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The Effects of Speaker Race on Whites' Affective and Cognitive Reactions to Statements about Racial Inequalities

Manisha Gupta
UMass Amherst

THE EFFECTS OF SPEAKER RACE ON WHITES' AFFECTIVE AND COGNITIVE REACTIONS TO STATEMENTS ABOUT RACIAL INEQUALITIES

A Dissertation Presented

by

MANISHA GUPTA

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Approved as to style and content by:

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Brian Lickel, Chair

_____

Linda Tropp, Member

_____

Nilanjana Dasgupta, Member

_____

Maureen Perry-Jenkins, Member

_____

Hannah Ebonong Branch, Member

_____

Melinda Novak, Department Head
Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences

DEDICATION

To my parents, without whose support it would not have been possible for me to pursue and complete my Ph.D.

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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF SPEAKER RACE ON WHITES' AFFECTIVE AND COGNITIVE REACTIONS TO STATEMENTS ABOUT RACIAL INEQUALITIES

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MANISHA GUPTA, B.S, B.A., UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

M.S., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Associate Professor Brian Lickel

Three experiments examined the effects of speaker race on Whites' reactions to statements expressing prejudice towards Blacks and affirmative action policies. In Experiment 1, participants read an argument by either a White or Black author stating that discrimination against Blacks no longer exists, and that affirmative action policies are no longer needed. Results indicated that Whites, particularly those highly motivated to respond without prejudice, were more likely to agree with the Black versus White author. Experiment 2 extended the within-minority group speaker results of Study 1 by finding that an inter-minority group (Asian) speaker was also generally more persuasive than the White author. Finally, Experiment 3 tested the effectiveness of an intervention strategy, finding that confrontation of the Black author by either a Black or White person indirectly reduced agreement with the Black author's statements. These findings help to further understanding of the circumstances under which Whites recognize the existence of racial discrimination and support public policies that aim to reduce racial inequalities.

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CHAPTER 1

WHITES' REACTIONS TO THE JUSTIFICATION OF WHITE PRIVILEGE

Introduction

In recent decades, there has been a growth in the number of ethnic minorities reaching positions of high public visibility and power in the U.S. These high-profile ethnic minorities may seem to justify the perception that ethnic equality in the U.S. has been achieved. However, I argue it is to the advantage of Whites to support the visibility of ethnic minorities whose views justify the system and support Whites' position in society. While concerns over appearing racist may limit the extent to which Whites are willing to openly agree with other Whites who express negative beliefs about ethnic minorities in the United States, I believe that the same concerns about racism may not exist when Whites witness ethnic minorities expressing these same negative beliefs. Furthermore, Whites may see ethnic minorities as being able to more accurately speak about the barriers (or lack thereof) ethnic groups face in the U.S. Thus, arguments by non-Whites that state that ethnic minorities no longer face barriers in society may have important implications for understanding reduction in support for public policies that are designed to help alleviate racial inequalities. For example, Herman Cain, an African American who was a candidate for the Republican Party 2012 Presidential nomination, once famously stated that "discrimination no longer holds [African Americans] back in a big way, and that people sometimes use racism as an excuse for not achieving success." Thus, as statements that justify ethnic prejudice are not made only by Whites, but by ethnic minorities as well, I believe it is increasingly important to understand how Whites interpret and react to the views of not only Whites, but also to ethnic minorities who express anti-minority prejudice, or who minimize the existence of racism.

While White prejudice may be of utmost importance in society, my dissertation research seeks to demonstrate how ethnic minorities' expression of prejudice towards one another can work in subtle ways to help justify the system and maintain White privilege. To my knowledge, previous research that has examined Whites' reactions to the expression of prejudice has solely examined how Whites reacts to other Whites expressing negative beliefs about ethnic minorities. Thus, the primary goal of my dissertation was to examine how the race of a speaker (White vs. non White) influences Whites' reactions to statements that support the status quo and endorse negative beliefs about ethnic minorities.

In what follows, I will first review what is known from the current literature on Whites' reactions to expression of prejudice towards ethnic minorities. Next, I will provide evidence to support the hypothesis that the race of a communicator can influence the extent to which Whites endorse prejudice towards ethnic minorities, as well as a description of the mediating processes by which I believe this phenomenon occurs. Finally, I will present the results of three experiments examining how the race of a communicator influences how Whites respond to statements that claim that ethnic discrimination no longer exists and negative beliefs about ethnic minorities are justified.

Factors That Influence Whites' Expression and Endorsement of Prejudice

In today's society, it has become less socially acceptable for Whites to express prejudice towards ethnic minorities. As a result of the changing times, many Whites have adopted egalitarian attitudes, and are motivated to avoid expressing attitudes or engaging behaviors in which their behavior may be perceived to be racist (e.g., Devine & Plant, 1998; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Monin & Miller, 2001; Monteith, 1993). While social desirability concerns have made overt displays of prejudice less common in today's society, studies

on aversive racism have shown that individuals who hold egalitarian views may exhibit prejudice towards ethnic minorities when there are not strong situational cues to indicate that their behavior is prejudiced (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Related research examining the social acceptability of expression of prejudice has found that while Whites generally view prejudice against ethnic minorities to be socially unacceptable (particularly White prejudice against Blacks), Whites are less likely to be motivated to suppress their prejudices when social norms do not dictate them to do so (e.g., Crandall, Eshleman & O'Brien, 2002; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Furthermore, the justification-suppression model (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) suggests that genuine prejudices are not directly expressed but are restrained by beliefs, values, and norms that suppress them; however, prejudices will be expressed when there are perceived justifications to do so.

While past research has shown that Whites are aware that it is not socially acceptable for Whites to express prejudice towards ethnic minorities, less is known about how Whites react to ethnic minorities expressing negative beliefs towards other ethnic minorities. While Whites may be afraid to agree with a White individual who expresses negative beliefs towards ethnic minorities in an effort to appear egalitarian, I argue that Whites may not have the same concerns about appearing racist when a non-White individual expresses negative attitudes towards other ethnic minorities. Furthermore, while Whites might be tempted to view other Whites' negative beliefs about minorities as being based in prejudice, I argue that they are more likely to see an ethnic minority's negative beliefs about their own and other minority groups as more accurate and honest. Thus, Whites may feel more free to express negative beliefs about ethnic minorities when they see someone who is an ethnic minority endorsing these attitudes. While the expression of prejudice is traditionally conceptualized as the expression of negative attitudes, my research takes a broader perspective to examine different methods of expressing prejudice (i.e. beliefs that discrimination does not exist, ethnic stereotypes are justified, and that redistributive policies are no longer

needed.) My proposed research aims to test the hypothesis that Whites will be more willing to express agreement with a non-White (versus White) speaker who argues that ethnic discrimination no longer exists in the United States, and that prejudice towards ethnic minorities is justified. In order to provide support for my hypothesis, I will begin by reviewing relevant literature that has examined the role of a communicator's social category memberships (such as race) on audience members' receptiveness to messages.

The Influence of Communicator Race

Scholars have recognized the need to turn to the attitude and persuasion literature to gain a better understanding of when messages that either confront or deny ethnic prejudice are likely to be persuasive (Schultz and Maddox, 2013). Thus, I will provide a short overview of how the persuasion literature (in particular, research grounded in the Elaboration Likelihood Model, Petty & Cacciopo, 1986), has examined how the race of a communicator affects receptiveness to messages, before examining this issue more directly in the prejudice literature. The Elaboration Likelihood Model (Petty & Cacciopo, 1986) states that people form attitudes in one of two ways – either through central or peripheral processing. Petty and Cacciopo (1986) argue that when an individual processes centrally, the individual focuses on the content of the message. When taking the peripheral route, however, individuals are more likely to rely on salient cues (e.g., communicator race) in forming judgments, without elaborating on the content of the message presented. Past research in the attitude and persuasion literature has primarily examined the how the race of a communicator can influence the processing of messages that are *race-irrelevant* (e.g., consumer buying patterns). Much of this research has examined how race can serve as a peripheral cue for judgments in advertising contexts (Harkins, 1994; Whittler, 1989; White, Whittler & DiMeo, 1991). For example, Whittler and DiMeo (1991) examined participants' ratings of a product and advertisement after they watched a commercial featuring either a Black or White spokesperson.

The authors found that Whites were less likely to purchase the product and had less favorable attitudes towards the advertisement when the ad featured a Black versus White spokesperson. The authors conclude that audience members use the race of the spokesperson as a peripheral cue when making judgments about the product or advertisement in general.

Further research in the advertising literature has found that audience members are particularly likely to use the race of a communicator as a peripheral cue when they have strong ethnic attitudes (Quails & Moore, 1990; Whittler, 1989). For example, Whittler (1989) found that individuals gave higher ratings to an advertisement when there was a match between the race of the spokesperson and audience (e.g., White spokesperson and White audience), but that this relationship was stronger for Whites who reported higher levels of ethnic prejudice. More recent research gives support to the idea that an individual's level of prejudice can influence the extent to which they process messages by members of stigmatized groups (Fleming, Petty & White, 2005; Livingston & Sinclair, 2008; Petty, Fleming & White, 1999). One of the main limitations of past research is that it has not addressed how audience members' attitudes towards the communicator may vary as a function of the race of the communicator and the content of the message (either race-irrelevant versus race-relevant messages). Rather, the majority of past research has examined how a Black or White spokesperson can influence ratings of consumer products (e.g. laundry detergent), which I argue are not likely to be of high relevance to an audience member's self-image. In addition, the products that either the Black or White spokesperson was attempting to sell in these studies were not relevant to the ethnic identity of the spokesperson. Because both of these factors likely play a role in the audience member's reactions to the spokesperson's message, I argue that it is important to develop a greater understanding of how the race of a communicator influences message processing when the message content is *race-relevant*.

Research in the confrontation of prejudice literature lends more direct support for the idea

that the social category membership of the communicator may influence how audience members react to race-relevant messages. However, this research has been limited to investigation of how individuals react to a communicator *confronting* ethnic prejudice, with no research yet examining how individuals react to communicator *denying* ethnic prejudice. For example, Czopp and Monteith (2003) asked White participants to imagine themselves in a scenario in which they had made a prejudiced remark, and were subsequently confronted about their remark by either a target (Black) or nontarget (White) group member. The authors then asked participants to rate what their attitudes, thoughts, and behaviors would likely be after such an interaction. Czopp and Monteith found that participants reported feeling guiltier and less annoyed after being confronted by a White than by a Black person, with these effects being the strongest for people who reported high levels of prejudice towards Blacks. Rasinksi and Czopp (2010) expanded upon these interpersonal confrontation findings by examining how third party observers react to observing confrontations of prejudice by either a Black (target) or White (nontarget) person. Participants watched a video in which a White speaker made prejudiced statements, and was subsequently confronted by either a Black or White confronter. Participants who watched the White confronter were more likely to be persuaded by the confrontation, and were more likely to agree that the original White speaker had a high level of prejudice. In contrast, participants who watched the Black confronter were more likely to rate the confronter as rude, and also showed higher agreement with the White speaker's biased statement. The findings in the confrontation literature have been mixed, with one study finding that *both* Black and White confronters of prejudice are viewed more negatively than those who do not confront (Czopp, Mark & Monteith, 2006). Despite these mixed results, there seems to be general evidence that members of stigmatized groups are more likely to be perceived negatively for confronting prejudice than members of a dominant group.

More recent research has attempted to connect the attitude and persuasion and confronting prejudice literatures to more systematically understand when stronger backlash against ethnic minorities who confront prejudice may occur. In a series of experiments, Schultz & Maddox (2013) had White participants watch a video of a Black or White student making no claim, a mild claim, or an extreme claim that ethnic bias against Blacks existed on the university campus. Schultz and Maddox found that participants were more likely to evaluate Black confronters more negatively than Whites when making extreme claims of prejudice, but that this difference disappeared when the claims of prejudice were milder. In addition, participants were more likely to rate Black confronters more negatively when the perceived quality of the arguments was low, but that White and Black confronters were rated similarly when the perceived quality of the arguments was high. Finally, participants who held stronger meritocratic beliefs were most likely to show evaluative backlash towards the Black confronter. Schultz and Maddox argue that elements of the communicator, the message, and the audience may play a role in determining when minorities are likely to face backlash when making claims of ethnic prejudice. While the existing research provides some evidence to suggest that the race of the communicator may influence how audience members react to claims of ethnic discrimination, we currently know relatively little about *why* the race of a communicator may influence how persuasive they are perceived to be.

Overview of Theoretical Framework

In investigating how the race of a communicator influences Whites' processing of messages about ethnic discrimination, my dissertation research expanded upon the current literature in several ways. First, past research has solely focused on how the race of a communicator influences the ways in which Whites react to *claims* of ethnic prejudice and discrimination. In contrast, my research sought to examine how a communicator's race influences Whites' reactions to statements arguing that ethnic prejudice and discrimination *does not* exist. While past research has focused on

reactions to claims of ethnic bias, I argue that understanding when and why Whites are likely to express agreement with viewpoints that *deny* ethnic prejudice and discrimination exists is equally important for attempting to reduce ethnic inequalities. Specifically, I hypothesized that Whites would be more likely to agree that ethnic discrimination no longer exists in the U.S. and that prejudice towards ethnic minorities is justified when presented with these arguments by a non-White vs. White speaker. I hypothesized that these effects would occur as a result of two processes that are influenced by the race of the speaker: perceptions of **source credibility** and the extent to which the speaker's ethnic identity causes the perceiver to experience **image threat** (see Figure 1).

The first goal of my studies was to examine how **source credibility** influences Whites' reactions to messages stating that ethnic discrimination no longer exists. In their work, Czopp and Monteith (2003) hypothesize that White confronters of prejudice may be more persuasive than Black confronters because Whites are perceived to be speaking against their self-interest (i.e., trustworthy); however, they have not directly tested participants' perceptions of speaker trustworthiness in their studies. Research from the attitude and persuasion literature has found that when individuals take a position that violates their group's interest they are perceived as more trustworthy and message processing is increased (Petty, Fleming, Priester & Feinstein, 2001). While trustworthiness has been hypothesized to be a reason why nontarget confronters may be perceived differently than target confronters, this relationship has not yet been directly tested. My dissertation expands upon this previous research to investigate how the two central elements of source credibility (perceived trustworthiness and expertise) influence how messages about ethnic discrimination from a White vs. non-White communicator are processed. While past scholars have suggested that Whites are seen as more trustworthy when *confronting* prejudice against ethnic minorities, I hypothesized that ethnic minorities will be seen as more credible sources than Whites when the messages argue that prejudice against ethnic minorities *does not* exist.

The second goal of my dissertation research was to offer a novel investigation of the role **image threat** plays in Whites' reactions to messages stating ethnic discrimination no longer exists. While the source credibility pathway focuses primarily on perceptions of the communicator, the image threat pathway will focus primarily on the individual's motivations to maintain a positive image of the self when receiving a message. I hypothesized that White participants would be more motivated to express shame and disagreement with the opinions of a White (versus ethnic minority) author, due to the shared ethnic identity that they have with the White author. In comparison, I hypothesized that Whites would not feel as threatened when presented with the arguments of an ethnic minority speaker, and would thus be more likely to express agreement with an ethnic minority speaker's arguments.

Image Threat and the "White Racist" Stereotype

A growing body of literature has begun to examine the stereotypes or beliefs that a person believes outgroup members hold of their group, a concept that Vorauer and her colleagues refer to as "meta-stereotypes" (Vorauer, Main & O'Connell, 1998). Vorauer et al. (1998) argue that a consensus can be formed about how outgroup members see the ingroup, just as the ingroup forms stereotypes of the outgroup. In an initial study of this concept, Vorauer et al. (1998) found that White Canadians believed that indigenous Canadians' stereotypes of White Canadians were primarily unfavorable, including the perception that White Canadians are racist. The majority of the research that has examined Whites' awareness of the "White racist" stereotype has investigated how it influences Whites' interactions with ethnic minorities (e.g., Marx, Steele & Goff, 2008; Vorauer et al., 1998, Vorauer, Hunter, Main & Roy, 2000; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001).

Vorauer and her colleagues have demonstrated in several studies that White Canadians frame interethnic interactions in terms of how they expect to be stereotyped by their outgroup

partner (Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001; Vorauer et al. 2000; Vorauer et al., 1998). For example, in a series of studies examining the relationship between White Canadians and indigenous Canadians, Vorauer et al. (1998) demonstrated that White Canadians believed that indigenous Canadians' stereotypes of White Canadians were primarily unfavorable, including the perception of White Canadians as racist. Vorauer et al. (1998) also found that the White Canadians' impressions of the subsequent interaction with their indigenous partner were negatively influenced by the degree to which they felt they had been stereotyped as prejudiced. Subsequent studies by Vorauer and colleagues found that the degree to which White Canadians experienced activation of the White racist meta-stereotype when interacting with indigenous Canadians was dependent on the White individual's level of prejudice towards indigenous peoples (Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001) and their concerns with being evaluated by their partner (Vorauer et al. 2000). The results of this research indicate that the feeling of being stereotype negatively by an outgroup member constitutes a threat to personal self-concept, and that individuals may avoid intergroup interactions in an effort to avoid being stereotyped as racist. Research by Goff, Steele and Davies (2008) also supported this hypothesis that Whites feel threatened by the possibility of being stereotyped as racist, and individuals will engage in ethnic distancing behaviors when interacting with Black conversation partners in an effort to not appear prejudiced. The meta-stereotype literature provides some evidence that Whites believe that a stereotype of Whites being racist exists in society, and that they will engage in behaviors in order to avoid being stereotyped as racist (i.e. avoid a threat to their group image).

Group Image Threat and the White Racist Stereotype

In what follows, I use the group-based emotion literature as an introduction to the processes people may engage in when experiencing a threat to their group image. In addition to feeling negative emotions for one's own personal attitudes and actions, a growing body of research

has examined the experience of group-based emotions, in particular shame, guilt, and anger in response to the negative actions of fellow ingroup members (e.g., Doosje, Branscombe, Spears & Manstead, 1998; Iyer, Leach & Crosby, 2003; Iyer, Schmader & Lickel, 2007; Johns, Schmader & Lickel, 2005; Leach, Iyer & Pederson, 2006; Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier & Ames, 2005). While shame and guilt have traditionally been thought of as being similar constructs (e.g., Smith & Ellsworth, 1985), more recent research has shown that these self-conscious emotions are distinct (e.g., Niendenthal, Tangney & Gavanski, 1994; Tangney & Dearing, 2003; Tangney, Miller, Flicker & Barlow, 1996).

Lickel et al. (2005) extended the framework of Tangney and colleagues to understand the antecedents and consequences of shame versus guilt in response to the actions of ingroup members. The authors' findings show that the extent to which an individual feels shame or guilt over an ingroup member's transgression depends in part upon their social association with the group member. The authors asked participants to recall instances in which they felt vicariously ashamed or guilty for an ingroup member's transgressions, and then record the emotions that this event evoked. Factor analyses were used to create composite measures for both guilt (guilty, regret, remorse) and shame (ashamed, embarrassed, disgraced, humiliated). The authors found that guilt over an ingroup member's blameworthy actions can be predicted by the extent to which the individual feels a sense of interdependence with the wrongdoer, or as if they should have exhibited some control over the situation. In contrast, individuals reported feeling shame over another's wrongdoing to the extent that they felt that the person's behavior was relevant to a social identity that they shared in common with the wrongdoer and appraised the other person's behavior as a negative reflection on themselves. Lickel et al. (2005) found that when an ingroup member's actions are *identity relevant*, such that their actions confirm a negative stereotype about the group, individuals appraise the actions as a threat to their self-image (*image threat appraisal)*. That is, they feel as if the perpetrator's actions reflect negatively on their shared identity or reflect

poorly on them as an individual, and experience feelings of *shame*. In the context of my dissertation research, I proposed that Whites are motivated to avoid being stereotyped as "racist," and that an ingroup member who acts in ways which confirm this stereotype will lead individuals to experience image threat. I hypothesized that Whites would then be motivated to differentiate themselves from the transgressor (i.e., show disagreement with the author), and make efforts to repair the situation (i.e., show increased support for redistributive policies).

