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STIGMA MANAGEMENT THROUGH A THREAT-SPECIFIC LENS:
WHEN DO TARGETS ANTICIPATE AND SEEK TO MANAGE THE PREJUDICE THEY
FACE?

by

Bethany Lassetter

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Master of Arts
degree in Psychology in the
Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May 2018

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

MASTER'S THESIS

This is to certify that the Master's thesis of

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has been approved by the Examining Committee for
the thesis requirement for the Master of Arts degree
in Psychology at the May 2018 graduation.

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ABSTRACT

When do targets of stigma seek to manage the prejudice they face? Recent work shows that stigmatized targets anticipate that others view their group as posing specific threats, and as a result, prioritize threat-mitigating strategies when motivated to convey a positive impression (e.g., Black men prioritize smiling to reduce physical safety threat; Neel, Neufeld, & Neuberg, 2013). I predicted that stigmatized targets use these strategies selectively: First, with people vulnerable to the threat the target is stereotyped to pose, and second, in environments that make the target's threat salient. Black and White male participants read about a hypothetical interaction with a stranger and then ranked self-presentational strategies in order of importance for making a good impression. Study 1 showed that environmental threat and partner vulnerability did not influence rank of smiling; however, after being made aware of stereotypes people hold of African Americans in general (Study 2), Black men trended toward prioritizing smiling more in a threatening (compared to a non-threatening) environment or with a vulnerable (compared to a non-vulnerable) partner. Although further work is needed to replicate this effect before drawing concrete conclusions, this finding speaks to targets strategically employing threat-reducing behaviors with specific perceivers and in certain environments.

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

When do people seek to manage being stigmatized by others? Rather than anticipating general negativity, members of stigmatized groups anticipate that others view their group as posing a specific threat (e.g., of violence or disease). For example, when motivated to make a positive impression and when thinking about the stereotypes of their group, Black men prioritize smiling (a threat-reducing strategy) so that others may see them as less physically violent. I predicted that stigmatized targets use such self-presentational strategies selectively: first, with people vulnerable to the specific threat the target is stereotyped to pose, and second, in environments that make the target's threat salient. In Study 1, Black and White men read about a hypothetical interaction with a stranger and then ranked self-presentational strategies based on how important they thought the strategies were for making a good impression. Results indicated that neither environmental threat nor partner vulnerability influenced the rank of smiling. However, in Study 2, Black men made aware of stereotypes people hold of African Americans in general trended toward prioritizing smiling more in a threatening (compared to a non-threatening) environment or with a vulnerable (compared to a non-vulnerable) partner. Although further work is needed to replicate this effect, this finding suggests that targets may strategically use threat-reducing behaviors with specific people and in certain environments.

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INTRODUCTION

Imagine that you're walking home from work through a dark part of town and notice a tall and formidable figure approaching you. What goes through your mind? Given the dark environment and the formidability of the stranger, perhaps you are concerned that he or she poses a threat to your physical safety. A large body of psychological research addresses your perspective (i.e., a *perceiver's* reaction to a potentially threatening *target*). Indeed, perceivers attend to multiple target cues when assessing potential threats to physical safety, such as outgroup maleness (Navarrete, MacDonald, Molina, & Sidanius, 2010), large size (Fessler, Holbrook, & Snyder, 2012), and rapid approach (Miller, Maner, & Becker, 2010). The current research focuses on a different viewpoint – the *target's* perspective. Research from this perspective (e.g., Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998) often asks, “how might being a target of prejudice affect someone?” Rather than thinking about the formidable target approaching you, this view prompts you to imagine *yourself* as the formidable target. Would you be aware that the strangers you pass on the dark street might perceive you as a threat, and would you alter your behavior in a way to reduce these perceptions?

We know anecdotally that targets of stigma *do* modify their behaviors in an effort to reduce their perceived appearance of threat. For example, in 2013, African American Congressman Elijah Cummings told CNN that when White women walk toward him at night, he often crosses the street “to avoid making them uncomfortable” (Bash, 2013). Cummings seems to expect that White women will feel fear-based prejudice toward him at night, potentially fueled by their perceptions that Cummings, an African American man, poses a threat to their physical safety. In response to his expectations, Cummings modifies his behavior – he crosses the street – in an effort to reduce his appearance of threat. Why might Cummings have these expectations?

And how can researchers empirically demonstrate and explain the experiences and behaviors of stigmatized targets such as Cummings? The current research addresses these questions using an affordance-management approach to prejudice.

Stigmatization, Prejudice, and an Affordance-Management Perspective

Stigmatization has traditionally been viewed as a single construct – a generally negative reaction to a stigmatized target. Jones and colleagues (1984) define stigma as a “mark” that identifies someone as “deviant, flawed, limited, spoiled, or generally undesirable” (pg. 6) whereas others describe stigma as “some attribute or characteristic that conveys a social identity that is devalued in a particular social context” (Crocker et al., 1998, pg. 505). These definitions each point to a general undercurrent of the undesirability of stigmatized targets. Allport (1954) further suggests that prejudice – a reaction to a stigmatized target – entails “feelings of scorn or dislike, of fear or aversion” (pg. 7). Consistent with the single construct view discussed by others, Allport’s work focused largely on a macroscopic characterization of prejudice, but thinking closely about his definition actually suggests different forms of prejudice linked to qualitatively different affective reactions toward targets (e.g., fear of, aversion toward). Whereas a Black man such as Cummings might incite fear in a perceiver (due to a perceived threat to physical safety; Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2003), a target with a visible facial lesion might prompt disgust or aversion (due to a perceived threat of disease; Ryan, Oaten, Stevenson, & Case, 2012). Indeed, prejudice may take different forms based on the specific threat a target is seen to pose (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Schaller & Neuberg, 2012).

Such work on the threat-specific nature of prejudice builds from an affordance-management perspective, which examines how people assess and manage the different opportunities and threats afforded to them by those in their social environments (Neuberg,

Kenrick, & Schaller, 2011; Zebrowitz & Montepare, 2006). In order to successfully navigate social life, perceivers need to distinguish and avoid those who might harm them (for example, by physically injuring them or giving them a disease). Applying a threat-specific lens to an affordance-management approach allows us to explain how stigmatized targets might perceive threat-specific prejudice using a three-stage model: see Figure 1. Whereas Stages 1 and 2 of Figure 1 are directly addressed by Cottrell & Neuberg (2005), Stage 3 extrapolates their reasoning to the target's perspective.



Figure 1. A three-stage model of an affordance-management approach to prejudice. Stages 1 and 2 are adapted from Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005.

The first stage of this model suggests that perceivers detect that different targets pose distinct threats. For example, Black men (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, Davies, 2004; Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2003; Trawalter, Todd, Baird, & Richeson, 2008), gang members (Eyres & Altheide, 1999; Hagedorn & MacLean, 2011; Mora, 2011), and people with tattoos (Degelman & Price, 2002; Forbes, 2001; Laumann and Derick, 2006) tend to be stereotyped as violent or physically threatening and as a result, may be perceived to threaten others' physical safety, although note that the perception of such a threat does not render the perception accurate. On the other hand, people who have a contagious illness (Crandall & Moriarty, 1995; Plagerson, 2005) or an obvious facial birthmark or deformity (Park, Schaller, & Crandall, 2007; Ryan et al., 2012) may be associated with disease or sickness and therefore perceived as a disease threat. Gay men also may be perceived as posing a disease threat due to their association with HIV/AIDS

(Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). Thus, different targets may be perceived as posing different threats, regardless of whether or not those perceptions are accurate.

The model's second stage suggests that the threat a perceiver detects from a stigmatized target informs the perceiver's specific emotions (their prejudice) toward the target. If a perceiver happened upon a Black man or a gang member, he or she might perceive a threat to physical safety, which would likely result in a distinct emotional reaction: fear. In contrast, targets perceived as disease threats, such as someone with a large facial birthmark, may prompt a separate and distinct emotional reaction: disgust. These feelings of anger or disgust are distinct forms of prejudice and might lead to further prejudicial attitudes or discriminatory behaviors that differ across stigmatized targets.

Research grounded in a threat-based perspective posits several implications stemming from the first two stages of an affordance-management model of prejudice that apply directly to a target's perspective (see Table 1).

Table 1. Threat- and target-specific implications of an affordance-management approach.

Implication 1	Evidence
Different targets experience prejudice differently, depending on the threat they are seen to pose.	Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005
Stigmatized targets are aware of threat-specificity.	Neel, Neufeld, & Neuberg, 2013; Puhl, Moss-Racusin, & Schwartz, 2007; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997
Implication 2	
Perceivers differ in their level of prejudice based on the extent to which they feel vulnerable to a particular threat.	Inbar, Pizarro, Knobe, & Bloom, 2009; Park, Faulkner, & Schaller, 2003; Schaller, Park, & Faulkner, 2003
Implication 3	
Environments can increase a threat's salience.	Inbar, Pizarro, & Bloom, 2012; Schaller, Park, & Mueller, 2003

As discussed, perceivers likely have different emotional responses (and therefore express different forms of prejudice) toward targets based on specific threats those targets are seen to

pose. Thus, different stigmatized groups likely experience prejudice differently based on their perceived threat. Stigmatized targets are aware of this threat-specificity. Through self-report, African Americans indicate awareness that others may perceive them as violent or dangerous (Neel, Neufeld, & Neuberg, 2013; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997) and overweight and obese people indicate awareness that others may perceive them as disease threats (Neel et al., 2013; Puhl, Moss-Racusin, & Schwartz, 2007). Thus, different targets, perceived to pose qualitatively different threats, experience distinct forms of prejudice.

A second implication of this model suggests that perceivers may differ in their level of prejudice based on the extent to which they feel vulnerable to a particular threat. Indeed, participants holding a chronic belief in a dangerous world (BDW) view Middle Eastern men, stigmatized as posing a threat to physical safety, as more physically threatening than White men (Schaller, Park, & Faulkner, 2003). Further, people with a chronic perception that they're vulnerable to disease (in comparison to those without such a perception) more negatively evaluate obese targets and more strongly associate them with disease threat (Park, Faulkner, & Schaller, 2003). Finally, participants with a heightened sensitivity to disgust (compared to those without this sensitivity) tend to disapprove of gay men more and also more strongly associate gay men with disgust (Inbar, Pizarro, Knobe, & Bloom, 2009). Thus, characteristics of the perceiver – such as a high BDW, a belief that they're particularly vulnerable to disease, or a heightened disgust sensitivity – may result in stronger self-perceptions (whether accurate or not) of vulnerability to a particular threat and therefore, stronger expressions of threat-specific prejudice toward a stigmatized target.

As discussed above, characteristics of a perceiver likely influence levels of prejudice toward a stigmatized target. What other cues within the target-perceiver interaction might

influence the salience of a target's threat and a perceiver's levels of prejudice? The third implication of an affordance-management approach to prejudice suggests that cues within the interaction environment likely increase a threat's salience, making perceivers especially likely to stigmatize people who are seen to pose that particular threat. For example, ambient darkness facilitates danger-relevant stereotypes of Black men (Schaller, Park, & Mueller, 2003). In this study, darkness likely prompted participants to feel more vulnerability and fear in comparison to those in a well-lit room, facilitating perceptions that Black men are physical safety threats and resulting in increased danger-relevant stereotyping. Further, merely encountering a disgusting smell in one's environment prompts more negative attitudes toward gay men (Inbar, Pizarro, & Bloom, 2012). The unfavorable smell likely prompted participants to feel disgust, facilitating perceptions that gay men are disease threats, and therefore resulting in more negative attitudes.

