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# An Experimental Assessment of Empathy Compared to Perspective Taking on Minority Group Members in Intergroup Exchanges with Majority Group Members

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AN EXPERIMENTAL ASSESSMENT OF EMPATHY COMPARED TO PERSPECTIVE  
TAKING ON MINORITY GROUP MEMBERS IN INTERGROUP EXCHANGES WITH  
MAJORITY GROUP MEMBERS

by

RAIN MARIE CARROLL

(Under the Direction of Amy A. Hackney)

ABSTRACT

This study sought to replicate and extend Vorauer and Quesnel's (2016) research on the malleability of ingroup status perceptions. With a sample of White majority and Indigenous minority Canadians, Vorauer and Quesnel tested the impact of being the target of two common intergroup relation strategies (i.e., empathy and perspective taking) on perceptions of status in society. They concluded that when minority group members were the targets of empathy rather than perspective taking, the targets experienced a significant decrease in perceptions of ingroup societal status. In the present experiment, White participants were randomly assigned the role of actor or target, and randomly assigned to the mixed-race or same-race exchange condition. This resulted in Thirty-seven White – White and White – Black dyads. The White actors were additionally randomly assigned to receive either an empathic or perspective taking mindset manipulation. Following the manipulation, actors and targets completed a brief discussion and then responded to status related dependent measures. All data were submitted to Multilevel Modeling (MLM) analyses to assess 2 (role: actor or target) x 2 (exchange type: mixed-race or same-race) x 2 (mindset manipulation: empathy or perspective taking) interactions for the dependent measures. Analyses revealed a significant main effect of mixed-race versus same-race (i.e., White – Black versus White – White) exchange type on perceptions of Black Status such that individuals in mixed-race exchanges rated Black status significantly lower than individuals in same-race exchanges. A significant main effect of actor versus target role on perceptions of White Status was observed such that targets rated White status significantly higher than actors. A significant main effect of actor versus target role on perceptions of Partners' Individual-Level Power was observed such that targets rated White status significantly higher than actors. Although the present study could not replicate Vorauer and Quesnel's (2016) findings, researchers should continue to examine the malleability of Americans' perceptions of group status focusing on

modifying perceptions of White and Black status in America so that they are in-line with objective measures of status. This will allow researchers to identify effective means of enacting positive social change which ameliorates the burden of inequality in America.

INDEX WORDS: Intergroup relations, Empathy, Perspective taking, Group status, Group power

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B.S., Murray State University, 2016

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Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to replicate and extend the findings of Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) with salient racial ingroup and outgroup members in the United States. Vorauer and Quesnel investigated the effects of mixed-race and same-race exchanges on perceptions of group status in a sample of European/White Canadians (majority group) and Indigenous Canadians (minority group). European/White Canadians (hereafter referred to as “actors”) were randomly assigned to take the perspective of, empathize with, or be objective with another participant of either White or Indigenous (hereafter referred to as “targets”) backgrounds during a 12-minute face-to-face discussion. Targets did not receive any of the three mindset manipulations and were unaware that the other participant had received any mindset manipulation. Their research analyzed the effects of being the target of these common intergroup relation strategies on individuals’ sense of power and status in society. They concluded that Indigenous participants that were targets of empathy rather than perspective taking in mixed-race exchanges with European/White participants experienced a significant decrease in perceptions of their groups’ social status. This finding suggests that minority group members may be more likely than majority group members to make group-level inferences in intergroup social contexts (Vorauer & Quensel, 2016).

The present research focused on replicating and extending the findings of the original study to a sample of African Americans (hereafter referred to as “Black”) and Caucasian Americans (hereafter referred to as “White”). Although race is a sociopolitical construct, research indicates that it is deeply embedded in the collective consciousness of the US public (Allen, 2007; Orbe & Harris, 2008). While Black Americans are more likely to question racial categorizations in the

U.S., both Black and White Americans are equally as likely to use racial rhetoric which complies with rigid conceptualizations of race (Orbe & Drummond, 2009).

Indeed, race has been shown to be quite salient for Americans. Kurtz-Costes, DeFreitas, Halle, and Kinlaw (2011) examined the gender and race preferences of preschool-aged Black and White American girls. Participants selected toy dolls of similar or different genders and races. White girls selected white girl dolls most often, and Black girls selected white girl dolls most often. For White girls, previous mixed-race contact was related to preferences for White dolls. Interestingly, they found that as previous mixed-race contact increases, the likelihood for White girls to select black dolls decreases. They concluded that minority and majority status is so salient for young Black and White children that it influences their development of group identity and social behavior (Kurtz-Costes, DeFreitas, Halle, & Kinlaw, 2011). Considering the impact of racial saliency in the American South, this research will examine the effects of empathy and perspective taking as common intergroup relation strategies with Black and White Americans. Based on the original research, it was predicted that Black individuals who are the targets of White individuals' empathy will experience a decrease in their perceptions of ingroup societal social status, which would suggest that Black Americans may be more likely to make group-level inferences in intergroup social contexts.