Further research has supported the claim that shame is uniquely associated with threats to the group image across various group contexts. For example, Johns et al. (2005) examined White American participants' emotional responses to witnessing anti-Arab prejudice after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, finding that shame was linked to image threat from prejudiced actions. Iyer et al. (2007) built upon these findings to examine when individuals are motivated to protest the transgressions of their country. Participants from the U.S. and Great Britain were asked to rate the extent to which their countries' ongoing occupation of Iraq elicited the emotions of anger, guilt and shame. Shame was increased by an image threat manipulation that focused participants on Iraqi's negative views of the character of the U.S. (or Britain). Shame was also found to predict support of the withdrawal of troops from Iraq. Interestingly, ingroup directed anger was also affected by the image threat manipulation, and not only predicted support for withdrawal from Iraq, but also willingness to support confrontation of ingroup members responsible for drawing the U.S. (or Britain) into the war in Iraq.

Despite general evidence that shame is most closely associated with self-defensive behaviors, other research has found that under certain contexts, shame may also predict support for pro-social behaviors as well. For example, Brown, González, Zagefka, Manzi, & Čehajić (2008) examined the role that both collective shame and guilt play in support for reparations towards the Mapuche people, the largest indigenous group in Chile, over two time periods. Across three studies, Brown et al. (2008) found that while shame had no direct longitudinal effects on support for

reparation, it was found to have cross-sectional association with support for reparation. While shame has typically been found to lead to avoidance-related behaviors, their results suggest that people might temporarily cope with the reputational aspect of shame by offering a public form of reparation to enhance the public image of their group (see Schmader & Lickel, 2005).

Thus, one of the goals of my dissertation research was to examine the extent to which Whites experience image threat (i.e. the threat of confirming the White racist stereotype) when reading an op-ed piece that states that expresses prejudice towards ethnic minorities and states that ethnic discrimination no longer exists. In my dissertation research, my primary focus was to include measures that research in the group-based emotions literature has linked to image threat; in particular, feelings of shame. However, given past research (e.g., Doosje et al., 1998; Iyer et al. 2007; Iyer et al., 2003; Leach et al., 2006; Lickel et al., 2005) has also shown increases in anger or guilt in response to ingroup wrongdoing, my dissertation included assessment of a range of emotions in order to most precisely define the particular emotional response that Whites have in response to a message that expresses ethnic prejudice and denies racial inequalities.

I hypothesized that White participants would feel a high degree of image threat when a White communicator argues that ethnic discrimination does not exist, due to the shared ethnic group membership that they have with the White communicator. I predicted that Whites would then be motivated to distance themselves from the communicator and make efforts to repair their group identity, in order to negate the stereotype of Whites being racist. In contrast, I predicted that Whites would feel low image threat when the communicator is an ethnic minority, as the communicator's opinions will not be seen as a negative reflection on the White ethnic group. As a result, I hypothesized that Whites would be more willing to express agreement with the communicator's viewpoints, and less likely to support reparations when the communicator is an ethnic minority.

The Moderating Role of Motivation to Respond without Prejudice

One of the factors that may influence the extent to which participants are differentially influenced by the race of the author of the op-ed is the extent to which they are motivated to hold egalitarian attitudes, or control their prejudice towards ethnic minorities. Plant and Devine (1998) proposed that individuals vary in the degree to which they feel internally motivated (i.e., how important being unprejudiced is to one's self-concept), as well as externally motivated (i.e., how concerned one is about appearing prejudiced to others) to respond without prejudice. In my dissertation research, I hypothesized that an individual's *internal* motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) will play a significant role in determining their reactions to the op-ed piece. Previous research has shown that individuals who are high in IMS feel threatened when confronted with an ingroup member's behavior that confirms the stereotype of Whites being racist. For example, Schmader, Croft, Scarnier, Lickel and Mendes (2012) found that the higher White participants were in IMS, the greater the threat (via negative affect and distress-related physiological responses) they showed to witnessing a White person make anti-diversity statements when interacting with a Black partner. The lower the participants were in IMS, the greater the distress-related psychological response they had to the pro-diversity discussion; external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS) was largely irrelevant to participants' responses to the anti-diversity discussion. Building upon these findings, I hypothesized that White individuals who are high (versus low) in IMS would feel more threatened by a White communicator expressing the viewpoint that ethnic discrimination no longer exists, and that negative beliefs towards minorities are justified.

I also predicted that IMS would have a moderating effect on the extent to which individuals perceive a source to be credible. While persuasion researchers have not yet directly examined the effects of motivations to respond without prejudice on message processing, some research has

examined the moderating role of an individual's level of prejudice on their processing of messages by members of stigmatized groups (Fleming, Petty & White, 2005; Livingston & Sinclair, 2008; Petty, Fleming & White, 1999). Petty et al. (1999) found that low prejudiced individuals were more likely to be persuaded by high quality arguments by Black or homosexual communicators, whereas high prejudiced individuals are more likely to be persuaded by high quality arguments by White or heterosexual individuals. The authors argue that low prejudiced individuals may be motivated to process the messages of stigmatized group members more closely in an effort to appear fair and objective. In more recent research, however, scholars have found that even low-prejudiced individuals may reject the arguments of a stigmatized source when the message is perceived to be as both self-relevant and threatening (Livingston & Sinclair, 2008). While the existing attitude and persuasion literature has not directly measured motivation to control prejudice as a moderator, the Elaboration Likelihood Model acknowledges that an individual's motivations may influence their processing of a message. Furthermore, while the existing research has focused on the influence of pre-existing ethnic attitudes, I argue that it is important to more directly examine how people's motivations to appear unprejudiced may influence their message processing. Thus, in my dissertation, I hypothesized that IMS would moderate the extent to which Whites perceive the author to be a credible source. Whereas I predicted that people who are low in IMS would display an ingroup preference for the White communicator's message, I hypothesized that individuals who are high in IMS should be more motivated to view the ethnic minority speakers as credible, and will therefore be more likely to find the non-White speaker as persuasive.

Goals of the Current Research

The primary goal of my dissertation was to examine how the race of a communicator (White vs. non-White) would affect Whites' beliefs about ethnic prejudice and discrimination in the U.S. Past research has found that Whites expect ethnic minorities to make claims of ethnic

discrimination (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Schultz & Maddox, 2013); thus, statements by ethnic minorities that ethnic discrimination does *not* exist are more likely to be processed closely, and can have implications for public support for redistributive policies. Thus, Study 1 investigated whether Whites would be more willing to express agreement with a target (Black) versus nontarget (White) author who endorses the beliefs that ethnic discrimination no longer exists and that negative stereotypes of Blacks are justified. Study 2 builds upon the findings of Study 1 by adding an Asian author condition to investigate whether the differences in the persuasiveness of a White vs. non-White author were specific to a speaker from the target minority group (Blacks), or if there would similar effects when the author is from a different ethnic minority group (Asians). Following the results of Studies 1 and 2, Study 3 tested the effectiveness of an intervention strategy (i.e. the salience of a dissenting opinion) on participants' willingness to agree with a target (Black) author.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1

Overview

The objective of Study 1 was to investigate how the race of a communicator affects Whites' willingness to express agreement with the viewpoint that ethnic discrimination no longer exists against Blacks, and that negative stereotypes of Blacks are justified. I hypothesized that Whites would be more likely to express agreement with the viewpoints of the Black communicator (versus the White communicator). Furthermore, I hypothesized that these effects would be moderated by the participant's level of motivation to control prejudice (IMS) toward Blacks, such that high IMS participants will be more persuaded by the Black communicator. Finally, I predicted that the effect of author race on agreement with the author would be mediated by perceptions of source credibility and image threat, and that this mediation would be moderated by participants' level of IMS.

Method

Participants

494 self-identified White participants from ages 18-60 were recruited from Amazon Mechanical MTurk over Fall 2013 and Spring 2014, and were compensated 50 cents for their participation. Nine participants indicated in that they were aware of the purpose of the study and were excluded from analyses, and three participants were who reported recognizing the author's picture of the opinion-editorial were also excluded. The resulting participant pool for Study 1 was 482 White participants (*M*age = 32.91, SD = 9.67, female = 55.6%).

Design and Procedure

The design for Study 1 was a 1 x 4 (experimental condition: baseline, no author specified, White author, or Black author) between subjects design. Participants were recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk), an online workplace in which workers can sign up to complete assignments for compensation. Participants were limited to those individuals who indicated in a pre-screening that they were between 18-60 years of age, identified as White, and live in the United States.

Participants were told that they were being invited to participate in a study examining the effectiveness of online communication through a variety of mediums, such as online blogs and opinion-editorial pieces. After providing their informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to either the baseline condition, or one of three conditions with an opinion-editorial article stating that discrimination no longer exists in the U.S., ostensibly written by either a Black author, White author, or an unidentified author (see Appendix A). The race of the Black and White authors was manipulated through the use of (fictitious) names and headshots that were rated as highly stereotypical Black or White in pre-screening tests.

After reading the opinion-editorial piece, participants were given the option of providing an open-ended response to the author. Participants were then asked to fill out several close-ended measures assessing their feelings towards the author and the article, as well as measures of their general social and political attitudes. Participants then completed an explicit recall of author race[1], some brief demographics, and were thanked and debriefed.

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[1] Approximately 89% of participants reported recalling the author's race correctly in the White author condition, and 82% in the Black author condition. As the pattern of results was not found to be dependent upon exclusion of participants who did not accurately recall author race, all participants were included in the subsequent analyses to retain power. As expected, author race recall in the unidentified author

Materials

Affect. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they felt each of the following emotions in response to the opinion-editorial on a 9-point scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all)* to 9 (*very much*): sad, anxious, offended, upset, calm, disgusted, embarrassed, proud, angry at author, angry at self, guilty, good, remorseful, happy and ashamed.

Author Perceived Trustworthiness. Trustworthiness was measured with five items adapted from Ohanian (1990), assessing perceptions of the author as dishonest/honest, insincere/sincere, undependable/dependable, unreliable/reliable, and untrustworthy/trustworthy on a 9-point bi-polar scale, with higher numbers indicating higher levels of perceived author trustworthiness (α = .91)

Perceived Author Expertise. Perceived expertise was measured by three items assessing the extent to which participants viewed the author as being qualified, knowledgeable, and having expertise on the subject on a 9-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 9 (*strongly agree*), with higher numbers indicating higher levels of perceived author expertise (α = .90).

Perceived Persuasiveness. A composite for perceived argument strength was created from three items assessing perceptions of the article's persuasiveness, argument quality, likeability, and convincingness on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all)* to 9 (*extremely*) (α = .97).

Author Agreement. A composite for author agreement was created from two items (α = .95), including "please indicate whether you disagree or agree with the author's viewpoint that programs that seek to provide opportunities for underrepresented ethnic minorities (e.g., affirmative action) are no longer needed," and "please indicate the extent to which you generally

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condition was more mixed, with only 52% stating the race was unidentified, and 29% stating the author was White; all participants were subsequently included in analyses.

disagree or agree with the author's opinions in the op-ed article you read today"; both items were answered on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Support for Affirmative Action. Participants completed Swim & Miller's (1999) measure of support for affirmative action (α = .88). This measure consisted of eight items assessing support for affirmative action policies, e.g., "after years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that Blacks are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment and education," on a 9-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Motivation to Respond without Prejudice. Participants completed Plant & Devine's (1998) measure of internal (IMS) and external motivation (EMS) to respond without prejudice. Five items were used to measure internal motivation to respond without prejudice, e.g., "I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward Blacks because it is personally important to me," (α = .88), and five items were used to measure external motivation to respond without prejudice, e.g. "if I acted prejudiced toward Blacks, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me." All items were answered on a 9-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 9 (*strongly agree*).

Political Orientation. Participants' political beliefs were assessed on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*very liberal*) to 9 (*very conservative*).

Exploratory Measures. Additional items were included in this survey for exploratory purposes but not central to the purpose of this dissertation were close-ended measures of White stereotype threat (adapted from Marx & Goff, 2005), meritocracy (adapted from Major, Gramzow, McCoy, Levin, Schmader, & Sidanius, 2002), White guilt (adapted from Swim & Miller, 1999), importance of ethnic identity (adapted from Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), distancing from the author

(adapted from Lickel et al., 2005), intergroup attitudes, perceptions of intergroup prejudice and discrimination, additional measures of perceptions of the author, an open-ended response to the opinion-editorial author, an open-ended measure of White meta-stereotypes, and various demographic variables.

Results

My analytical strategy for Study 1 was to first conduct a one-way ANOVA on each of the composite measures of affective response, source credibility, and support for the author's position, in order to determine the simple effects of the experimental manipulation of author race. I then tested the extent which IMS moderated experimental effects; in particular, differences between White author and Black author conditions. Finally, I tested my full moderated mediation model.

Main Effects

Affect

The 15 affect items were submitted to a maximum likelihood factor analysis with Varimax rotation, which yielded three main factors. The strongest factor loading was what I will refer to as anger: angry at author, disgusted, offended, and upset (α = .94). A second factor of compunction was captured by the items: remorse, angry at self, and guilty (α = .86). The third factor of positive affect included the items: good, proud and happy (α = .92). Finally, the items "ashamed" and "embarrassed" was found to have significant cross-loadings on both the anger and compunction factors; preliminary analyses on each of the individual emotion items (see Table 1) indicated that "ashamed" and "embarrassed" were operating differently than both the compunction and anger items, supporting the decision to create a separate composite for shame (α = .89). The items "calm"

"anxious" and "sad" were dropped from further analyses due to weak loadings or significant-cross loadings.

I next examined the effect of experimental condition (White author, Black author, unidentified author) on participants' affective responses to the article (see Table 2). A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA indicated there was a difference in anger by condition, $F(2, 349) = 15.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Anger was higher in the White author condition ($M = 4.20$) than in both the Black author condition ($M = 2.58$) and the unidentified author condition ($M = 3.16$); there were no significant differences in anger between the Black author and unidentified author conditions ($p = .15$)[2]. A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA also found shame to differ by condition, $F(2, 349) = 8.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Feelings of shame were not significantly different between the White author ($M = 3.24$) and unidentified author ($M = 2.94$); however, shame in both of these conditions was significantly higher than in the Black author condition ($M = 2.14$). A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA also indicated there were differences in positive affect by condition, $F(2, 350) = 3.15$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Post-hoc analyses found that positive affect was significantly higher in the Black author condition ($M = 4.10$) than in the White author condition ($M = 3.33$); there were no significant differences found between the unidentified author condition ($M = 3.57$) and the other two conditions. Finally, an omnibus ANOVA test indicated that there were no significant differences in compunction across condition, $F(2, 349) = 0.22$, $p = .80$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$.

Source Credibility

I next examined the effect of experimental condition on participants' perceptions of author trustworthiness and expertise. A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA indicated that perceptions of author trustworthiness differed across conditions, $F(2, 350) = 20.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Post-hoc analyses found significant differences in perceived trustworthiness between all three conditions,

[2] All post-hoc analyses were conducted using Tukey's tests of difference.

such that perceived author trustworthiness was highest in the Black author condition (M = 6.64), followed by the unidentified author condition (M = 5.71) and lowest in the White author condition (M = 5.13). The author's perceived expertise was also shown to differ across conditions in a significant omnibus one-way ANOVA, $F(2, 350) = 45.94$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$. Post-hoc analyses found significant differences in perceived expertise between all three conditions, such that perceived author expertise was highest in the Black author condition (M = 6.05), followed by the unidentified author condition (M = 4.67) and lowest in the White author condition (M = 3.47).

Support for Author's Position

Next, I focused on examining whether the experiment had an effect on participants' agreement with the author. First, a significant omnibus ANOVA indicated that participants' perceptions of how persuasive the article was varied across conditions, $F(2, 350) = 15.41$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Post-hoc analyses showed that there were significant differences in reported persuasiveness between all three conditions, such that persuasiveness was rated highest in the Black author condition (M = 5.63), followed by the unidentified author (M = 5.00), with the White author being seen as the least persuasive (M = 3.79). An ANOVA examining agreement with the author found similar results, $F(2, 350) = 7.00$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, with agreement with the author being highest in the Black author condition (M = 5.59), followed by the unidentified author condition (M = 5.16), and agreement in the White author condition being lowest (M = 4.28). Interestingly, an omnibus one-way ANOVA found that participants' support for affirmative action did not differ between the four conditions, $F(3,478) = 1.62$, $p = .18$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, suggesting that the experiment had a significant effect on participants' agreement with the author and the article, but it did not have as a strong an effect on a more global measure of support for affirmative action.

Correlational Analyses

Correlations between the dependent variables are shown below the diagonal in Table 3. In what follows, I focus on the relationship between my proposed mediators (affect, trustworthiness, and expertise) and my primary dependent variable of author agreement. As predicted, both perceived author trustworthiness, $r(353) = .80$, $p < .001$ and perceived author expertise, $r(353) = .80$, $p < 0.001$ were highly correlated with agreement with the author. Of the negative affect composites, anger, $r(353) = -.65$, $p < .001$ was the strongest predictor of disagreement with the author, followed by shame, $r(353) = -.39$, $p < 0.001$ and compunction, $r(353) = -.14$, $p = .01$; conversely, positive affect was found to be positively related to agreement with the author, $r(353) = .65$, $p < .001$.

Moderation Analyses

The next goal of my analyses was to investigate the hypothesis that the effects of experimental condition would be moderated by participants' level of IMS, such that participants who reported higher levels of IMS would be more likely to agree with the Black (versus White) author. In order to examine this hypothesis, I followed the steps outlined by Hayes (2013) and Model 2 in his PROCESS macro for SPSS to conduct moderation analyses with a multicategorical predictor. As past research has focused on Whites as the communicators of prejudiced statements towards Blacks, I set the White author as my reference condition, and created two dummy codes to represent the Black author and unidentified author conditions. I was then able to compare the effects of each of the dummy coded conditions to the White author condition at low and high levels of IMS (± 1 SD from the mean). EMS and political orientation were controlled for in all of the following analyses in order to identify the unique effects of participants' level of IMS on the

respective findings[3]. The results of all moderation analyses can be seen in Table 5; a visual representation of the key interactions can be seen in Figures 2-4. As predicted, IMS did not moderate the effects of the control vs. White author condition for any of the dependent variables. Thus, I will focus my discussion below on the moderating role of IMS for reactions in the Black vs. White author conditions.

Affect

First, I was interested in examining whether level of IMS would moderate Whites' affective responses to the Black vs. White author articles. IMS was found to moderate the extent to which Whites reported anger in the Black vs. White author conditions (b = -0.35, se = 0.17, p = .04), such that anger was significantly lower in the Black author condition than the White author condition for participants high in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = -2.13, se = 0.41, p<.001) than the strength of the effect for participants low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = -0.90, se =0.41, p = .03). However, IMS was not found to significantly moderate the levels at which Whites reported feeling shame (b= -0.18, se = 0.16, p = .27), positive affect (b= 0.25, se = 0.17, p = .13), or compunction (b = 0.07, se = 0.12, p = .58) in the Black vs. White author conditions.