How might these three implications, that (1) different targets experience prejudice differently, (2) perceivers differ in their levels of prejudice, and (3) environments can increase threat salience, apply to the experience of a stigmatized target? To understand these applications, let's think back to Cummings' anecdote. First, different targets experience prejudice differently and are aware of these nuances, suggesting that Cummings' experience of prejudice is specific to the threat he thinks others perceive him to pose. If, rather than a Black man, Cummings was a White man with a large facial lesion, his experience of prejudice would likely change. Rather than fear-based prejudice, Cummings might anticipate disgust-based prejudice. This might translate into different perceiver behaviors (e.g., perceivers giving Cummings a wide berth on the street but not feeling the need to cross) or similar behaviors for different reasons (e.g., perceivers crossing the street to avoid potential contamination).

Second, perceivers differ in their levels of prejudice. Cummings specifies that he crosses the street when he sees White women at night. If, rather than a White woman, Cummings saw a White man approaching him, perhaps he wouldn't feel the need to cross the street. He likely assumes that the perceiver's group – in this case, women – holds a distinct level of prejudice, perhaps due to the assumed vulnerability of women. This might stem from an assumption that women are likely to hold strong beliefs in a dangerous world (BDW; Altemeyer, 1988); that is, that women think there is inherent danger within their social landscapes. Indeed, men are considered more physically aggressive than women (for a review, see Björkqvist, 1994) and from an evolutionary standpoint, women might be better off fearing or avoiding outgroup men whereas men can stand to react to such outgroup members with anger or aggression (McDonald, Navarrete, & Van Vugt, 2012). Therefore, Cummings may believe that women will be particularly sensitive to a threat to physical safety and, as a result, more likely to express prejudice toward him.

Lastly, because environments can increase threat salience, Cummings crosses the street when he sees White women *at night*. If he encountered a woman in the middle of a sunny afternoon, he may not feel the need to cross the street. For some (i.e., women), a dark and potentially unsafe environment may magnify Cummings' appearance of physical safety threat. Thus, in a well-lit and less threatening environment, Cummings may anticipate less prejudice and feel less need to cross the street. Applying these three implications to Cummings' experience addresses the last stage of the model: that targets themselves perceive and seek to manage threat-specific prejudice.

Interpreting Cummings' account using an affordance-management lens builds on past work suggesting that targets of stigma are indeed motivated to decrease the amount of

stigmatization and prejudice they face (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Shelton, 2003). How then might targets manage others' impressions of them? Using a threat-specific framework, Neel and colleagues (2013) examined whether stigmatized targets' impression management strategies varied by their perceived threat. With a participant sample of Black men and obese men, researchers made salient the stereotypes people generally hold about their participants' own groups (i.e., Black men or obese men). These participants then ranked a variety of self-presentational strategies in order of importance of making a good impression on another person. When motivated to make a positive first impression, Black men prioritized smiling, a strategy used to decrease an appearance of physical safety threat, whereas obese men prioritized wearing clean clothes, a strategy used to decrease perceptions of disease threat. Thus, two targets, Black men and obese men, prioritized two strategies, smiling and wearing clean clothes, respectively, to manage their appearance of threat and by implication, their anticipated prejudice. These findings suggest that targets of stigma take into account their specific cues of threat when using threat-reducing strategies. Extending this idea, and assuming that stigmatized targets are motivated to reduce the amount of prejudice they face, targets' use of threat-reducing strategies likely varies based on contextual factors such as attributes of the environment and characteristics of their perceivers.

With the current research I predict that stigmatized targets use threat-reducing strategies selectively: first, with people particularly vulnerable to the threat the target is stereotyped to pose, and second, in environments that make the target's threat salient. Building from the assumption that stigmatized targets are motivated to reduce the amount of prejudice they face, I hypothesize that targets assess when they're going to experience prejudice and who is going to be prejudiced toward them. In an effort to manage their stigma and decrease the prejudice they

experience, targets likely use such strategies when they think prejudice is imminent; that is, with people who are particularly vulnerable to the threat they pose and in environments where their threat is particularly salient.

The Current Research

The current research tests these predictions through two online studies. As this work is among the first to examine the nuance of when and toward whom targets might employ threat-reducing strategies, Studies 1 and 2 focus on just one group of stigmatized targets: Black men. Using pretested vignettes (see Appendix A for full text; see Appendix B for details of vignette pretesting), Study 1 examines whether Black and White men differentially prioritize smiling in a hypothetical interaction with a vulnerable vs. non-vulnerable interaction partner and in a threatening vs. non-threatening interaction environment. Study 2 replicates this procedure, but before reading and responding to the vignette, I activate Black men's metastereotypes; that is, Black men's perceptions of other people's general beliefs and stereotypes of African Americans.

STUDY 1

Study 1 examines whether Black and White men recruited online through Qualtrics Panels prioritize a threat-reducing self-presentational strategy, smiling, to reduce their appearance of physical threat. To test the experimental paradigm, a pilot study was conducted prior to Study 1; see Appendix C. Study 1 focuses on whether Black men rank smiling as more important after imagining an interaction with a physically vulnerable partner and in a threatening environment. I predicted that Black men would rank smiling, a fear-reducing strategy, as more important for making a good impression with vulnerable partners (compared to non-vulnerable partners) and in threatening environments (compared to non-threatening environments). I did not have strong predictions about strategy prioritization of White men (the control group). However, White men may prioritize smiling less than Black men given that White men are not associated with the stereotypes of Black men cuing physical safety threat. Further, to the extent that people in general are motivated to make a positive impression, the predicted effects might manifest similarly, but more weakly, among White men compared to Black men.

Method

Participants. Power analyses using G*Power suggested that a sample between 275 to 540 participants would be sufficient to achieve 95% power to detect a small-to-medium effect in a four-cell between-subjects design (for $f = .18$, $n = 533$; for $f = .25$, $n = 279$). Study 1 used a variety of attention checks; only the data of participants who passed these attention checks were received from Qualtrics and analyzed. Participants who did not pass these checks were cycled out of the survey. See *Attention checks*, below, for further information. Ultimately, data from 620 Black and White men from the United States were received from Qualtrics Panels ($M_{AGE} = 47.27$ years, $SD_{AGE} = 15.79$ years, range = 18-83 years; 50.2% White). Note that Study 1 is likely

underpowered to detect medium-sized differences in effects for a four-cell design within Black and White participants separately. Participant race acts as a subject variable, dividing total sample size in half for purposes of statistical analyses.

Procedure. The study used a 2 (Environment: Threatening, Non-threatening) by 2 (Partner: Vulnerable, Non-vulnerable) between-subjects design and took place online. After reading a vignette and completing the strategy ranking task, participants answered questions about their hypothetical partner. They then completed the exploratory measures designed to examine moderating relationships as well as the open-ended exploratory measures. The study concluded with completion of demographic items.

Materials and measures. See Appendix D for full measures.

Vignette and self-presentational strategy ranking task. Participants read one of four pretested vignettes that asked participants to imagine they were partnered with a stranger for a local tournament. Participants were told that the organizers had arranged a “getting to know you” meeting between their partner and themselves. The vignettes described the initial meeting and varied along two dimensions: environmental threat (two conditions: threatening, non-threatening) and partner vulnerability (two conditions: vulnerable, non-vulnerable). Environmental threat was conveyed using descriptors such as *run-down* and *dark* in comparison to *a nice part of town* and *sunny*. Partner vulnerability was conveyed by describing the interaction partner as *short and thin* and *nervous* in comparison to *tall and broad-shouldered* and *at ease*. An example vignette (of the non-threatening environment, vulnerable partner condition) reads as follows:

Imagine that you and a stranger will be partners in a local tournament. Success in this tournament requires that you and your partner work together effectively. To achieve this the tournament organizers arrange a “getting to know you” meeting between you two

before the tournament. Prior to your meeting, you and your partner don't know anything about each other except that you are paired together. The following account describes your initial meeting:

You and your partner meet at a diner in a nice part of town on a sunny afternoon. Your table is situated next to a large window, quite close to the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn't see you. He is White, wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is short and thin. He is fidgeting in his chair and appears to be nervous.

After reading the vignette, participants were asked to think about what would be most and least important for making a good impression on their partner. Eight self-presentational behaviors were listed in random order on the computer screen. These behaviors reflected common positive strategies for making a good impression (see Neel et al., 2013) and included strategies such as *appearing calm* and *arriving on time*, in addition to the focal strategy, *smiling* (a fear-reducing behavior that may reduce perceived physical safety threat) and *wearing clean clothes* (a disease- and disgust-reducing behavior). Including *wearing clean clothes* allowed me to more closely examine the threat-specificity of the predicted effect. Participants entered numeric rankings next to each of the listed strategies, with a value of 1 given to the most important strategy, and a value of 8 given to the least important strategy (see Figure 2).

Placing yourself in the above scenario, please indicate a rank for each of the strategies below from MOST (1) to LEAST (8) important in making a good impression on your partner during the "getting to know you" meeting.

For example, type "1" in the box next to the behavior that you think is MOST important to making a good impression on your partner. Type "2" in the box for the behavior that you think is second most important, and so forth. Please use each number only once.

- Arrive on time
- Look interested
- Listen closely
- Shake hands
- Wear clean clothes
- Appear calm and relaxed
- Smile
- Make eye contact

Figure 2. Self-presentational ranking task.

Partner characteristics. Participants completed eight items assessing predictions of their partners' reactions. For example, participants indicated how much they thought their partner would fear them or assume they were dangerous on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). The eight items ($\alpha = .88$) were combined into a single composite measure.

Vignette-specific questions. Two exploratory items examined participants' impressions of the vignette and ranking task. One item asked participants to indicate the reason why they gave smiling the rank they did. A second item asked participants what sort of tournament they imagined when reading the vignette.

Exploratory moderators. A variety of exploratory measures examined potential moderating effects. Measures with multiple items were combined into single composite items. All participants completed all measures.

Impression management. Participants indicated how important they felt it was to appear warm (using two items: trustworthy, friendly; $\alpha = .84$) and competent (using two items: capable, intelligent; $\alpha = .86$) to their interaction partner. Items were chosen based on measures of the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Participants rated the importance of each item from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

Stigma management. Participants indicated their agreement (from 1 [*strongly disagree*] to 7 [*strongly agree*]) with three items ($\alpha = .71$) examining the extent to which they thought they could actively manage their stigma (items used from Neel, 2013).

Assumed dangerousness. Participants indicated their agreement (from 1 [*strongly disagree*] to 7 [*strongly agree*]) with three items generated for this study ($\alpha = .93$) examining the extent to which they thought others viewed them as dangerous.

Dominance. Participants responded to three items ($\alpha = .33$) assessing self-perceptions of dominance from the Dominance-Prestige scale (Cheng, Tracy, & Henrich, 2010).