### Intergroup Relation Strategies

A critical aspect of one's overall psychological well-being is the formation of social bonds (Maslow, 1968). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) indicates that individuals have a tendency to group themselves along with others through personally meaningful characteristics such as ethnicity, nationality, or culture. The group an individual identifies with is deemed their

“ingroup” while the group that an individual does not identify with is deemed their “outgroup” (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Individuals are so motivated for positive social identity that they often exhibit automatic bias favoring members of their own ingroup and derogating members of an outgroup. This effect occurs even when people have no previous knowledge of the outgroup as a whole or knowledge of individual members of the outgroup (Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Monteith, 2001). Due to the innate human desire for positive social identity, the impacts of individuals’ positive and negative perceptions of their ingroup’s social status are far reaching.

Impacts of Group Level Perceptions. Members of stigmatized groups in the United States protect their overall psychological well-being by attributing stigmatization against their ingroup to prejudice, comparing their issues to other ingroup members rather than to members of a seemingly advantaged outgroup, and devaluing aspects of their group which are stigmatized (Crocker & Major, 1989). The connection between perceived group status and overall psychological well-being is not limited to individualistic societies. Verkuyten and Lay (1998) found that for Chinese immigrants living in the Netherlands, perceived group status was the best predictor of both collective self-esteem and overall psychological well-being. Thus, research has shown that individual perceptions of the status of one’s ingroup impact their overall psychological well-being.

Perceptions of discrimination against one’s ingroup affect identity and behavior. For example, perceptions of discrimination against an ingroup is related to an intensified identification with the ingroup (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002). Intensified ingroup identification may negatively impact task performance in groups that have previously been negatively stereotyped such as Blacks and women, a process known as stereotype threat (Steele, 1997). The aforementioned research indicates that individuals’ positive and negative perceptions of their ingroup’s social status impact their group identification and task performance. Still, little

is known about the malleability of majority and minority group members' perceptions of group status (Vorauer & Quensel, 2016).

Empathy & Majority Group Members. Empathy is a psychological construct which is imperative for social interaction (de Waal, 2007). Engaging in empathy involves creating an affective/motor/cognitive connection with another individual's emotional behavior (Brook & Kosson, 2013). According to Davis (1980), affective empathy can be defined by three separate psychological states: emotional contagion, personal distress, and empathic concern. Emotional contagion refers to an individual feeling the same emotions as the target, personal distress refers to an individual feeling distress after witnessing the suffering of a target, and empathic concern refers to an individual feeling the suffering of a target (Davis, 1980). This definition of affective empathy is consistent with the perception-action hypothesis which states that as individuals witness the emotional states of a target similar emotional states are activated within the self (Preston & de Waal, 2002).

The evocation of affective empathy has shown to be an effective means of increasing positive intergroup relations. Within mixed-race contexts, researchers often attempt to evoke an emotional response oriented at another individual (Batson et al., 1997). Affective empathy involves the ability for an individual to experience the emotions of others and to experience concern for the target (Batson, 2009). Sabina, Rupert, and Roberto (2009) have shown that in order for empathy to be effective, actors must focus on their individual responsibility and not the responsibility of their majority group as a whole. Thus, it is key that individuals engage in empathy with another individual and not in a group setting. Research has reliably shown that empathy is effective at increasing actors' altruistic behavior in such a way that individuals who experience empathy towards a target often strive to decrease negative emotional states in others (for review

see Batson, Ahmad, & Lishner, 2009; Vorauer, 2013). There are a variety of benefits of empathy as an intergroup relation strategy for individuals of the majority group. However, the effects of empathy on individuals of the minority group have gone largely unexamined (Vorauer & Quesnel, 2016).

**Perspective Taking & Majority Group Members.** The ability to take the perspective of others has been asserted as the foundation of social capacity in humans (Mead, 1934). Galinsky, Ku, and Wang (2005) define perspective taking as the process through which individuals imagine the world through another individual's perspective, and they also indicate that it is imperative for appropriate social functioning. Essentially, this is when people put themselves in the place of another and experience the world through their vantage point. When individuals take the perspective of another, research has shown an increase in the mental self and other overlap of the actor (Davis, Conklin, Smith, & Luce, 1996; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000a). This means that individuals that take the perspective of another are likely to see more of their self within another person. Due to this increase of self and other overlap, actors are able to create stronger social bonds with targets (Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005).