Source Credibility

A significant interaction was found between IMS and experimental condition for perceived author trustworthiness (b = 0.25, se = 0.13, p =.05), such that there was a higher level of trust in the Black (vs. White) author for participants that were high in IMS (Black condition – White condition

[3] The moderation effects of IMS that are reported in Study 1 remained significant after also controlling for meritocracy and participants' SES. EMS, meritocracy, white stereotype threat, political orientation, and participants' SES were all individually tested as potential alternative moderators. Only political orientation was found to be a significant moderator of the experimental effects, such that the experimental manipulation had a stronger effect on liberals than conservatives. In order to more accurately assess the unique effects of IMS, political orientation was thus controlled for in all subsequent moderation and mediation analyses.

effect = 1.89, *se* = 0.31, *p* < .001) than participants low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 1.03, *se* = 0.31, *p* = .001). There was a similar interaction found between IMS and experimental condition for perceived author expertise (*b* = 0.37, *se* = 0.15, *p* = .01), such that there was a higher level of perceived author expertise in the Black (vs. White) author condition for participants high in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 3.16, *se* = 0.35, *p*<.001) than for participants low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 1.91, *se* = 0.35, *p*<.001). Both of these sets of findings were in line with my hypotheses that IMS would moderate the effect author race on perceptions of author credibility. Although there was a significant effect of author race for participants both low and high in IMS, the effect was significantly stronger for those high in IMS.

Support of the Author's Position

There was a significant interaction of condition and IMS for perceived persuasiveness of the article, (*b* = 0.36, *se* = 0.18, *p* = .05), such that participants high in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 2.33, *se* = 0.43, *p* <.001) were more likely to view the Black vs. White author as being persuasive than participants low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 1.12, *se* = 0.43, *p* = .01). While there was not a significant interaction for author agreement (*b* = 0.24, *se* = 0.18, *p* = .19), there was a general trend that participants both high in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 1.59, *se* = 0.44, *p* <.001) and low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 0.77, *se* = 0.44, *p* = .08) were more likely to agree with the Black versus White author. The effects of the experimental manipulation on participants' support for affirmative action was not found to be moderated by participants' level of IMS (*b* = -0.16, *se* = 0.12, *p* = .18).

Mediation Analyses

As discussed earlier, the experimental manipulation was found to have an effect on the extent to which participants' reported trusting and perceiving expertise in the author, as well as the extent to which they reported a range of emotional responses. In addition, IMS was found to

significantly moderate the relationship between author race and many of the key outcome variables. Thus, my next goal was to put these different components together and formally test my proposed moderated multiple mediation model for each of my primary outcome variables: author persuasiveness, author agreement, and support for affirmative action.

Both author expertise and author trustworthiness were found to be directly affected by the experimental manipulation, as well as moderated by participants' level of IMS, providing support for author trustworthiness and expertise to be tested as mediators in the proposed model. Of the affect composites, the experimental manipulation was found to have the strongest effect on anger; in addition, this was the only affect composite that was found to be significantly moderated by participants' level of IMS. Thus, the moderated multiple mediation models discussed below were conducted to test the indirect effects of the experimental manipulation through the proposed mediators of author trustworthiness, author expertise, and anger (moderated by level of IMS).

According to the method outlined by Hayes and Preacher (2014), I tested moderated mediation using Model 8 in the PROCESS macro for SPSS with two dummy coded variables to represent the Black author and unidentified author conditions, using the White author condition as the reference group. Then, the significance of the indirect effect of the Black and unidentified author conditions compared to the White author condition) were computed using bias-corrected bootstrapping with 5,000 resamples as recommended by Hayes (2013). As comparison of the White and unidentified author conditions was not central to the purpose of this study, I focus on describing the mediation results of the Black vs. White author conditions below (see Table 5 for results).

Perceived Persuasiveness

A moderated multiple mediation model was tested to examine the indirect effects of a Black or unidentified author (vs. White author) on perceived article persuasiveness through the mediators of anger, perceived author expertise, and perceived author trustworthiness[4]. The index of moderated mediation for anger at low vs. high levels of IMS was significant, *b* = 0.04, 95% CI [0.01, 0.08]. The indirect effect of the Black author on perceived persuasiveness through anger was significantly larger for participants high in IMS, *b* = 0.20, 95% CI [0.06, 0.41] than for participants low in IMS, *b* = 0.09, 95% CI [0.01, 0.23]. The index of moderated mediation for author expertise at low vs. high levels of IMS was also significant, *b* = 0.24, 95% CI [0.06, 0.43]. The indirect effect of the Black author on perceived persuasiveness through author expertise was significantly larger for participants high in IMS, *b* = 2.06, 95% CI [1.52, 2.68] than participants low in IMS, *b* = 1.26, 95% CI [0.82, 1.77]. Finally, the index of moderated mediation for author trustworthiness at low vs. high levels of IMS was significant, *b* = 0.11, 95% CI [0.01, 0.25]. The indirect effect of the Black author on perceived persuasiveness through author trustworthiness was larger for participants higher in IMS, *b* = 0.79, 95% CI [0.47, 1.19] than for participants low in IMS *b* = 0.42, 95% CI [0.15, 0.76]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black vs. White author on persuasion for participants high in IMS was, *b* = -0.71, 95% [-1.22,-0.20] for participants low in IMS was, *b* = -0.67, 95% CI [-1.15, -0.19]. Thus, there was evidence of moderated mediation for all three mediators; although there was generally significant mediation at both high and low levels of IMS, the indirect effect of the Black vs. White author condition through all three mediators was strongest for those high in IMS.

Author Agreement

[4] All moderated multiple mediation analyses were conducted controlling for political orientation and EMS.

A second moderated multiple mediation model tested the indirect effects of the Black (vs. White) author on agreement with the author through the mediators of anger, author expertise, and author trustworthiness. The index of moderated mediation for anger at low vs. high levels of IMS was significant, b = 0.07, 95% CI [0.01, 0.14]. The indirect effect of the Black author on author agreement through anger was larger for participants high in IMS, b = 0.40, 95% CI [0.21, 0.68] than for participants low in IMS, b = 0.17, 95% CI [0.04, 0.38]. The index of moderated mediation for author expertise at low vs. high levels of IMS was also significant, b = 0.20, 95% CI [0.06, 0.38]. The indirect effect of the Black author on author agreement through author expertise was greater for participants high in IMS, b = 1.78, 95% CI [1.23, 2.40] than for participants low in IMS, b = 1.08, 95% CI [0.70, 1.60]. Finally, the index of moderated mediation for author trustworthiness at low vs. high levels of IMS was also significant, b = 0.12, 95% CI [.001, 0.26]. The indirect effect of the Black author on author agreement through author trustworthiness was greater for participants high in IMS, b = 0.85, 95% CI [0.52, 1.30] than for participants low in IMS, b = 0.45, 95% CI [0.16, 0.85]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black vs. White author on author agreement was no longer significant (all confidence intervals included 0) for both participants high in IMS, b = -1.41, 95% CI [-1.95, -0.88] and participants low in IMS, b = -0.98, 95% CI [-1.49, -0.48]. Thus, there was evidence of moderated mediation for all three mediators; although there was significant mediation at both high and low levels of IMS, the indirect effect of the Black vs. White author condition through all three mediators was strongest for those high in IMS.

Support for Affirmative Action

The main effects described earlier did not indicate that the Black (vs. White) author had a direct effect on participants' support for affirmative action, nor was there an interaction between IMS and condition in predicting support for affirmative action. However, it was hypothesized that the Black author (as compared to the White author) might have an *indirect* effect on participants'

support for affirmative action; thus a third moderated multiple mediation model was conducted, testing anger, author trustworthiness, and author expertise as mediators. The index of moderated mediation for all three mediators was insignificant (all confidence intervals included 0).

Thus, a second multiple mediation model was tested using PROCESS Model 4, without an interaction term testing moderation of IMS.[5] This multiple mediation model found that the Black author (compared to the White author) had a significant indirect effect on lowering support for affirmative action b = -0.40, 95% CI [-0.63, -0.23] through decreasing anger in response to the op-ed article. The Black author (compared to White) author also had a significant indirect effect on lowering support for affirmative action, b = -.41, 95% CI [-0.75, -0.11] through increasing perceptions of author expertise. There was not a significant indirect effect found for the variable of author trustworthiness, b = 0.16, 95% CI [-0.41, 0.03]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black author (versus White author) on support for affirmative action was significant and positive, b = 0.71, 95% CI [0.34, 1.08]. Although difficult to interpret, this is statistically a suppressor effect acting in the opposite direction to the indirect effects identified above.

Discussion

Overall, the results of Study 1 supported my main hypotheses. First, the experimental manipulation was found to have an effect on the dependent variables of perceived author expertise and trustworthiness. Furthermore, this was particularly true for participants high in IMS, who were significantly more likely than participants low in IMS to view the Black author as being more trustworthy and having more expertise than the White author. Secondly, the experimental

[5] Multiple mediation analysis was conducted controlling for political orientation

manipulation generally had an effect on participants' affective responses to the article, with anger and shame being lower in the Black (vs. White) author condition, and positive affect being higher in the Black (vs. White) condition. However, anger (rather than the image-threat related composite of shame) was found to be most strongly affected by the experimental manipulation and to be most clearly moderated by IMS. Although other studies (e.g., Iyer et al., 2007) have shown ingroup directed anger to be a consequence of group-image threat, my original hypothesis was that shame would be more relevant in the present context. Study 2 provided another opportunity to investigate the role of anger and test whether these emotion results would replicate.

Finally, the moderated multiple mediation model tests found that there were significant indirect effects of the Black vs. White author on perceived article persuasiveness and agreement with the author through the proposed mediators of anger and perceived author trustworthiness and expertise, with these indirect effects being greatest for those high in IMS. Importantly, while I did not find any direct effects of experimental condition on participants' global support for affirmative action, the mediation analyses indicated that the Black author had a significant indirect effect on participants' support for affirmative action through decreasing anger and increasing perceptions of author trustworthiness and expertise.

In reviewing these results, I hypothesized that one of the reasons why the support for affirmative action scale was not directly affected by the manipulation was that many of the questions in the Swim and Miller (1999) support for affirmative action scale specifically asked participants to report their attitudes about affirmative action policies on college campuses. As data collection on MTurk allowed me to collect a much broader sample than the typical college sample that psychology studies are conducted with, I decided to incorporate a more appropriate measure of support for affirmative action in Studies 2 and 3. Specifically, I chose to include the Iyer et al. (2003) measure of support for affirmative action, in order to be able to investigate the effects of the

experimental manipulation on support for both compensatory and equal opportunity types of affirmative action policies.

As hypothesized, the largest differences across experimental conditions for Study 1 were found between the Black and White author conditions. Interestingly, however, there were some significant differences in perceptions of the control vs. White author's trustworthiness and expertise, as well as the affective reactions each of these two conditions raised. While these direct effects were weaker than those between the Black and White author conditions, these results suggest that the lack of a salient White identity may be enough to reduce Whites' motivations to combat the speaker's statements. Thus, a second goal of Study 2 was to investigate whether these unidentified author condition effects would replicate, as well as whether another non-White speaker from a non-target minority group (Asians) would be seen as persuasive as the target Black speaker.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2

Overview

To date, research in social psychology has focused on White-minority relations, with little research examining the nature of inter-minority relations (Richeson & Craig, 2011; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; White, Schmitt & Langer, 2006). However, I argue that is important to investigate how both intra-minority (e.g., within the Black ethnic group) and inter-minority (e.g., between Black and Asian ethnic groups) dialogues on race relations can similarly contribute to the maintenance of White privilege.

Study 1 examined the most direct version of this hypothesis by examining how Whites' react to an ethnic minority member making prejudiced statements about other minorities in their own ethnic group (e.g., a Black author stating that Blacks no longer face prejudice and discrimination in the United States.) However, a second and equally important question to examine is how Whites react to members of one ethnic minority group making prejudiced statements about a *different* ethnic minority group (e.g., an Asian speaker making prejudiced statements about Blacks). Whites and ethnic minorities are typically categorized into different ethnic categories in the U.S., such that all non-White ethnic groups are seen as belonging to a homogenous "ethnic minority" group that is distinct from Whites. As a result of these categorization processes, all ethnic minority groups are perceived to have the same barriers and opportunities for success in the U.S.; thus, the perceived "success" of one ethnic minority group is often used as an indicator that the system is just, and to legitimize the perceived failure of other ethnic minority groups (e.g., Wu, 2002). Thus, I believe it is important to understand the ways in which both an intra-group minority speaker (e.g., a Black speaker) and a between group minority speaker (e.g., Asian speaker) may be

persuasive in presenting arguments that ethnic discrimination against a target ethnic minority group (Blacks) no longer exists.

One limitations of Study 1 is that it is unclear whether White participants reacted differently to the Black versus White author because the Black author is from the same specific ethnic group targeted in the opinion-editorial, or if this phenomenon will generalize to any speaker that is not White. Thus, Study 2 had two primary goals. The first goal was to attempt to replicate the findings of Study 1; in particular, I was interested in examining the role of affect, and whether anger would continue to be the predominant affective response to the experimental manipulation. The second goal was to compare whether an Asian speaker would be as persuasive as a Black speaker in stating that ethnic discrimination against Blacks no longer exists, and whether the mediating processes would be the same for both authors.

In line with the results of Study 1, I predicted that participants' level of IMS would moderate the extent to which participants are persuaded by the different authors. For participants high in IMS, I hypothesized that both the Black and Asian ethnic minority communicators would be seen as more persuasive than the White communicator, but that their methods of persuasion may operate in different ways. Specifically, I hypothesized that that when the author was Black, they would be seen as more credible (i.e. trustworthy and having expertise) and would evoke less negative affect than the White speaker. When the author was Asian, however, I hypothesized that they would not be seen as more credible than the Black source, but that they will be still be more persuasive than the White author because they would evoke less negative affect than the White author. A secondary set of hypotheses also examined the relative persuasiveness of the Asian versus Black author. I hypothesized that individuals who were low in IMS would view the Asian author as being more knowledgeable and trustworthy than the Black speaker, given that Asians are typically associated with more positive stereotypes in the U.S. than Blacks. In contrast, I predicted that individuals who

were high in IMS would find the Black author to be more credible than the Asian author, leading to greater levels of agreement with the Black vs. Asian author.

Method

Participants

481 self-identified White participants between the ages of 18-60 were recruited from Amazon MTurk, and were compensated 65 cents for participations. Nine participants who indicated suspicion about the purpose of the study and eleven participants who reported that they recognized the author's picture were excluded from analyses. The resulting sample was 431 White participants (*M*age = 32.82, *SD* = 9.82, female 61.4%).[6]

Design and Procedure

The design for this study was a 1 x 4 (condition: White author, Black author, Asian author, and author-race not identified) experimental design. The procedure for Study 2 closely followed that of Study 1, with the addition of a fourth condition in which participants were presented the op-ed piece with an Asian author (see Appendix C).

Materials

The measures largely followed Study 1, including the same measures for affective responses, perceptions of author trustworthiness and expertise, motivation to respond without

[6] Approximately 82% of participants accurately recalled author race in the White author condition, 86% in the Black author condition, and 82% in the Asian author condition. The pattern of results generally stayed the same regardless of participants' accurate recall of author race, and all participants were included in the reported analyses in order to retain power. As expected, recall in the unidentified author condition was once again more mixed at 55%, and all subjects were included in the analyses.

prejudice, political orientation, perceived persuasiveness and author agreement. One change was that I used a revised measure of support for affirmative action (Iyer et al., 2003) in this study, which consisted of two subscales measuring support for compensatory affirmative action policies and support for equal opportunity affirmative action policies. The first subscale of support for compensatory affirmative action policies consisted of five items, e.g., "American society has a responsibility to compensate Black people with jobs and education through programs such as affirmative action" (α= .89), emphasizing racial entitlements for Blacks. The second subscale of support for equal opportunity policies consisted of five items, e.g., "affirmative action programs that enhance the opportunity for Black people to succeed on their own merits are an asset to American society," (α= .89), emphasizing increasing opportunities for Blacks in employment and education.[7] All items were scored on a 9-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1(*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*), and necessary items were reverse-coded such that higher numbers indicate higher support for compensatory and equal opportunity affirmative action policies. The reliabilities for all the remaining dependent variables was acceptable, including perceived author trustworthiness (α= .92), perceived author expertise (α=.90), perceived persuasiveness (α=.96) and author agreement (α=.94). There was also acceptable reliabilities for the measured predictors of IMS (α=.86) and EMS (α=.84).

Results

As in Study 1, I analyzed the data in three steps. First, to assess the simple effect of the effect of the experimental manipulation of author race, I conducted a one-way ANOVA on each of the composite measures of affective response, source credibility, and support for the author's position. I then tested the extent which IMS moderated experimental effects, in particular,

[7] All exploratory items for Study 1 were included in this study as well, with the addition of one new single item measuring support for affirmative action.

differences between White author and Black author, White author and Asian author, and Black author and Asian author. Finally, I tested my overall model using mediation (using either moderated mediation or simple mediation as appropriate).

Main Effects

Affect

The 15 emotion items were submitted to a maximum likelihood factor analysis with Varimax rotation, which yielded three main factors, replicating the pattern found in Study 1. The strongest factor loading was for items related to anger: angry at author, disgusted, offended, and upset (α = .94). A second factor of compunction consisted of the items: remorse, angry at self, and guilty (α = .82). The third factor of positive affect included the items: good, proud and happy (α = .91). Finally, the items "ashamed" and "embarrassed" had significant cross-loadings on both the anger and compunction factors, and were combined into a separate composite for "shame" (α = .84). The items "calm" "anxious" and "sad" were once again dropped from further analyses due to weak loadings or significant-cross loadings.

A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA found that anger differed across experimental conditions, $F(3, 432) = 6.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Post-hoc analyses (see Table 6) indicated that anger was significantly lower in the Black author condition (M=2.36) than in the Asian author (M=3.02), unidentified author (M=3.23) or White author (M=3.70) conditions. Anger in the Asian author condition was significantly lower than in the White author condition; there were no significant differences in anger between the White author and unidentified author. There were no significant differences in shame found across experimental conditions, $F(3, 432) = 1.22$, $p = .30$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA found that there was a significant difference in positive affect across conditions, $F(3, 432) = 3.19$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Positive affect in the Black author condition (M =4.16) was significantly higher than in the White author condition *(M* =3.30) and marginally

more significant than the unidentified author *(M*=3.36) condition. The level of positive affect in the Asian author condition *(M* =3.72) was intermediary, and not significantly different from any other conditions. As in Study 1, there were no significant differences in compunction found across experimental conditions, $F(3, 432) = 0.69$, $p = .56$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Source Credibility

A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA indicated that there was an experimental effect on perceived author trustworthiness, $F(3, 432) = 11.59$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Post-hoc analyses found that perceived trust was not higher in the Black author condition (*M* = 6.58) than in the Asian author condition (*M* = 6.10); both the Black and Asian author were significantly more likely to be perceived as more trustworthy than the White author (*M*=5.34) or the unidentified author *(M*=5.45). A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA found that there was also an experimental effect on perceived author expertise, $F(3, 432) = 28.60$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$. Post-hoc analyses showed that the Black author (*M* = 6.19) was perceived to have more expertise than the Asian author *(M* = 6.10). Both ethnic minority authors were perceived to have more expertise than the White author (*M* = 3.71), but only the Black author was found to have more expertise than the unidentified author (*M* = 4.42).

Support for the Author's Position

A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA indicated that there were differences in perceived persuasiveness across experimental conditions, $F(3, 432) = 7.36$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Post-hoc analyses found that there were no significant differences in perceived persuasiveness between the Black author (*M* =5.62) and the Asian author (*M* = 5.10), and both were perceived to be more persuasive than the White author (*M* = 4.20); however, only the Black author was seen as more persuasive than the unidentified author (*M* = 4.36).

