When Empathy Backfires:

How (Not) to Engender Warmth and Respect for Minorities

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including

any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

The popular expression "walk in another person's shoes before you judge them" implies that we must take the perspective of others to fully understand their emotions and experiences. Prejudice-reduction interventions have harnessed people's abilities to empathize with others to reduce stereotyping and improve attitudes towards outgroup members, effectively creating feelings of warmth towards people who face negative stereotypes. I present evidence, however, suggesting that inducing empathy with perspective-taking can backfire by undermining perceptions of competence. Perspective-taking that focuses solely on the disadvantages of a Black individual leads majority group members (White individuals) to report pity and decreased respect for the minority target (Studies 1-3). These feelings are reflected in Whites' behaviour, such as asking fewer questions during a job interview that would allow the Black individual to fully demonstrate his abilities and competence (Study 3), which might very well undermine actual success. This research investigates methods for reducing prejudice in majority group members that increase respect for members of negatively stereotyped groups—without the hidden cost of increasing pity—by creating identity safe environments in which individuals are treated with both warmth and respect.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"First of all," he said, "if you can learn a simple trick, Scout, you'll get along a lot better with all kinds of folks. You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view…until you climb into his skin and walk around in it."

— Harper Lee, To Kill a Mockingbird

"We need somebody who's got the heart, the empathy, to recognize what it's like to be a young teenage mom, the empathy to understand what it's like to be poor or African-American or gay or disabled or old—and that's the criterion by which I'll be selecting my judges."

— Barack Obama

During Barack Obama's campaign for presidential candidacy in the United States in 2007, he made very clear that his Supreme Court justices nominees would be people who have empathy—an intimate understanding of marginalized people's experiences (Obama, 2007). This ability to perspective-take—changing one's perspective and understanding another person's thoughts, feelings, and experiences—has long been touted as an important skill to have in interpersonal relationships. Atticus Finch in the classic novel, To Kill a Mockingbird (Lee, 1960), advises his daughter to show compassion for others and to better understand why people behave the way they do by taking their perspective. The present research will examine, however, that despite intuition and conventional wisdom that perspective-taking is beneficial, perspective-

taking can backfire if it is not channeled effectively by undermining feelings of respect for the person.

Empathy as an Unmitigated Virtue

I describe empathy as a broad construct encompassing feelings of compassion, sympathy, and concern for another person to the point where one might experience personal distress (see Davis, 1983). One specific way to encourage empathy is through the process of perspective-taking: changing one's perspective to achieve an understanding of another person's thoughts, feelings, and experiences (see Stotland, 1969). Empathizing with others through perspective-taking is an important indicator of cognitive (e.g., development of theory of mind; Piaget, 1954) and moral (Hoffman, 2000) development, and is a source of altruistic motivation and helping behaviour (Batson & Coke, 1981). Broad feelings of empathy can be created in the lab through perspective-taking, although there are certainly other ways of creating empathy, such as creating social connection and belonging (Cwir, Carr, Walton, & Spencer, 2011; Walton, Cohen, Cwir, & Spencer, 2012).

As Barack Obama and Atticus Finch illustrate above, empathy is important for understanding people's experiences and to promote co-operation between people. Empathy, then, can play an important role in the domain of intergroup relations. For example, groups with high power or status may lack empathy for others (e.g., Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006; van Kleef et al., 2008). Extensive research demonstrates that compared to controls, empathizing with marginalized and negatively stereotyped group members through perspective-taking generally leads to positive outcomes for attitudes and behaviour. In much of this research, perspective-taking involves placing oneself in a negatively stereotyped group member's shoes and imagining that person's thoughts, feelings, and behaviour (e.g., Batson et al., 1997a), writing

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about a day in a life of an individual (e.g., Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000), or focusing on an individual's emotions as that person experiences discrimination (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2004). Perspective-taking has been found to lead to more positive attitudes towards an individual—including convicted murderers and the homeless—and these positive feelings generalize to the group as a whole (Batson et al., 1997a). In addition, perspective-taking has been shown to decrease stereotyping and ingroup favouritism (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000), reduce explicit prejudice (Dovidio et al., 2004; Finlay & Stephan, 2006; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003) and implicit prejudice (Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson, & Galinsky, 2011), increase acknowledgment of discrimination and support for policies such as affirmative action (Todd, Bodenhausen, & Galinsky, 2012), increase self-other overlap and social bonds (Davis, Conklin, Smith, & Luce, 1996; Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005), and increase helping behaviours towards stigmatized groups (Batson et al., 1997b; Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002).

This dissertation will demonstrate, however, that in spite of extant evidence in intergroup relations research showing the positive outcomes of empathy, certain types of perspective-taking can backfire. Specifically, I provide evidence that perspective-taking can lead to warmth and positive feelings at a cost of respect and acknowledging a person's potential and abilities.

Empathy and Diversity Training

One practical area where perspective-taking is employed is in the burgeoning business of diversity training—programs that purport to increase the number of underrepresented groups in schools and the workplace, and to provide bias-free environments (Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006)—which net billions of dollars each year in the United States (Hansen, 2003). These programs aim to raise awareness of people's biases and about stigma in general, and to foster inclusivity and acceptance in the workplace (Day, 1995). Diversity training programs are widely

used by employers in large companies and organizations, who are often recognized and lauded for providing them (e.g., Procter and Gamble, Enbridge Inc.; Mediacorp Canada Inc., 2014). At the Problem Gambling Institute of Ontario, for example, one guideline to develop "cross-cultural effectiveness" is to develop empathy (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, 2014). Norma Tombari, director of global diversity of Royal Bank Canada talks about the "platinum rule": "In the diversity arena, we talk about the platinum rule rather than the golden rule: treat others as they want to be treated. To do that, you need to understand where they're coming from and what their background is" (Jermyn, 2012).

However, many such programs are neither well grounded in theory nor evaluated for their effectiveness. No official standards regulate the credentials needed to become diversity training professionals (Day, 1995). What little research has assessed the effectiveness of these programs has not provided evidence these programs are actually effective at increasing diversity and fostering inclusive environments (Paluck, 2006). In fact, after analyzing data from 708 private companies over a span of 30 years, researchers concluded that diversity training was ineffective for increasing and retaining the number of women and minorities in management, whereas mentoring and networking programs, and assigning a manager responsibility for diversity compliance showed more promising results (Kalev et al., 2006). Kaiser and colleagues (2013) also show that diversity training may actually undermine the treatment of stigmatized groups because people tend to rate discrimination complaints directed at companies that have (versus do not have) any kind of diversity structure (i.e., statements about diversity and programming directed at women and minorities' success) as less valid. Thus, diversity programs can give the public an "illusion of fairness", but companies and managers may use them to justify the status quo (Kaiser et al., 2013).

Empathy and Paternalistic Prejudice

Lab-based research has also shown backfiring effects of creating empathy during face-to-face (but not imagined or anticipated) interracial interactions: Participants instructed to perspective-take treated outgroup members less positively, and engaged in fewer intimacy-building behaviours such as eye contact and self-disclosure (Vorauer, Martens, & Sasaki, 2009; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2009). Perspective-taking can take on an egocentric flavour because people become preoccupied with how they are being evaluated by the outgroup member (see Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998), leading to ironic effects during interactions (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). In addition, individuals low in prejudice may become complacent and put less effort into the interaction (Vorauer et al., 2009). In being complacent, people may rely more on stereotypes during interracial interactions, and there is some evidence that perspective-taking can backfire in terms of stereotype activation—individuals who take the perspective of an unambiguously (versus ambiguously) stereotypic outgroup member attributed more stereotypic traits for the group (Skorinko & Sinclair, 2013).

One previously overlooked but especially harmful consequence of inducing empathy, other than complacency and stereotype activation, is paternalism. Empathy may lead majority group members to treat negatively stereotyped group members with warmth but not respect. Showing warmth without respect can have consequences for negatively stereotyped group members. The literature on benevolent sexism—attitudes, values, and behaviours that are seen as chivalrous and positive towards women but do not convey respect—reveals the negative effects it can have on women's performance (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 2001). For example, exposure to benevolent sexism (e.g., receiving high praise but a low-value position on a team) leads women to experience more anger (Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover, 2005), feel incompetent

(Dumont, Sarlet, & Dardenne, 2008), and underperform (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007). In addition, people can perceive targets of benevolent sexism as less competent and less suitable for hiring (Good & Rudman, 2009), and perceive women who accept help of benevolently sexist nature as warm but incompetent (Becker, Glick, Ilic, & Bohner, 2011).

Social psychologists have also studied varying and changing forms of racism, from blatant and explicit forms to more contemporary and subtle forms of racial prejudice (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988). Katz and Hass (1988) distinguished between hostile, "anti-Black" attitudes and positive, "pro-Black" attitudes—sympathetic feelings towards Blacks due to the disadvantages that group faces, but these ostensibly "pro-Black" attitudes could also be pitying and paternalistic in nature (Fiske, 2012).

High standards and respect for minorities' abilities to meet these standards are vital for their success. For example, critical feedback on a writing assignment delivered with high praise reduced Black students' motivation and identification with writing, but critical feedback combined with high standards and the assurance that they can meet those standards resulted in increased motivation and identification with writing (Cohen, Steele, & Ross, 1999). Solely behaving warmly (i.e., giving students high praise for their work) seems positive on the surface, but can have detrimental effects on the motivation and performance of negatively stereotyped group members.

Empathy and the Role of Respect

Stereotypes vary in levels of warmth and competence, such that some groups can be stereotyped as being high on warmth but low on competence, such as the elderly, housewives, and disabled people (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). For instance, older adults are seen as warm and loving caregivers (e.g., your grandparents), but could

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also be seen as weak, senile, and incompetent. Thus, perceiving people high on just one dimension—warmth—and low on the other—competence—can be problematic, because attitudes and prejudice towards these groups are paternalistic and tend to elicit feelings of pity (Fiske et al., 2002).

Furthermore, people who face negative ability stereotypes—particularly incompetence—and are also targets of prejudice and discrimination, are mainly concerned with being perceived in a stereotypical manner when interacting with majority group members (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). Specifically, Black and Latino people seek especially to be respected (versus to be liked) by their peers, and tend to show more self-promoting (versus ingratiating, or warmth-eliciting) behaviours during interracial interactions. Moreover, people compensate between strategically displaying warmth and competence inversely during impression management when trying to appear either warm or competent to others (Holoien & Fiske, 2013).

In this way, warmth without respect can create stereotype threat—being concerned that one's behaviour may be interpreted as confirming a stereotype (Steele, 1997). Stereotype threat has been shown to undermine the performance of members of negatively stereotyped groups, and create barriers to entering fields in which they are stereotyped, such as science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) for women (e.g., Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999) and academics for Black students (e.g., Steele & Aronson, 1995; see Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002 for a review). Stereotype threat can come from the behaviour of others, especially majority group members: Women's STEM performance suffers when interacting with sexist men (Logel et al., 2009), learning from a sexist male instructor (Adams, Garcia, Purdie-Vaughns, & Steele, 2006), and observing other women interacting with dominant men in a math-related context (Van Loo & Rydell, 2014).

If empathy is going to promote positive intergroup relations, it needs to be accompanied by respect. Not surprisingly, when minority group members are treated the way they would like to be treated (i.e., with respect), more positive intergroup relationships are possible (Bergsieker et al., 2010). In these situations, stereotype threat should be lower and optimal performances of minority group members should be achieved. One possible strategy to combat the behaviours from majority group members that trigger stereotype threat is to instruct people to empathize with negatively stereotyped group members while focusing on their unique circumstances and hidden strengths, and most importantly, maintaining high standards for performance.

The Present Research

Creating empathy and positive feelings towards marginalized and negatively stereotyped group members through the process of perspective-taking can thus take on different forms: one that is paternalistic and lacks respect, and another that focuses on strength and respect. First, majority group members can focus solely on the disadvantages faced by a negatively stereotyped person by recognizing all the challenges he or she faces, such as the extra pressure from disproving negative ability stereotypes during an academic test and subsequent underperformance. I hypothesize that thinking about the *disadvantages* and extra stress of a target may overshadow majority group members' perceptions of the person's competence. Majority group members may see the person as a helpless victim who needs aid, not as someone who has the ability to overcome their challenges. Paradoxically then, despite a large body of research showing that creating empathy through perspective-taking can lead to positive outcomes such as more favourable attitudes and reduced prejudice, I hypothesize that this type of perspective-taking will create paternalistic prejudice. It should increase warmth for the person at a cost of respect by backfiring for perceptions of competence, and could lead to potentially

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negative downstream consequences, such as biased interviewing and hiring practices that constrain negatively stereotyped group members' chances at success.

However, another way majority group members can take the perspective of a negatively stereotyped group member is by focusing on that person's *strengths that were not immediately evident*. Doing so allows majority group members to recognize not only the challenges that the person face, but also that person's ability to overcome these challenges. I hypothesize that majority group members may see the person as someone who is autonomous, empowered, and competent, and who exhibits strength under pressure and achieves goals in spite of challenges. This type of perspective-taking should increase both warmth and respect for that person, and lead perceivers to recognize the abilities and competence of negatively stereotyped group members.

Using a laboratory study with undergraduate students and online studies with a broader sample, I will demonstrate that different consequences for negatively stereotyped group members follow from how majority group members engage in perspective-taking. The perspective-taking experience will focus on either (a) the anxiety targets feel when interacting with people whom they think are judging them based on negative stereotypes or (b) ways targets overcome their anxiety by using coping strategies and re-construing the situation as less threatening.

Study 1 investigates how perspective-taking in which Whites focus solely on the disadvantages versus the hidden strengths of a Black individual affects people's feelings of pity, and expressions of respect through perceptions of target competence. Study 2 addresses additional issues: Does considering a Black individual's disadvantages backfire compared with taking the perspective of a White target? Does focusing on a Black individual's hidden strengths and abilities increase people's feelings of respect to match those for a White target? Lastly, Study 3 tests how perspective-taking focused on disadvantages can ironically lead Whites to

engage in behaviours—such as asking less relevant job interview questions—that could restrict a Black job candidate's opportunities to prove their competence.

     In testing the prediction that paternalistic forms of perspective-taking can ironically harm negatively stereotyped group members, this work seeks to extend previous research on using empathy and perspective-taking as prejudice-reduction strategies. This research also highlights the importance of engendering both warmth and respect (and paying close attention to the behavioural cues that demonstrate such warmth and respect), which is conducive to minority success.

