

THE EFFECT OF LANGUAGE ON PERCEPTION OF INGROUPS AND OUTGROUPS

By

Samantha M. Noll

The mechanisms behind prejudice are a topic of long standing research in social psychology. The experimental exploration of prejudice through a cognitive psychology approach, however, is rarer. In particular, prior research has suggested that prejudice cannot be expressed without the use of language. That is, language is necessary for an individual to convey their thoughts and feelings about another group. Consequently, language influences prejudice. Thus, the aim of the present research was to examine how positive or negative language could influence prejudice. In particular, this research examined how perceptions of race and gender are altered based on the language used to describe an individual's own racial ingroup. In total, 114 White Americans (50 men, 64 women) from the UWO psychology participant pool were recruited to participate in study that involved a language manipulation; surveys which rated feelings of others, racism, and sexism; as well as a demographic questionnaire via in person paper and pencil surveys. Specifically, the study examined how prejudice could be manipulated via language based on an outgroup member's descriptions. Data were analyzed with both a mixed factorial ANOVA and independent samples t-tests to assess how language (positive or negative) affected the perception of ingroups and outgroup members (target race and participant gender). Results suggested that language did not alter views of race or sex. Furthermore, this study focused on the importance of understanding language's ability to change feelings and attitudes of different groups as an avenue for changing prejudicial views.

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A Thesis Submitted
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

Master of Science

Psychology - Cognitive and Affective

at

The University of Wisconsin Oshkosh
Oshkosh WI 54901-8621

August 2018

COMMITTEE APPROVAL



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8/15/18 Date Approved



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8/15/18 Date Approved



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8/15/18 Date Approved

PROVOST & VICE CHANCELLOR



1/2/2019
Date Approved

FORMAT APPROVAL



1/2/2019
Date Approved

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The Effect of Language on Perception of Ingroups and Outgroups

The use of prejudicial language has transitioned from blatant verbal expression of prejudiced thoughts and beliefs (i.e., old fashioned racism) to a more modern approach consisting of subtle expressions of prejudiced behaviors (i.e., new racism; Augoustinos & Every, 2007). Although verbalized prejudice has changed due to current social norms condemning statements of prejudice, prejudice still exists and, importantly, cannot exist without the use of language (Augoustinos & Every, 2007; Collins & Clément, 2012). That is, it is difficult to convey our attitudes without verbalization. Thus, the aim of the present research is to examine how positive or negative language can influence prejudice. Racial prejudice is defined as an individual's expressed negative attitude toward another race. In particular, this research examined how perceptions of race (i.e., stereotyping) are altered based on the language used to describe an individual's own racial ingroup.

Why Are People Prejudiced?

Ingroups and outgroups are formed by individuals separating into groups of their choosing with people within an ingroup having similar looks, beliefs, and affiliations (Giles & Giles, 2013). This separation into groups creates a situational paradigm of us (ingroups) versus them (outgroups), which is a key foundational aspect of the more formally known Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1969). SIT proposes that an

individual's ingroup selection offers a sense of pride and identity, leading people to promote their group adamantly. However, the need to promote one's ingroup comes at a cost to all other outgroups. That is, a strong connection to one's ingroup creates a rigidity against positively viewing outgroups, due to the potential cost of having an individual's outgroup viewed as better than their ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Generally, when there is a conflict based on group categorization (i.e., ingroups and outgroups; Hornsey & Imani, 2003), prejudice can arise. The need for all individuals to view their ingroups as better than all other outgroups creates a hierarchy between ethnic groups. For example, Whites may view both Blacks and Hispanics as less than their ingroup, to demonstrate to themselves and others that Whites are better than Blacks and Hispanics.

Threat to an Individual

Group members will alter their perceptions of their ingroup based how they predict outgroup members will perceive them (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998; Kim & Tomoko, 2009). This phenomenon is more formally referred to as meta-stereotypes, which are defined as an individual's thoughts of a stereotype that an outgroup member holds about their group. Research on meta-stereotypes states that an outgroup member's impression of an individual's ingroup is of more value than the individual's own impression of their ingroup. That is, how individuals believe an outgroup views them will ultimately determine how a person views themselves. For example, if Blacks describe Whites as rude, their impression of Whites

as rude is of more importance than how Whites perceive themselves. This shall hold true even if the Whites do not view themselves as rude, since the outgroups impression is of more value. For instance, Vorauer, Hunter, Main, and Roy (2000) explored how a dominant group would react to varied imagined interactions from a minority group. Thus, White Canadians' meta-stereotype regarding viewpoints from Aboriginal Canadians was analyzed. Participants in the study completed an Attitudes and Perception Survey and were then randomly assigned into one of two interaction groups: imagined interaction or mere exposure interaction. The imagined interaction asked participants how they would react to standing or sitting next to an Aboriginal Canadian, while the mere exposure interaction only asked participants to envision seeing an Aboriginal in a newspaper article or on television. Participants in both groups were asked to specifically describe their thoughts and feelings to the hypothetical interactions after taking a few minutes to imagine being in both situations. Stereotype activation was measured after by having participants do a word completion task. The task involved participants filling in the blank for 48 word fragments, including 16 meta-stereotype fragments, 10 other-stereotype fragments and 22 filler fragments. Results indicated that participants provided more meta-stereotype and other-stereotype fragments in the imagine interaction than the mere exposure interaction. Consequently, these results suggest that individuals associate more stereotypical attitudes when the interaction with an outgroup is more salient and uncomfortable. Thus, to change attitudes the interaction between ingroups and outgroups should include more exposure as a part of the social interaction.

Perceived threat against one's group can also affect an individual's perception of

ingroups and outgroups. Research has shown that when individuals are criticized by an outgroup member, they are more likely to believe the criticism is threatening because it suggests there is something about their group that they must change. Consequently, in any type of situation, including simulated sporting events, criticism of the ingroup can create negative perceptions of other groups. For instance, Branscombe and Wann (1994) showed the negative effects of a perceived threat that is directed towards an individual's ingroup. Perceived threat was created by having American participants view two separate videos of boxing matches with an American and Russian boxer. In the first condition, the American boxer won the fight, while in the second condition the American boxer lost the fight. Results showed that Americans who saw a fellow American boxer lose to a Russian boxer were more likely to view Russians in a more negative light. Thus, a perceived threat of an outgroup member being better than an individual's ingroup elicits a negative perception towards the threatening outgroup. Furthermore, this scenario also leads to a threatened individual to promote ingroup positivity by reporting feelings that are more positive about their ingroup to counter the threat (Craig & Richeson, 2012).

Ingroup versus Outgroup Association

Taken together, research has stated that the self-separation of ingroups and outgroups may alter how individuals view people in their own group (i.e., ingroup) or a group different to them (i.e., outgroup; Giles & Giles, 2013). For example, Epton and Knowles (2015) measured the effect of entitativity (i.e., unity of group members) on implicit and explicit measures of expressed prejudice. In their study, Midwestern white

college students were told they were participating in a decision-making research study. Participants completed a questionnaire on their perceived entitativity, an Implicit Association Test (IAT) as the implicit measure of prejudice, and lastly an ATB (Attitudes Towards Blacks) assessment as the explicit measure of prejudice. Participants who felt higher entitativity with their group expressed more biases in both the implicit and explicit measures of prejudice. In conclusion, a strong identification with an individual's ingroup leads to greater reports of implicit and explicit prejudice.

