

THE ELEPHANT IN THE ROOM: USING HUMOR TO ACKNOWLEDGE ONE'S  
STIGMATIZED IDENTITY AND REDUCE PREJUDICE

by

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2013

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA  
GRADUATE COLLEGE

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee members, Matthias Mehl and Jeff Greenberg. The completion of my graduate studies would not have been possible without their support and guidance. Special thanks are reserved for my advisor Jeff Stone who was instrumental in my academic development throughout my graduate training. Lastly, deep thanks to my partner, Joshua, my family, and my friends – thank you for your endless support, encouragement, and humor.

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## ABSTRACT

The Target Empowerment Model (TEM; Stone, Whitehead, Schmader, & Focella, 2011) advocates that targets can be strong sources of prejudice reduction if they implement a combination of strategies designed to reduce threat and encourage the perceiver to more actively process information about the target and his or her group. Solely using blatant strategies (those that require the perceiver to explicitly process the target's persuasive message) can create backlash against the target (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). In contrast, subtle strategies, (strategies that do not call attention to the perceiver's bias), such as asking self-affirming questions (Steele, 1988), can be more effective in creating a smooth interaction but might only provide the target with a brief respite from bias. Following the logic of the TEM, humor may allow stigmatized targets to subtly address their group membership, put perceivers at ease, and reduce the bias that may be directed against them. This research examines how a target of prejudice can successfully reduce bias directed against him when he uses humor to acknowledge his, potentially threatening, group membership. Using a getting-acquainted task, three experiments tested the hypothesis that using humor that acknowledges the target's stigmatized group membership would put perceivers at ease, thereby increasing liking for the target. Experiment 1 showed that following a getting-acquainted exercise, highly prejudiced perceivers reported significantly greater liking for an Arab American target whose humor also acknowledged stereotypes of his group, compared to a target who told a joke that did not include his ethnic background, and compared to a target who did not use humor at all. Experiment 2 conceptually replicated Experiment 1 and revealed that the effectiveness of

the ethnicity-related joke was mediated by how much the joke put highly prejudiced perceivers at ease. Experiment 3 conceptually replicated Experiments 1 and 2 and provided evidence that, unlike disparagement humor, which denigrates the outgroup, humor that acknowledges the target's outgroup membership increases liking toward the target without increasing prejudice toward the group. Taken together, these studies show that using humor that acknowledges the target's stigmatized group membership puts perceivers at ease, thereby increasing liking for the outgroup target.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

During one of my early campaigns I began to open speeches with a line that became kind of a signature. “My Name is Harvey Milk and I want to recruit you.” If I was speaking to a slightly hostile audience, or a mostly straight one, I might break the tension with a joke. “I know, I'm not what you expected, but I left my high heels at home.” – Harvey Milk

As the first openly gay man to be elected to public office in the U.S. state of California, Harvey Milk developed a set of strategies for getting his political message to his constituents, many of whom did not share his sexual orientation, and some of whom were highly prejudiced against it. In the above quotation, Milk shares one strategy for appealing to such an audience: “...I might break the tension with a joke. I know I’m not what you expected, but I left my high heels at home.” While there are numerous ways to interpret this quip, two aspects of the statement involves: 1) Milk’s candid acknowledgment of stereotypes of his group (i.e., gay men wearing high heels) and 2) his use of humor to express this acknowledgment. The present research examines how acknowledging one’s outgroup membership with humor may be used as a bias-reduction strategy and examines the possibility that acknowledging one’s outgroup membership with humor, over humor alone, or not using a strategy at all, works to reduce prejudice.

### **The Stress of Interracial Interactions**

Research in social psychology has shown that interactions between members of different social groups are stressful (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Richeson & Shelton, 2007). This may include interactions between members of different ethnic, racial, or religious groups, as well as between men and women, heavyweight persons and non-heavyweight persons, and interactions between the physically disabled and those without apparent physical disability. A great deal of this research has examined interactions between Whites and Blacks and has revealed that these interactions are taxing for both the minority group member and for the White interaction partner. Not surprisingly, the stress of the interaction is rooted in different concerns for majority and minority group members (Trawalter & Richeson, 2008). Members of the dominant group are strained during interracial interactions for a variety of reasons, including concern about appearing prejudiced to the interaction partner, as well as exhibiting their prejudice toward potential outside observers who may chastise or condemn them for their biased behavior. In addition, there might be an added concern on the part of majority group members that they will offend their minority interaction partner, which may result in being confronted for any missteps in their behavior or speech that would indicate bias. Research also suggests that in addition to avoiding the appearance of prejudice toward others, people will attempt to suppress prejudice in order to maintain a non-prejudiced self-concept (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003).

The concerns involved in interracial interactions, including the anxiety produced over appearing prejudiced to one's interaction partner, outside observers, and even one's

self, cause psychological and physical tension and strain. Specifically, research documents that interracial interactions cause measurable physiological signs of stress (Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009). Trawalter, Adam, Chase-Lansdale, & Richeson, (2012) provide evidence that concerns about appearing prejudiced cause stress for majority group members and may persist over time. Further, the concerns over managing interracial interactions, and attempting to control one's behavior, speech, and even thoughts, takes regulatory control (Monteith, 1993). This tax on self-regulation as a result of interracial interactions has been shown to deplete executive functioning (Richeson, Baird, Gordon, Heatherton, Wyland, Trawalter, & Shelton, 2003; Richeson, J. A., & Shelton, J., 2003; Trawalter, & Richeson, 2006) and cognitive resources (Richeson, & Trawalter, 2005).

Considering the tension involved in interracial interactions and the self-regulation required when engaged in them, it is not surprising that people, including the highly prejudiced, may choose to avoid interracial interactions entirely. Richeson and Trawalter (2008) find that people can be so concerned over appearing prejudice that they will bias their attention in order to evade the potentiality of appearing prejudiced. Further, research finds that without a clear script for how to behave in the interaction, the interaction partners feel uncomfortable (Avery, Richeson, Hebl, & Ambady, 2009).

The stress engendered by an interracial interaction could be especially problematic for the targets of prejudice when interacting with a highly prejudiced person since that perceiver is already predisposed to disliking them. Perhaps there is something that a target could do to facilitate a smooth social interaction and improve highly biased

perceivers' attitudes toward him or her. By managing this stressful social interaction, targets may be able to reduce tension as well as the bias that might be directed against them by a prejudiced perceiver.

### **The Target Empowerment Model**

The Target Empowerment Model (TEM) provides a theoretical perspective to address how targets of prejudice might be able to reduce bias against themselves and their group (Stone, Whitehead, Schmader, & Focella, 2011; Schmader, Croft, Whitehead, & Stone, 2013). The TEM advocates that targets can be strong sources of prejudice reduction if they implement a combination of strategies designed to reduce threat, and encourage the perceiver to more actively process information about the target and his or her group. Solely using blatant strategies (i.e., those that require the perceiver to explicitly process the target's persuasive message), such as directly confronting the perceiver, have been shown in the literature to carry potential for backlash against the target (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006). The TEM acknowledges that stigmatized targets are of low source-credibility when trying to persuade a highly biased perceiver; highly biased perceivers are already predisposed to dislike the target and less likely to find him or her a credible source of information. Therefore, a direct strategy might not be processed by a highly biased target, and simply engender backlash, carrying with it serious negative consequences for the target.

In contrast, subtle strategies, (e.g., strategies that do not call attention to the perceiver's bias), such as asking self-affirming questions (Steele, 1988; Sherman & Cohen, 2006; Cohen, Aronson, & Steele, 2000; Schmeichel & Martens, 2005), can be

more effective in creating a smooth interaction between the biased perceiver and the target. Solely using a subtle strategy, however, might only provide the target with a brief respite from bias, and it might not change the perceiver's perceptions of the stigmatized group as a whole. The TEM argues that stigmatized targets may reduce prejudice by using a subtle threat reduction strategy before employing a blatant strategy that would otherwise be threatening or require more active processing. By using a subtle strategy first, threat is reduced, and biased perceivers can more efficiently process the information provided by the blatant strategy (Stone, Whitehead, Schmader & Focella, 2011).

Following the logic of the TEM, humor may have the potential to allow stigmatized targets to subtly address their group membership, bring perceivers into a mindset in which they are at ease, and reduce the bias that may be directed against them by a prejudiced perceiver.

### **The Impact of Humor on Prejudice**

A great deal of social psychological literature has provided evidence of the potentially deleterious effects of humor on stigmatized persons. One of the most well known types of humor that carries negative consequences is disparagement humor (Zillmann, 1983; Ferguson & Ford, 2008). Disparagement humor consists of humor that serves to criticize and target members of particular social groups, typically women and stigmatized minorities. Research has documented the ubiquitous nature of disparagement humor. For example, Boxer and Ford (2010) document sexist humor in the workplace and the ways in which it functions as a form of harassment against women. This is especially concerning given that literature has pointed to particularly harmful effects

including the potential for a racist or sexist joke to cause those who overhear it to be more likely to accept discrimination against a member of the outgroup. For example, Ford (2000) found that exposure to sexist humor made men more likely to tolerate sexist events. Further, Ford, Wentzel, and Lorion, (2001) found that exposure to sexist humor caused participants to be more tolerant of discrimination against a woman, and that this effect was mediated by participants' perceptions of normative tolerance of sexism. Ryan and Kanjorski (1998) found that men who were exposed to sexist humor and found it amusing later reported greater tolerance of rape myths and violence against women.

Furthermore, research indicates that in addition to increasing tolerance of discrimination, disparagement humor may increase the very expression of bias among those who are exposed to the joke. Specifically, in a series of studies Ford, Boxer, Armstrong, and Edel (2008) found that sexist humor can cause those high in hostile sexism to engage in discrimination themselves. Ford and colleagues (2008) found that hostile sexism predicted the amount of money men were willing to donate to a women's organization after exposure to a sexist joke. Specifically, after exposure to sexist (compared to non-sexist) comedy skits, hostile sexism predicted the amount of money that men chose to cut from the budget of a women's organization, and these effects were mediated by the perceived norm of approval for the cutting of funding to women's organizations.

Ford and Ferguson (2004) posit that disparagement humor serves to increase the tolerance and expression of bias toward marginalized groups by creating an atmosphere in which prejudice is normative. Presumably, those who are higher in bias do not express

their negative attitudes when they believe the norm is to behave in egalitarian ways. Disparagement humor however, puts people in, what Ford and Ferguson have termed, a “non-serious mindset” and gives the impression that bias will be tolerated, thereby providing those who overhear the disparaging joke the opportunity to express their own biases. Importantly, this indicates that those higher in prejudice are especially likely to express bias, or be more tolerant of bias, after exposure to disparagement humor. Since they hold bias, a norm of tolerance toward prejudice should provide them an opportunity to express it. The behavior or attitudes of those lower in prejudice, conversely, should not cause an increase in biased responding. Work by Olson, Maio, and Hogden (1999) however, suggests that while *expression* of prejudice will be affected by disparagement humor, the actual impact on underlying stereotypes and attitudes is unlikely.

This notion that disparagement humor increases expressions of bias among the highly prejudiced is evidenced in other work as well (Eyssel & Bohner, 2007). Research by Romero-Sanchez, Duran, Carretero-Dios, Megias, and Moya, (2010) for example, found that a determining factor for whether exposure to sexist humor influenced later rape proclivity was pre-existing attitudes toward the aversiveness of jokes about rape. Those who found jokes about rape to be especially aversive were less likely than those who were more accepting of rape jokes to indicate signs of rape proclivity following exposure to sexist humor. These results suggest the importance of pre-existing attitudes as a moderator for the influence of disparagement humor on discriminatory behavior.

The superiority theory of humor provides a framework with which to understand the function of disparagement humor. Superiority theory suggests that humor is

enjoyable because it allows the listeners to feel better about themselves in comparison with the targeted group or person. For something to be funny, then, it must degrade another individual or group. In line with superiority theory, work by LaFave (1972) and LaFave and Mannell (1996 [1976]) posits that disparagement humor functions to amuse perceivers by allowing them to increase their self-esteem by comparing themselves to the disparaged target. Additional work by Hodson, Rush, and MacInnis (2010) suggests processes in line with the superiority theory of humor. Hodson and colleagues (2010) suggest that using humor that targets the minority might serve to express dominance motives – the desire to be dominant over a minority group. In addition to the contribution of superiority theory to understand prejudice and humor, Freud's (1960) relief theory of humor suggests that humor is enjoyable to the extent that it allows people to express their (reprehensible) impulses in socially acceptable ways. From this perspective, disparaging jokes allow the highly biased to express their impulses in ways that will be tolerated by others (see also Attardo, 1997; Berger, 1987). More recent work by Ford, Boxer, Armstrong, and Edell (2008) provides evidence of this process by showing that sexist humor serves a prejudice-releasing function; those higher in prejudice are more likely to discriminate against women after watching sexist comedy skits, presumably because it will be tolerated.

While research shows that disparagement humor can engender negative consequences for outgroup targets, other expressions of humor might serve important functions for outgroup targets. A long history of comedians such as Jack Benny and Richard Pryor, for example, highlights the ways in which humor can be used to address

very sensitive and otherwise threatening topics of prejudice and stereotyping (see Lefcourt, 2001; Ford, Ferguson, Brooks, & Hagadone, 2004; Martin, 2004). It is not surprising that some of the strongest cultural traditions of humor have been associated with the most stigmatized and discriminated groups. Jewish humor is a notable example of how humor can be used to cope with, discuss, and criticize a variety of social issues pertaining to prejudice, discrimination, and even genocide (see Ziv & Zajdman, 1993; Telushkin, 1992; Ashkenazi, 2010). Further, humor may be employed directly to facilitate dialog about race between various group members (see Nevo, 1993). Hasenauer (1988), for example, suggested that humor be used in an educational setting to discuss bias in a relaxed and nonjudgmental atmosphere. As Harvey Milk was aware, as are a variety of minority-group comedians, including Black, Jewish, female, gay, and more recently, Muslim comedians, humor might be used to acknowledge stereotypes and prejudice while not increasing prejudice toward the group.

### **The Target's Use of Humor to Reduce Prejudice**

I propose that humor, if used to acknowledge (without disparaging) one's ethnic group, may serve to subtly address bias and perhaps even facilitate smoother social interactions between members of different ethnic groups. Especially when first getting acquainted, majority group members might be stressed when asked to form an impression of their potential outgroup interaction partner. In this case, perceivers would have to manage their attitudes and behavior and bring self-regulation concerns on line to manage the interaction. They may have the concern of whether or not to even express knowledge that the target is different from them, or pretend not to notice, and potentially worry about

what it means that they *do* notice he is an outgroup member. If they express their prejudice, or unintentionally appear prejudiced, both low and high prejudiced participants should feel a level of anxiety about how this would be perceived and what sanctions there might be for doing so. When one imagines the social mishaps of interracial interactions, albeit in a humorous context, all one has to do is bring to mind Larry David and his calamities with racial outgroup members in the popular television series, *Curb Your Enthusiasm*.

