

**REACHING RESISTANT TRAINEES:
CREATING EFFECTIVE DIVERSITY TRAINING THROUGH
INTEGRATING PERSPECTIVE TAKING AND MEDIA**

by
Brittney Amber

A Thesis

*Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of*

Master of Science



Department of Psychological Sciences

Indianapolis, Indiana

August 2018

**THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL**

Dr. Alex P. Lindsey, Chair
Department of Psychology

Dr. Evava Pietri
Department of Psychology

Dr. Leslie Ashburn-Nardo
Department of Psychology

Approved by:

Dr. Nicholas Grahame
Head of the Graduate Program

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, to my wonderful thesis advisor, Dr. Alex Lindsey, thank you for your support, encouragement, feedback, and mentorship. You have taught me so much and I am immensely proud to be your first graduate mentee. Thank you so much for your patience and even more for your guidance. Thank you also to Dr. Leslie Ashburn-Nardo and Dr. Eva Pietri for serving on my committee and all the help and support you have each contributed to this project and my development in this program. And to all the faculty, thank you for the hard work you have put into creating and ensuring a wonderful student experience. I am so lucky and forever grateful to have been a part of this program. I would also like to thank Mr. Kevin Kabat for his incredible contribution to this department, I am extremely honored to be a Kabat Fellowship recipient. Finally, to Dr. Christopher Porter, there are so many things I could say thank you for, but most of all, thank you for always inspiring and motivating me.

To all my fellow students, thank you all for your friendship; all the encouragement, long talks, dinner dates, game and movie nights full of laughter. To my cohort, LeClaire, Ellen, Declan, and Jacob, I am so happy we were in this together.

To my family, thank you all for your love, support, and constant encouragement in this journey. You have taught me that I could achieve anything I set my mind to and helped me succeed in so many ways. Mom, I wouldn't be here without you, thank you for literally everything. This is for you.

Finally, to Spencer, my partner and best friend, your love and support made this happen. You are always there for me and have been beside me every step of the way. Thank you for always making me laugh, always supporting my dreams and encouraging me to chase them, reminding me that I could do this, and bringing balance to my life. Thank you for creating a home wherever we are. You are the best support system.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
ABSTRACT	viii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Current Study	2
Literature Review	3
Perspective Taking	3
Media as Diversity Training	6
Integrating Activities	10
Social Dominance Orientation	13
CHAPTER 2: METHOD	17
Participants	17
Procedure	17
Materials	18
Media Contact Video	18
Control Video	18
Perspective Taking Writing Task	19
Control Writing Task	19
Measures	19
Social Dominance Orientation	19
Racial Bias	19
Intergroup Anxiety	20
Parasocial Connection	20
CHAPTER 3: RESULTS	21
Removing Participants	21
Preliminary Analyses	21
Hypothesis Testing	21
Racial Bias	22
Intergroup Anxiety	23

Supplemental Analyses	23
CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION.....	25
General Discussion	25
Theoretical Implications	26
Practical Implications	27
Limitations	27
Future Research Directions.....	28
Conclusion	29
REFERENCES	30
TABLES	35
FIGURES	38
APPENDIX.....	46
Measurement Materials.....	46
Study Information Sheet.....	55

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Correlations and descriptive statistics	35
Table 2: Regression analysis for three-way interaction predicting racial bias	36
Table 3: Regression analysis for three-way interaction predicting intergroup anxiety	37

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Theoretical model depicting proposed three-way interaction	38
Figure 2: Statistical diagram of Process model 3.....	39
Figure 3: Interactive effect of video condition and SDO on racial bias	40
Figure 4: Three-way interaction predicting racial bias	41
Figure 5: Theoretical model for supplemental analyses	42
Figure 6: Interactive effect of video condition and SDO on parasocial connection.....	43
Figure 7: Interactive effect of video condition and parasocial connection on racial bias.....	44
Figure 8: Indirect effects of SDO on parasocial connection and racial bias by video condition..	45

ABSTRACT

Author: Amber, Brittney. MS

Institution: Purdue University

Degree Received: August 2018

Title: Reaching Resistant Trainees: Creating Effective Diversity Training Through Integrating Perspective Taking and Media

Major Professor: Alex P. Lindsey

Diversity training continues to be an important research domain because of its practical application in modern organizations. However, research regarding best methods remains inconclusive, and little work has investigated non-demographic trainee characteristics as boundary conditions of diversity training effectiveness. The goal of this study is to test the efficacy of integrating two diversity training methods, perspective taking and media contact, specifically for resistant trainees who are high in social dominance orientation (SDO). In a sample of 373 participants, I test a proposed three-way interaction between these variables such that the effect of perspective taking on racial bias and intergroup anxiety will be enhanced by a media contact video condition, and this integration of training methods will be particularly beneficial for high SDO individuals. This hypothesis was largely unsupported, as integrating perspective taking and media interventions did not lead to lower racial bias or intergroup anxiety. Counter to expectations, the media contact video revealed a harmful effect on racial bias for those low in SDO. However, when combined with a perspective taking writing task, this harmful effect was mitigated. Supplemental analyses reveal that in the media contact video condition, the effect of SDO on racial bias was explained by a mediating mechanism, parasocial connection. Trainees high in SDO formed more negative parasocial connections with the speaker in the media contact video condition. However, those low in SDO formed strong positive parasocial connections with the speaker, and in turn, this positive parasocial connection led to lower racial bias. Implications, future research, and limitations are discussed.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As an ever-diversifying society, the United States workforce has seen a substantial increase in women and minority workers since the 1950s (Department of Labor, 2015). Today, half of the labor force is women, nearly two-thirds is people of color, and there is a higher percentage of disabled and LGBT workers than ever before (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). As diversity within the workforce will likely continue to rise, strategies for effectively managing diversity are critical to organizations. Accordingly, diversity initiatives in organizations have also increased dramatically in the past few decades, and today 71% of human resource professionals rate effective diversity management as extremely important to their organization (Society for Human Resource Management, 2008). One of the most popular diversity management tools today is diversity training, which is utilized by more than two thirds of organizations in the United States (Kulik, Pepper, Roberson, & Parker, 2007).

Given that diversity training is so widely used in organizations and considered a cornerstone of diversity management, it has been a central topic for diversity research. However, this research is varied in focus, methods, outcomes, and results. One review of prejudice reduction literature found 985 published and unpublished studies of prejudice reduction interventions; these included studies on topics like multicultural education, anti-bias and prejudice reduction training, workplace diversity initiatives, intergroup contact, and media and reading interventions (Paluck & Green, 2009). Some studies have demonstrated positive effects regarding prejudice reduction (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000), others have shown diversity training to yield null or mixed effects (Kulik & Roberson, 2008; Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000), and, most concerning, some studies have found diversity training to have negative effects like backlash, increased beliefs about reverse discrimination, and a continuance of prejudiced beliefs and behaviors (Legault, Gutsell, & Inzlicht, 2011).

Focus therefore needs to be given to specific methods of diversity training that are grounded in theory and have shown promising effects, such as perspective taking tasks and the use of media contact videos. One critical reason such varied effects may be seen in the literature is a lack of research on multiple methodologies and combining activities as compared to stand-alone activities (Bezrukova, Jehn, & Spell, 2012). That is, the true positive effects of different diversity training activities may be obscured because there has been little investigation on the efficacy of

combining theoretically meaningful and related activities to achieve more consistent and positive results. Further, critical moderators of training effectiveness regarding trainee characteristics have also been widely ignored, particularly deeper level trainee characteristics. Important questions remain in the diversity training literature regarding what diversity initiatives reliably work to decrease prejudice and increase people's abilities to work well with diverse others, as well as what strategies are best for more resistant trainees.

Current Study

Accordingly, in this study I first investigate two methods of diversity training, (1) perspective taking tasks and (2) media-driven contact, which have both shown positive, but variable effects on critical diversity training outcomes (Skorinko & Sincliar, 2013; Paluck, 2009). Additionally, I pull from intergroup contact and parasocial contact theories to explain how pairing a perspective taking task with media (e.g., a video depicting an outgroup member) may create a more effective diversity training intervention, particularly for resistant trainees who may be ill-equipped at perspective taking. The goal of this research is to examine the multiplicative effects of integrating diversity training activities, and to see how the effects of such training differ based on an individual difference: social dominance orientation. Therefore, I will assess (1) the effectiveness of a perspective taking activity (compared to a control condition) at eliciting important diversity training outcomes, (2) the effectiveness of using a video (compared to a control condition) as a diversity training initiative, (3) the interaction between these two activities (i.e., the multiplicative effect of pairing these activities versus only participating in one or the other), and (4) the three-way interaction between social dominance orientation, perspective taking, and video activities, demonstrating how the effects of activity condition change by levels of social dominance orientation, and the necessity of pairing activities for those who may be resistant to training (i.e., those relatively high in social dominance orientation).

This study contributes to the extant literature in multiple ways. First, this study investigates boundary conditions of diversity training effectiveness to explain the variation in outcomes, specifically for two strategies, perspective taking and media contact. Second, this research integrates critical theoretical frameworks such as social dominance theory, self-other merging, impression formation, and theories of interpersonal contact to thoughtfully and theoretically pair two common and cost-effective prejudice reduction methods. Third, whereas previous literature

has utilized different perspective taking techniques, this is the first to assess together the two most common perspective taking tasks: (1) engaging in a narrative about another's perspective through media, and (2) writing a narrative essay from another's perspective. This study further compares these individual activities to an integrated strategy using both activities. Fourth, by investigating how individuals respond differently to diversity training methods based on a relevant individual difference, this research shows that attention should be paid to trainee characteristics. Indeed, a recent review of diversity training literature found only 22 studies that utilized trainee characteristics in their design, 17 of which were trainee demographics, and only 5 studies included trainee personality characteristics (Bezrukova, Jehn, & Spell, 2012). Thus, this study contributes to the diversity training literature by looking beyond demographics to a deeper level individual difference, social dominance orientation.

This research may also provide relevant and important practical application. First, integrating perspective taking activities and videos during training may unlock the effectiveness of these common diversity training tools, creating stronger and more lasting interventions. Second, individual differences like social dominance orientation could be used in needs assessments prior to training. Third, organizations may need to focus on designing training that targets resistant trainees, using theoretically derived and tested methods, interventions, and activities.

Literature Review

Perspective Taking

Perspective taking involves actively considering the experiences and perspectives of others and recognizing the differences of those experiences and perspectives from one's own (Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson, & Galinsky, 2011). Perspective taking has shown positive effects on diversity-related behaviors and attitudes, reduced reliance on stereotypes, and those who more readily employ perspective taking show more positive intergroup attitudes compared to those less inclined to perspective take (Parker & Axtell, 2001; Todd et al., 2011; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Further, taking the perspective of one member of a stigmatized group helps individuals reduce bias towards that individual and to the stigmatized group more broadly (Batson et al., 1997; Todd et al., 2011).

Decades of research has supported the notion that perspective taking is critical to social interaction and offers individuals important information relating to proper social functioning (Piaget, 1932; Batson, 1991; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Research has also pointed to a process of self-other merging as a theoretical explanation of the effectiveness and benefits of perspective taking (Davis, Conklin, Smith, & Luce, 1996). Self-other merging (or overlap), which stems from actively considering the perspectives of another person, can be defined as a merging of mental representation of the self and a target of perspective taking. This self-other overlap means that one sees more overlap between themselves and a member of an outgroup when they actively consider another's perspective (Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005). Davis et al. (1996) found that perspective taking led participants to attribute a greater number of self-traits (i.e., traits they used to describe themselves prior to role-taking) to a target. Galinsky and colleagues (2005) argue that an increase in self-other overlap allows perspective takers to build social bonds more effectively, because perspective taking leads to more proximal outcomes such as reduced stereotypic judgement of others and increase in stereotypic behaviors of the self (which facilitates social coordination) first.

Additionally, early work by Batson and colleagues showed that empathy and emotions play an important role in the process of perspective taking leading to helping behaviors and improved attitudes towards members of stigmatized groups (Batson, Change, Orr, & Rowland, 2000; Batson et al., 1997; Batson, 1991). Batson et al. (1997) demonstrated that perspective taking activities, specifically inducing empathy for a member of a stigmatized group, could successfully improve attitudes more generally towards the whole stigmatized group. Batson (1991) posited that perspective taking is a critical antecedent of altruistic behavior, and this assertion has guided perspective taking research to use activities that induce perspective taking in order to attenuate modern forms of prejudice and bias.

There are multiple theoretical explanations for why perspective taking activities that ask one to thoughtfully consider another's thoughts, feelings, and experiences can successfully improve attitudes towards outgroups. Dovidio and colleagues (2004) outline five such processes: "(a) generalizing positive feelings toward a specific group member to the larger group, (b) enhancing interest in the welfare of others, (c) arousing feelings and perceptions of injustice concerning the treatment of members of particular groups, (d) altering cognitive representations of target group members, and (e) inhibiting stereotyping" (p. 1538). Processes such as these are of critical interest to diversity training scholars, as organizations seek to instill egalitarian attitudes

and behaviors in their employees and encourage positive intergroup contact to reduce conflict and subtle and overt discrimination, as well as promote effective team functioning despite differences between employees. Taken together, these theoretical frameworks and possible explanatory mechanisms that facilitate positive intergroup evaluations lend support to perspective taking tasks being one of the more effective strategies for diversity training.