Additionally, across three experiments, Hornsey and Imani (2003) measured the effect of negative (i.e., criticism) and positive (i.e., praise) feedback of Australians based on Australian participant's exposure to the views of ingroup, ex-ingroup, and outgroup speakers. In their paradigm, the speaker was manipulated to have varied experience with Australia. Ingroup members were Australia natives, ex-ingroup members were born in Australia but moved away, while outgroup members had no association with Australia. Participants were told they were receiving extracts of interviews with two people that included a short biography and described how they felt about Australians. All participants read the speaker's biography and then were asked a few questions about the speaker's past to ensure the participants understanding of the speaker's background. Additionally, participants ascertained how intelligent, trustworthy, friendly, open-minded, likeable, respected, and interesting the speaker was. Participants then read the extracts and lastly completed the same trait evaluation questionnaire once more, as well as the constructiveness of the critiques, and experience of the speaker. Results showed that speakers were viewed more favorably when positive feedback was shown to participants,

while group status of ingroup or outgroup had no impact on this view. However, in the negative feedback condition, the confederate's group status influenced how favorably the Australian viewed the speaker, with ingroup critics viewed more positively than outgroup critics. Therefore, more constructive comments (i.e., statements reflecting that the speaker cares and desires the best interest for the participant) positively influenced the viewpoint of all groups with no influence based on the confederate's experience (i.e., group status). However, nonconstructive comments were influenced by the confederate's experience, with ingroups viewed more positively than outgroups. That is, the type of speaker and constructiveness of the language used had the ability to induce defensiveness. However, the critic's relationship and personal experience with an ingroup or outgroup did not affect their perception of threat. Thus, the content of the criticism is particularly important because individuals will be offended no matter who verbalizes the insults.

How Prejudice Has Been Previously Measured

Researchers studying prejudice direct their attention towards specific aspects of language to determine how they can influence prejudice (Collins & Clément, 2012). For instance, implicit association tests (IAT) use word lists to bias or prime participants (Greenwald et al., 1998) and newspaper articles containing salient language (i.e., obvious racial demographic references) have been used to highlight undesired population shifts (i.e., an individual of majority status transitioning to a minority status; Craig & Richeson, 2014). In one case, Greenwald et al. (1998) used an Implicit Association Test (IAT) to

measure implicit attitudes of whites and blacks. Two conditions were tested, with participants directed to press a button to pair a picture of either a black or white person with a word. In the first condition, whites were matched with positive words (e.g., caress, freedom, and health), while blacks are matched with negative words (e.g., abuse, crash, and filth). The second condition reversed the pairings with whites associated with negative words and blacks paired with positive words. Reaction time to each association was measured. Reaction times were faster when a participant's ingroup was positively paired and their outgroup was negatively paired. This suggests that participants have an implicit negative bias against their outgroup.

In addition, Craig and Richeson (2014) presented two newspaper articles with salient language to bring attention to racial demographic shifts. Both explicit and implicit prejudice towards minority races was explored. In one of their experiments, participants read two newspaper manipulations consisting of projected US racial demographics, first where whites are a minority of the demographic of the country, and the second where whites are the majority. The results showed that white participants who read about the white minority census expressed more racial bias than did participants who read about the current U.S. racial demographics where whites are a majority. Thus, a transition from majority to minority group creates a perceived threat (e.g., loss of power or status), leading to increased prejudicial attitudes.

In conclusion, language has been used to influence feelings towards outgroups in social research. The type of language (i.e., positive and negative) impacts the direction of implicit prejudicial attitudes; positive words about a member's ingroup appear to

decrease prejudicial attitudes whereas negative words about a member's ingroup appear to increase prejudicial attitudes. However, it is not clear if the same relationship occurs between language and explicit prejudicial attitudes.

How Language Has Influenced Perception

In addition to language's role in social research, language has also been used as a tool in cognitive research. Cognitive research has shown that language is much more than a mere form of communication (Lupyan, 2012). Language has the ability to elicit certain feelings and experiences. Additionally, language continuously affects the way we view the world, by altering both mental representations and influencing individual thoughts. For instance, Loftus and Palmer (1974) showed participants identical videos of a car crash and then asked about their recollection of the speed of the cars prior to the crash. The manipulation altered which verbs were used in the question: collided, bumped, contacted, or smashed. The verb *smashed* was correlated with participants believing the crash occurred at higher speeds than the other less violent verbs. Loftus and Palmer (1974) concluded that the specific wording of a question could have a large impact on the answer to the question. Consequently, a manipulation of a single word has the ability to alter an individual's reconstruction of a memory of an event.

Additionally, the type of label used to describe objects or people may be used to alter our reaction to presented words. Lupyan and Spivey (2010) described the relationship between redundant labels and an individual's perception of multiple items. Objects in this study varied in numbers and categories. There could be two or five items

that could be tables or chairs. Participants listened to a spoken command instructing them to attend to the category labeled (e.g., chair) then pressed the mouse when the object was presented. Visual labels used were redundant because they offered no additional information to help identify the objects compared to the auditory label. The results showed that hearing a visual label resulted in faster identification of the named object compared to not hearing a label. Thus, how we verbally label groups of people could change our perception of those individuals.

In addition to labels' ability to change our perception of groups, labels may also influence how individuals are categorized into social groups. For instance, Lupyan, Rakison, and McClelland (2007) researched how labels can influence categorization of novel categories. Objects in the study included novel aliens which differed in their head shape (e.g., pointy or smooth). Participants completed in a training procedure to determine which aliens from whom they should approach or move away. The first condition included visual labels of *leebish* and *grecious* following the feedback, while a second condition did not have any visual labels. Auditory feedback was used to indicate incorrect responses for both conditions. Next, the testing phase presented the alien in the center of the screen for each trial, which instructed participants to move towards or away from the alien. During the testing phase, the presentation of labels led to faster categorization. The researchers hypothesized that having a novel label for one group of aliens resulted in people perceiving the labeled alien group as more distinct from the no label alien group. This perceived difference ingroup based on label or no label aided in judgements about approach versus avoid. Specifically, the way we use language to label

objects, people, and scenarios may increase the divide between the respective object, person/group, or scenario. Consequently, if labels are applied to groups (e.g., stereotypes), ingroups and outgroups may be further separated.

How Language Has Influenced Prejudice

Previous research has shown that language distorts memory and categorization, but how does language influence an individual's perception of prejudice? Prior work has suggested that language can enhance stereotypes. For instance, Carnagi and Maass (2007) investigated the difference in individual's automatic reactions to varying types of labels to which they are exposed. Labels were separated into two groups, derogatory (e.g., fag) or category (e.g., homosexual), with half the labels being positive and the other negative. Derogatory labels were common stereotypes and insulting descriptive words to each group, while category labels were considered acceptable politically correct terms to describe each group. Both heterosexual and homosexual participants were instructed to decide if the letters on screen formed a word or non-word. Words shown on screen were broken down into three conditions with eight words in each condition consisting of either stereotypical, counter-stereotypical, or irrelevant traits of both gays and heterosexuals. Results demonstrated that all participants reacted faster to stereotypical words than to counter-stereotypical and irrelevant words. Overall, derogatory words negatively affected participants' attitudes towards homosexuals, which prevented participants from creating positive associations about the specific group.