To allay these tensions and ultimately reduce prejudice that may be directed against them, targets could use a specific form of humor that addresses their, potentially threatening, outgroup membership. When the target is forthright and acknowledges that there is an obvious difference between him or her self and the perceiver, but does so with humor and levity, this should come as a relief to the perceiver. The perceiver should feel that something potentially awkward and rife with social mishaps has been addressed. By displaying an awareness and subtle understanding of how his or her outgroup membership causes tension for the perceiver, the target should be appreciated by the perceiver, and liked more as a result. Perceivers high in prejudice, whose baseline attitude toward the outgroup target were initially negative, should now appreciate the target for the attempt to acknowledge his or her outgroup membership and for managing the stressful social interaction.

In sum, a target's use of acknowledgment with humor might be an effective strategy to reduce tension and subsequently prejudice, provided that it is done in such a way that the joke is not perceived as disparaging the stigmatized group. Rather than

addressing race by using disparagement humor, which merely serves to degrade the outgroup and increase the likelihood that prejudiced perceivers will engage in bias, I propose a different style of humor – “acknowledgment humor”. Acknowledgment humor can be used to address one’s outgroup membership in a disarming and non-threatening way and increase liking for the target as a result. Acknowledgment humor should help to attenuate the anxiety that normally accompanies interracial interactions. By addressing a cognitively draining topic with levity and humor, the typical concerns associated with interracial interactions should be removed for the perceiver. As a result, perceivers should feel at ease.

For those low in prejudice, while they may feel more at ease, this should be less likely to translate to increased liking since they already have positive attitudes toward minority targets. While they too should experience tension as a result of being asked to make an impression of a minority target, this tension should not cause them to negatively evaluate the target. Given that they already have positive evaluations of the outgroup member, while tense or not, being put at ease is unlikely to significantly change their attitudes toward the target.

For those who are highly prejudiced, however, the experience of having been put at ease by the target should produce greater liking for that target. Those who are highly prejudiced toward the minority group are predisposed to disliking the minority target and their baseline attitudes toward the target should be negative. Considering their initial negative perceptions of the target, the feeling of being put at ease and the reduction in tension should change the negative attitudes, resulting in more favorability toward the

target. One possibility for why the extent to which ease mediates liking among the highly prejudiced is that perceivers believe that the target is attempting to see the situation from their point of view and manage the situation for them. By carrying the burden of this stressful interracial interaction, perceivers may appreciate the target for doing so.

Finally, humor without acknowledgment, in which the target makes a joke that does not have anything to do with his or her outgroup membership, should not have the same effect on liking for the target. While humor should put both high and low perceivers at ease, it should not increase liking for the target. Among the highly prejudiced, the use of humor without acknowledgment should not increase liking for the target because he is not addressing the aspects of his identity that are the most threatening and anxiety producing for the highly biased participant. Participants low in prejudice who are already predisposed to liking the target should express liking for him regardless of his use of strategy.

#### **An Acknowledgment Humor Model of Prejudice Reduction**

I propose that acknowledgment humor (humor that acknowledges one's outgroup membership) can increase highly prejudiced perceivers' liking for a stigmatized target. This should occur because, for highly biased perceivers, the threat of having to interact with an outgroup target should normally make them feel tense. However, when stigmatized targets use acknowledgment humor, it communicates to perceivers that they understand how others view them and that they are attempting to manage the strain of this social interaction. By having the target acknowledge the very identity that causes threat for the highly biased perceiver, this should cause those who are highly prejudiced

to feel more at ease with the target. In turn, this feeling of ease should cause highly biased perceivers to like the target more. Three studies were conducted to test the assumptions of this model.

First, Experiment 1 directly tested the hypothesis that, among the highly prejudiced, acknowledgment humor would increase liking for a stigmatized target. To do this, highly prejudiced participants were instructed to complete a getting acquainted exercise in which they were asked to form impressions of an Arab American male who either used humor to acknowledge his outgroup membership, used humor only, or did not use a strategy. We predicted that the target who used humor to acknowledge his outgroup membership and the target who used humor alone would be perceived as equally humorous, and that both the humor with acknowledgment and humor-only targets would be perceived as more humorous than a target who does not use humor. Importantly, however, we hypothesized that because the target's joke acknowledges his or her racial differences with levity, thereby putting participants at ease, highly biased perceivers would like a target who used acknowledgment humor significantly more than a target who used humor only and a target who did not use humor at all.

Experiment 2 extended the findings of Experiment 1 by investigating a mediator of these effects – the extent to which the target put the perceiver at ease. Given that interracial interactions are stressful for perceivers, we hypothesized that acknowledgment humor serves to increase liking for the target among highly biased perceivers because he puts the perceivers at ease. Further, Experiment 2 included perceivers lower in prejudice to examine whether these effects are moderated by level of prejudice. Again, we

hypothesized that highly biased perceivers would like the target who used acknowledgment humor significantly more than a target who used humor only and a target who did not use humor at all. For perceivers low in prejudice, however, we expected that they would like the target regardless of his use of a humor strategy. Further, we hypothesized that highly biased perceivers should feel more at ease when the target used acknowledgment humor and that acknowledgment humor would cause highly biased perceivers to increase liking for the target as a result of the extent to which they were put at ease.

Experiment 3 further examined how acknowledgment humor serves to put highly prejudiced perceivers at ease and increase liking for the target. I hypothesized that highly prejudiced participants feel more at ease when the outgroup target uses acknowledgment humor because it shows perceivers that the target is taking their perspective and attempting to manage the tense social situation. By addressing a topic that is normally draining and rife with tension, the acknowledgment humor target communicates to perceivers that he or she understands their perspective and is willing to carry the burden of the tense social situation. This attempt should remove the concerns associated with interracial interactions, thereby putting the highly prejudiced perceivers at ease. The extent to which highly prejudiced perceivers are put at ease, in turn, should cause them to like the target more. In sum, by using acknowledgment humor, the target communicates to perceivers that he or she is taking their perspective and carrying the burden of this stressful interracial interaction. Highly prejudiced perceivers in turn, should feel more at ease, and as a result, express greater liking for the target.

The third study also addressed the alternative hypothesis that acknowledging one's outgroup membership with humor serves to reduce bias among highly prejudiced perceivers because the target is making fun of his or her disliked group. Ford's work on disparagement humor could suggest that racially-based humor serves to increase liking for the target because it conveys a norm of disparagement toward the group, thereby making the perceiver feel comfortable. If this is the case, then we would expect that this kind of humor should make perceivers more likely to engage in discriminatory behavior against the group as a whole. To directly test this alternative explanation, the third study tested acknowledgment humor against disparagement humor. I hypothesized that whereas both should cause participants to feel more at ease and thereby increase liking toward the target, that only disparagement humor would increase discrimination toward the group, whereas acknowledgment humor would not. Therefore, the third study tested the alternative explanation in addition to further examining the process by which acknowledgment humor serves to put perceivers at ease and increase liking.

## CHAPTER 2

### EXPERIMENT 1

#### Method

##### Participants

63 participants total were run in this study. 3 participants failed to follow instructions to complete all measures and 2 participants expressed suspicion as to the hypotheses of the study and so their data were excluded prior to analyses. This left 58 participants for the following analyses. Participants were 58 (32 female, 26 male) undergraduate students at the University of Arizona. During a mass pre-test, participants completed a modified version of the *Blatant and Subtle Prejudice* scale (8 items,  $\alpha = .76$ ,  $N = 1228$ ) (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; see Appendix A) to assess their prejudice toward Arab Americans, on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*),  $M = 3.49$ ,  $SD = 1.46$ . Those who were recruited scored above the median on the scale (3.38).

##### Design

The experiment used a 3 condition (TEM Strategy: No Strategy, Humor-Only, Acknowledgment Humor) between subjects design. Dependent variables included perceptions that the target possesses negative stereotypes of Arabs, perceptions of the target's humor, and overall liking of the target.

##### Materials and Procedure

Participants were recruited for a study titled "Evaluating Class Activities" in which they were asked to evaluate a getting acquainted exercise for use in classrooms.

They were told they would be randomly assigned to read one college student profile, ostensibly created by participants in another session, and then report their impressions of the student.

**TEM Strategy Manipulation.** In the profile (see Appendix B), the target always identified himself as “Ahmad Hassan”, followed by prompts asking for demographic information of the target: sex [Male], hometown [Tucson], and three questions, ostensibly created by the researchers to which the target was to respond. The first stated: “Tell us a little about yourself.” The use of humor was varied in the target’s response to this first question. He always began with “My name is Ahmad Hassan.”

In the *No Strategy condition*, the target then continued with: “I took this profile photo while on vacation. I’m a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.”

In the *Humor-only condition*, the target continued with: “As my photo shows, I’m kind of a bum, but girls say I’m cute, and by “girls,” I mean my mom. ☺ I’m a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.”

In the *Acknowledgment Humor condition*, the target continued with: “I know, I’m not what people expect from my photo, but I left my turban at home. ☺ I’m a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.”

The second question then asked: “How do you spend your free time? Do you have any hobbies?” to which the target, regardless of condition, responded, “I love to read and spend time outdoors.” The third question then asked: “What is your favorite class at the

UofA [University of Arizona]?” To this, he always responded, “There are a few, but I took a class in Psychology recently that I enjoyed.”

### **Dependent Variables**

**Trait Ratings.** After reading the profile, participants were asked to report the extent to which they believed certain traits were descriptive of the target using a 1 (*not at all descriptive*) to 11 (*extremely descriptive*) scale. The traits of *humorous* and *funny* were included as a manipulation check of the target’s joke.<sup>1</sup> (2 items,  $\alpha = .97$ ).

The traits *irrational*, *spiteful*, *close-minded*, *untrustworthy*, *calculating*, *greedy*, *angry*, and *dangerous* were combined as a composite measure to assess the perception that the target possessed negative stereotypes associated with Muslims (see Erickson & Al-Timimi, 2001) (8 items,  $\alpha = .85$ ). The trait *offensive* was also included to ensure that participants did not find the target more offensive by virtue of his use of strategy.

**Liking for the Target.** Participants were asked a series of questions to measure how much they like the target overall, using a 1 (*not at all*) to 11 (*very much*) scale. The questions were: “how much do you like this student overall?”, “how much would you want to meet this student?”, “how much would you want to work with this student?” and “how much would you want to be friends with this student?” (4 items,  $\alpha = .91$ ). After completing these measures participants were informed that the study had concluded. They were then fully debriefed and given experimental credit for their participation.

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<sup>1</sup> The trait *witty* was included in the list, however, since it did not highly correlate with

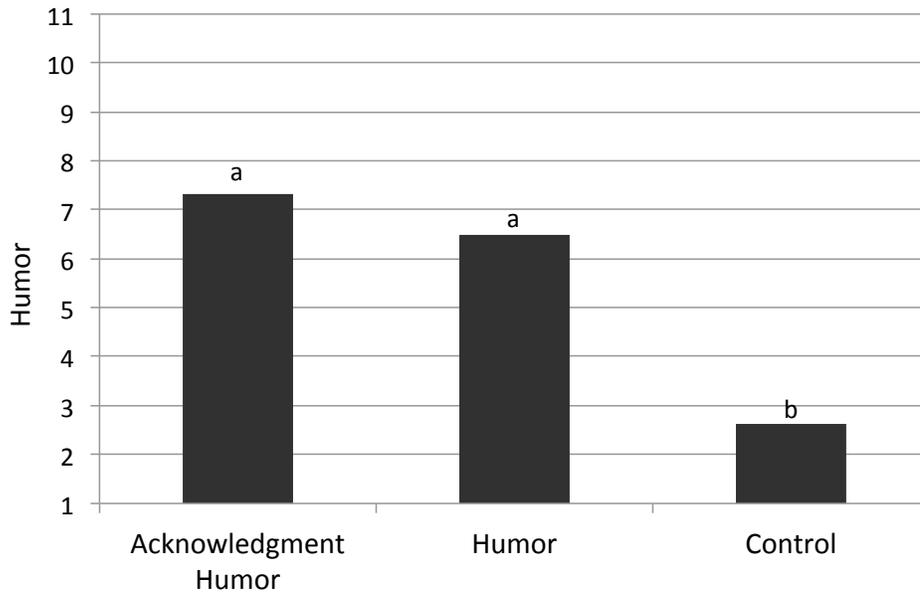


Figure 1. Manipulation check on perceptions of the target's humor in Experiment 1.

## Results

Preliminary analysis revealed no gender differences, and thus the analyses were collapsed across gender. To examine differences across conditions on all dependent variables, between subjects ANOVAs were conducted.

**Manipulation Check on the Target's Humor.** Analyses revealed a significant main effect for the use of humor  $F(2,55) = 26.84, p = .000, \eta^2_p = .49$ . As predicted, planned comparison testing the two humor conditions ( $M = 6.90$ ) against the control condition ( $M = 2.61$ ), found that when the target used a humor strategy, he was rated as significantly more humorous than when he did not use a humor strategy,  $\beta = -.27, b = -.87, SE = .42, t(56) = -2.01, p = .04$ . Further, as anticipated, there was no difference between the two humor conditions,  $\beta = -.11, b = -.43, SE = .51, t(56), p = .40$ . Therefore,

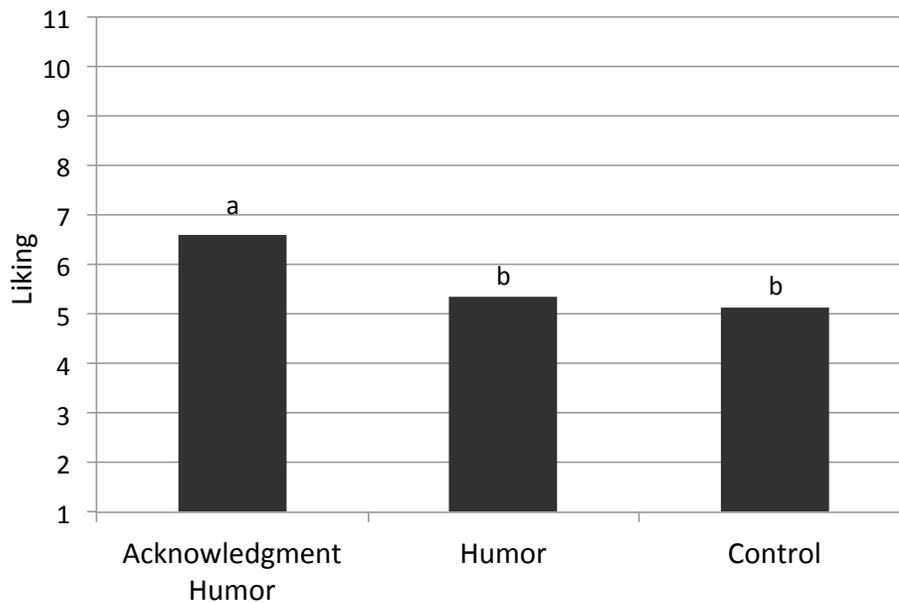


Figure 2. Participants' liking for the target in Experiment 1.

participants perceived the two targets who used a humor strategy as more humorous than the target who did not (see Figure 1).