CHAPTER 2

Study 1: Empathy and Consequences for Pity and Respect

In Study 1 I sought initial evidence that particular types of perspective-taking can backfire and reverse the positive effects of perspective-taking for negatively stereotyped group members. Specifically, I hypothesized that perspective-taking focused solely on the negatively stereotyped group member's disadvantages (versus strengths that were not immediately evident) will increase majority group members' feelings of pity and reduce feelings of respect as measured by perceptions of competence.

In this dissertation, we aimed to study the backfiring effects of perspective-taking in majority group members (Whites). The type of perspective-taking was manipulated by describing how a Black target deals with the experience of stereotype threat. Participants in the experimental conditions learned about stereotype threat, and then took the perspective of a Black target while thinking about the stress and disadvantages he faces as a negatively stereotyped person (disadvantages condition) or thinking about how the Black target overcomes his challenges (hidden strengths condition). Participants in the control condition learned about a neutral topic and took the perspective of a non-minority target engaging in everyday activities. All participants then rated the target on traits related to pity, competence, and warmth.

Method

Participants. Ninety-six White American participants (59 women, M_{age} = 36.0 years, *SD* = 11.77) recruited from Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk service (see Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011) participated in a study on the "Development of Reading Materials" for 50 cents.

Materials and procedure. Participants were told that in this online study researchers were piloting reading and writing materials related to a variety of topics (e.g., botany, space

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exploration), and that they would read a randomly assigned article. Participants in the experimental conditions read a modified passage about stereotype threat (Steele, 2010). This excerpt guides readers through a thought experiment of experiencing stereotype threat, then teaches them about stereotype threat and its effects on people with negatively stereotyped identities. Participants in the control condition read a neutral article about plants (see Appendices A & B for the articles).

Participants in the experimental conditions were then asked to complete a writing activity. They wrote a brief summary about a day in the life of Tyrone Williams, a Black student in his second year of college, with the instruction to "try to feel the full impact of his experiences, and how he feels as a result." Participants in the *disadvantages condition* were asked to "try to imagine how much more difficult his experiences are than the typical student, and the kind of help he might need in such situations." Participants in the *hidden strengths condition* were asked to "try to imagine how much stronger he will become from these difficult experiences, and what he could teach you about dealing with challenging situations."

They were then asked to write one sentence for 5 scenarios. In the first scenario, participants in both experimental conditions were asked to imagine Tyrone's experience as he "Goes to a political science lecture, and he is the only Black student in the class." The remaining 4 scenarios differed between the two conditions. For example, participants in the disadvantages and hidden strengths conditions, respectively, wrote about what would happen when Tyrone "meets with his English professor to talk about his term paper, and [how he might worry that the professor might judge his abilities in the light of negative stereotypes about Black people / what strategies he uses to get the most out of the feedback despite the professor's potential doubts about his ability]," or "gives a presentation in history class, and [how stressful or challenging the

situation can be for him / what he could teach other students about concerns about how others will perceive them in front of the class].” Participants in the *control condition* wrote a brief summary about a day in the life of John Williams, and were asked instead to what would happen when John “wakes up and eats breakfast before class,” or “goes to the grocery store” (see Appendices C & D for perspective-taking prompts).

Participants then completed an impression formation task of the perspective-taking target by rating the extent to which Tyrone Williams or John Williams possessed different traits (see Appendix E for scale items). I averaged participants’ ratings of the traits on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*) related to pity (*victim*, *incapable*, *in need of help*, *weak*, *needs support*; $\alpha = .68$), competence (*empowered*, *strong*, *intelligent*, *determined*, *able to help others*, *has a lot to offer*; $\alpha = .85$), and warmth (*cold* [reversed], *warm*, *sociable*; $\alpha = .59$). Participants then completed items from the Internal ($\alpha = .85$) and External ($\alpha = .86$) Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice scales (IMS & EMS, respectively; Plant & Devine, 1998), and the Modern Racism Scale ($\alpha = .85$; MRS; McConahay, 1986). Participants were probed for suspicion and then debriefed.

Results and Discussion

Analyses excluded 3 participants who did not complete the perspective-taking manipulation, and 2 who identified as non-White.[1]

Pity, competence, and warmth. Does taking the perspective of a negatively stereotyped group member while focusing solely on his disadvantages backfire by increasing feelings of pity and reducing respect? I submitted the composites of traits tapping into pity, competence, and warmth to an ANOVA with perspective-taking condition (control vs. hidden strengths vs.

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[1] The results remained essentially the same when I included these participants in the analyses. Exclusion rates did not significantly differ by condition.

disadvantages) as the between-subjects factor. Figure 1 shows the significant main effect of perspective-taking condition on ratings of pity, $F(2, 93) = 14.74$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .24$. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD tests revealed that participants reported significantly more pity for the target in the disadvantages condition ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 0.69$) than in the hidden strengths condition ($M = 1.86$, $SD = 0.46$) or control condition ($M = 1.70$, $SD = 0.50$), $ps < .001$.

Perspective-taking condition also significantly influenced ratings of competence, $F(2, 93) = 10.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$. Participants rated the target significantly higher on competence in the hidden strengths condition ($M = 4.33$, $SD = 0.49$) than the disadvantages condition ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 0.60$) or control condition ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 0.67$), $ps < .001$.

Lastly, perspective-taking condition significantly affected ratings of warmth, $F(2, 93) = 10.39$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .18$. Participants rated the target significantly lower ($p < .05$) on warmth in the disadvantages condition ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 0.63$) than the hidden strengths condition ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 0.55$) or control condition ($M = 4.24$, $SD = 0.64$).[2] Notably, the items tapping into warmth represent how warm Whites think Tyrone (or John) Williams is, not necessarily how warmly they feel towards him. These unexpected results for trait warmth suggest that those in the disadvantages condition see Tyrone as less warm than those in the hidden strengths and control condition, despite pitying him more.

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[2] I also removed items from the composites of ratings tapping into pity and competence that may serve as a manipulation check as these words were in the perspective-taking writing prompt: *strong, able to help others, has a lot to offer, in need of help, and needs support*. When analyzing pity and competence ratings without these words, the pattern and significance of effects remained essentially the same. Perspective-taking condition also influenced two other traits that were included in the impression formation task for exploratory purposes: *uncertain*, $F(2, 93) = 19.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .29$, and *happy*, $F(2, 93) = 15.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$. Participants rated the target as more uncertain in the disadvantages condition ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 0.97$) than the hidden strengths ($M = 2.84$, $SD = 0.97$) and control ($M = 2.03$, $SD = 1.04$) conditions ($ps < .05$), and these conditions also differed ($p = .004$). Participants rated the target as less happy in the disadvantages ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 0.91$) condition than the hidden strengths ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 0.81$) and control ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 0.81$) conditions ($ps < .002$).
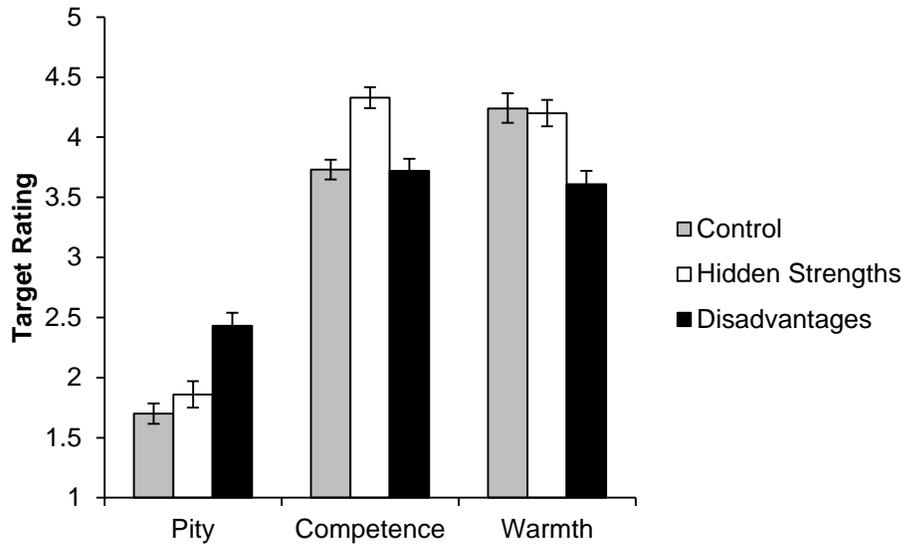
Figure 1. Ratings of target pity, competence, and warmth by perspective-taking condition (Study 1). Error bars represent ± 1 *SE*.

Prejudice self-report measures. Perspective-taking condition was unrelated to participants' levels of modern racism ($F < 1$), but did significantly influence IMS, $F(2, 93) = 6.75$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$, and EMS, $F(2, 93) = 3.26$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Tukey post-hoc tests revealed that participants reported significantly higher IMS ($p < .05$) in the hidden strengths condition ($M = 4.66$, $SD = 0.54$) than the disadvantages ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 0.88$) or control ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 0.78$) conditions.[3] Participants reported significantly higher EMS ($p = .05$) in the disadvantages condition ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 1.15$) than the hidden strengths ($M = 2.28$, $SD = 1.06$) condition, and slightly higher ($p = .11$) than the control ($M = 2.39$, $SD = 0.95$) condition.

These findings provide preliminary evidence that perspective-taking focused solely on the anxiety, stress, and disadvantages a negatively stereotyped group member faces as a result of stereotype threat can backfire by leading Whites to view the target with greater pity, and to

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[3] There was also a significant main effect of participant gender on scores on the IMS, $F(1, 90) = 5.35$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, such that women ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 0.62$) scored significantly higher compared with men ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 0.96$). This finding is consistent with previous research in which men tend to score higher on self-report measures of prejudice compared with women (e.g., Ekehammar & Sidanius, 1982; Whitley, 1999).

perceive the target as less competent and warm. Focusing on a negatively stereotyped group member's hidden potential and strength to overcome obstacles, however, did not lead to these decrements in perceptions of competence. Instead, focusing on hidden strengths led to greater perceptions of competence.

Furthermore, these results show that focusing on a stereotyped group member's disadvantages, rather than his hidden potential, can reduce Whites' intrinsic desire to respond without prejudice, and increase their motivations to avoid appearing prejudiced based on social norms. The latter motivation to respond without prejudice is linked to problematic outcomes, such as the inability to suppress negative stereotypes about outgroup members, as well as anxiety and avoidant behaviour during intergroup interactions (see Butz & Plant, 2009). A limitation of Study 1 is the lack of clarity in the nature of the effect: Did perspective-taking with a focus on disadvantages backfire? Did a focus on hidden strengths bring people's feelings of respect up to a level comparable to those for a White target? Study 2 sought to address this issue.

CHAPTER 3

Study 2: Empathy and Consequences for Pity and Respect with a Black Target Control Group

Study 1 shows a potentially harmful effect of perspective-taking: It can become paternalistic and lead to a lack of respect. Study 2 aimed to replicate the results from Study 1, and to clarify and calibrate the nature of the effect by investigating which perspective-taking condition changed responses from baseline. Did taking the perspective of a negatively stereotyped group member's disadvantages backfire compared to taking the perspective of a White target? Did focusing on his hidden strengths and abilities bring people's feelings of respect and perceptions of competence up to ratings for the White target? I changed the control condition such that White participants took the perspective of the same Black target as in Study 1. However, these participants did not learn about stereotype threat, nor did they receive information about his struggles or how he has overcome obstacles.

Method

Participants. One hundred forty-four White American participants (71 women, $M_{age} =$ 33.6 years, $SD = 12.19$) recruited from Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk service participated in a "Development of Reading Materials" study for 50 cents.

Materials and procedure. The cover story, materials, and procedure were identical to Study 1 except participants in the control condition took the perspective of Tyrone Williams, a student in his second year of college. They were instructed to write one sentence for 5 scenarios. For example, they described what would happen when Tyrone "goes to a political science lecture," or "meets with his English professor to talk about his term paper" (see Appendix D).

Participants then completed the same impression formation task about the person whose perspective they took, with the same traits tapping pity ($\alpha = .74$), competence ($\alpha = .84$), and

warmth ($\alpha = .66$). Participants then completed items from the IMS ($\alpha = .85$), EMS ($\alpha = .78$), and

MRS ($\alpha = .88$). Participants were probed for suspicion and then debriefed.

Results and Discussion

Analyses excluded 4 participants who did not complete the perspective-taking exercise

properly.[4]

Pity, competence, and warmth. I submitted the composites of traits tapping into pity,

competence, and warmth to an ANOVA with perspective-taking condition (control vs. hidden

strengths vs. disadvantages) as the between-subjects factor. Replicating findings from Study 1,

Figure 2 shows a significant effect of perspective-taking condition on ratings of pity, $F(2, 141) =$

7.86, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Tukey post-hoc tests revealed, as in Study 1, that participants rated

Tyrone higher on pity in the disadvantages condition ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 0.62$) than the hidden

strengths condition ($M = 2.16$, $SD = 0.60$) and control condition ($M = 2.10$, $SD = 0.63$), $ps < .05$.[5]

Perspective-taking condition also influenced ratings of competence, $F(2, 141) = 7.58$, $p <$

$.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Participants' ratings of competence did not differ significantly in the hidden

strengths ($M = 4.09$, $SD = 0.63$) and control ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 0.53$) conditions.[6] Participants rated

Tyrone higher on competence in the hidden strengths condition than the disadvantages condition

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[4] The results remained essentially the same when I included these participants in the analyses. Exclusion rates did not significantly differ by condition.

[5] Participant gender moderated the effects of perspective-taking condition on ratings of pity, $F(2, 138) = 3.12$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Further analyses revealed that perspective-taking condition did not affect ratings of pity for female participants, $F(2, 138) = 1.30$, $p = .28$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. However, perspective-taking condition significantly influenced ratings of pity for male participants, $F(2, 138) = 9.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$. Tukey post-hoc tests revealed that male participants significant pitied Tyrone more in the disadvantages condition ($M = 2.72$, $SD = 0.57$) than the hidden strengths condition ($M = 2.23$, $SD = 0.60$) control condition ($M = 1.96$, $SD = 0.66$), $ps < .05$. Ratings of pity did not significantly differ between the hidden strengths and control conditions. In addition, perspective-taking that focuses on disadvantages led to higher ratings of pity for male ($M = 2.72$, $SD = 0.57$) compared with female ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 0.61$) participants, $F(1, 138) = 4.49$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. No other simple effects were significant. These results suggest that the backfiring effect of focusing on disadvantages may be attenuated for female participants. This finding fits with previous work showing that men generally tend to score higher than women on constructs such as social dominance orientation (SDO) and prejudice (Ekehammar & Sidanius, 1982; Pratto et al., 2000; Whitley, 1999), and thus, men who are higher in SDO may be expressing pity as a means of maintaining their social status.

