predictions, participants showed the most interest in meeting the Arab target when targets asked self-affirming questions prior to implementing the perspective taking ($M = 5.36$), as compared to when the target used either strategy alone or no strategy at all, p 's $< .05$. Additionally, use of self affirmation alone ($M = 4.36$) also increased participants desire to meet the target compared to when targets implemented a perspective taking strategy or no strategy at all, $p < .001, p = .05$.

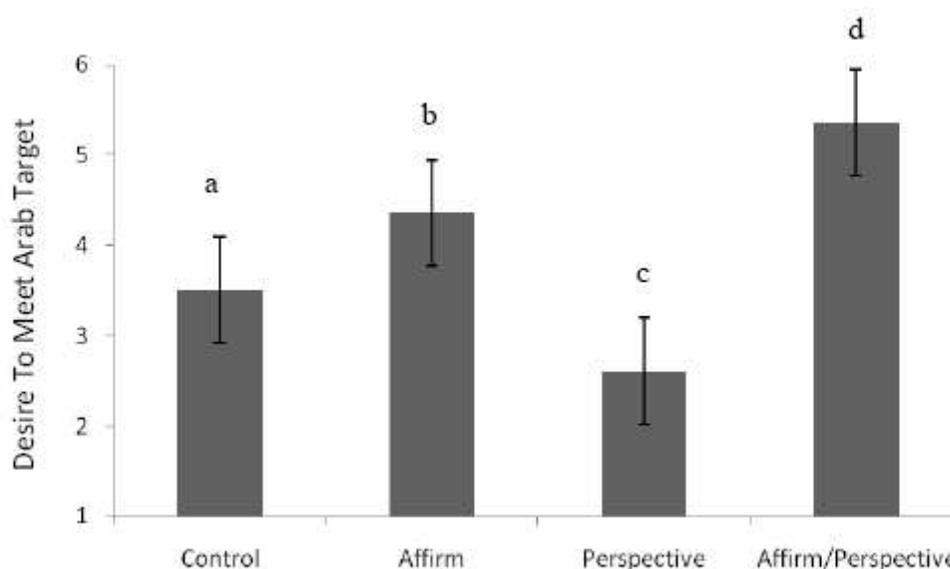


Figure 3. Participants' desire to meet the Arab MySpace author in person after Experiment 3.

Prejudice toward the group. To test our prediction that use of an affirmation and perspective taking strategy by a specific target could change attitudes toward the group a 2 x 2 ANCOVA was performed on the measure of prejudice toward Arabs with initial level of prejudice entered as a covariate. Initial level of prejudice was a significant covariate, $F(1, 130) = 12.83, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$, and after controlling for initial level of prejudice, the ANCOVA revealed an affirmation x perspective taking interaction, $F(1, 130) = 3.87, p = .05, \eta^2 = .03$ (See Figure 4).⁴ In contrast with predictions, the use of an affirmation strategy alone actually increased negative attitudes toward the group

⁴ The assumption of homogeneity of variance was met and there was no interaction between initial level of prejudice and the prejudice reduction strategies, $F(1, 128) = 2.97, p = .10$.

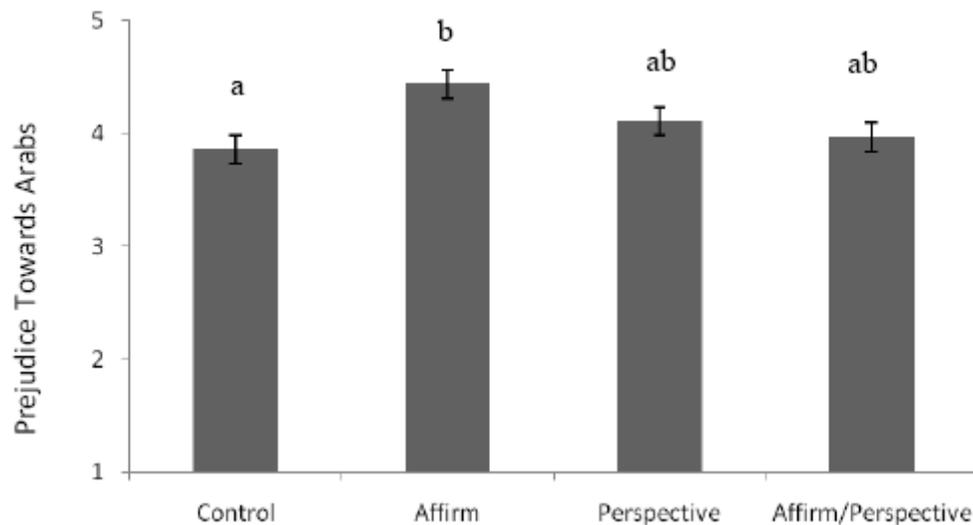


Figure 4. Participants' attitudes toward Arab Americans as a group controlling for initial level of prejudice in Experiment 3.