One form of a perspective taking activity or intervention involves writing narratives or essays from another's perspective. Studies use writing tasks to induce perspective taking, instructing participants to write about a typical day from the point of view of a person they are shown a picture of (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Todd et al., 2011). Alternatively, participants can be instructed to think of the challenges marginalized people face and write a short narrative about a day in the life of someone who belongs to a marginalized group (e.g., Lindsey, King, Hebl, & Levine, 2015). These perspective taking tasks reveal promising effects for diversity relevant outcomes. One study showed that compared to goal setting and stereotype discrediting activities, participants in a perspective taking condition tasked with thinking about challenges marginalized groups face and then instructed to write a short narrative about a typical day for a member of a marginalized group had more positive behavioral intentions. Further, in a test of mediation, the researchers found that through an internal motivation to respond without prejudice, the indirect effect was significant for perspective taking, predicting not just LGB supportive behaviors, but also improving general attitudes towards lesbians and gays (Lindsey et al., 2015).

Additionally, in another study that instructed participants to write a short narrative essay with either an objective focus or a perspective taking focus, participants who used a perspective taking focus, thinking about what the target might be thinking, feeling, and experiencing, showed significantly lower pro-White bias on an Implicit Association Test compared to those who wrote with an objective-focus (Todd et al., 2011). This finding is significant because it shows the effects a perspective taking intervention has even on implicit attitudes, meaning the positive effects typically seen with perspective taking are not entirely due to a motivation to appear unbiased (Todd et al., 2011). Galinsky and Ku (2004) further found that when tasked with writing a narrative essay about an elderly man, those who wrote the essay with specific instructions to take the elderly man's perspective rated the elderly more positively compared to those who received no perspective taking instructions (control condition). Importantly, they also found that this effect was moderated by trainee self-esteem, such that those with high self-esteem (both trait-based or context induced high

self-esteem) rated the elderly more positively compared to those with low self-esteem in the perspective taking condition. These findings map onto research and theory about self-other overlap in perspective taking. That is, when taking another's perspective, this overlap between the self and other is a critical mediator by which individuals pass their own positive evaluations onto others, which then improves their evaluations of others. These findings support the efficacy of perspective taking writing tasks at improving intergroup attitudes.

Hypothesis 1: Participants in a perspective taking writing condition will show lower racial bias and intergroup anxiety compared to those in a control writing condition.

Media as Diversity Training

Beyond writing tasks that facilitate perspective taking, there are other effective forms of perspective taking, including engaging in a narrative about another person by watching, reading, or listening to a story depicting another person who belongs to an outgroup. For example, Na and Chasteen (2016) used a written narrative about a person with depression as a perspective taking manipulation, while Batson and colleagues (1997) utilized an audio narrative of a mock radio interview with a woman who had AIDS. Multiple studies have used short documentary style videos depicting the differing experiences of a Black man and a White man each doing daily tasks such as shopping, attempting to rent an apartment, applying for a job, interacting with law enforcement, or purchasing a car (Dovidio et al., 2004; Esses & Dovidio, 2002; Todd et al., 2011). These examples of using media to tell the stories of outgroup members encourage participants to understand the experiences of others who they may not interact with often and likely hold stereotypes or unconscious biases against.

Importantly, these can be thought of as perspective taking activities because they specifically instruct participants to watch, read, or listen to the narrative with the intention of understanding the target's thoughts, feelings, and experiences. For example, Todd et al. (2011) instructed participants watching a video about a Black man named Glen to "visualize clearly and vividly what Glen might be thinking, feeling, and experiencing as he goes through activities depicted in the documentary" (p. 1030). In another study, participants were instructed to focus on their own feelings while watching a video clip about the differing experiences between a Black man and White man doing tasks such as shopping, renting an apartment, and applying for a job. These participants showed greater willingness to engage in contact with Blacks, compared to those

who were instructed to focus on their own thoughts and analyze the situations while watching the video (Esses & Dovidio, 2002). Similarly, Dovidio and colleagues (2004) found that participants who focused on the target's feelings, as compared to those who remained objective while viewing the same video (of the Black man facing discrimination while doing various tasks) showed a greater decrease in prejudice towards Blacks through heightened feelings of perceived injustice. Taken together, these results demonstrate that media can be effective perspective taking tools, and therefore effective diversity training or prejudice reduction tools. However, media has also been used outside of a perspective taking framework. Entertainment as a form of prejudice reduction has yielded studies that look to videos, documentaries, TV shows, radio, books, and written narratives as methods of improving intergroup attitudes without explicitly asking participants to perspective take (Paluck & Green, 2009).

For example, reading interventions are common field experiments testing the effectiveness of media on intergroup prejudices. These reading interventions are typically conducted in educational settings and may use stories about other cultures, specific individuals who may belong to an outgroup, or depict intergroup friendships. Reading interventions have shown generally positive effects, especially for stories about intergroup friendships (Paluck & Green, 2009). Other forms of media have also been used as successful diversity initiatives, such as Paluck's (2009) field study conducted in post-war Rwanda testing the effectiveness of a year-long educational and entertaining radio soap opera, designed to promote reconciliation between two groups in Rwanda who were divided after a devastating genocide. This soap opera significantly improved perceptions of social norms about intergroup marriage, trust, empathy, and cooperation.

The effectiveness of using media in diversity training stems from several important theoretical foundations, including intergroup contact and parasocial contact theories, as well as impression formation and person perception theories (Chu & Pietri, 2017). Intergroup contact theory was posited first in 1954 by Allport; it states that intergroup contact under ideal positive conditions will lead to improved intergroup attitudes. A meta-analysis reviewing intergroup literature found that intergroup contact reliably leads to lower levels of prejudice; even outside of Allport's (1954) conditions this holds true, although when Allport's proposed conditions are present (i.e., equal status between the groups, shared goals, cooperation, and the support of authorities or custom), outcomes are even stronger (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). More impressively, contact with outgroup members reduces prejudice across different contexts and groups (Pettigrew

& Tropp, 2006). In other words, more intergroup contact reduces prejudice not just towards the outgroup member with which participants have contact, but also extends to the whole group that the outgroup member belongs to, as well as more broadly towards other groups.

Pettigrew (1998) outlines four processes of change that occur through intergroup contact: first, learning about the outgroup occurs; second, there is a change in behavior; third, affective (emotional) ties are generated; and fourth, intergroup reappraisal happens. Additionally, the process of reducing prejudice through intergroup contact encompasses enhancing knowledge and awareness, reducing intergroup anxiety by providing positive experience of contact, and increasing empathy and perspective taking skills (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Therefore, intergroup contact is an important component of diversity training. However, the prospect of intergroup contact can lead to anxiety, and individuals often avoid such interactions (Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Plant, 2004). Additionally, the best scenario of intergroup contact leading to more positive intergroup attitudes includes Allport's conditions, making ideal intergroup contact difficult to arrange in a training context. Researchers have sought to address these challenges by studying the effects of media contact, using videos or narratives to simulate intergroup contact (Schiappa, Gregg, & Hewes, 2005; Chu & Pietri, 2017).

The parasocial contact hypothesis stems from intergroup contact theory and offers a theoretical basis as to why media-driven contact may facilitate the same benefits of classic (in-person, face-to-face) intergroup contact. In this framework, media can offer opportunities of intergroup contact because individuals are able to form parasocial relationships with characters in stories just as they form typical social relationships with more direct interactions (Chu & Peitri, 2017; Schiappa et al., 2005). Research in this area therefore assumes similar processes occur during parasocial contact and intergroup contact. Riggle, Ellis, and Crawford (1996) tested the hypothesis that media contact reduces prejudiced attitudes. A sample of college students, 44% of whom reported that they had had little to no previous contact with gay and lesbian individuals, viewed the film *The Times of Harvey Milk*, a documentary about the life of an openly-gay politician. The researchers found that the film had a significant effect on prejudice, such that overall, those who viewed the film showed more positive attitudes towards homosexuals (Riggle et al., 1996). Schiappa et al.'s (2005) work extends these findings in formalizing the framework for the parasocial contact hypothesis. These researchers found that after having college students watch several episodes of *Six Feet Under*, a TV series with a main character who identifies as a

gay man, participants formed unique impressions of all the characters in the show, including forming unique judgements about the two gay characters. Participants also connected with characters in various ways and formed positive judgements about the characters who belonged to the outgroup: gay men. Further, a significant reduction in prejudiced attitudes towards gay men was found for students who had this media-driven contact. The researchers conclude that when parasocial contact (contact that is media-driven) gives individuals the chance to make unique positive judgements about outgroup members, just as one would with interpersonal direct contact, prejudiced attitudes can be reduced (Schiappa et al., 2005).

Indeed, emerging new research has looked to media interventions as effective prejudice reduction strategies through a more grounded theoretical lens; specifically, employing parasocial contact with person-perception and impression formation theories to explain the efficacy of media-driven contact, and has even compared the effectiveness of videos versus written narratives at improving intergroup attitudes (Chu & Pietri, 2017). Chu and Pietri (2017) test the effects of videos compared to written narratives at reducing prejudice and improving intergroup attitudes. In a series of studies, the researchers found that a video depicting a Black man talking about his experiences in education was more effective at improving attitudes towards African Americans when compared to a written format of the same narrative. Specifically, this happened because participants viewing the video were able to form more positive impressions of the speaker in the video, reducing a reliance on prejudices. Moreover, the video offers more opportunity to form a positive relationship with the speaker in the video. The researchers found that these results support the parasocial contact hypothesis, that media can facilitate the same positive outcomes of actual intergroup contact. Additionally, this research also presents evidence introducing the addition of a strong theoretical basis for impression formation and person perception processes during media-driven contact leading to improved intergroup attitudes (Chu & Pietri, 2017). This research lays a foundation confirming the assumption that parasocial contact and intergroup contact operate through the same processes and conditions (i.e., Allport's conditions and Pettigrew's four processes of change).

Videos as a form of diversity training may be especially effective because they allow for low-anxiety forms of intergroup contact. Research has generally supported the parasocial contact hypothesis, showing that media-centered contact can reduce prejudice because individuals are able to develop a sense of closeness with characters or individuals in stories. Videos are the most

effective medium for this because they offer critical cues to viewers that allow for stronger positive relations to form between the viewer and the character in the story through a process of impression formation (Chu & Pietri, 2017). Further, watching a video about an outgroup member can serve as an opportunity to perspective take, which shows strong effects relating to intergroup relations.

Hypothesis 2: Participants in a media contact video condition will show lower racial bias and intergroup anxiety compared to those in a control video condition.

Integrating Activities

While both perspective taking writing tasks and media contact show promise as effective diversity training initiatives, little work has been done comparing or combining these diversity training tools. To my knowledge, no studies have even compared the effectiveness of perspective taking writing tasks and perspective taking through watching videos or reading/listening to narratives. An even more important gap remains in investigating the effectiveness of integrating these activities to achieve stronger, more consistent positive outcomes. However, I believe that the theoretical foundations for both media interventions and perspective taking provide an important overlap, and that combining these frameworks may create more effective diversity training overall.

Despite the many ways in which perspective taking can lead to more positive outgroup attitudes, there is also evidence of the variability of perspective taking effectiveness. Na and Chasteen (2016) found that imagined contact was more effective than perspective taking at reducing stigma about depression, indicating that there may be limitations to perspective taking. Moreover, some studies have found weak or no direct effects of perspective taking tasks on attitude change. For example, one study found no main effect of perspective taking on explicit prejudice. Meaning that, on average, participants who completed a perspective taking activity did not differ from those in the control condition regarding explicit prejudice (Álvarez Castillo, Equizábal, Cámara, & González, 2014). Similarly, a study comparing diversity training methods found that perspective taking was superior to goal setting and stereotype discrediting regarding only one of four outcomes measuring behavioral intentions and attitudes (Lindsey et al., 2015).

Collectively, these results indicate that there is variability in perspective taking effects. Likewise, there is also variability in the effects of using media as prejudice reduction initiatives. Reading interventions typically show strong effects for stories about intergroup friendships, and weaker effects for stories about other cultures or a member of an outgroup (Paluck & Green, 2009).

Paluck's (2009) year-long radio field study in Rwanda is a powerful example of how media can be used to improve perceptions of norms; however, the study also revealed no effect on listener's personal beliefs. Thus, while the radio intervention revealed positive effects regarding perceived norms, it was unsuccessful at altering personal beliefs. This lends support to the notion that there are limitations to, and variable effects of, using media as diversity training interventions. Thus, both methods/interventions (perspective taking and media contact) have limitations. However, there is substantial theoretical overlap driving these diversity training initiatives, indicating that perspective taking and media contact activities may be meaningfully combined to produce stable and stronger effects.

For example, Skorinko and Sinclair (2013) showed that perspective taking may actually increase stereotyping. After taking the perspective of an outgroup member who exemplified highly stereotypical qualities of the group to which they belong, participants engaged in more stereotyping as compared to participants not instructed to perspective take. However, when taking the perspective of a more ambiguously stereotypic target, participants were less likely to engage in stereotyping compared to those who did not perspective take (Skorinko & Sinclair, 2013). If participants are instructed to take the perspective of an individual who belongs to a stigmatized group, they may more readily use stereotype-consistent information by thinking of a target who exemplifies the stereotypes associated with the social group to which they belong. However, watching a video depicting a stereotype inconsistent target who provides information about their thoughts, feelings, and experiences prior to writing a perspective taking narrative essay may mitigate this effect.