In addition to distorting perception, language reflecting prejudicial attitudes can

lead to increased negative views of outgroups. Poteat and DiGiovanni (2010) tested the association between biased language (i.e. stereotypical language of sexual orientation) and bullying in high school students. Students completed surveys containing the Homophobic Content Agent Target scale, which assessed self-reported language use in the last seven days. Additionally, students completed a Bullying scale analyzing self-reported bullying behavior for the past 30 days as well as the Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men scale (Herek & McLemore, 2011) to determine students' level of sexual prejudice. Results showed that an individual's use of biased language predicted bullying for both boys and girls. However, sexual prejudice was only significantly associated with biased language for boys. Furthermore, sexual prejudice positively affected the strength of bullying with biased language more frequently related to greater prejudice towards sexual orientation. That is, biased language use led to increased bullying and prejudice towards lesbians and gays. Importantly, prior work has made clear that biased language (i.e., prejudicial language) plays an important role in how we view and interact with outgroup members.

Currently, however, there is limited literature describing the link between language exposure and prejudice in ingroups and outgroups. The current study expanded upon the previous literature to address how language distorted the perception of varying groups (i.e., racial status and gender), specifically language's role as a prime to moderate prejudicial attitudes.

Current Study Rationale

Prior literature surrounds the separation between ingroup and outgroup members and how separating into groups alters how individuals view themselves and others. Moreover, current literature typically examines majority member's implicit prejudice, but fails to address majority members' explicit prejudice. Consequently, based on the previously presented meta-stereotype literature, it seems likely that majority members (i.e., Whites) will respond consistently with how they are described by outgroup members (i.e., Blacks). That is, if Blacks describes Whites negatively, white participants will view themselves negatively. This is important to investigate because if majority members are consciously aware of their language use and consequently use it to express their own perception of another group; it is likely that the type of language they are primed with may influence prejudicial attitudes. Thus, if purposeful verbalization of negative phrases towards outgroups creates negative feelings for that group, then this may demonstrate that language be used to elicit certain attitudes. Additionally, prejudicial language is most frequently explored in social psychology. However, the lack of research in social psychology on explicit prejudice suggests that a new approach is needed to explore this phenomenon. Thus, the current study planned to implement a cognitive approach to a social psychology topic to address language's ability to distort the perception of racial status and gender, specifically language's role as a prime to moderate prejudicial attitudes.

The current study explored how describing a person's identified ingroup with positive and negative language influenced an individual's expressed prejudice for their

own ingroup and another outgroup. In this study, this researcher explored the relationship between language and expressed explicit prejudice, particular as it related to racial identification (i.e., White and Black). This was done by randomly assigning participants to read ten either positive or negative phrases. The phrases were supposed to reflect the opinions of a Black outgroup. Participants then completed three surveys to assess their racist and sexist attitudes as well as their feelings towards ingroups and outgroups.

Three hypotheses were proposed. The first hypothesis (H_1) predicted that participants exposed to a string of negative race-related comments describing whites would report more explicit prejudice on the Symbolic Racism Scale, than those exposed to a string of positive comments. The second hypothesis (H_2) predicted that participants in both conditions would report similar values on the Modern Sexism Scale. Additionally, we predict ratings on the MSS will be significant lower than the SRS for both conditions, because describing an individual's racial ingroup should not affect their viewpoint of gender. The third hypothesis (H_3) predicted participants in the negative comments condition will report colder feelings towards outgroups and more racist attitudes toward opposing races on the Feeling Thermometer (FT), than the positive condition. More specifically, we predicted there would be a main effect of language and race on the FT with significantly higher (warmer) responses when participants are in the positive word condition, in contrast to the negative group condition. However, we expect that there will be no main effect of language and gender on the FT. This hypothesis is based on the theoretical prediction that sexism is independent from racism, thus language attacking race, should not affect ratings of gender. Our predictions for H_1 and H_3 are based on the

results of the Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz (1998) IAT study, that found negative words elicited longer reaction times than positive words. Due to the longer reaction times, they concluded that with negative word pairings participants experienced more attitudes that are prejudicial. Consistent with that study, we expect to similar results but on our FT explicit measure.

Importance of This Study

Furthermore, this study raises questions about the role of language used in the media and the impact on an individual's perspective of ingroups and outgroups. For example, if a black newscaster speaks negatively about a white outgroup member this may cause white ingroup members to view all blacks negatively. This may lead us to question if the media's word choice is influencing perception of other groups.

Additionally, this study challenges the concept of ingrained attitudes. If attitudes of race and sex can be swayed by ten phrases, then attitudes may be malleable. Thus, malleable attitudes make it possible to reduce racist and sexist attitudes in the population. This is important to research in a time of widely divided positions on ideas of race and sex. In conclusion, it is crucial to understand how the language we are exposed to daily affects our viewpoints of individuals and groups.

Chapter II

Method

Participants

In total, 114 White Americans (50 men, 64 women) were recruited through UW Oshkosh's undergraduate psychology participant pool (SONA). This sample size was sufficient to achieve a power of .50 for the independent samples t-test with two tails (*Cohen's d* = 0.4, $\alpha = .05$). Participants signed up for the study through SONA postings. Individuals participated in the experiment in person through paper and pencil surveys. The only inclusion criteria were that the individuals were at least 18 years old and identified as white race. Participants were compensated one credit hour for their voluntary participation in the experiment. Participant demographic data was collected (e.g., race, gender, age, religious affiliation, and political affiliation) and three separate questionnaires that assessed their feelings towards ingroups and outgroups were administered. Participants' data were marked with a unique identifier only and data were kept in the form of anonymous electronic records that were password protected. Only the PI and CITI-trained research assistants approved by the IRB for this project could access to any form of the data.

Procedure

Participants completed the study in groups of 10 to 15 people. All participants were provided informed consent, consisting of a description of the background, purpose,

procedures, risks and benefits, confidentiality of data procedures, and compensation for participation (see Appendix A). Before participation began, the researcher verbally presented the informed consent document and then allowed participants to read the consent document before signing.

After consenting to participate in the study, all participants were asked to identify themselves based on their race (see Appendix B). Then, participants were presented with a short [fictional] cover story that described a 2017 national survey that polled 5,000 African Americans on their viewpoints of White Americans. Following the cover story, ten short phrases (see Appendix C) that the African Americans used to describe White Americans were presented. This was the language manipulation. Following the language manipulation, participants took the Feeling Thermometer (FT) measure, which asked about participant's feelings of whites, blacks, men, and women. Then participants took the Symbolic Racism Scale (SRS), the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS), and lastly a final demographic measure. Finally, all participants were then verbally debriefed of the falsities of the national survey and the reasons for the use of deception.

Measures and Assessments

Group identification. Participants were asked to self-identify the race they most identified with; this was to assure that participants considered themselves a member of that group.