[6] Post-hoc comparisons using Fisher's LSD test revealed a trending effect ($p = .10$) such that ratings of traits related to competence were slightly higher in the hidden strengths than control condition.

($M = 3.63$, $SD = 0.58$), $p < .001$, and participants rated Tyrone marginally higher on competence in the control condition than in the disadvantages condition, $p = .08$.

Lastly, perspective-taking condition affected ratings of warmth, $F(2, 93) = 6.16$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. As in Study 1, participants rated Tyrone lower on warmth in the disadvantages condition ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 0.63$) than the hidden strengths ($M = 3.85$, $SD = 0.62$) and control condition ($M = 3.78$, $SD = 0.57$), $ps < .05$.[7]
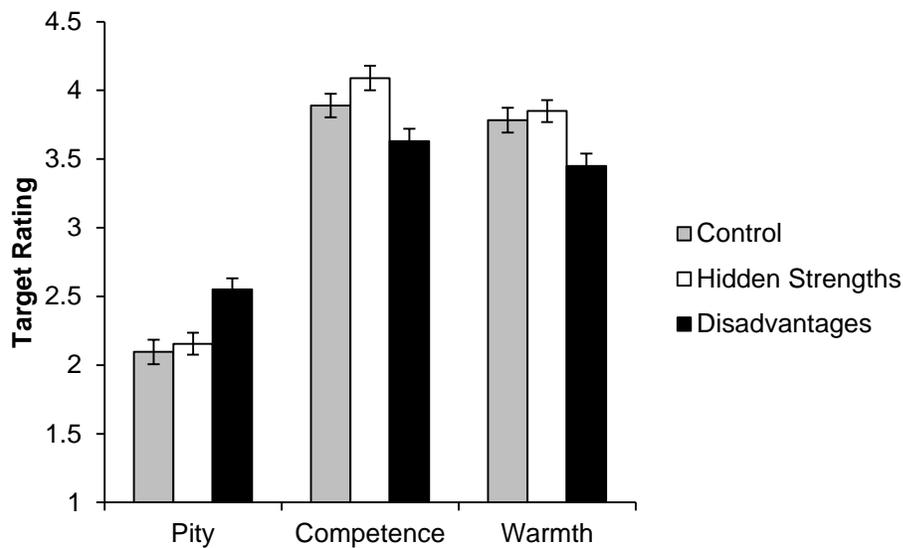
Figure 2. Ratings of target pity, competence, and warmth by perspective-taking condition (Study 2). Error bars represent ± 1 *SE*.

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[7] As in Study 1, when I removed manipulation-check items from the pity and competence composites (*strong*, *able to help others*, *has a lot to offer*, *in need of help*, *needs support*), the results remained essentially the same. As in Study 1, there was also a significant effect of condition on the trait "uncertain", $F(2, 141) = 4.81$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, such that participants in the disadvantages condition ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.06$) rated the target as more uncertain compared with the hidden strengths ($M = 2.98$, $SD = 1.05$) and control ($M = 2.85$, $SD = 0.99$) conditions ($ps < .06$). There was also an effect of condition on the trait "happy", $F(2, 141) = 22.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .24$, such that participants in the disadvantages condition ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 0.77$) also rated the target as less happy compared with the hidden strengths ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 0.82$) and control ($M = 3.78$, $SD = 0.66$) conditions ($ps < .001$).

Prejudice self-report measures. Perspective-taking condition had no effect on levels of modern racism, $F < 1$, or—in contrast to Study 1—on internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice ($ps > .35$). I will return to this point in the General Discussion.

Overall, these findings replicate results from Study 1 and provide more evidence that perspective-taking focused solely on the disadvantages a negatively stereotyped person faces can backfire by leading Whites to view the Black target with greater pity compared to perspective-taking that focuses on hidden strengths or a neutral condition. Whites pitied the Black target comparably in both the hidden strengths and control condition, which indicates the locus of the effect: Perspective-taking with a focus on disadvantages is most detrimental. Furthermore, a non-significant trend emerged for perspective-taking focused on hidden strengths to elevate respect for a Black target relative to the control condition.

CHAPTER 4

Study 3: Empathy and Consequences for Minority Success

Studies 1 and 2 provide evidence that taking the perspective of a negatively stereotyped group member by focusing on the disadvantages that persons faces can backfire by increasing majority group members' feelings of pity and reducing feelings of respect. Study 3 was designed to replicate Studies 1 and 2, and investigated whether this type of perspective-taking could have potentially negative downstream consequences for actual behaviour that affects minorities' success: performance during a job interview.

Specifically, I was interested in the types of questions participants ask during a job interview. One can imagine a job interview unfolding in two different ways. In one scenario, the employer asks the job candidate many *diagnostic* questions that the candidate can answer to adequately show that he or she has the abilities to perform the job well. Afterward, the employer will presumably have enough information about the candidate's abilities and competence to make an informed hiring decision. Alternately, an employer could ask the job candidate many *non-diagnostic questions*. Though easy to answer (e.g., "What would be your ideal vacation?"), such questions would not allow the job candidate to convey job-related skills, thus reducing the person's chances of being hired because the employer would have insufficient information to do so.

Past research has shown that people use both confirmatory (Snyder & Swann, 1978) and diagnostic (Bassok & Trope, 1984; Trope & Bassok, 1982; Trope & Bassok, 1983) strategies when engaging in hypothesis testing (see Kunda, 1999). Confirmatory hypothesis testing involves choosing questions that are biased toward confirming one's hypotheses (e.g., one-sided questions that elicit extraverted responses when testing whether a target typifies an extravert). In

contrast, diagnostic hypothesis testing involves choosing questions based on the extent to which they would help prove their hypothesis right or wrong (e.g., asking questions that would provide the most relevant information about a target's extraversion or lack thereof).

Borrowing from both of these approaches, I examined two types of questions asked during the job interview with a minority job candidate for a teaching assistant position. I examined the extent to which majority group members ask diagnostic questions: those relevant to the job that allow a job candidate to demonstrate competence (e.g., "What traits and experience do you have that applies to this position?"), including those that are relevant and difficult (e.g., "Tell me about a time where you didn't meet your boss' or supervisor's expectations."). I also examined non-diagnostic questions: those not relevant to or diagnostic of the job candidate's abilities and competence (e.g., "What are your hobbies?" or "What is your favourite colour?").

The types of questions asked during interviews can critically influence performance during the interview. Negative interviewer behaviours are known to undermine performance: White job candidates who were treated (poorly) like Black candidates—receiving shorter interviews with fewer closeness and immediacy behaviours than is otherwise typical for a White candidate—were judged by blind coders as performing less well during the interview (Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974). Thus, asking more non-diagnostic and fewer diagnostic questions during a job interview could impact whether a negatively stereotyped job candidate could adequately prove their competence. I hypothesized that perspective-taking focused on disadvantages (versus hidden strengths) would lead majority group members to ask more non-diagnostic (versus diagnostic) questions—"low-ball" types of questions that may indicate more disrespectful intent and could potentially undermine a minority job candidate's success.

Furthermore, I was also interested in examining the extent to which interview questions asked elicit primarily warmth or competence. These questions might lead to confirmatory responses such that job candidates who are asked more warmth-eliciting questions would find it easier to respond in a warm and friendly manner, and job candidates asked more competence-eliciting questions would find it easier to respond in ways that would make them appear competent (Snyder & Swann, 1978). In this study however, I did not test this potential self-fulfilling prophecy because a confederate answered the questions with scripted responses.

During an interview, asking questions that are more warmth-eliciting (e.g., "Tell me about your family") might indicate more warmth towards the candidate but also patronizing intent as these are relatively easy questions to answer but are not relevant to the job, and essentially wastes valuable interview time. This is in contrast to asking questions that are more competence-eliciting (e.g., "What makes you think you can succeed at this job?") which would indicate more respectful intent as these might be more difficult questions to answer but are relevant to the job. In this study, independent coders blind to the purpose and hypotheses of the study rated scripted interview questions on how easy it would be to sound warm or competent. I hypothesized that taking the perspective of a negatively stereotyped target, whether focusing on disadvantages or hidden strengths, would lead to greater feelings of warmth, consistent with past research (e.g., Batson et al., 1997a). However, I predicted that perspective-taking with a focus on disadvantages would lead to feelings warmth at the cost of respect: asking questions that would elicit warmth more so than competence. One might expect that a job candidate would do well and be evaluated positively if they are allowed to show that they are warm and likeable (by being asked warmth-eliciting questions) but that they are also competent (by being asked competence-eliciting questions).

White participants in this study were assigned to the same perspective-taking conditions as in Studies 1 and 2: Participants in the experimental conditions learned about stereotype threat, and then took the perspective of a Black target while thinking about the disadvantages he faces as a negatively stereotyped person (disadvantages condition) or thinking about how the Black target overcomes their challenges (hidden strengths condition). Unlike the previous studies, participants took the perspective of Kwaku Asante, a Black student who recently immigrated from Ghana. This minority group was chosen because it is salient and relevant to participants sampled from the University of Waterloo where the student population consists of many international or exchange undergraduate students.[8] Participants in the control condition read about a neutral topic and took the perspective of a non-minority target completing everyday activities, as in Study 1. After completing the same impression formation task of the perspective-taking target as in Studies 1 and 2, participants proceeded to an ostensibly separate study. They took the role of an interviewer and interviewed a different Black job candidate (a senior undergraduate student from Barbados) for an undergraduate teaching assistant position in the Department of Psychology using an online messaging platform. They then completed self-report measures tapping into their perceptions of the job candidate and attitudes about minority groups.

Method

Participants. Seventy-seven first-year White participants (37 women, M_{age} = 19.3 years, SD = 2.57) at the University of Waterloo participated in 3 ostensibly separate studies on how

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[8] An online pilot study with a separate sample of 229 University of Waterloo undergraduates (159 women, M_{age} = 20.2 years, SD = 2.95) surveyed beliefs about Canadians' stereotypes of immigrants, and people from Ghana and Barbados. On a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), participants rated whether they thought that Canadians believe people from Ghana, Barbados, or immigrants possessed traits related to warmth and competence. Participants' perceived stereotypes related to competence (*good at academics, intelligent, competent, capable, economically successful*) were significantly lower for Ghanaians (M = 3.80, SD = 1.11) than Barbadians (M = 4.18, SD = 0.99), and both groups were rated lower than immigrants (M = 4.75, SD = 1.13). On stereotypes related to warmth (*sincere, friendly, likeable, socially skilled*), immigrants were rated lowest (M = 4.19, SD = 1.16), less than Ghanaians (M = 4.89, SD = 1.18), who scored lower compared Barbadians (M = 5.26, SD = 1.17).

people process scientific information, interview practices, and charity donations in exchange for course credit.

Participants completed a mass-testing survey conducted at the beginning of the semester and were recruited for the study if they scored from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 9 (*strongly agree*) in the top third of the Canadian version of the MRS ($M = 5.02$, $SD = 0.67$, $\alpha = .78$; Bobocel, Son Hing, Davey, Stanley, & Zanna, 1998; see Appendix F). I selected participants higher in MRS specifically to obtain sufficient variance in discrimination during a job interview, as more prejudiced participants are more likely to discriminate. The Canadian MRS also contains items about immigrants and visible minorities, making it especially appropriate for a study focused on negatively stereotyped people from groups that have immigrated to Canada.

Materials and procedure. Participants were told that they were completing 3 separate studies. They first participated in a study ostensibly on how people process and remember scientific and social information. In a different room, they completed ostensibly separate studies by different graduate students in the department on new interview practices and the kinds of questions people ask that might assist with hiring decisions, and on how people make charity donations.

In the first ostensible study, the stereotype threat reading and perspective-taking writing materials were identical to Study 1, except for a modification of the target. In Study 3, participants in the disadvantages and hidden strengths conditions were asked to write a brief summary about a day in the life not of Tyrone Williams, but of Kwaku Asante, "a student who has just immigrated from Ghana to Canada." Participants then completed the same impression formation task on the person they took the perspective of on the same traits tapping into pity ($\alpha = .86$), competence ($\alpha = .70$), and warmth ($\alpha = .60$) from Studies 1 and 2.

Interview questions selected. Participants were then led to a separate room with a computer where they were told that a separate group of researchers were interested in different interview practices—specifically what kinds of questions people ask, and how that helps them make hiring decisions. Participants were told that the researchers were working with the Department of Psychology at the University of Waterloo to hire undergraduate teaching assistants for second-year psychology courses (see Appendix G for the job description). In order to create a believable and involved interview, participants were told that the department had already interviewed and hired several upper-year undergraduate students for the positions, but that these students had volunteered some of their time to be part of the study to enable the researchers to study interview practices. To bolster my cover story, a schedule on the desk displayed different students' names and "interview" dates and times. Participants across all 3 conditions then took the role of an interviewer and met Delroy Jones, a third-year student in Honours Psychology from Barbados, on MSN Messenger$^{©}$, an online instant messaging program.

Participants were given a list of 32 interview questions (see Appendix H for the list of questions, categorized by diagnosticity prior to data analysis) and instructed to choose any to ask Delroy. A research assistant blind to condition and study hypotheses served as a confederate and replied to participants' questions with scripted answers (see Appendix I for the list of interview questions and scripted answers). Because of time constraints of the lab session, the confederate was instructed to answer 8 questions before notifying the experimenter who ended the interview. Participants were then asked to select 4 more questions from the list that they would have liked to ask the candidate given sufficient time. Thus, participants had the opportunity to select a total of 12 questions to ask the candidate. When participants generated some questions of their own,

the confederate responded with answers consistent with Delroy's experiences (see Appendix J for list of unscripted questions, categorized by diagnosticity prior to data analysis).[9]

Self-report measures. Participants then completed self-report questionnaires measuring their attitudes about the job candidate (e.g., ratings of their qualifications, such as how qualified and responsible they thought he was). They then completed an ostensibly separate study on charity donations in which I assessed their attitudes towards Black people in general, such as the IMS ($\alpha = .70$), EMS ($\alpha = .70$), and MRS ($\alpha = .74$; see Appendices L and M for all of the measures). Participants also read about 2 different charities: a charity promoting respect for minorities (a scholarship for students who are immigrants for academic excellence) or compassion for minorities (bursary for students who are immigrants with financial need, see Appendix M). They were asked in a hypothetical scenario to allocate $100 to donate to both charities, which was scored from 1 (*$0 for the charity promoting respect for minorities*) to 6 (*$100 for the charity promoting respect for minorities*). After these measures were administered, participants were probed for suspicion and then debriefed.[10]

Interview question coding. Two coders blind to condition and study hypotheses read the interview questions and used a scale from 0 (*not easy at all*) to 5 (*very easy*) to rate each question on how easy it would be to sound like a *warm*, *kind*, and *caring* person in one's response. These ratings were averaged into a composite indexing how warmth-eliciting each question is ($\alpha = .89$). They were also asked to rate how easy it would be to sound *competent*, *qualified for the position*, *responsible*, and *motivated*, which was averaged into a composite tapping into how competence-

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[9] Despite the experimenter's specific instructions not to generate their own questions, 14 participants did so anyway.
[10] Eight participants (2 in the disadvantages condition, 4 in the hidden strengths condition, and 2 in the control condition) did not believe that Delroy was a real job candidate. Four participants (3 in the hidden strengths condition and 1 in the control condition) thought the 3 ostensibly separate studies were actually related. One participant (in the disadvantages condition) did not believe that Delroy was a real job candidate and thought that the studies were related. The pattern of results and significance of effects remained essentially the same when these participants were excluded from the analyses.

eliciting each question is (α = .90). Interrater reliability ranged from alphas of .91 to .98 on each

of these dimensions (see Appendix K for the coding scheme and instructions given to the

research assistants).