A second omnibus one-way ANOVA found there were significant differences in agreement with the author across experimental conditions, $F(3, 432) = 5.83$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Post-hoc

analyses found that participants were significantly more likely to agree with the Black author (M = 5.92) than the White author (M = 4.73) or the unidentified author (M = 4.50). Agreement with the Asian author was intermediate between the Black and White author conditions, and there were no significant differences in author agreement between the Asian author (M = 5.29) and the other author conditions.

An omnibus one-way ANOVA found there were no significant differences in support for compensatory policies across conditions, $F(3, 432) = 0.77$, $p = .51$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. However, an omnibus one-way ANOVA did find a marginally significant difference in support for equal opportunity policies across experimental conditions, $F(3, 432) = 2.23$, $p = .08$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Post-hoc analyses found that support for equal opportunity policies was marginally less in the Black author condition (M = 4.61) than in the unidentified author condition (M = 5.33). There were no other marginal or significant differences in support for equal opportunity policies found between the Black, Asian (M = 5.00), White (M = 5.11), and unidentified author conditions.

Correlational Analyses

Correlations between the outcome variables can be seen below the diagonal in Table 7. In line with the results of Study 1, both perceived author trustworthiness, $r(436) = .77$, $p<.001$ and perceived author expertise, $r(436) = .79$, $p<.001$ were strongly correlated with participants' agreement with the author. The affect composites also showed a similar pattern to Study 1, such that there was a strong negative relationship between anger and author agreement, $r(436) = -.72$, $p<.001$, as well as moderate negative relationships between shame, $r(436) = -.47$, $p<.001$, and compunction, $r(436) = -.31$, $p<.001$ with author agreement. Also in line with the results of Study 1, there was a positive relationship between positive affect and author agreement, $r(436) = .65$, $p<.001$.

Moderation Analyses

The main effects analyses showed that the experimental manipulation generally had an effect on participants' levels of affect, perceptions of source credibility, and agreement with the Black and Asian authors versus the White author. Thus, the next goal of my data analysis was to investigate whether the IMS moderation findings from Study 1 would replicate and extend to the Asian author in Study 2. In order to examine these hypotheses, I followed the steps outlined by Hayes (2013) to conduct moderation analyses with a multicategorical predictor. Once again, I set the White author condition as my reference group, and created dummy codes for the Black author, Asian author, and unidentified author conditions. This approach allowed me to compare the effects of each of the dummy coded conditions to the White author condition at low and high levels of IMS (± 1 SD from the mean). EMS and political orientation were controlled for in all of the following analyses in order to identify the unique effects of participants' level of IMS on the findings. Results of all moderation analyses can be seen in Table 8; a visual representation of the key interactions can be seen in Figures 5-9.

There were no significant interactions between condition (unidentified vs. White author) and IMS for any of the dependent variables, providing additional evidence for the findings that the unidentified author condition was operating in a similar manner to the White author condition. The table also shows that IMS was not a significant moderator of the relationship between any of the dependent variables and experimental condition for Asian vs. White author participants. In contrast to the control condition, however, it is important to recall that the main effects analyses generally found a significant difference between the Asian author and White author conditions, and that the lack of any significant interaction terms means that these differences hold for participants both low and high in IMS. As a result of these findings, I focus on comparing the IMS moderation results of the Black vs. White author conditions below.

Affect

IMS was not found to significantly moderate the effects of the Black vs. White author on shame (*b*=-0.14, *se* =0.17, *p* =.40), positive affect (*b*= 0.00, *se* =0.20, *p* =.99) or compunction (*b*= -0.00, *se* =0.10, *p*=.66). A significant interaction between IMS and condition (Black author vs. White author) was found for anger, (*b*= -0.56, *se* = .19, *p*=.003), such that participants high in IMS were significantly less likely to feel less anger in the Black vs. White author condition (Black condition – White condition effect = -2.24, *se* = 0.41, *p*<.001); there were no significant differences in anger across conditions found for participants low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = -0.60, *se* = 0.37, *p* =.11).

Source Credibility

IMS was found to be a marginally significant moderator of perceived author trustworthiness in the Black versus White author conditions (*b* = 0.27, *se* = 0.13, *p* = .07), such that the effect of the Black vs. White author's perceived trustworthiness was greater for participants high in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 1.71, *se* = 0.32, *p*<.001) than for participants low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 0.92, *se* = 0.29, *p*=.002. Next, IMS was tested as a moderator of the effect of condition (Black vs. White author) on perceived author expertise (*b* = 0.69, *se* = 0.17, *p*<.001), finding that the perceived difference in the Black vs. White author's perceived expertise was greater for participants high in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 3.68, *se* = 0.37, *p*<.001) than participants low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect =1.58, *se* = .33, *p*<.001).

Support of the Author's Position

In line with the results from Study 1, there was an interaction between IMS and condition (Black vs. White) (*b*=0.45, *se* =0.18, *p*=.01) in predicting perceived persuasiveness of the article, such that participants high in IMS were more likely to see the Black vs. White author as being persuasive (Black condition – White condition effect=2.19, *se* =0.46, *p*<.001) than participants low

in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect= 0.67, *se* =0.41, *p*=.10). Similarly, IMS was found to significantly moderate the relationship between agreement with the author and condition for Black vs. White author participants (*b*=0.56, *se* =0.18, *p*=.003), such that participants high in IMS were significantly more likely to agree with the Black vs. White author (Black condition – White condition effect = 2.16, *se* =0.47, *p*<.001); however, there were no significant differences in agreement with the Black vs. White author for participants low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 0.26, se =0.42, p =0.53). An interesting interaction was found between IMS and condition in predicting support for compensatory policies (*b*= -0.55, *se* = 0.14, *p* <.001), such that participants high in IMS were significantly less likely to support compensatory policies in the Black (vs. White) author condition (Black condition – White condition effect = -1.03, *se* = 0.31, *p*<.001), but the opposite pattern was found for participants low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = 0.59, *se* = 0.28, *p* =.04). There was also a significant interaction found for support for equal opportunity policies (*b* =-0.33, *se* = 0.17, *p* = .05), such that participants high in IMS were significantly less likely to support compensatory policies in the Black vs. White author condition (Black condition – White condition effect= -1.01, *se* = 0.37, *p* = .01); however, there was not a significant difference found in support for equal opportunity policies between the Black and White author conditions for participants low in IMS (Black condition – White condition effect = -0.03, *se* = 0.34, *p* = .94).

Asian vs. Black Author Condition Comparisons

A secondary set of hypotheses for this study predicted that participants low in IMS would view the Asian author more favorably than the Black author, with the opposite pattern expected for participants high in IMS; subsequent analyses found some support for this hypothesis, with participants high in IMS generally viewing the Black author more favorably than the Asian author. In order to directly compare the Black and Asian author conditions, a second set of moderation analyses were conducted, in which the Black author was set as the reference group, and dummy

codes were used to for the Asian author, White author, and unidentified author conditions. Results of these analyses can be seen in Table 9.

IMS was not found to significantly moderate the effects of the Asian vs. Black author condition on participants' affective responses to the article, including anger (*b* =0.29, *se* = 0.19, p = .12), shame (*b* =0.10, *se* = 0.17, *p* = .56), positive affect (*b* = -0.13, *se* = 0.20, *p* =.51) or compunction (*b* = 0.04, *se* = 0.12, *p* = .72). IMS was not found to significantly moderate the effects of the Asian vs. Black author condition on perceived author trustworthiness (*b*= -0.06, *se* =0.15, *p*=.67). However, IMS was found to be a significant moderator of the effect of experimental condition on perceived author expertise (*b*= -0.53, *se* =0.17, *p* =.002), such that there was a larger difference in perceptions of the Asian vs. Black author's expertise for participants high in IMS (Asian condition – Black condition effect = -2.33, *se* =0.36, *p*<.001) than for participants low in IMS (Asian condition – Black condition effect = -0.79, *se* = 0.35, *p* =.03).

IMS was not found to be a significant moderator of the effects of condition on perceived persuasiveness (*b* = -0.35, *se* = 0.21, *p* = .11). IMS moderation of agreement with the author was significant (*b* = -0.52, *se* = 0.22, *p* = .02), such that participants high in IMS were less likely to agree with the Asian than Black author (Asian condition – Black condition effect = -1.40, *se* = 0.47, *p* = .003) but there was no significant difference in agreement for participants low in IMS (Asian condition – Black condition effect = 0.12, *se* = 0.45, *p* = .79). IMS was found to significantly moderate the effects of the Black vs. Asian author on support for compensatory policies (*b* = 0.34, *se* = 0.14, *p* = .02). While there were no significant differences in support for compensatory for policies for participants high in IMS (Asian condition – Black condition effect = 0.45, *se* = 0.30, *p* = .14), participants low in IMS were marginally less likely to express support for compensatory policies in the Asian vs. Black author condition (Asian condition – Black condition effect = -0.55, *se* = 0.29, *p* =.06). Finally, IMS was not found to significantly moderate the effects of the Asian vs. Black author condition on support for equal opportunity policies (*b*= 0.25, *se* = 0.17, *p* = .15).

Mediational Analyses

The moderation results of Study 2 provided support to test a full moderated multiple mediation model to test the indirect effects of the Black vs. White author on the variables assessing agreement with the author, with anger and perceived author expertise and trustworthiness being entered as mediators, and IMS tested as a moderator of the indirect effects (results can be seen in Table 10).

The index of moderated mediation found that the indirect effects of the Black vs. White author on perceived persuasiveness through anger significantly differed for participants low vs. high in IMS, *b* =0.07, 95% CI [0.02, 0.15]. The indirect effect of the Black (vs. White) author on perceived persuasiveness through anger was found to be significant for participants high in IMS, *b* =0.29, 95% CI [0.13, 0.52], but not for participants low in IMS, *b* = 0.08, 95%CI [-0.001, 0.21]. A significant index of moderated mediation also found that the indirect effects of the Black vs. White author on perceived persuasiveness through perceived author expertise was significantly different for participants low vs. high in IMS, *b* =.07, 95% CI [0.02, 0.15]. The indirect effect of the Black (vs. White) author on perceived persuasiveness through perceived author expertise was found to be significantly larger for participants high in IMS, *b* = 2.37, 95% CI [0.67, 1.54], than for participants low in IMS, *b* = 1.07, 95%CI [1.78, 3.07]. Finally, the index of moderated moderation for perceived author trustworthiness for participants low vs. high in IMS was not significant, *b* = .12, 95% CI [-0.02, 0.28]. The indirect effect of the Black (vs. White) author on perceived persuasiveness through author trustworthiness was found to be significant both for participants high in IMS, *b* = 0.77, 95% CI [0.45, 1.18] and low in IMS, *b* = 0.42, 95% CI [0.16, 0.75]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black vs. White author on perceived persuasiveness for participants high in IMS was *b* = -1.10, se = 0.28, 95% CI [-1.64, -0.56], for participants low in IMS was *b* = -0.82, *se* = 0.23, 95% CI [-1.28, -0.37].

The next set of moderated mediation analyses examined the indirect effects of the Black vs. White author on author agreement, which followed a similar pattern as those with perceived persuasiveness. A significant index of moderated mediation indicated that the indirect effects of the Black vs. White author on author agreement through anger were significantly different for participants low vs. high in IMS, *b* =0.16, 95% CI= [0.06, 0.29]. The indirect effect of the Black vs. White author on author agreement through anger was significant for participants high in IMS, *b* = 0.65, 95% CI [0.39, 1.00], but not for participants low in IMS, *b* = 0.17, 95%CI [-0.01, 0.41]. The index of moderated mediation for author agreement through perceived author expertise for participants low vs. high in IMS was also significant, *b* = 0.39, 95% CI= [0.20, 0.62]. The indirect effect of the Black (vs. White) author on author agreement through author expertise was significantly greater for participants high in IMS, b = 2.07, 95% CI [1.47, 2.76] than for participants low in IMS, b = .93, 95% CI [0.58, 1.37]. Finally, the index of moderated mediation for author agreement through perceived author trustworthiness was not significant, *b* = 0.10, 95% CI [-0.01, 0.24], indicating that the indirect effect of the Black (vs. White) author on author agreement through author trustworthiness was not significantly greater for participants high in IMS, *b* = 0.65, 95% CI [0.36, 1.06] than for participants low in IMS, *b* = 0.35, 95% CI [0.13, 0.67]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black vs. White author on author agreement for participants high in IMS was *b* = -0.98, 95%CI [-1.59, -0.37] and for participants low in IMS was *b* = -1.22, 95% CI [-1.73, -0.70].

I next examined the indirect effects of the Black vs. White author condition on participants' support for compensatory policies. The index of moderated mediation for anger was significant, *b* = -0.12, 95% CI= [-0.23,-0.04], indicating that the indirect effect of the Black vs. White author on support for compensatory policies through anger differed for participants low vs. high in IMS. The indirect effect was significant for participants high in IMS, *b*= -0.48, 95%CI [-0.77, -0.27], but not for participants low in IMS, *b* = -0.13, 95%CI [-0.32, 0.01]. The index of moderated mediation was also

significant for perceived author expertise, *b* = -0.08, 95% CI= [-0.20, -.004], indicating that the indirect effect of the Black vs. White author on support for compensatory policies through perceived author expertise differed for participants low vs. high in IMS. The indirect effect of the Black vs. White author on support for compensatory policies through author expertise was significantly greater for participants high in IMS, *b* = -0.42, 95% CI [-0.92, -0.01], than for participants low in IMS, *b* = -0.19, 95% CI [-0.43, -0.01]. The index of moderated moderation of support for compensatory policies through perceived author trustworthiness was also significant, *b* = -0.05, 95% CI [-0.15, -0.001]. The indirect effects of the Black vs. White author on support for compensatory policies through author trustworthiness was greater for participants high in IMS, *b* = -0.33, 95% CI [-0.67, -0.12] than participants low in IMS, *b* = -0.18, 95% CI [-0.42, -0.43]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black vs. White author on support for compensatory policies for participants high in IMS was not significant, *b* = 0.21, 95% CI [-0.36, 0.78]; the direct effect for participants low in IMS was *b* = 1.09, 95% CI [0.61, 1.57].

Finally, the indirect effects of the Black vs. White author condition on participants' support for equal opportunity policies followed a similar pattern. The index of moderated mediation was significant for anger, *b* = -0.12, 95% CI= [-0.23,-0.04], indicating that the indirect effects of the Black vs. White author on support for equal opportunity policies through anger significantly differed for participants low vs. high in IMS. The indirect effect of the Black vs. White author on support for equal opportunity policies through anger was significant for participants high in IMS, *b* = -0.47, 95%CI [-0.77, -0.23], but not for participants low in IMS, *b* = -0.13, 95%CI [-0.33, 0.01]. The significant index of moderated mediation *b* = -0.24, 95% CI= [-0.42, -0.12], indicated that the indirect effects of the Black vs. White author on support for equal opportunity policies through perceived author expertise differed for participants low vs. high in IMS. The indirect effect of the Black vs. White author on support for equal opportunity policies through author expertise was significantly larger for participants high in IMS, *b*= -1.29, 95% CI [-1.87, -0.80] than for participants

low in IMS, *b*= -0.58, 95% CI [-0.92, -0.33]. Finally, the index of moderated moderation for perceived author trustworthiness was not significant, *b* = -0.03, 95% CI [-0.11, 0.01]; the indirect effect of the Black (vs. White) author on support for equal opportunity policies through author trustworthiness was not found to be significant for either participants high in IMS, *b* = -0.17, 95% CI [-0.47, 0.08] or for participants low in IMS, b =-.09, 95% CI [-0.31, 0.03]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black vs. White author on support for equal opportunity policies for participants significant and positive for participants both high in IMS *b* = 0.92, 95%CI [0.24, 1.59] and low in IMS, *b* = 0.77, 95% CI [0.21, 1.34].

Indirect Effects of Asian vs. White Author

The results of this study did not show that the conditional effects of the Asian vs. White author were moderated by IMS; rather, the Asian author was generally viewed more favorably than the White author for participants both low and high in IMS. Moderation analyses comparing the Asian and Black author conditions found that participants high in IMS generally did not view the Asian author as favorably as the Black author, helping to explain why IMS was not found to significantly moderate the effects of the Asian vs. White author conditions. Thus, a (non-moderated) multiple mediation model was tested to compare the indirect effects of the Asian vs. White author conditions, with anger, perceived author expertise and trustworthiness being entered as mediators.

There were significant indirect effects of the Asian vs. White author through each of the proposed mediators (see Table 11), similar to the indirect effects found in the Black vs. White author conditions. First, the Asian (vs. White) author was found to have significant indirect effects on perceived persuasiveness through decreasing anger, *b* = 0.10, 95% CI [0.01, 0.23], and increasing perceived author expertise, *b*= 0.69, 95% CI [0.31, 1.08] and trustworthiness, b= 0.34, 95% CI [0.12, 0.60]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Asian vs. White author on perceived persuasiveness was not significant, *b* = -0.22, 95% CI [-0.55, 0.11]. The Asian vs. White

author was also found to have significant indirect effects on author agreement through decreasing anger, b = 0.24, 95% CI [0.07, 0.46], and increasing both perceived author expertise, b = 0.63, 95% CI [0.34, 0.96] and perceived author trustworthiness, b = 0.28, 95% CI [0.12, 0.52]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Asian vs. White author on author agreement was significant, b = -0.48, 95% CI [-0.86, -0.10].

There were indirect effects of the Asian vs. White author on support for compensatory policies, such that support in the Asian author condition was lowered through decreasing anger, b = -0.17, 95% CI [-0.33, -0.05], and increasing perceptions of both author expertise, b = -0.12, 95% CI [-0.32, -0.001] and author trustworthiness, b = -0.17, 95% CI [-0.36, -0.05]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Asian vs. White author on support for compensatory policies was not significant, b = 0.20, 95% CI [-0.16, 0.56]. Finally, the Asian vs. White author was found to indirectly lower support for equal opportunity policies through decreasing anger, b = -0.19, 95% CI [-0.40, -0.02] and increasing perceptions of both author expertise, b= -0.37, 95% CI [-0.65, -0.17] and author trustworthiness, b = -0.10, 95% CI [-0.28, -0.003]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Asian vs. White author on support for equal opportunity policies was b = 0.54, 95% CI [0.12, 0.97].

Discussion

The effects of the Black vs. White author conditions in Study 2 generally replicated those of Study 1, such that participants high in IMS were significantly more likely to be affected by the experimental manipulation than participants low in IMS. More specifically, Study 2 also found that participants high in IMS were significantly more likely to view the Black author as being more trustworthy and as having more expertise than the White author. As with Study 1, anger was also found to be the affective response most influenced by the experimental manipulation and moderated by IMS, with participants high in IMS significantly less likely to express anger in the

Black vs. White author conditions. There were similar patterns found for each of the variables assessing agreement with the arguments of the opinion-editorial. In comparison to Study 1, which found no main effect differences or IMS moderation of support for affirmative action, the new measure of support for affirmative action measure for Study 2 found that IMS moderated both support for compensatory and equal opportunity policies, such that Whites high in IMS were significantly less likely to support these policies in the Black author condition versus the White author condition. Interestingly, moderation analyses found the opposite pattern for support for compensatory policies for Whites low in IMS, such that they were *more* likely to support compensatory policies in the Black author condition (as compared to the White author condition). While this was an unexpected finding, past research has found that ingroup members who are perceived to be credible sources are more persuasive than outgroup sources that are perceived as credible (e.g., Domke et al., 2000; Yoon et al., 1998); as a result, it makes sense that the White author was the most persuasive in reducing support for compensatory policies for participants low in IMS. In contrast, participants high in IMS were significantly less likely to view the White author as being a credible source, and thus were most persuaded by the Black author that compensatory policies are no longer needed.