($M = 4.44$) compared to the when no strategy was employed ($M = 3.86$), $p = .03$. Further analysis showed that although the means were in the predicted direction when the Arab target employed a perspective taking strategy alone ($M = 4.11$) or both strategies in combination ($M = 3.97$), it did not decrease prejudice toward the group, p 's $> .08$. Thus, we did not find evidence that the combination of affirmation and perspective taking reduced prejudice toward the group.

Emotions toward Target. To test if a target employed affirmation strategy could reduce negative emotions directed at the target prior to use of a perspective taking strategy a 2 x 2 ANOVA was performed on the composite measure of target directed negative emotions. As predicted there was an affirmation x perspective taking interaction, $F(1, 131) = 14.92$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$ (See Figure 5). Simple effects revealed that

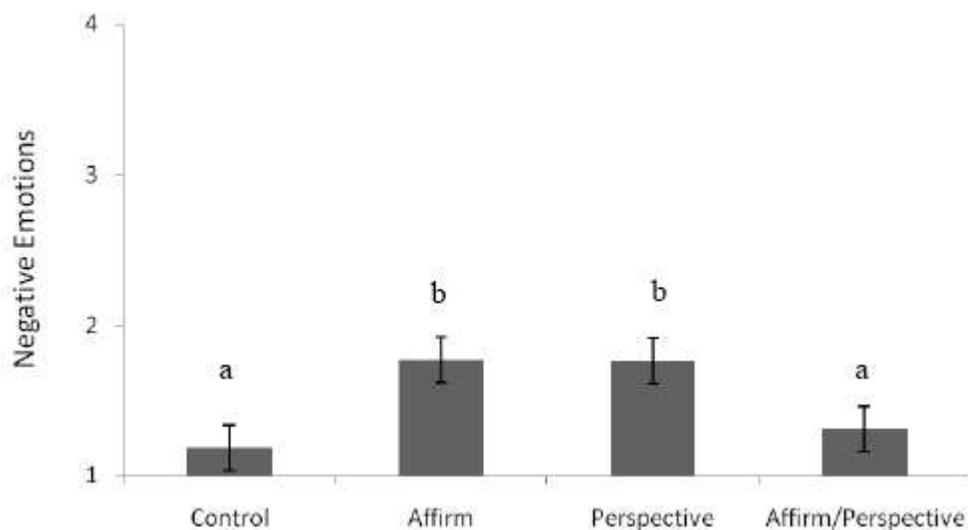


Figure 5. Self-reported negative emotions directed towards the Arab MySpace author in Experiment 3.

consistent with Study 1 when an Arab target used a perspective-taking strategy only ($M = 1.76$) participants reported stronger negative emotions toward the target compared to the control condition ($M = 1.19$), $p = .003$. Also as predicted, when the Arab target employed an affirmation strategy prior to the perspective taking ($M = 1.31$), participants reported less negative emotions toward the target compared to when the Arab target used either affirmation ($M = 1.77$), or perspective taking alone ($M = 1.76$), p 's $< .02$. However, when affirmation was initiated alone it increased negative emotions ($M = 1.77$) compared to control, $p = .003$. In sum, relative to when the target used no strategy, participants experienced increased negative emotions when targets employed affirmation or perspective taking alone, but decreased negative emotions if the target first used an affirmation strategy and then initiated a perspective taking strategy.

Another 2 x 2 ANOVA was performed on the composite measure of target directed positive emotions. Results revealed a main effect of perspective taking, $F(1, 131) = 24.17, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$, such that participants reported more positive emotions when the Arab target used perspective taking ($M = 3.77$) compared to when he did not use a perspective taking strategy ($M = 2.60$). However, there was no affirmation x perspective taking interaction on target directed positive motions, $F(1, 131) = .07, p = .79, \eta^2 = .001$. In sum, use of a perspective taking strategy also led to a positive emotional response.