Language manipulation. Participants read 10 short phrases describing their identified racial ingroup from the viewpoint of fictional African Americans (see Appendix C). The ingroup was their race (i.e., White). There were two language conditions: positive or negative. The positive condition consisted of phrases positively describing whites (e.g., White people are friendly), while the negative condition negatively described whites (e.g., White people are mean). All phrases were presented on a single sheet of paper in list form for the participant to read. In a pilot study of psychology undergraduates ($N = 19$), positive words ($M=8.62$) were rated more positively than negative words ($M=1.98$), $t(18) = 19.60, p < .001$. In addition, one synonym of each word was also included to allow for the repetition of characteristics without repetition of individual words. Words, synonyms, and antonyms were selected based on normed databases of semantic neighborhood networks (Nelson, McEvoy, & Schreiber, 1998).

Feelings towards groups. The Feeling Thermometer (FT; Converse et al., 1980) was an explicit measure of prejudice that was used to analyze participants' feelings about White Americans, Black Americans, males, and females. This provided a measure of a participant's assessment of his or her own feelings towards these groups. The feeling thermometer was scored from one (coldest feelings) to 100 (warmest feelings) with one-point increments. Feeling thermometers in prior work have shown strong psychometric properties when measuring prejudice towards a series of groups, $\alpha \geq .91$ (Turner & Feddes, 2011). See Appendix D for the full scale.

Prejudiced attitudes. The Symbolic Racism Scale (SRS; Henry & Sears, 2002) was used to measure whites' attitudes towards blacks through eight questions. The questionnaire was scored from eight (not racist) to 31 (very racist), with each question scored on a four-point measure to assess agreement with the statement. This provided a measure of an individual's explicit prejudice (i.e., racism). This has been shown to have a median α of .75 -.79 for white participants (Henry & Sears, 2002), with a .68 test-retest reliability for testing over a two-year period (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). See Appendix E for the full scale.

The Modern Sexism Scale (MSS; Swim et al., 1995) was used to measure sexist attitudes about women through eight questions. The questionnaire was scored from eight (not sexist) to 40 (very sexist), with each question scored on a five-point measure to assess agreement with each statement. This scale provided a measure of an individual's explicit prejudice (i.e. sexism) and be used as a comparison condition, which should not be affected by the race manipulation. This measure has been shown to have an α of .75

.84 (Swim et al., 1995). See Appendix F for the full scale.

Demographics. The following demographics were collected after the manipulations and assessments: gender, age, religious affiliation, and political affiliation. Participants self-identified themselves or had the option to refuse to identify themselves if desired.

Bias check. Participants were asked if they were exposed to this research study prior to their completion of the study. This measure was used to eliminate participants who were already exposed to the deception in the study. However, none of the participants reported any bias, thus no participants were removed from the study based on this measure.

Chapter III

Results

In this study, we explored how language (positive or negative) affected the perception of ingroups and outgroup members (race and gender). All participants were white, thus their ingroups were their Caucasian race. Their outgroups were black or African American race and the opposing gender to which they identified. Three hypotheses were proposed. H₁ proposed that participants in the negative condition would report greater racist scores on SRS compared to the participants in the positive condition. Thus, racism would be impacted by language condition type. H₃ predicted participants would report colder feelings on the FTs when in the negative condition, than the positive condition. That is, attitudes (i.e., feelings) would be impacted by language condition type. Lastly, no differences between language conditions were predicted on the MSS scale for either condition (H₂). Moreover, sexism will not be impacted by language condition type.

First, two independent samples t-tests were conducted for the SRS and MSS with an Independent Variable (IV) of language (positive and negative) and a Dependent Variable (DV) of prejudice (i.e., racism and sexism). Both the SRS and the MSS were reliable: SRS Cronbach's $\alpha = .815$ and MSS $\alpha = .849$. The first independent samples t-test was conducted to compare SRS scores in the positive language condition and negative language condition. Equal variances were assumed as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, $F(1,112) = 1.23, p = .270$. There were no significant differences between the positive ($M = 16.91, SD = 3.92$) and negative ($M = 18.09, SD = 4.68$)

conditions on the SRS, $t(112) = -1.45, p = .149, \text{Cohen's } d = .27$ (see Fig. 2). The results suggest that, overall; the type of language presented to participants does not affect their racist attitudes. The second independent samples t-test was conducted to compare MSS scores in the positive language condition and negative language condition. Equal variances were assumed as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, $F(1,112) = .31, p = .313$. As predicted, there were not significant differences in positive ($M = 18.39, SD = 5.44$) and negative ($M = 18.51, SD = 4.91$) conditions on MSS, $t(112) = -.13, p = .900, \text{Cohen's } d = -.02$ (see Fig. 3). Consistent with the results from the SRS, these results may suggest that the type of language presented to participants does not affect their sexist attitudes or attacking a participant's race does not affect their viewpoint of sex. The results of the first independent samples t-test (positive vs. negative language for the SRS) led to the retaining of the null hypothesis for H_1 . This is due to a lack of significant differences between language conditions for the SRS. However, for H_2 , the second independent samples t-test (positive vs. negative language for the MSS) resulted in no significant differences between language conditions on the MSS. That is, our predicted results for the MSS are consistent with H_2 .

Next, to examine H_3 , which predicted participants would report colder feelings on the FTs when in the negative condition, than the positive condition, three ANOVAs were run, one for each FT group. The first ANOVA was conducted with one categorical IV: language condition (positive and negative; between subject) and a DV of prejudice towards Whites (White FT score). Equal variances were assumed as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, $F(1,112) = 1.48, p = .227$. There was not a

significant main effect of language condition on prejudice towards White, $F(1,112) = .86$, $p = .349$, $partial \eta^2 < .01$. That is, the type of language condition the participant was randomly assigned to did not affect their ratings on the White FT. Next, the second ANOVA was conducted with one categorical IV: language condition (positive and negative; between subject) and a DV of prejudice towards Blacks (Black FT score). Equal variances were assumed as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, $F(1,112) = 1.29$, $p = .259$. There was not a significant main effect of language condition on prejudice towards Blacks, $F(1,112) = 1.64$, $p = .203$, $partial \eta^2 = .01$. Thus, the type of language condition the participant was randomly assigned to did not impact their ratings on the Black FT. Lastly, the third ANOVA was conducted with one categorical IV: language condition (positive and negative; between subject) and a DV of prejudice toward opposing genders (Gender Outgroup FT score). Gender outgroup is defined as the opposite gender to which the participant identifies (e.g. an individual identifying as male would have an outgroup of female). Gender Outgroup FT score was calculated by taking the FT score that opposed the participants identified gender. That is, females' ratings of males, and males' ratings of females were condensed to one group of gender outgroup. Equal variances were assumed as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, $F(1,112) = .38$, $p = .538$. There was not a significant main effect of language condition on prejudice toward opposing genders, $F(1,112) = .006$, $p = .938$, $partial \eta^2 < .001$. Moreover, the type of language condition the participant was randomly assigned to did not affect their ratings on the Gender Outgroup FT.