Senft, Chentsova-Dutton, and Patten (2016) find that participant's ratings of target personalities were driven by the target's expressive facial behaviors (smiling) more than the target's race or gender. In other words, participants relied more on facial expressions like smiling, and less on race and gender when forming impressions relating to a stranger's personality. This finding shows that visual cues can be particularly important during impression formation, and that visual media can reduce the use of stereotypical information or preconceived ideas based on a stranger's race or gender (Senft et al., 2016). Videos can be particularly beneficial when paired with perspective taking tasks, moderating the effectiveness of perspective taking tasks by providing richer information that can facilitate positive impression formation, rather than stereotype-driven impression formation.

Watching a video prior to perspective taking can more strongly ensure that perspective takers form a bond with the target and see the target as a person rather than just the social group to which they belong. Further, by engaging in perspective taking after media contact, individuals can improve their parasocial relationship with and positive impression of the target in the video through the process of self-other overlap. Perspective taking after watching a video also acts as an extension of training, providing individuals an opportunity first to gather information about an outgroup member to form initial positive impression while experiencing a parasocial relationship with the outgroup member. Then, while actively perspective taking, individuals can use this information about the outgroup member and form final positive evaluations through merging the self and the other and feeling empathy for the target, consequently reducing prejudiced attitudes towards the outgroup. Additionally, literature on the effects of perspective taking are more developed than the effects of media-centered contact, so it is not only practically useful to compare and integrate these methods, but also theoretically needed to continue to develop the perspective taking literature.

For some individuals, perspective taking activities that instruct one to imagine the perspective of another may be particularly difficult because not everyone is equally equipped to do this (Hawk et al., 2013). For example, individuals who do not perspective take on a regular basis, rarely feel empathy for others, or have had very little contact with outgroup members, are likely less prepared to know how to perspective take and therefore not likely to experience the same positive benefits from perspective taking activities as a diversity training initiative compared to those who are at least somewhat familiar with perspective taking. Because of this, using videos that offer perspectives from outgroup members should be a particularly beneficial strategy and integrating videos with perspective taking writing tasks likely enhances the effectiveness of either strategy independently as interventions. Videos can provide important cues to facilitate perspective taking tasks, by offering an account of a diverse other's perspective, as well as providing positive impression formation and reduced reliance on stereotypes. Active perspective taking ensures that individuals experience an understanding of other's thoughts, feelings, and experiences.

Hypothesis 3: Video condition will moderate the relationships between perspective taking condition and diversity training outcomes of racial bias and intergroup anxiety, such that these relationships will be more positive in a media contact video condition as compared to a control video condition.

Social Dominance Orientation

Diversity training initiatives seem to, overall, have mixed results (Bezrukova et al., 2016). This may be a result of certain individual differences, deep level characteristics of trainees which moderate the effectiveness of diversity interventions. Without investigating these individual differences, it may seem like diversity training is not worth the effort because results are so mixed. Further, if researchers and practitioners can identify those individuals who are either receptive or resistant to diversity initiatives, then training can be targeted or adapted as needed. Indeed, this is arguably where diversity research is needed most, as previous studies have rarely looked at trainee characteristics beyond demographic variables (Bezrukova, et al., 2012). Particularly relevant but unmeasured moderators, like non-demographic individual differences, could be masking the true effects of training. Specifically, in perspective taking and media contact research, measuring individual differences is critical to understanding for whom these methods work. Therefore, my study will look beyond demographic differences to an individual difference which stands out most as needing targeted interventions: social dominance orientation.

Social dominance theory posits that group-based hierarchies exist within our society and that these hierarchies are reinforced for intergroup dominance where dominant groups have power and privilege over subordinate groups (Sidanius, Liu, Shaw, & Pratto, 1994). Social dominance orientation (SDO) is defined as the degree to which people support these group-based social hierarchies and is “a measure of support for inequality between social groups” (Ho et al., 2015, p. 1004). Common beliefs, ideologies, behaviors, and attitudes consistent with high SDO include political conservatism, nationalism, militarism, and hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing beliefs and myths such as internal attributions for poverty, sexism, rape myths, and the Protestant Work Ethic. These individuals also tend to believe that the status quo is often threatened and that is important to uphold the status quo. Individuals high in SDO typically oppose humanitarian practices, social welfare, and affirmative action (Ho et al., 2015).

Given that SDO is negatively correlated with empathy (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006), an important emotion key in prejudice reduction, this individual difference may help explain why some people seem more resistant to diversity training. Social dominance theory explains that people who are more social dominance oriented will favor policies and ideologies that enhance social hierarchies, and those who are less social dominance oriented will favor policies and ideologies that attenuate social hierarchies (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). While

research has shown that SDO predicts prejudice beliefs, very few studies have investigated its effect on diversity initiatives. A meta-analysis of the effects of intergroup contact found that institutional support is an important condition helping strengthen contact effects (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This facilitating condition could be most important for individuals high in SDO. In fact, one recent study found that authority endorsement of diversity training did increase positive diversity outcomes for individuals high in SDO (Membere, King, Kravitz, & Lindsey, 2016). However, as diversity management is a clear hierarchy-attenuating program, this individual difference should correlate strongly with resistance to diversity training initiatives, with those high in SDO showing less positive diversity outcomes.

Research is scarce regarding individual difference moderators of perspective taking effectiveness. One study used a perspective taking activity to reduce prejudice in older adults, a group that typically displays more prejudice compared to younger ages, finding no main effect of perspective taking on prejudice (Álvarez Castillo et al., 2014). However, when they investigated a variety of participant characteristics, like personality factors and individual differences, the researchers found that four traits (agreeableness, empathy, universalism, and conformity) significantly moderated the relationship between perspective taking and prejudice. Perspective taking influenced prejudice only for those low in agreeableness, empathy, and universalism, and high in conformity, a critical finding which indicates the effectiveness of perspective taking can vary depending on important and relevant individual differences (Álvarez Castillo et al., 2014).

Similarly, in another study, a comparison of diversity training methods found that perspective taking, compared to goal setting and stereotype discrediting methods, led to more internal motivation to respond without prejudice, which in turn led to more positive diversity attitudes and behaviors, but only for individuals low in trait empathy (Lindsey et al., 2015). These results support the notion that individual differences need to be incorporated into studies evaluating diversity training interventions because effects vary based on trainee characteristics. Variable effects of perspective taking can potentially be explained by important individual differences and it seems to be that perspective taking activities facilitate pro-diversity attitudes for trainees who may need training the most (e.g., those low in empathy and agreeableness).

These two studies by Álvarez Castillo et al. (2014) and Lindsey et al. (2015) shed light on the importance of measuring moderators when evaluating the effectiveness of perspective taking to understand who this activity works for. Although this research is certainly promising in showing

that perspective taking is helpful for those who have the most to gain from it, finding significant effects of perspective taking for individuals low in empathy, agreeableness, universalism, and high in conformity (Álvarez Castillo et al., 2014; Lindsey et al., 2015), it is likely that SDO would not produce the same effects. That is, while these other studies provide support for the effect of perspective taking tasks at eliciting positive effects for those who may be less inclined to perspective take regularly, perspective taking alone is not likely to be an effective intervention for individuals who support social hierarchies more strongly.

Power has been shown to negatively influence various forms of social attention, including perspective taking (Blader, Skirako, & Chen, 2016). Specifically, research supports the link between high power and self-focused goals and behaviors, which diminishes one's perspective-taking ability (Blader et al., 2016). Power is strongly related to SDO, as it is a measure of support for social inequality and an unequal distribution of power; those who endorse group-based hierarchies are also endorsing more power for certain individuals, including themselves (Ho et al., 2015). Power increases stereotyping and prejudice (Blader et al., 2016), directly in line with social dominance theory. Because of this, this individual difference can uniquely predict resistance to typical methods of diversity training, including perspective taking and media-driven contact, both being reliant on positive impression formation. Perspective taking writing tasks or media contact alone may not be sufficient for individuals who are high in social dominance orientation, however the combination of these activities might specifically appeal to these resistant trainees.

Individuals relatively high in SDO show less empathy (Pratto et al., 1994), which is key to perspective taking, and likely engage in less direct intergroup contact and media-driven/parasocial contact. Therefore, they may lack a baseline understanding of outgroup member's perspectives, this likely stops these resistant trainees from benefiting from perspective taking activities in the same way other individuals do. For individuals relatively high in social dominance orientation, engaging in parasocial contact prior to perspective taking could be the moderator needed to ensure positive outcomes. That is, perspective taking interventions can be especially helpful for those trainees who need training most (e.g., low empathy, low agreeableness, high conformity) which is a promising finding to extend to those high SDO individuals. However, those with less ability to perspective take, like individuals high in SDO, may not actually benefit from such an intervention because they lack an accurate understanding of diverse others' perspectives. Thus, a media contact video may increase these individual's ability to perspective take by providing the tools they need

Further, egalitarian thinking requires more cognitive ability and mental effort (Berkel, Crandall, Eidelman, & Blanchar, 2015; Heaven, Ciarrochi, & Leeson, 2011), so longer training using multiple activities may better address this. Requiring high SDO individuals to extend the knowledge acquired through watching a video about an outgroup member offering information about their thoughts, feelings, and experiences into a perspective taking task ensures that those individuals do engage in more egalitarian thinking and use more cognitive resources. Overall, by integrating these two methods, which alone do show positive results, is likely superior to either technique alone at reaching these resistant trainees. Specifically, because videos offer important visual cues and knowledge of another's perspective, and perspective taking writing tasks require one to be other-focused, an integration of these activities may be a superior diversity training initiative for trainees high in SDO.

Hypothesis 4: SDO will moderate the two-way interaction between perspective taking condition and video condition, such that for those high in SDO, the two-way interaction will be stronger compared to those low in SDO.

In sum, I propose that there will be a three-way interaction between perspective taking condition, video condition, and trainee SDO. More specifically, I hypothesize that a perspective taking writing task will be more effective than a control writing task (leading to lower racial bias and intergroup anxiety), especially when one also watches a media contact video prior to perspective taking. Overall, I propose that this interaction will be stronger for high SDO individuals who have more to gain from these interventions (see Figure 1).

CHAPTER 2: METHOD

Participants

Participants were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. All participants were required to be at least 18 years old and identify as White/Caucasian to sign up for and complete the study. The study required participants who viewed the target in the media contact video, a Black man, as an outgroup member based on race.

A power analysis was conducted to determine an appropriate sample size to detect effects of the proposed three-way interaction (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). This power analysis specified seven predictors encompassing a three-way interaction (power = 0.95, $\alpha = 0.05$) and a small expected effect size ($R^2 = .02$). These parameters indicate a total sample size of 348. Therefore, I determined that recruiting 430 participants would be sufficient, allowing for flexibility in the sample size to remove participants prior to data analysis due to careless responding.

431 participants completed the initial survey. After removing participants for careless responding (e.g., failing attention or manipulation checks, described in more detail under results) my final sample size was 373. These participants all identified as White/Caucasian. The average age of participants was 36.7 years old ($SD = 9.14$) ranging from 19 to 50. The sample was almost evenly split by gender; 54% were female and 45% were male. Participants varied in political party and religious identities; 38% identified as democrats, 28% as republicans, 25.7% as independents, 2.4% as "other", and 6% as "none". Half (49.6%) of the sample identified as Christian, 22% as Agnostic, 18.8% as Atheist, 3% as Jewish, and 6.7% as other. A majority of the sample was employed full time (71%), with 16.4% employed part time, and 12.6% unemployed, retired, or disabled.

Procedure

This study was conducted online through a single survey link which took approximately 30 minutes to complete. At the start of the study participants were informed that I was interested how people construct narratives about life events based on visual information. This methodology closely resembles other perspective taking paradigms (Glainsky & Moscovitz, 2000; Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, & Jetten, 1994).

Participants read a full study information sheet, confirmed that they met the requirements of the study, and provided agreement to participate. Following this, all participants completed a measure assessing social dominance orientation, as well as a few additional measures that acted as fillers to mask the purpose of the study and minimize social desirability of responding on potentially sensitive measures like SDO and racial bias outcome measures.

Participants were then randomly assigned to one of four conditions, in which they (1) watched a media contact video and then wrote a perspective taking narrative essay, (2) watched the media contact video and then completed a control writing activity, (3) watched a control video and then wrote a perspective taking narrative essay, or (4) watched a control video and then completed a control writing activity. This is a fully crossed 2 (media contact video vs control) x 2 (perspective taking vs control) design. After watching the video, participants completed measures assessing impressions, parasocial connection, and self-other overlap with the speaker in the video. After completing the writing task, those in the perspective taking condition completed measures assessing similarity, closeness, and self-other overlap with the target of perspective taking. Following this participants completed our focal outcomes measures racial bias, and interracial anxiety. Finally, participants were asked three manipulation check questions and completed a demographics questionnaire. All participants were paid \$2.00 upon completion of the survey.

Materials

Media Contact Video

A short three-minute video of Michael, a young, Black, male professor talking about bias in education and his personal experiences with this. In this video, Michael presents his own experiences, perspectives, and thoughts on education and race. This video has been used previously as a media contact intervention (Chu & Pietri, 2017).

Control Video

A short three-minute video of Travis, a young, White, male doctor talking about his passion for medicine. This control video was chosen because of its similar length and format to the media contact video and was previously piloted test to ensure the speaker was equally engaging compared to the speaker in the media contact video (Chu & Pietri, 2017).