Negative stereotypes. Another 2 x 2 ANOVA was conducted on the endorsement of negative stereotypes revealing a main effect of perspective taking, $F(1, 131) = 11.85, p = .001, \eta^2 = .08$, such that when exposed to a perspective taking ($M = 3.20$) strategy participants more strongly endorsed negative stereotypes about the target compared to the control ($M = 2.66$). Unexpectedly there was no affirmation x perspective taking interaction on endorsement of negative stereotypes, $F(1, 131) = 2.07, p = .14, \eta^2 = .01$. Thus, similar to experiment 2 these data suggest that the use of perspective taking led to increased stereotyping of the Arab target, but affirmation did not attenuate stereotyping of the stigmatized target.

Liking, injustice, guilt, and anxiety. Additional 2 x 2 ANOVAs were performed on all of the following measures: liking, perceived injustice, guilt, and anxiety. For liking the only significant effect was a main effect of affirmation on liking, $F(1, 131) = 5.47, p = .02$. Participants liked the Arab target more when he employed an affirmation strategy ($M = 3.88$) compared to when no affirmation strategy was present ($M = 3.42$). There were

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviations for Liking, Injustice, Guilt, and Anxiety by Prejudice Reduction Strategy in Experiment 3

Dependent Measure	Prejudice Reduction Strategy			
	Control	Affirmation	Perspective-Taking	Affirmation/Perspective-Taking
Liking	3.48 (.20)	3.88 (.20)	3.36 (.19)	3.88 (.20)
Injustice	1.92 (.95)	2.28 (1.12)	2.61 (1.74)	2.58 (1.06)
Guilt	1.27 (.87)	1.54 (.94)	2.69 (1.92)	3.00 (1.67)
Anxiety	3.73 (.97)	3.69 (.99)	4.01 (.92)	3.82 (1.04)

no other significant effects on liking. Main effects did emerge for perspective taking on perceived injustice, $F(1, 131) = 7.06, p = .009, \eta^2 = .05$, and feelings of guilt, $F(1, 131) = 34.02, p < .001, \eta^2 = .20$. As expected, participants reported increased perceptions of injustice and feelings of guilt when the target employed a perspective taking strategy ($M = 2.60, M = 2.84$) compared to when they did not ($M = 2.10, M = 1.41$). The other effects were not significant. Lastly, no effects emerged on intergroup anxiety (See Table 1 for the means for all conditions).

Mediation. Based on initial analyses target directed negative emotions appeared to be the most suitable candidate to mediate the relationship between prejudice reduction strategies and desire to meet the target. To test for mediation using the full experimental model we used the multiple regression approach specified by Baron and Kenny (1984). A

series of hierarchical regressions were conducted with affirmation and perspective taking entered on the first step and their interaction on the second step.

With respect to the first condition of mediation the interaction of affirmation and perspective taking was a significant predictor of participants desire to meet the target, $\beta = .39$, $t(131) = 2.99$, $p = .003$. In line with the second condition of mediation the affirmation x taking interaction also significantly predicted negative emotions, $\beta = -.55$, $t(131) = -3.86$, $p < .001$. Supportive of the third step towards mediation negative emotions, $\beta = -.19$, $t(130) = -2.46$, $p = .01$ significantly predicted participant's desire to meet the Arab target with the interaction variable included in the model. Additionally, the relationship between the affirmation x perspective taking interaction and desire to meet the target was weaker (although still significant) when negative emotions toward the target were included in the model, $\beta = .28$, $t(130) = 2.10$, $p = .03$, (Sobel = 2.07, $p = .04$). Therefore, mediational analysis of the full design revealed that negative emotions directed at the target partially mediated the relationship between the interaction of affirmation and perspective taking and interest in meeting the Arab target (See Figure 6).

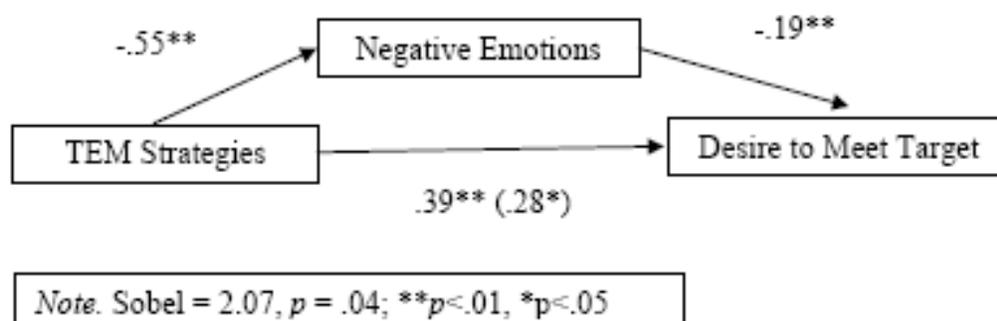


Figure 6. Negative emotions toward the target mediate the relationship between TEM strategies and desire to meet the target