**Liking for the Target.** Analyses revealed a significant main effect of strategy on liking,  $F(2,55) = 3.27, p = .046, \eta^2_p = .11$ . As hypothesized, planned comparisons between the acknowledgment humor target versus the average of the humor-only condition and the control targets revealed that the acknowledgment humor target ( $M = 6.61, SD = 1.67$ ) was liked significantly more than the humor-only target ( $M = 5.35, SD = 2.05$ ) and the control target ( $M = 5.14, SD = 1.81$ ),  $\beta = -.32, b = -.69, SE = .27, t(56) = 2.55, p = .01$ . Next, a planned comparison showed that liking was not different between the humor-only target ( $M = 5.35, SD = 2.05$ ) and the control target ( $M = 5.14, SD = 1.81$ )  $r, \beta = .06, b = .15, SE = .32, t(56) = .47, p = .64$ . These data support the primary prediction

that the use of acknowledgment humor is a more effective prejudice reduction strategy than using humor alone (see Figure 2).

### **Trait Ratings.**

**Negative Stereotypes.** Analyses revealed no significant effect for the use of humor on the negative stereotypes ascribed to the target,  $F(2,55) = 1.27, p = .29$ . The negative stereotypes attributed to the target were below the midpoint of the scale in the acknowledgment humor ( $M = 2.44$ ), humor-only ( $M = 2.44$ ), and control ( $M = 1.94$ ) conditions.

**Perceptions that the Target was Offensive.** To ensure that none of the targets were seen as more offensive than the others, we included the trait of “offensive”. Results show no significant main effect of condition,  $F(2,55) = 2.07, p = .14$

## **Discussion**

The results of Experiment 1 suggest that the target’s efforts at humor were not effective in increasing his likability unless he addressed his ethnic category by using acknowledgment in addition to humor. As predicted, the data show that the target who used acknowledgment humor was liked significantly more than the target who used humor alone and the control target who used no strategy. Whereas the target who used acknowledgment humor and the target who used humor only were perceived to be equally as humorous, the target who used acknowledgment humor was liked significantly more than the target who used humor without acknowledgment. Moreover, the humor-only target was not liked more than the target who did not use a strategy despite being rated as more humorous.

In Experiment 2 we attempted to extend these findings by testing for a potential mediator of the effect of acknowledgment humor on liking. Importantly, Experiment 1 found that while the target's use of acknowledgment humor did increase liking for the target, it did not cause a reduction in stereotyping. Therefore, the fact that acknowledgment humor increased liking for the target could not have been due to a reduction in the use of stereotypes and was potentially rooted in a different process. Experiment 2 tested our hypothesis that the extent to which highly biased perceivers were put at ease would mediate the effect of strategy on liking.

A second experiment also provided the opportunity to address potential limitations to Experiment 1. For one, while subjects scored above the sample median for level of prejudice, the median for our sample (3.38) was below the mid-point on the scale, suggesting that at least some participants held lower levels of bias. Experiment 2 recruited participants at all levels of the scale. In addition, while the name of the target in the given profile was "Ahmad Hassan", an Arab name successfully used in previous research to manipulate Arab ethnic identity (Stone, Whitehead, Schmader, & Focella, 2011), it is unclear as to whether participants did indeed classify the target as Arab. Experiment 2 included a manipulation check of the target's ethnic identity.

Finally, in Experiment 2 the target outgroup was changed to Muslim instead of Arab. The joke used in Experiment 1 concerns the use of a turban, which connotes religious affiliation. To properly reflect this religious meaning, we changed the group identity to Muslim in Experiment 2, which describes persons who affiliate with the religion of Islam.

## CHAPTER 3

### EXPERIMENT 2

Our model predicts that, as in Experiment 1, participants high and low in prejudice perceive the target who uses the humor-only or acknowledgment humor strategies as more humorous than the target who does not use a strategy. However, replicating Experiment 1, participants high in prejudice should like the target who uses acknowledgment humor more than the target who uses humor only and the target who does not use a strategy. Low prejudice participants, in contrast, because they are already positively predisposed toward the target, should be unaffected by the target's use of humor. Thus, interactions between level of prejudice and the strategy used by the target will be observed on the measure of liking for the target. Further, our model predicts that the effect of strategy on highly biased perceivers' increased liking for the target who uses acknowledgment humor is mediated by the extent to which perceivers feel at ease with the target. We postulate that while high and low biased perceivers may feel more at ease with the target who uses acknowledgment humor, only for highly biased perceivers should the extent to which they feel at ease with the target be responsible for their increase in liking of the target.

Thus, the main purpose of Experiment 2 was to replicate and address the limitations of Experiment 1, examine how prejudice plays a role in humor's effect on liking and investigate a potential mediator for the influence of strategy on liking – the extent to which the target makes participants feel at ease.

## Method

### Participants

127 participants total were run in this study. 5 participants failed to follow instructions to complete all measures and 3 participants expressed suspicion as to the hypotheses of the study and so their data were excluded prior to analyses. The remaining 119 participants are included in the following analyses. Participants were 119 (76 female, 43 male) undergraduate students at the University of Arizona. Participants filled out the same modified pre-test measure as in Experiment 1 to assess their prejudice toward Muslim Americans,  $M = 3.5$ ,  $SD = 1.53$ .

### Design

The experiment used a Prejudice X Condition (TEM Strategy: No Strategy, Humor-Only, Acknowledgment Humor) between subjects design, with prejudice as a continuous variable. Dependent variables included participants' perceptions of the target's humor, perceptions that the target possesses negative stereotypes of Muslims, perceptions that the target put the participants at ease, and participants' overall liking of the target.

### Materials and Procedure

As in Experiment 1, participants were recruited for a study titled "Evaluating Class Activities" and were given a student profile to read (see Appendix C) and subsequently report their impressions of the student.

**TEM Strategy Manipulation.** In his profile, the target always identified himself as "Ahmad Hassan" followed by the same demographic information of the target

provided in Experiment 1 except, in this study, the following information was added: occupation [student], religion [Muslim/Islamic], and age [20]. This demographic information was then followed by two prompts: “Tell us a little about yourself.”, then “How do you spend your free time?”. The target always began with: “My name is Ahmad Hassan.”

In the *No Strategy condition*, the target continued with: “I like meeting new people.”

In the *Humor-only condition*, the target continued with: “I’m not what people expect when they meet me – I’m kind of a bum, but girls say I’m cute, and by “girls,” I mean my mom. 😊”

In the *Acknowledgment Humor condition*, the target continued with: “I’m not what people expect when they meet me – but I leave my turban at home. 😊”

To the second question, regardless of condition, the target always responded, “I’m a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.”

### **Dependent Variables**

**Trait Ratings.** After reading the profile, participants reported the extent to which certain traits were descriptive of the target (1 = *not at all descriptive*, 11 = *extremely descriptive*). The traits, *sense-of humor*, *humorous*, *funny*, and *witty* comprised the manipulation check on the target’s humor (4 items,  $\alpha = .96$ ). The traits, *calculating*, *angry*, *close-minded*, *dangerous*, and *spiteful*, comprised the measure of negative stereotypes (5 items,  $\alpha = .77$ )

**Mediators. Ease.** Next, participants were asked about the extent to which the student put them at ease. This measure was included to assess whether the extent to which they felt at ease would mediate the effect of condition on liking. Specifically, participants were asked: “To what extent does this student put you at ease?” using a 1 (*not at all*) to 11 (*extremely*) scale.

**Guilt.** A measure of how guilty participants felt after reading the student profile was also included as a potential mediator. Participants were asked: “To what extent does this student make you feel guilty?” using a 1 (*not at all*) to 11 (*extremely*) scale.

**Liking for the Target.** Participants were then asked the same questions as in Experiment 1 designed to measure how much they liked the target, using the same 1 (*not at all*) to 11 (*very much*) scale (4 items,  $\alpha = .93$ ).

**Manipulation Check on the Target’s Ethnic Identity.** After answering these questions, participants were asked to indicate whether they thought the target possessed a series of characteristics, including whether he was Muslim (see Appendix D). After completing these measures participants were informed that the study had concluded. They were then fully debriefed and given experimental credit for their participation.

## Results

Preliminary analysis revealed no gender differences, and thus the analyses were collapsed across gender. To examine the effect of humor strategy and prejudice on perceptions of the target, these data were analyzed using hierarchical linear regression procedures. Following Aiken and West (1991), level of prejudice was centered at the mean and our categorical variable, humor strategy, was dummy-coded.

**Manipulation Check on the Target's Ethnic Identity.** All participants (100%) correctly identified the target as “Muslim”.

**Manipulation Check on the Target's Humor.** Results revealed that, as predicted, the acknowledgment humor target was seen as significantly more humorous than the no-strategy control target,  $\beta = .63$ ,  $b = 3.68$ ,  $SE = .50$ ,  $t(113) = 7.38$ ,  $p < .001$ , and that the humor-only target was more humorous than the no-strategy control target,  $\beta = .61$ ,  $b = 3.50$ ,  $SE = .50$ ,  $t(113) = 7.08$ ,  $p < .001$ . Analyses did not reveal a difference between high and low prejudiced participants in this model,  $\beta = -.17$ ,  $b = -.30$ ,  $SE = .22$ ,  $t(113) = -1.40$ ,  $p = .17$ . Finally, the effect of strategy on ratings of humor was not moderated by prejudice, prejudice X acknowledgment humor target vs. control target,  $\beta = -.04$ ,  $b = -.12$ ,  $SE = .31$ ,  $t(113) = -.39$ ,  $p = .70$ , and humor-only target vs. control target,  $\beta = -.01$ ,  $b = -.04$ ,  $SE = .31$ ,  $t(113) = -.13$ ,  $p = .90$ , respectively.

Next, to examine the difference between the acknowledgment humor target and the humor-only target on perceptions of humor, a separate regression analysis was conducted as suggested by Aiken and West (1991). As in Experiment 1, results show that the acknowledgment humor target and the humor-only target were not perceived as differentially humorous,  $\beta = -.02$ ,  $b = -.17$ ,  $SE = .49$ ,  $t(113) = -.35$ ,  $p = .73$ , nor was there a significant effect of prejudice,  $\beta = -.24$ ,  $b = -.42$ ,  $SE = .22$ ,  $t(113) = -1.89$ ,  $p = .06$ . The interaction between strategy and prejudice was also not significant,  $\beta = .03$ ,  $b = .08$ ,  $SE = .32$ ,  $t(113) = .25$ ,  $p = .80$ . In summary, in replication of Experiment 1, analyses revealed that both targets that used humor were perceived to be more humorous than the control target who did not use humor (see Figure 3).

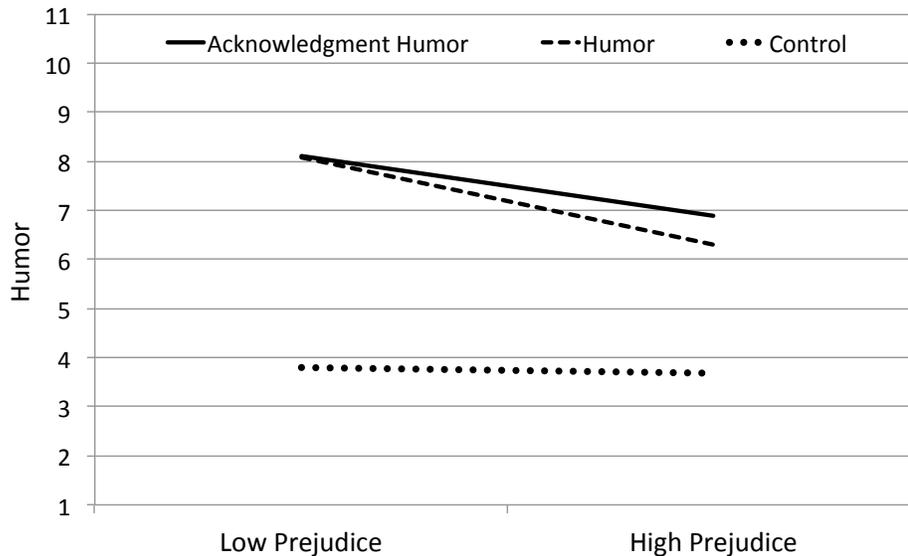


Figure 3. Manipulation check on perceptions of the target's humor in Experiment 2.

**Liking for the Target.** Replicating Experiment 1, results revealed that participants liked the target more when he used acknowledgment humor than when he used humor only,  $\beta = -.19$ ,  $b = -.74$ ,  $SE = .37$ ,  $t(113) = -1.99$ ,  $p = .049$  and more than when he did not use a strategy,  $\beta = -.29$ ,  $b = -1.13$ ,  $SE = .37$ ,  $t(113) = -3.02$ ,  $p = .003$ . Analyses did not reveal a main effect of prejudice,  $\beta = -.09$ ,  $b = -.11$ ,  $SE = .17$ ,  $t(113) = -.65$ ,  $p = .52$ . However, each of these main effects of strategy were qualified by the predicted interaction between prejudice and strategy use, prejudice X acknowledgment humor target versus humor-only target,  $\beta = -.23$ ,  $b = -.45$ ,  $SE = .23$ ,  $t(113) = 1.95$ ,  $p = .05$ , and prejudice X acknowledgment humor target vs. no-strategy control target,  $\beta = -.28$ ,  $b = -.57$ ,  $SE = .24$ ,  $t(113) = -2.41$ ,  $p = .017$ , respectively.

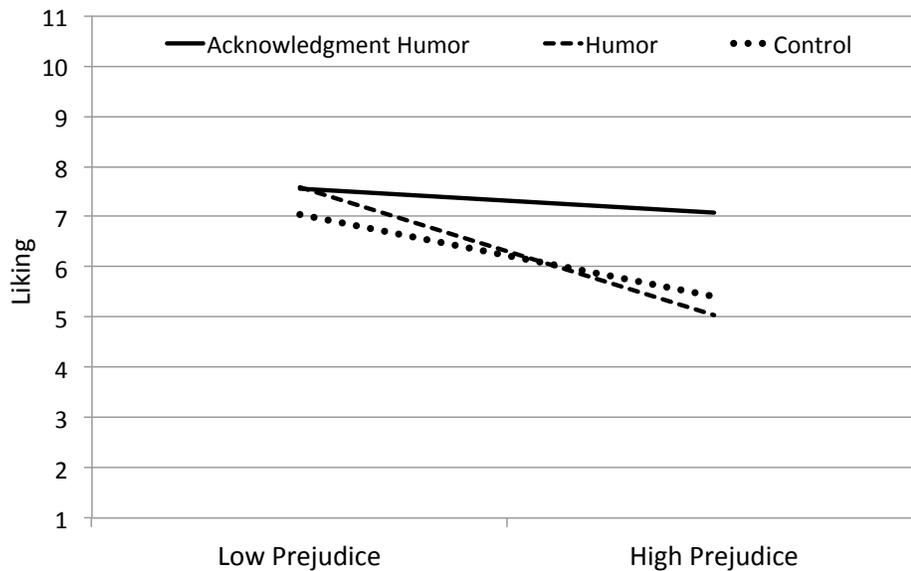


Figure 4. Participants' liking for the target in Experiment 2.