Actors also tend to experience increased psychological closeness with the targets of their perspective taking (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997; Pickett, Gardner, & Knowles, 2004). Additional research has consistently shown an increase in actors' social bonds with targets through decreased prejudice and stereotyping toward members of their minority group (Batson et al., 1997; Galinsky & Ku, 2004; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000a). To further examine the benefits of perspective taking, Vescio, Sechrist, and Paolucci (2003) presented White participants with an interview containing either stereotype-confirming or stereotype-disconfirming information regarding the experiences of a Black individual. They found that participants were more likely to



hold stereotypical beliefs following exposure to a stereotype-confirming Black individual, but following perspective taking, participants in both conditions were equally likely to report more favorable intergroup attitudes. Clearly, there are a variety of benefits of perspective taking as an intergroup relation strategy for individuals of the majority group. However, like empathy, the effects of perspective taking on individuals of the minority group have gone largely unexamined (Vorauer & Quesnel, 2016).

### Empathy versus Perspective Taking

Perspective taking and empathy are often utilized as strategies for increasing positive intergroup relations among members of majority and minority groups (Vorauer & Quesnel, 2016). Vorauer (2013) has found evidence that these two strategies can also give rise to each other such that the benefits of one strategy may carry over to the other. However, there are fundamental differences in the two. Galinsky, Maddux, Glin, and White (2008) indicate that perspective taking is typically viewed as a cognitive strategy for increasing intergroup relations. This means that actors are often focused on the cognitions of targets. However, as previously mentioned, empathy is typically viewed as an affective strategy for increasing intergroup relations (Batson et al., 1997). Actors that engage in perspective taking are typically instructed to put themselves in another's shoes and see the world through their point of view (Davis, 1983; Vorauer & Sucharyna, 2013), while actors that engage in empathy are typically instructed to try and feel the emotions of targets (Batson et al., 1997).

**Social Hierarchies.** The use of both perspective taking and empathy has been linked to specific social hierarchies. In a series of four studies, Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, and Gruenfeld (2006) found that individuals of higher power have a more difficult time adjusting to the viewpoint of

others and are less able to empathize with individuals of lower power. In an additional correlational study, they found that higher power was negatively associated with the ability to take the perspective of others (Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006). Conversely, Lammers, Galinsky, Gordijn, and Otten (2008) found that individuals of lower power are more likely to take the perspective of others with higher power in an effort to understand how those individuals are likely to treat them in social interactions. Interestingly, however, individuals are most likely to empathize with others if they are of a higher social status and the target is of a lower social status (Coke, Batson, & McDavis, 1978). The aforementioned research implies that, typically, lower status individuals engage in perspective taking while higher status individuals engage in empathy. Additionally, when actors attempt to engage in either perspective taking or empathy, it is likely that they activate automatic scripts related to the social position of those involved in the mixed-race exchange (Baldwin, 1992). The activation of these social hierarchies is translated to mixed-race interactions. Vorauer, Hunter, Main, and Roy (2000) found that during mixed-race interaction, members of the majority group become aware of the elevated status of their group which activates constructs related to the power of their group.

### Current Study

With few exceptions, the research examining perspective taking and empathy as intergroup relation strategies has focused on the benefits of each strategy on members of the majority group (Vorauer & Quesnel, 2016). However, when researchers have included measures to examine the effects of these intergroup relation strategies on minority group members, they have only focused on how enjoyable the experience was for the target and if they experienced happiness as a result of the experience (e.g., Vorauer, Martens, & Sasaki, 2009) For instance, Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson, and Galinsky (2011) found that Black participants experienced increased interpersonal

positivity with White participants following perspective taking. However, they also found that all participants experienced an increase in perceptions of racial inequalities among their groups. They did not conduct any further research to examine the effects of this increase in perceptions of racial inequality on members of both majority and minority groups.