In further analysis we tested the specific meditational predictions stemming from the TEM. First, it was predicted that participants' decreased interest in meeting the target when exposed to perspective taking was due to an increase in threat, which may be reflected in negative emotions directed at the target. As expected and already reported above, the comparison between the control condition and the use of perspective taking alone was negatively related to participants desire to meet the Arab target, $\beta = -.22$, $t(131) = -2.03$, $p < .05$ and positively related to target directed negative emotions, $\beta = .35$, $t(131) = 3.06$, $p = .003$. Supportive of mediation, the relationship between this comparison and desire to meet the target was significantly reduced when negative emotions towards the target were included in the analysis, $\beta = -.15$, $t(130) = -1.36$, $p > .1$, (Sobel = -1.92, $p = .05$). Therefore, this analysis provides support for the TEM prediction that when targets implement a confrontational perspective taking strategy it threatens highly prejudiced individuals and therefore increases biased behavioral intentions.

Additionally, the TEM predicts that the use of an affirmation strategy prior to implementation of perspective taking should increase participants desire to meet the Arab target by reducing their perceptions of threat. In line with predictions and the analyses above, when compared to perspective taking alone, the use of affirmation in combination with perspective taking was positively related to participants desire to meet the Arab target, $\beta = .66$, $t(131) = 6.18$, $p < .001$ and negatively related to target directed negative emotions, $\beta = -.28$, $t(131) = -2.41$, $p = .02$. Additionally, negative emotions predicted participants desire to meet the Arab target with the difference between the two TEM strategies included in the model, $\beta = -.19$, $t(130) = -2.46$, $p = .01$. Inconsistent with

predictions however, the relationship between the effect of the combined TEM strategies and the desire to meet the target was not reduced by controlling for negative emotions, $\beta = .60$, $t(130) = 5.65$, $p < .001$, (Sobel = 1.72, $p = .08$). This indicates that although a relationship does exist between the measures, it does not appear the use of an affirmation in combination with perspective taking increased participants' desire to meet the Arab target by reducing intergroup threat, at least, as measured by feelings of negative emotion (See Table 2 for correlations between measures).

Table 2
Correlations for Dependent Variables in Experiment 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Negative Emotions	1	.49**	-.25**	.54**	-.02	.34**	-.23**	.29**
Negative Stereotypes		1	-.26*	.52**	.11	.44**	-.36**	.17*
Liking			1	-.13	.17*	-.31**	.42**	-.11
Injustice				1	.19*	.32**	-.10	.23**
Guilt					1	-.02	-.002	-.01
Anxiety						1	-.30**	.20*
Meet Target							1	-.15
Prejudice toward Arabs								1

Note. * $p < .05$ and ** $p < .01$

Discussion

Results from experiment 3 show that as predicted, when an Arab MySpace author employed a confrontational perspective taking strategy by itself, highly prejudiced participants reported less interest in meeting the target, increased negative emotions toward the target, and increased stereotyping. However, if the Arab target initiated an affirmation strategy prior to confronting with the perspective taking strategy, highly prejudiced individuals reported more interest in meeting the target and less negative emotions directed toward the target. Moreover, using a combination of both strategies actually led to increased interest in meeting the target above the use of an affirmation strategy by itself. By demonstrating the effectiveness of an affirmation related to creativity, these data also refute the alternative explanation that affirming perceivers on fairness (Experiment 2) actually primed justice norms rather than activating affirmation processes. Also worth noting, is that using the affirmation strategy prior to a perspective taking did not create backlash towards Arabs as group. Therefore stigmatized targets do not have to feel that by implementing a set of strategies to change prejudiced individuals behaviors towards them as individuals will negatively impact their group.

Importantly, the data from Experiment 3 also extend the previous findings by showing that the use of different TEM strategies caused changes in negative feelings toward the Arab target. Specifically, whereas perspective taking used alone increased negative affect toward the target, asking self-affirming questions before insisting on perspective taking reduced high prejudiced perceivers' negative feelings toward the stigmatized target. However, inconsistent with predictions, when the target asked

affirming questions alone, participants reported increased negative affect toward him, despite also reporting more desire to meet him. This unexpected finding could suggest that asking affirming questions of highly prejudiced participants exacerbated perceptions of intergroup threat.