As with Study 1, there was significant moderated mediation for each of the outcome variables through the proposed mediators of anger and perceived author expertise; while perceived author trustworthiness was not found to have different indirect effects at low vs. high levels of IMS, it was generally found to be a mediator for both low and high IMS participants. As with Study 1, the strongest indirect effects were generally found through the mediator of perceived author expertise (as compared to the mediators of perceived author trustworthiness and anger) for participants both low and high in IMS.

The pattern of conditional effects found in the Asian vs. White author conditions did not exactly match those found in the Black vs. White author conditions. Similar to the Black author, the

Asian author was generally seen as being more trustworthy and having more expertise than the White author; however, these Asian vs. White effects were not found to be moderated by participants' level of IMS. Interestingly, anger was not lower in the Asian author condition vs. the White author condition; however, it is important to note that anger in the Asian author condition was also not statistically higher than in the Black author condition as well.

A similar pattern was found for the majority of the outcome variables assessing agreement with the opinion-editorial, such that responses in the Asian author were intermediate between (and not generally significantly different from) the White or Black author; furthermore, IMS was not found to be a significant moderator of any of the main effects between the Asian and White author conditions. A closer comparison of the Black versus Asian author conditions helps to explain these results by showing that participants high in IMS were more likely to be persuaded by the Black vs. Asian author, while participants low in IMS were less likely to show differentiation between the ethnic minority authors. Interestingly, the pattern of results of support for compensatory policies followed my original predictions, such that participants low in IMS were marginally more likely to be persuaded by the Asian author that compensatory policies are no longer needed, whereas participants high in IMS were significantly more likely to be persuaded by the Black author that compensatory policies are no longer needed. Thus, the results of this study suggest is possible that Asians' relatively high ethnic minority status may be a persuasive tool particularly for those that are not motivated to respond without prejudice. Finally, while there were not consistently strong total effects found for the Asian vs. White author conditions, multiple mediation analyses showed that there were significant indirect effects of the Asian vs. White author on the outcome variables through the proposed mediators of anger and perceived author trustworthiness and expertise. Thus, both Study 1 and 2 generally provided evidence that Whites (in particular, those high in IMS) are more likely to express agreement with a non-White vs. White speaker who claims that racial discrimination no longer exists and that affirmative action policies are no longer needed.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 3

Overview

Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated support for the hypothesis that Whites would be more willing to express agreement with ethnic minority speakers who argue that ethnic barriers and prejudice are no longer a problem for Blacks in the U.S. (as compared to a White speaker). However, one of the issues unanswered from these first two studies is the circumstances under which Whites are willing to challenge or reject the viewpoints of an ethnic minority author. Thus, the primary goal of Study 3 was to test the effectiveness of an intervention strategy on participants' willingness to express agreement with a Black author who states that discrimination against Blacks no longer exists. In particular, Study 3 examined the effect of a dissenting opinion on Whites' reactions to a Black author expressing an anti-affirmative action position.

Existing research from the confronting prejudice literature has shown that Whites are more likely to respond favorably to White (nontarget) versus Black (target) confronters of prejudice (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Schultz & Maddox, 2013). Whereas Blacks are perceived to be complainers and speaking in their own self-interest, Whites are seen as more trustworthy when proposing claims of discrimination against Blacks. Thus, it seems plausible that White participants will be more persuaded by a White (versus Black) confronter of the op-ed piece. One of the limitations of the previous research, however, is that scholars have only examined Whites' confrontations of *other Whites* as the perpetrators. Thus, we do not currently know if White confronters will be as persuasive when they are making claims that the position of a *Black* person is prejudiced. Therefore, Study 3 seeks to understand if the persuasiveness of a Black

author's opinions can be reduced when the conflicting viewpoint of another Black or White person is made salient.

In order to study this question, all participants in Study 3 read the op-ed used in Studies 1 and 2 with the Black author. Participants were then randomly assigned to a control condition with no rebuttal (i.e., the same as the black author condition in Studies 1 and 2) or to read the rebuttal of another reader who is either Black or White. I hypothesized that there would be a main effect such that the rebuttal conditions would reduce support for the author's position (in comparison to the no rebuttal condition.) Furthermore, I hypothesized that the Black confronter would be especially effective in reducing support of the author's position for participants high in IMS. Despite the findings of past research that indicate Whites are more persuasive confronters of prejudice, I predicted that the White confronter in this context might be less persuasive than a Black confronter because they would be seen as having less of a right to challenge the viewpoints of a Black speaker (as compared to another Black person). In addition, I hypothesized that the effectiveness of the White confronter may be reduced when they are challenging a Black person who is already speaking in favor of Whites' status.

I hypothesized that participants low in IMS, however, would show *increased* support for the opinion-editorial's position after reading a rebuttal from either a Black or White person. Previous research has suggested that people who have a high level of prejudice occasionally react to confrontations of prejudice with feelings of anger and irritation (Monteith, Devine, & Zuwerink, 1993). Thus, I hypothesized that participants low in IMS would be especially likely to feel negatively towards another Black person who refutes the Black author's claims, and that they will respond by showing higher levels of agreement with the Black author.

Methods

Participants

352 self-identified White participants were recruited from Amazon MTurk and were compensated $1.00 for participation. Nine participants indicated suspicion as to the purpose of the study, and 9 indicated they recognized the author and were excluded from analyses. The resulting participant pool was 344 White participants (*M*age = 33.47, 65.1% female).

Design and Procedure

The same opinion-editorial article was used for Study 3, with the author always presented as being Black. Thus, this was a 1x3 (experimental condition: no rebuttal, White rebuttal, or Black rebuttal) between subjects study design. After reading the original opinion-editorial article, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: no rebuttal, Black rebuttal, or White rebuttal. In the no rebuttal condition, the procedure was exactly the same as the previous studies. In the rebuttal conditions, the race of the confronter was manipulated to be either White or Black (see Appendix E for the rebuttal materials); after reading the rebuttal, participants had an opportunity to provide their own comments to the author, fill out the measures as in the no rebuttal condition, and then also fill out a few short measures assessing perceptions of the confronter. After filling out the study measures, participants filled out an explicit check of the rebutter race[8], some brief demographics, and were debriefed and thanked.

[8] 81% of participants remembered the race of the rebutter correctly in the White rebuttal condition, and 82% remembered the race of the rebutter correctly in the Black rebuttal condition. As accurate recall of the rebutter race did not significantly affect the results, all participants were in included in subsequent analyses to retain power.

Materials

The same measures as used in Study 2 were used to assess affective responses, perceptions of author trustworthiness and expertise, motivation to respond without prejudice, political orientation, perceived persuasiveness and author agreement. New measures for this study included impressions of the confronter (adapted from Rasinski & Czopp, 2010), in which participants rated how friendly, likeable, sincere, intelligent, objective, prejudiced, racist, annoying and offensive they thought the confronter was on a 9-point scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 9 (*very*); the last four items were-reverse coded, such that higher numbers signified more positive impressions of the confronter (α = .89). An exploratory item also measured the perceived right of the confronter to challenge the author on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*no right to challenge*) to 9 (*complete right to challenge*).

As with Studies 1 and 2, fifteen emotion items were used to assess participants' affective responses to the op-ed article. All measures were satisfactory in their reliability, including perceived author trustworthiness (α = .95), perceived author expertise (α=.96), perceived persuasiveness (α=.97), agreement with the author (α=.92), support for compensatory policies (α=.91), support for equal opportunity policies (α=.88), impressions of the confronter (α=.89), IMS (α=.88) and EMS (α=.87).

Results

Main Effects

Affect

Maximum likelihood factor analysis with Varimax rotation of the 15 affect items yielded three main factors. In comparison to the first two studies, the strongest loading was for the composite of "compunction" which included shame, embarrassment, sad, angry at self, remorseful,

and guilty (α=.89). The two remaining composites of anger (angry at author, disgusted, offended; α= .92) and positive affect (happy, good, proud; α =.89) remained the same. The items anxious and upset did not have strong loadings onto a single factor and were dropped from analyses.

A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA found that compunction differed across experimental conditions, $F(2, 341) = 4.62$, p =.01, η_p^2 = .03 (see Table 12). Post-hoc comparisons found that compunction was significantly lower in the no rebuttal condition *(M* =1.78) than in the Black rebuttal condition *(M* =2.34), and that it was marginally lower than in the White rebuttal condition *(M* =2.17). There were no significant differences between the White and Black rebuttal conditions. A significant omnibus one-way ANOVA found that positive affect also differed across experimental conditions, $F(2, 341) = 4.11$, p =.02, η_p^2 = .02. Post-hoc comparisons found that positive affect in the no rebuttal condition *(M* = 4.34) was significantly higher than in both the Black rebuttal *(M* =3.63) and White rebuttal *(M* =3.55) conditions; there was no significant differences in positive affect between the rebuttal conditions. Finally, a significant omnibus one-way ANOVA found that anger differed across experimental conditions, $F(2, 341) = 4.79$, p =.01, η_p^2 = .03. Post-hoc comparisons found that anger in the Black rebuttal condition (*M* = 2.90) was significantly higher than in the no rebuttal condition *(M* = 2.09), and marginally higher than in the White rebuttal condition *(M* = 2.31). There were no significant differences in anger between the no rebuttal and White rebuttal conditions.

Source Credibility

A one-way omnibus ANOVA indicated that there no differences in perceived author trustworthiness across conditions, $F(2, 341) = 2.09$, p =.13, η_p^2 = .01. A significant one-way omnibus ANOVA did indicate, however, that there were differences in perceived author expertise across conditions, $F(2, 341) = 3.98$, p =.02, η_p^2 = .02. Post-hoc comparisons found that perceived author expertise in the no rebuttal condition (*M* = 6.08) was significantly higher than in the Black rebuttal condition *(M* = 5.38), and marginally higher than in the White rebuttal condition (*M* =

5.46). There were no significant differences in perceived author expertise between the White and Black rebuttal conditions.

Support for Author's Position

A one-way omnibus ANOVA did not find any significant differences in perceived persuasiveness across experimental condition, $F(2, 341) = 1.95$, $p = .14$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. There was, however, a marginally significant difference in agreement with the author across conditions, $F(2, 341) = 2.35$, $p = .10$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Post-hoc analyses found that agreement with the author was marginally higher in the no rebuttal condition *(M* =5.94) than in the White rebuttal condition *(M* = 5.16), but that there were no differences found with between the Black rebuttal condition *(M* = 5.46) and the other conditions. Finally, one-way omnibus ANOVA tests found that there were no significant differences across condition for either support for compensatory policies, $F(2, 341) = 0.29$, $p = .75$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$ or support for equal opportunity policies, $F(2, 341) = 1.88$, $p = .15$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Impressions of the Confronter

There were no significant differences in impressions of the Black versus White confronter found, $t(223) = .05$, $p = .96$, nor in perceptions of right to challenge the author, $t(223) = .18$, $p = .86$.

Correlational Analyses

Correlations between the outcome variables can be seen in Table 13. Following the results from the first two studies, both perceived author trustworthiness, $r(344) = .62$, $p < .001$ and perceived author expertise, $r(344) = .71$, $p < .001$ were strongly correlated with agreement with the author. The affect composites of anger, $r(344) = -.60$, $p < .001$ and compunction, $r(344) = -.41$, $p < .001$ were both negatively related to agreement with the author, while positive affect, $r(344) = .58$, $p < .001$ was positively related to agreement with the author.

Moderation Analyses

Moderation analyses were conducted to examine whether the main conditional effects were moderated by participants' level of IMS. Using the method outlined by Hayes (2013), multi-categorical moderation analyses were conducted using PROCESS Model 1; the no rebuttal condition was set as the reference condition, and dummy codes were created for the Black rebuttal and White rebuttal conditions. Results can be seen in Table 14; a visual representation of key variables can be seen in Figures 10-12.

Affect

There were no significant interactions between condition and IMS in predicting anger for either the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal condition (b = -0.04, se = 0.16, p = .81), or the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal condition (b = -0.08, se = 0.17, p = .62). Similarly, there were no significant interactions between IMS and condition in predicting positive affect for either the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal condition (b = 0.11, se = 0.17, p = .54) or the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal condition (b = -0.18, se = 0.18, p = .34). Finally, there were no significant interactions between IMS and condition in predicting compunction for either the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal condition (b= -0.00, se = 0.11, p = 1.00), or the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal condition (b = -0.00, se = 0.12, p = .98).

Source Credibility

IMS was not found to be a significant moderator of the effects of experimental condition on perceived author expertise for either the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = 0.08, se = 0.16, p =.62) or the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = -0.12, se = 0.17, p = .93). Similarly, IMS was not found to be a significant moderator of the effects of experimental condition on perceived author trustworthiness for either the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = 0.14, se = 0.14, p = .32) or the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = -0.10, se = 0.15, p = .50).

Support of Author's Position

There were no significant interactions between IMS and condition in predicting perceived persuasiveness of the article for either the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = 0.25, se = 0.19, p = .19) or the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = -0.12, se = 0.21, p = .58). In addition, there were no significant interactions between IMS and condition in predicting agreement with the author for either the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = 0.12, se = 0.20, p = .55) or the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = -0.11, se = 0.21, p = .93). Similarly, there were no significant interactions between IMS and condition in predicting support for compensatory policies for either the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = 0.01, se = 0.14, p = .95) or the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = 0.03, se = 0.15, p = .86). Finally, there were no significant interactions between IMS and condition in predicting support for equal opportunity policies for either the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = -0.17, se = 0.19, p = .25) or the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions (b = -0.10, se = 0.16, p = .53).

Mediational Analyses

The results of Study 3 did not indicate that there was a primary affective reaction that was affected by the experimental manipulation; rather, all affect composites were significantly different in the Black vs. no rebuttal condition, and at least marginally different in the White vs. no rebuttal condition. Based on the evidence that that anger played a unique role in predicting reactions to the article and the author in Studies 1 and 2, I tested for anger as an affective mediator (in addition to perceptions of author trustworthiness and expertise). As I did not find that any of the outcome variables were significantly moderated by participants' level of IMS, a simple multiple mediation model was run to test the indirect effects of each of the rebuttal conditions (Black rebuttal and White rebuttal) to the no rebuttal condition.[9]

[9] All multiple mediation analyses were conducted controlling for political orientation

Indirect Effects of the Black Rebuttal vs. No Rebuttal Conditions

First, the Black rebuttal (vs. no rebuttal) condition was found to have significant indirect effects on perceived persuasiveness through increasing anger, *b* = -0.15CI, 95% CI [-0.35, -0.37], and decreasing perceived author expertise, *b*= -0.35, 95% CI [-0.68, -0.07]; perceived trustworthiness was not found to be a significant mediator, *b*= -0.19, 95% CI [-0.44, 0.02]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on perceived persuasiveness was not significant, *b*= 0.23, 95% CI [-0.14, 0.61]. Next, there were significant indirect effects of the Black rebuttal vs. the no rebuttal condition on author agreement through increasing anger, *b* = -0.24, 95% CI [-0.47, -0.07] and decreasing perceived author expertise, *b*= -0.33, 95% CI [-0.66, -0.07]; once again, trustworthiness was not found to be a significant mediator, *b*= -0.09, 95% CI [-0.28, 0.001]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on author agreement was not significant, *b*= 0.33, 95% CI [-0.12, 0.78].

As compared to the no rebuttal condition, the Black rebuttal condition also had a significant indirect effect on support for compensatory policies through increasing anger, *b* = 0.12, 95% CI [-0.47, -0.07] and decreasing perceived author expertise, *b*= 0.24, 95% CI [0.05, 0.48]; once again, trustworthiness was not found to be a significant mediator, *b*= -0.02, 95% CI [-0.14, 0.03]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on perceived persuasiveness was *b*= -0.58, 95% CI [-0.97, -0.19]. Finally, the Black rebuttal (vs. no rebuttal) condition was also found to have significant indirect effects on support for equal opportunity policies through increasing anger, *b* = 0.14, 95% CI [0.04, 0.30] and decreasing perceived author expertise, *b*= 0.24, 95% CI [0.05, 0.51]; as with the previous findings, trustworthiness was not found to be a significant mediator, *b*= -0.06, 95% CI [-0.21, 0.01]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on perceived persuasiveness was *b*= -0.91, 95% CI [-1.38, -0.45].

Indirect Effects of the White Rebuttal vs. No Rebuttal Conditions

In comparison to the Black rebuttal condition, the White rebuttal condition was only found to have significant indirect effects on the outcome agreement variables through the mediator of perceived expertise. First, there were significant indirect effects of the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on perceived persuasiveness through reducing perceptions of author expertise, *b* = -0.28, 95% CI [-0.59, -0.002]; however, there were not significant indirect effects through either anger, *b* = -0.03, 95% CI [-0.14, 0.07] or perceived author trustworthiness, *b* = -0.12, 95% CI= [-0.35, 0.07]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on perceived persuasiveness was not significant, *b*= 0.02, 95% CI [-0.35, 0.39]. Next, there were significant indirect effects of the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on author agreement through reduction of perceptions of author expertise, *b* = -0.26, 95% CI [-0.57, -0.01]; however, there were not significant indirect effects through either anger, *b* = -0.04, 95% CI [-0.82, 0.10] or perceived author trustworthiness, *b* = -0.06, 95% CI= [-0.22, 0.24]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on author agreement was not significant, *b*= -0.21, 95% CI [-0.66, 0.23]. Finally, there were significant indirect effects of the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on support for compensatory policies through reduction of perceived author expertise, *b* = 0.19, 95% CI [0.01, 0.42]; however, there were not significant indirect effects through either anger, *b* = 0.02, 95% CI [-0.05, 0.12] or perceived author trustworthiness, *b* = -0.02, 95% CI [-0.12, 0.02]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the direct effect of the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on perceived persuasiveness was not significant, *b*= -0.31, 95% CI [-0.70, 0.07]. There were similar significant indirect effects of the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on support for equal opportunity policies through reduction of perceived author expertise, *b* = 0.19, 95% CI [0.01, 0.44]; however, there were not significant indirect effects through either anger, *b* = 0.03, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.14] or perceived author trustworthiness, *b* = -0.04, 95% CI=[-0.17, 0.01]. After controlling for these indirect effects, the

direct effect of the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions on support for equal opportunity policies was not significant, *b*= -0.20, 95% CI [-0.66, 0.26].

Discussion

The purpose of Study 3 was to investigate the effectiveness of interventions that can be used to reduce the influence of a Black speaker who expresses negative attitudes towards Blacks and states that racial discrimination against Blacks no longer exists. While past research has only examined the effectiveness of confrontations of *White speakers* who exhibit prejudiced attitudes towards ethnic minorities, Study 3 examined the effectiveness of confrontations of *Black speakers* who demonstrate prejudice towards other Blacks.

In contrast to past research which has found a White confronter to be *more* persuasive than a Black confronter (e.g., Rasinksi and Czopp, 2010; Czopp and Monteith, 2003), the results of this study indicate that the clearest experimental effects were between the Black rebuttal and no rebuttal condition (i.e., participants in the Black rebuttal condition showed increased anger and reduced perceptions of author expertise, as compared to the no rebuttal condition). Additionally, there were no significant differences found between the rebuttal conditions, suggesting that the White confronter was generally as effective as the Black author in reducing support for the author's position. Descriptively, however, the effects of the White confronter were weaker than the Black confronter.