Simple slopes analyses examining the significant interaction between strategy, acknowledgment humor versus humor-only, and prejudice at one standard deviation above and below the mean showed that among the highly prejudiced, the target who used acknowledgment humor was liked significantly more than the target who used humor only,  $\beta = .43$ ,  $b = .82$ ,  $SE = .27$ ,  $t(76) = 3.04$ ,  $p = .003$ . In comparison, among participants lower in prejudice, the target's strategy did not impact how much they liked the target,  $\beta = -.05$ ,  $b = -.09$ ,  $SE = .30$ ,  $t(76) = -.30$ ,  $p = .77$ . Thus, as hypothesized, only those at high levels of prejudice showed improved liking of the target when he used a combination of acknowledgment and humor as opposed to humor alone (see Figure 4).

Next, simple slopes analyses examining the interaction between acknowledgment humor vs. the control target X prejudice showed that highly prejudiced participants liked

the target who used acknowledgment humor significantly more than the target who did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .51$ ,  $b = .93$ ,  $SE = .28$ ,  $t(74) = 3.29$ ,  $p = .002$ . For participants low in prejudice, in comparison, strategy did not impact their liking for the target,  $\beta = .11$ ,  $b = .20$ ,  $SE = .26$ ,  $t(74) = .79$ ,  $p = .43$ . Therefore, as predicted, those at high levels of prejudice showed improved liking of the target, relatively equal to participants low in prejudice, when he used acknowledgment humor over no strategy, whereas those low in prejudice liked the target regardless of his use of strategy.

A separate regression analysis found no significant difference on liking between the target who used humor only and the control target who did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .10$ ,  $b = .39$ ,  $SE = .37$ ,  $t(113) = 1.06$ ,  $p = .29$ . Expectedly, however, participants low in prejudice liked the Muslim target more than participants higher in prejudice,  $\beta = -.48$ ,  $b = -.56$ ,  $SE = .16$ ,  $t(113) = -3.48$ ,  $p = .001$ . The interaction between condition (humor-only versus no-strategy control) and prejudice was not significant,  $\beta = -.06$ ,  $b = -.12$ ,  $SE = .23$ ,  $t(113) = -.51$ ,  $p = .61$ .

### **Trait Ratings.**

**Negative Stereotypes.** Results revealed no significant effect of condition between the acknowledgment humor and the humor-only targets, and between the humor-only target and the no-strategy control target, greatest  $t(113) = .19$ , lowest  $p = .85$ , nor did analyses reveal a main effect of prejudice,  $\beta = .16$ ,  $b = .12$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t(113) = .96$ ,  $p =$

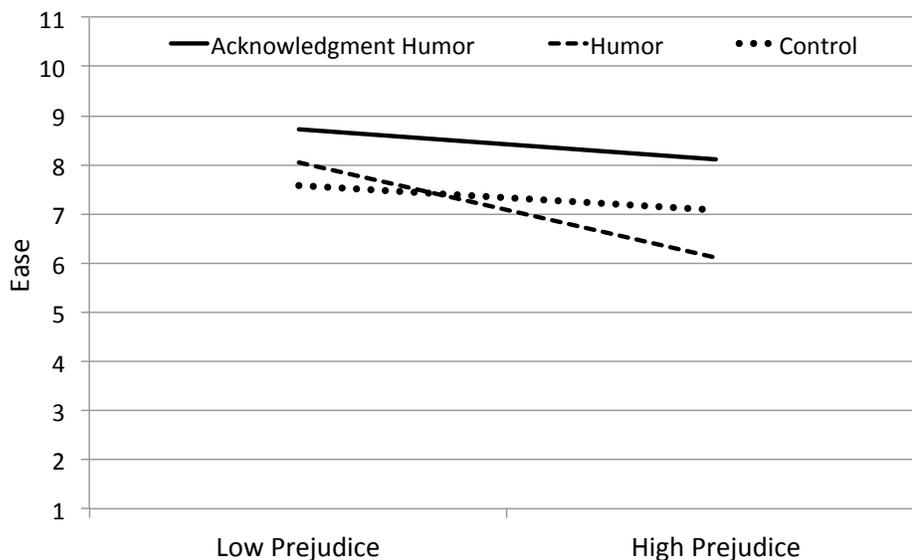


Figure 5. Participants' ratings of the extent to which the target put them at ease in Experiment 2.

.34, and no significant interaction between any of the conditions and prejudice, greatest  $t(113) = .87$ , lowest  $p = .39$ . Thus, as in Experiment 1, the target's use of humor did not influence the stereotypes that participants ascribed to him.

**Ease.** Analyses revealed that participants were put more at ease by the target when he used acknowledgment humor than when he used humor only,  $\beta = -.27$ ,  $b = -1.10$ ,  $SE = .40$ ,  $t(113) = -2.75$ ,  $p = .007$  and more than when he did not use a strategy,  $\beta = -.28$ ,  $b = -1.16$ ,  $SE = .41$ ,  $t(113) = -2.84$ ,  $p = .005$ . Analyses did not reveal a main effect of prejudice,  $\beta = -.22$ ,  $b = -.26$ ,  $SE = .18$ ,  $t(113) = -1.45$ ,  $p = .15$ , nor were the interactions between strategy and prejudice significant, prejudice X acknowledgment humor target versus humor-only target,  $\beta = -.13$ ,  $b = -.28$ ,  $SE = .26$ ,  $t(113) = -1.09$ ,  $p =$

.28, and prejudice X acknowledgment humor target vs. no-strategy control target,  $\beta = -.04$ ,  $b = -.08$ ,  $SE = .25$ ,  $t(113) = -.30$ ,  $p = .76$ , respectively.

Results of a separate regression analysis show that there was no significant difference on the extent to which the humor-only and the control target made participants feel at ease,  $\beta = -.01$ ,  $b = -.05$ ,  $SE = .41$ ,  $t(113) = -.13$ ,  $p = .90$ . Analyses also did not reveal a main effect of prejudice in this model,  $\beta = .34$ ,  $b = -.26$ ,  $SE = .18$ ,  $t(113) = 1.93$ ,  $p = .06$ . The interaction between condition (humor-only versus no-strategy control) and prejudice was not significant,  $\beta = .10$ ,  $b = .21$ ,  $SE = .25$ ,  $t(113) = .81$ ,  $p = .42$ , (see Figure 5).

#### ***Moderated Mediation Analysis of Condition on Liking Through Ease***

***Moderated by Prejudice.*** As predicted, the data show that compared to low prejudice participants, highly prejudiced participants rated the acknowledgment humor target as more likeable and as putting them more at ease, compared to the target who used humor only and the target who did not use a strategy. We next conducted a moderated mediation analyses to test the prediction that the extent to which the target put the highly prejudiced perceivers at ease would be responsible for their increase in liking for the target.

As specified by Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007) (see also, Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005), we examined the model (“Model 5” as described by Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007, which specified the path from strategy (acknowledgment humor vs. humor-only), to ease as moderated by prejudice and the path from ease to liking as moderated by prejudice. We found that prejudice moderated both the path from strategy to ease as well

as the path from ease to liking. Specifically, the effect of strategy on the extent to which participants were put at ease by the target was moderated by prejudice,  $t(80) = 3.06$ ,  $SE = .19$ ,  $p = .003$ . We also found that the extent to which perceivers' ease with the target predicted how much they liked him was also moderated by prejudice; for those higher in prejudice the extent to which they were put at ease by the target predicted how much they liked him,  $t(80) = -3.01$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $p = .004$ .

We then tested the same moderated mediation model ("Model 5"), comparing the use of acknowledgment humor vs. the no-strategy control. We found that the path from TEM strategy to liking was also moderated by prejudice,  $t(80) = 2.76$ ,  $SE = .17$ ,  $p = .007$ . We found that for the path from ease to liking, prejudice was a marginally significant moderator of the effect of ease on liking,  $t(80) = -1.68$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $p = .10$ .

Taken together, these data provide some evidence that the extent to which ease mediated the impact of acknowledgment humor on liking was moderated by prejudice. When the target used the acknowledgment humor strategy, the highly prejudiced felt more at ease, and the extent to which highly prejudiced participants' felt at ease predicted the extent to which they expressed liking for him.

**Guilt.** Results revealed no significant effect of condition between the acknowledgment humor and the humor-only target and the no-strategy control target, and between the humor-only target and the no-strategy control target, greatest  $t(113) = 1.82$ , lowest  $p = .07$ , nor did analyses reveal a main effect of prejudice,  $\beta = .19$ ,  $b = .15$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t(113) = 1.24$ ,  $p = .22$ . Finally, there was also no significant interaction between any

of the conditions and prejudice, greatest  $t(113) = -1.73$ , lowest  $p = .17$ . Thus, the target's use of humor did not significantly influence the extent to which participants felt guilty.

### **Discussion**

Experiment 2 replicates the effect of strategy on liking in Experiment 1, whereby highly prejudiced participants liked the acknowledgment humor target significantly more than the humor-only target and the control target. Experiment 2 also extends these findings by identifying a mediator of these effects. Results of this study show that the extent to which the target put highly prejudiced perceivers at ease significantly mediated the effect of strategy on liking.

## CHAPTER 4

### EXPERIMENT 3

Considering the findings as well as the limitations of the previous two experiments, several components were addressed in the third study. Firstly, Ford's (2008) work on disparagement humor finds that humor that disparages stigmatized targets causes listeners to believe there is a norm of tolerance toward prejudice, thereby making the highly prejudiced more likely to tolerate bias and express their own bias if given the opportunity to do so. The previous two studies had not yet ruled out this alternative explanation that the acknowledgment humor joke had put perceivers at ease because the target was derogating a group that is stigmatized, thereby allowing perceivers to feel comfortable about their own biases. Specifically, Experiment 2 found that among the highly prejudiced, participants felt more at ease with the target who used ethnic-humor compared to humor alone or a no-strategy control, and that the extent to which participants felt at ease with the target predicted how much they liked him. Hence, for those who are highly prejudiced, the joke may have simply conveyed disparagement toward Arabs (in Experiment 1) or Muslims (in Experiment 2) and therefore made perceivers feel at ease because the target was derogating a group that they personally dislike. Subsequently, they might be more likely to discriminate against Arabs or Muslims in the future. Thus, acknowledgment humor might decrease prejudice against the target but inflate discrimination against the group. To address this concern, the third study directly measured expressions of discrimination toward the group.

To do this, Experiment 3 included a disparagement humor condition in addition to the acknowledgment humor joke used in Study 2. Further, Experiment 3 used measures similar to those used by Ford, Boxer, Armstrong, and Edel (2008) in which participants were given the opportunity to make budgetary suggestions for student organizations on campus. One of those organizations included a Muslim student organization. According to work by Ford and colleagues (2008), disparagement humor causes the highly prejudiced to perceive a norm of tolerance toward prejudice, and thereby be more likely to discriminate against the targeted group. Believing that others are tolerant of their bias, the highly prejudiced feel that their expressions of bias will be accepted and thus, are more likely to discriminate. Considering these findings, I predicted that among the highly prejudiced, those who were exposed to disparagement humor would suggest significantly greater budget cuts toward the Muslim student organization (thereby indicating discrimination against Muslims) than highly prejudiced participants who were exposed to acknowledgment humor or a no-strategy control. The proposed budget cuts among highly prejudiced participants exposed to the acknowledgment humor target and the no-strategy control, however, were not expected to differ. Among those low in prejudice, as Ford et al (2008) have shown, humor should not alter their likelihood to discriminate, since they have no bias to express.

Finally, we identified the extent to which the perceivers are put at ease by the target as a mediator for liking of the target. We have not, however, provided data that clarify why the joke is putting them at ease. I hypothesized that the joke puts participants at ease because when the target uses acknowledgment humor, it communicates to

perceivers that he is attempting to be empathetic and manage the situation for them. By carrying the burden of this stressful interracial interaction, the target puts perceivers at ease and reduces the typical concerns associated with interracial interactions. This feeling of ease and reduced tension should, in turn, translate to greater liking for the target. The third study was conducted to address this hypothesis by including another mediator for liking of the target – the extent to which the target is recognized as managing the social interaction.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

115 participants total were run in this study. 3 participants failed to follow instructions by not completing all measures and 6 participants expressed suspicion as to the hypotheses of the study (including that the first part of the study and the second part of the study were related) and so their data were excluded prior to analyses. The remaining 106 participants are included in the following analyses. Participants were 106 (83 female, 23 male) undergraduate students at the University of Arizona. Participants filled out the same modified pre-test measure as in Experiment 2 to assess their prejudice toward Muslim Americans,  $M = 3.87$ ,  $SD = 1.64$ .

### **Design**

The experiment used a Prejudice X Condition (TEM Strategy: No Strategy, Disparagement Humor, Acknowledgment Humor) between subjects design, with prejudice as a continuous variable. Dependent variables included participants' perceptions of the target's humor, that the target was offensive, perceptions that the target

put the participants at ease, perceptions that the target took participants' perspectives, and participants' overall liking of the target.

### **Materials and Procedure**

As in Experiments 1 and 2, participants were recruited for a study titled "Evaluating Class Activities" and were given a student profile to read (see Appendix E) and a subsequent questionnaire to report their impressions of the student.

**TEM Strategy Manipulation.** The student profile was the same as Experiment 2 except for the target's answer to the prompt: "Tell us a little about yourself." The target always began, "My name is Ahmad Hassan."

In the *No Strategy condition*, the target continued with: "I like meeting new people."

In the *Acknowledgment Humor condition*, the target continued with: "I know I'm not what people expect when they meet me – but I leave my turban at home. ☺"

In the *Disparagement Humor condition*, the target continued with: "I know I'm not what people expect when they meet me – I don't even know how to pack a car with explosives. ☺"

### **Dependent Variables**

**Trait Ratings.** After reading the profile, participants reported the extent to which certain traits are descriptive of the target (1 = *not at all descriptive*, 11 = *extremely descriptive*). The traits, *sense-of-humor*, *humorous*, *funny*, and *witty* comprised the manipulation check on the target's humor (4 items,  $\alpha = .97$ ). The traits, *calculating*,

*angry, close-minded, dangerous, and spiteful*, comprised the measure of negative stereotypes (5 items,  $\alpha = .68$ ).