Results and Discussion

Self-report dependent measures were submitted to an ANOVA with perspective-taking

condition (control vs. hidden strengths vs. disadvantages) as the between-subjects factor.

Pity, competence, and warmth. Replicating findings from Studies 1 and 2, Figure 3

shows a significant effect of perspective-taking condition on pity, $F(2, 74) = 30.58$, $p < .001$, η_p^2

$= .45$. Tukey post-hoc tests revealed that, as in Studies 1 and 2, participants pitied Kwaku in

marginally more in the disadvantages condition ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 0.80$) than the hidden strengths

condition ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 0.61$), $p = .08$, and significantly more than the control condition ($M = $

1.55, $SD = 0.56$), $p < .001$.[11]

Perspective-taking condition marginally influenced ratings of competence, $F(2, 74) = $

2.61, $p = .08$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Participants rated Kwaku marginally lower on competence in the

disadvantages condition ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 0.60$) than hidden strengths condition ($M = 3.67$, $SD = $

0.57), $p = .07$, and neither condition significantly differed from the control condition ($M = 3.54$,

$SD = 0.50$).

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[11] Participant gender significantly moderated the effect of perspective-taking condition on pity ratings, $F(2, 71) = $
3.77, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Further analyses revealed, in contrast to Study 1, perspective-taking condition significantly
affected ratings of pity for female participants, $F(2, 71) = 13.30$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .47$. Tukey post-hoc tests revealed
that female participants rated Kwaku lower on pity in the control condition ($M = 1.50$, $SD = 0.52$) compared with the
hidden strengths ($M = 2.70$, $SD = 0.62$) and disadvantages conditions ($M = 2.62$, $SD = 0.65$), $ps < .001$. As in Study
2, perspective-taking condition significantly influenced ratings of pity for male participants, $F(2, 71) = 23.57$, $p < $
$.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .53$. Tukey post-hoc tests revealed that male participants rated Kwaku higher on pity in the disadvantages
condition ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 0.83$) compared with the hidden strengths condition ($M = 2.38$, $SD = 0.58$), and compared
with the control condition ($M = 1.59$, $SD = 0.60$), $ps < .05$. In addition, male participants ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 0.82$) pitied
Kawku more than female participants ($M = 2.62$, $SD = 0.65$) in the disadvantages condition, $F(1, 71) = 6.96$, $p < .05$,
$\eta_p^2 = .18$. No other simple effects were significant. Study 1 does not show this interaction. A meta-analysis of this
interaction across all 3 studies was also not significant (z = 1.83).

Lastly, perspective-taking condition also affected ratings of warmth, $F(2, 73) = 13.36$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$. Participants rated Kwaku significantly lower on warmth in the disadvantages condition ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 0.61$) than the hidden strengths ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 0.57$) and control condition ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 0.56$), $ps < 05$.[12]
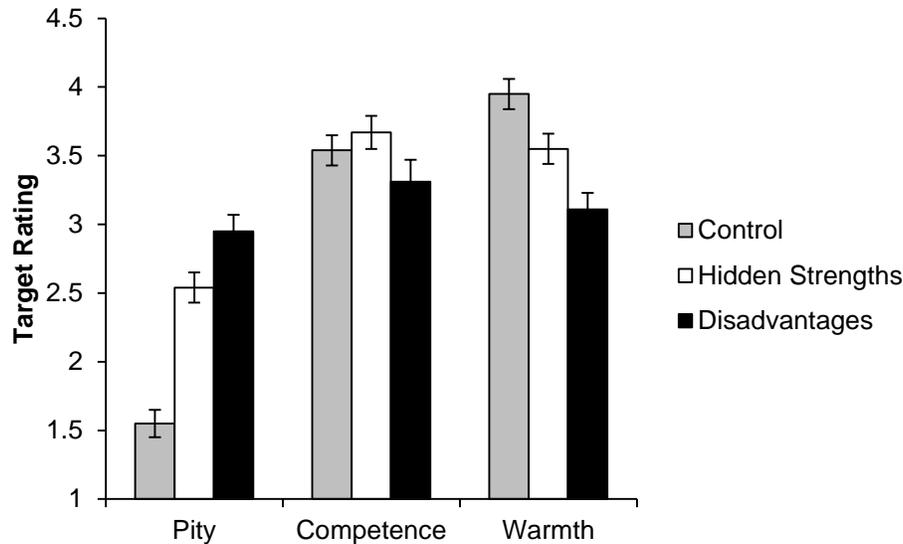
Figure 3. Ratings of target pity, competence, and warmth by perspective-taking condition (Study 3). Error bars represent ± 1 *SE*.

Self-report measures. Because the exploratory self-report measures were included without strong predictions, I used a more conservative alpha level of .01 to conduct the

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[12] As in Studies 1 and 2, when I removed manipulation-check-type items from the pity and competence composites, the results remained essentially the same for pity. For competence-related traits, there is no longer a significant effect of perspective-taking condition, $F(2, 73) = 1.54$, $p = .22$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, but the pattern of effects remains the same. Similar to the pattern of effects in Studies 1 and 2, perspective-taking condition affected ratings of the trait "uncertain", $F(2, 74) = 15.76$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$, such that participants rated the target as more uncertain in both the disadvantages ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 0.95$) and hidden strengths ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 1.00$) conditions than the control condition ($M = 2.37$, $SD = 1.03$), $ps < .002$. There was also an effect of perspective-taking condition on the trait "happy", $F(2,74) = 24.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .40$, such that participants in the disadvantages condition ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 0.65$) rated the target as less happy compared with the hidden strengths condition ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 0.65$), and participants in the hidden strengths condition rated the target as less happy compared with the control condition ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 0.75$), $ps < .001$.

hypothesis tests to constrain family-wise error. Perspective-taking condition had no significant effect of any of the measures.

Using an alpha level of .05, perspective-taking condition did not significantly influence Whites' internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice, $Fs < 1$, as in Study 2. However, there was a significant main effect of participant gender on how much money they chose to donate to two different charities, $F(1, 68) = 6.59$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. Female participants across conditions donated more money ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 1.28$) to the charity promoting respect (versus compassion) for minorities compared with male participants ($M = 2.76$, $SD = 0.98$).

Perspective-taking condition also affected how responsible from 1 (*not at all*) to 10 (*extremely*) participants thought the Black job candidate (Delroy) was, $F(2, 71) = 3.69$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, such that participants in the disadvantages condition rated the job candidate as less responsible ($M = 8.04$, $SD = 1.22$) than in the hidden strengths ($M = 8.80$, $SD = 0.96$) and control ($M = 8.69$, $SD = 0.93$) conditions. The overall composite measuring participants' perceptions of the candidate's qualifications which included "responsible", however, showed no significant effect of perspective-taking condition, and none of the other individual items (e.g., qualified for the position, intelligent, motivated) were significant. Perspective-taking condition did not have a significant effect on any of the other self-report measures.

Although Whites in this study did not express any explicit biases against the job candidate, this omission does not mean that their actual behaviour during the interview did not have discriminatory impact related to the types of interview questions asked. I will return to this point in the General Discussion.

Interview questions selected. Multiple analyses were used to capture various distinct aspects of the questions selected by participants. Most participants (n = 53) asked 12 interview

questions, although some (n = 14) asked 13 or more, and several (n = 7) asked between 9 and 11 questions.[13] Analyses also excluded 3 participants (in the disadvantages condition) who did not conduct the online interview as a result of technical difficulties or asked fewer than 9 questions during the online interview.[14]

Diagnostic versus non-diagnostic question counts. I submitted participants' question counts for both diagnostic and non-diagnostic questions to a MANOVA with perspective-taking condition (control vs. hidden strengths vs. disadvantages) as the between-subjects factor. Across both dependent variables, perspective-taking condition had a significant effect, $F(4, 140) = 3.05$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. As illustrated in Figure 4, across all perspective-taking conditions participants asked the Black job candidate (Delroy) more diagnostic ($M = 9.16$, $SD = 1.95$) than non-diagnostic ($M = 2.84$, $SD = 1.73$) questions during the interview, $F(1, 71) = 241.26$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .77$. These results are not surprising given that past research shows that people favour asking diagnostic questions, even if they disconfirm people's hypotheses (Trope & Bassok, 1983).

As predicted, perspective-taking condition affected the number of *non-diagnostic* questions asked that would deny the opportunity for the job candidate to prove his competence, $F(2, 71) = 3.60$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. Tukey post-hoc tests revealed that participants in the disadvantages condition asked marginally ($p = .08$) more *non-diagnostic* questions ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.83$) than participants in the hidden strengths condition ($M = 2.56$, $SD = 1.69$), and significantly more ($p < .05$) than participants who took the perspective of a White target (John) in the control condition ($M = 2.42$, $SD = 1.50$). Perspective-taking focused solely on

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[13] The experimenter was instructed to end the interview after 8 questions had been asked, but some participants continued to ask questions after the confederate notified the experimenter. Some participants also did not follow the experimenter's instructions to pick only 4 questions after the online portion of the interview had ended. Lastly, some participants chose to end the interview early and did not ask 12 questions.

[14] These participants did not follow the experimenter's instructions. They did not ask additional questions after the MSN interview. The pattern of results remains essentially the same when these participants are included in the analyses.

disadvantages tended to lead Whites to ask more non-diagnostic questions that constrain the

Black job candidate's chances to show his abilities.

Perspective-taking condition did not affect the number of *diagnostic* questions asked,

$F(2, 71) = 1.27$, $p = .29$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. However, the pattern of results indicate that participants asked

fewer questions that would allow the job candidate to show his skills and abilities in the

disadvantages condition ($M = 8.74$, $SD = 1.94$) than the hidden strengths condition ($M = 9.08$, SD

$= 1.81$) and those who took the perspective of a White target (John) in the control condition ($M =$

9.62, $SD = 2.08$).
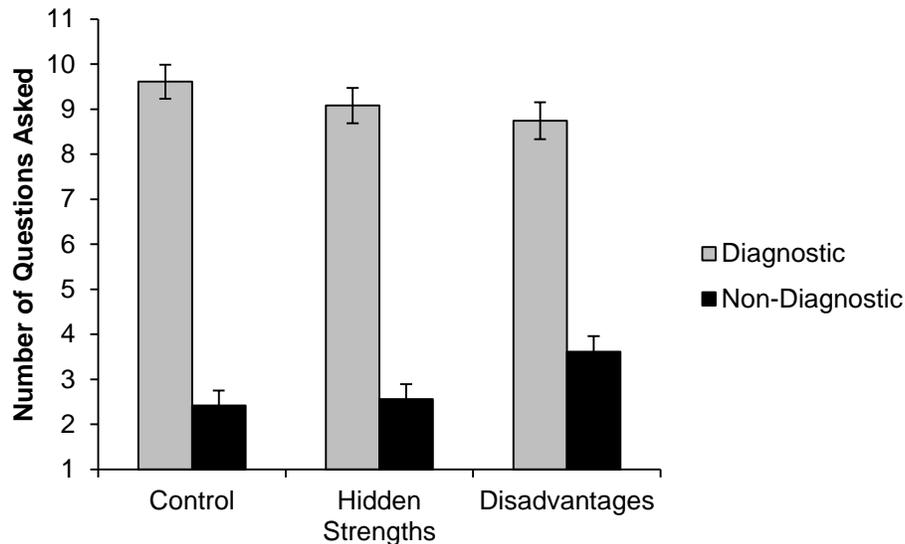
Figure 4. Number of diagnostic versus non-diagnostic questions asked by participants during and after the job interview (Study 3). Error bars represent ± 1 *SE*.

Warmth-eliciting vs. competence-eliciting question content. I submitted participants'

coded ratings on the extent to which the interview questions they asked the Black job candidate

(Delroy) were competence- and warmth-eliciting to a mixed-factorial ANOVA with types of

questions (warmth- vs. competence-eliciting) as the within-subjects factor and perspective-taking

condition (control vs. hidden strengths vs. disadvantages) as the between-subjects factor. There

was a significant two-way interaction between how warmth- or competence-eliciting the questions were and perspective-taking condition, $F(2, 71) = 3.45$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$.

As illustrated in Figure 5, across all perspective-taking conditions participants tended to ask questions that were more competence-eliciting ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 0.37$) than warmth-eliciting ($M = 2.22$, $SD = 0.32$), $F(1, 71) = 1104.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .94$. In a job interview people would be expected to ask more questions that tap into whether the candidate is suited for the job as that is the primary goal of their interaction.