Interestingly, mediational analyses found that both the Black and White rebuttal conditions reduced agreement with the author but that there were differences in the mediational processes for the two rebutters. More specifically, while both perceived author expertise and anger mediated the effects of author agreement in the Black rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions, only perceived author expertise was a mediator of the indirect effects of author agreement in the White rebuttal vs. no rebuttal conditions.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL DISCUSSION

My dissertation research provides several new contributions to the existing literature on how White privilege is justified and maintained. First, building on previous research which has solely examined Whites' reactions to Whites' expression of prejudice towards ethnic minorities, my research demonstrates that Whites reactions to *ethnic minorities'* prejudiced statements is equally important in understanding how systemic inequalities continue to be perpetuated in today's society. Furthermore, the results of Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated support for my hypothesis that participants who are high in IMS would show a greater difference in levels of support with the Black vs. White author's position than participants low in IMS. I believe that these findings are particularly important to explore further, given that past research has suggested that individuals who are highly motivated to be unprejudiced are most likely to try to combat prejudice towards ethnic minorities. Finally, while past research has demonstrated that the race of communicator may affect how audience members react to a message (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Schultz & Maddox, 2013), there is little known about *why* audience members find speakers of one ethnic group to be more persuasive than others. Through my dissertation research, I have demonstrate affective and cognitive mechanisms by which the race of a speaker can influence Whites' perceptions of statements that express prejudice towards Blacks, and how this in turn can have implications for Whites' support for redistributive public policies such as affirmative action.

The results of Study 1 demonstrated that Whites, particularly those who are highly internally motivated to respond without prejudice, are more willing to express agreement with a Black vs. White speaker who states that ethnic discrimination against Blacks no longer exists. Study 2 expanded upon the results of Study 1 by providing evidence that both a within-group ethnic

minority speaker (Black speaker, Black target) and between-group ethnic minority speaker (Asian speaker, Black target) can have a persuasive effect on reducing Whites' perceptions of ethnic bias and discrimination against Blacks. To my knowledge, past research has solely examined how participants react to confrontations of ethnic prejudice by either a White confronter or an ethnic minority member from the group that is claimed to be a target of prejudice (traditionally, a Black target). Study 2 provides an important extension beyond the Black-White paradigm that has dominated academic research to demonstrate how Whites' attitudes towards ethnic minorities can be influenced by relations that occur between ethnic minority groups as well. Finally, Study 3 tested the effectiveness of an intervention strategy, finding that a rebuttal by a Black confronter produced the strongest effects in increasing participants' negative affect and decreasing perceptions of the Black author's expertise. Thus, the results of Study 3 indicate that it is important to not only consider whether the confronter is from the target group that prejudice is being expressed towards, but also whom they are confronting (a target or non-target group member) in determining the effectiveness of different intervention strategies.

Perceptions of Source Credibility

Across all three studies, both perceived author expertise and perceived author trustworthiness were found to be strongly correlated with the different agreement outcome variables. However, the experimental manipulation was generally found to have much stronger effects on perceptions of the author's expertise than perceptions of the author's trustworthiness. Furthermore, the results of the mediation analyses generally found that the indirect effects of experimental condition on agreement with the author for all three studies were strongest through the mediator of perceived expertise; in comparison, perceived author trustworthiness was a much weaker (at times, non-significant) mediator of the indirect effects of experimental condition on agreement with the author. The relative difference in effect sizes for perceived author expertise

(versus perceived author trustworthiness) across these studies is a particularly interesting finding, given that some past research has suggested that it necessary for a source to be seen as trustworthy (but not necessarily as having expertise) in order for them to be persuasive (e.g., McGinnies & Ward, 1980). Furthermore, while past research in the confronting prejudice literature (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003) has suggested that non-target confronters of prejudice are more persuasive because they are seen as more trustworthy, these findings suggest that both perceived trustworthiness and expertise play a role in determining how persuasive a communicator's message is, and that it important to consider the role of perceived expertise in future research in the confronting prejudice literature.

Affective Reactions

Past research in the confronting prejudice literature has examined people's affective reactions to confrontations of prejudice; for example, people low in prejudice have been shown to express high levels of compunction (i.e., feelings of guilt and self-criticism) when made aware of or confronted about their own prejudices (e.g., Devine, 1991; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp et al., 2010). However, research in this area has typically examined these affective reactions as primary outcome variables of confrontation of prejudice, rather than examining the mediating role that affect may play in predicting people's responses to prejudice. Furthermore, research in this area has been primarily concerned with *individual-level* affective reactions to personal confrontation of prejudice; in comparison, the goal of my dissertation research was to bring in the *group-based* emotion literature to understand people's affective reactions to the statements of an ingroup vs. outgroup member. More specifically, I predicted that a White (vs. non-White speaker) would evoke more shame from White participants because shame has been identified to be associated with feelings of threat to the positive image of one's group; importantly, however, anger has also been found to be affected by manipulations of image threat (Iyer et al., 2007).

For all three studies, the experimental manipulation was found to have a significant effect on participants' affective reactions to the opinion-editorial article. However, anger (rather than shame) was found to have strongest relationship to the experimental manipulation and moderation by IMS. More specifically, the Black author was found to particularly reduce participants' reports of anger (in comparison to participants in the White author condition); this was particularly true for participants high in IMS. Furthermore, across both studies, anger was found to be the affective response that most strongly predicted agreement with the author and support for affirmative action policies.

There are several reasons why we might expect to find this pattern of results. Studies 1 and 2 found that participants' were more willing to express disagreement (as well as show more indirect support for affirmative action policies) in the White vs. non-White author as a result of increased anger in the White author condition, which falls in line with previous research that has generally found that anger (rather than shame or guilt) is the strongest predictor of an individual's support for political action to repair the wrongdoings of one's ingroup (e.g., Leach et al., 2006; Iyer et al., 2003). In addition, past research has found that anger and shame tend to be highly correlated, and that both emotions are associated with appraisals of image threat (see Lickel, Schmader & Spanovic, 2007 for a review). Related research has also found that anger plays an important role in politicizing the identity towards social action (e.g., Kessler & Hollbach, 2005; Livingstone, Spears, Manstead, Bruder and Shepherd, 2011; Thomas, McGarty & Mavor, 2009). While I did not predict apriori that anger would be the affective reaction most affected by my manipulation, it is important to note that anger across Studies 1 and 2 was indeed found to differ across experimental conditions (i.e., level of anger was dependent upon whether the author was Black or White), suggesting that there *is* a shared racial identity component involved in the extent to which Whites have emotional reactions to these racial statements.

Anger in response to the opinion-editorial was affected by the salience of a Black confronter in Study 3, despite predictions that there would be no differences in affect across experimental conditions. It is possible that the presence of a confronter was enough to make image concerns about racism salient, despite the absence of a White author in any of the experimental conditions. These findings can be understood in relation to the confrontation of prejudice literature discussed earlier, that has found that confrontations of prejudice can elicit a range of affective reactions from Whites; in particular, compunction (e.g., Czopp et al., 2006; Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Interestingly, exploratory mediation analyses in Study 3 did not find that compunction was a significant mediator of any indirect effects in either of the rebuttal (vs. no rebuttal) conditions; thus, it is important to more closely examine the emotions that are elicited in confrontation of a non-White speaker (and how these may vary from confrontation of a White speaker) in future research.

Limitations

As with all experimental psychology research, there are limitations that must be acknowledged in regards to the samples used for these studies, and the generalizability of these results to a broader population. First, the population of MTurk workers has been found to have a larger representation of Whites (and in particular, White females) than the U.S. as a whole; MTurk workers also tend to be slightly more liberal than the average American (see Berinsky, Huber and Lenz, 2012). That being acknowledged, the MTurk sample is more representative of the general U.S. population than the typical undergraduate sample traditionally used in experimental psychology research. Furthermore, a slightly skewed female sample was not a significant concern, since there were not conceptual reasons to think that gender would moderate the results of the experiments.[10] However, it would be worthwhile to examine the role of gender in future research

[10] Exploratory follow-up analyses tested gender as a moderator in Studies 1 and 2, finding that the effects of the experimental manipulation were stronger for females than males. This may, in part, be due to the

in this area; in particular, how the persuasiveness of a speaker may be a result of an interaction of their race (e.g., White speaker vs. Black speaker) and their gender of a speaker (female vs. male).

Another limitation of the findings of these studies is the relatively high mean scores for IMS that participants reported on all 3 studies. Across all three studies, participants who were 1 SD below the mean score of IMS were still above the midpoint (5.0) on the 9 point scale used for these studies; thus, the majority of participants in these studies indicated at least slight agreement that they were internally motivated to respond without prejudice. This is particularly important when considering the use of IMS as a moderator in these studies – on average, the experimental manipulations tended to have a significant effect on participants both low and high in IMS. However, the effect sizes for participants low in IMS were considerably smaller than those high in IMS, suggesting that the experimental manipulation would not have a significant effect on participants who report being low in IMS (i.e., a score below 5.0 on a 9 point scale). In order to test this hypothesis, the Johnson-Newman test for regions of significance was conducted in Studies 1 and 2, finding that the experimental effects of the Black vs. White author generally became non-significant for participants with an IMS score of less than 5.0.

Interestingly, exploratory analyses found that political orientation was, in general, a significant moderator of participants' results in Studies 1 and 2, with a similar pattern of results as those found for IMS moderation (i.e., more liberal participants were more likely to be affected by the experimental manipulation than conservative participants). However, it is important to note that the correlation between IMS and political orientation across all three studies was fairly weak, indicating that the role of IMS is largely independent from political orientation in the context of these studies. Furthermore, I ensured that the effects of IMS that I found across these studies was

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fact that females reported a higher level of IMS than males. Importantly, the moderation patterns for IMS remained the same after controlling for gender.

not simply due to the effects of political orientation by controlling for political orientation in all of my moderation and mediation analyses for all three studies. Furthermore, while scores for IMS were heavily skewed in general, there was a fairly normal distribution of participants' political orientation across all 3 studies. As the focus of the opinion-editorial article was on a public policy issue, it seems logical that political orientation would be a significant moderator of participants' reactions to the article. Most importantly, however, the results of these studies provide evidence to suggest it is not simply participants' political beliefs that is moderating their reactions to these statements; rather, the desire to maintain unprejudiced images of themselves plays a unique role as a moderator as well.

Future Directions

The results of this research are promising and point to several possible areas of extension in the future. First, it is important to understand whether the results found in Studies 1 and 2 are specific to Whites' expression of prejudice towards Blacks, or if Whites will be more willing to agree with an ethnic minority author who makes prejudiced statements about their own ethnic minority group members versus a White author, and how this then might affect support for public policies that target other ethnic minority communities (e.g., a Latino vs. White author calling for deportation of undocumented immigrants.) Similarly, it will be important to investigate whether the results of Study 2 are specific to the dynamics of Asian-Black relations in the U.S., or if these persuasive effects of a non-target (inter-minority) speaker can be replicated with speakers from different ethnic minority groups (such as Latinos, who are typically perceived to be a lower status group). While I predict that there would be a general White vs. non-White speaker finding across ethnic minority group speakers and targets, it is possible that there are unique factors involved in Whites' prejudice towards Blacks, and that there are different processes involved their expression of prejudice towards other target ethnic minority groups and public policy issues.

Another important area of extension in the future is to more specifically examine the dynamics of the White vs. Black rebuttal in Study 3, and how evaluations of the confronter differ by confronter race. As the goal of Study 3 was to primarily examine the influence of the salience of a confronter on mechanisms of agreement with the Black author, I did not include detailed measures to additionally assess differential perceptions of each confronter. While initial analyses in this study indicated that there were no differences in general evaluation of the Black vs. White rebutter, future studies could benefit from a more in-depth look of how perceptions of these confronters vary, and the ways in which each of them may reduce persuasion with the original Black author.

Finally, while the purpose of my dissertation research was to specifically understand the processes that underlie Whites' reactions to White vs. non-White speakers expressing prejudice towards Blacks, another avenue for future research is to examine how *ethnic minority participants* (e.g., Blacks) similarly react to either an own-group (e.g. Black speaker) or other minority group (e.g., Asian speaker) expressing prejudice towards their own ethnic group versus a White speaker, and whether they find the ethnic minority speakers to similarly have more expertise and trustworthiness than the White speaker.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

EXPERIMENTAL MANIPULATION

The American Dream is Possible

By Malcolm Johnson Adam Smith

The estimated unemployment rate in the United States for Black Americans sits well above the national average. When it comes to Blacks struggling economically, I do not believe they are simply held back because of racism. People sometimes hold themselves back and use racism as an excuse for not being able to achieve success.

In today's society, we have high-ranking public officials and private sector executives of all races. There is no longer a need for programs that seek to provide additional opportunities for members of ethnic minority groups. Rather, continuing these programs just rewards people for laziness and poor work ethics. If a Black student knows that they will automatically have an advantage in college admissions and in the job market, they will not be motivated to work as hard as their counterparts to achieve the same educational or professional goal.

Other ethnic minority groups have faced discrimination in the United States, but many of these groups have worked hard to overcome their obstacles and are now seeing success in academics and the work force. The success of these hard working minorities shows that anyone has a chance at achieving the American Dream if they really try.

The battle to guarantee equal rights for all citizens has been fought and won. It is not the job of government, businesses or the educational system to guarantee equal outcomes for all. We can no longer blame White people for all the disparities that exist in this country; people must be motivated to work hard and attain success, and not rely on the government to provide this for them.

APPENDIX B

ASIAN AUTHOR STIMULUS

By Mark Chen

APPENDIX C

REBUTTAL MANIPULATION

Editorial Response: The American Dream is Possible

I am a Black [White] person myself, and I have to say that I completely disagree with this opinion-editorial article. I believe that it is an overly simplistic view of race and racial discrimination in the United States and that it fails to recognize the racism that still exists in our country.

Affirmative action raises difficult questions of access and fairness. Even though the U.S. today is better in terms of racial equality than it has ever been before, Blacks still don't have the same access to resources as Whites, and face pervasive racism and discrimination in society. Black unemployment, poverty and homelessness are twice that of Whites.

Furthermore, there still remains a need to increase the representation of Black Americans and other underrepresented groups in government offices, boards of directors, elected offices, and private businesses. We are not yet in the post-racial society where affirmative action is no longer needed.

APPENDIX D

THE TABLES

Table 1. Study 1 Main Effects for Individual Emotion Items

Measure	Overall		White Author		Black Author		Unidentified Author		Baseline	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Embarrassed	2.89	2.41	3.47a	2.63	2.16c	1.76	2.89b	2.41	1.59	1.33
Proud	3.36	2.64	3.13	2.53	3.69	2.77	3.27	2.60	3.54	2.55
Angry at Author	3.35	2.70	4.27a	2.88	2.59b	2.31	3.07b	2.58	1.33	0.92
Guilty	2.12	1.81	2.16	1.67	2.06	1.92	2.13	1.85	1.76	1.54
Good	4.07	2.72	3.62b	2.64	4.51a	2.70	4.12	2.76	5.71	2.16
Remorseful	2.29	1.97	2.38	1.90	2.09	1.89	2.41	2.14	1.83	1.74
Happy	3.66	2.56	3.38	2.47	4.05	2.58	3.58	2.60	5.28	2.25
Ashamed	2.65	2.27	3.00a	2.36	2.15b	1.99	2.78	2.37	1.52	1.32
Angry at Self	1.87	1.80	1.78	1.49	1.92	1.89	1.91	1.72	2.02	1.80
Sad	3.11	2.50	3.52a	2.57	2.58b	2.30	3.23	2.55	2.23	2.00
Anxious	2.51	2.03	2.75	2.02	2.40	2.13	2.35	1.92	2.58	2.04

Offended	3.17	2.65	4.11a	2.85	2.38b	2.25	2.98b	2.50	1.45	1.14
Upset	3.39	2.54	4.10a	2.60	2.71b	2.37	3.32b	2.47	2.03	1.78
Calm	4.53	2.58	4.20	2.44	4.75	2.63	4.68	2.68	6.36	2.18
Disgusted	3.38	2.64	4.24a	2.68	2.59b	2.38	3.22c	2.57	1.63	1.46

Note. 1. Subscripts indicate significant differences by row ($p \leq 05$). 2. Emotion items for the baseline condition are provided as a point of comparison and were not included in the tests for mean differences or factor analyses.

Table 2. Study 1 Main Effects

Measure	Overall		White Author		Black Author		Unidentified Author		Baseline	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Author Trustworthiness	5.81	1.95	5.13c	1.97	6.64a	1.71	5.71b	1.86	--	--
Author Expertise	4.70	2.36	3.47c	2.20	6.05a	1.97	4.67b	2.13	--	--
Affect										
Anger	3.34	2.43	4.20a	2.53	2.58b	2.08	3.16b	2.35	1.61	1.08
Shame	2.78	2.23	3.24a	2.36	2.14b	1.80	2.94a	2.34	1.55	1.24
Positive Affect	3.57	2.40	3.33b	2.39	4.10a	2.52	3.57a,b	2.40	1.89	1.54
Compunction	2.10	1.63	2.09	1.50	2.03	1.75	2.17	1.65	1.87	1.54
Persuasiveness	4.78	2.74	3.79c	2.64	5.63a	2.53	5.00b	2.74	--	--

Author Agreement	4.98	2.85	4.28c	2.89	5.59a	2.57	5.16b	2.96	--	--
Support for Affirmative Action	4.07	1.72	4.33	1.77	4.00	1.59	3.85	1.74	4.04	1.77
IMS	7.19	1.71	7.27	1.70	7.20	1.66	7.20	1.75	7.09	1.74
EMS	4.20	2.00	4.29	1.94	4.10	2.22	3.90	1.92	4.48	1.89

Note. 1. Subscripts indicate significant differences by row ($p \leq 05$). 2. Emotion items for the baseline condition are provided as a point of comparison and were not included in the test for mean differences.

Table 3. Study 1 Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	--											
2	.82***	--										
3	-.68***	-.60***	--									
4	-.49***	-.38***	.75***	--								
5	.58***	.57***	-.39***	-.18***	--							
6	-.23***	-.11*	.46***	.66***	.06	--						
7	.82***	.85***	-.63***	-.38***	.67***	-.10†	--					
8	.80***	.80***	-.65***	-.39***	.65***	-.14**	.88***	--				
9	-.56***	-.53***	.58***	.37***	-.46***	.30***	-.62***	-.72***	--			
10	-.16**	-.25***	.11*	-.02	-.29***	-.16**	-.27***	-.33***	.32***	--		
11	.03	.06	.09†	.19***	.11*	.21***	.05	.09†	.01	-.23***	--	
12	.39***	.35***	-.26***	-.14**	.39***	-.01	.43***	.48***	-.40***	-.28***	.14**	--
13	-.12†	-.17*	.07	.05	-.16*	.02	-.18*	-.15*	.12†	.02	.03	.00

Note. 1 = Author Trustworthiness. 2 = Author Expertise. 3 = Anger. 4 = Shame. 5 = Positive Affect. 6 = Compunction. 7 = Persuasiveness. 8 = Author Agreement 9. Support for Affirmative Action 10. IMS 11. EMS 12. Political Orientation. 13. Level of Education (SES). †$p \leq .10$, *$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$

Table 4. Study 1 Moderation Analyses

	Effects of Black vs. White Conditions			Effects of Unidentifed vs. White Conditions		
	Interaction with IMS	Low IMS	High IMS	Interaction with IMS	Low IMS	High IMS
Author Trustworthiness	.25*	1.03**	1.89***	.10	.29	.63*
Author Expertise	.37*	1.91***	3.16***	.09	.93**	1.25***
Affect						
Anger	-.36*	-.90*	-2.13***	-.10	-.68†	-1.00*
Shame	-.18	-.69†	-1.31***	-.01	-.09	-.14
Compunction	.07	-.17	.06	.10	-.03	.30
Positive Affect	.26	.25	1.13**	.19	-.22	.42
Persuasiveness	.36***	1.12**	2.33***	.16	.74†	1.28**

Agreement with Author	.24	.77†	1.59***	.02	.62	.68
Support for Affirmative Action	-.16	.02	-.51	-.07	-.21	-.44

Note. **†$p \leq .10$,** *$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$. All analyses control for EMS and Political Orientation.