In my view, the bulk of the data do not support this explanation. Instead, I believe that in the affirmation only condition participants had an unanticipated negative reaction to the control statement in which the target vehemently complained about the food at the University of Arizona. By asking perceivers about a time when they were creative, and then complaining about the food at the university, the target may have come off as inconsistent and condescending, i.e., as endorsing creativity and then being rigid about food preferences. The inconsistency may have then disrupted the self-reflective process necessary for self-affirmation to be successful. As a result the affirmation was not able to attenuate perceivers' negative response to the targets inconsistency. This explanation is consistent with past research on self-affirmation showing that if something interferes with the affirmation process, it will not reduce the psychological discomfort associated with dissonance. Specifically, Galinsky and colleagues (2000) found that when participants' attempts to self-affirm were thwarted by negative feedback from the experimenter, they experienced the same amount of psychological discomfort and need to justify a discrepant act, as participants who were not given the opportunity to self-affirm.

It seems possible that in the affirmation-only condition of the current experiment, participants who viewed the Arab target as inconsistent were initially angered and therefore did not complete the affirmation process. Further examination of the

relationship between negative emotions and participants' desire to meet the target within the affirmation-only condition also supports our reasoning. Specifically, a mediational analysis revealed that whereas the use of an affirmation strategy by itself predicted participants desire to meet the Arab target, $\beta = .20$, $t(131) = 1.87$, $p = .05$ compared to the control condition, the inclusion of negative emotions toward the target in the equation did not significantly reduce the relationship, $\beta = .27$, $t(130) = 2.47$, $p = .01$. This indicates that the increase in negative emotion following affirmation was unrelated to the positive effect of affirmation on the desire to meet the target.

In light of this finding, disruption seems like the best explanation for the affirmation-only condition because, even though it enhanced negative affect relative to the control condition, the data show that it did function to reduce bias in other ways. Specifically, the affirmation question led to greater liking of the target and a reduction in biased behavioral intentions. Other possibilities seem less consistent with the overall pattern of data. For example, if the initial inconsistency in the Arab target led to a person perception effect, such that participants formed a negative impression of him, we may have seen more negative responses across all the measures, which was not the case. Lastly, if the negative affect in the affirmation-only condition occurred because the affirmation manipulation was not impactful enough, it likely would not have reduced bias when paired with the perspective taking strategy. Overall, it appears that the affirmation-only condition inadvertently provided information that prevented the affirming questions from fully reducing threat. Importantly, perceptions of inconsistency were not present in the combination condition where the target asked about creativity and then used the

perspective taking strategy. So while in general these findings do suggest some important limitations to the use of affirmation for reducing bias, in my view, this does not show that affirmation is generally ineffective for reducing perceptions of threat.⁵

Also, although liking, guilt, injustice, and anxiety did not serve as mediators of the relationship between TEM strategy and interest in meeting the target they still provide useful information. The effects of affirmation on liking provide some support that inducing an affirmation strategy reduces threat allowing prejudiced perceivers to form a more objective impression of the target. Additionally, the effect of perspective on guilt and injustice show the effectiveness of the manipulation. In line with expectations, when the Arab MySpace author asks participants to take their perspective those individuals perceive more injustice and feel increased guilt. The results of the measure of intergroup anxiety are a bit more ambiguous because of the null effect. However, it doesn't seem to be a floor effect problem just that the measure is not conceptually tapping into the type of anxiety or threat that the participants are feeling while reading the MySpace page of a disliked target. This type of measure may be more beneficial in the context of measuring anxiety before an actual interaction with a disliked outgroup member.

Lastly, one alternative explanation to the current findings is that rather than inducing affirmation, asking participants questions about their creativity may have induced positive affect which promoted more careful processing. However, I do not

⁵ Additionally, further analysis using Levene's test of equality of variance also revealed that the measure of negative emotions violated the assumption of homogeneity of error variance, $F(3, 131) = 13.19, p < .001$. Providing some evidence that the present measure of negative emotions may be somewhat flawed and a poor indicator of perceptions of threat.

believe this explanation can account for these data. Specifically, if priming creativity promoted more carefully processing rather than reducing threat (through affirmation), highly prejudiced participants should have responded with more bias. Highly prejudiced individuals feel threatened by the prospect of taking the perspective of a disliked outgroup member. If asking questions related to creativity was not affirming then participants should have responded to targets with the same degree as bias across measures as when targets employed perspective taking alone.