Perspective Taking Writing Task

Participants were shown an image of the same Black man in the media contact video, Michael, and then instructed to write a short narrative about a day in the life of Michael. Using instructions adapted from Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000), participants were instructed to write a perspective taking essay with the following instructions: "*Please take approximately 5 minutes, and in the space below tell us about a typical day for Michael, the person pictured below. As you write, please imagine a day in the life of Michael, thinking about the world from his point of view, looking at the world through his eyes and walking in his shoes.*" Participants were required to write at least 500 characters (which corresponds to 3-5 sentences) before proceeding to the next page of the survey.

Control Writing Task

Participants were asked to write a short narrative about a typical work-day in their own life. Participants were required to write at least 500 characters (which corresponds to 3-5 sentences) before proceeding to the next page of the survey.

Measures

Social Dominance Orientation

Participant's social dominance orientation was measured with the SDO₇ (Ho et al., 2015; $\alpha = .95$). This measure consists of 16 items. Example items include "Some groups of people are simply inferior to other group" and "We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed" (reverse scored). Responses range from (1) *strongly oppose* to (7) *strongly favor*.

Racial Bias

Racial bias was measured with six items from the Symbolic Racism 2000 scale (Henry & Sears, 2002; $\alpha = .90$), using a 7-point response scale from (1) *strongly disagree* to (7) *strongly agree*. Example items include "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" and "Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve."

Intergroup Anxiety

Participant's intergroup anxiety was measured with eight items from the Interracial Anxiety Scale (Plant & Devine, 2003; $\alpha = .90$). Participants indicated how strongly they agree or disagree with each item on a 7-point scale from (1) *strongly disagree* to (7) *strongly agree*. Example items include "I would feel awkward when interacting with a Black person" and "Sometimes stereotypes come to my mind when interacting with a Black person, even when I wish they wouldn't."

Parasocial Connection

The extent to which participants formed a parasocial connection/relationship with the speaker in the video that they watched was measured with 7 items from the Parasocial Contact scale (Schiappa et al., 2005; $\alpha = .91$). Participants rated items such as "Travis/Michael made me feel comfortable, as if I was with a friend," "I would like to meet Travis/Michael in person," and "If there were a story about Travis/Michael in a newspaper or magazine, I would read it" on a scale from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*. This measure was used in supplemental analyses.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

Removing Participants

Multiple attention checks were included throughout the survey, for example, asking participants to select "strongly agree" on a specific item to confirm that they were reading the item. Participants were also asked three manipulation checks at the end of the survey, including the topic of the video they watched, the race of the speaker in the video they watched, and what they wrote about. Narrative essays were reviewed to ensure that participants followed the instructions and wrote a perspective taking essay or a control essay. 58 participants were excluded from analysis due to careless responding, meaning they failed at least one of these checks. These excluded participants did not vary across condition, $\chi^2(3, N = 341) = 5.195, p = .158$. All analyses were conducted with the final sample size of 373.

Preliminary Analyses

Table 1 provides a summary of means, standard deviations, and correlations for study variables. Perspective taking and video condition variables were each coded as 0 for control condition and 1 for the intervention condition. Scale scores for social dominance orientation, racial bias, intergroup anxiety, and parasocial connection (used in supplemental analysis) were all created such that higher values correspond to "more" of that variable. Neither activity was significantly correlated with SDO, racial bias, or intergroup anxiety. SDO was significantly and positively correlated with both racial bias and intergroup anxiety, and the two outcome measures were moderately positively correlated with each other.

Hypothesis Testing

To test my hypotheses, I used Process macros developed by Hayes (2013). I conducted a test of a three-way interaction using Hayes statistical model 3, mean centering all variables, for my two outcomes of interest: racial bias and intergroup anxiety. This tests all hypotheses simultaneously, thereby reducing type 1 error, showing the effects of the three-way interaction, each two-way interaction, and the direct effects of both activity conditions and trainee SDO (see Figure 2 for statistical diagram).

Racial Bias

I first tested my hypotheses and theoretical model for the outcome of racial bias (see Table 2). Results of the three-way interaction using Process model 3 predicting racial bias were significant for the overall model, $F(7, 365) = 41.758, p < .001, R^2 = .445$. Meaning, this model fit the data well and explained 44.5% of the variance in the outcome of racial bias. Hypothesis 1 predicted that participants who engaged in a perspective taking task would show lower racial bias compared to those in a control condition. This hypothesis was not supported, as perspective taking did not significantly predict racial bias ($b = -0.046, SE = .168, t = -0.271, p = .786$). Hypothesis 2 predicted that participants in the video condition would show lower racial bias compared to those in a control condition. This hypothesis was not supported, as video condition did significantly predict racial bias ($b = 0.247, SE = .168, t = 1.467, p = .143$). Although not directly hypothesized, as expected, SDO was a significant predictor of racial bias, revealing a significant main effect such that higher SDO scores predicted more racial bias ($b = 0.887, SE = .088, t = 10.059, p < .001$).

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the video condition would moderate the relationship between perspective taking condition and racial bias such that the effect would be more positive in the video condition as compared to a control condition. There was not a significant interaction between perspective taking and video conditions ($b = -0.170, SE = .235, t = -0.724, p = .469$), hypothesis 3 therefore was not supported. There was a significant two-way interaction between video condition and SDO ($b = -0.304, SE = .118, t = -2.571, p = .011$). Figure 3 shows the interaction between SDO and video conditions. There was no difference in racial bias scores between video conditions at high levels of SDO, however at low levels of SDO, racial bias scores were higher in the media contact video condition compared to the control video condition. Simple slopes analysis confirms a significant effect of video condition at low SDO ($b = 0.374, SE = .175, t = 2.131, p = .034$), and an insignificant effect at high SDO ($b = -0.056, SE = .173, t = -0.322, p = .748$).

Finally, hypothesis 4 predicted the three-way interaction between perspective taking condition, video condition, and SDO. Specifically, I predicted that the integration of these two conditions (watching the media contact video and completing the perspective taking writing task) would be especially beneficial for those high in SDO. The three-way interaction was significant, $b = 0.343, SE = .175, t = 1.966, p = .050$. Additionally, a test of the highest order unconditional interaction revealed a significant change in $R^2 = .0059, F(1, 365) = 3.863, p = .050$. To better understand the significant interaction between SDO, perspective taking condition, and video

condition I plotted this interaction. Figure 4 shows the interactive effects of video and perspective taking conditions at low (one standard deviation below the mean) and high (one standard deviation above the mean) levels of SDO. This three-way interaction reveals that at high levels of SDO, there is no significant interaction between conditions, meaning condition had no effect on racial bias for those high in SDO. Therefore, hypothesis 4 was not supported. However, at low levels of SDO, there was a significant interaction ($b = -0.682$, $F(1, 365) = 3.787$, $p = .050$) such that those in the media contact video condition had higher levels of racial bias when they did not do the perspective taking intervention ($M = 2.570$) compared to those who did perspective take ($M = 2.097$). Thus, the video condition alone led to a negative effect, but adding the perspective taking mitigated that effect for those low in SDO. Simple slopes analysis confirms that at low SDO the effect of video condition is significant in the control perspective taking condition ($b = 0.701$, $SE = .248$, $t = 2.829$, $p = .005$), but insignificant in the intervention perspective taking condition ($b = 0.019$, $SE = .248$, $t = 0.076$, $p = .939$).

Intergroup Anxiety

Results of the model predicting intergroup anxiety revealed few significant findings and did not support any of my hypotheses (see Table 3). Hypotheses 1 and 2 predicting the main effects of intervention conditions were both unsupported. The effect of perspective taking condition on intergroup anxiety was insignificant ($b = -0.178$, $SE = .173$, $t = -1.029$, $p = .304$), as was the effect of video condition ($b = 0.012$, $SE = .173$, $t = 0.071$, $p = .943$). The two-way interaction between intervention conditions was also insignificant ($b = 0.292$, $SE = .241$, $t = 1.212$, $p = .226$), failing to support hypothesis 3. Finally, hypothesis 4 was not supported as the three-way interaction between SDO, video, and perspective taking conditions was likewise insignificant ($b = 0.056$, $SE = .179$, $t = 0.310$, $p = .757$). SDO was the only significant predictor of intergroup anxiety in this model ($b = 0.383$, $SE = .090$, $t = 4.234$, $p < .001$).

Supplemental Analyses

I conducted a supplemental analysis to further explore the effects of the video condition based on trainee SDO. Therefore, based on previous research on parasocial contact (Chu & Pietri, 2017; Schiappa et al., 2005; Riggle et al., 1996), that shows how media can facilitate the same positive outcomes of actual intergroup contact through parasocial contact and positive impression

formation, I test a supplemental model (see Figure 5). I propose a moderated mediation model in which the effect of SDO on racial bias is mediated by parasocial connection and moderated by video condition. I specify video condition to moderate both the a and b paths and look at the indirect effects for each condition: media contact and control. I test this model using Hayes (2013) Process model 58 and 5000 bootstraps to test the indirect effects.

SDO and video condition interacted to significantly predict parasocial connection ($b = -0.290$, $SE = .059$, $t = -4.880$, $p < .001$). Figure 6 shows the form of this interaction, in which those low in SDO form more positive parasocial connection in the media contact video condition compared to those high in SDO. Simple slopes analysis reveals that the effect of SDO is significant for the media contact video condition ($b = -0.227$, $SE = .041$, $t = -5.593$, $p < .001$), but insignificant for the control video condition ($b = 0.063$, $SE = .043$, $t = 1.451$, $p = .148$). There was in turn a significant interaction between parasocial connection and video condition predicting racial bias ($b = -0.588$, $SE = .129$, $t = -3.261$, $p = .001$). Figure 7 depicts this interaction. Simple slopes analysis confirms that the effect of parasocial connection was again significant for the media contact video condition ($b = -0.296$, $SE = .102$, $t = -2.758$, $p = .006$), but insignificant for the control video condition ($b = 0.192$, $SE = .102$, $t = 1.883$, $p = .061$). Conditional indirect effects reveal that in the media contact video condition, SDO was negatively related to parasocial connection, which was in turn negatively related to racial bias ($b = .067$, $SE = .024$, 95% CI: [.022, .117]), see Figure 8 for results. Meaning, those low in SDO formed more positive or stronger parasocial connection with Michael, the speaker in the media contact video, which in turn led to lower racial bias compared to those high in SDO who formed weaker or less positive parasocial connections with Michael. In the control video condition, the conditional indirect effect was not significant ($b = 0.012$, $SE = .014$, 95% CI: [-.006, .048]).

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

General Discussion

Results revealed little support for my proposed model. I found no support for my hypotheses regarding the outcome of intergroup anxiety, thus neither the perspective taking intervention, media contact video intervention, nor the integration of these interventions impacted participants' intergroup anxiety. Little support was found for the outcome of racial bias; however, the media contact video condition revealed a possible detrimental effect for those low in SDO. There was a significant three-way interaction in predicting racial bias such that adding a perspective taking task mitigated the negative effect of video condition, but only for those low in SDO. Overall, these results do not support the prediction that combining a perspective taking task with a media contact video would facilitate lower racial bias and intergroup anxiety for individuals high in SDO.

The finding that the media contact video led to higher racial bias compared to the control video for trainees low in SDO is rather odd and was counter to my expectations and hypotheses. I explored more about the effect of the media contact video and SDO on racial bias by testing a possible explanatory mechanism, parasocial connection. This variable measures the extent to which participants formed parasocial connections with the speaker in their video (either Travis, the white doctor, or Michael, the black professor). Results showed that parasocial connection did mediate the relationship between SDO and racial bias, and further, this indirect effect was significant in the media contact video condition. Specifically, in the media contact video condition, SDO was negatively related to parasocial connection, which was in turn negatively related to racial bias. Meaning, participants higher in SDO formed less positive parasocial connections with Michael, the speaker in the media contact video, than those low in SDO who formed more positive parasocial connections. More positive parasocial connections in turn led to lower racial bias and less positive parasocial connections led to higher racial bias. Therefore, the media contact video condition decreased racial bias compared to the control video condition for those who were low in SDO because it led participants to form positive impressions and like the speaker, just as one would with in-person intergroup contact. However, for those high in SDO, the media contact video was negatively related to parasocial connection, as those high in SDO did not form positive

relationships with the speaker in the media contact video condition like they did in the control condition. In turn, this led to higher racial bias scores, which indicates that forming a parasocial connection with the speaker in the video was critical to reducing racial bias.

Theoretical Implications

This study contributes to the literature in a few ways. First, this study tests the efficacy of integrating two diversity training methods, perspective taking and media contact videos. Research is severely lacking in this area, and although these two methods did not enhance each other as expected, this study hopefully serves as a foundation for research such as this. Second, I contribute to the small, but growing number of studies within diversity training research that consider non-demographic trainee characteristics. Therefore, by investigating trainee SDO, this study extends the diversity training literature which has primarily only considered trainee demographics, not deep level characteristics, as boundary conditions to training (Bezrukova et al., 2012). This aids in understanding which methods of training may be more or less effective based on prominent and relevant individual differences. More unique to this study was the integration of multiple relevant theoretical frameworks in an attempt to build a theoretically-driven diversity intervention. One review of diversity training literature found that a "notable characteristic of diversity training research concerns the theoretical framework (or lack thereof) incorporated to guide the investigation" (Bezrukova et al., 2012, p. 211). Indeed, over half of the articles reviewed included no theoretical framework, leading to their conclusion that diversity training programs are often atheoretical and diversity training research would therefore benefit from training programs founded in theory. My study answers this call for diversity training developed out of theory.