Overall, the analysis of the three ANOVAs resulted in non-significant main effects of language conditions, which led to the retaining of the null hypothesis of H₃. However, an additional analysis was completed to explore further the relationship between language conditions and prejudice. Three independent samples t-tests were conducted to determine if there were significant differences within each group (i.e., Whites, Blacks, and Gender Outgroup) based on the language condition to which participants were randomly assigned. This analysis was completed based on the theoretical rationale of ingroup and outgroup threat. It was predicted that by having Blacks attack Whites in the language manipulation, that there would be significant differences in ratings of Blacks and Whites based on the perceived threat created.

The first independent t-test compared positive and negative language condition on the White FT. Equal variances were assumed as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, $F(1,112) = 1.48, p = .227$. There were not significant differences between the positive ($M = 83.25, SD = 15.51$) and negative ($M = 80.30, SD = 17.85$) conditions on the White FT, $t(112) = .94, p = .349, Cohen's d = .18$. That is, presenting positive or negative language did not affect how participant's viewed their ingroup status of White.

The second independent t-test compared positive and negative language condition for the Black FT. Equal variances were assumed as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, $F(1,112) = 1.29, p = .259$. There were not significant differences between the positive ($M = 77.28, SD = 17.22$) and negative ($M = 72.93, SD = 19.04$) conditions on the Blacks FT, $t(112) = 1.29, p = .203, Cohen's d = .24$. That is, presenting positive or negative language did not affect how participants viewed the Black outgroup.

The third independent t-test compared positive and negative language condition for Gender Outgroup. Equal variances were assumed as assessed by Levene's test for equality of variances, $F(1,112) = .38, p = .538$. There were not significant differences between the positive ($M = 78.82, SD = 17.29$) and negative ($M = 72.93, SD = 18.52$) conditions on their Gender Outgroup FT (i.e., females rating males, males rating females), $t(112) = -.08, p = .938, Cohen's d = .33$. That is, presenting positive or negative language did not affect how participants viewed their gender outgroup.

Further analyses attempted to determine if participant's gender and language condition predicted their SRS or MSS scores. These analyses were completed to determine if gender or language condition were affecting racist and sexist attitudes. It was suggested that men may be more negative than females, thus they may overall score higher on the SRS and MSS. These analyses tested this rationale. Two standard linear regressions were conducted with DV's of SRS or MSS and three predictors: gender (i.e., males and females), language condition (positive and negative), and the interaction between gender and language condition. The first linear regression determined if the gender and language condition predicted the scores for the SRS. The results show that the model containing the constant, language condition, the gender, and the interaction between gender and language condition significantly accounted for 12.1% of the variance for SRS scores, $R^2 = .12, Adjusted R^2 = .10, F(3,110) = 5.04, p = .003$. Gender did not significantly predict SRS scores, $\beta = .22, p = .468$, nor language condition, $\beta = -.14, p = .893$. Lastly, the interaction between gender and language condition did not significantly predict SRS scores, $\beta = .17, p = .693$. These results suggest that gender and language

condition are not predictors of SRS scores. That is, gender and language condition did not affect how participants scored on the racism scale for the SRS.

The second linear regression determined if the gender and language condition predicted the scores for the MSS. The results show that the model containing the constant, language condition, the gender, and the interaction between gender and language condition significantly accounted for 28.5% of the variance for MSS scores, $R^2 = .29$, $Adjusted R^2 = .27$, $F(3,110) = 14.62$, $p < .001$. Gender significantly predicted MSS scores, $\beta = 1.01$, $p < .001$. However, language condition did not significantly predict SRS scores, $\beta = .37$, $p = .151$, nor did the interaction between gender and language condition, $\beta = -.76$, $p = .055$. However, this was marginal, suggesting that with a higher powered study this interaction between language and gender may become significant. These results suggested that participants' gender was a significant predictor of their MSS scores. That is, gender affected how participants were placed on the sexism scale for the MSS.

Chapter IV

Discussion

Overall, this study provided more information about the role of language in prejudice. Language has the ability to change cognitions and ultimately alter an individual's perception of a scene (Loftus & Palmer, 1974) or individual groups (Carnagi & Maass, 2007). Thus, the present study sought to highlight the importance of language in the expression of prejudiced attitudes. In this study, positive and negative phrases were presented from the perspective of an outgroup member to manipulate participant's attitudes towards ingroups and outgroups. Also, surveys such as the SRS, MSS, and FTs were used to measure the expression of prejudiced attitudes. Although, we predicted that language may influence prejudicial attitudes, the results of the current study fail to provide additional support for this phenomenon.

Moreover, the retaining of the null hypotheses may suggest attitudes and feelings about race and sex are not as malleable as originally predicted. The present study found no significant differences between positive and negative language conditions for the SRS (i.e., racism) and MSS (i.e., sexism). Additionally, placement into positive and negative language conditions did not predict scores on the SRS and MSS. Moreover, the results of this study may suggest that attitudes that become ingrained are not able to change no matter the information presented to the individual. Consequently, if prejudice is not easily swayed, then simply hearing a black individual use a single negative or positive phrase to describe whites, does not have the ability to change long standing attitudes about the

white outgroup. That is, people are relatively stable in their attitudes and thoughts about race and sex.

Additionally, these results may suggest that only young college educated adults cannot be swayed by the manipulation presented. This may be that these individuals are not influenced by simple phrases. Instead, facts or statistics may be needed to sway attitudes for this population. Moreover, future studies may seek to survey a demographic population with more diverse age and education ranges.

There are several possible explanations for the null effects found. One possible explanation is that a list of simple one-line statements may not have been enough to sway prejudicial attitudes. That is, prejudice may be too ingrained to be changed by a string of ten positive or negative words and the manipulation presented in this study may not have been strong enough to elicit strong positive and negative reactions. Consequently, further studies must be done to defend these claims about the specifics of ingrained prejudice. Future studies may seek to see if the same words presented in this study (i.e., positive or negative) can sway another social concept such as self-esteem. This would demonstrate that words can influence individuals' perception of themselves as an individual, but prejudice cannot be influenced.

Additionally, a lack of significant differences between language conditions on the SRS for the independent samples t-test may imply this manipulation of language does not affect participants' prejudicial attitudes. However, this study may have been underpowered, with only a 50% chance of finding a true effect. That is, our results suggested there were no significant differences between the positive and negative

conditions on the SRS, $t(112) = -1.45$, $p = .149$, *Cohen's d* = .27. Moreover, this p -value is verging towards significance and a higher-powered study with a larger sample size and higher *Cohen's d* would provide greater confidence in significant or non-significant results. Thus, completing this analysis again with a higher *Cohen's d* due to greater sample size would help determine if this effect is valid or not. A larger sample size may result in significant differences between language conditions for the SRS. Similar to the SRS, the scores on the MSS resulted in non-significant differences between language conditions (i.e., positive and negative) which may be due to only race being described in the survey, not gender.