**Mediators. *Ease*.** Next, to examine if the extent to which participants feel at ease mediates the effect of strategy on liking, as found in Experiment 2, participants were asked to rate their agreement with the statements: “This student put me at ease”, “This student would be easy to talk to”, “This student made me feel less worried”, and “This student made me feel uncomfortable” (reverse coded) using a 1 (*not at all*) to 11 (*extremely*) scale. These items were combined to create one overall measure of ease (4 items,  $\alpha = .72$ ).

***Managing the Social Situation*.** To examine the potential mediator of how much participants appreciate the target for understanding their point of view and attempting to manage the social interaction, participants were asked to indicate their agreement with the following statements, on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 11 (*strongly agree*) scale: “This student understands how others perceive him,” “This student attempted to manage a tense social situation,” and “This student would be able understand other people’s perspectives”. These items were combined to create one overall measure of perspective (3 items,  $\alpha = .79$ ).

**Liking for the Target.** Participants were then asked the same questions as in Experiments 1 and 2 designed to measure how much they like the target, using the same 1 (*not at all*) to 11 (*very much*) scale (4 items,  $\alpha = .93$ ).

**Prejudice Toward the Outgroup.** After completing the liking measures, participants were asked to help with a second, ostensibly unrelated study using materials

and procedures similar to those of Ford, Boxer, Armstrong, and Edel (2008; see Appendix F). They were told that the University was interested in gathering student opinion about funding decisions on campus. Specifically, participants were told that the campus had to make budget cuts to student organizations and that the University would like student opinion in making these budgetary decisions. Participants were then given booklets containing five pages. The first page introduced the task and provided instructions for allocating budget cuts to the selected student organizations. To ensure clarity, the experimenter read the first page containing the instructions as the participants read along. Participants were instructed to allocate budget cuts so that across five student organizations, the overall student organization budget was reduced by 20%. The second page contained the list of student organizations and a brief description of each. They included: a Jewish student organization, the University of Arizona Safe Ride program, a Muslim student organization, a model United Nations club, and a women's organization. The third page included a table for students to indicate how much money they suggested to cut from the budget of each organization. The final two pages contained measures of perceived local norms and perceived general norms of approval for cutting the budget for each organization, as used in Ford, Boxer, Armstrong, and Edel (2008). To assess local norms, participants were asked, "To what extent do you think *others in the immediate context (those who are joining you in this session)* would approve of cutting funds for each of the organizations listed below?" For each of the five organizations, participants were asked to respond on a 7- point scale ranging from 1 (strongly *disapprove*) to 7 (strongly *approve*). To assess perceived general norms,

participants were asked, “To what extent do you think the student population in general would approve of cutting funds for each of the organizations listed below?” Again, for each of the five organizations, participants responded on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly *disapprove*) to 7 (strongly *approve*).

**Manipulation Check on the Target’s Ethnic Identity.** Once participants completed the budget survey, the experimenter informed them that he, ostensibly, forgot to give them two last questionnaires from the previous study. The first questionnaire provided our manipulation check of the target’s ethnic identity, which was the same as the measure used in Experiment 2 (see Appendix D). The second was a brief open-ended questionnaire designed to assess suspicion. Participants were asked if they understood the purpose of the study, if they found any part of the study odd or confusing, and if they had any recommendations for future studies. Following these procedures, participants were told that the study had concluded, and they were fully debriefed.

## **Results**

Preliminary analysis revealed no gender differences, and thus the analyses were collapsed across gender. To examine the effect of humor strategy and prejudice on perceptions of the target, these data were analyzed using hierarchical linear regression procedures as in Experiment 2. Following Aiken and West (1991), level of prejudice was centered at the mean and our categorical variable, humor strategy, was dummy-coded.

**Manipulation Check on the Target’s Ethnic Identity.** All participants (100%) correctly identified the target as “Muslim”.

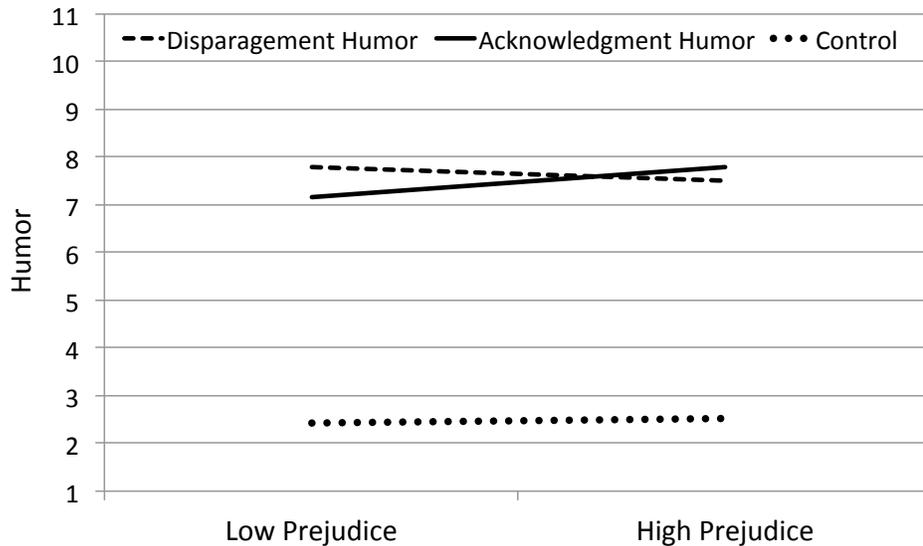


Figure 6. Manipulation check on perceptions of the target's humor in Experiment 3.

**Manipulation Check on the Target's Humor.** Results revealed that, as predicted, the acknowledgment humor target was seen as significantly more humorous than the no-strategy control target,  $\beta = .73$ ,  $b = 4.94$ ,  $SE = .48$ ,  $t(100) = 10.23$ ,  $p < .001$ , and revealed that the disparagement humor target was perceived as more humorous than the no-strategy control target,  $\beta = .80$ ,  $b = 5.23$ ,  $SE = .47$ ,  $t(100) = 11.19$ ,  $p < .001$ . Analyses did not reveal a difference between high and low prejudiced participants in this model,  $\beta = .07$ ,  $b = .13$ ,  $SE = .18$ ,  $t(100) = .72$ ,  $p = .47$ . Finally, the effect of strategy on ratings of humor was not moderated by prejudice, prejudice X acknowledgment humor target vs. control target,  $\beta = -.005$ ,  $b = -.02$ ,  $SE = .32$ ,  $t(100) = -.07$ ,  $p = .94$ , and disparagement humor target vs. control target,  $\beta = -.11$ ,  $b = -.35$ ,  $SE = .27$ ,  $t(100) = -1.30$ ,  $p = .20$ , respectively.

Next, to examine the difference between the acknowledgment humor target and the disparagement humor target on perceptions of humor, a separate regression analysis was conducted as suggested by Aiken and West (1991). Results show that the acknowledgment humor target and the disparagement humor target were not perceived as differentially humorous,  $\beta = .05$ ,  $b = .29$ ,  $SE = .48$ ,  $t(100) = .61$ ,  $p = .55$ , nor was there a significant effect of prejudice,  $\beta = .06$ ,  $b = .11$ ,  $SE = .26$ ,  $t(100) = .42$ ,  $p = .68$ . The interaction between strategy and prejudice was also not significant,  $\beta = -.11$ ,  $b = -.33$ ,  $SE = .33$ ,  $t(100) = -1.00$ ,  $p = .32$ .

In summary, analyses revealed that both targets that used humor were perceived to be more humorous than the control target who did not use humor, and were perceived as equally humorous to each other (see Figure 6).

**Liking for the Target.** Replicating Experiments 1 and 2, results revealed an overall main effect of strategy such that participants liked the target more when he used acknowledgment humor than when he did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .26$ ,  $b = .98$ ,  $SE = .40$ ,  $t(100) = 2.46$ ,  $p = .02$  (see Figure 7). Analyses did not reveal a main effect of strategy between the target who used disparagement humor and the target did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .16$ ,  $b = .59$ ,  $SE = .39$ ,  $t(100) = 1.53$ ,  $p = .13$ . There was a main effect of prejudice whereby participants lower in prejudice expressed more liking for the target overall than those higher in prejudice,  $\beta = -.43$ ,  $b = -.46$ ,  $SE = .15$ ,  $t(100) = -3.07$ ,  $p = .003$ .

However, the effect of strategy was qualified by the predicted interaction between prejudice and strategy use, prejudice X acknowledgment humor target versus no-strategy control target,  $\beta = .25$ ,  $b = .60$ ,  $SE = .25$ ,  $t(100) = 2.27$ ,  $p = .03$ , and prejudice X

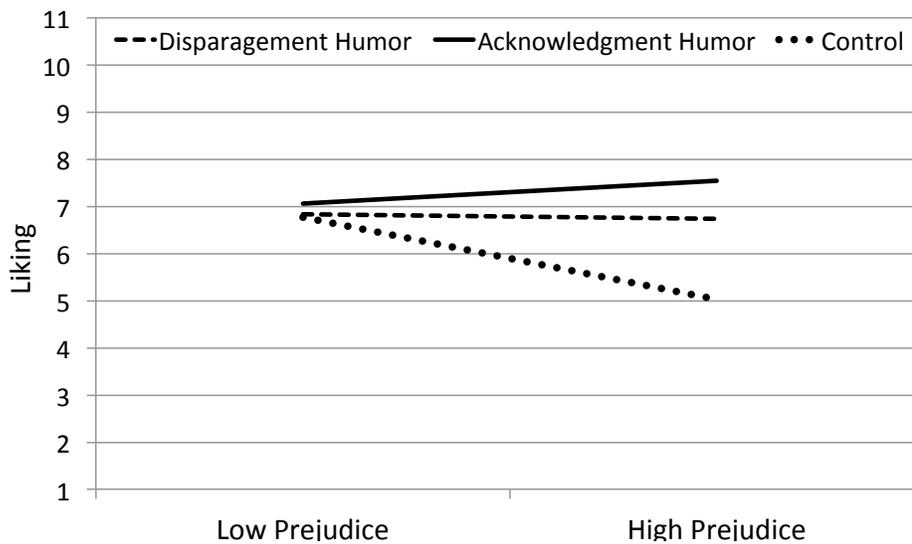


Figure 7. Participants' liking for the target in Experiment 3.

disparagement humor target vs. no-strategy control target,  $\beta = .27$ ,  $b = .48$ ,  $SE = .22$ ,  $t(100) = 2.16$ ,  $p = .03$ , respectively.

Simple slopes analyses examining the significant interaction between strategy, acknowledgment humor versus no-strategy control, and prejudice at one standard deviation above and below the mean showed that among the highly prejudiced, the target who used acknowledgment humor was liked significantly more than the target who did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .57$ ,  $b = 1.95$ ,  $SE = .52$ ,  $t(65) = 3.74$ ,  $p < .001$ . In comparison, among participants lower in prejudice, the target's strategy did not impact how much they liked the target,  $\beta < .001$ ,  $b = .001$ ,  $SE = .57$ ,  $t(65) = .002$ ,  $p = .99$ . Thus, only those at high levels of prejudice showed improved liking of the target when he used acknowledgment humor as opposed to no-strategy.

Next, simple slopes analyses examining the interaction between disparagement humor vs. the control target X prejudice showed that highly prejudiced participants liked the target who used disparagement humor significantly more than the target who did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .38$ ,  $b = 1.38$ ,  $SE = .56$ ,  $t(70) = 2.45$ ,  $p = .02$ . For participants low in prejudice, in comparison, strategy did not impact their liking for the target,  $\beta = -.05$ ,  $b = -.20$ ,  $SE = .57$ ,  $t(70) = -.35$ ,  $p = .73$ . Therefore, those at high levels of prejudice showed improved liking of the target, relatively equal to participants low in prejudice, when he used disparagement humor over no strategy, whereas those low in prejudice liked the target regardless of his use of strategy.

A separate regression analysis did not find a significant difference on liking between the target who used acknowledgment humor and the target who used disparagement humor,  $\beta = -.11$ ,  $b = -.39$ ,  $SE = .40$ ,  $t(100) = -.97$ ,  $p = .34$ . The main effect of prejudice was not significant,  $\beta = .13$ ,  $b = .13$ ,  $SE = .22$ ,  $t(100) = .62$ ,  $p = .536$ , nor was there a significant interaction between strategy (acknowledgment humor vs. disparagement humor) and prejudice,  $\beta = -.06$ ,  $b = -.11$ ,  $SE = .27$ ,  $t(100) = -.42$ ,  $p = .68$ .

### **Trait Ratings.**

**Negative Stereotypes.** Results revealed no significant effect of condition between the acknowledgment humor and the humor-only targets, and between the humor-only target and the no-strategy control target, greatest  $t(100) = 1.76$ , lowest  $p = .08$ , nor did analyses reveal a main effect of prejudice,  $\beta = .22$ ,  $b = .14$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $t(100) = 1.50$ ,  $p = .14$ , and no significant interaction between any of the conditions and prejudice, greatest

$t(100) = -.15$ , lowest  $p = .25$ . Thus, as in Experiments 1 and 2, the target's use of humor did not significantly influence the stereotypes that participants ascribed to him.

**Ease.** Analyses revealed that participants overall were not put significantly more at ease by the target when he used acknowledgment humor than when he did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .19$ ,  $b = .63$ ,  $SE = .36$ ,  $t(100) = 1.74$ ,  $p = .08$ . However, this was qualified by a significant interaction between condition (acknowledgment humor vs control) and prejudice,  $\beta = .23$ ,  $b = .49$ ,  $SE = .23$ ,  $t(100) = 2.08$ ,  $p = .04$ . The regression did not reveal a significant overall difference on ease between the target who used disparagement humor and the no-strategy control,  $\beta = .008$ ,  $b = .03$ ,  $SE = .35$ ,  $t(100) = .08$ ,  $p = .94$ . In addition, analyses did not reveal a significant interaction between strategy (disparagement humor vs. control) and prejudice,  $\beta = .14$ ,  $b = .23$ ,  $SE = .20$ ,  $t(100) = 1.15$ ,  $p = .25$ . Analyses did, however, reveal a main effect of prejudice in this model,  $\beta = -.53$ ,  $b = -.26$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(100) = -2.96$ ,  $p < .004$ .

Results of a separate regression analysis show that there was no significant difference on the extent to which the acknowledgment humor target and the disparagement humor target made participants feel at ease,  $\beta = -.19$ ,  $b = -.60$ ,  $SE = .36$ ,  $t(100) = -1.69$ ,  $p = .10$ . In addition, there was not a significant effect of prejudice in this model,  $\beta = .04$ ,  $b = .04$ ,  $SE = .19$ ,  $t(100) = .20$ ,  $p = .84$  and the interaction between strategy (acknowledgment humor vs. disparagement humor) and prejudice was not significant,  $\beta = -.16$ ,  $b = -.26$ ,  $SE = .24$ ,  $t(100) = -1.06$ ,  $p = .29$ , (see Figure 8).