Additionally, this study extends the parasocial contact literature further by finding support that short videos can be used as diversity training interventions. Prior research has shown, and this study confirms, that intergroup contact, including parasocial contact, can be an effective diversity training tool (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Schiappa et al., 2005; Riggle et al., 1996; Chu & Pietri, 2017). However, this study adds to this literature to suggest that parasocial contact may not actually be an effective strategy for White participants high in SDO. Specifically, although parasocial contact may be a successful diversity training intervention for some, this research shows that individuals do not form parasocial relationships in the same way. Parasocial connection may be dependent on trainee characteristics, such as SDO.

Further, previous research has used various perspective taking techniques, however, this is the first to assess together the two most common perspective taking tasks: 1) engaging in a narrative about another's perspective through media, and 2) writing a narrative essay from another's perspective. My findings regarding the differences between these methods suggests that although the underlying mechanism by which perspective taking writing tasks and media contact are thought to lead to positive outcomes may be theoretically similar, they still yield different effects. Therefore, research is needed in understanding and comparing the similarities and differences of the explanatory mechanisms.

Practical Implications

An important implication of these findings for practitioners is to remember that all training is not equally effective for all participants. One training intervention may be effective for certain individuals and not for others. This research suggests that practitioners can better prepare diversity training methods by first understanding who their trainees are, beyond demographics. One trainee characteristic that is important to measure is SDO. Additionally, practitioners should think beyond typical training methods such as lectures or diversity classes. Videos simulating intergroup contact may be an effective diversity training intervention, however, this study shows that this may only be true for some people. Additionally, the null findings also suggest that short diversity methods like perspective taking may not be strong enough as stand-alone diversity training initiatives and integrating multiple methods may not necessarily lead to more positive outcomes.

Limitations

This study utilized an online survey design with Amazon MTurk workers as participants. There are possible limitations to a design such as this, including an increase in carelessness and inattention compared to an in-person lab or organizational setting. Even after screening for carelessness and inattention through manipulation and attention checks, participants may still not have given their full attention especially towards the end of the survey when completing outcome variables. Additionally, the study was not framed as a diversity training intervention to participants in the hopes that I could test the diversity training methods with some naivete of the participants. However, in an organizational setting, participants (i.e., employees) would know what the purpose

of training is. Therefore, motivation of participants may have been very different in this study than it would in an actual diversity training session.

The use of self-report, explicit measures of racial bias and intergroup anxiety may have also contributed to the null findings. While participants knew their responses were anonymous (one benefit of conducting the study online), they may have still been motivated to respond in socially desirable ways, which may be reflected in the relatively low means for both racial bias and intergroup anxiety. Additionally, a limitation to my analyses is the use of a single time point to measure all variables. Ideally, findings can be strengthened by tracking participants racial bias at multiple time points to better make conclusions about how long these effects may last, and how they change over time.

Future Research Directions

Future research should continue to focus on investigating specific methods of diversity training while considering various individual differences, such as personality traits like agreeableness and openness to experience, to better understand boundary conditions to those methods. This may help shed light on which diversity initiatives to use depending on the characteristics of trainees. Research could also further investigate the effectiveness of using videos of individuals sharing their perspectives on diversity related topics as one-time and on-going diversity training interventions. For example, an organization could create videos of employees sharing their own experiences and perspectives on diversity relevant topics to share with the rest of the organization. This may help facilitate an environment of valuing diversity and understanding other's viewpoints, as well as reduce negative racial attitudes and increase positive diversity attitudes through parasocial contact with diverse individuals.

Additionally, as the interaction between SDO and media contact condition revealed that those high in SDO formed significantly less positive parasocial connections with Michael compared to those low in SDO, future research might test the effectiveness of various videos specifically at eliciting positive parasocial connection in resistant trainees, like those high in SDO. For example, perhaps instead of media contact videos featuring diverse individuals sharing their own experiences with prejudice, White individuals high in SDO may connect more with White allies. Future research could also investigate other potential mediators of both media contact videos and perspective taking writing tasks to better understand the underlying mechanism that make

these methods effective. Further, this research could understand if these methods operate through similar mechanisms, such as parasocial connection, self-other overlap, impression formation, empathy, etc. Finally, more studies should explore pairing methods of diversity training, in addition to comparing methods, as organizations likely employ multiple methods of diversity management and more research is needed to understand how these methods may interact.

Conclusion

As diversity training continues to be an important research domain because of its practical application in most modern organizations, the goal of this study was to test the efficacy of integrating two methods of diversity training that have shown both promising yet mixed results, specifically to create diversity training that could be effective for resistant trainees. Proposed three-way interactions between a perspective taking condition, media contact video condition, and trainee SDO, predicting racial bias and intergroup anxiety were largely unsupported, as integrating perspective taking and media interventions did not lead to lower racial bias or intergroup anxiety. Additionally, counter to expectations, the media contact video revealed a detrimental effect on racial bias for trainees low in SDO. Supplemental analyses however revealed that trainees formed differing levels of parasocial connection based on SDO in the media contact condition. Trainees high in SDO formed more negative parasocial connections with the speaker in the media contact video condition which led to more racial bias. Thus, they gained no benefits that parasocial connection had on lowering racial bias. However, those low in SDO formed strong positive parasocial connections with the speaker in the media contact video condition. In turn, these positive parasocial connections negatively predicted racial bias. These findings offer guidance for future research that can continue to explore effective diversity training interventions for practice that is grounded in theory.

REFERENCES

- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.
- Álvarez Castillo, J. L., Equizábal, A. J., Cámara, C. P., & González, H. G. (2014). The fight against prejudice in older adults: perspective taking effectiveness. *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología, 46*(3), 137-147.
- Batson, C. D. (1991). *The altruism question: Toward a social-psychological answer*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Batson, C. D., Chang, J., Orr, R., & Rowland, J. (2002). Empathy, attitudes, and action: Can feeling for a member of a stigmatized group motivate one to help the group? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*(12), 1656-1666.
- Batson, C. D., Polycarpou, M. P., Harmon-Jones, E., Imhoff, H. J., Mitchener, E. C., Bednar, L. L., Klein, T. R., & Highberger, L. (1997). Empathy and attitudes: Can feeling for a member of a stigmatized group improve feelings toward the group? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72*(1), 105-118.
- Berkel, L. V., Crandall, C. S., Eidelman, S., & Blanchar, J. C. (2015). Hierarchy, dominance, and deliberation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 41*(9), 1207-1222.
- Bezrukova, K., Jehn, K. A., & Spell, C. S. (2012). Reviewing diversity training: Where we have been and where we should go. *Academy of Management Learning & Education, 11*, 207-227.
- Bezrukova, K., Spell, C. S., Perry, J. L., & Jehn, K. A. (2016). A meta-analytical integration of over 40 years of research on diversity training evaluation. *Psychological Bulletin, 142*(11), 1227-1274.
- Blader, S. L., Shirako, A., & Chen, Y. (2016). Looking out from the top. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 42*(6), 723-737.
- Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2012). Labor force in current population. Retrieved from <https://data.bls.gov>.
- Chu, C., & Pietri, E. (2017, April) The effect of diversity intervention media format on racial attitudes. Poster session presented to the 2017 Annual Conference of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology. Orlando, Florida.

- Davis, M. H., Conklin, L., Smith, A., & Luce, C. (1996). Effect of perspective taking on the cognitive representation of persons: A merging of self and other. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*(4), 713-726.
- Department of Labor. (2015). Women's Bureau. Facts over time. Retrieved from https://www.dol.gov/wb/stats/facts_over_time.htm.
- Dovidio, J. F., Vergert, M. T., Stewart, T. L., Gaertner, S. L., Johnson, J. D., Esses, V. M., Riek, B. M., & Pearson, A. R. (2004). Perspective and prejudice: Antecedents and mediating mechanisms. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 30*(12), 1537-1549.
- Esses, V. M., & Dovidio, J. F. (2002). The role of emotions in determining willingness to engage in intergroup contact. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*(9), 1202-1214.
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A. G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods, 39*, 175-191.
- Galinsky, A. D., & Moskowitz, G. B. (2000). Perspective-taking: Decreasing stereotype expression, stereotype accessibility, and in-group favoritism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78*(4), 708-724.
- Galinsky, A. D., & Ku, G. (2004). The effects of perspective-taking on prejudice: The moderating role of self-evaluation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 30*(5), 594-604.
- Galinsky, A. D., Ku, G., & Wang, C. S. (2005). Perspective-Taking and self-other overlap: Fostering social bonds and facilitating social coordination. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 8*(2), 109-124.
- Hawk, S. T., Keijsers, L., Branje, S. J., Graaff, J. V., Wied, M. D., & Meeus, W. (2013). Examining the interpersonal reactivity index (IRI) among early and late adolescents and their mothers. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 95*(1), 96-106.
- Hayes, A. F. (2013). Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach. New York: Guilford Press.
- Heaven, P. C., Ciarrochi, J., & Leeson, P. (2011). Cognitive ability, right-wing authoritarianism, and social dominance orientation: A five-year longitudinal study amongst adolescents. *Intelligence, 39*(1), 15-21.
- Henderson-King, D., & Kaleta, A. (2000). Learning about social diversity. *The Journal of Higher Education, 71*(2), 142-164.

- Henry, P. J., & Sears, O. (2002). The symbolic racism 2000 scale. *Political Psychology* 23(2), 253-283.
- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Kteily, N., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Pratto, F., Henkel, K. E., Foels, R., & Stewart, A. L. (2015). The nature of social dominance orientation: Theorizing and measuring preferences for intergroup inequality using the new SDO₇ scale. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(6), 1003-1028.
- Kulik, C. T., Pepper, M. B., Roberson, L., & Parker, S. K. (2007). The rich get richer: predicting participation in voluntary diversity training. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 28(6), 753-769.
- Kulik, C. T., & Roberson, L. (2008). Common goals and golden opportunities: Evaluation of diversity education in academic and organizational settings. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 7, 309-331.
- Legault, L., Gutsell, J. N., & Inzlicht, M. (2011). Ironic effects of antiprejudice messages: How motivational interventions can reduce (but also increase) prejudice. *Psychological Science*, 22, 1472-1477.
- Lindsey, A., King, E., Hebl, M., & Levine, N. (2015). The impact of method, motivation, and empathy on diversity training effectiveness. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 30(3), 605-617.
- Macrae, C. N., Bodenhausen, G. V., Milne, A. B., & Jetten, J. (1994). Out of mind but back in sight: Stereotypes on the rebound. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 808-817.
- Membere, A., King, E., Kravitz, D., & Lindsey, A. (2016, April). Building diversity training programs that appeal to resistant trainees. Poster presented at the annual conference of the Society for Industrial Organizational Psychology, Anaheim, CA.
- Na, J. J., & Chasteen, A. L. (2016). Does imagery reduce stigma against depression? Testing the efficacy of imagined contact and perspective-taking. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 46(5), 259-275.
- Paluck, E. L. (2009). Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict using the media: A field experiment in Rwanda. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(3), 574-587.
- Paluck, E. L., & Green, D. P. (2009). Prejudice reduction: What works? A review and assessment of research and practice. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60, 339-367.

- Parker, S. K., & Axtell, C. M. (2001). Seeing another viewpoint: Antecedents and outcomes of employee perspective taking. *Academy of Management Journal*, 44(6), 1085-1100.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65-85.
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751.
- Piaget, J. (1932). *The moral judgment of the child*. London, England: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Plant, E. A. (2004). Responses to interracial interactions over time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30(11), 1458-1471.
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (2003). The antecedents and implications of interracial anxiety. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(6), 790-801.
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 741-763.
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., & Levin, S. (2006). Social dominance theory and the dynamics of intergroup relations: Taking stock and looking forward. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 17, 271-320.
- Riggle, E. D., Ellis, A. L., & Crawford, A. M. (1996). The impact of "media contact" on attitudes toward gay men. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 31(3), 55-69.
- Schiappa, E., Gregg, P. B., & Hewes, D. E. (2005). The parasocial contact hypothesis. *Communication Monographs*, 72(1), 92-115.
- Senft, N., Chentsova-Dutton, Y., & Patten, G. A. (2016). All smiles perceived equally: Facial expressions trump target characteristics in impression formation. *Motivation And Emotion*, 40(4), 577-587.
- Shelton, J. N., & Richeson, J. A. (2005). Intergroup contact and pluralistic ignorance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(1), 91-107.
- Sidanius, J., Liu, J. H., Shaw, J. S., & Pratto, F. (1994). Social dominance orientation, hierarchy attenuators and hierarchy enhancers: Social dominance theory and the criminal justice system. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 24(4), 338-366.
- Skorinko, J. L., & Sinclair, S. A. (2013). Perspective taking can increase stereotyping: The role of apparent stereotype confirmation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(1), 10-18.

Society for Human Resource Management. (2008). 2007 State of workplace diversity management. A survey report by the Society for Human Resource Management. Alexandria, VA.

Todd, A. R., Bodenhausen, G. V., Richeson, J. A., & Galinsky, A. D. (2011). Perspective taking combats automatic expressions of racial bias. *Journal of Personality And Social Psychology*, 100(6), 1027-1042.

TABLES

Table 1: Correlations and descriptive statistics

Variables	α	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. PT		-	-	-					
2. Video		-	-	-0.03	-				
3. SDO	.95	2.67	1.36	-0.03	-0.002	-			
4. Racial Bias	.90	3.25	1.51	-0.07	0.05	0.66**	-		
5. Intergroup Anxiety	.90	2.65	1.22	-0.02	0.07	0.31**	0.32**	-	
6. Parasocial Connection	.91	3.81	0.81	0.02	0.11*	-0.15**	-0.12*	-0.06	-

Notes. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. $N = 373$.