Physical formidability. Participants rated how muscular, athletic, and physically strong they perceived themselves to be ($\alpha = .88$) on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

Lay theories of bias. Participants indicated their agreement (*strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*) with two items ($\alpha = .47$; adapted from Dweck, 1999) measuring the extent to which they thought others can change their levels of racial bias.

Stigma Damage. Participants indicated their agreement (from 1 [*strongly disagree*] to 7 [*strongly agree*]) with three items ($\alpha = .81$; see Neel, 2013) measuring the extent to which they thought racial discrimination is personally damaging to themselves.

Stigma Consciousness. Participants indicated their agreement (from 1 [*strongly disagree*] to 7 [*strongly agree*]) with three items ($\alpha = .66$) modified from the Stigma Consciousness Scale (Pinel, 1999) measuring the extent to which most people hold prejudice against Black people.

Racial Group Identification. Participants indicated their agreement with three items ($\alpha = .53$) adopted from the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1998) measuring how strongly participants identified with their racial group from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Prototypicality. Participants indicated their agreement with three items ($\alpha = .68$) measuring self-perceptions of racial prototypicality from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Exploratory open-ended measures. Participants were also asked to describe their specific experiences with prejudice. For example, they were asked how they would know if someone was being prejudiced toward them. They were also asked to describe a person who they thought was most likely to be prejudiced toward them, answering a variety of questions about the person's sex, race, age, political affiliation, and religious affiliation. Finally, they indicated why they thought this person was most likely to be prejudiced, and whether or not the person would feel a variety of emotions toward them.

Attention checks. A first run of this study (with data collected from 599 Black and White men from the United States recruited via Qualtrics Panels [$M_{AGE} = 41.65$ years, $SD_{AGE} = 16.26$ years, range = 18-91 years; 49.9% White]) revealed that 189 of the 599 participants (31.6%) failed the attention check. In addition, a few errors were made during survey administration rendering the data unusable. Study 1 replicated this design with more stringent attention check requirements: two attention checks were included. The first required participants to input the

word “survey” as a response about a third of the way through the study, and the second required participants to select a specific response option.

Suspicion checks. Participants indicated (1) what they thought the study was about; and (2) whether or not anything seemed strange or unusual about the study.

Demographics. Participants responded to a variety of demographic and individual difference measures. Focal items were age and race/ethnicity.

Results

The focal dependent variable, smiling rank, was subjected to an analysis of variance (ANOVA) with environmental threat and partner vulnerability as the between-subject factors.

Main Analyses. Across participants (Black and White men) there were no main effects of environmental threat nor partner vulnerability on smiling rank ($F_s < 2$; $ps > .195$). Further, these variables did not interact to predict smiling rank ($F < 1$, $p = .934$). Contrary to my predictions, these patterns did not differ between Black men (the focal group; $F_s < 1$, $ps > .369$), and White men (the comparison group; $F_s < 2$, $ps > .297$). See Table 2 for condition means by participant race. Participant race did not produce a main effect nor did it moderate the effects of the primary independent variables ($F_s < 1$, $ps > .343$). That is, contrary to my prediction, Black men did not place any more importance on smiling ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 2.11$) than did White men ($M = 4.42$, $SE = 2.16$). Overall, these findings do not provide support for the prediction that Black men strategically use threat-reducing behaviors to reduce their appearance of threat.

Table 2. Study 1 participants' rankings of impression-management strategies.

Average Rank Order	Condition			
	Non-threatening Environment Non-vulnerable Partner		Threatening Environment Non-vulnerable Partner	
	Strategy	Mean Rank	Strategy	Mean Rank
Black participants				
1	Arrive on time	2.61 (2.01)	Arrive on time	3.11 (2.51)
2	Make eye contact	3.78 (1.82)	Make eye contact	3.77 (1.99)
3	Wear clean clothes	3.91 (2.64)	Shake hands	4.38 (2.11)
4	Smile	4.54 (2.02)	Wear clean clothes	4.44 (2.49)
5	Shake hands	4.65 (1.91)	Smile	4.62 (2.27)
6	Appear calm	5.04 (1.99)	Appear calm	4.74 (1.98)
7	Look interested	5.63 (2.19)	Look interested	5.35 (1.99)
8	Listen closely	5.84 (1.94)	Listen closely	5.59 (2.00)
White participants				
1	Arrive on time	2.69 (2.22)	Arrive on time	3.01 (2.26)
2	Make eye contact	3.63 (1.84)	Make eye contact	3.75 (1.86)
3	Shake hands	4.49 (1.86)	Smile	4.41 (1.97)
4	Smile	4.68 (2.37)	Shake hands	4.45 (2.01)
5	Wear clean clothes	5.01 (2.48)	Appear calm	4.60 (2.39)
6	Appear calm	5.04 (2.18)	Wear clean clothes	4.95 (2.68)
7	Look interested	5.15 (2.05)	Listen closely	5.28 (2.06)
8	Listen closely	5.31 (2.08)	Look interested	5.55 (2.02)
Average Rank Order	Non-threatening Environment Vulnerable Partner		Threatening Environment Vulnerable Partner	
	Strategy	Mean Rank	Strategy	Mean Rank
	Black participants			
1	Arrive on time	2.59 (2.24)	Arrive on time	2.84 (2.33)
2	Make eye contact	4.04 (1.77)	Make eye contact	4.08 (2.04)
3	Appear calm	4.19 (1.97)	Appear calm	4.16 (2.07)
4	Smile	4.33 (1.94)	Smile	4.40 (2.20)
5	Shake hands	5.00 (2.10)	Wear clean clothes	4.74 (2.58)
6	Wear clean clothes	4.52 (2.70)	Shake hands	4.86 (2.10)
7	Look interested	5.66 (1.89)	Look interested	5.30 (2.00)
8	Listen closely	5.67 (2.12)	Listen closely	5.62 (1.88)
White participants				
1	Arrive on time	2.36 (1.83)	Arrive on time	2.92 (2.44)
2	Make eye contact	3.43 (2.01)	Make eye contact	4.02 (1.97)
3	Shake hands	4.36 (2.06)	Smile	4.20 (2.24)
4	Smile	4.38 (2.06)	Appear calm	4.26 (2.25)
5	Appear calm	5.09 (1.81)	Shake hands	4.51 (2.05)
6	Wear clean clothes	5.26 (2.53)	Wear clean clothes	5.10 (2.54)
7	Look interested	5.36 (2.01)	Look interested	5.46 (1.65)
8	Listen closely	5.74 (1.96)	Listen closely	5.51 (1.99)

Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. The focal strategy – smile – is in boldface.

Exploratory Analyses. The majority of the exploratory variables did not moderate the primary independent variables' influence on smiling rank. Given the exploratory nature of these analyses and my primary focus on Black men, the following tests focus primarily on the data of Black participants. Among Black men, neither competence ($ps > .064$), stigma management ($ps > .113$), dominance ($ps > .313$), physical formidability ($ps > .420$), lay theories of bias ($ps > .243$), stigma consciousness ($ps > .059$), nor prototypicality ($ps > .113$) significantly moderated the independent variables' influence on smiling rank. However, given the large number of measures, a handful of significant and trending effects emerged. A selection of these is highlighted below but should be interpreted with caution.

Warmth. A motivation to appear trustworthy and friendly to others is likely related to a tendency to use self-presentational strategies to create such an impression. Indeed, across all participants, warmth correlated negatively with smiling rank ($r = -.16, p < .001$). Because higher strategy importance is denoted by a higher rank, or a lower number (e.g., a rank of 1 is considered a high rank despite being a low number), this negative correlation suggests that the stronger the motivation to appear warm, the *higher the rank of (i.e., the lower the number)* and the *more importance* participants placed on smiling. This motivation to appear warm may manifest more strongly among Black men in comparison to White men, as Black men might anticipate more prejudice from their perceivers and feel a stronger need to counteract these perceptions. Indeed, Black men reported a stronger motivation to appear warm to their interaction partners ($M = 6.14, SD = 1.01$) in comparison to White men ($M = 5.86, SD = 1.12$), $F(1, 612) = 10.21, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .016$. Further, the correlational pattern mentioned above replicated for both Black ($r = -.20, p < .001$) and White men ($r = -.12, p = .033$), with the correlation slightly (though non-significantly, $z = 0.99, p = .322$) stronger for Black men.

To further examine warmth's influence on smiling rank I conducted a regression in two steps, run separately for Black and White men. In the first step, I entered main effects of partner vulnerability and environmental threat (both effects-coded) and warmth (centered). In the second step, I entered all two- and three-way interactions between the main effects. As expected, warmth negatively predicted smiling for both Black and White men (Black: $\beta = -.18$, $t(298) = -3.09$, $p = .002$; White: $\beta = -.12$, $t(301) = -2.13$, $p = .034$). Consistent with the correlational analyses, a stronger motivation to appear warm predicted placing more importance on smiling as a presentational strategy.

The regression also revealed that among Black men, a motivation to appear warm moderated (to a marginal extent) the effect of partner vulnerability on smiling rank, $\beta = .11$, $t(298) = 1.91$, $p = .057$ (see Figure 3). To interpret the interaction effects of this and other exploratory moderators of Studies 1 and 2, unstandardized regression coefficients were entered into Dr. Jeremy Dawson's worksheet for two-way interaction effects with a binary moderator (Dawson, 2012). Dr. Dawson's worksheets use procedures detailed in Aiken & West (1991) and Dawson (2014). Figures 3, 4, 6, and 7 of the current research use this method to visualize the respective moderating relationships.

When Black men imagined a non-vulnerable partner, the motivation to appear warm predicted more importance placed on smiling, $\beta = -.29$, $t(298) = -3.75$, $p < .001$. However, this pattern was not significant when Black men imagined a vulnerable partner, $\beta = -.07$, $t(298) = -0.79$, $p = .431$. It is interesting that the moderating action of the motivation to appear warm on partner vulnerability occurs among only non-vulnerable partners. Perhaps Black men attend to different cues with vulnerable partners and their tendency to smile is driven by a motivation other than appearing warm.