As predicted, there was a significant effect of perspective-taking condition on how *competence-eliciting* participants' interview questions were, $F(2, 71) = 3.06$, $p = .053$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Tukey post-hoc tests demonstrated that participants in the disadvantages condition ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 0.40$) asked the job candidate interview questions that were marginally less competence-eliciting than those in the hidden strengths condition ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 0.33$), $p = .07$, and those who took the perspective of a White target (John) in the control condition ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 0.34$), $p = .10$.[15]

Further analyses demonstrated a trending but non-significant effect of perspective-taking condition on how *warmth-eliciting* the interview participants' questions were, $F(2, 71) = 1.94$, $p = .15$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. However, a planned contrast comparing interview questions in the disadvantages and hidden strengths conditions versus the control condition revealed a marginal effect, $t(71) = -1.82$, $p = .07$. Participants who took the perspective of a Black target (Kwaku)—regardless of whether they focused on his disadvantages ($M = 2.24$, $SD = 0.23$) or strengths ($M = 2.30$, $SD = $

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[15] The two research assistant coders were also asked to rate how diagnostic the interview questions were about the candidate's abilities on a scale from 0 (*not diagnostic at all)* to 5 (*very diagnostic*), how much it would help them to be hired for this job if they were to answer this question well from 0 *(not at all)* to 5 (*very much*), and how important would it be to answer this question well from 0 (*not important at all*) to 5 (*very important*) which was averaged into a composite tapping into diagnosticity ($\alpha = .93$). These pattern of results mapped closely to the results of the extent to which the questions asked were competence-eliciting, $F(2, 71) = 2.23$, $p = .12$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$: Participants in the disadvantages condition tended to ask questions that were less diagnostic ($M = 3.69$, $SD = 0.58$) than participants in the hidden strengths ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 0.47$) and control ($M = 3.98$, $SD = 0.51$) conditions.

0.35)—subsequently asked the Black job candidate questions that were more warmth-eliciting than who took the perspective of a White target (John) in the control condition ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 0.34$).
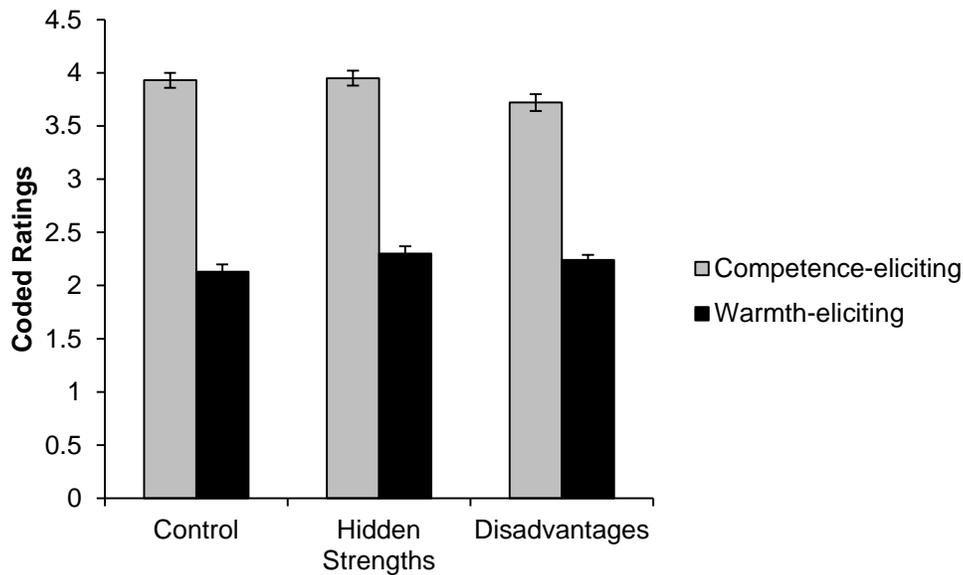
Figure 5. Coded ratings of the extent to which interviews questions asked by participants were competence- and warmth-eliciting (Study 3). Error bars represent ± 1 *SE*.

Weighted Question Diagnosticity. The extent to which the questions asked were (on average) competence-eliciting correlated positively with the number of diagnostic questions asked ($r = .67$, $p < .001$) and negatively with the number of non-diagnostic questions asked ($r = -.78$, $p < .001$). Thus, diagnostic questions did indeed pull for more competence from the job candidate, whereas non-diagnostic questions did not. To create a single index of the extent to which the selected questions would allow a job candidate to demonstrate his abilities, I created a weighted diagnosticity composite variable by multiplying the number of diagnostic questions participants asked and the extent to which the questions they asked were competence-eliciting. I then submitted the composite to an ANOVA with perspective-taking condition (control vs. hidden strengths vs. disadvantages) as the between-subjects factor. Although the omnibus effect

of perspective-taking condition on the weighted diagnosticity variable was trending but nonsignificant, $F(2, 71) = 2.16$, $p = .12$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, the pattern of results indicated that participants scored lower in the disadvantages condition ($M = -.32$, $SD = 0.98$) than the hidden strengths ($M = .08$, $SD = 0.84$) and control ($M = .20$, $SD = 0.88$) conditions. A planned contrast comparing the weighted diagnosticity variable in the disadvantages condition with the (combined) hidden strengths and control conditions revealed a significant effect, $t(71) = 2.02$, $p = .05$. Relative to participants in other conditions, those who took the perspective of a Black target while focused on disadvantages asked the Black job candidate fewer diagnostic, competence-eliciting questions.

Overall, these findings show that, as in Studies 1 and 2, creating empathy by taking the perspective of a negatively stereotyped group member while focusing on his disadvantages led Whites to see a Black target as more worthy of pity, but less warm and worthy of respect. Creating empathy also had harmful downstream consequences on Whites' behaviour towards a (different) minority job candidate. Perspective-taking with a focus on the target's disadvantages resulted in more paternalistic behaviour: Whites asked more non-diagnostic questions—"low-ball" questions that are relatively easy to answer but do not allow a job candidate to demonstrate competence—compared with Whites who took the perspective of a negatively stereotyped group member while thinking about his hidden potential. In addition, Whites who empathized with a negatively stereotyped group member (whether thinking about their disadvantages or their hidden strengths) asked questions that were more warmth-eliciting. However, focusing on disadvantages came at a cost: Whites who did so asked questions that were less competence-eliciting compared with those who focused on their hidden potential.

The lack of competence-eliciting and diagnostic questions asked during the job interview could have seriously limited the Black job candidate's potential to show their abilities, and to prove their competence as a well qualified and effective employee. Although the interviewers asked more warmth-eliciting and non-diagnostic questions that would be relatively easy to answer, and would have allowed the candidate to appear warm and friendly, the job candidate may not appear as capable as they could have if they were asked more competence-eliciting and diagnostic questions. This study does not address participants' consciousness of their potentially harmful behaviour: It seems likely that participants were not aware that they were asking questions irrelevant to the job position and not diagnostic of the candidate's abilities, or that doing so might potentially undermine the candidate's performance. Taken together, perspective-taking that focuses on the disadvantages and stress of a negatively stereotyped group member may backfire for perceptions of competence and can have unintended but harmful consequences on behaviours that could potentially affect performance.

CHAPTER 5

GENERAL DISCUSSION

A substantial body of social psychological research shows that creating empathy and perspective-taking produces tremendously positive outcomes, such as reducing prejudice and improving attitudes towards outgroup and negatively stereotyped group members. However, this dissertation demonstrates that empathy can come at a cost if perspective-taking is enacted in ways that promote paternalism and lack of respect for minorities.

Across three studies, I report evidence that perspective-taking that focuses on minorities' disadvantages without acknowledging minorities' knowledge, abilities, and strength to overcome challenges increases pity and decreases Whites' perceptions of minorities' competence. This type of perspective-taking also led Whites to ask fewer questions that allow minorities to demonstrate their ability and competence during a job interview (Study 3). Perspective-taking with a focus on disadvantages also led Whites to ask interview questions that tended to elicit warmth at the cost of asking interview questions that elicit competence (Study 3). Both of these behaviours might have the potential to limit minorities' chances at actual success. In contrast, perspective-taking that focuses on minorities' knowledge, abilities, and strength to overcome challenges consistently increases Whites' perceptions of minorities' competence without increasing pity.

Integration of Findings

I conducted meta-analyses using Fisher's method (Fisher, 1925) of my findings on how perspective-taking impacted Whites' ratings of pity, competence, and warmth of the negatively stereotyped target across all three studies. Type of perspective-taking robustly influenced feelings of pity ($z = 8.02$), and perceptions of competence, ($z = 5.27$) and warmth ($z = 4.80$). Focusing solely on disadvantages backfired, resulting in higher ratings of pity compared with

focusing on hidden strengths ($z = 5.27$) and a control condition ($z = 8.19$) and, as well as lower ratings of the target's warmth compared with a focus on hidden strengths ($z = 5.49$) and to a control condition ($z = 6.56$). Disadvantage-focused perspective-taking also led to lower perceptions of competence compared with a control condition ($z = 2.05$). Whites rated the target higher on competence when they focused on hidden strengths, compared with disadvantages ($z = 5.65$) and a control condition ($z = 2.73$).

Taken together, the overall pattern of effects across all studies demonstrates that perspective-taking with an emphasis on the minority target's disadvantages—without acknowledging abilities and strength under pressure from stereotype threat—can backfire and result in greater feelings of pity, and to view the target as less competent and warm. However, a focus on the negatively stereotyped group member's hidden strengths can lead to greater perceptions of competence without pity.

In Study 1 the type of perspective-taking affected Whites' subsequent levels of internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice. Whites guided to focus on a Black target's disadvantages showed increased external motivation to respond without prejudice, and participants guided to focus on a Black target's hidden strengths showed increased internal motivation to respond without prejudice. However, the effects on EMS and IMS did not replicate in Studies 2 and 3. A meta-analysis across all 3 studies of the effect of type of perspective-taking on participants' levels of external motivation to respond without prejudice was not significant ($z = 1.46$). However, there was a significant effect of type of perspective-taking on people's levels of internal motivation to respond without prejudice ($z = 2.10$). The pattern of effects across all three studies revealed that Whites who took the perspective of a Black target while focusing on his hidden strengths scored higher on the IMS compared with the disadvantages ($z = 1.92$) and

control condition (z = 1.83). The effect was fairly strong for Study 1. However, it is not present in Study 2 (although the pattern of means resembled Study 1) nor in Study 3 (the pattern of means reversed, with the lowest IMS scores in the hidden strengths condition). Though meta-analytically significant, this effect should be interpreted with caution. The IMS and EMS have generally been characterized as trait measures of prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998), and it was surprising that the perspective-taking manipulation had an impact on these relatively stable measures.

Limitations of the Findings

I predicted higher warmth for both perspective-taking conditions compared with a control condition. However, I found evidence that perspective-taking with a focus on disadvantages led to decreased ratings of warmth, and perspective-taking with a focus on hidden strengths did not affect ratings of warmth. These findings, although unanticipated, suggest a potential additional negative cost of perspective-taking with a focus on disadvantages. Perhaps when pity increases to a sufficiently high level, warmth decreases as a result of an attempt to justify the minority group's disadvantaged status (Kay et al., 2009). In contrast, although perspective-taking with a focus on hidden strengths does not increase warmth, it does not reduce warmth either, and therefore creates increased ratings of competence without decreasing ratings of warmth.

This unpredicted effect also shows that the perspective-taking manipulations may not be equated on warmth and thus differences in perceptions of warmth could account for the effects I found. Therefore, future work should replicate the current findings while equating the two perspective-taking conditions on warmth. It will be important to show that the difference in perspective-taking conditions result from the type of perspective-taking in which people engage rather than differences in feelings of warmth toward the target.

In Study 3 I found no effect of the type of perspective-taking on most of the self-report measures tapping into Whites' evaluations of the Black job candidate (e.g., the extent to which they thought the job candidate was well qualified, the extent to which they would recommend the person for the job). Even though participants in this study did not necessarily express any explicit biases against the Black job candidate, their actual behaviour would have negatively impacted the job candidate by limiting opportunities for him to adequately demonstrate his qualifications for the teaching assistant position. Furthermore, the empathy inductions might have impacted self-report measures, had the study design enabled an actual naive minority participant to answer the job interview questions freely. Instead, the interview questions were scripted and painted a generally competent and intelligent person (see Appendix I for the scripted answers). In line with an aversive racism framework (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004), there may have been insufficient ambiguity in the job candidate's qualifications to provide participants the opportunity or "excuse" to discriminate against the Black job candidate while still appearing egalitarian (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). In addition, perhaps knowing that the job candidate had already been hired by the department constrained the range of participant's responses.

To address this issue, future research will extend findings from Study 3 to examine self-fulfilling prophecies during job interviews (Word et al., 1974). If indeed asking more non-diagnostic questions and questions that are less competence-eliciting restricts minority job candidates' opportunities to adequately prove their competence during a job interview, then job candidates in these situations should be judged as less competent by independent raters, and be less likely to be hired for the job. And if asking more diagnostic questions, as well as questions that are both warmth- and competence-eliciting should give minority job candidates a chance to demonstrate their abilities, then minorities should receive the benefits of empathy and

perspective-taking without any cost to respect—that is, they should be judged by independent raters to be competent and thus qualified for the job.

Lastly, although using interview questions as an indirect and subtle behavioural measure of respect is a strength in Study 3, this method has some limitations. Most of the non-diagnostic questions created in Study 3 also tended to elicit warmth. It would be interesting to give people the opportunity to ask interview questions that would elicit both competence and warmth from the job candidate (e.g., "How well do you get along with co-workers?") as well as questions that that elicit competence but are non-diagnostic (e.g., "How many languages do you know?"). Future studies could include these types of questions to ensure that participants have the full range of types of questions to ask, and it would be interesting to study how perspective-taking could impact selection of such questions.

Underlying Processes

What is the mechanism linking different types of perspective-taking—respect-oriented or paternalistic—to majority group members' feelings of pity and respect, as well as their behaviour? I argue that creating empathy through perspective-taking focused on the negatively stereotyped group member's disadvantages can highlight status differences and hierarchy, and lead to a lack of respect and not seeing the person as their equal. As a result, this type of perspective-taking can lead to feelings of pity (Studies 1 to 3) and behaviour that reflects disrespect for a minority person by restricting a minority person's opportunities to prove his or her competence (Study 3). Empathy that focuses on a negatively stereotyped group member who exhibits strength under pressure, on the other hand, should not create a sense of hierarchy and highlight status differences but lead to a sense of respect for the person's abilities, such as giving a minority person ample opportunity to demonstrate his or her competence (Study 3). Future

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studies could examine variables that tap into status and power differences to better understand the mechanism, such as how majority group members perceive minority groups' status and position in society, how economically successful they imagine minority groups to be, how likely they would be to assign a minority group member a leadership role on a group project, or whether they would nominate them to give students advice about how to succeed in university.