Table 2: Regression analysis for three-way interaction predicting racial bias

Predictor	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI
Constant	3.193***	26.134	.000	2.953, 3.434
PT	-0.046	-0.271	.786	-0.376, 0.285
Video	0.247	1.467	.143	-0.084, 0.577
SDO	0.887***	10.059	.000	0.713, 1.060
PT x Video	-0.170	-0.724	.469	-0.632, 0.292
SDO x PT	-0.171	-1.342	.180	-0.420, 0.079
SDO x Video	-0.304**	-2.571	.011	-0.537, -0.072
PT x Video X SDO	0.343*	1.966	.050	0.000, 0.686

Notes. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. $N = 373$.

Table 3: Regression analysis for three-way interaction predicting intergroup anxiety

Predictor	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI
Constant	2.656***	21.212	.000	2.410, 2.903
PT	-0.178	-1.029	.304	-0.516, 0.162
Video	0.012	0.071	.943	-0.327, 0.351
SDO	0.383***	4.234	.000	0.205, 0.560
PT x Video	0.292	1.212	.226	-0.182, 0.765
SDO x PT	-0.065	-0.499	.618	-0.321, 0.191
SDO x Video	-0.172	-1.418	.157	-0.410, 0.066
PT x Video X SDO	0.056	0.310	.757	-0.296, 0.407

Notes. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. $N = 373$.