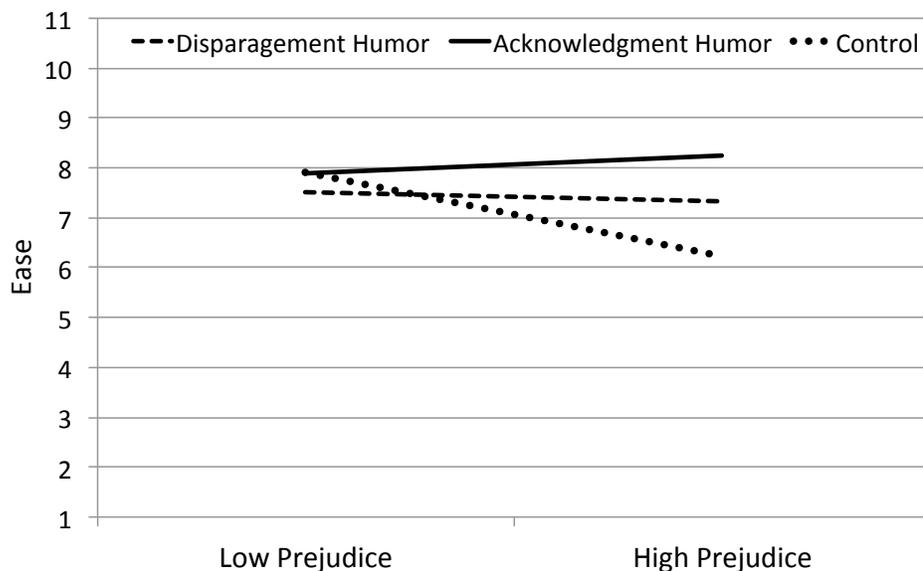


Figure 8. Participants' ratings of the extent to which the target put them at ease in Experiment 3.

**Mediation Analysis of Condition on Liking Through Ease.** As predicted, the data show that highly prejudiced participants rated the acknowledgment humor target as more likeable and as putting them more at ease, compared to the target who did not use a strategy. I next conducted a mediation analysis to test the prediction that the extent to which the target put perceivers at ease would mediate their liking for the acknowledgment humor target. Results show that the path from strategy (acknowledgment humor vs. no-strategy control) to liking was significant,  $\beta = .34$ ,  $b = 1.14$ ,  $SE = .39$ ,  $t(67) = 2.91$ ,  $p = .005$ , and that the path from strategy (acknowledgment humor vs. no-strategy control) to ease was significant,  $\beta = .27$ ,  $b = .78$ ,  $SE = .34$ ,  $t(67) = 2.28$ ,  $p = .026$ . Finally, a regression analysis testing the effect of ease on liking, when

including for strategy in the model, was also found to be significant,  $\beta = .66$ ,  $b = .78$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $t(66) = 7.52$ ,  $p < .001$ . A final Sobel's test confirms that the effect of strategy on liking was significantly mediated by the extent to which the target put perceivers at ease, Sobel test statistic = 2.18,  $SE = .28$ ,  $p = .029$ .

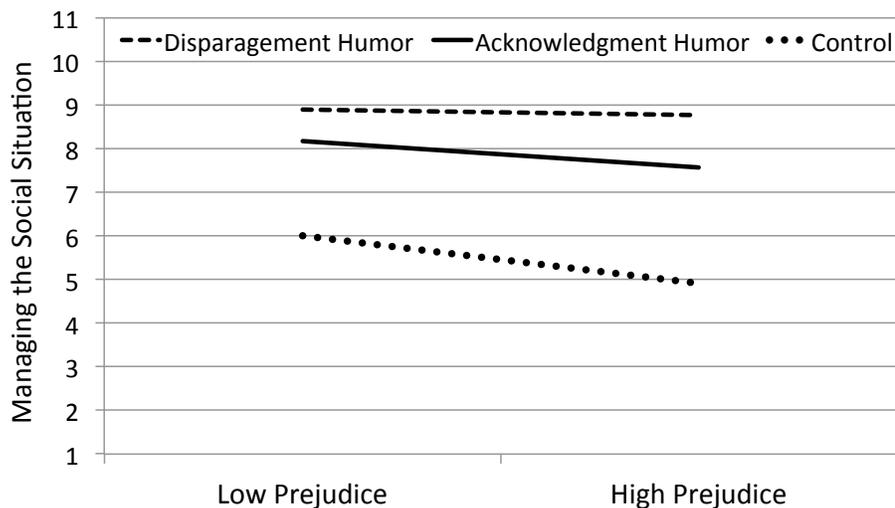
***Moderated Mediation Analysis of Condition on Liking Through Ease***

***Moderated by Prejudice.*** This third experiment as well as Experiment 2 found that participants expressed significantly greater liking for the target who used acknowledgment humor versus the target who did not use a strategy. In Experiment 2, we found that the effect of strategy (acknowledgment humor vs. control) on liking for the stigmatized target was mediated by the extent to which participants were put at ease by the target. A moderated mediation analysis, specifically, found that prejudice was a significant moderator on the path from condition to ease. To examine whether this specific moderated mediation path would replicate in Experiment 3, I again conducted a moderated mediation analysis using Model 5 as in Experiment 2. Analyses, however, did not reveal prejudice as a significant moderator on either path. When put into a moderated mediation model, prejudice did not appear to moderate the path from condition to ease,  $\beta = .22$ ,  $SE = .21$ ,  $t(69) = 1.10$ ,  $p = .28$  (which does not replicate the moderated mediation analysis in Experiment 2), nor did prejudice significantly moderate the path from ease to liking for the target,  $\beta = .05$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $t(69) = .77$ ,  $p = .44$  (which is consistent with the moderated mediation analysis Experiment 2 that also did not identify prejudice as a moderator on this path). In sum, while Experiments 2 and 3 both find that ease mediates

the effect of condition (acknowledgment humor vs. control) on liking, Experiment 2 finds that prejudice moderates the effect of condition on ease, whereas Experiment 3 did not.

**Managing the Social Situation.** Analyses revealed that participants thought that the target attempted to manage the social situation more when he used acknowledgment humor than when he did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .49$ ,  $b = 2.33$ ,  $SE = .40$ ,  $t(100) = 5.82$ ,  $p < .00$  (see Figure 9). Further, participants thought that the target attempted to manage the situation more when he used disparagement humor than when he did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .49$ ,  $b = 2.33$ ,  $SE = .39$ ,  $t(100) = 8.32$ ,  $p < .001$ . Analyses revealed only a marginal effect of prejudice in this model,  $\beta = -.21$ ,  $b = -.27$ ,  $SE = .15$ ,  $t(100) = -1.81$ ,  $p = .07$ . Analyses did not find a significant interaction between prejudice and acknowledgment humor vs. control,  $\beta = .03$ ,  $b = .07$ ,  $SE = .26$ ,  $t(100) = .28$ ,  $p = .78$ . Analyses however, did find a significant interaction effect between prejudice and disparagement humor vs. control,  $\beta = .20$ ,  $b = .45$ ,  $SE = .22$ ,  $t(100) = 2.00$ ,  $p = .05$

Simple slopes analyses were then conducted to explicate the significant interaction between prejudice and the disparagement humor target vs. no-strategy control target. The results of an analysis comparing participants above and below one standard deviation from the mean indicates that both high,  $\beta = 3.96$ ,  $b = .88$ ,  $SE = .49$ ,  $t(70) = 8.04$ ,  $p < .001$ , and low prejudiced participants,  $\beta = 2.49$ ,  $b = .55$ ,  $SE = .50$ ,  $t(70) = 4.97$ ,  $p < .001$  believed that the target attempted to manage the social situation significantly more when he used disparagement humor than when he did not use a strategy. However, a separate simple slopes analysis, examining the slope for the disparagement humor target and the slope for the control target found that prejudice did marginally alter



*Figure 9.* Participants' perceptions that the target attempted to manage the social situation in Experiment 3.

perceptions that the target attempted to manage the social situation in the control condition,  $\beta = -.21$ ,  $b = -.27$ ,  $SE = 1.40$ ,  $t(70) = -1.94$ ,  $p = .056$ . Specifically, the interaction was driven by the fact that in the control condition, low prejudiced perceivers viewed the target as attempting to manage the social situation significantly more than the highly biased perceivers. Prejudice did not significantly alter perceptions that the target attempted to manage the social situation in the disparagement humor condition,  $\beta = .13$ ,  $b = .18$ ,  $SE = 1.16$ ,  $t(70) = 1.14$ ,  $p = .26$ , showing that both high and low prejudiced participants did not significantly differ in their belief that the target who used disparagement humor attempted to manage the social situation.

Results of a separate regression analysis show that participants perceived the disparagement humor target as attempting to manage the interaction significantly more

than the acknowledgment humor target,  $\beta = .20$ ,  $b = .90$ ,  $SE = .40$ ,  $t(100) = 2.24$ ,  $p = .03$ . There was not a significant effect of prejudice in this model,  $\beta = -.15$ ,  $b = -.20$ ,  $SE = .22$ ,  $t(100) = -.92$ ,  $p = .36$ . The interaction between strategy (acknowledgment humor versus disparagement humor) and prejudice was not significant,  $\beta = .17$ ,  $b = .38$ ,  $SE = .27$ ,  $t(100) = 1.37$ ,  $p = .17$ .

***Mediation Analysis of Condition on Liking through Managing the Social***

***Situation.*** I next conducted a mediation analyses to test the prediction that the extent to which the target was perceived as attempting to manage the interaction would be responsible for their increase in liking for the target when he used acknowledgement humor. Results show that the path from strategy (acknowledgment humor vs. no-strategy control) on liking was significant,  $\beta = .34$ ,  $b = 1.41$ ,  $SE = .39$ ,  $t(67) = 2.91$ ,  $p = .005$ , and that the path from strategy (acknowledgment humor vs. no-strategy control) to the proposed mediator (managing the social situation) was significant,  $\beta = .59$ ,  $b = 2.4$ ,  $SE = .41$ ,  $t(67) = 5.94$ ,  $p < .001$ . Finally, a regression testing the effect of attempts to manage the social situation on liking, when accounting for strategy in the model, was also found to be significant,  $\beta = .39$ ,  $b = .32$ ,  $SE = .11$ ,  $t(66) = 2.87$ ,  $p = .005$ . A final Sobel's test confirmed that the effect of strategy on liking was significantly mediated by the extent to which the target was perceived as attempting to manage the interaction, Sobel test statistic = 2.57,  $SE = 0.30$ ,  $p = 0.01$ .

Since the data show that the target who used disparagement humor was also liked significantly more than the target who did not use a humor strategy, I also conducted a mediation analysis to examine if managing the social situation would mediate the effect

of strategy on liking (disparagement humor vs. no-strategy control). Results show that the path from strategy (disparagement humor vs. no-strategy control) on liking was not significant,  $\beta = .20$ ,  $b = .75$ ,  $SE = .42$ ,  $t(72) = 1.77$ ,  $p = .08$ , but that the path from strategy (disparagement humor vs. no-strategy control) on attempts to manage the social situation was significant,  $\beta = .73$ ,  $b = 3.28$ ,  $SE = .36$ ,  $t(72) = 9.04$ ,  $p < .001$ . Finally, a regression testing the effect of managing the social interaction on liking, when accounting for strategy in the model, was also found to be significant,  $\beta = .72$ ,  $b = .59$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t(71) = 4.95$ ,  $p < .001$ . A final Sobel's test confirmed that the effect of strategy on liking was significantly mediated by the extent to which the target was perceived as managing the social interaction, Sobel test statistic = 4.32,  $SE = 0.45$ ,  $p < 0.001$ .

**Test of the Proposed Model.** Next, to conduct a test of the proposed full model, a series of regression analyses were conducted (see Figure 10). The model tested the path from acknowledgment humor vs. control, to the perception that the target attempted to manage the social situation, to the perception that the target put perceivers at ease, to liking. First, a regression analysis tested the path of strategy (acknowledgment humor vs. control) to the perception that the target attempted to manage the social situation and found that strategy was a significant predictor,  $\beta = .56$ ,  $b = 2.38$ ,  $SE = .41$ ,  $t = 5.74$ ,  $p < .001$  though prejudice was not a significant predictor in this path, condition X prejudice,  $\beta = .03$ ,  $b = .07$ ,  $SE = .27$ ,  $t = -1.78$ ,  $p = .78$ . Then, a regression analysis tested whether the extent to which the target took participants' perspective would predict the extent to which they felt at ease. This regression found that managing the social situation x prejudice was a significant predictor of ease,  $\beta = .75$ ,  $b = .11$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t = 2.01$ ,  $p = .05$

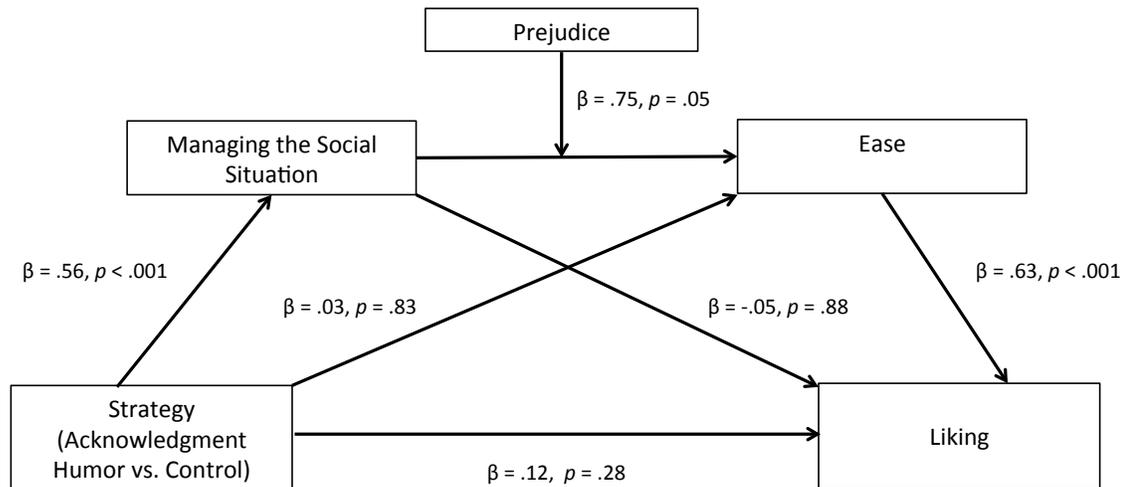


Figure 10. Proposed path model using regression analyses in Experiment 3.