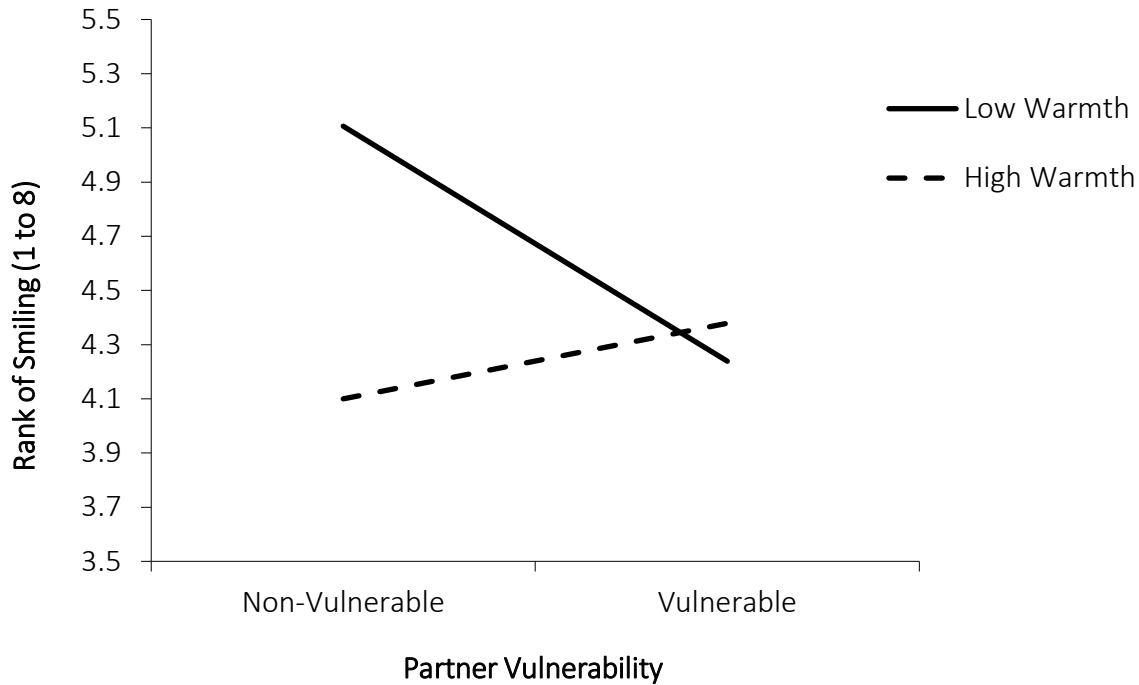


Figure 3. Study 1: Moderating relationship between motivation to appear warm and partner vulnerability on smiling rank. Interaction effects were interpreted using Dr. Jeremy Dawson’s worksheet for two-way interaction effects with a binary moderator (Dawson, 2012).

Stigma damage. The extent to which a target believes his stigma to be damaging or harmful may also influence importance placed on threat-reducing strategies. In particular, the extent to which Black men perceive prejudice and racial discrimination to be personally damaging may influence whether or not they use specific strategies to reduce their appearance of threat. That is, the more personally damaging a Black man finds prejudice or racial discrimination, the more effort he might put into reducing his appearance of threat. To investigate this possibility, I conducted a regression in two steps just as I did for warmth, run separately for Black and White men. In the first step, I entered main effects of partner vulnerability and environmental threat (both effects-coded) and stigma damage (centered). In the

second step, I entered all two- and three-way interactions. As expected, among Black men (but not White men: $\beta = .01, t(301) = 0.14, p = .885$), increased perceptions of the harm caused by stigma moderated partner vulnerability to predict smiling rank, $\beta = -.13, t(298) = -2.22, p = .027$ (see Figure 4). When Black men imagined vulnerable partners, stigma harm negatively (though marginally) predicted smiling rank, $\beta = -.15, t(298) = -1.77, p = .078$. This pattern did not emerge among non-vulnerable partners, $\beta = .11, t(298) = 1.36, p = .174$. Although marginal, this finding lends itself to the idea that Black men selectively use threat-reducing behaviors in situations where they anticipate prejudice. Black men who perceive racial prejudice as personally damaging may be especially motivated to smile at vulnerable perceivers, given that they may think these perceivers are particularly likely to express prejudice.

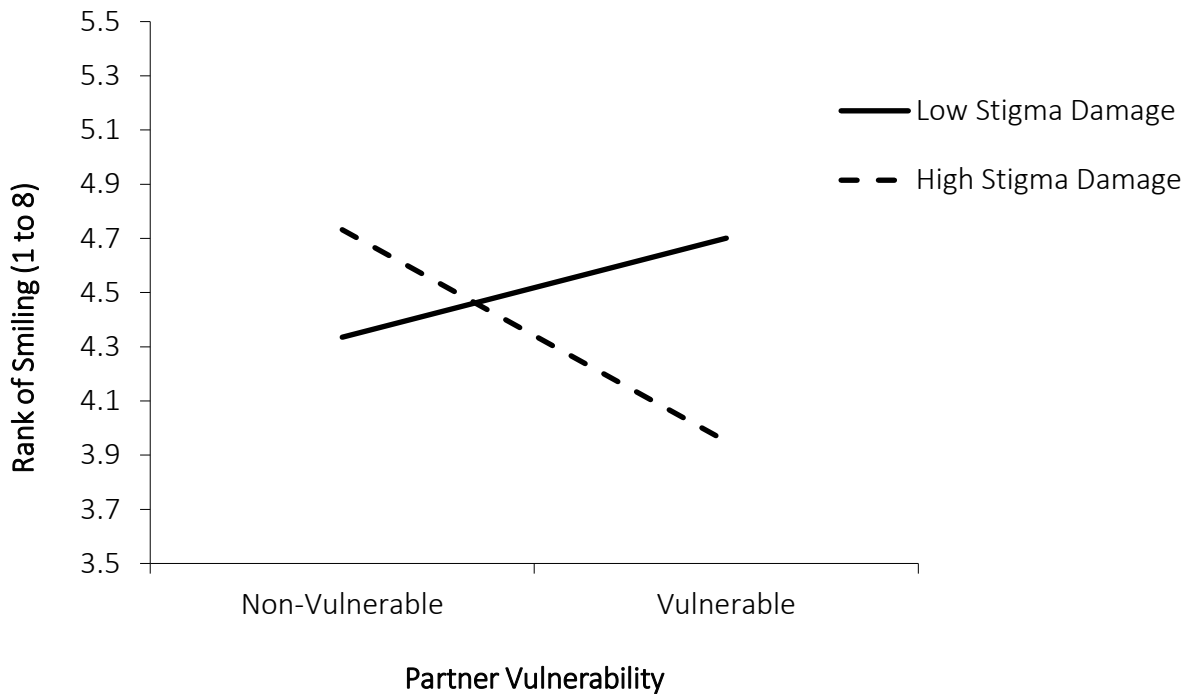


Figure 4. Study 1: Moderating relationship between perceptions of harm caused by stigma and partner vulnerability on smiling rank. Interaction effects were interpreted using Dr. Jeremy Dawson’s worksheet for two-way interaction effects with a binary moderator (Dawson, 2012).

Discussion

The results of Study 1 do not support my prediction that Black men strategically use behavioral strategies to reduce their appearance of physical safety threat. Black men prioritized smiling to the same extent as White men, and neither environmental threat nor partner vulnerability influenced rankings. However, exploratory analyses revealed interesting moderation patterns of both warmth and perceptions of how damaging prejudice is on the influence of partner vulnerability on smiling rank. Although these results should be interpreted with caution until further work can replicate the effects, these findings suggest intriguing nuance within the experiences of stigmatized targets.

STUDY 2

The null results of Study 1 did not support my prediction that Black men prioritize smiling more with vulnerable partners and in threatening environments. One explanation for these null results is that participants' knowledge of their perceived physical safety threat was not salient. Study 2 addresses this possibility by making Black men's metastereotypes salient: prior to reading and responding to the vignette, Black men are primed with stereotypes of African Americans (see Neel et al., 2013). I predicted that increasing the salience of metastereotypes would prompt Black men to rank smiling as more important for making a good impression with vulnerable partners and in threatening environments.

Method

Participants. Based on the power analyses conducted for Study 1, three hundred twenty Black men between the ages of 18 and 40 from the United States were recruited through Qualtrics Panels ($M_{AGE} = 28.18$ years, $SD_{AGE} = 6.18$ years).

Procedure. Study 2 used a 2 (Environment: Threatening, Non-threatening) by 2 (Partner: Vulnerable, Non-vulnerable) between-subjects design. Participants first responded to the metastereotypes measure, and then completed a study procedure identical to that of Study 1.

Materials and Measures. Materials mirrored those of Study 1 with one key change: the addition of a measure of participants' metastereotypes. See Appendix D for full measures.

Metastereotypes measure. Before completing the self-presentational strategy ranking task, participants were informed that they would answer questions about two societal groups (e.g., Native Americans, African Americans, political liberals, gay men) randomly selected from a list of 11 groups. This list was presented on the computer screen before the ranking task began. Unbeknownst to the participants, everyone answered questions about the same two groups in the

following order: Native Americans and African Americans. I adapted Cottrell and Neuberg's (2005) measure of group-specific threat stereotypes to examine participants' beliefs of other people's (not their own) perceptions of the two groups (see Neel et al., 2013). Specific items assessed the extent to which participants believed people in general thought the two groups posed specific threats. For example, participants indicated their agreement with statements such as: *In general, most people feel that African Americans endanger the physical safety of others* (a threat relevant to African Americans) or *In general, most people feel that African Americans increase others' risk of physical illness* (a threat irrelevant to African Americans). Participants responded to a number of such items on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) scale.

Exploratory moderators. The following measures from Study 1 remained in Study 2: partner reaction ($\alpha = .89$), warmth ($\alpha = .83$), competence ($\alpha = .88$), stigma management ($\alpha = .57$), assumed dangerousness ($\alpha = .92$), physical formidability ($\alpha = .88$), lay theories of bias ($\alpha = .32$), stigma damage ($\alpha = .80$), stigma consciousness ($\alpha = .44$), racial group identification ($\alpha = .48$), and prototypicality ($\alpha = .67$).

Demographics, attention and suspicion checks were identical to those of Study 1.

Results

Parallel to Study 1, the focal dependent variable, smiling rank, was subjected to an ANOVA with environmental threat and partner vulnerability as the between-subject factors.

Main Analyses. Similarly to data patterns observed in Study 1, there were no main effects of environmental threat nor partner vulnerability on smiling rank ($F_s < 1$, $p_s > .450$; see Table 3 for condition means).

Table 3. Study 2 (Black) participants' rankings of impression-management strategies.

Average Rank Order	Condition			
	Non-threatening Environment Non-vulnerable Partner		Threatening Environment Non-vulnerable Partner	
	Strategy	Mean Rank	Strategy	Mean Rank
1	Arrive on time	2.86 (2.21)	Arrive on time	2.87 (2.19)
2	Wear clean clothes	3.89 (2.48)	Smile	4.01 (1.94)
3	Smile	4.46 (2.15)	Appear calm	4.27 (2.30)
4	Make eye contact	4.61 (2.14)	Make eye contact	4.32 (2.18)
5	Appear calm	4.80 (2.14)	Wear clean clothes	4.66 (2.46)
6	Shake hands	5.06 (2.24)	Shake hands	5.06 (2.05)
7	Look interested	5.09 (1.94)	Look interested	5.38 (2.16)
8	Listen closely	5.24 (1.94)	Listen closely	5.43 (1.99)
	Non-threatening Environment Vulnerable Partner		Threatening Environment Vulnerable Partner	
Average Rank Order	Strategy	Mean Rank	Strategy	Mean Rank
1	Arrive on time	3.08 (2.30)	Arrive on time	3.25 (2.28)
2	Smile	3.83 (2.18)	Make eye contact	4.04 (2.02)
3	Make eye contact	4.18 (1.95)	Smile	4.27 (2.30)
4	Appear calm	4.30 (2.15)	Appear calm	4.33 (2.26)
5	Wear clean clothes	4.96 (2.44)	Wear clean clothes	4.43 (2.64)
6	Shake hands	5.13 (2.12)	Shake hands	4.78 (2.12)
7	Look interested	5.26 (2.07)	Look interested	4.93 (2.05)
8	Listen closely	5.26 (2.21)	Listen closely	5.98 (1.70)

Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. The focal strategy – smile – is in boldface.