FIGURES

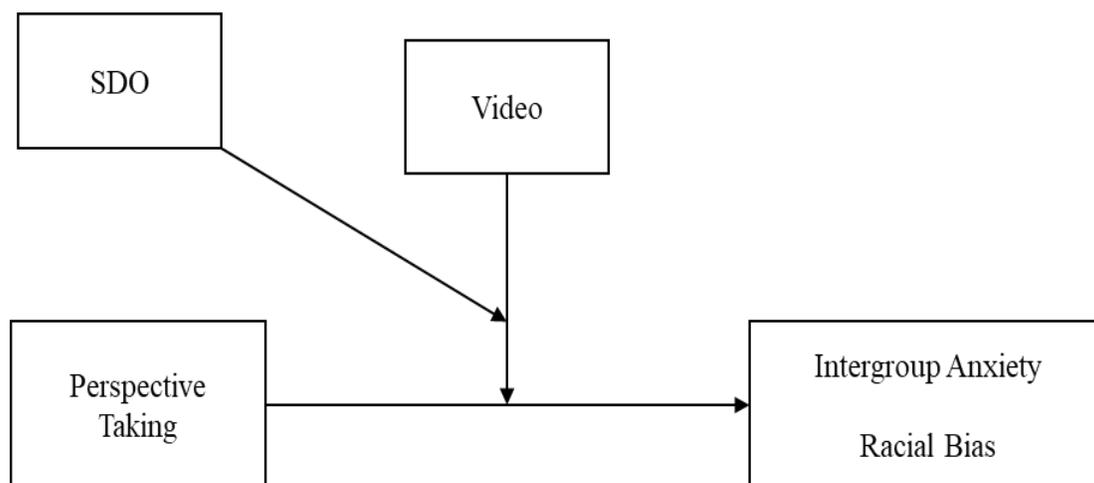


Figure 1: Theoretical model depicting proposed three-way interaction

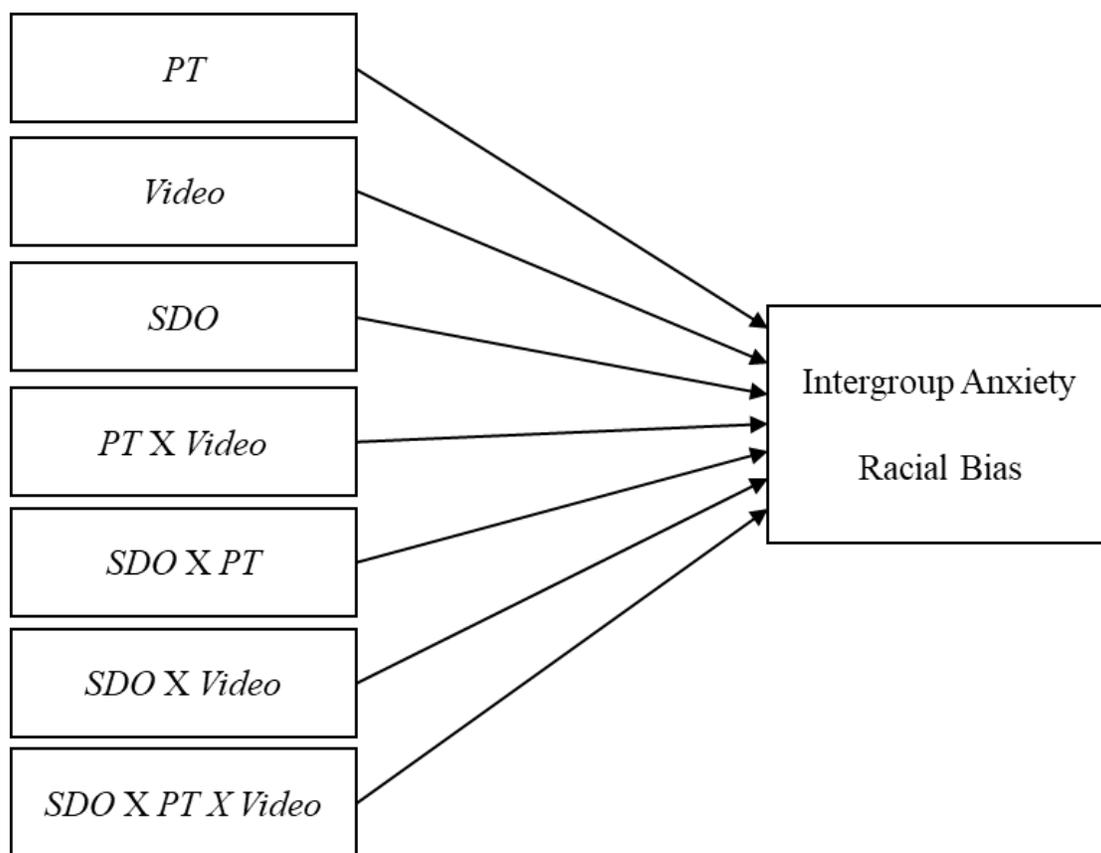


Figure 2: Statistical diagram of Process model 3

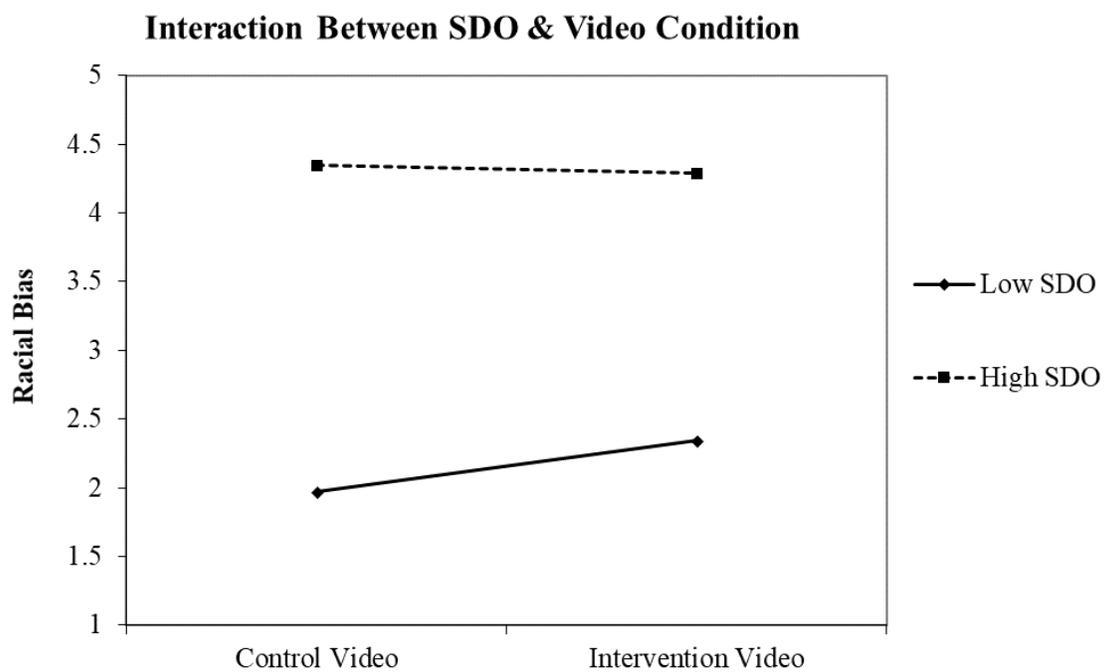


Figure 3: Interactive effect of video condition and SDO on racial bias

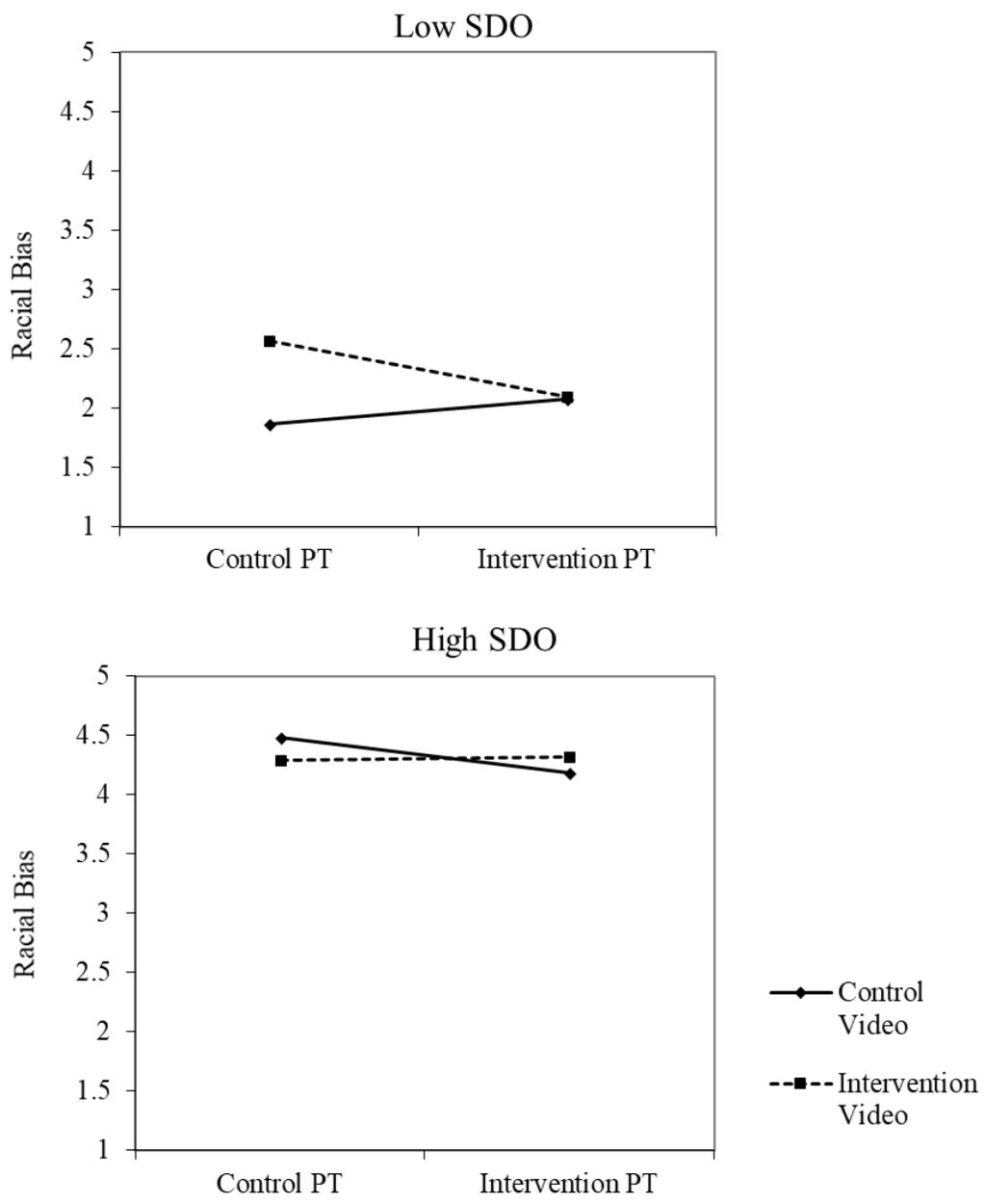


Figure 4: Three-way interaction predicting racial bias

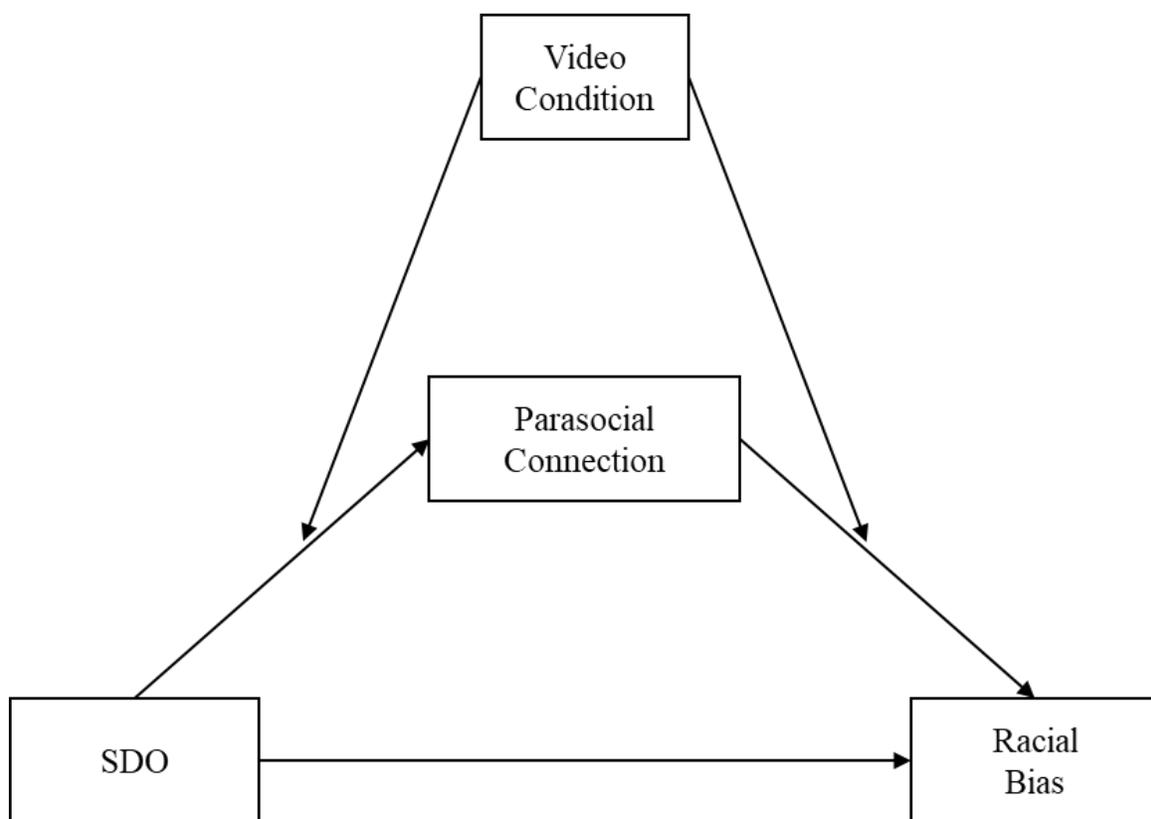


Figure 5: Theoretical model for supplemental analyses

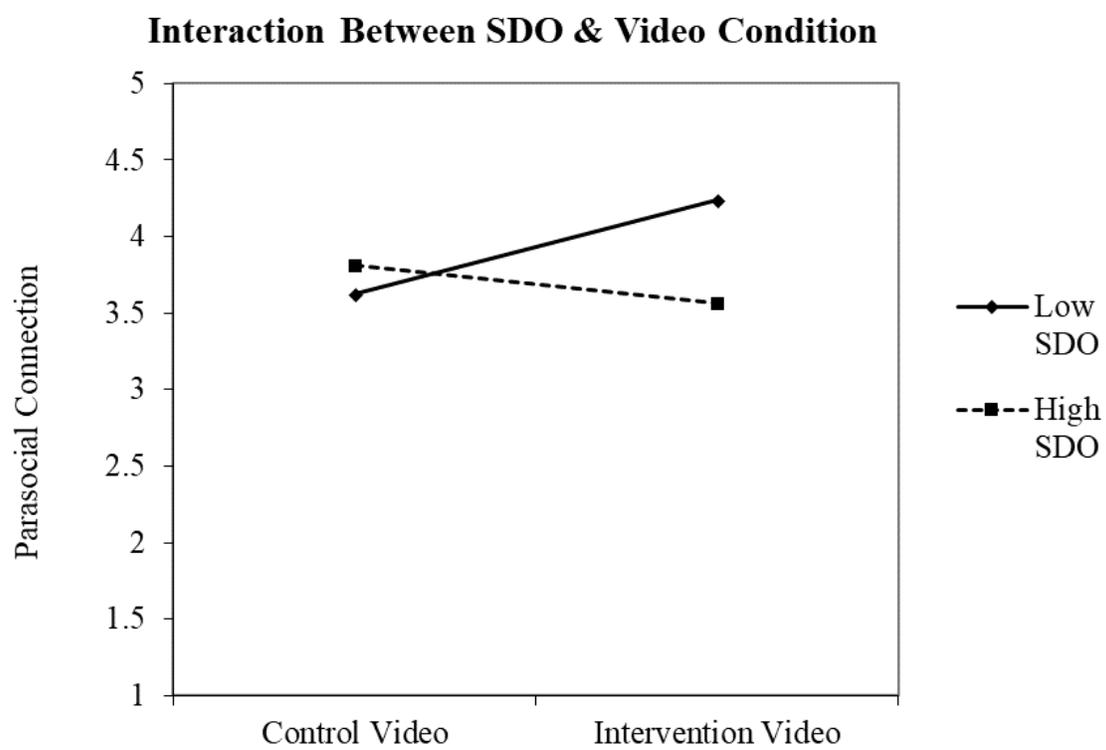


Figure 6: Interactive effect of video condition and SDO on parasocial connection

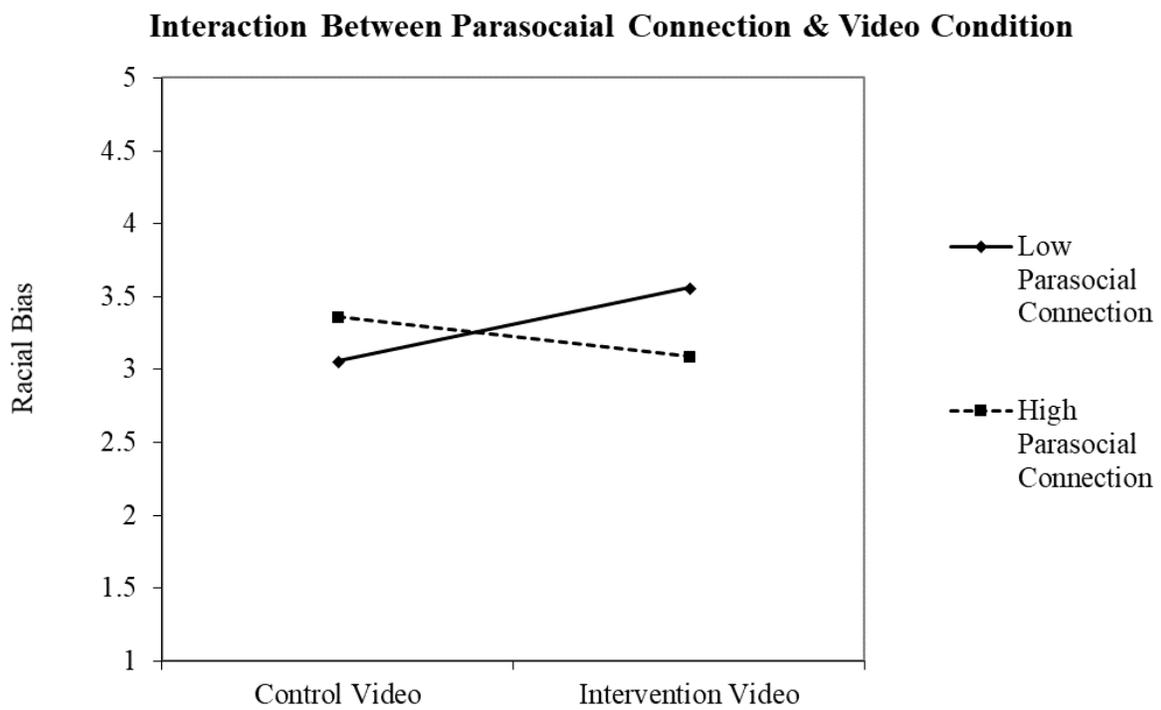


Figure 7: Interactive effect of video condition and parasocial connection on racial bias

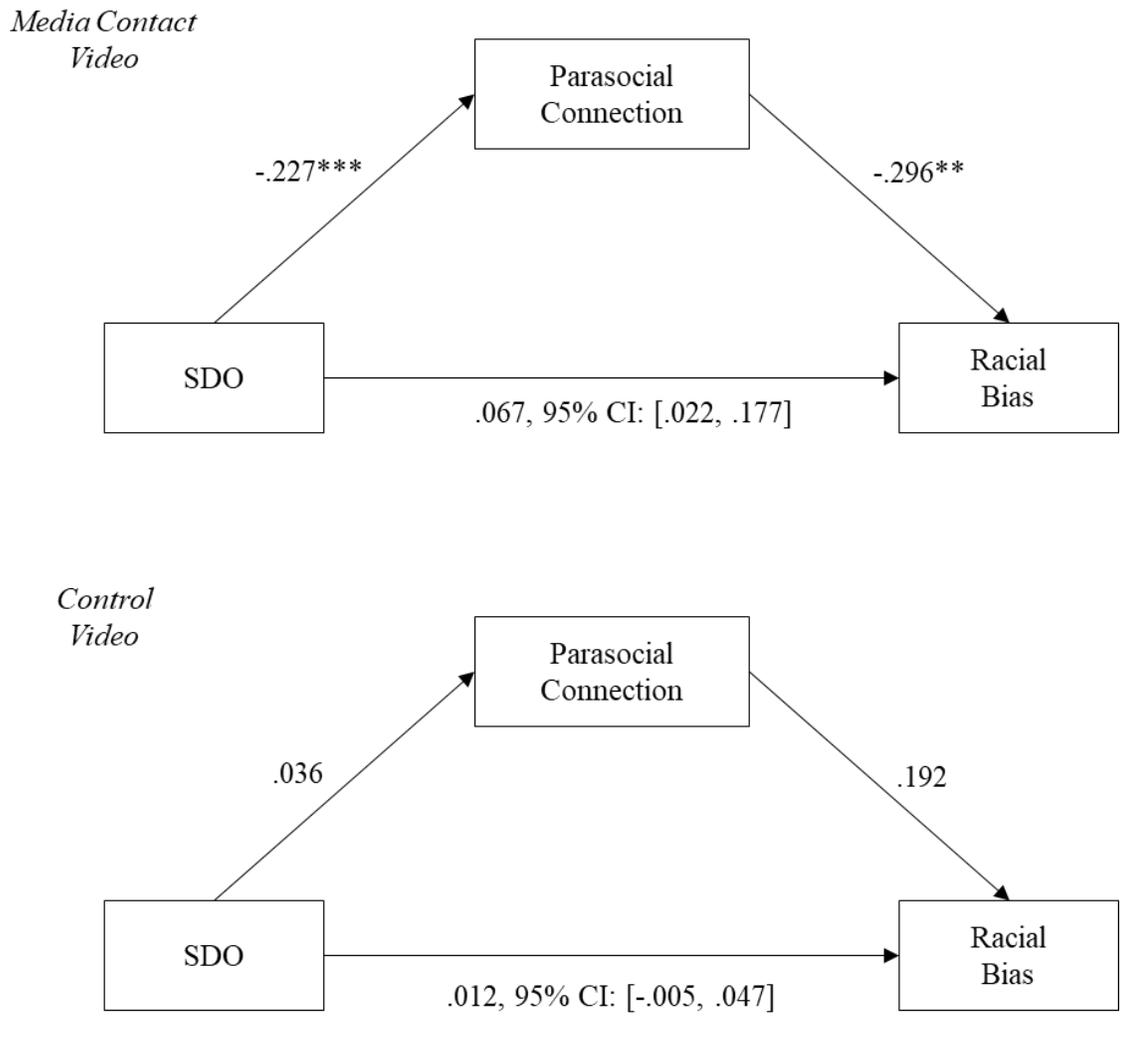


Figure 8: Indirect effects of SDO on parasocial connection and racial bias by video condition

Notes. Values on c path represent the conditional indirect effects
Direct effect = .686, $p < .001$.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. $N = 373$.

APPENDIX

Measurement Materials

Social Dominance Orientation

Instructions: Please indicate how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting a number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

1 (Strongly Oppose) – 7 (Strongly Favor)

Pro-trait dominance

1. Some groups of people must be kept in their place.
2. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
3. An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.
4. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

Con-trait dominance

5. Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.
6. No one group should dominate in society.
7. Groups at the bottom should not have to stay in their place.
8. Group dominance is a poor principle.

Pro-trait antiegalitarianism

9. We should not push for group equality.
10. We shouldn't try to guarantee that every group has the same quality of life.
11. It is unjust to try to make groups equal.
12. Group equality should not be our primary goal.

Con-trait antiegalitarianism

13. We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.
14. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
15. No matter how much effort it takes, we ought to strive to ensure that all groups have the same chance in life.
16. Group equality should be our ideal.

Big-Five Personality

Instructions: Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers

1 (Strongly Disagree) – 5 (Strongly Agree)

Extraversion

1. Am the life of the party.
2. Talk to a lot of different people at parties.
3. Don't talk a lot.
4. Keep in the background.

Agreeableness

1. Sympathize with others' feelings.
2. Feel others' emotions.

3. Am not really interested in others.
4. Am not interested in other people's problems.

Conscientiousness

1. Get chores done right away.
2. Like order.
3. Often forget to put things back in their proper place.
4. Make a mess of things.