Another issue to consider is whether issues of egocentrism and complacency documented in past research on perspective-taking (Vorauer et al., 2009; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2009) could account for the present findings. According to this research, perspective-taking can involve perceptual and cognitive difficulties because majority group members may become more concerned with whether they appear prejudiced during intergroup interactions, and this may prevent empathy from being created. In addition, individuals low in prejudice may exert less effort during the interaction because they believe they will be perceived positively by their outgroup partner during an interaction. However, this model would not necessarily predict paternalism in the disadvantages condition: greater feelings of pity and reduced perceptions of competence. Instead, their model involves a focus on the self and diminished cognitive resources and effort to behave positively during an intergroup interaction. Future research could examine how meta-stereotypes, self-regulation, and effort put into the intergroup interaction play a role in the relationship between paternalistic perspective-taking and feelings of pity and respect for minority group members.

Creating empathy through perspective-taking also often involves an emotional component by invoking feelings of warmth, compassion, and sympathy (e.g., Batson & Coke, 1981). However, the perspective-taking manipulation used in this dissertation also includes an important cognitive component: learning about stereotype threat and how this experience can

hold negatively stereotyped group members back from achieving and realizing their full potential. Which component is most essential in creating empathy that is respect-oriented? Empathy can create a strong emotional connection with that person which can lead to positive outcomes such as a sense of "one-ness", shared goals, and increased motivation (Cwir et al., 2011; Walton et al., 2012), as well as increased empathy towards outgroup members, reduced stereotyping, and greater interest in an outgroup member's culture (Cwir, 2011; Nadolny, 2012).

However, this research suggests that for the emotional connection to have meaningful and positive consequences for intergroup interactions, majority group members also need to hold beliefs about negatively stereotyped group members that reflect respect for their competence. Both components are needed in creating empathy that leads to respect. Thus, future work could examine how emotions and cognitive states during perspective-taking contribute to majority group members' feelings, perceptions, and behaviour during intergroup interactions.

One limitation of the perspective-taking manipulations used across all the studies is that the manipulation combines both learning about stereotype threat and guiding majority group members to take the perspective of the target by thinking about their hidden strengths or disadvantages. The present studies do not address whether it is guiding majority group members to take the perspective of a negatively stereotyped group member in a respect-oriented fashion, or whether learning about stereotype threat and how it places extra pressure on negatively stereotyped group members is needed for majority group members to see the target as an empowered and autonomous individual, or whether a combination of both is needed for respect. The present studies also do not address whether it is paternalistic perspective-taking that can lead to detrimental effects such as feelings of pity and behaving in ways that limit minorities' opportunities to prove their competence, or whether learning about stereotype threat helps to

confirm their views that the target is helpless to the pressures of disproving negative stereotypes. Future work can address this issue by disentangling these two factors by investigating separately and in combination, the effects of learning about stereotype threat and engaging in respect-oriented or paternalistic types of perspective-taking.

Empathy and Threats to the Self and System

One concern with perspective-taking that takes into account a minority group member's hidden strengths and latent abilities is that majority group members may feel threatened by this experience. Respect-oriented perspective-taking could potentially pose a threat to Whites' current rank in society, the system and world they live in, and themselves. These potential threats can arise for several reasons. First, learning about stereotype threat and taking the perspective of a rising, high-achieving minority person may indicate progress for minority groups, and thus threaten the current status quo and hierarchy (Jost & Banaji, 1994). This type of perspective-taking could lead majority group members who see the status quo as legitimate to be defensive and to even perceive prejudice against majority group members (see Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014).

In a related vein, because people are generally motivated to see the world and the system they live in as fair, justified, and legitimate (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Kay et al., 2009; Lerner & Miller, 1978), could creating empathy with a focus on hidden strengths affirm compensatory stereotypes that would then lead majority group members to justify the status quo instead of changing it? For example, compensatory stereotypes of poor people as "poor but happy", or "poor but honest" heighten the perceived legitimacy of the system (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Kay & Jost, 2003). In the present studies, the Black perspective-taking target could be stereotyped by Whites as "disadvantaged but strong", undermining their motivation to see the current system as discriminatory and unfair to minority and negatively stereotyped groups. This compensatory

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stereotype could potentially alleviate feelings of guilt (e.g., Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen, 2004) and inhibit collective action (e.g., van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008).

Moreover, traits such as political conservatism (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003) and beliefs such as the Protestant work ethic (Furnham, 1990) may also play a role. Empathy with a focus on hidden strengths could affirm certain individuals' view that negatively stereotyped and minority group members should solely work hard to overcome any challenges and obstacles they encounter on their own in order to succeed. Taken together, these beliefs do not acknowledge often pervasive institutionalized barriers that block minority group members' efforts to achieve, and would also absolve majority group members of any responsibility to help rectify these social injustices.

If this is the case, system justification beliefs and political conservatism should predict especially low hiring and disrespectful behaviour when majority group members engage in perspective-taking with a focus on hidden strengths. In contrast, all three studies in this dissertation show that participants who focus on hidden strengths (versus disadvantages) perceived the Black target as more competent, and behaved in ways that showed respect for a separate Black job candidate, such as asking fewer non-diagnostic questions, and questions that are more competence-eliciting during a job interview. In addition, highlighting that a negatively stereotyped group member has latent ability that is hidden by stereotype threat demonstrates that the target is, in fact, competent. Compensatory stereotypes that fit with a system justification account, such as benevolent sexist ideals about women (Lau, Kay, & Spencer, 2008), would not amplify competence. Future work could examine whether system-justification beliefs and conservatism play a role in respect-oriented perspective-taking. For example, this type of perspective-taking may potentially backfire for people who hold system justifying beliefs or are

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politically conservative. It would also be interesting to study the effects of perspective-taking on Whites' acknowledgment of existing barriers and prejudice, support for programs that aim to help rectify social inequality such as affirmative action programs, or likelihood of engaging in collective action.

It is also important to consider how social movements frame their goals and current status quo. Research has shown that Whites' support for policies that promote equality are bolstered when civil rights accomplishments were framed as evidence of commitment rather than progress towards the goal of equality (Eibach & Purdie-Vaughns, 2011). Focusing on how much minorities have overcome adversity—as opposed to how they are still underserved and marginalized—can undermine Whites' support for policies that address inequality. Perspective-taking that guides people to focus on negatively stereotyped group members' hidden strengths could potentially lead Whites to focus on how much minorities have already overcome barriers as they learn about a Black target who uses coping strategies to overcome stereotype threat.

However, focusing on hidden strengths could also lead majority group members to see how much there is to overcome because for the minority target's latent strengths to translate into successes, factors such as stereotype threat and environmental barriers need to be removed (see Logel, Walton, Spencer, Peach, & Zanna, 2012; Walton & Spencer, 2009). Studying how respect-oriented perspective-taking affects majority group members' perceptions of progress of different social movements aimed at equality and their motivation to support these movements would be a fruitful area for future research.

Respect-oriented perspective-taking could also potentially create threat directly to the self. Learning about stereotype threat and negatively stereotyped group members' latent abilities could lead to threats to majority group members' self-image (Fein & Spencer, 1997). For

example, majority group members could engage in upward social comparison (e.g., Collins, 1996) and believe that their accomplishments do not match those of minority group members because they have learned about a minority person who achieved much despite difficult circumstances. To address these concerns, future studies could examine how dampening majority group members' feelings of threat, defensiveness, and negativity by affirming individuals' sense of integrity and worth (Sherman & Cohen, 2006; Steele, Spencer, & Lynch, 1993) prior to a perspective-taking exercise could lessen potentially backfiring effects of perspective-taking.

Empathy and Helping in the Real World

The paternalistic type of perspective-taking examined in this dissertation also reflects some of the prevailing values and beliefs held by some people who do charity and volunteer work. Empathy that focuses on disadvantages could lead majority group members to see negatively stereotyped and minority group members as beneath them and in need of help, and the charity work they are involved may then take on a paternalistic flavour. For example, majority group members may want to help minority groups without actually interacting with, or involving the very groups who are affected, nor drawing on their expertise, abilities, and skills. Empathy that focuses on hidden strengths, on the other hand, should lead to helping that reflects respect for the group, and would promote empowerment of the group members themselves. A relatively current social issue that illustrates this point involves the treatment of the Attawapiskat First Nation people located in Northern Ontario in Canada, who had declared a state of emergency due to harsh weather conditions, flooding, and inadequate housing (Galloway, 2011). In response to the emergency, the Canadian government placed the community's finances under third-party management, which was met with criticism (CBC News, 2011). In this way, the Canadian government continued to seek to have control over their funds instead of valuing the skills of the

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band council who might be able to use the money based on their own local knowledge and expertise of where it is most needed.

People can help others in very different ways. People can give dependency-oriented help, which assumes that individuals lack the ability to solve the problem themselves by giving them the entire solution to the problem, and autonomy-oriented help, which assumes that individuals have the ability to solve the problem themselves and gives them the tools to do so (Nadler, 2002). The former can encourage and reinforce a cycle of dependency, whereas the latter can stop the cycle. For example, high-status groups can offer help that maintains their dominance (Nadler & Chernyak-Hai, 2014). Furthermore, there is often a mismatch between the kind of help high-status groups offer, and the type of help low-status groups want—highly identified low-status group members tend to be least receptive to help from high-status group members that is dependency-oriented (Nadler & Halabi, 2006).

Some of the charities and volunteer work that people in North America engage in is more dependency (rather than autonomy) oriented, and can have the potential to do more harm than good. For example, TOMS$^©$ boasts its One for One® program which gives a pair of shoes for every purchase clients make to children in need in more than 60 countries (TOMS shoes, 2014). However, what shoppers do not realize is that companies like TOMS$^©$ can drive local shoe companies out of business who are unable to compete with free shoes. Charity: Water$^©$ is a non-profit organization that has funded over 10,000 clean water projects in over 20 countries (Charity: Water, 2014). However, one key criticism of clean water initiatives such as this one is that these newly installed wells break down and are no longer usable after a few years, and local community members often are not involved in, trained, or given the tools to repair these water projects (Bornstein, 2013).

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Both of these charities do admirably well in raising awareness about issues such as poverty, education, and infrastructure. However, they can also potentially reinforce a vicious cycle of dependency by removing autonomy from the very groups they intend to help. Creating empathy and the impetus in people to help marginalized and negatively stereotyped groups must involve a sense of respect for the group's skills and competence in addition to acknowledging their disadvantages and obstacles. Other charitable organizations, such as GiveDirectly[©], allows donations to be directly transferred to the recipient so that they can use and manage those funds as they wish (GiveDirectly, 2013).

Investigating how different types of perspective-taking can affect majority group members' helping behaviour is an area fruitful for future research. In addition, if majority group members can use helping as a way to maintain the status quo and their rank in the hierarchy, traits such as social dominance orientation, which taps into the extent to which individuals prefer hierarchy and seek to maintain status differences between groups (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), may moderate the effect of perspective-taking on helping.

Future Directions: Changing the Interpersonal Environment

The far-reaching negative effects of stereotype threat have been demonstrated in a number of negatively stereotyped groups, such as women in quantitative fields, and minority students in academics (Nguyen & Ryan, 2008; Steele et al., 2002). This has prompted investigators to design successful interventions that restore the performance of individuals in domains in which they are stereotyped (see Yeager & Walton, 2011 for a review). For example, the school achievement of minority students and women in STEM fields is restored when they are given an intervention to help them feel like they belong (Walton & Cohen, 2011; Walton, Logel, Peach, Spencer, & Zanna, in press), when students affirm their sense of self-integrity

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(Cohen, Garcia, Apfel, & Master, 2006; Walton et al., in press), and when students are encouraged to conceptualize intelligence as malleable and effort-based (Aronson, Fried, & Good, 2002).

Inoculating stereotyped individuals with these interventions, however, does not solve the underlying problem: The environment in which these individuals study and work still contains negative stereotypes. A more effective long-term strategy is to change the environment by changing the stereotypes held by some members of the majority group that could trigger stereotype threat (Logel et al., 2009). This strategy is unique from previous social psychology interventions in that the focus is on removing identity threat cues from the interpersonal environment, whereas previous work focused on inoculating the targets themselves from threats that are assumed to be constant. I am interested in examining the effects of a psychological intervention on both the behaviour of the majority group members, and on the subsequent behaviour and performance of the stereotyped group members.

Changing the interpersonal environment of minorities where minorities are treated with warmth, because it creates a sense of belonging crucial to minorities' success (Walton & Cohen, 2011), and respect because this shows that stereotypes alleging inferiority are not endorsed, would create interpersonal environments that are identity safe. In an ongoing field study with male engineering students, I create empathy by having students complete tasks designed to encourage friendships with their female peers (i.e., learning of shared interests and working as a team), which has been found to increase men's empathy (Walton et al., in press). The engineering students also learn about stereotype threat and latent ability—similar to guiding them to think about people's hidden strengths—which should increase respect for women's engineering abilities. I will be testing this dual-focused intervention's effects on male engineers'

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levels of warmth and respect towards female engineers, and whether their behaviour will evoke

less stereotype threat in the female engineers with whom they interact (i.e., by monitoring the

women's grades in their engineering courses).

A focus on changing the negative stereotypes and beliefs that some majority group

members hold about minority group members is needed to clear the "threat in the air" (Steele,

1997). However, coping strategies for minorities that address, for example, their sense of

belonging in their field, are equally important and effective in helping negatively stereotyped

group members cope with the pressure of stereotype threat. Furthermore, collective action and

challenging institutionalized barriers in the system are also needed to change school and

workplace environments to be identity safe and conducive to minority success.

Conclusion

If we can understand how empathy can be effectively channeled for positive outcomes—

such as guiding majority group members to behave in ways that are respectful to negatively

stereotyped group members—without the undermining effects that paternalistic perspective-

taking can create, we can harness empathy for more positive and empowering intergroup

interactions. For example, this research highlights the need to evaluate standard practices in

diversity and sensitivity training that aim to create positive feelings towards marginalized and

negatively stereotyped groups, but can potentially be demeaning to the very groups that the

training targets. There are also real world implications for how people and organizations

empathize with, and provide aid through volunteer and charity work to people from minority and

negatively stereotyped groups. This work can be done in ways that assume that these groups do

not have the skills or abilities to perform well, and can reinforce a cycle of dependency. The

findings in this dissertation provide initial evidence that viewing and treating minorities with both warmth and respect is critical for these individuals to be successful in school and at work.

Empathy, although not an unmitigated virtue, can be used effectively if people focus on people's strengths and latent abilities. Take it from Harper Lee: In order to truly understand, and be able to work effectively with different people, one must try to "walk in someone else's skin". But in doing so, we must ensure that this empathy is imbued with respect.

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Appendix A

Modified Reading Passage on Stereotype Threat in the Experimental Conditions (Steele, 2010; Studies 1-3)

Please read the following article taken from Claude Steele's book, *Whistling Vivaldi: How stereotypes affect us and what we can do.* You will complete a short writing activity afterwards.