Table 5. Study 1 Moderated Indirect Effects Black vs. White Author Conditions

Mediators	Persuasiveness		Author Agreement	
	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI
Anger				
Index of Moderated Mediation	**0.04**	[0.01, 0.08]	**0.07**	[0.01, 0.14]
Low IMS	**0.09**	[0.01,0.23]	**0.17**	[0.04, 0.38]
High IMS	**0.20**	[.06, 0.41]	**0.40**	[0.21, 0.68]
Author Expertise				
Index of Moderated Mediation	**0.24**	[0.06, 0.43]	**0.20**	[0.06, 0.38]
Low IMS	**1.26**	[0.82, 1.77]	**1.08**	[0.70, 1.60]
High IMS	**2.06**	[1.52, 2.68]	**1.78**	[1.23, 2.40]
Author Trustworthiness				
Index of Moderated Mediation	**0.11**	[0.01, 0.25]	**0.12**	[0.001, .26]
Low IMS	**0.79**	[0.47, 1.19]	**0.45**	[0.16, 0.85]

High IMS	**0.42**	[0.15, 0.76]	**0.85**	[0.52, 1.30]

Note. Significant indirect effects are indicated in bold. Bootstrapping 95% confidence intervals are provided in brackets.

Table 6. Study 2 Main Effects

Measure	Overall		White Author		Black Author		Asian Author		Unidentified Author	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Author Trustworthiness	5.87	1.85	5.34b	1.92	6.58a	1.65	6.10a	1.77	5.45b	1.82
Author Expertise	4.76	2.23	3.71c	2.09	6.19a	1.81	4.74b	2.08	4.42b,c	2.16
Affect										
Anger	3.10	2.35	3.69a	2.59	2.36b	1.88	3.02a,b	2.40	3.33a	2.36
Shame	2.50	1.91	2.78a	2.16	2.32b	1.65	2.39a,b	1.95	2.51a,b	1.84
Positive Affect	3.64	2.34	3.30b	2.20	4.16a	2.30	3.72a,b	2.54	3.36a,b	2.25
Compunction	2.09	1.34	1.96a	1.39	1.83a	1.36	2.03a	1.43	1.98a	1.38
Persuasiveness	4.82	2.60	4.20c	2.69	5.62a	2.29	5.10a,b	2.59	4.36b,c	2.59

Author Agreement	5.11b	2.78	4.73	2.94	5.92a	2.39	5.29a,b	2.88	4.50b	2.72
Compensatory Policies	3.38	1.73	3.43	1.67	3.31	1.59	3.23	1.84	3.56	1.79
Equal Opportunity Policies	5.01	2.11	5.11	2.21	4.61	1.89	5.00	2.25	5.33	2.07
IMS	7.32	1.52	7.08	1.48	7.53	1.47	7.47	1.39	7.35	1.47
EMS	4.20	1.98	4.13	1.92	4.22	1.96	4.42	2.13	4.02	1.90

Note. Subscripts indicate significant differences by row ($p \leq 05$).

Table 7. Study 2 Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	--												
2	.78***	--											
3	-.66***	-.63***	--										
4	-.43***	-.38***	.70***	--									
5	.59***	.58***	-.43***	-.21***	--								
6	-.32***	-.21***	.54***	.70***	-.02	--							
7	.80***	.83***	-.67***	-.41***	.67***	-.25***	--						
8	.77***	.79***	-.72***	-.47***	.65***	-.31***	.87***	--					
9	-.57***	-.50***	.58***	.46***	-.42***	.37***	-.56***	-.71***	--				
10	-.57***	-.60***	.59***	.42***	-.46***	.26***	-.66***	-.74***	-.72***	--			
11	.03	-.08†	.12**	-.05	-.12**	-.21***	-.10*	-.11*	-.11*	-.02	--		
12	-.03	.04	-.01	.13**	.05	.16***	.05	.03	.07	-.03	-.09†	--	
13	.42***	.36***	-.42***	-.23***	.42***	-.16***	.41***	.47***	-.41***	-.47***	-.22***	.03	--
14	-.06	-.13*	.09	-.07	.10†	-.18**	-.12*	.06	.16**	.02	.03	-.10	

Note. 1 = Author Trustworthiness. 2 = Author Expertise. 3 = Anger. 4 = Shame. 5 = Positive Affect. 6 = Compunction. 7 = Persuasiveness. 8 = Author Agreement 9. Support for Compensatory Policies 10. Support for Equal Opportunity Policies. 11. IMS 12. EMS 13. Political Orientation. 14. Level of Education (SES). †$p \leq .10$, *$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$

Table 8. Study 2 Moderation Analyses (White Author Condition as Reference Group)

	Effect of Black vs. White			Effect of Asian vs. White			Effect of Unidentified vs. White		
	Interaction with IMS	Low IMS	High IMS	Interaction with IMS	Low IMS	High IMS	Interaction with IMS	Low IMS	High IMS
Author Trustworthiness	.27†	.92*	1.71*	.21	.47	1.07***	-.06	.17	-.02†
Author Expertise	.69***	1.66***	3.677***	.16	.87*	1.35***	-.13	.94*	.54
Affect									
Anger	-.55**	-.60	-2.24***	-.26	-.42	-1.19**	-.24	.02	-.67†
Shame	-.14	-.27	-.68†	-.04	-.42	-.54	.04	-.25	-.14
Compunction	-.06	-.04	-.24	-.02	-.22	-.29	-.01	.04	.02
Positive Affect	.13	.72†	1.11**	.00	.49	.49	-.00	.08	.07
Persuasiveness	.54**	.74†	2.33***	.20	.70	1.28**	.20	.70	1.28**

Author Agreement	.73***	.24	2.40***	.22	.36	.99*	.30	-.70	.18
CP Support	-.55***	.59*	-1.02***	-.21	.04	-.58*	-.38**	.76*	-.36
EEOO Support	-.34*	-.03	-1.01**	-.09	-.08	-.34	-.13	.43	.04

Note. †$p \leq .10$, *$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$

Table 9. Study 2 Moderation Analyses (Black Author Condition as Reference Group)

	Effect of Asian versus Black author conditions		
	Interaction with IMS	Low IMS	High IMS
Author Trustworthiness	-0.06	-0.46	-0.64*
Author Expertise	-0.53**	-0.79*	-2.33***
Affect			
Anger	0.29	.18	1.05**
Compunction	0.04	-0.17	-0.04
Shame	0.10	-0.14	-0.14
Positive Affect	-0.13	-0.23	-0.61
Persuasiveness	-0.34	-0.04	-1.06*
Agreement with Author	-0.52*	.12	-1.40**

Support for Compensatory Policies	0.34*	-0.55†	0.46
Support for Equal Opportunity Policies	0.25	-0.06	0.67†

Note. †$p \leq .10$, *$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$

Table 10. Study 2 Moderated Indirect Effects of Black vs. White Author Conditions

	Persuasiveness		Author Agreement		Support for Compensatory Policies		Support for Equal Opportunity Policies	
	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI
Anger								
Index of Moderated Mediation	**0.07**	[0.02, 0.15]	**0.16**	[0.06, 0.29]	**-0.12**	[-0.23, -.0.04]	**-0.12**	[-0.23,-.04]
Low IMS	0.08	[-0.001, 0.21]	0.17	[-0.01, 0.41]	-0.13	[-0.32, 0.01]	-0.13	[-0.33, 0.01]
High IMS	**0.29**	[0.13, 0.52]	**0.65**	[0.39, 1.00]	**-0.48**	[-0.77, -0.27]	**-0.47**	[-0.77, -0.23]
Author Expertise								
Index of Moderated Mediation	**0.07**	[0.02, 0.15]	**0.39**	[0.20, 0.62]	**-0.08**	[-.20, -.004]	**-0.24**	[-0.42, -0.12]
Low IMS	**1.07**	[1.78, 3.07]	**0.93**	[0.58, 1.37]	**-0.19**	[-0.43, -0.01]	**-0.58**	[-0.92, -0.33]
High IMS	**2.37**	[0.67, 1.54]	**2.07**	[1.47, 2.76]	**-0.42**	[-0.92, -.01]	**-1.29**	[-1.87, -0.80]
Author								

<u>Trustworthiness</u>								
Index of Moderated Mediation	0.12	[-0.02, 0.28]	0.10	[-0.01, 0.24]	**-0.05**	[-0.15, -0.001]	-0.03	[-0.11, 0.01]
Low IMS	**0.45**	[0.45, 1.18]	**0.35**	[0.13, 0.67]	**-0.18**	[-0.42, -0.43]	-0.09	[-0.31, 0.03]
High IMS	**0.42**	[0.16, 0.75]	**0.65**	[0.36, 1.06]	**-0.33**	[-0.67, -0.12]	-0.17	[-0.47, 0.08]

Note. Significant indirect effects are indicated in bold. Bootstrapping 95% confidence intervals are provided in brackets.

Table 11. Study 2 Indirect Effects of Asian vs. White Author Conditions

	Persuasiveness		Author Agreement		Support for Compensatory Policies		Support for Equal Opportunity Policies	
	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI
Anger	**1.12**	[0.48, 1.74]	**0.24**	[0.07, 0.46]	**-0.17**	[-0.33, -0.05]	**-0.19**	[-0.40, -0.02]
Author Expertise	**0.69**	[0.01, 0.23]	**0.63**	[0.34, 0.96]	**-0.12**	[-0.32, -.001]	**-0.37**	[-0.65, -0.17]
Author Trustworthiness	**0.34**	[0.12, 0.60]	**0.28**	[0.12, 0.52]	**-0.17**	[-0.36, -.05]	**-0.10**	[-0.28, -.002]

Note. Significant indirect effects are indicated in bold. Bootstrapping 95% confidence intervals are provided in brackets.

Table 12. Study 3 Main Effects

Measure	Overall		No Rebuttal		Black Rebuttal		White Rebuttal	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Author Trustworthiness	6.58	1.80	6.84	1.82	6.38	1.88	6.50	1.67
Author Expertise	5.65	2.10	6.08a	1.91	5.38b	2.23	5.46a,b	2.09
Affect								
Anger	2.43	2.07	2.09b	1.89	2.90a	2.29	2.31a,b	1.97
Positive Affect	3.85	2.34	4.34a	2.38	3.63b	2.36	3.55b	2.22
Compunction	2.08	1.42	1.78b	1.05	2.32a	1.65	2.17a,b	1.48
Persuasiveness	5.43	2.62	5.81	2.60	5.21	2.63	5.25	2.60

Author Agreement	5.52	2.77	5.94	2.66	5.46	2.84	5.16	2.80
Support for Compensatory Policies	3.25	1.87	3.31	1.80	3.14	1.98	3.30	1.83
Support for Equal Opportunity Policies	4.93	2.21	5.04	2.15	4.51	2.37	5.15	2.10
Impressions of the Confronter	5.85	1.70	--	--	5.86	1.82	5.85	1.57
Right to Challenge	7.60	2.07	--	--	7.63	2.19	7.58	1.96
IMS	7.42	1.63	7.27	1.74	7.53	1.63	7.49	1.49
EMS	4.17	2.11	4.27	2.06	4.28	2.20	3.95	2.07

Note. Subscripts indicate significant differences by row ($p \leq 05$).

Table 13. Study 3 Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	--												
2	.75***	--											
3	-.53***	-.54***	--										
4	.43***	.51***	-.41***	--									
5	-.39***	-.35***	.68***	-.25***	--								
6	.75***	.80***	-.59***	.57***	-.39***	--							
7	.62***	.71***	-.60***	.58***	-.41***	.81***	--						
8	-.40***	-.54***	.43***	-.40***	.34***	-.54***	-.73***	--					
9	-.33***	-.47***	.40***	-.44***	.31***	-.53***	-.70***	.73***	--				
10	-.08	-.25***	.11	-.25***	.06	-.19***	-.36***	.43***	.435***	--			
11	.14	.05	.06	-.08	-.00	.01	-.10†	.11*	.27***	.23***	--		
12	.00	.01	.07	.06	.21***	.02	.02	.05	.03	.02	-.12*	--	
13	.21***	.31***	-.31***	.35***	-.18***	.34***	.46***	-.40***	-.46***	-.30***	-.21***	-.01	--
14	.05	.03	.07	-.01	.07	-.03	.04	-.04	.11	.07	.11	.08	.06

Note. 1 = Author Trustworthiness. 2 = Author Expertise. 3 = Anger. 4 = Positive Affect. 5 = Compunction. 6 = Persuasiveness.

7 = Author Agreement 8. Support for Compensatory Policies 9. Support for Equal Opportunity Policies. 10. Impressions of Respondent 11. IMS 12. EMS 13. Political Orientation. 14. Level of Education (SES). †$p \leq .10$, *$p \leq .05$, **$p \leq .01$, ***$p \leq .001$

Table 14. Study 3 Moderation Analyses

	Effect of Black vs. No Rebuttal			Effect of White vs. No Rebuttal		
	Interaction with IMS	Low IMS	High IMS	Interaction with IMS	Low IMS	High IMS
Author Trustworthiness	.14	-.69*	-.25	-.10	-.13	-.45
Author Expertise	.08	-.78*	-.52	-.02	-.49	-.53
Affect						
Anger	-.04	.77*	.65†	-.08	.29	.02
Compunction	-.00	.49*	.49*	-.00	.43†	.42†
Positive Affect	.12	-.80*	-.46	-.18	-.32	-.88*
Persuasiveness	.25	-.90*	-.08	-.12	-.22	-.59

Agreement with Author	.12	-.52	-.14	-.02	-.53	-.59
Support for Compensatory Policies	.01	-.27	-.24	.03	-.16	-.07
Support for Equal Opportunity Policies	-.17	-.35	-.91†	-.10	.10	-.23

Note. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 15. Study 3 Indirect Effects of Rebuttal Conditions vs. No Rebuttal Condition

	Persuasiveness		Author Agreement		CP Support		EEOO Support	
	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI
Black Rebuttal vs. No Rebuttal								
Anger	**-0.15**	[-0.35, -0.37]	**-0.24**	[-0.47, -0.07]	**0.12**	[0.02, 0.26]	**0.14**	[0.04, 0.30]
Author Expertise	**-0.35**	[-0.68, -0.07]	**-0.33**	[-0.66, -0.07]	**0.24**	[0.05, 0.48]	**0.24**	[0.05, 0.51]
Author Trustworthiness	-0.19	[-0.44, 0.02]	-0.09	[-0.28, 0.001]	-0.02	[-0.14, 0.03]	-0.06	[-0.21, 0.01]
White Rebuttal vs. No Rebuttal								
Anger	-0.03	[-0.14, 0.07]	-0.37	[-0.82, 0.10]	0.02	[-0.05, 0.12]	0.03	[-0.07, 0.14]
Author Expertise	**-0.28**	[-0.59, -0.002]	**-0.26**	[-0.57, -0.01]	**0.19**	[0.01, 0.42]	**0.19**	[0.01, 0.44]

Author Trustworthiness	-0.12	[-0.35, 0.07]	-0.06	[-0.22, 0.24]	-0.02	[-0.12, 0.02]	-0.04	[-0.17, 0.01]

Note. Significant indirect effects are indicated in bold. 95% bootstrapping confidence intervals are presented in brackets.

APPENDIX E

THE FIGURES

Figure 1. Theoretical Framework

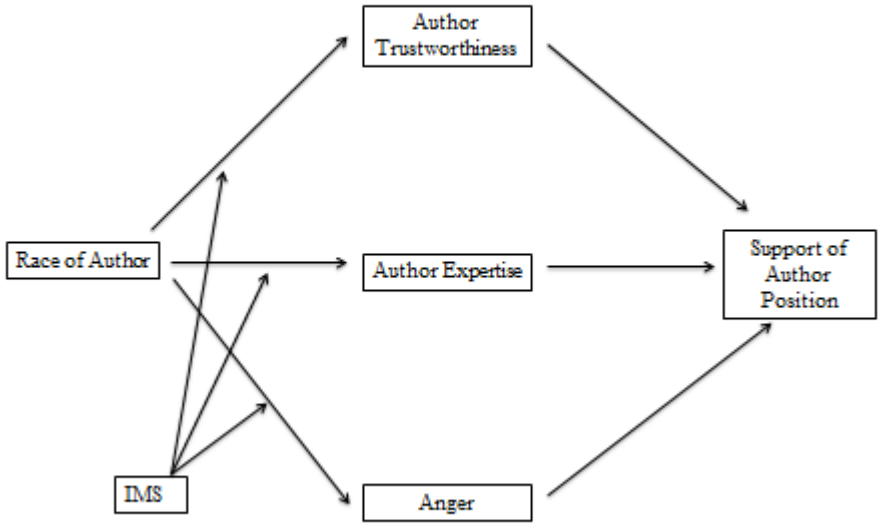


Figure 2. Study 1 Anger as a Function of Condition and IMS

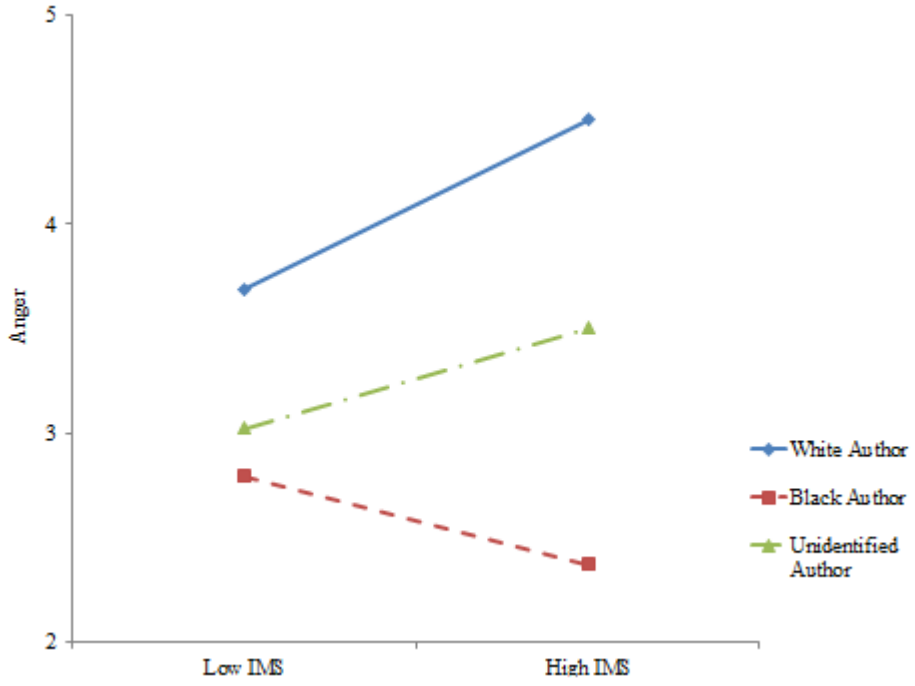


Figure 3. Study 1 Perceived Author Expertise as a Function of Condition and IMS

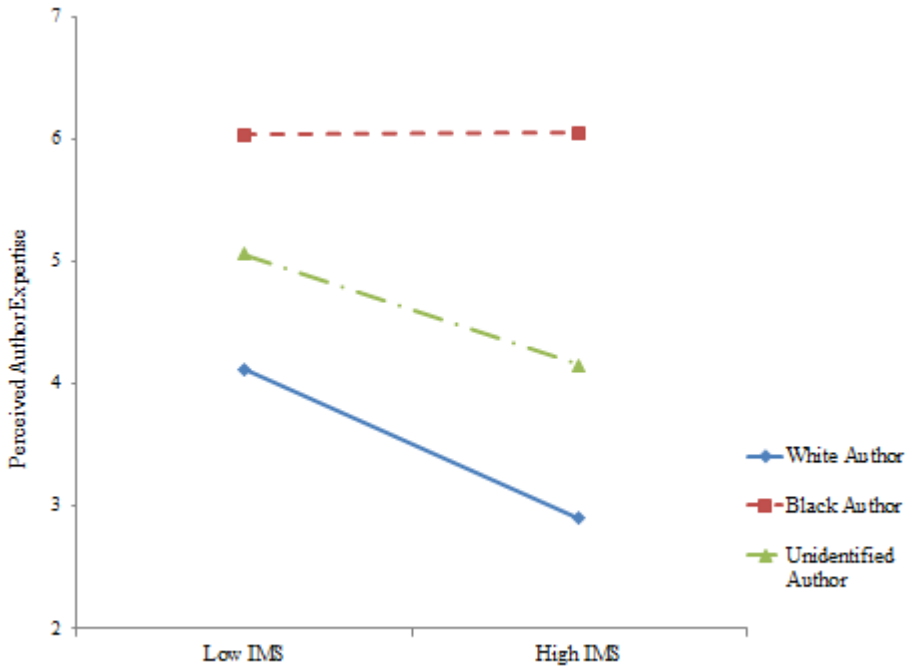


Figure 4. Study 1 Perceived Author Trustworthiness as a Function of Condition and IMS