Neuroticism

1. I am relaxed most of the time.
2. I get stressed out easily
3. I am not easily bothered by things
4. I have frequent mood swings

Intellect/Imagination/Openness

1. I have a vivid imagination.
2. I spend time reflecting on things
3. I am quick to understand things
4. I am full of ideas

Implicit Person Theory

Instruction: Please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

1 (Strongly Disagree) – 6 (Strongly Agree)

1. The kind of person someone is, is something basic about that person, and it can't be changed very much.
2. As much as I hate to admit it, you can't teach an old dog new tricks. People can't really change their deepest attributes.
3. People can do things differently, but the important parts of who they are can't really be changed.
4. Everyone is a certain kind of person, and there is not much that the person can do to really change that.
5. People can substantially change the kind of person they are.
6. No matter what kind of a person someone is, the person can always change.
7. Everyone, no matter who they are, can significantly change their basic characteristics.
8. People can change even their most basic qualities.

Health-oriented Beliefs & Behaviors

Instructions: Please select any of the following behaviors that you currently, consistently perform to maintain your health and rate each on how important you think that behavior is for your overall health.

0 (not selected) / 1 (selected)

1 (Not at all Important) – 5 (Extremely Important)

1. eating a diet that is low in fat
2. eating lots of fruits, vegetables, and grains
3. drinking plenty of water every day
4. taking vitamins and mineral supplements regularly
5. exercising regularly
6. not smoking cigarettes

7. not drinking alcohol or drinking in moderation
8. maintaining a healthy body weight

Self Esteem Scale

Instructions: Please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

1 (Strongly Disagree) – 5 (Strongly Agree)

1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
3. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
4. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
5. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

Affective & Cognitive Measure of Empathy *Affective Resonance Subscale*

Instructions: Please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

1 (strongly disagree) – 5 (strongly agree)

- 1 It makes me feel good to help someone in need
- 2 I get excited to give someone a gift that I think they will enjoy
- 3 I don't worry much about hurting people's feelings
- 4 I don't really care if other people feel happy
- 5 I don't really care if people are feeling depressed
- 6 Other people's feelings don't bother me at all
- 7 I feel awful when I hurt someone's feelings
- 8 Other people's misfortunes don't bother me much
- 9 If I see that I am doing something that hurts someone, I will quickly stop
- 10 I often try to help people feel better when they are upset
- 11 I enjoy making others happy
- 12 People have told me that I'm insensitive

Trait Transportation

Instructions: Please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements

1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)

1. Stories affect me emotionally
2. The events in stories are relevant to my everyday life
3. The events in stories have changed my life
4. Characters in stories feel like friends of mine
5. Stories affect my mood
6. I want to communicate with characters in stories
7. While reading stories, I can easily picture the events in them taking place
8. I can picture myself in the scene on the events described in stories
9. I am mentally in stories while reading them
10. I find myself thinking of ways stories could have turned out differently
11. I have vivid mental images of settings or characters in stories
12. I want to learn how stories end

General Perspective Taking Self-Efficacy

Instructions: How confident are you that you are able to successfully ...

1 (not at all confident) - 5 (very confident)

1. understand the way others view the world.
2. see the world through the eyes of someone else.
3. understand what it is like to be someone in this society.
4. grasp the perspectives of other people on important issues.
5. put yourself in the place of others when you want to understand their viewpoint.

Impressions of Speaker

1. Michael/Travis was intelligent
2. Michael/Travis was thoughtful
3. Michael/Travis was likeable
4. Michael/Travis was competent
5. Michael/Travis was aggressive
6. Michael/Travis was hostile

Parasocial contact with speaker

Instructions: Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers

1 (Strongly Disagree) – 5 (Strongly Agree)

1. Michael/Travis made me feel comfortable, as if I was with a friend
2. I see Michael/Travis as a natural, down-to-earth person
3. I look forward to watching Michael/Travis in another video
4. If Michael/Travis would appear in another video, I would watch it
5. If there were a story about Michael/Travis in a newspaper or magazine, I would read it.
6. I would like to meet Michael/Travis in person
7. I find Michael/Travis to be attractive.

Similar & Closeness

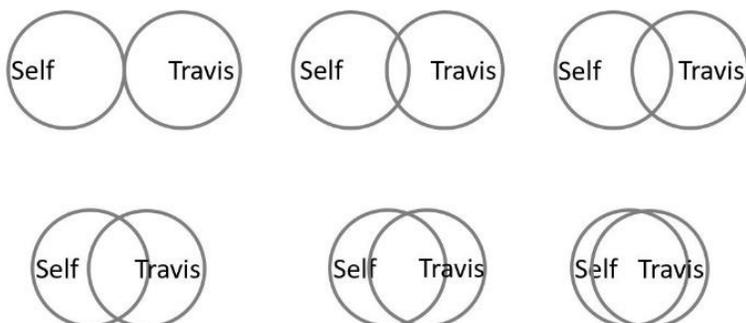
0 (not at all) – 10 (a great deal)

1. In your opinion, to what degree are you and Michael/Travis similar?
2. How close do you feel to Michael/Travis?

Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale

Instructions: Which of the following best represents how you feel about yourself and Michael/Travis?

1 (lowest overlap) – 6 (highest overlap)



State Affect

Instructions: This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and indicate to what extent you feel this way right now, that is, at the present moment.

1 (Not at all) 2 (A little) 3 (Moderately) 4 (Quite a bit) 5 (Extremely)

- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Interested | 6. Guilty | 11. Irritable | 16. Determined |
| 2. Distressed | 7. Scared | 12. Alert | 17. Attentive |
| 3. Excited | 8. Hostile | 13. Ashamed | 18. Jittery |
| 4. Upset | 9. Enthusiastic | 14. Inspired | 19. Active |
| 5. Strong | 10. Proud | 15. Nervous | 20. Afraid |

Internal and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice

Instructions: The following questions concern various reasons or motivations people might have for trying to respond in non-prejudiced ways toward Black people. Some of the reasons reflect internal-personal motivations whereas others reflect more external-social motivations. Of course, people may be motivated for both internal and external reasons; we want to emphasize that neither type of motivation is by definition better than the other. In addition, we want to be clear that we are not evaluating you or your individual responses. All your responses will be completely confidential. We are simply trying to get an idea of the types of motivations that students in general have for responding in non-prejudiced ways. If we are to learn anything useful, it is important that you respond to each of the questions openly and honestly. Please give your response according to the scale below.

1 (Strongly Disagree) – 5 (Strongly Agree)

External motivation

1. Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear non-prejudiced toward Black people.
2. I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others.
3. If I acted prejudiced toward Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.
4. I attempt to appear non-prejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others.
5. I try to act non-prejudiced toward Black people because of pressure from others.

Internal motivation

1. I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me.
2. According to my personal values, using stereotypes about Black people is OK. (R)
3. I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be non-prejudiced toward Black people.
4. Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about Black people is wrong.
5. Being non-prejudiced toward Black people is important to my self-concept.

Diversity Attitudes: Diversity Endorsement Measure

Instructions: Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers

1 (Strongly Disagree) - 7 (Strongly Agree)

1. Organizations should foster environments where differences are valued.
2. One of the goals of organizations should be to teach people from difference racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds how to work together.
3. An organization should expose employees to the important difference in ideas and values that exist in the world.
4. An organization should help employees understand that differences in backgrounds and experiences can lead to different values and ways of thinking.
5. At the organization, it is not enough for there to be diversity of lower-level employees, but there should also be diversity in leadership and supervisors.
6. It is important to have multiple perspectives in the workplace.

AA Perspective Taking Self-Efficacy

Instructions: How confident are you that you are able to successfully ...

1(not at all confident) - 5 (very confident)

1. understand the way African Americans view the world.
2. see the world through the eyes of African Americans.
3. understand what it is like to be Black in this society.
4. grasp the perspectives of Black Americans on important issues.
5. put yourself in the place of African Americans when you want to understand their viewpoint.

Symbolic Racism 2000

Instructions: Please indicate your level of agreement with the items below

1 (Strongly Disagree) – 7 (Strongly Agree)

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.
2. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same.
3. Black leaders have been trying to push too fast.
4. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class
5. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.
6. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.

Stereotype Support

Instructions: Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers

1 (Strongly Disagree) – 7 (Strongly Agree)

1. There are so many Black criminals because Black people are naturally more aggressive.
2. There will always be racial differences in intelligence.
3. Black people should learn to work hard rather than look for "freebies" and "handouts".
4. Affirmative action is just reverse discrimination against White people.
5. The welfare system really just allows Black people to "mooch" money from the government.
6. It's just not natural to see a Black person and a White person holding hands and kissing.
7. Black people could be as successful as White people if they only worked harder.

8. White people lose a lot of jobs to Black people because of racial quotas in hiring processes.
9. I can't understand why a White person would want to date a Black person.
10. The government is already spending too much time catering the wishes of Black people.

Interracial Anxiety Measure

Instructions: Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers, so please respond honestly.

1 (Strongly Disagree) - 7 (Strongly Agree)

Intergroup Anxiety

1. I would feel awkward when interacting with a Black person.
2. I would feel uncomfortable when interacting with a Black person.
3. When interacting with a Black person, I would feel relaxed.
4. When interacting with a Black person, I would feel nervous.

Outcome Expectancies

5. Even if we hadn't met before, a Black person would expect me to be prejudiced.
6. When interacting with a Black person, I would be unsure how to act in order to show him or her that I am not prejudiced.
7. Sometimes stereotypes come to my mind when interacting with a Black person, even when I wish they wouldn't.
8. When interacting with a Black person, I would imagine that he or she would be watching my behavior closely for prejudice.

Demographics

Age

(18 – 50+) Drop down menu

Which Gender do you identify with?

1. Male
2. Female
3. Other, fill in blank

Religious Affiliation

1. Christian
2. Jewish
3. Muslim
4. Hindu
5. Buddhist
6. Atheist
7. Agnostic
8. Other, fill in blank

Political Party

1. Democrat
2. Republican
3. Independent

4. Other, fill in blank
5. None

Political Ideology

1. Extremely Liberal
2. Liberal
3. Somewhat Liberal
4. Moderate
5. Somewhat Conservative
6. Conservative
7. Extremely Conservative

Race

1. White
2. Black or African American
3. Native American or Alaska Native
4. Asian
5. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
6. Latino/a or Hispanic
7. Biracial, fill in blank
8. Other, fill in blank

What is your country of origin?

1. United States of America
2. Other, fill in blank

Have you ever lived outside the USA?

1. No
2. Yes, fill in blank

Is English your first language?

1. Yes
2. No

Employment Status

1. Employed full time
2. Employed part time
3. Unemployed looking for work
4. Unemployed not looking for work
5. Retired
6. Disabled

Hours per week worked

1. less than 10 hours
2. 10 – 20 hours
3. 20 – 30 hours
4. 30 – 40 hours

5. More than 40 hours

Currently a student?

1. Yes
2. No

Highest education completed

1. Less than high school
2. High school graduate
3. Some college
4. 2 year degree
5. 4 year degree
6. Professional degree
7. Doctorate

Study Information Sheet

Protocol # 1802331053

INDIANA UNIVERSITY INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

Connecting with Stories and Speakers Study

You are invited to participate in a research study examining reactions to speakers and stories, and how people construct narratives about life events. We ask that you read this screen carefully before agreeing to be in the study.

The study is being conducted by Brittney Amber and Dr. Alex P. Lindsey, at Indiana University – Purdue University, Indianapolis.

STUDY PURPOSE

This research study is being conducted to explore two different topics. First, we are interested in how individuals respond to certain stories and connect with speakers, and second, how people construct narratives about life events.

NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

If you agree to participate, you will be one of approximately 400 subjects to complete this study.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY

If you take part in this study, you will first be asked to complete a few questionnaires. Following this you will watch a randomly selected video and be asked to provide some thoughts about the speaker. After that you will complete a separate task, which will ask you to take approximately five minutes to write a short narrative. Finally, you will complete a few more questionnaires and provide basic demographic information.

This study will take approximately 45 minutes.

RISKS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

You may be uncomfortable while completing the survey or answering specific questions. You may skip questions that make you uncomfortable or end the experiment at any time.

BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

There are no expected direct benefits of this study.

ALTERNATIVES TO TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

Instead of being in the study, you may complete other surveys available on Amazon's Mechanical Turk.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Personal identifying information that you may provide, including your MTurk ID will be kept confidential. We cannot guarantee absolute confidentiality, as your personal information may be disclosed if required by law. Organizations that may inspect and/or copy our research records for quality assurance and data analysis include groups such as the study investigator and his/her

research associates, the Indiana University Institutional Review Board or its designees and (as allowed by law) state or federal agencies, specifically the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP).

PAYMENT

You will receive payment for taking part in this study. You will receive \$2.00 for participating in this study. You must use the unique code provided to you at the end of the survey in order to receive payment.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For questions about the study, contact the researchers, Brittney Amber at bawaltma@iupui.edu or Alex Lindsey at aplindse@iupui.edu. You can also call the IU Human Subjects Office at 317-278-3458.

For questions about your rights as a research participant, to discuss problems, complaints, or concerns about a research study, or to obtain information or offer input, contact the IU Human Subjects Office at 317-278-3458.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THIS STUDY

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your current or future relations with IUPUI.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in our research. Before you begin, please note that the data you provide may be collected and used by Amazon as per its privacy agreement. Additionally, this research is for residents of the United States over the age of 18*; if you are not a resident of the United States and/or under the age of 18, please do not complete this survey.

Form Date: May 1, 2018