There was however a trending interaction between environmental threat and partner vulnerability, $F(1, 312) = 3.34, p = .069, \eta_p^2 = .011$. The interaction took on a pattern in which smiling was deemed *more important* among Black men who imagined either a vulnerable partner or a threatening environment in comparison to Black men who imagined a non-vulnerable partner in a non-threatening environment (see Figure 5). Despite none of the simple effects being significant, these data point to the possibility that either a threatening environment or a vulnerable perceiver may prompt Black men to more strongly prioritize smiling, suggesting evidence that points in favor of the original prediction.

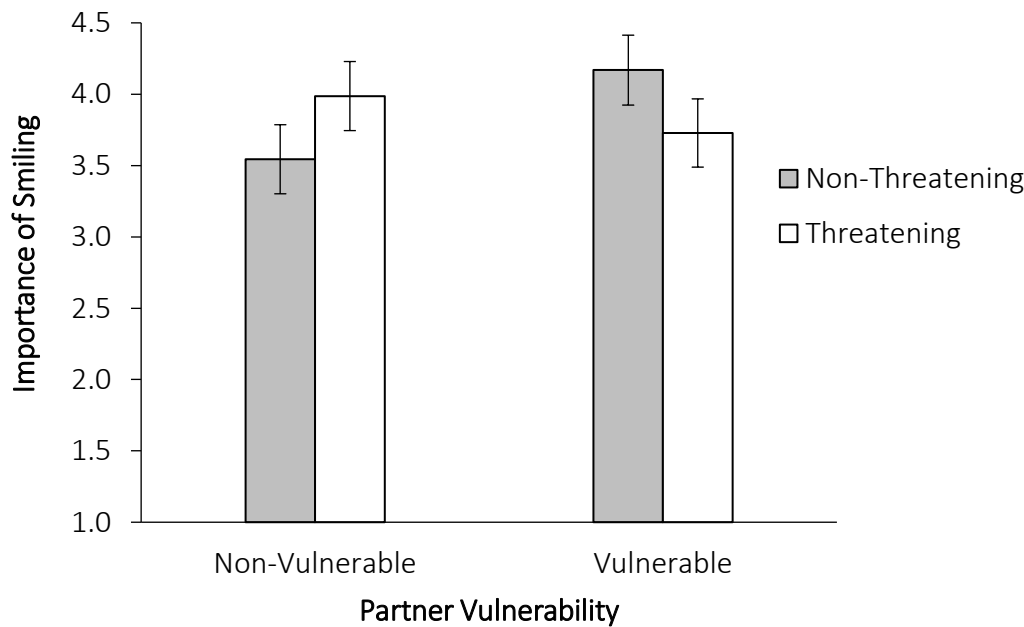


Figure 5. Study 2: Effects of partner vulnerability and environmental threat on importance of smiling. Note: Importance of Smiling was computed by subtracting the average rank of smiling from 9. Higher bars indicate more importance placed upon smiling. Error bars denote standard errors.

Exploratory Analyses. Similar to Study 1, the majority of Study 2's exploratory variables did not moderate environmental threat nor partner vulnerability to predict smiling rank. Indeed, neither partner reaction ($ps > .180$), warmth ($ps > .238$), competence ($ps > .284$), stigma management ($ps > .288$), assumed dangerousness ($ps > .083$), physical formidability ($ps > .187$), changeability of bias ($ps > .519$), stigma damage ($ps > .194$), stigma consciousness ($ps > .143$), racial group identification ($ps > .172$), nor prototypicality ($ps > .194$) moderated the primary independent variables' influence on smiling rank. However, given the number of included variables, a handful of significant and trending effects emerged. A selection of these is described below, but should be interpreted with caution.

Participant age. Younger targets may be more strongly associated with threat given that older adults may be less violent than younger adults, especially when examining the behavior of men (e.g., Wilson & Daly, 1985). In particular, young Black adults may anticipate more prejudice than their older counterparts and therefore, may be more motivated to use threat-reducing strategies when interacting with vulnerable perceivers or in threatening environments. In line with this prediction, participant age was marginally correlated with smiling rank ($r = .11$, $p = .054$) suggesting that the younger the participant, the *more* importance they placed on smiling as a self-presentational strategy. To follow up this analysis I conducted a regression in two steps. In the first step, I entered main effects of partner vulnerability and environmental threat (both effects-coded) and age (centered). In the second step, I entered all two- and three-way interactions between the main effects. Unsurprisingly, lower participant age significantly predicted more importance placed on smiling, $\beta = .11$, $t(308) = 2.00$, $p = .046$. It's important to note that all participants within this sample were between the ages of 18 and 40. The closer a

participant was to 18 years of age, the more important he thought smiling was to making a good impression on his interaction partner.

Participant age also moderated (to a marginal extent) the effect of environmental threat on smiling rank, $\beta = .10$, $t(308) = 1.80$, $p = .073$ (see Figure 6). When participants imagined a threatening environment, younger age predicted placing more importance on smiling, $\beta = .21$, $t(308) = 2.75$, $p = .006$. This pattern was not significant when participants imagined a non-threatening environment, $\beta = .01$, $t(308) = 0.14$, $p = .888$. Young Black males may be particularly at risk of prejudice and discrimination because they are perceived to be physically threatening. The marginal moderating relationship between the threat present within one's environment and the participants' age suggests that, consistent with past speculation, Black men strategically employ threat-reducing behaviors in environments where they might be especially likely to anticipate prejudice.

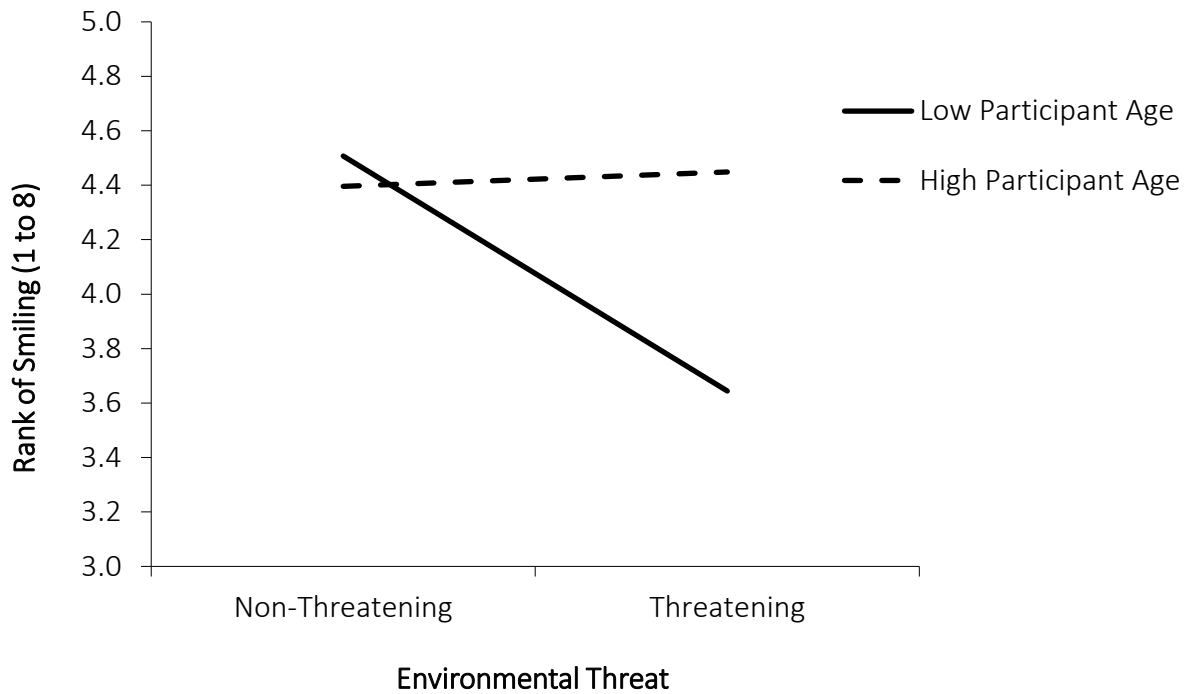


Figure 6. Study 2: Moderating relationship between participant age and environmental threat on smiling rank. Interaction effects were interpreted using Dr. Jeremy Dawson’s worksheet for two-way interaction effects with a binary moderator (Dawson, 2012).

Participants’ childhood home stability. Growing up in an unpredictable and changing environment has been shown to predict increased aggressive and delinquent behaviors, as well as criminal associations (Simpson, Griskevicius, Kuo, Sung, & Collins, 2012). Perhaps the stability of participants’ childhood environments influences later ability or motivation to manage one’s stigma. To examine this prediction I conducted another regression in two steps. In the first step, I entered main effects of partner vulnerability and environmental threat (both effects-coded) and childhood stability (centered). In the second step, I entered each two- and three-way interaction between the main effects. Childhood stability significantly moderated the effect of partner vulnerability on smiling rank, $\beta = -.12$, $t(308) = -2.05$, $p = .041$ (see Figure 7). When imagining a non-vulnerable interaction partner, a less stable childhood environment predicted participants

placing more importance on smiling as a threat-reducing strategy, $\beta = .19$, $t(308) = 2.59$, $p = .010$. No significant moderating pattern emerged when participants imagined a vulnerable interaction partner, $\beta = -.04$, $t(308) = -0.47$, $p = .639$. Perhaps in general, with perceivers who aren't displaying overt vulnerability, a stable upbringing predicts a Black man's knowledge of how to mitigate his appearance of threat. Further, a more stable childhood environment might result in a strengthened motivation to appear less threatening in comparison to those brought up in unstable environments. Nevertheless, the lack of effect within the vulnerable partner condition is puzzling and suggests that a perceiver's vulnerability may shift the relationship between a target's childhood environment and how much emphasis he places on smiling. Regardless, these exploratory analyses are exciting as they point to potential differences in the experiences of stigmatized targets that could be more thoroughly examined in follow-up studies.