Another possible explanation is that this language manipulation of an explicit measure is not the best way to measure prejudice, which may explain the lack of significant differences on the FTs. Prior work has suggested that explicit measures are difficult to use as participants can easily guess the aims of the research. Moreover, past research studies have transitioned to using implicit measures such as the IAT to avoid this issue. Thus, future studies may aim to disguise the purpose of the research study by changing the language manipulation. A language manipulation that incorporated the positive or negative phrases into one seamless paragraph may appear more realistic than separate numbered phrases. Although individual results varied on the measure, there was still a ceiling effect with most participants rating all groups highly. That is, participants may have assumed that this research study was about prejudice, so they reported all high values for their FTs. Additionally, a lack of significant differences on FTs may be due to all FTs presented simultaneously on the same page of the survey. This is problematic

because participants may have compared their four separate FT scores creating a lack of independence of each judgment. This is crucial because if participants did not distinguish between groups on the FTs, then they may have rated all groups based on how they felt about the first group listed. This could be because participants may have sped through this task and rated all groups highly because of the consecutive FTs on one page. Future studies would plan to separate FTs onto separate pages to avoid crossover between each of the four FTs.

Moreover, this study had several limitations that may have influenced the results. First, participants were debriefed in a group not individually, which did not allow the researcher to check every individual participant for suspicion. Participants were only checked for initial exposure to the study components, not if they became aware of the purpose of the study during their participation. Thus, it is feasible that some participants were aware of the hypotheses. Moreover, though it was unlikely because each individual had private, individual forms to complete, participants may have answered the surveys in a socially desirable way, especially given the group setting in which the study was conducted. However, there was no measure in this study to test this. The lack of measure to test social desirability was based on an attempt to keep the research study surveys concise to avoid participant fatigue. Future studies may aim to add a measure that includes a scale such as the Marlowe–Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MC–SDS) that assesses participant’s likelihood of answering in a socially desirable way through a 33-item self-report questionnaire (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960).

Lastly, in response to the lack of significant differences between language conditions in this study, additional studies must be done to change the manipulation presented. Future work may alter the saliency (and thus impact) of the language used. This could be done by modifying the modality of the survey from a paper document to an audio recording of an outgroup member reading the negative and positive phrases or an outgroup confederate read the phrases directly to the participant. This may be helpful to increase the saliency of the language manipulation, as well as add another dimension of realism for the participant in the study, by having a voice associated with the outgroup member. Associating a voice with an outgroup member is critical to make the manipulation more prominent, because hearing matters more than seeing when it comes to learning language (Qi, Araujo, Georgan, Gabrieli & Arciuli, 2018).

Additionally, future studies may seek to create a more prominent language manipulation by presenting words individually on a computer for longer periods. This new manipulation may create more of an impact on participants, by forcing participants to read each phrase for a few seconds before moving on to the next phrase. Moreover, other social constructs should be explored to determine if positive and negative language could alter aspects such as self-esteem. The social construct of self-esteem could demonstrate the ability language has to alter feelings and thoughts. This extension may offer additional information on the extent that language can manipulate social constructs.

In conclusion, language may play an important role in the presence of prejudice. However, the present study found contrasting results with no impact of language condition. This may be due to the possibility of an underpowered study, or other

limitations in the research design (e.g., consecutive FTs and failing to check participant's suspicion). Thus, further studies need to be completed to explore the extent that language can or cannot influence prejudice. Moreover, the results of this study still leave many unanswered questions about the specifics of language's role in prejudice. Although it may be possible that negative language has the power to increase prejudicial attitudes and positive language could decrease these same attitudes, the results of this study do not provide enough evidence to support this overarching conclusion. In fact, the current study suggests that language has no impact on prejudice. Furthermore, understanding the potential that language has to change feelings and attitudes of different groups is crucial to explore as an avenue for changing prejudicial views in the future.

Table 1

Feelings of ingroups and outgroups based on language manipulation

| Language Condition | Black | White | Women | Men | Gender Outgroup |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Positive | 77.28 (17.22) | 83.25 (15.51) | 83.19 (15.53) | 78.63 (17.48) | 78.82 (17.29) |
| Negative | 72.93 (19.04) | 80.30 (17.85) | 82.02 (18.46) | 77.51 (19.55) | 79.09 (18.52) |

Note. Values represent scores from the FTs, Mean (*Standard deviation*). All participants were White, thus White was their racial ingroup and Black was the racial outgroup. Gender Outgroup represents the opposite gender to which the participant identified (e.g., a participant identifying as male, would have an outgroup of female). No comparisons between groups were significant.

Table 2

Racist attitudes based on language manipulation

| Language Condition | <i>Mean</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>Range</i> |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| Positive | 16.91 | 3.92 | 9.00 – 25.00 |
| Negative | 18.09 | 4.68 | 10.00 – 31.00 |

Note. Values represent scores from the SRS. Language conditions did not significantly influence racist attitudes.

Table 3

Sexist attitudes based on language manipulation

| | <i>Mean</i> | <i>SD</i> | <i>Range</i> |
|---------------------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| Language Condition | | | |
| Positive Language | 18.39 | 5.44 | 8.00 – 32.00 |
| Negative Language | 18.51 | 4.91 | 10.00 – 31.00 |

Note. Values represent scores from the MSS. Language conditions did not significantly affect sexist attitudes.

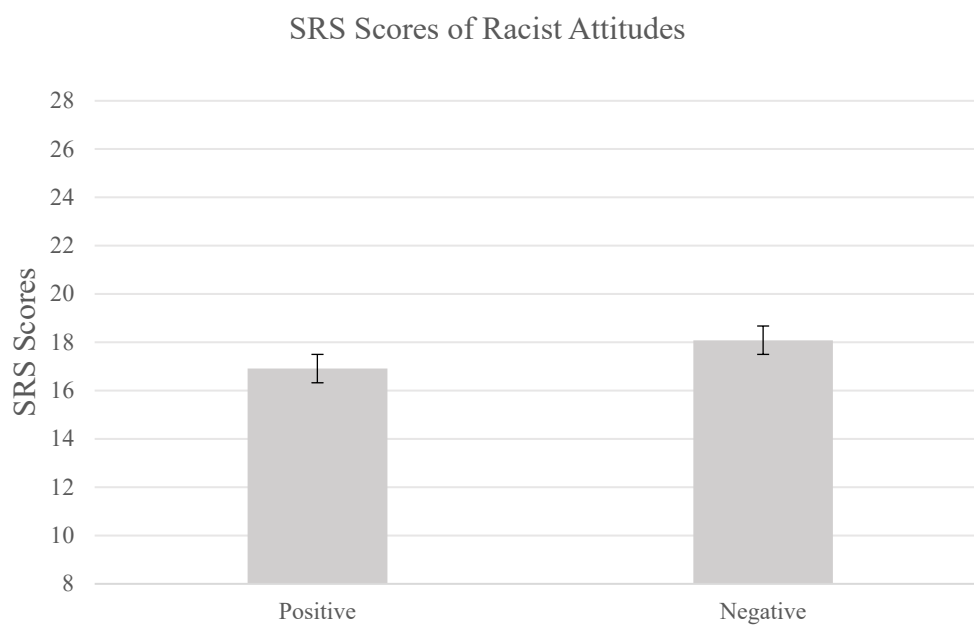


Figure 1. Racist attitudes based on language manipulation.

Note: Language conditions did not significantly affect racist attitudes. Error bars are standard error.