Consider the following thought experiment:

Imagine that you arrived late to your family reunion.

Thinking that everyone else has already eaten, you head to the buffet table and load your plate with food.

But as you leave the buffet table, you notice a group of people who haven't eaten a bite yet. They look at the few remains on the food table and then at your plate filled with food. You try to explain, but your effort is lost in the noise of the crowd and the music. You hear them say as they go by, "Those Smiths are so selfish."

Based on this "misunderstanding" you might fear that your immediate family is going to be judged by the stereotype that they are selfish. Every time you do something that could be interpreted in light of that negative stereotype—such as volunteering to dry the dishes instead of wash, deciding how much to tip the pizza man—you are at risk of confirming their stereotype that your family is selfish.

Such suspicion, and the unfair interpretation of your behavior, can make you feel uncomfortable. It could distract you and interfere with your interactions with other people. This experience is related to the experience of a threat from a negative stereotype – researchers call this "Stereotype threat".

But imagine how stereotype threat could get even worse. Suppose that the negative view of you had nothing to do with your own behavior but came from what people thought the group that you belong to, such as your race. Suppose that more people than just your relatives knew about this negative view - say everyone in society knew. Suppose that the negative views reflected not your table manners, but very important abilities that are important to getting ahead, for example, your intelligence in general. And, suppose that the new view applied to you in exactly those situations that were most critical to your success in school and in society – when you take a test, when you do a lab project.

Stereotype threat describes the experience of being at risk of being judged through the lens of a negative stereotype. Everyone has different identities that have stereotypes attached to them – an older person might be judged by the stereotype that she is forgetful, a White man might be judged by the stereotype that white men can't dance, a person with glasses might be judged by the nerd stereotype.

To see this in your own life, think of the important settings in your life: Your school, your workplace, your family. Imagine a situation in which your identity does matter in the situation, that it affects how you see things, whom you identify with, how you react emotionally to events in the setting, and how you perform. Here is an example (a true story of a friend of the writer):
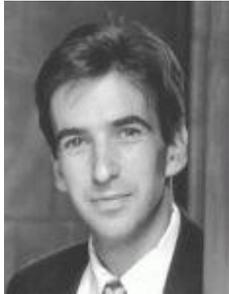
Geoff

A college student named Geoff was one of the only two whites in an African American political science class composed of mostly black and other minority students. He worried about fitting in because he was White, and he was concerned that he could be judged because of it - that if he said anything that revealed an ignorance of African American experience, or a confusion about how to think about it, then he could well be seen as racially insensitive. However, if he said nothing in class, then he could escape the suspicion of his fellow students. His condition made him feel his racial identity, his whiteness, in that time and place something he hadn't thought much about before.

Here is an example relevant to engineering (also a friend of the writer):

Maria

An engineering student named Maria wanted to do well in her program for the same reasons that everyone does – to get a good job, to meet her personal standards, to make her parents proud. But as a Hispanic woman, she spends every day being outnumbered by men in her engineering classes. Being a Hispanic woman puts her at risk of confirming the stereotype that women and Hispanics are not good at math and other quantitative skills. In addition to all the reasons she wants to do well in her courses, she has to deal with this extra pressure to perform well and to not conform to this stereotype.

Please read the following article summary. You will complete a short writing activity afterwards. The summary was taken from the Plants & Animals section of the ScienceDaily, a web site devoted to the news in science research.

How Some Plants Spread Their Seeds: Ready, Set, Catapult

ScienceDaily (Nov. 4, 2010) — Catapults are often associated with a medieval means of destruction, but for some plants, they are an effective way to launch new life. Dispersing seeds greater distances by catapulting can provide advantages, including the establishment of populations in new environments and escape from certain threats.

In new work published in the recent October issue of *American Journal of Botany*, Dr. Ellerby, students, and postdoctoral researcher Shannon Gerry at Wellesley College measured the mechanics involved in catapulting seeds for the plant species, *Cardamine parviflora*.

"While plants are generally thought of as still organisms, many of them are capable of spectacularly rapid movements," stated Ellerby. For *Cardamine parviflora*, organs within the plant rapidly coil outward catapulting the seeds away from it. The entire coiling and launching process is completed in around 5 milliseconds -- faster than the blink of an eye.

This incredible speed and high energy storage present a challenge for the researchers for videotaping the process. "These seed pod catapults are on a hair trigger," said Ellerby. "Successfully positioning them in front of our high-speed camera without them exploding requires an incredibly steady hand."

Seed launching has evolved in a number of groups. Researchers can understand the evolution of this mechanism by comparing the processes of seed dispersal of fruits and seeds between plants using this launching method and those that do not.

Seed dispersal has been studied extensively in the model plant *Arabidopsis thaliana*, a close relation to *Cardamine parviflora*. *Arabidopsis thaliana* does not disperse its seeds via catapulting. Instead, the seeds are dropped to the ground. Despite these differences in seed dispersal processes, the plant parts of *Cardmamine parviflora* and *Arabidopsis thaliana* are similar. One difference is that there is a second layer of plant material in *Cardamine parviflora* that is absent in *Arabidopsis thaliana*. This additional layer likely plays a role in the launching.

"Ultimately it will be important to analyze the structures at a tissue and cellular level to determine precisely how they store such impressive amounts of energy," Ellerby said. "This could inform the design of human-engineered structures for absorbing or storing elastic energy."

Appendix C

Perspective-taking Writing Prompts in the Experimental Conditions (Studies 1-3)

<u>Disadvantages condition</u>

Now we'll like you to write a brief summary about the life of Tyrone Williams, a student in his second year of college.

Imagine a day in the life of this individual as if you were that person, looking at the world through his eyes and walking through the world in his shoes.

Please write 1 sentence for each scenario: As you do so try to feel the full impact of Tyrone's experiences and how he feels as a result. Try to imagine how much more difficult his experiences are than the typical student, and the kind of help he might need in such situations.

Goes to a political science lecture, and he is the only Black student in the class.

Meets with his English professor to talk about his term paper, and how he might worry that the professor might judge his abilities in light of negative stereotypes about Black people.

Meets with a few other students to work on a group project for his biology class, and how he might worry that his classmates are judging his abilities based on negative stereotypes about Black people.

Writes a difficult midterm test while under extra pressure to prove that the negative stereotype about Black people's abilities isn't true, and what kinds of extra help he might need to overcome this pressure.

Gives a presentation in history class, and how stressful or challenging the situation can be for him.

Hidden Strengths condition

Now we'll like you to write a brief summary about the life of Tyrone Williams, a student in his second year of college.

Imagine a day in the life of this individual as if you were that person, looking at the world through his eyes and walking through the world in his shoes.

Please write 1 sentence for each scenario: As you do so try to feel the full impact of Tyrone's experiences and how he feels as a result. Try to imagine how much stronger he will become from these difficult experiences, and what he could teach you about dealing with challenging situations.

Goes to a political science lecture, and he is the only Black student in the class.

Meets with his English professor to talk about his term paper, and what strategies he uses to get the most out of the feedback despite the professor's potential doubts about his ability.

Meets with a few other students to work on a group project for his biology class, and what he could teach them about working well together even when they have concerns about everyone working hard on the project.

Writes a difficult midterm test, and what strategies he has learned to use to reduce any anxiety he feels when taking this test.

Gives a presentation in history class, and what he could teach other students about concerns about how others will perceive them in front of the class.

Perspective-taking Writing Prompts for the Control Conditions (Studies 1-3)

Studies 1 and 3

Now we'll like you to write a brief summary about the life of John Williams, a student in his second year of college.

Imagine a day in the life of this individual as if you were that person, looking at the world through his eyes and walking through the world in his shoes.

Please write 1 sentence for each scenario: As you do so try to feel the full impact of John's experiences and how he feels as a result.

Wakes up and eats breakfast before class.

Takes a nap.

Takes his dog for a walk in the park.

Goes to the grocery store.

Watches a movie with his friends.

Study 2

Now we'll like you to write a brief summary about the life of Tyrone Williams, a student in his second year of college.

Imagine a day in the life of this individual as if you were that person, looking at the world through his eyes and walking through the world in his shoes.

Please write 1 sentence for each scenario: As you do so try to feel the full impact of Tyrone's experiences and how he feels as a result.

Goes to a political science lecture.

Meets with his English professor to talk about his term paper.

Meets with a few other students to work on a group project for his biology class.

Writes a difficult midterm test.

Gives a presentation in history class.

Appendix E

Impression Formation Task (Studies 1-3)

We are interested in your general impression of the individual you just wrote about. Please rate the extent to which you think [target name] possesses the following traits.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

Victim
Empowered
Happy
Uncertain
Strong
Cold
Intelligent
Incapable
Determined
Warm
In need of help
Weak
Able to help others
Needs support
Sociable
Has a lot to offer

Appendix F

Canadian version of the Modern Racism Scale (Study 3)

Opinions Survey

On this page are opinion statements about public issues. Please use the following scale to indicate your degree of agreement with each item. Your replies will be completely confidential and you can decline to answer any question by leaving it blank.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Strongly disagree				Neither agree nor disagree				Strongly agree

1. Canada should open its doors to more immigration from the poorer countries. ____

2. It's good to live in a country where there are so many different ethnic and racial groups. ____

3. Some races or ethnic groups are, by their nature, more violent than others. ____

4. There is <u>nothing</u> wrong with intermarriage among the "races." ____

5. It is easy to understand the anger of minorities in Canada. ____

6. The government should not make any special effort to help minority groups because they should help themselves. ____

7. Over the past few years, the government and the news media have given more attention to minorities than they deserve. ____

8. Minorities are getting too demanding in their push for special rights. ____

9. Discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities is no longer a problem in Canada. ____

Appendix G

Job Position Description (Study 3)

You will be learning about an undergraduate teaching assistant position for second year psychology courses at the University of Waterloo.

Teaching assistant position details:

- Grade assignments, essays, and tests, and compute and record results

- Help the instructor prepare lesson materials

- Hold regular office hours to assist and mentor students

List of Interview Questions Categorized by Diagnosticity of Candidate's Abilities (Study 3)

Diagnostic

- What do people most often criticize about you?
- What is your greatest weakness?
- Tell me about the most challenging course you took.
- Tell me about the worst grade you received.
- Tell me about a time where you didn't meet your boss' or supervisor's expectations.
- What psychology courses have you taken?
- What is your overall grade in psychology?
- How comfortable are you in answering students' questions about material in second year psychology courses?
- Why did you choose to major in psychology?
- What is your greatest strength?
- What makes you think you can succeed in this job?
- How do you plan to handle a part-time job in addition to school?
- Why did you decide to apply for this position?
- How will this teaching assistant position help in your career plans?
- What traits and experience do you have that applies to this position?
- What are your career goals?
- Where do you see yourself in 5 years?

Non-diagnostic

- What are your hobbies?
- What do you do in your spare time?
- What is your favourite movie?
- What is your favourite book?
- What is your favourite colour?
- What would be your ideal vacation?
- What was your exchange experience like?
- What is your biggest pet peeve?
- If you could be an animal, what would you be, and why?
- Tell me about your family.
- Where do you live in Waterloo? Do you have roommates?
- If you were a kitchen appliance, what would you be, and why?
- What's your favourite place to hang out in Waterloo?
- What's your favourite food?
- What do you value most?

Confederate Script and Scripted Answers to Interview Questions (Study 3)

Instructions for Confederate

Wait until participant says hi and introduces themselves. Then type:

> Hi!
> My name is Delroy Jones.
> I originally came from Bridgetown. It's a city in Barbados.
> I'm a third year student (in 3A) in the Honours Psychology program here at Waterloo.
> I'm also thinking of doing a minor in international studies ever since I did an exchange program in Germany for 8 months in my second year.

After 8 questions are asked, do not respond. Tell the experimenter to stop the chat session. When she types in "Thanks Delroy, the interview is over. Thanks for helping us out!", please type:

> No problem! Talk soon.

Scripted Interview Questions and Answers

1. What courses have you taken?
   > I've taken Psych101, and most of the second year courses
   > like social psych, developmental psych, psychopathology, physiological psych, basic research methods, and cognitive processes
   > I've also taken a few third year courses, like interpersonal relations, language development, research in social psych seminar and an advanced data analysis course
2. What is your overall grade in psychology?
   > About 70%
   > I didn't do as well in my first and second year courses
   > But I did a lot better in my third year courses
3. How comfortable are you in answering students' questions about material in second year psychology courses?
   > I'm very confident in helping students with material from second year courses
   > I've taken most of them and also a few third year courses
   > Our understanding and how well we do in upper year courses depends on how well we understood the basic material in the second year courses
   > and I have a pretty good grasp of the major theories and concepts
4. Why did you choose to major in psychology?
   > I was debating between majoring in the more physical sciences, like biology and going into psych

But psychology interested me more because it is relevant to people's everyday lives.

I like how we can use theories in psychology to understand real world problems.

5. What is your greatest strength?

I'm a very reliable person.

When people ask me to do things, I get them done.

I have a part time job at Zehrs and I'm a volunteer research assistant too

so I've become an expert at balancing the things I need to do.

6. What makes you think you can succeed in this job?

Right now I'm volunteering as a research assistant at one of the psych labs in the department

It's a really valuable position to have as an undergrad

I've learned how to work with other research assistants and with participants, how to work independently, and how to time manage when the professor wants lots of different things done

so things like data entry and coding and running experiments

I have a lot more experience working in psychology and how the department works compared to other students who don't have RA positions

7. How do you plan to handle a part-time job in addition to school?

I've been working part time as a cashier at Zehrs for the past 2 years

and I'm also a volunteer research assistant in the department

so I know how to balance work, school and my volunteer commitments

I use an agenda and I plan out everything I do that day

I keep to-do list every week so I make sure that I get the most important things done

8. Why did you decide to apply for this position?

I thought it would be a great way to get more experience in the field of psychology on the research side of things

which I'm doing right now as a research assistant

also more experience on the teaching side of things

9. How will this teaching assistant position help in your career plans?

This position would really help in my career plans

especially if I apply to do research in graduate school

Graduate students usually get teaching assistantships, and so this would give me a chance to see what it would be like

It would give me more exposure to the field of psychology and how it works, and give me experience teaching students about psychology.

10. What traits and experience do you have that applies to this position?

I'm a very conscientious and organized person

Since this position requires that the person be able to balance different kinds of tasks

like marking assignments, offering office hours and helping the professor prepare lesson plans

I think I would be able to do a great job

I'm also a research assistant in one of the labs here in the department

11. What are your career goals?

I'm still exploring my options since I'm still in third year.