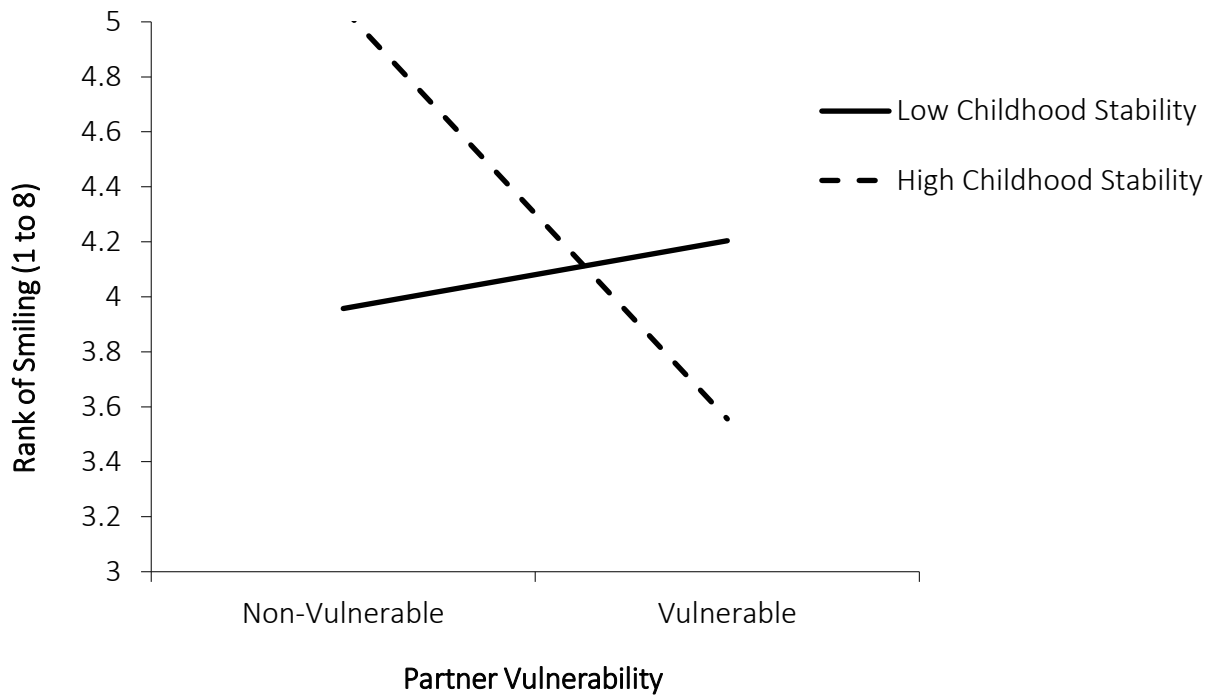


Figure 7. Study 2: Moderating relationship between participant childhood home stability and partner vulnerability on smiling rank. Interaction effects were interpreted using Dr. Jeremy Dawson’s worksheet for two-way interaction effects with a binary moderator (Dawson, 2012).

Discussion

Reminding Black men of their metastereotypes of African Americans resulted in partial support of my prediction. A trending interaction between partner vulnerability and environmental threat suggested that Black men prioritized smiling more with either a vulnerable partner or in a threatening environment. Further, exploratory analyses revealed moderating relationships between participant age and environmental threat, as well as participants’ childhood home stability and partner vulnerability. Although these analyses should be interpreted with caution until the effects are replicated, they provide partial support for my prediction and also point to the complexity of stigmatized targets’ experiences.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Overview

I predicted that Black men, stereotyped to pose a threat to physical safety, would prioritize smiling with a vulnerable partner and in a threatening environment. The results of Study 1 did not support this prediction. Neither partner vulnerability, environmental threat, nor their interaction influenced the rank participants gave smiling. In Study 2, I examined whether the predicted effects would emerge after participants' metastereotypes were made salient. In so doing, Study 2 investigated a potential explanation for the null results of Study 1: to see the predicted effects, Black men may need to be made explicitly aware of stereotypes others hold of their group. Whereas this manipulation did not result in the main effects I predicted, a marginal interaction did emerge in which participants imagining an interaction with either a vulnerable partner *or* within a threatening environment (i.e., participants in the vulnerable partner/threatening environment, vulnerable partner/non-threatening environment, and non-vulnerable partner/threatening environment conditions) prioritized smiling more strongly than did participants who imagined interacting with a non-vulnerable partner in a non-threatening environment. This finding provides partial support for my prediction that Black men might strategically aim their threat-reducing strategies toward people who appear vulnerable or in environments that appear threatening. Exploratory analyses for both studies revealed interesting patterns for warmth and how personally damaging participants viewed stigma (Study 1), as well as participant age and participant childhood home stability (Study 2). These exploratory analyses should be interpreted with caution until further work can speak to their replicability. Given the volume of data collected in Studies 1 and 2, next steps for this line of research include further examining exploratory measures to inform follow-up studies.

Although Studies 1 and 2 did not provide conclusive support for my prediction, they did reveal interesting trends regarding Black men's tendencies to use self-presentational strategies to reduce their appearance of threat. This work demonstrates the complexity of the experiences of stigmatized targets and lays the groundwork for future studies to further explore the target's perspective of prejudice and stigmatization.

Limitations and Future Directions

Studies 1 and 2 are not without limitations. Both studies used hypothetical scenarios whereby participants were asked to imagine an interaction. Sitting in front of a computer and imagining a threatening environment and vulnerable partner likely creates a much different (and less real) experience than interacting face-to-face with a vulnerable partner in a threatening environment. Placing participants into real situations parallel to those presented in the hypothetical vignettes will lead to greater external validity and a better measure of real-world behavior. For example, Black male participants could be brought into the lab to interact with a White confederate within a room that is experimentally manipulated to match the environmental cues conveyed in the current studies' vignettes (e.g., a dark, enclosed space vs. an open, naturally-lit space). Vulnerability of the confederate could also be manipulated. Conducting such an extension would allow me to replicate my findings and would also provide a more ecologically-valid design.

Further, it's possible that of the eight self-presentational strategies I asked participants to rank, smiling was not the only strategy targets would deploy to reduce threat (e.g., appearing calm or shaking a partner's hand might also work to lessen an appearance of threat). The fact that targets may have considered other strategies apart from smiling reasonable threat-mitigating techniques, as well as the ranking dependence of each choice on the other, may have dampened

my ability to find the predicted effects. A potential extension addressing this limitation might involve re-running a version of the study whereby only smiling is the clear threat-reducing strategy.

The current research also examines the behavior of just one group of stigmatized targets: Black men. Given that this work is grounded in an affordance-management framework, another practical extension could examine the threat-specificity of this effect. For example, do targets seen to pose different threats also attend to partner and environmental attributes when choosing how to present themselves? Perhaps an obese man (perceived to be a disease threat) would prioritize appearing clean, especially in dirty environments and with partners who might appear sickly or vulnerable to disease.

Lastly, targets' dependence on others for important outcomes may increase the extent to which they use self-presentational strategies. For example, a Black man likely recognizes the potential costs should a job interviewer or police officer view him as physically threatening. Black men may use strategies with these high-power perceivers to prevent stigmatization in the professional realm, or to protect their physical safety when interacting with the police. Targets may be particularly likely to tailor their self-presentations to high-power perceivers who also display discomfort or vulnerability (e.g., a nervous interviewer) or whom they encounter in threatening environments (e.g., a police officer in an unsafe neighborhood). This extension would allow us to better understand how targets of prejudice might manage power-imbalanced interactions.

Conclusion

This work provides a first step into untangling the complexity of stigmatized targets' experiences. Studies 1 and 2 suggest that Black men might strategically use threat-reducing

strategies with people who appear vulnerable or in environments that appear threatening. Future studies are necessary to conclusively determine whether or not stigmatized targets strategically use self-presentational strategies in response to perceiver and environment factors. In examining the circumstances under which a target might anticipate prejudice, I can design follow-up studies to help more concretely answer these questions. Doing so will ultimately contribute to a more complete understanding of a stigmatized target's experience of prejudice, a crucial step in improving outcomes in environments and scenarios that may not be particularly welcoming to them. By examining differences in targets' experiences of prejudice, this work may inform discussions that affect targets, as well as policies designed to ameliorate the negative effects of prejudice.

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APPENDIX A: STUDY 1 AND STUDY 2 SAMPLE VIGNETTES

Below are the full-text versions of the vignettes used for vignette pretesting (see Appendix B for further details), Study 1, and Study 2.

Vignette Pretesting

Each vignette includes the following introductory paragraph and one of the following condition paragraphs, displayed below.

In the next pages, you will be asked to read a scenario. Please try to vividly picture what is described. Imagine that you and a stranger will be partners in a local tournament. Success in this tournament requires that you and your partner work together effectively. To achieve this the tournament organizers arrange a “getting to know you” meeting between you two before the tournament. Prior to your meeting, you and your partner don’t know anything about each other except that you are paired together. The following account describes your initial meeting.

Condition: Non-Threatening Environment; Very Vulnerable Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a nice part of town on a sunny afternoon. Your table is situated next to a large window, quite close to the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn’t see you. He is wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is short and thin. He is fidgeting in his chair and appears to be nervous. He seems like the kind of person who would think the world is a dangerous place.

Condition: Non-Threatening Environment; Vulnerable Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a nice part of town on a sunny afternoon. Your table is situated next to a large window, quite close to the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn’t see you. He is wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is short and thin. He is fidgeting in his chair and appears to be nervous.

Condition: Non-Threatening Environment; Non-Vulnerable Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a nice part of town on a sunny afternoon. Your table is situated next to a large window, quite close to the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn’t see you. He is wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is tall and broad-shouldered. He is sitting comfortably and appears to be at ease.

Condition: Non-Threatening Environment; No Information Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a nice part of town on a sunny afternoon. Your table is situated next to a large window, quite close to the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn’t see you. He is wearing a t-shirt and jeans.

Condition: Threatening Environment; Very Vulnerable Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a run-down part of town on a dark evening. Your table is pushed in the corner against windowless walls, quite far from the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn't see you. He is wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is short and thin. He is fidgeting in his chair and appears to be nervous. He seems like the kind of person who would think the world is a dangerous place.

Condition: Threatening Environment; Vulnerable Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a run-down part of town on a dark evening. Your table is pushed in the corner against windowless walls, quite far from the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn't see you. He is wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is short and thin. He is fidgeting in his chair and appears to be nervous.

Condition: Threatening Environment; Non-Vulnerable Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a run-down part of town on a dark evening. Your table is pushed in the corner against windowless walls, quite far from the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn't see you. He is wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is tall and broad-shouldered. He is sitting comfortably and appears to be at ease.

Condition: Threatening Environment, No Information Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a run-down part of town on a dark evening. Your table is pushed in the corner against windowless walls, quite far from the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn't see you. He is wearing a t-shirt and jeans.

Studies 1 and 2

Each vignette includes the following introductory paragraph and one of the following condition paragraphs, displayed below.

On the next pages, you will be asked to read a scenario. Please try to vividly picture what is described. Imagine that you and a stranger will be partners in a local tournament. Success in this tournament requires that you and your partner work together effectively. To achieve this the tournament organizers arrange a "getting to know you" meeting between you two before the tournament. Prior to your meeting, you and your partner don't know anything about each other except that you are paired together. The following account describes your initial meeting.

Condition: Non-Threatening Environment; Vulnerable Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a nice part of town on a sunny afternoon. Your table is situated next to a large window, quite close to the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn't see you. He is White, wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is short and thin. He is fidgeting in his chair and appears to be nervous.

Condition: Non-Threatening Environment; Non-Vulnerable Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a nice part of town on a sunny afternoon. Your table is situated next to a large window, quite close to the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn't see you. He is White, wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is tall and broad-shouldered. He is sitting comfortably and appears to be at ease.

Condition: Threatening Environment; Vulnerable Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a run-down part of town on a dark evening. Your table is pushed in the corner against windowless walls, quite far from the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn't see you. He is White, wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is short and thin. He is fidgeting in his chair and appears to be nervous.