Chapter 5

General Discussion

These three experiments show that with the right combination of strategies targets can effectively reduce the likelihood that prejudiced individuals will behave using the lens of their biases. The findings from these studies also uniquely demonstrate that a well-established prejudice reduction strategy that can be effective when employed by third party can have negative consequences if employed by a stigmatized target. However, if targets first reduce the feelings of threat created by the interaction, then they can successfully use more explicit strategies as effectively as a neutral third party. By viewing stigmatized individuals as active participants rather than passive targets of bias, this body of research begins to fill a large gap in the prejudice reduction literature.

The Target Empowerment Model of prejudice reduction

Most other lines of work that examine how targets deal with their personal experiences with prejudice focus primarily on confrontation as means for them to reduce bias (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Although this research is informative as to the cost and benefits of directly confronting bias when it happens, it overlooks the fact that most stigmatized targets actually try to avoid blatant confrontations when interacting with a prejudiced perceiver (Swim & Hyers, 1999; Whitehead et al 2010). The TEM offers a unique approach to integrate the prejudice reduction and persuasion literatures to understand how targets themselves can successfully employ a set of prejudice reduction strategies when interacting with someone who may or may not be prejudiced.

The current research supports two main postulates of the TEM. Firstly that stigmatized targets will be less effective than non-stigmatized sources when they use prejudice reduction strategies that challenge world view beliefs and thereby are threatening. Specifically, in all three experiments when targets used a perspective strategy by itself it engendered backlash in the form of decreased preference for meeting the target and increased negative emotions toward the target. The current work also provides initial support for the second tenet of TEM, that targets can effectively use explicit strategies that challenge perceivers if they first employ a strategy that reduces perceivers' feelings of threat. Specifically, two experiments provide evidence that if targets employ an affirmation strategy in combination with perspective taking it successfully reduces biased behavior and negative emotions toward the target.

To our knowledge, this is the first research investigating any effect of perspective taking on highly prejudiced individuals. Our data suggest that the reduction of stereotyping seen in previous work using perspective taking was only effective for low prejudiced individuals. Because highly prejudiced individuals see themselves as extremely dissimilar from a stigmatized target it may be necessary to provide them with specific information countering stereotypes to change their beliefs about a target. Another explanation is that the lack of attenuation of negative stereotyping may be due to the fact that affirmation only influences general affective responses rather than cognitive beliefs about a group. However, previous research on the TEM has demonstrated a reduction in stereotyping when a stigmatized target implements an affirmation strategy (Stone, et al., 2010). There are some notable differences between the previous research investigating

target employed affirmation and the current experiments. Firstly, Stone and colleagues (2010) showed an overall reduction in stereotyping of a gay target (Study 1) and a female target (Study 2) across two experiments, and in both cases the content of the stereotypes was positive. In contrast the current experiments measured stereotypes about Arab Americans that were all had a negative valence. It may be that people are less likely to readily let go of negatively stereotypes related to danger and fear that may be adaptive to survival. Along similar lines, stereotypes of gays and women are unrelated to personal safety, making them less resistant to change, whereas stereotypes of Arab Americans generally revolve around them as irrational and dangerous, which may be more resistant to change. An important direction for future research is to examine the valence and strength of stereotyped beliefs as potential mediators of how highly biased individuals respond to a TEM strategy.

Limitations

These results shed light onto the means by which targets might themselves act to avoid or reduce prejudice in their daily experience. However, these studies are not without limitations and the need for more research. One limitation of all three experiments is that though the paradigm was created to be impactful participants did not participate in an actual interaction with the stigmatized target making it a lower threat situation. If the TEM is accurate a combination of a threat reduction strategy and a more explicit strategy that challenges perceivers should be effective even in a higher threat situation such as a one on one interaction between a perceiver and a disliked stigmatized

target. Nevertheless, it is important to understand through future research if these strategies would remain effective in a higher threat situation.