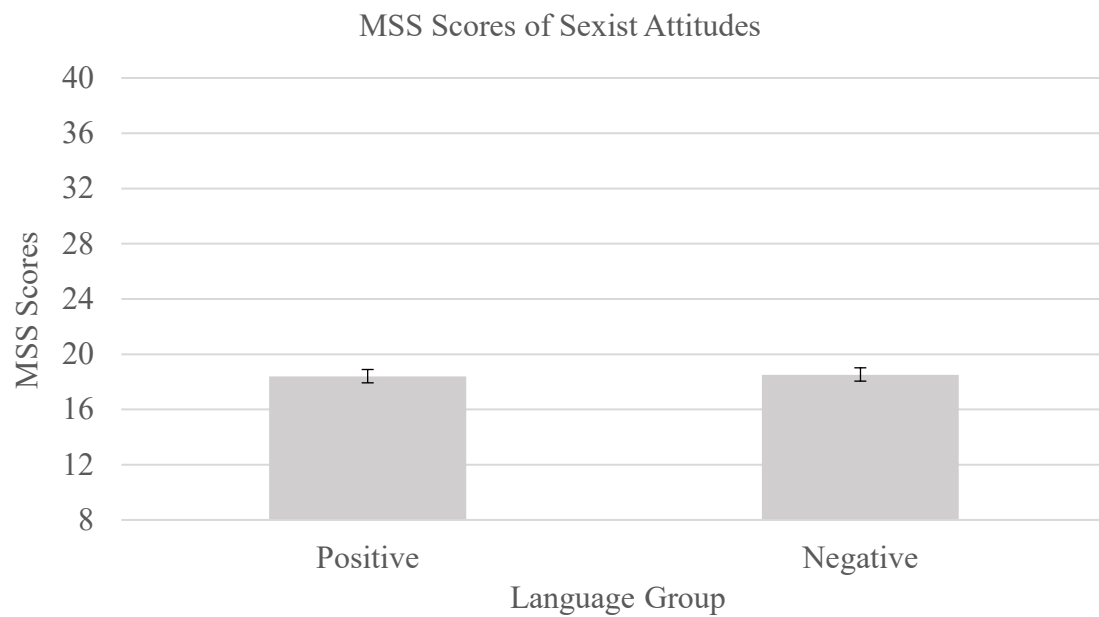


Figure 2. Sexist attitudes based on language manipulation.

Note: Language conditions did not significantly affect sexist attitudes. Error bars are standard error.

APPENDIX A
Informed Consent

Informed Consent

The Department of Psychology support the practice of protecting human participants in research. The following information is provided so that you can decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. Your participation is solicited but is strictly voluntary. We assure you that your name and responses will remain confidential.

The purpose of this study is to look at how people view different groups of people. If you decide to participate in this study, you will first be asked to read the results of a survey. You will then be asked to complete questionnaires that assess your viewpoints of groups. The study will take about 30 minutes.

Although, participation in this study will not directly benefit you, we believe that the information you provide will be useful in furthering our understanding of how people view other groups. Participating in this study will provide you with 1 research credit. Please note that some of the questions and/or information in this study may instigate strong emotions or discomfort.

If you agree to participate, you will be free to withdraw at any time and will still receive credit for your participation. If you decide not to participate in this study, please let the research assistant know and he or she will excuse you from the study. You do not need to tell the research assistant your reasons for choosing not to participate. If you do decide to withdraw from the study, any information collected from you up to that point will be destroyed.

If you have any questions about this research after you have finished participating, please feel free to contact:

Dr. Sarah Kucker
Department of Psychology
University of Wisconsin Oshkosh
Email: kuckers@uwosh.edu

If you have any complaints about your treatment as a participant in this study, please contact Dr. Sarah Kucker above, or call or write the following individual:

Chair, Institutional Review Board for Protection of Human Participants
c/o Grants Office
UW Oshkosh
Oshkosh, WI 54901
Phone: (920) 424-4115

Although the chairperson may ask your name, all complaints will be kept in confidence.

I have received an explanation of this study and agree to participate. I understand that my participation is completely voluntary.

 Signature

 Date

This research has been approved by the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh IRB for Protection of Human Participants for a one year period, valid until (1 year from the IRB approval date).

APPENDIX B

Self-Identification of Race

Please answer the following questions:

1. What race do you most identify with?
 - a. White
 - b. Black
 - c. Hispanic
 - d. Asian
 - e. Other
 - f. Prefer not to respond

APPENDIX C

Language Manipulation: Perception of Other Groups

General instructions: A recent national survey polled 5,000 African Americans on their viewpoint of White Americans. Their viewpoints of Whites in the survey will be presented in this study. For this study, you will be presented with a series of ten short phrases describing Whites. Read each phrase carefully. After reading all ten phrases you will be asked a series of questions about your perception of groups. The questions are designed to get an idea of how you view the world. We are interested in how you view these specific groups and what your feelings and thoughts of them are.

Example Positive Phrases:

1. White people are friendly.
2. White people are intelligent.
3. White people are generous.
4. White people are kind.
5. White people are trustworthy.
6. White people are accepting.
7. White people are hard-working.
8. White people are honest.
9. White people are smart.
10. White people are humble.

Example Negative Phrases:

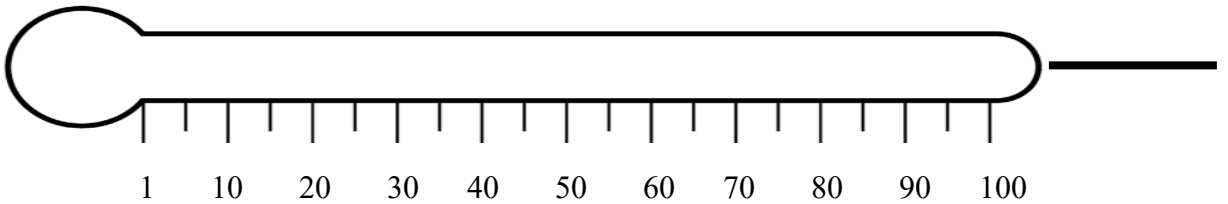
1. White people are entitled.
2. White people are privileged.
3. White people are untrustworthy.
4. White people are mean.
5. White people are racist.
6. White people are lazy.
7. White people are stingy.
8. White people are dumb.
9. White people are dishonest.
10. White people are arrogant.

APPENDIX D

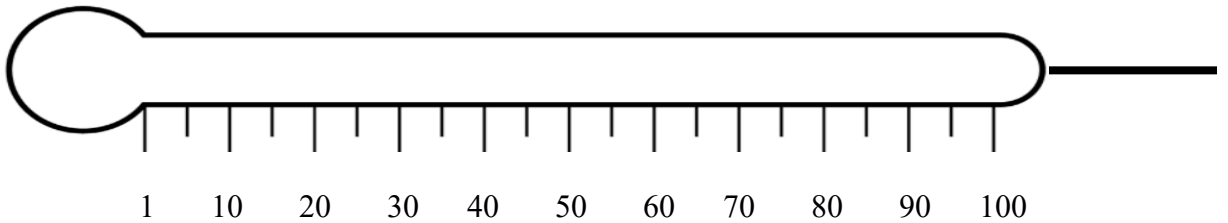
Feelings Thermometer (FT; Converse, Dotson, Hoag, & McGee, 1980)

Directions: Please indicate your feelings towards the following groups placing a dot on the feeling thermometer anywhere from 1-100 (i.e., 1 coldest feeling to 100 warmest feeling) and writing your value on the given line.