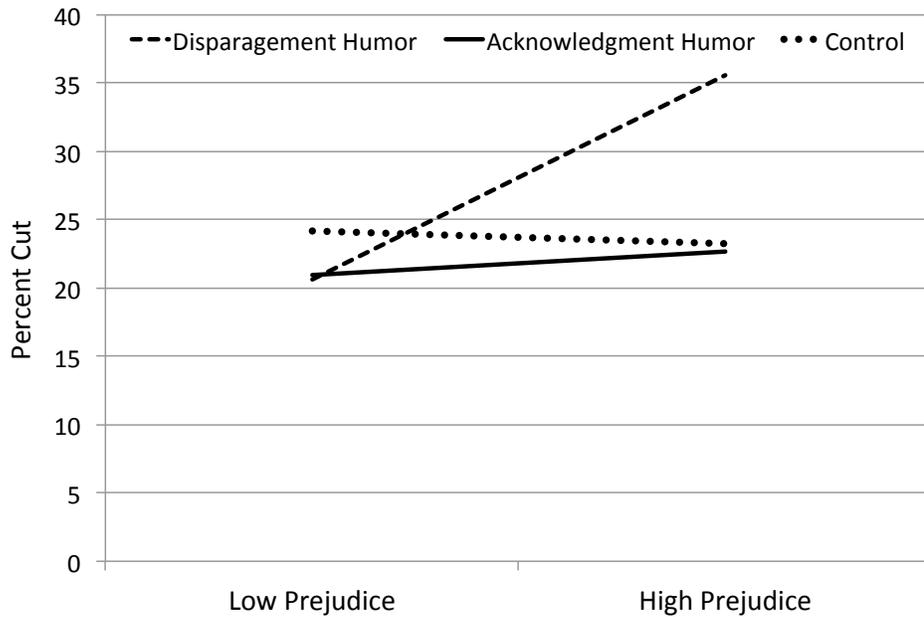
and found that once the variable of “managing the social situation” was included in the model, condition was reduced to non-significance, supporting the model’s assumption,  $\beta = .03, b = .08, SE = .37, t = .21, p = .83$ . Next, a regression analysis was conducted to examine the effect of ease on liking, when including the other predictors of condition, perspective, and prejudice in the model, and found that ease significantly predicted the extent to which participants expressed liking for the outgroup target,  $\beta = .63, b = .74, SE = .12, t = 5.99, p < .001$ . Further, this regression showed that when ease was added to the model, the variable of managing the social situation x prejudice was reduced to non-significance,  $\beta = -.05, b = -.01, SE = .56, t = -.15, p = .88$ , and that the direct effect of condition on liking was reduced to non-significance,  $\beta = .12, b = .40, SE = .37, t = 1.09, p = .28$ , further supporting the assumptions of this proposed model. In sum, we find that when all predictors were included in the regression equation simultaneously, only ease

significantly predicted liking for the outgroup target, offering support for the hypothesized model.

Further, to assess the overall fit of the proposed model, a path analysis was conducted using AMOS (Analysis of Moment Structures), an add-on module for the statistical program SPSS. The path-analysis testing the proposed model when all predictors are included revealed a non-significant chi-square, which denotes reasonably good fit of the proposed model,  $X^2 = 1.01$ ,  $p = .80$ . Further, other indicators of model fit, including the Goodness of Fit Indicator (GFI) = .996, Normed Fit Index (NFI) = .990, Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = 1.00, indicate reasonable levels of fit for our model.

Lastly, to compare our model to an alternative model in which the path from managing the social situation to ease is reversed, another path analysis was conducted. When the variable of ease was put in the model as predicting the extent to which the target was seen as managing the social situation, the model was found to be a somewhat less adequate fit,  $X^2 = 7.391$ ,  $p = .06$ , Goodness of Fit Indicator (GFI) = .974, Normed Fit Index (NFI) = .931, Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .955.

**Prejudice Toward the Outgroup.** To examine the effect of strategy on prejudice toward the outgroup, we next examined the amount of money that participants suggested cutting from the Muslim student organization relative to their overall suggested cuts for the other student organizations. To do this, the amount that participants suggested cutting for the Muslim Student Association (MSA) was divided by the sum of their suggested cuts for the 4 other campus organizations. Thus, an overall percentage was created for each participant to examine the amount of suggested cuts for the MSA



*Figure 11.* Participants' suggested budget cuts for the Muslim Student Association in Experiment 3.

over the total amount of cuts suggested. For example, if a participant evenly cut the same amount for each organization, and therefore, expressed no bias, one would expect a 20 percent cut for the Muslim Student Association.

Results of a regression analysis show a significant difference between suggested budget cuts among participants who read about the target who used acknowledgment humor versus the target who used disparagement humor,  $\beta = .22$ ,  $b = .04$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $t(100) = 2.09$ ,  $p = .04$ . There was not a significant effect of prejudice in this model,  $\beta = .20$ ,  $b = .01$ ,  $SE = .01$ ,  $t(100) = 1.04$ ,  $p = .30$ . This was qualified, however, by a significant interaction between strategy (disparagement humor vs. acknowledgment humor) X prejudice,  $\beta = .31$ ,  $b = .03$ ,  $SE = .01$ ,  $t(100) = 2.13$ ,  $p = .04$ .

Simple slopes analyses examining the interaction between disparagement humor vs. the acknowledgment humor X prejudice showed that, among the highly prejudiced, participants suggested significantly higher budget cuts for MSA when they read about the target who used disparagement humor than participants who read about the target who used acknowledgment humor,  $\beta = -.49$ ,  $b = -.09$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(65) = -3.05$ ,  $p = .003$ . For participants low in prejudice, in comparison, strategy did not impact their suggested budget cuts,  $\beta = .03$ ,  $b = .006$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $t(65) = .21$ ,  $p = .83$ . Therefore, those at high levels of prejudice suggested greater budget cuts when the target used disparagement humor compared to acknowledgment humor, and compared to no strategy (see Figure 11).

Results of a separate regression analysis show that, overall, participants in the acknowledgment humor condition did not suggest cutting funding for the MSA more than participants in the control condition,  $\beta = -.11$ ,  $b = -.02$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $t(100) = -1.12$ ,  $p = .27$ . There was also not an overall difference between the suggested cuts for participants who read about the target who used disparagement humor versus the target who did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .10$ ,  $b = .02$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $t(100) = 1.00$ ,  $p = .32$ . Results also did not show a main effect of prejudice in this model,  $\beta = .05$ ,  $b = .003$ ,  $SE = .01$ ,  $t(100) = .38$ ,  $p = .71$ . Further, there was not a significant interaction between prejudice and acknowledgment humor vs. no strategy control,  $\beta = .07$ ,  $b = .008$ ,  $SE = .01$ ,  $t(100) = .64$ ,  $p = .52$ . Importantly however, in replication of Ford and colleagues (2008), analyses revealed a

significant interaction effect between prejudice and disparagement humor vs. no strategy control,  $\beta = .40$ ,  $b = .04$ ,  $SE = .01$ ,  $t(100) = 3.33$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Simple slopes analyses examining the significant interaction between strategy, disparagement humor versus no-strategy control, and prejudice at one standard deviation above and below the mean showed that among the highly prejudiced, those who read about the target who used disparagement humor cut significantly more funds toward the MSA than participants who read about the target who did not use a strategy,  $\beta = .42$ ,  $b = .08$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $t(70) = 2.92$ ,  $p = .005$ . In comparison, among participants lower in prejudice, the target's strategy did not impact how much they allocated funds toward the MSA,  $\beta = -.22$ ,  $b = -.04$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $t(70) = -1.49$ ,  $p = .14$ .

**Perceived Local Norms.** Next, regression analyses were conducted to examine whether strategy influenced perceptions of norms toward prejudice. Specifically, I examined whether strategy would influence the perception that others in the immediate context would agree with the funding cuts made by the participant. There were no significant effects of condition between the acknowledgment humor and the disparagement humor and no-strategy control targets, or between the humor-only target and the no-strategy control target, greatest  $t(100) = -.74$ , lowest  $p = .46$ . In addition, there was not a main effect of prejudice,  $\beta = -.20$ ,  $b = -.17$ ,  $SE = -.12$ ,  $t(100) = -1.38$ ,  $p = .17$ , and there was no significant interaction between any of the conditions and prejudice, greatest  $t(100) = 1.76$ ,  $p = .08$ . Thus, the target's use of humor did not significantly influence perceived local norms of expressing discrimination.

**Perceived General Norms.** Lastly, regression analyses were conducted to examine whether strategy would influence the perception that others in general would agree with the funding cuts made by the participant. Results did not show any significant effects of condition between the acknowledgment humor and the disparagement humor and no-strategy control targets, or between the humor-only target and the no-strategy control target, greatest,  $t(100) = 1.77$ , lowest  $p = .08$ . Prejudice was also not significant in this model,  $\beta = .11$ ,  $b = .10$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $t(100) = .76$ ,  $p = .45$ , nor did we find a significant interaction between any of the conditions and prejudice, greatest  $t(100) = -.78$ ,  $p = .44$ . Thus, the target's use of humor did not significantly influence perceived general norms of expressing discrimination.

### **Discussion**

Experiment 3 found that acknowledgment humor, versus not using a strategy, does increase liking for an outgroup target and that this effect is mediated by the extent to which the target puts perceivers at ease, and the extent to which the target is perceived as managing the social interaction. Interestingly, the target who used disparagement humor was also liked more than the target who did not use a strategy, however this effect was not mediated by the extent to which the target put perceivers at ease. Rather, the effect of the disparagement humor strategy (versus control) on liking was only mediated by the extent to which the target was perceived as managing the social situation. This effect could be due to the fact that the joke used in the disparagement humor condition referenced explosives. While highly prejudiced participants still expressed greater liking for the target who used disparagement humor over the target who did not use a strategy,

they did not feel more at ease, potentially because his use of humor involved a mention of violence. This effect also brings attention to the possibility that there are ways that a target can use humor to increase liking for him or herself, but that it might not reduce feelings of tension if the joke incorporates stereotypes that pertain to violence. Taken together, the results show that both acknowledgment humor and disparagement humor can be used by a stigmatized target to increase liking for him or herself, but that the effect of these types of humor on liking occur through different mechanisms.

Furthermore, and importantly, while the use of acknowledgment humor and disparagement humor caused increased liking for the target, only disparagement humor caused increased discrimination toward the group, evidenced by greater budget cuts for the campus Muslim student organization, compared to when the target used acknowledgement humor or no strategy at all. This indicates that all participants appreciate the target's use of humor to mention their outgroup identity, which causes increased liking for the target, but if the humor also disparages the group, this causes backlash against the outgroup in the form of increased discrimination. This effect replicates Ford et al.'s (2008) work, which finds that disparagement humor increases discrimination toward the targeted group. However, whereas Ford found that discrimination toward the group following disparagement humor was mediated by perceptions that the local norm was to condone discrimination, we did not find that perceived local norms mediated our effects. Perhaps the lack of this finding is related to the difference in presentation of the humor stimulus materials between this package of studies and that of Ford and colleagues.

## CHAPTER 5

### GENERAL DISCUSSION

Taken together, these three experiments provide evidence that a stigmatized targets can effectively use humor that acknowledges their outgroup identity and cause highly biased perceivers to like them more. Broadly, this set of experiments supports the assumptions of the Target Empowerment Model, which argues that stigmatized targets can be effective sources of prejudice reduction when interacting with a highly prejudiced perceiver (Stone et al., 2010). Rather than viewing a stigmatized target as a passive recipient of bias, this work shows that targets of prejudice can change perceivers' perceptions of them by personally implementing a strategy. With regard to humor as an effective prejudice reduction strategy, this work supports previous literature, which suggests that humor can be an effective way to approach tense topics such as race and prejudice as well as a powerful source of threat reduction. By combining prejudice reduction literature with literature on humor, the present set of studies fills a gap by identifying a strategy that targets of prejudice could use to reduce bias against them, and identifies specific mechanisms by which the use of humor can be effective.

#### *The Potential For Humor To Reduce Prejudice*

The model proposed in this work postulates that when a stigmatized target uses acknowledgment humor, defined here as humor that acknowledges, though not disparages, one's stigmatized identity, participants recognize that the target is taking their perspective and attempting to manage the tense social situation for them. In turn, this

causes highly prejudiced perceivers to feel more at ease with the target. By feeling at ease and no longer strained by the social interaction, perceivers should like the target more. Three experiments tested the assumptions of this model.

Experiment 1 tested the direct path from acknowledgment humor to liking and found that highly prejudiced participants liked the target significantly more when he used acknowledgment humor, relative to self-effacing humor or a no-strategy control.

Experiment 2 tested a mediator for the effect of acknowledgment humor on liking and found that the extent to which the target put perceivers at ease significantly mediated the effect of acknowledgment humor on liking, relative to both a humor-only strategy and a no-strategy control. Experiment 3 tested the full proposed model, which found that when the target used acknowledgment humor, relative to a no-strategy control, participants believed that the target took their perspective and attempted to manage the social situation, which put highly prejudiced perceivers at ease, which in turn caused participants to like him more.

Experiment 3 also established acknowledgment humor as distinct from disparagement humor. Experiment 3 replicated Ford and colleagues' (2008) work, which found that disparagement humor, caused highly prejudiced participants to discriminate against the targeted group. Specifically, highly prejudiced participants exposed to disparagement humor, relative to a no-strategy control, suggested significantly greater budget cuts to a Muslim student organization, thereby replicating Ford et al. (2008). Of note is that both acknowledgment humor and disparagement humor increased liking for the Muslim target. However, the unfortunate distinction between disparagement humor

and acknowledgment humor is that while, among the highly prejudiced, both increased liking for the Muslim target, disparagement humor caused an increase in discrimination relative to acknowledgment humor. Taken together, these results indicate that disparagement humor causes significantly more discrimination against the targeted outgroup, relative to control, whereas acknowledgment humor does not. Therefore, stigmatized targets may use disparagement humor to increase liking toward them, but at the detriment of their group, whereas acknowledgment humor may increase liking toward stigmatized targets, with a lower likelihood of backlash against their own group.

In sum, these three studies show that stigmatized targets can reduce bias that may be directed against them by using humor that acknowledges, though not disparages, their outgroup membership, and that this use of humor need not increase prejudice toward the group. Acknowledgment humor serves to increase liking toward the target because it communicates to perceivers that the target is attempting to carry the burden of the tense social situation, thereby putting the highly prejudiced at ease.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

#### *Limitations*

While these three studies provide some evidence that humor that acknowledges one's outgroup membership can be used to reduce prejudice, while avoiding an increase in discrimination toward the group, this package of studies is not without limitations and provides fruitful directions for future research.