Another limitation of the current work is that it does not provide conclusive evidence for our assumption that a self-affirmation functions as a prejudice reduction strategy by reducing perceptions of threat. However, we do provide some initial evidence that targets can use affirmation in combination with perspective taking to reduce the negative emotions that stem from the implementation of a strategy that challenges highly prejudiced perceivers. One possibility is that to fully understand the mechanism behind affirmation it is necessary to assess threat using a more direct measure such as physiological markers or implicit perceptions of intergroup threat rather than using self-reported negative emotions as a proxy for threat. In a recent study looking at implicit responses to threatening health information van Koningsbruggen and colleagues (2009) found that a self-affirmation actually increased accessibility to threat-related health words demonstrating that the self-affirmation decreased biased processing of the threatening information. This approach may be applicable to research on prejudice reduction by showing that a self-affirmation reduces perceptions of threat thereby allowing targets to focus on characteristics of the target or group that they would normally find threatening. Alternatively, it may be possible that there is a different or additional mechanism through which self-affirmation is able to impact behavioral intentions. For example, affirmation may increase overall liking of the target, which would then lead to increases in positive behavior toward the target. Or perhaps target employed affirmation induces more careful and objective processing allowing perceivers to pay closer attention to individual

characteristics of the target rather than relying on group membership to make judgments (Correll et al., 2004). This could in fact increase negative emotions for some but decrease it for others, which would render self-reports of negative affect useless for mediation. However, threat reduction still remains a viable mechanism through which affirmation may function. In sum, additional research is imperative to understand the mechanisms through which affirmation can reduce prejudice and more direct measures of threat will be necessary.

A related concern is that because this work does not provide strong evidence that the use of affirmation in combination with perspective taking functions by reducing threat, an alternative explanation may be that highly prejudiced participants only show increased interest in meeting the target so that they will have the opportunity to ‘tell them off.’ However, this explanation seems implausible when taking into account some of the additional data. For example, in experiment 3 highly prejudiced participants report greater liking of the Arab target when exposed to an affirmation strategy. This is in line with current assumption that use of an affirmation strategy should reduce bias, leading to greater interest in meeting the target. Additionally, compared to when the target uses perspective taking alone the use of affirmation in combination with perspective taking actually lead to less negative emotions. If participants’ motivation to meet the Arab target was malicious we should see an increase in target negative emotions. Finally, if interest in meeting the Arab target is driven by a desire to derogate him then participants should show the greatest interest when the target induces the most negative emotions and

endorsement of negative stereotypes. The pattern of data in the perspective taking only condition shows the opposite across three experiments.

Lastly, a related concern is that the current work also points to a limitation of affirmation as a prejudice reduction strategy. These experiments seem to indicate that it is imperative that perceivers actually engage in and complete the manipulation of affirmation to activate the process. As suggested by the results of Experiment 1, in the context of having a disliked outgroup member initiate affirmation it is not effective to solely prime important traits or values that are self-descriptive. Future research is needed to investigate if the activation of self-affirmation processes is similar to that of goal completion processes.

Future Directions

Along with correcting addressing the current works limitations, there are many interesting future directions for this line of research. For example, one area of the TEM that would benefit from further research is testing other strategy combinations that targets may be able implement effectively. Specifically, could a common identity strategy be used to increase perceptions of similarity among a prejudiced perceiver and target thereby allowing for the use of a perspective taking strategy? Would affirmation be able to reduce feeling of threat in perceivers to allow for successful implementation of a discrepancy or hypocrisy strategy? In theory when used in concert these strategies should reduce bias, but empirical evidence is needed.

Finally, another important direction is to examine the effect of carrying out these bias reduction strategies on stigmatized targets. Little research has investigated if

attempting to reduce a perceiver's biases has any consequences for targets' self-perceptions or self-esteem. One recent study on intergroup contact demonstrated that interracial interactions can actually have a negative effect for African American targets (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, 2005). Shelton and colleagues (2005) found that African Americans who expected to be the targets of prejudice showed more negative affect, liked their partner less, and felt inauthentic during an interethnic interaction with a White confederate, even though the individuation strategies they employed were effective at changing their partner's attitudes about them. Therefore it is important to understand which strategies can be used to effectively reduce bias without negatively affecting target's self-perceptions.

Conclusions

Given the negative outcomes that stigmatized group members endure as a result of other people's biases, we believe it would be useful for targets to have at their disposal strategies capable of reducing the use of negative attitudes or stereotypes to form an impression of them. This is not to suggest that stigmatized individuals should have to learn to defend themselves from prejudice; targets are not responsible for the biases directed toward them and their group. Nevertheless, like self-defense classes, negotiation training, and other workshops on how to be influential, giving targets an active role in the way they are evaluated provides them with the means to overcome the structural barriers that may impede their advancement. Overall, the present research has the potential to not only help to better understand the processes by which targets can successfully induce prejudice reduction, but it may also eventually translate into applied solutions for people

facing real and costly acts of discrimination. Providing Arab Americans and other stigmatized group members with practical strategies to combat bias may help to reduce important interpersonal barriers to their success.