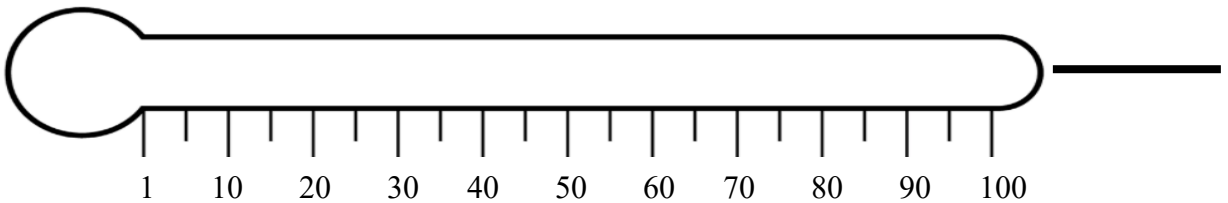
1. How do you feel towards Whites?



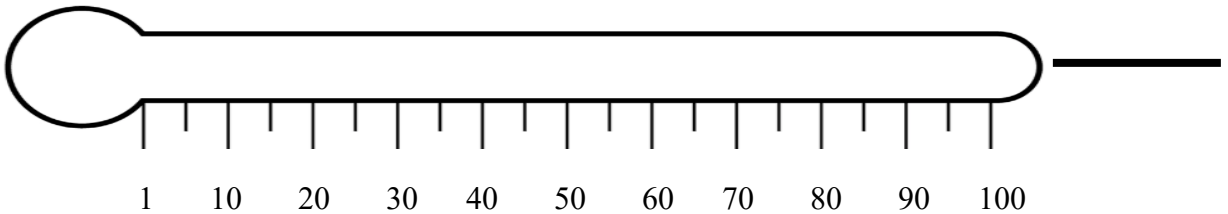
2. How do you feel towards Blacks?



3. How do you feel towards women?



4. How do you feel towards men?



APPENDIX E

Symbolic Racism Scale (SRS; Henry & Sear, 2002)

Directions: Answer the following questions based on your viewpoint of each group.

1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Somewhat disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
2. Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Somewhat disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
3. Some say that black leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think?
 - a. Trying to push very much too fast
 - b. Going too slowly
 - c. Moving at about the right speed
4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think blacks are responsible for creating?
 - a. All of it
 - b. Most
 - c. Some
 - d. Not much at all
5. How much discrimination against blacks do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?
 - a. All of it
 - b. Most
 - c. Some
 - d. Not much at all
6. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Somewhat disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
7. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Somewhat disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree
8. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Somewhat disagree
 - d. Strongly disagree

APPENDIX F

Modern Sexism Scale (MSS; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995)

Directions: Answer the following questions based on your viewpoint of each group.

1. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
2. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
3. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
4. On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
5. Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
6. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree

7. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
8. Over the past few years, the government and the news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree

APPENDIX G

Demographics

1. What is your current gender?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Transgender
 - d. Other/prefer not to respond
2. What is your age?
 - a. 18-22
 - b. 23-27
 - c. 28-32
 - d. 33-37
 - e. 38-42
 - f. 43-47
 - g. 48-52
 - h. Over 52
 - i. Prefer not to respond
3. What is your political affiliation?
 - a. Democratic
 - b. Republican
 - c. Independent
 - d. Other/prefer not to answer
4. Rate yourself on your identification level of Conservative (Republican) to Liberal (Democrat).
 - a. 1=Very Conservative,
 - b. 2 = Somewhat Conservative
 - c. 3 = Neutral
 - d. 4 = Somewhat Liberal
 - e. 5 = Very Liberal
 - f. Prefer not to respond
5. What is your religious affiliation?
 - a. Catholic
 - b. Protestant
 - c. Mormon
 - d. Jehovah's Witness
 - e. Orthodox
 - f. Muslim
 - g. Buddhist
 - h. Jewish
 - i. Hindu
 - j. No religious affiliation
 - k. Other/prefer not to respond

APPENDIX H

Bias Check

1. Have you heard any information about this study before your participation today?

a. Yes

i. If yes, please explain

b. No

APPENDIX I
Debriefing Form

Thank you for participating in this study. The purpose of this form is to provide you more in-depth information about the study. The actual survey used in this study was not based on any evidence of Black American's views, the survey was made up.

To examine this issue, we randomly assign half of the participants to read a survey in which the phrases presented in the survey describes white people with positive phrases. The other half of participants are assigned to read the same survey but with negative phrases describing whites. All participants completed questionnaires assessing their attitudes towards Blacks, Whites, women, and men.

As you may have guessed by now, there was misleading information that you were told about this study. First, the study is not based on any evidence of Black America's views. The survey is in no way real. If we told participants the full truth about the purpose of the study in the beginning and that the survey is actually made up, then participants may experience the situation as fictional or as pretend. This could lead participants to react very differently from how they would react in real-life situations when encountering people in need. Also, in some circumstances, if participants know about the actual purpose of a study, then they may feel compelled to report their reactions in an untruthful manner. For these reasons, when psychologists examine certain psychological processes they may withhold some information about a study or provide participants with some information about the study that is misleading. We realize that you may feel a bit uncomfortable about having been told misleading information, but we want to assure you that it only was done to ensure that your experience in this study was as realistic as possible. Furthermore, it is important to remember that there is no correct or incorrect behavior or response to any of the questionnaires or materials in this study. However, if you still have any concerns about this study, then please speak with the research assistant about your concerns or contact Dr. Sarah Kucker (at kuckers@uwosh.edu). Either of these individuals will be more than happy to talk with you about any concerns you may have.

Lastly, there is a phenomenon known as the perseverance effect. This is when people continue to believe information even though it has been shown to be untrue. Please acknowledge this and keep it in mind if you are tempted to believe. ***Do you understand thus that the feedback was inaccurate and that you should not believe it? (Wait for answer)***

Again, thank you very much for your participation. We value the time and energy you spent in this study and it is our hope that the data you have provided will help us to better understand human psychology. Before I let you go, ***are there any last questions? (Wait for answer, then excuse students)***

APPENDIX J
Experimental Protocol

- The researcher will greet the participant and seat the participant at desk with pencil and *Consent Form*. The researcher will explain that the purpose of the study will help to assess people's opinions of different groups.
- Next, the researcher will direct the participant to read the *Consent Form*. The Researcher will instruct the participant to notify the researcher when these forms have been read and completed. Any participant deciding not to participate will be excused.
- The researcher will return collect consent form, ask if there are any questions, and if so, answer them. The researcher will then pass out the *Language Manipulation*. Participants will read the manipulation and notify the researcher when done.
- The researcher will then pass out the surveys including the *Feeling Thermometer*, the *Symbolic Racism Scale*, the *Modern Sexism Scale*, and a *Demographic Form*.
- The participant will notify the researcher when finished. When the participant is done, the researcher will verbally debrief.
- The research will direct all participants' attention to himself or herself and assure participants are making eye contact are listening. The *Debriefing Form* will be read aloud. Then participants will be asked if they have any questions. Participants will be thanked for their time and granted credit.

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