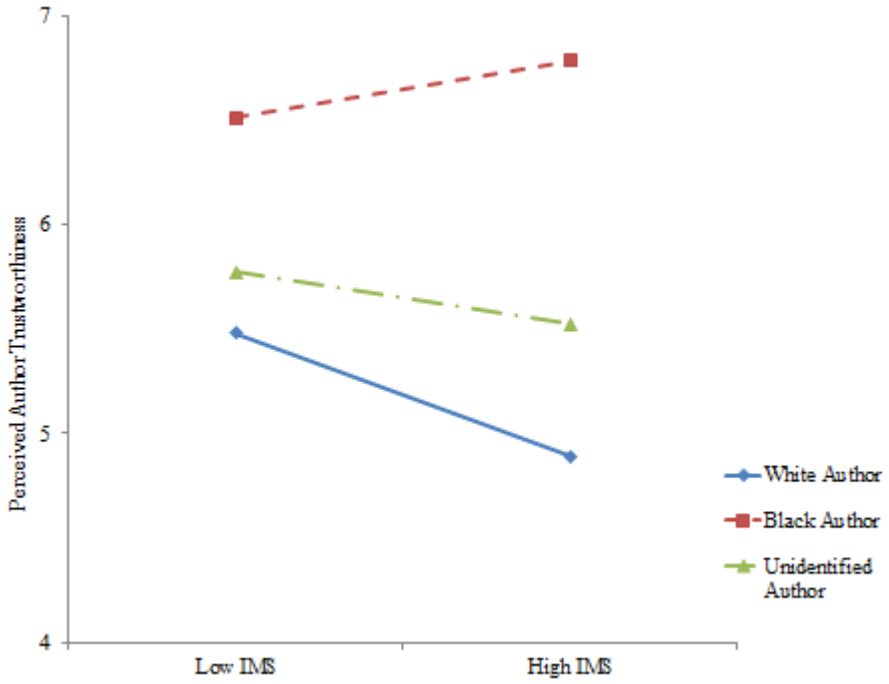


Figure 5. Study 2 Anger as a Function of Condition and IMS

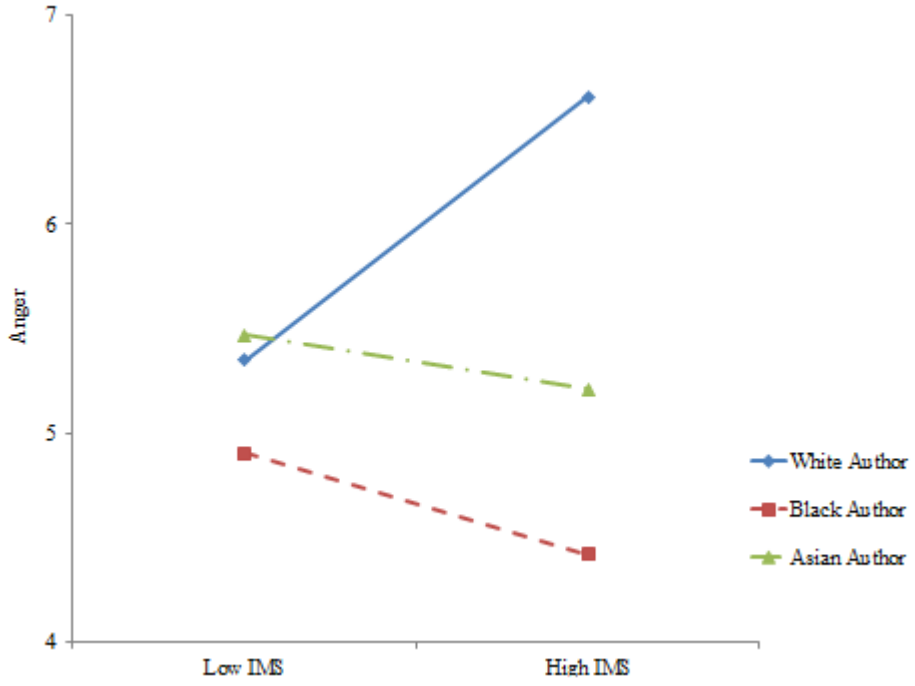


Figure 6. Perceived Author Expertise as a Function of Condition and IMS

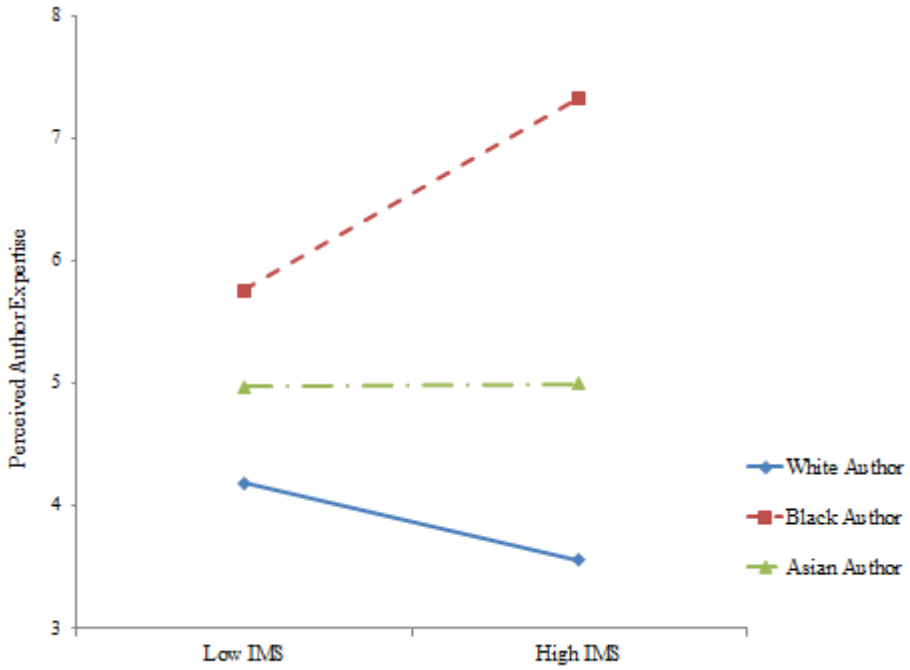


Figure 7. Perceived Author Trustworthiness as a Function of Condition and IMS

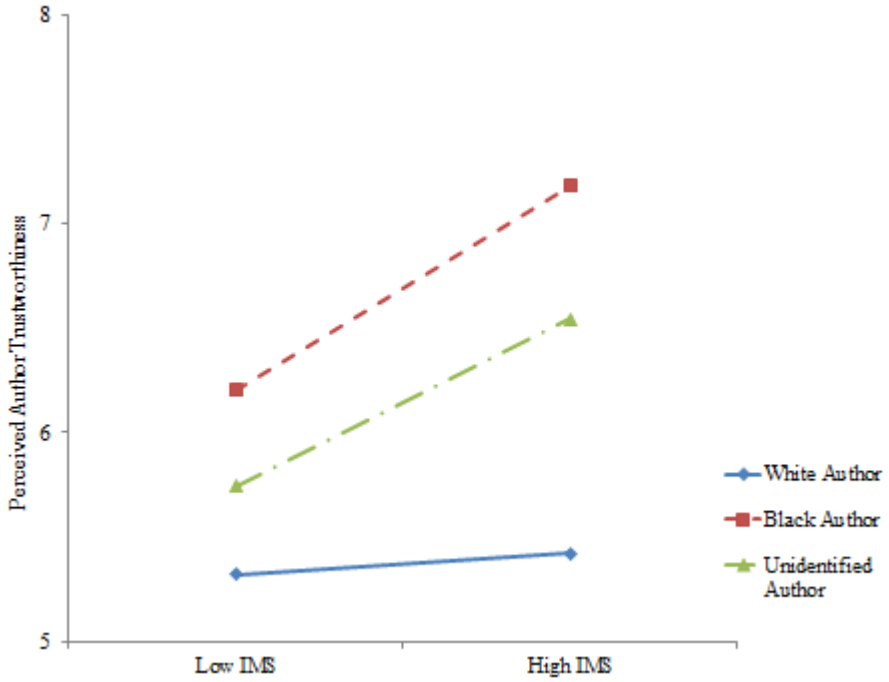


Figure 8. Study 2 Support for Compensatory Policies as a Function of Condition and IMS

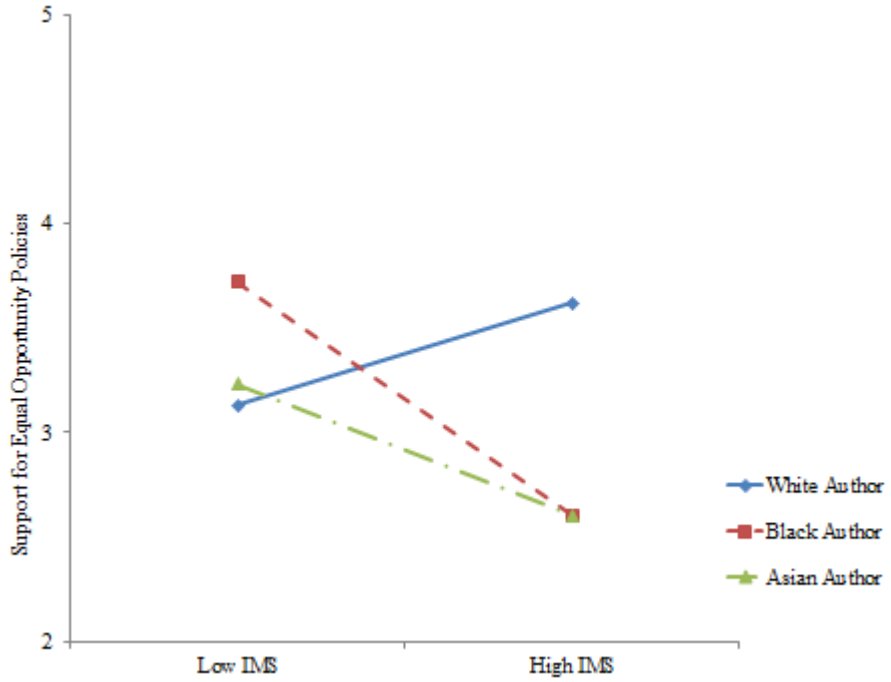


Figure 9. Support for Equal Opportunity Policies as a Function of Condition and IMS

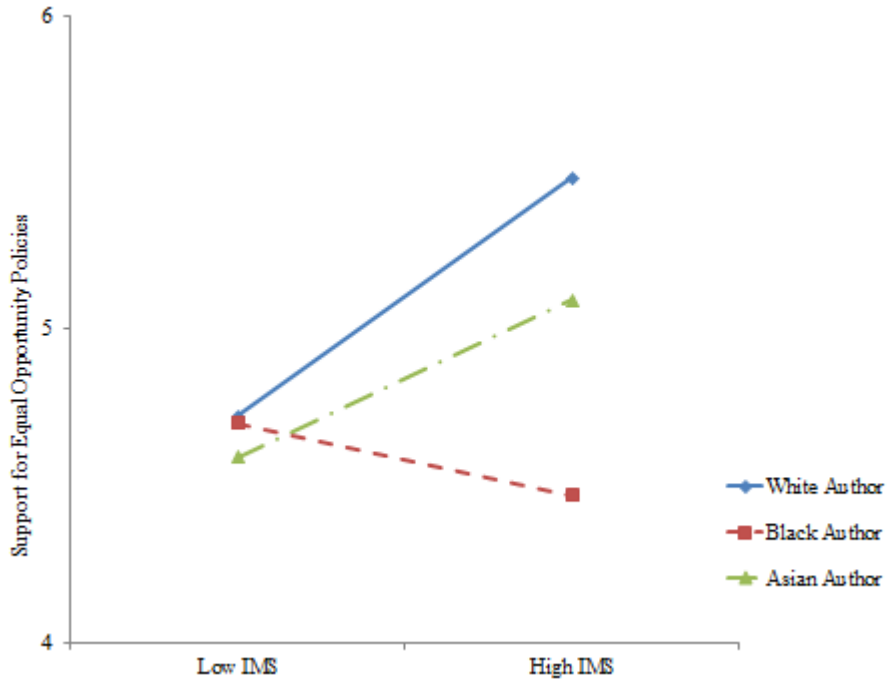


Figure 10. Anger as a Function of Condition and IMS

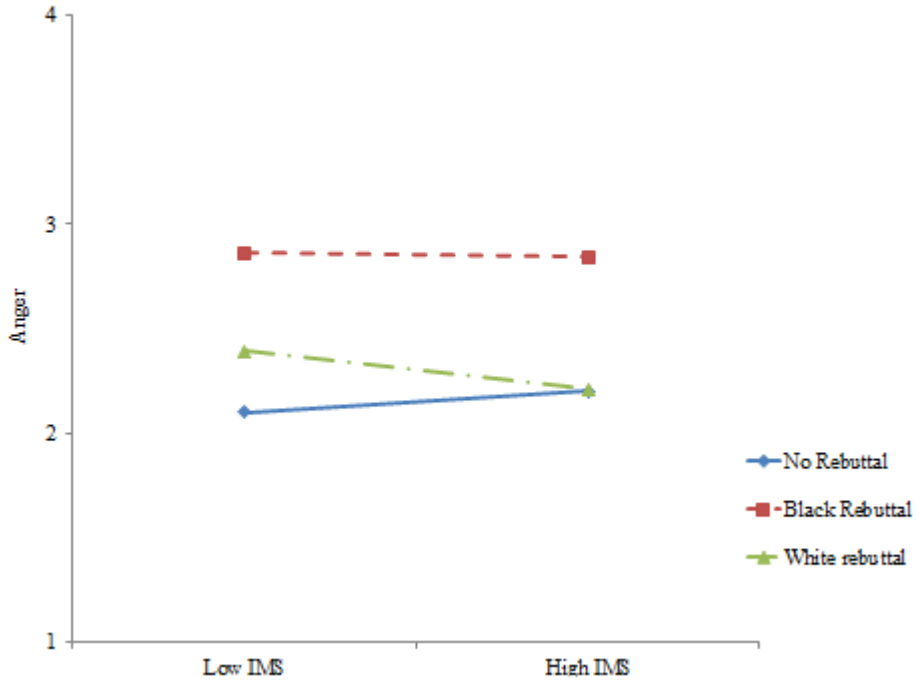


Figure 11. Study 3 Perceived Author Expertise as a Function of Condition and IMS

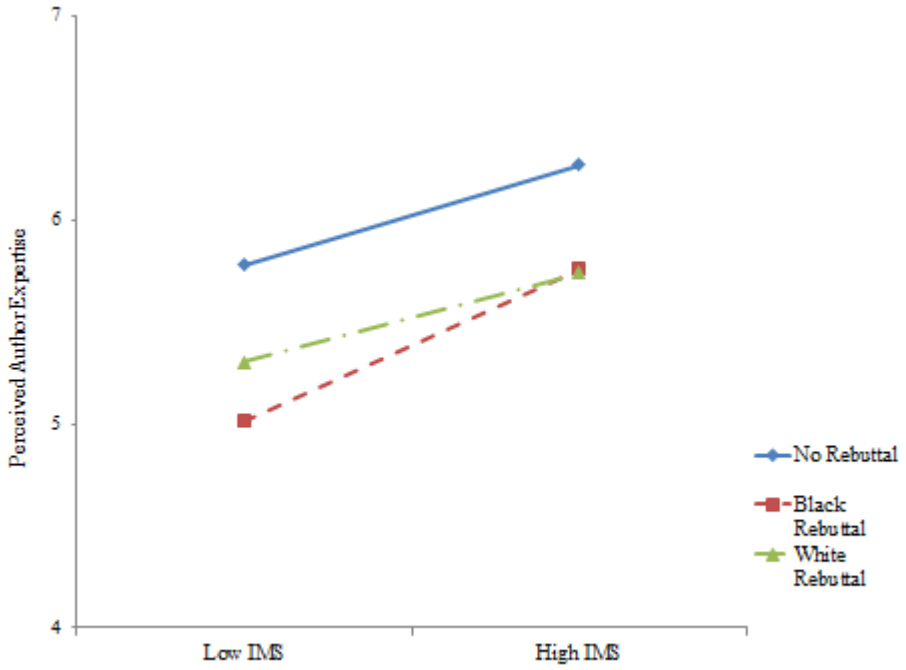
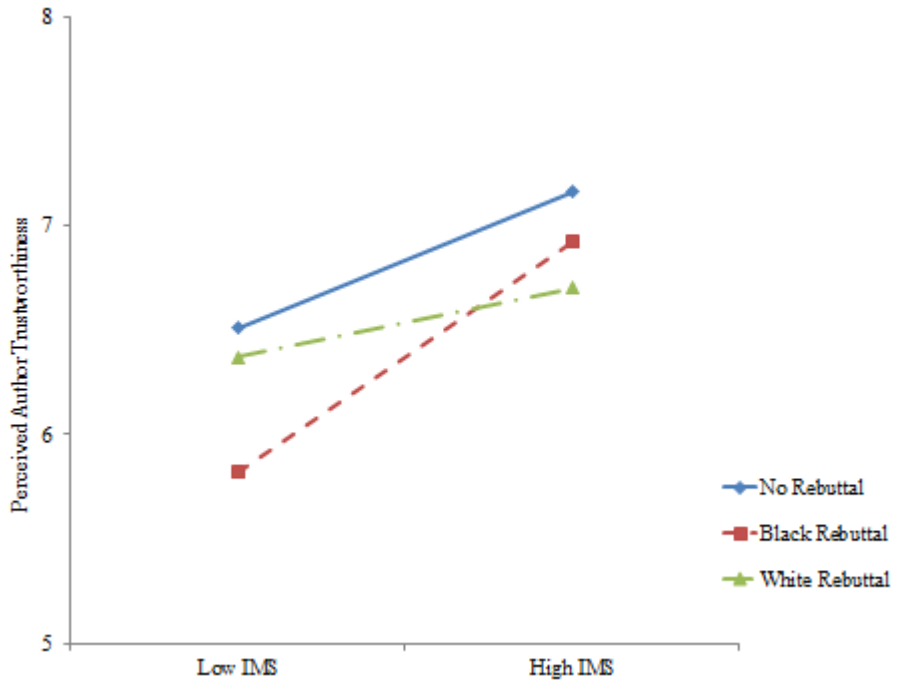


Figure 12. Study 3 Perceived Author Trustworthiness as a Function of Condition and IMS



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