Condition: Threatening Environment; Non-Vulnerable Perceiver

You and your partner meet at a diner in a run-down part of town on a dark evening. Your table is pushed in the corner against windowless walls, quite far from the entrance. When you first arrive, you see your partner but he doesn't see you. He is White, wearing a t-shirt and jeans, and is tall and broad-shouldered. He is sitting comfortably and appears to be at ease.

APPENDIX B: VIGNETTE PRETESTING

I developed a set of vignettes that described an interaction between the target (the participant) and a hypothetical partner. Each vignette detailed the environment in which the interaction took place and the partner with whom the participant would interact. I used a between-subjects design to test the validity of the proposed vignettes.

Method

Participants. Power analyses using G*Power suggested that a sample between 350 to 690 participants would be sufficient to achieve 95% power to detect a small-to-medium effect in an eight-cell between-subjects design (for $f = .18$, $n = 682$; for $f = .25$, $n = 357$). Five hundred six participants from the United States were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (296 men, 201 women, 1 other, 8 unspecified; $M_{AGE} = 31.70$ years, $SD_{AGE} = 11.08$ years, range = 18-73 years; 78.3% White). Note that one participant was excluded from all analyses for incomplete data, and another nine were excluded due to repeat IP addresses. The total sample of $n = 506$ does not include these ten exclusions.

Procedure. The study used a 2 (Environment: Threatening, Non-threatening) by 4 (Partner: Very vulnerable, Vulnerable, Non-vulnerable, No information) between-subjects design to test the validity of the proposed vignettes. After reading one vignette, participants completed the environmental threat measures followed by the partner vulnerability measures. They then guessed the race of their interaction partner and completed demographic measures.

Materials and Measures.

Vignettes. Participants were told to imagine that they were partnered with a stranger for a local tournament and that the organizers had arranged for them a “getting to know you” meeting. The vignettes described the initial meeting and varied along two dimensions: environmental

threat (two conditions: threatening, non-threatening) and partner vulnerability (four conditions: very vulnerable, vulnerable, non-vulnerable, no information/control). See Appendix A for full versions of each vignette.

Environmental threat measures. After reading the vignette, participants answered four questions about their perceptions of how threatening they perceived the environment. For example, participants indicated how dangerous they perceived the environment from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very*). Participants also answered questions about the likelihood of threat in the environment, adapted from fundamental motives measures like those in Neel, Kenrick, White, & Neuberg (2015). Participants rated their agreement with four items such as “Dangerous people are likely to be in this place” from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). All eight individual items ($\alpha = .95$) were compiled into a composite measure of environmental threat.

Partner vulnerability measures. Participants also answered four questions pertaining to their perceptions of their interaction partner’s physical vulnerability. For example, participants were asked to indicate how physically vulnerable and physically strong they thought their interaction partner was on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very*). Participants also answered questions about cues to specific threats that they perceived their partner to have. For example, participants rated how likely they thought their interaction partner was “concerned with staying free of disease” from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very*). All eight items ($\alpha = .89$) were compiled into a composite measure of partner vulnerability.

Partner race. Participants indicated the race/ethnicity they imagined of their interaction partner.

Demographics. Participants indicated their own sex, race/ethnicity, age, their native language, and their zip code.

Results

The compiled environmental threat and partner vulnerability dependent variables were separately subjected to an ANOVA with environmental threat and partner vulnerability as the between-subject factors.

Environmental Threat. Participants rated threatening environments as more threatening ($M = 4.54$, $SD = 1.02$) than non-threatening environments ($M = 1.95$, $SD = 0.74$), $F(1, 492) = 1057.24$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .682$. Neither partner vulnerability nor the interaction between environmental threat and partner vulnerability influenced ratings of environmental threat ($F_s < 1$, $p_s > .16$).

Partner Vulnerability. The more vulnerable the partner, the more vulnerable participants rated them, $F(3, 490) = 176.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .519$. Dunn-Šidák *post hoc* testing revealed that all four vulnerability conditions were reliably different from one another (all $p_s < .001$) in the predicted direction. That is, very vulnerable partners were rated as the most vulnerable, followed by vulnerable, no information, and finally, the non-vulnerable partners. There was also a main effect of environmental threat on partner vulnerability; partner vulnerability was higher in the threatening environment ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.66$) than in the non-threatening environment condition ($M = 3.48$, $SD = 1.30$), $F(1, 490) = 4.53$, $p = .034$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$. Partner vulnerability and environmental threat did not interact to predict partner vulnerability ($p = .109$).

Partner Race. 85.8% of participants believed their interaction partner was White.

Discussion

Results suggest that I successfully manipulated the variables I intended to manipulate with the vignettes. Participants perceived threatening environments as threatening and vulnerable partners as vulnerable. Studies 1 and 2 use a subset of these vignettes to examine whether people prioritize self-presentational strategies based on the perceived threat of an environment and vulnerability of a hypothetical interaction partner.

References

Neel, R., Kenrick, D. T., White, A. E., & Neuberg, S. L. (2015). Individual differences in fundamental social motives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000068>

APPENDIX C: PILOT STUDY

Prior to Study 1, a pilot study tested original predictions using a predominantly White online sample of convenience through Amazon's Mechanical Turk.

Method

Participants. Five hundred twenty participants from the United States were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (261 men, 254 women, 2 other, 3 unspecified; $M_{AGE} = 36.20$ years, $SD_{AGE} = 12.59$ years, range = 18-75 years; 80.6% White). One participant was excluded from all analyses (including demographics) for incomplete data, and eleven were excluded due to repeat IP addresses.

Procedure. The study used a 2 (Environment: Threatening, Non-threatening) by 2 (Partner: Vulnerable, Non-vulnerable) between-subjects design. After reading a vignette and completing the ranking task, participants answered questions about their hypothetical partner. They then completed a battery of measures designed to account for potential moderating relationships. The study ended after participants completed demographic measures.

Materials and Measures. Materials and measures mirrored those of Study 1. The following exploratory moderators not included in Study 1 were included in the pilot study:

Prestige. Participants responded to three items ($\alpha = .82$) from the prestige component of the Dominance-Prestige scale (Cheng, Tracy, & Henrich, 2010).

Ideologies. Participants indicated their agreement (from 1 [*strongly disagree*] to 7 [*strongly agree*] with six statements ($\alpha = .86$) addressing the fairness and justness of American society (adapted from American National Election Studies; Miller & Traugott, 1986).

Demographics. Participants responded to a variety of demographic and individual difference measures including age, sex, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, height, weight, tattoos, scars, whether or not participants had children, skin tone, income, socioeconomic status, childhood home stability, childhood home predictability, and childhood home hardness, political orientation, political affiliation, religious affiliation, native language, and zip code.

Results

There were no main effects for environmental threat nor partner vulnerability on smiling rank ($F_s < 2$, $p_s > .261$). However, there was a significant interaction between environmental threat and partner vulnerability on smiling rank, $F(1, 514) = 8.20$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .061$. Simple effects revealed that participants prioritized smiling more so when interacting with non-vulnerable partners in threatening environments compared to non-threatening environments ($p = .005$). Further, participants prioritized smiling with vulnerable partners more so than they did with non-vulnerable partners in non-threatening environments ($p = .006$). This interaction demonstrates that smiling was prioritized *more* among participants who imagined interacting with either a vulnerable partner or in a threatening environment in comparison to a non-vulnerable partner in a non-threatening environment. Consistent with Study 2, this pilot study suggests that either a threatening environment or a vulnerable partner may prompt participants to more strongly prioritize smiling.

Much like Studies 1 and 2, the majority of the exploratory moderating variables did not reliably interact with the primary independent variables to influence smiling rank. However, given the number of exploratory measures, a handful of significant and trending effects emerged. Given the nature of this study, these effects will not be discussed but were followed up in Studies 1 and 2.

Discussion

The pilot study provided initial support for the prediction that people might aim threat-mitigating strategies strategically toward specific people in certain environments. Although this study provided evidence of the validity of the paradigm and measures, the participant population was not ideal for testing stigmatized targets. Study 1 addressed the prediction with a participant population of Black and White men.

References

- Cheng, J. T., Tracy, J. L., & Henrich, J. (2010). Pride, personality, and the evolutionary foundations of human social status. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 31, 334-347.
- Miller, W. E., & Traugott, S. A. (1989). *American national election studies data sourcebook, 1952-1986*. Harvard University Press.

APPENDIX D: FULL MATERIALS

Study 1: Full Materials

Items appear in the order they were presented, below.

Vignettes: See Appendix A for full text.

Self-Presentational Strategy Ranking Task: See Figure 2.

Partner Characteristics

Recall the description of your "getting to know you" meeting. Think back to the point where you have just seen your partner, but he has not seen you.

To what extent do you think your partner will...

	1: Not at all	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very much
Worry about his safety when he is around you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Feel the need to protect himself from you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Enjoy hanging out with you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respect and admire you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	1: Not at all	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very much
Feel prejudice toward you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Feel negative toward you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fear you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Assume you are dangerous?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Vignette-Specific Questions (+ Attention Check 1)

In the task you just completed, you ranked **smiling** as **1** out of 8 in terms of importance to making a good impression. Why did you give smiling this rank of importance?

Note: The survey automatically input participants' selected rank of smiling into the question above.

Please input the word **survey** below.

When picturing yourself in the described scenario, did you imagine a specific type of tournament? If so, please describe what you imagined, below.

Impression Management

Recall the description of your "getting to know you" meeting. When placing yourself in this scenario, how important to you would you say it was to appear...

	1: Not at All	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very Much
Trustworthy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	1: Not at All	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very Much
Capable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intelligent	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Stigma Management

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
When someone is prejudiced toward me, there are things that I can do to make the situation better for myself.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I think I might be the target of prejudice, there are things I can do to change that situation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When someone is prejudiced toward me, the situation is out of my control.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Assumed Dangerousness

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about **other people in general**.

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
People worry about their safety when they're around me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People assume I am dangerous.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are motivated to protect themselves from me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Dominance

Please indicate the extent to which each statement accurately describes you by selecting the appropriate number from the scale below in the space provided.

	1: Not at all	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very much
I enjoy having control over others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I do NOT have a forceful or dominant personality.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Some people are afraid of me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Physical Formidability

Compared to the average person of your sex (e.g., a man if you're a man), how would you rate yourself on the following dimensions?

	1: Not at all	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very much
Muscularity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Athleticism	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Physical Strength	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Lay Theories of Bias

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
People have a certain amount of racial bias and they really can't do much to change it.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Everyone, no matter who they are, can significantly change their level of racial bias.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Stigma Damage (+Attention Check 2)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
If someone were to discriminate against me based on my race, that would have negative social consequences for me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It would be stressful for me to be a target of someone's prejudice on my race.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a target of prejudice based on my race would make it harder for me to achieve my goals.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This is an attention filter. Please select option "5".	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Stigma Consciousness

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
Most people do not judge Black people on the basis of their race.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most people have a lot more racist thoughts than they actually express.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most people have a problem viewing Black people as equals.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Note: All participants (regardless of race) saw these items.

Demographics: Height and Weight

How tall are you?

Feet:

Inches:

How much do you weigh, in pounds?