The previous three studies tested acknowledgment humor against humor, disparagement humor, and a no-strategy control, and found that acknowledgment humor

is uniquely effective at increasing liking without causing discrimination against the group. Nevertheless, we have not tested whether this effect is the result of acknowledging one's outgroup with levity and humor, as hypothesized, or if this effect is the result of merely acknowledging one's outgroup identity. It is still possible to argue that the observed effects are the result of acknowledgment and that humor is not necessary to increase liking; perhaps a subtle acknowledgment of one's stigmatized identity has the same effect and humor is not needed. The first three studies do not address this limitation and future research will be needed to further explicate the mechanism of the observed effects.

More pragmatically, the goal of the TEM is to identify strategies that can be effective when implemented by a stigmatized target and to give stigmatized targets tools to address bias in their own lives. This raises the question then: under what condition is this strategy most likely to be effective? Identifying the optimal conditions for this strategy to be effective would not only help to strengthen theory, but to add to the toolkit of available strategies for stigmatized targets. One potential concern that should be addressed by future research is identifying conditions under which this strategy could potentially backfire. One possibility in particular is that if the joke is perceived as disingenuous, or rehearsed, it could make the perceiver feel even more uncomfortable than if the strategy had not been used at all. The unfortunate upshot then, would be that this would cause decreased liking for an already stigmatized target.

Furthermore, it is possible that under some circumstances, the use of humor to address one's stigmatized identity could still be perceived as somewhat confrontational

on the part of the perceiver. The previous three studies use a particular paradigm in which participants were under the impression that a student profile was assigned to them randomly, and that the student who filled out the profile was not speaking to them directly. Ostensibly, these were profiles created for any student to read – therefore, the participant did not feel that the target was talking directly to them. If participants believed that the target was speaking directly to them, they might have been offended or worried that the target was saying that they have these perceptions of Arab (Experiment 1) or Muslim Americans (Experiments 2 & 3). Perhaps the strategy of acknowledgment humor is more effective when the perceiver does not believe that the target is accusing them of holding negative beliefs toward the target. With a large audience, no one feels personally challenged but with a one-on-one interaction perhaps there is more potential that the perceiver would believe that the target is subtly saying that they are biased. Future research needs to address this limitation and identify occasions in which humor might be helpful in decreasing bias, and conditions in which it is less effective, or might backfire.

Another important extension of this research is to identify how comfortable minority targets would actually feel using this strategy. Literature on humor and prejudice, as well as anecdotal evidence would suggest that humor is frequently used to diffuse threat and manage tense social situations. Future research, however, should examine how common this strategy is, if it is a preferred strategy among stigmatized group members, and the conditions under which stigmatized group members are most likely to implement it.

### *Future Directions*

In addition to addressing the limitations noted above, future research would provide important theoretical and applied extensions of this work. For one, a major premise guiding this research is that intergroup, especially interracial, interactions are stressful and rife with concern for both the minority and majority group interaction partners. As the case may be, this research used a relatively mild induction of intergroup contact in which participants simply read a personal profile ostensibly completed by an outgroup target. To more strongly test the influence of acknowledgment humor on attitudes toward the stigmatized target, future research should use a face-to-face interaction. Using a one-on-one interaction could allow for a test to determine whether physiological stress and strain are alleviated by acknowledgement humor. It could also allow for a test of more automatic reactions to the target's use of humor (such as smiling or laughing) and other manifestations of bias that might be less controlled, such as body language, or how far away the perceiver chooses to sit from the stigmatized target after the target uses acknowledgment humor.

Another important extension of this work would be to examine the influence of acknowledgment humor on perceptions of competence. This work used a getting acquainted scenario and so did not have an adequate basis from which to test the influence of humor on judgments of competence. Work by Hebl and Kleck (2002), however, suggests that acknowledging one's stigmatized identity could be used by a stigmatized target in a job hiring scenario. Drawing from this work, it would be pragmatically important to further examine humor's role in this process and to examine if

using humor that acknowledges one's stigmatized identity could be successfully used by a minority target in a job-hiring scenario.

In addition, future research should determine if the effect of acknowledgment humor on decreased bias is unique to particular outgroups. Perhaps groups who are already stereotyped as being humorous (and potentially even whimsical or capricious) would benefit less from acknowledgment humor than those who are stereotyped to be more serious and rigid. For example, bias against women, especially in a job-hiring scenario may not be alleviated if an acknowledgment humor strategy were to be used. The conditions under which women could use humor to appear more competent might be more limited than if this strategy were to be used by ethnic minorities.

### *Conclusions*

A burgeoning area of research has begun to examine how targets of prejudice can effectively change the attitudes, beliefs, and behavior of biased perceivers and produce positive outcomes for themselves and their group. Rather than viewing stigmatized targets as passive and powerless, the Target Empowerment Model and other target-focused bias reduction strategies view the targets of bias as active agents of prejudice reduction (Major, Quinton, McCoy, Schmader, 2010; Crocker & Major, 1989; Oyserman & Swim, 2001). Following the TEM, this work finds that humor that acknowledges one's outgroup identity can be used to reduce bias and future work will continue to identify how humor can promote bias-reduction and be a particularly effective route to attitude change.

## APPENDIX A

*Self-report Measure of Prejudice toward 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.

## APPENDIX B

*Experiment 1: TEM Strategy Manipulation Materials***No Strategy Control**Sex: *Male*Hometown: *Tucson*

Question 1: Tell us a little about yourself.

*My name is Ahmad Hassan. I took this profile photo while on vacation. I'm a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.*

Question 2: How do you spend your free time? Do you have any hobbies?

*I love to read and spend time outdoors.*

Question 3: What is your favorite class at the UofA?

*There are a few, but I took a class in Psychology recently that I enjoyed.***Humor-Only Condition**Sex: *Male*Hometown: *Tucson*

Question 1: Tell us a little about yourself.

*My name is Ahmad Hassan. As my photo shows, I'm kind of a bum, but girls say I'm cute, and by "girls," I mean my mom. ☺**I'm a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.*

Question 2: How do you spend your free time? Do you have any hobbies?

*I love to read and spend time outdoors.*

Question 3: What is your favorite class at the UofA?

*There are a few, but I took a class in Psychology recently that I enjoyed.***Acknowledgment Humor Condition**Sex: *Male*Hometown: *Tucson*

Question 1: Tell us a little about yourself.

*My name is Ahmad Hassan. I know, I'm not what people expect from my photo, but I left my turban at home. ☺**I'm a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.*

Question 2: How do you spend your free time? Do you have any hobbies?

*I love to read and spend time outdoors.*

Question 3: What is your favorite class at the UofA?

*There are a few, but I took a class in Psychology recently that I enjoyed.*

## APPENDIX C

*Experiment 2: TEM Strategy Manipulation Materials***No Strategy Control**

Sex: *Male*

Hometown: *Tucson*

Occupation: *Student*

Religion: *Muslim/Islamic*

Age: *20*

Question 1: Tell us a little about yourself.

*My name is Ahmad Hassan. I like meeting new people.*

Question 2: How do you spend your free time? Do you have any hobbies?

*I'm a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.*

**Humor-Only Condition**

Sex: *Male*

Hometown: *Tucson*

Occupation: *Student*

Religion: *Muslim/Islamic*

Age: *20*

Question 1: Tell us a little about yourself.

*My name is Ahmad Hassan. I'm not what people expect when they meet me -- I'm kind of a bum, but girls say I'm cute, and by "girls," I mean my mom. ☺*

Question 2: How do you spend your free time? Do you have any hobbies?

*I'm a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.*

**Acknowledgment Humor Condition**

Sex: *Male*

Hometown: *Tucson*

Occupation: *Student*

Religion: *Muslim/Islamic*

Age: *20*

Question 1: Tell us a little about yourself.

*My name is Ahmad Hassan. I'm not what people expect when they meet me – but I leave my turban at home. ☺*

Question 2: How do you spend your free time? Do you have any hobbies?

*I'm a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.*

## APPENDIX D

**Information about the Student**

*Please tell us about some of the characteristics of the student profile that you have evaluated today. If the information was not explicitly provided to you, then please give us your best guess or estimate. Please circle YES, NO, or NOT SURE.*

1) The student is male.	YES	NO	NOT SURE
2) The student is Muslim.	YES	NO	NOT SURE
3) The student is a chemistry major.	YES	NO	NOT SURE
4) The student is Hispanic.	YES	NO	NOT SURE
5) The student is from Arizona.	YES	NO	NOT SURE
6) The student is Native American.	YES	NO	NOT SURE
7) The student is a psychology major.	YES	NO	NOT SURE
8) The student is Caucasian.	YES	NO	NOT SURE
9) The student is female.	YES	NO	NOT SURE

## APPENDIX E

*Experiment 3: TEM Strategy Manipulation Materials***No Strategy Control**

Sex: *Male*

Hometown: *Tucson*

Occupation: *Student*

Religion: *Muslim/Islamic*

Age: *20*

Question 1: Tell us a little about yourself.

*My name is Ahmad Hassan. I like meeting new people.*

Question 2: How do you spend your free time? Do you have any hobbies?

*I'm a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.*

**Disparagement Humor Condition**

Sex: *Male*

Hometown: *Tucson*

Occupation: *Student*

Religion: *Muslim/Islamic*

Age: *20*

Question 1: Tell us a little about yourself.

*My name is Ahmad Hassan. I'm not what people expect when they meet me -- I don't even know how to pack a car with explosives. ☺*

Question 2: How do you spend your free time? Do you have any hobbies?

*I'm a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.*

**Acknowledgment Humor Condition**

Sex: *Male*

Hometown: *Tucson*

Occupation: *Student*

Religion: *Muslim/Islamic*

Age: *20*

Question 1: Tell us a little about yourself.

*My name is Ahmad Hassan. I'm not what people expect when they meet me – but I leave my turban at home. ☺*

Question 2: How do you spend your free time? Do you have any hobbies?

*I'm a pretty regular guy. I like to spend time with friends and listen to music.*

## APPENDIX F

University of Arizona  
Campus Budget Survey

Next year's funding for registered student organizations at the University of Arizona have to be cut by 20% (\$24,000) from the 2013-2014 budget of \$120,000. The organizations that will be affected by the budget cut are listed on the following page. You will be provided with a description of each of those organizations.

The Associated Students for the University of Arizona (ASUA), the student governing body, is investigating how the student body believes these funding cuts should be allocated among those organizations. The ASUA has commissioned researchers on campus to aid them in determining how the student population wishes the university to allocate the funding cuts. The ASUA has given us the form on the next page to be completed by participants in our studies.

Each organization has reported that the 2013-2014 budgets were sufficient in funding their needs. However, each has expressed serious concerns that a 20% decrease will severely curtail their programs and possibly threaten their ability to continue operations.

Your task is to allocate budget cuts so that across the five organizations, the overall student organization budget is reduced by 20% (\$24,000). Allocate budget cuts to the organizations as you see fit. We understand that your budget cuts may not add up to exactly \$24,000. However, please try to match an overall budget cut of \$24,000 as closely as you can. After you complete your budget cut allocations, you will be asked to give your perceptions of how other students might respond.

Keep in mind that your opinions are important. The University of Arizona will use student allocations to make recommendations to ASUA, who will represent the student body in the final allocation decisions.

Proposed Budget Cuts  
Student Organizations Information

**Hillel Foundation for Jewish Campus Life**

Hillel seeks to engage every Jewish student on campus, from those with strong Jewish backgrounds to those with none at all. Over the decades, Hillel's approach to education and engagement has evolved. Once seen as "the synagogue on campus," Hillel today encourages students to take ownership of their Jewish experience and define "Jewish" their own way. The destination of their Jewish journey is up to the student — Hillel provides the resources. Hillel helps students expand Jewish knowledge, hone leadership skills, bolster ties to Israel, and volunteer.

**Safe Ride**

The ASUA Safe Ride serves the needs of the University community by providing a free, safe ride for students when traveling alone on campus at night and by providing educational workshops and programs on campus safety. Although not everyone uses Safe Ride, everybody benefits from it! In addition to giving free rides to University of Arizona students, staff, and their guests, Safe Ride provides an official and friendly presence on the streets at night.

**Muslim Student Association (MSA)**

The MSA is a national network of student-led groups aiming to help individuals and groups understand the religion of Islam while promoting cultural diversity and tolerance. The MSA also contributes to the general community with campus-orientated community service events which lend a hand to strengthening bonds between Muslim and non-Muslim students. The MSA's mission is to strengthen the fraternal bonds among its members, and promote friendly relations between Muslim and non-Muslim students.

**Arizona Model United Nations**

Arizona Model United Nations consists of a group of students dedicated to international debate and diplomacy. By simulating the different bodies of the United Nations organization, students learn the dynamics of international politics and the true workings of our global system in order to attempt to enact real change. They test their skills each year in collegiate conferences ranging from San Francisco to Chicago. In the Spring semester, students host and staff our annual bilingual and bi-national high school conference which typically hosts 500 students from all over the Southwest.

**Women's Resource Center**

The University of Arizona Women's Resource Center promotes gender equity through education, leadership development and advocacy. The Women's Resource Center is a student-centered organization which provides resources, information, and programming to the University of Arizona community. We work to enrich our communities through educational programming and by nurturing holistic individual growth through events, and consciousness-raising engagement.

***Associated Students of the University of Arizona (ASUA)***

<b>Student Organization</b>	<b>2012 Budget</b>	<b>Student Proposed Funding Cut</b>	<b>Remaining Budget</b>
Hillel Foundation for Jewish Campus Life	\$24,000	_____	_____
Safe Ride	\$24,000	_____	_____
Muslim Student Association	\$24,000	_____	_____
Arizona Model United Nations	\$24,000	_____	_____
Women's Resource Center	\$24,000	_____	_____
	\$120,000	\$24,000	\$96,000

Do you belong to any of these student organizations? (circle one)

YES            NO

If you answered yes, which ones do you belong to?

Student Perceptions Questionnaire

To what extent do you think *others in the immediate context (those who are joining you in this session)* would approve of cutting funds for each of the organizations listed below?

*For each of the five organizations, please respond on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disapprove) to 7 (strongly approve).*

**Hillel Foundation for Jewish Campus Life**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly Disapprove							Strongly Approve

**Safe Ride**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly Disapprove							Strongly Approve

**Muslim Student Association**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly Disapprove							Strongly Approve

**Arizona Model United Nations**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly Disapprove							Strongly Approve

**Women's Resource Center**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly Disapprove							Strongly Approve

To what extent do you think *the student population in general* would approve cutting funds for each of the organizations listed below?

*For each of the five organizations, please respond on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disapprove) to 7 (strongly approve).*

**Hillel Foundation for Jewish Campus Life**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disapprove						Strongly Approve

**Safe Ride**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disapprove						Strongly Approve

**Muslim Student Association**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disapprove						Strongly Approve

**Arizona Model United Nations**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disapprove						Strongly Approve

**Women's Resource Center**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disapprove						Strongly Approve

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