APPENDIX A

*Experiment 1: TEM Strategy Manipulation Materials***No Strategy Control***Who I'd Like to Meet*

Tell me about yourself by answering the questions below:

What kind of food do you like?

What is your regular routine?

How long have you been using MySpace?

Soap Box of the Day

One aspect that I really dislike about the University of Arizona is the food. The food at the union is expensive and unhealthy. There is nowhere on campus that you can find reasonably priced, healthy meals. Most universities have several different dining halls with a variety of meal options.

Perspective Taking Condition*Who I'd Like to Meet*

Tell me about yourself by answering the questions below:

What kind of food do you like?

What is your regular routine?

How long have you been using MySpace?

Soap Box of the Day

People need to stop and think about what it is like to be an Arab American today. Ever since 9/11 we are constantly paying for the crimes of people we never knew. Put yourself in my shoes and think about what it is like to deal with skepticism and hatred on a daily basis.

Affirmation & Perspective Taking Condition*Who I'd Like to Meet*

These are values and traits that I find important in other people. If you rank these, which one is the MOST important to you?

Sense of humor

Relations with family/friends

Social skills

Music ability

Creativity

Romantic values

Think of a time in your life when this trait or value was uniquely important to you.

Soap Box of the Day

Same as in the perspective taking only condition (See above).

APPENDIX B

*Experiment 2: TEM Strategy Manipulation Materials***Control Condition***What's Your Style?*

What you write says a lot about you:

1. How did someone **ignore you** this week?
2. How did you **ignore** someone this week?

Soap Box of the Day

One aspect that I really dislike about the University of Arizona is the food. The food at the union is expensive and unhealthy. There is nowhere on campus that you can find reasonably priced, healthy meals. Most universities have several different dining halls with a variety of meal options.

Perspective Taking Condition*What's Your Style?*

How you answer the following questions says a lot about you:

1. How did someone **ignore you** this week?
2. How did you **ignore** someone this week?

Soap Box of the Day

People need to stop and think about what it is like to be an Arab American today. Ever since 9/11 we are constantly paying for the crimes of people we never knew. Put yourself in my shoes and think about what it is like to deal with skepticism and hatred on a daily basis.

Affirmation & Perspective Taking Condition*What's Your Style?*

How you answer the following questions says a lot about you:

1. How did someone **treat you fairly** this week?
2. How did **you treat someone fairly** this week?

Soap Box of the Day

Same as the perspective taking only condition (See above).

APPENDIX C

*Experiment 3: TEM Strategy Manipulation Materials***Control Condition***What's Your Style?*

What you write says a lot about you:

When were you really **bored**? How?*Soap Box of the Day*

One aspect that I really dislike about the University of Arizona is the food. The food at the union is expensive and unhealthy. There is nowhere on campus that you can find reasonably priced, healthy meals. Most universities have several different dining halls with a variety of meal options.

Affirmation Condition*What's Your Style?*

What you write says a lot about you:

When were you really **creative**? How?*Soap Box of the Day*

One aspect that I really dislike about the University of Arizona is the food. The food at the union is expensive and unhealthy. There is nowhere on campus that you can find reasonably priced, healthy meals. Most universities have several different dining halls with a variety of meal options.

Perspective Taking Condition*What's Your Style?*

How you answer the following questions says a lot about you:

When were you really **bored**? How?*Soap Box of the Day*

People need to stop and think about what it is like to be an Arab American today. Ever since 9/11 we are constantly paying for the crimes of people we never knew. Put yourself in my shoes and think about what it is like to deal with skepticism and hatred on a daily basis.

Affirmation & Perspective Taking Condition*What's Your Style?*

How you answer the following questions says a lot about you:

When were you really **creative**? How?*Soap Box of the Day*

Same as the perspective taking only condition (See above).

APPENDIX D

Self-report Measure of Prejudice towards Arab Americans

1. Arab immigrants and visitors to the United States should undergo more extensive background checks compared to those who come to the United States from other countries.
2. Because of the potential risk to national security, it's understandable that extra security precautions need to be taken with Arab Americans.
3. Arab Americans and other Americans can never be really comfortable with each other, even if they are close friends.
4. Politicians who focus on civil liberties care too much about Arab Americans people and not enough about concerns of other American.
5. I would not mind if a suitably qualified Arab American was appointed as my boss.
6. Arab Americans should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
7. Because Arab Americans differ from many other Americans in the way they dress, behave, and talk, it's understandable that Americans would be somewhat suspicious of them.
8. Arab Americans teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful in the United States.

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