I might apply to do research in gradschool after my undergrad is done

I'm really not sure yet.

12. What do people most often criticize about you?

I guess I tend to take on too much work or commitments when I don't really have the time for it. I say yes to events I get invited to, and sometimes I don't end up going because I'm too busy.

13. Tell me about the most challenging course you took.

That was a first year biology course.

The expectations were very different from the ones in high school

so I had to study a lot more and spend more time reviewing and going to my prof's office hours.

14. Tell me about the worst grade you received so far.

I got 60% in chemistry in my first year because I thought I might major in biology but it was really difficult for me.

I just wasn't interested in the subject and all the lab sessions took up a lot of my time.

15. What is your greatest weakness?

I guess I sometimes procrastinate.

Time pressure motivates me, and I usually get things done on time that way.

16. Tell me about a time where you didn't meet your boss' or supervisor's expectations.

I'm working at Zehrs now as a cashier

When I started that job I had also just moved to Waterloo and started school at the same time.

It was difficult adjusting to the new environment and balancing school and work.

I made a few errors on the till, and also had to miss a few shifts.

I've been a lot better since then though. The whole balancing process got easier and I haven't had to miss a shift or made any serious mistakes since then.

17. What are your hobbies?

I like to go rockclimbing and bike mostly.

18. What do you do in your spare time?

I mainly go biking or rockclimbing, or hiking if I have time to go out further away from Toronto. I read and write too.

19. What is your favourite movie?

That's a hard one.

I would say Pulp Fiction. I really like Quentin Tarantino movies.

20. What is your favourite book?

I would say In the Skin of a Lion.

A friend recommended it to me and I really enjoyed the writing.

21. What is your favourite colour?

I'll say blue.

22. What would be your ideal vacation?

Anywhere where I can be active and explore.

I don't really like vacations where you lounge around and do nothing.

I would love to do hiking trails, or try mountain biking.

23. What do you value most?

The relationships I have with my friends and family.
I really value having a support network especially when school or work can become really busy and challenging.
24. What was your exchange experience like?
It was probably one of the best experiences I've had since I started school
It was really challenging getting over the language barrier, but I had really great mentors and teachers
I got the chance to travel around Europe too, which was great
I also made lots of friends that I still keep in touch with
25. What is your biggest pet peeve?
When people are inconsiderate of others.
26. Where do you see yourself in 5 years?
I will have graduated by then.
I don't have definite plans for after I finish my undergrad, but I am thinking about doing research in graduate school.
I'm not sure yet.
27. If you could be an animal, what would you be, and why?
Let me think about that.
I think I would be a leopard. I'm a pretty physically active person so I think that animal matches me the most.
28. Tell me about your family.
I have one older sister that's 2 years older than me. She's working now.
I also have one younger brother who's 3 years younger than me. They live with my parents.
29. Where do you live Waterloo? Do you have roommates?
I live really close to school, at University and Phillip
It's really convenient!
I live in an apartment, and I have 2 roommates
30. If you were a kitchen appliance, what would you be, and why?
Let me think about that.
I think I would be a fridge, because I like to eat!
31. What's your favourite place to hang out in Waterloo?
At school, I like hanging out with my friends at the SLC
We get together and talk and do work on our laptops
Outside school, it would have to be Waterloo park.
I like biking there and seeing the animals.
32. What's your favourite food?
Pizza, for sure!

Appendix J

List of Participant-Generated Interview Questions Categorized by Diagnosticity of Candidate's Abilities (Study 3)

Diagnostic

- Has school been a challenge for you?
- So you are unsure if you will pursue the field?
- Did he confront you or did you inform him of your errors?
- Was it hard for you to get into the swing of things when coming from Barbados into Waterloo?
- Can you tell me more about what you do as an RA?
- Have you ever been in a direct teaching position before?
- Do you believe that the trait you listed is the most valued trait a person such as yourself can have?
- Are you interested in the impacts of Psychology on someone in a foreign country? Or is that just a side interest which you'd like to pursue as well?
- That sounds like a great experience [referring to the candidate's exchange experience]. Would you say it would help you with the undergraduate teaching position?
- I went overseas this summer myself for a work experience. Being there, it was challenging to overcome many of the social barriers as I was a foreign person in another country. Did you ever feel that? If I were a first year student, and you were my TA, what could you tell me from those experiences that could help me overcome some of the challenges I would face during my university experience?
- What would you do as a teaching assistant knowing how a supportive teacher can make a huge impact?
- Can you tell me roles you would be responsible for in this position?
- Do you think you will be able to be a good TA with all your other commitments?
- First of all, which courses in psychology have you taken so far, and which ones did you enjoy the most/were your favourites?

Non-diagnostic

- Is this [referring to exchange experience] something you would recommend to someone?
- This is a little bit of a different question but if you were stranded on an island and could only have one item, what would it be and why?
- Here's a thinking question for you if 1 = 5, 2 = 10, 3 = 15, 4 = 20 then what does 5 equal?
- What motivated you to take part in the exchange program?
- Tell me about your most respected teacher that you know.
- Do they [candidate's family] all still live back in Barbados?

Appendix K

Coding Scheme for Interview Questions (Study 3)

Instructions to Coders

Read each interview question, and answer the questions below:

- Before starting the task: Read 10 questions randomly picked once each, without making any ratings. This is so you can get a feel for what the questions look like.
- When making the ratings, try to use the full range of the scale (0 to 5). Don't be afraid to use 0s and 5s. Use your best judgment.
- *Go through all the questions to be coded one dimension (see below) at a time*

0	1	2	3	4	5

Not easy at all   Very easy

1. If you were asked this question during an interview, how easy would it be to sound <u>competent</u>?

2. If you were asked this question during an interview, how easy would it be to sound <u>qualified for the position</u>?

3. If you were asked this question during an interview, how easy would it be to sound <u>responsible</u>?

4. If you were asked this question during an interview, how easy would it be to sound <u>motivated</u>?

5. If you were asked this question during an interview, how easy would it be to sound like a <u>warm person</u>?

6. If you were asked this question during an interview, how easy would it be to sound like a <u>kind person</u>?

7. If you were asked this question during an interview, how easy would it be to sound like a <u>caring person</u>?

8. How <u>diagnostic</u> is this question about the candidate's abilities? That is, how much would this question inform the interviewer that the candidate should be hired for the TA position?

0	1	2	3	4	5

Not diagnostic at all   Very diagnostic

9. How much would <u>it help you to be hired for this job if you were to answer this question well</u>?

0	1	2	3	4	5

Not at all   Very much

10. How <u>important</u> would it be to answer this question well?

0	1	2	3	4	5

Not important at all   Very important

11. How <u>difficult</u> would it be to answer this question well during an interview?

0	1	2	3	4	5

Not difficult at all   Very difficult

Appendix L

Self-report Questionnaires: Job Candidate and Interview (Study 3)

<u>Questions about the Job Candidate</u>

Based on your interview with the job candidate, on the following scales, please rate the job candidate on the following traits.

For the following ten-point scales, please remember that responses range from 1 = *not at all* to 10 = *extremely*.

Intelligent	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Responsible	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Mature	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Cares for others	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
People person	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Shows good judgment	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Motivated	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Takes initiative	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Kind	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Competent	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Determined	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Capable	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Has a lot to offer	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Someone I could learn from	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Someone who would need extra support	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Would you recommend hiring this applicant?   Yes   No

How strongly would you recommend this person

for the position?   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

                                         not at all   very strongly

Based on the online interview, please evaluate the job candidate on the following scales.

1. How friendly was the job candidate during the interview?

1-----------------**2**-----------------**3**-----------------**4**-----------------**5**-----------------**6**-----------------**7**

Not at all
friendly
Very friendly

2. How warm was the job candidate during the interview?

1-----------------**2**-----------------**3**-----------------**4**-----------------**5**-----------------**6**-----------------**7**

Not at all warm
Very warm

3. How sincere was the job candidate during the interview?

1-----------------**2**-----------------**3**-----------------**4**-----------------**5**-----------------**6**-----------------**7**

Not at all
sincere
Very sincere

4. How confident was the job candidate during the interview?

1-----------------**2**-----------------**3**-----------------**4**-----------------**5**-----------------**6**-----------------**7**

Not at all
confident
Very confident

5. How knowledgeable is the job candidate in the area of psychology?

1-----------------**2**-----------------**3**-----------------**4**-----------------**5**-----------------**6**-----------------**7**

Not at all
knowledgeable
Very
knowledgeable

Please rate your agreement on the following statements about the job candidate:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Disagree strongly

Neither agree nor disagree

Agree strongly

1. The job candidate would be an effective teaching assistant. ____
2. The job candidate would be a competent teaching assistant. ____
3. I would want the job candidate to be a teaching assistant in one of my psychology courses. ____
4. The job candidate is a good student. ____
5. I enjoyed interacting with the job candidate. ____
6. I want to get to know the job candidate better. ____
7. I could see myself being friends with the job candidate. ____
8. I think the job candidate would fit in well at the psychology department. ____

Please indicate how well each of the following words describes *how you felt during the online interview* on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely well*).

Calm

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				*extremely well*

Tense

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				*extremely well*

Content

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				*extremely well*

Surprised

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				*extremely well*

Angry

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				*extremely well*

Distressed

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				*extremely well*

Nervous

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				*extremely well*

Upset

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				*extremely well*

Sympathetic

1 *not at all*	2	3	4	5 *extremely well*

Competent

1 *not at all*	2	3	4	5 *extremely well*

Anxious

1 *not at all*	2	3	4	5 *extremely well*

Comfortable

1 *not at all*	2	3	4	5 *extremely well*

Empathic

1 *not at all*	2	3	4	5 *extremely well*

Threatened

1 *not at all*	2	3	4	5 *extremely well*

Intimidated

1 *not at all*	2	3	4	5 *extremely well*

Self-conscious

1 *not at all*	2	3	4	5 *extremely well*

<u>Guilty</u>

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				*extremely well*

<u>Worried</u>

1	2	3	4	5
not at all				*extremely well*

Please rate the effectiveness of the <u>online interview</u> in helping you make your hiring decision.

1--------------------**2**--------- ----------**3**--------- ----------**4**--------- ----------**5**--------- ----------**6**-------- ----------**7**
Not at all   Extremely
effective   effective

Please rate the effectiveness of <u>choosing which interview questions to ask</u> in helping you make your hiring decision.

1--------------------**2**--------- ----------**3**--------- ----------**4**--------- ----------**5**--------- ----------**6**-------- ----------**7**
Not at all   Extremely
effective   effective

Questions about the candidate:

1. What is the job candidate's first and last name?

2. What year is the job candidate in?

3. What program(s) is the job candidate in?

4. Where is the job candidate from (city and country)?

5. The job candidate did an exchange program.

a) When did they do it?

b) Where did they do it?

c) How long was the program?

6. What does the job candidate want to minor in?

Appendix M

Self-report Questionnaires: Charity Donations and Attitudes towards Blacks (Study 3)

Charity Donation Task

If you were given $100 to donate to the following charities, how much would you allocate to each? Please read a brief description about the two charities and choose from the options below.

A. University of Waterloo scholarship for immigrant students for academic excellence

This award is open to full time undergraduate students who are landed immigrants who have a strong record of academic achievement and maintain a minimum overall average of 80%.

B. University of Waterloo bursary for immigrant students with financial need

This award is based fully on financial need. It is open to full time undergraduate students who are landed immigrants who have applied for OSAP (or other provincial financial aid).

Please choose from these options:

a) $0 for A and $100 for B
b) $20 for A and $80 for B
c) $40 for A and $60 for B
d) $60 for A and $40 for B
e) $80 for A and $20 for B
f) $100 for A and $0 for B

Feeling Thermometer Task

Please provide a number between 0 and 100 to indicate how you feel about <u>Black people in North America</u>. You may use any number from 0 to 100 for a rating. Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean you feel favourable or warm toward this group. Ratings between 0 and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel too favourable toward this group.

— 100° Very warm or favorable feeling

— 85° Quite warm or favorable feeling

— 70° Fairly warm or favorable feeling

— 60° A bit more warm or favorable than cold feeling

— 50° No feeling at all

— 40° A bit more cold or unfavorable feeling

— 30° Fairly cold or unfavorable feeling

— 15° Quite cold or unfavorable feeling

— 0° Very cold or unfavorable feeling

Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions about <u>Black people in North America</u> by using the scale. We are not interested in your personal beliefs, but in how you believe Black people in North America are viewed by others**.**

   1. How confident are Black people in North America?

1---------- ---------**2**--------- ---------**3**--------- ---------**4**-------- ---------**5**
Not at all   Extremely

   2. How warm are Black people in North America?

1---------- ---------**2**--------- ---------**3**--------- ---------**4**-------- ---------**5**
Not at all   Extremely

   3. How well educated are Black people in North America?

1---------- ---------**2**--------- ---------**3**--------- ---------**4**-------- ---------**5**
Not at all   Extremely

   4. If Black people in North America get special breaks, this is likely to make things more difficult for people like me.

1---------- ---------**2**--------- ---------**3**--------- ---------**4**-------- ---------**5**
Not at all   Extremely

   5. How competent are Black people in North America?

1---------- ---------**2**--------- ---------**3**--------- ---------**4**-------- ---------**5**
Not at all   Extremely

   6. How economically successful are Black people in North America?

1---------- ---------**2**--------- ---------**3**--------- ---------**4**-------- ---------**5**
Not at all   Extremely

   7. How sincere are Black people in North America?

1---------- ---------**2**--------- ---------**3**--------- ---------**4**-------- ---------**5**
Not at all   Extremely

   8. Resources that go to Black people in North America are likely to take away from the resources of people like me.

1---------- ---------**2**--------- ---------**3**--------- ---------**4**-------- ---------**5**
Not at all   Extremely

Please rate your agreement on the statements below, using the following scale, about Black students in North America.

1. In order to do well academically, Black students need extra support compared to other students.

1--------------------2--------- ----------3--------- ----------4--------- ----------5--------- ----------6-------- ----------7
Strongly   Disagree   Moderately   Neutral   Moderately   Agree   Strongly Agree
Disagree   Disagree   Agree

2. Black students, because of the challenges they face, are often unable to perform the same intellectual tasks just as well as other students.

1--------------------2--------- ----------3--------- ----------4--------- ----------5--------- ----------6-------- ----------7
Strongly   Disagree   Moderately   Neutral   Moderately   Agree   Strongly Agree
Disagree   Disagree   Agree