Main Demographics

What is your age, in years?

What is your sex?

- Male
- Female
- Other

What is your sexual orientation?

- Gay
- Straight
- Bisexual
- Other

What is your race/ethnicity? Please check all that apply.

- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian or Asian American
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- White
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- Other
- Decline to Respond

Moderator: Racial Group Identification

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
Being Black or African American is an important reflection of who I am.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a strong attachment to other Black or African American people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being Black or African American is not a major factor in my social relationships.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Note: The survey automatically input participants' selected race/ethnic group into the question above (i.e., White men read the same items about being White).

Moderator: Prototypicality

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
Others can easily tell that I am Black or African American.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am often mistaken as belonging to a racial/ethnic group different from the one(s) I actually belong to.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Others assume that I am Black or African American.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Note: The survey automatically input participants' selected race/ethnic group into the question above (i.e., White men read the same items about being White).

Demographics: Skin Tone

As is true of people of any racial or ethnic group, people who are Black or African American vary a lot in their physical appearance. Some Black or African American people have very light skin tone, and others have darker skin tone. How dark/light is your skin tone?

- 1: Very light 2 3 4 5 6 7: Very dark
-

Note: The survey automatically input participants' selected race/ethnic group into the question above (i.e., White men read the same items about being White).

Demographics: SES and Income

Which socioeconomic status do you most identify with?

- Lower Class
- Lower Middle Class
- Middle Middle Class
- Upper Middle Class
- Upper Class

What is your approximate household income (before tax)?

- Under \$20,000
- \$20,000 - \$29,999
- \$30,000 - \$39,999
- \$40,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$59,999
- \$60,000 - \$79,999
- \$80,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,000 - \$199,999
- \$200,000 or higher
- Decline to answer

Demographics: Additional SES Questions

Please rate your agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

	1 - Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7 - Strongly Agree
My family usually had enough money for things when I was growing up.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I grew up in a relatively wealthy neighborhood.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I felt relatively wealthy compared to the other kids in my school.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My family struggled financially when I was growing up.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	1 - Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7 - Strongly Agree
I currently have enough money to buy things that I want.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I don't currently need to worry too much about paying bills.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I won't have to worry about money too much in the future.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I will be able to buy the things I need and want later in life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Demographics: Childhood Stability and Predictability

Compared to the average person, how stable was your home life when you were growing up?

1 - Very Stable 2 3 4 5 6 7 - Very Unstable

Compared to the average person, how predictable was your life when you were growing up?

1 - Very Predictable 2 3 4 5 6 7 - Very Unpredictable

Native English Speaker Status

Is English your native language?

- Yes
- No

For how many years have you been speaking and reading English?

Zip Code

What is your zip code?

Suspicion Checks

What do you think this study was about? What do you think we were investigating?

Did anything seem strange or unusual to you about this study?

Do you have any comments or feedback about this study?

Exploratory Open-Ended Measures

How would you know when someone is being prejudiced toward you due to your race? What are the signs and/or cues that someone is prejudiced?

Please form a picture in your mind of the person you think is **MOST** likely to be prejudiced toward you **due to your race**.

We would like to learn about the specific characteristics of this person. **Please briefly describe this person, below.**

Please answer the following questions about the **specific traits** of the person you described above. If you did not think about any of the following traits in particular, feel free to mark "**Unsure**".

Did you imagine the person to be of a particular age? If so, please enter the age, in years, below.

Yes;

No/Unsure

What is this person's sex?

- Male
- Female
- Other
- Unsure

What is this person's race/ethnicity?

- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian or Asian American
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- White
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- Other
-
- Unsure

What is this person's political affiliation?

- Republican
- Democrat
- Independent
- Libertarian
- Green Party
- Tea Party
- Other or Unaffiliated
- Unsure

What is this person's religious affiliation?

- Protestant Christian
- Catholic
- Evangelical Christian
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Hindu
- Atheist
- Other
- Unsure

Why do you think this person is most likely to be prejudiced toward you?

Read each item below. Thinking about the person you described on the previous pages, which feelings, if any, would this person feel toward you?

	Very Slightly or Not at All	A Little	Moderately	Quite a Bit	Extremely
Distressed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Scared	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hostile	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attentive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	Very Slightly or Not at All	A Little	Moderately	Quite a Bit	Extremely
Nervous	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Calm	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Happy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Afraid	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	Very Slightly or Not at All	A Little	Moderately	Quite a Bit	Extremely
Guilt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Pity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Negativity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Envy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Study 2: Full Materials

Items appear in the order they were presented, below.

Metastereotypes Measure

First, you will be asked to answer questions about different groups in society. Two groups will be randomly selected for you from the following groups:

- Single people
- Elderly people
- Obese people
- Gay men
- Lesbians
- Native Americans
- Mexican Americans
- African Americans
- Caucasian Americans
- Political conservatives
- Political liberals

As you answer the questions, please think about the specific group the questions refer to.

Please click the >> arrows to continue.

Note: Participants answered questions about Native Americans followed by African Americans. All questions pertaining to African Americans have the exact same wording as those for Native Americans, below.

Your first group is: **Native Americans**

What do people generally think of Native Americans? Take a second to think about most people's impressions of Native Americans.

Please click the >> arrows to continue.

In general, most people feel that Native Americans **restrict personal rights of people like them.**

1: Strongly Disagree 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9: Strongly Agree

In general, most people feel that Native Americans **provide enjoyable entertainment (e.g., art, music, food).**

1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9: Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In general, most people feel that Native Americans **cannot be trusted.**

1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9: Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In general, most people feel that Native Americans **pose problems for others.**

1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9: Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In general, most people feel that Native Americans **are physically dangerous.**

1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9: Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In general, most people feel that Native Americans **offer interesting and/or novel amusements (e.g., art, music, food).**

1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9: Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In general, most people feel that Native Americans **harm the medical health of others.**

1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9: Strongly Agree
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In general, most people feel that Native Americans **increase others' risk of physical illness.**



In general, most people feel that Native Americans **protect others' physical safety.**



In general, most people feel that Native Americans **take and/or damage others' personal property or resources.**



In general, most people feel that Native Americans **endanger the physical safety of others.**



In general, most people feel that Native Americans **need to take more than they are able to give back.**



In general, most people feel that Native Americans **provide benefits to others.**



In general, most people feel that Native Americans **steal and/or harm others' personal possessions**.



In general, most people feel that Native Americans **contribute more to other people than they take**.



In general, most people feel that Native Americans **choose to take more than they give back**.



In general, most people feel that Native Americans **fill important jobs that others are unable to fill**.



In general, most people feel that Native Americans **promote values that directly oppose others' values**.



Vignettes: See Appendix A for full text.

Self-Presentational Strategy Ranking Task: See Figure 2.

Partner Characteristics

Recall the description of your "getting to know you" meeting. Think back to the point where you have just seen your partner, but he has not seen you.

To what extent do you think your partner will...

	1: Not at all	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very much
Worry about his safety when he is around you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Feel the need to protect himself from you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Enjoy hanging out with you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respect and admire you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	1: Not at all	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very much
Feel prejudice toward you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Feel negative toward you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fear you?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Assume you are dangerous?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Attention Check 1

Please input the word **survey** below.

Impression Management

Recall the description of your "getting to know you" meeting. When placing yourself in this scenario, how important to you would you say it was to appear...

	1: Not at All	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very Much
Trustworthy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friendly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	1: Not at All	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very Much
Capable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intelligent	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Stigma Management

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
When someone is prejudiced toward me, there are things that I can do to make the situation better for myself.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I think I might be the target of prejudice, there are things I can do to change that situation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When someone is prejudiced toward me, the situation is out of my control.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Assumed Dangerousness

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about **other people in general**.

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
People worry about their safety when they're around me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People assume I am dangerous.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are motivated to protect themselves from me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Physical Formidability

Compared to the average person of your sex (e.g., a man if you're a man), how would you rate yourself on the following dimensions?

	1: Not at all	2	3	4	5	6	7: Very much
Muscularity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Athleticism	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Physical Strength	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Lay Theories of Bias

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
People have a certain amount of racial bias and they really can't do much to change it.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Everyone, no matter who they are, can significantly change their level of racial bias.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Stigma Damage (+Attention Check 2)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
If someone were to discriminate against me based on my race, that would have negative social consequences for me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It would be stressful for me to be a target of someone's prejudice on my race.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being a target of prejudice based on my race would make it harder for me to achieve my goals.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This is an attention filter. Please select option "5".	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Moderator: Stigma Consciousness

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
Most people do not judge Black people on the basis of their race.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most people have a lot more racist thoughts than they actually express.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most people have a problem viewing Black people as equals.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Note: All participants (regardless of race) saw these items.

Demographics: Height and Weight

How tall are you?

Feet:

Inches:

How much do you weigh, in pounds?

Main Demographics

What is your age, in years?

What is your sex?

- Male
- Female
- Other

What is your sexual orientation?

- Gay
- Straight
- Bisexual
- Other

What is your race/ethnicity? Please check all that apply.

- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian or Asian American
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- White
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- Other
- Decline to Respond

Moderator: Racial Group Identification

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
Being Black or African American is an important reflection of who I am.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a strong attachment to other Black or African American people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being Black or African American is not a major factor in my social relationships.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Note: The survey automatically input participants' selected race/ethnic group into the question above (i.e., White men read the same items about being White).

Moderator: Prototypicality

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	1: Strongly Disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7: Strongly Agree
Others can easily tell that I am Black or African American.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am often mistaken as belonging to a racial/ethnic group different from the one(s) I actually belong to.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Others assume that I am Black or African American.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Note: The survey automatically input participants' selected race/ethnic group into the question above (i.e., White men read the same items about being White).

Demographics: Skin Tone

As is true of people of any racial or ethnic group, people who are Black or African American vary a lot in their physical appearance. Some Black or African American people have very light skin tone, and others have darker skin tone. How dark/light is your skin tone?

- 1: Very light 2 3 4 5 6 7: Very dark
-

Note: The survey automatically input participants' selected race/ethnic group into the question above (i.e., White men read the same items about being White).

Demographics: SES and Income

Which socioeconomic status do you most identify with?

- Lower Class
- Lower Middle Class
- Middle Middle Class
- Upper Middle Class
- Upper Class

What is your approximate household income (before tax)?

- Under \$20,000
- \$20,000 - \$29,999
- \$30,000 - \$39,999
- \$40,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$59,999
- \$60,000 - \$79,999
- \$80,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,000 - \$199,999
- \$200,000 or higher
- Decline to answer

Demographics: Childhood Stability and Predictability

Compared to the average person, how stable was your home life when you were growing up?

- 1 - Very Stable 2 3 4 5 6 7 - Very Unstable
-

Compared to the average person, how predictable was your life when you were growing up?

- 1 - Very Predictable 2 3 4 5 6 7 - Very Unpredictable
-

Native English Speaker Status

Is English your native language?

- Yes
 No

For how many years have you been speaking and reading English?

Zip Code

What is your zip code?

Suspicion Checks

What do you think this study was about? What do you think we were investigating?

Did anything seem strange or unusual to you about this study?

Do you have any comments or feedback about this study?