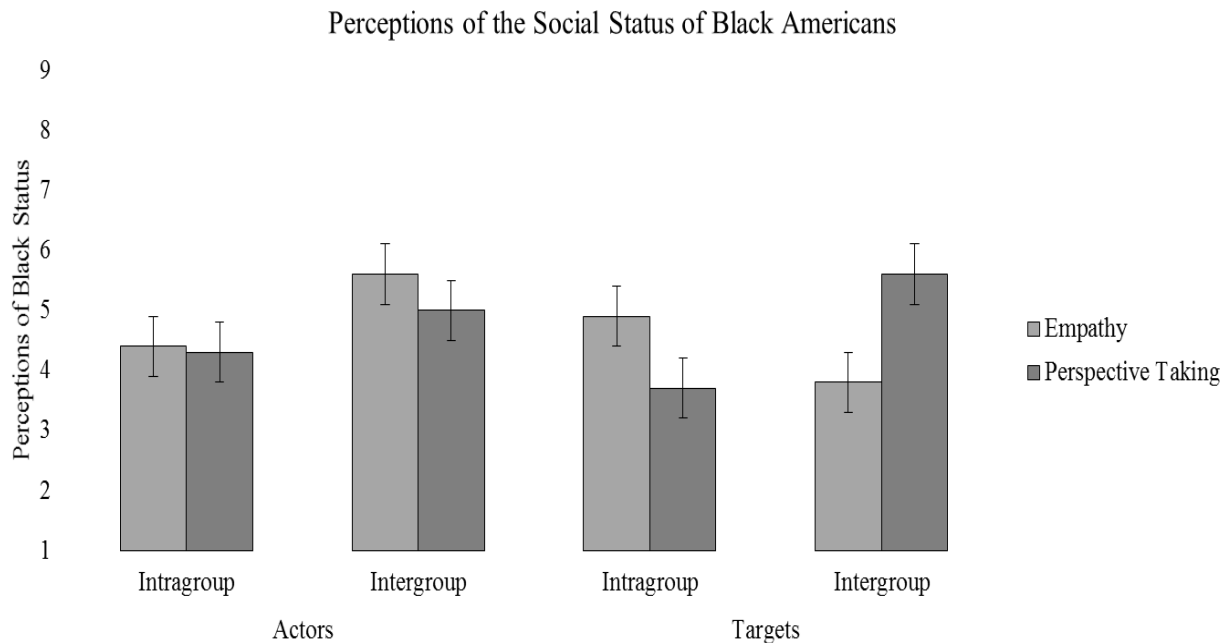
Due to this lack of empirical examination, Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) conducted the first study directed at the effects of these common intergroup relation strategies on members of the minority group. This research is valuable due to the differences in goals that members of majority and minority groups tend to hold. Specifically, members of majority groups tend to desire pleasant and smooth interactions with minority group members, but, members of minority groups often desire to increase group-based power and individual respect through interactions with majority group members (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; Saguy, Davidio, & Pratto, 2008). Consequently, individuals will likely experience each type of intergroup relation strategy through the lens of their most salient social group (Vorauer & Quesnel, 2016). Kurtz-Costes, DeFreitas, and Kinlaw (2011) have shown that race is salient enough for young Black and White Americans that it influences their development of group identity and social behavior. Accordingly, this study will focus on replicating and extending the findings of Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) to a sample of Black and White Americans.

**Study Overview, Specific Aim, & Hypothesis.** Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) call for the examination of these common intergroup strategies within samples of different majority and minority groups. The primary purpose of this research was to investigate the effects of perspective taking and empathy on Black Americans, a minority racial group in America. Specifically, this research focused on the potential negative impact of empathy compared to perspective taking on Black minority students in America in the context of mixed-race exchanges. Based on the findings

of Vorauer and Quesnel (2016), it was expected that Black participants will experience a decrease in their perceived group social standing when they are the target of empathy compared to perspective taking in mixed-race exchanges with White participants.

The aim of this study was to assess the effects of empathy compared to perspective taking on minority group members in mixed-race exchanges with majority group members. All hypotheses examined the effects of empathy compared to perspective taking on minority group members in mixed-race exchanges with majority group members via a series of Multilevel Modeling (MLM) analyses. Figure 1 demonstrates the expected results for all analyses with the primary dependent measure of interest depicted on the graph.

- Hypothesis 1a: Black Status in Society. It was hypothesized that the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking as intergroup relation strategies will decrease minority group members perceived social standing in society when they engage in mixed-race interactions with majority group members. This effect was not expected to occur for majority groups members who were the targets of empathy compared to perspective taking.



*Figure 1.* Visual representation of the expected results for the Black Status in Society dependent measure.

- Hypothesis 1b: White Status in Society. It was hypothesized that the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking as intergroup relation strategies will impact majority group members' perceptions of social standing when they engage in mixed-race interactions with minority group members.
- Hypothesis 2: Individual-Level Power. It was hypothesized that minority group members perceived individual-level power will decrease based on the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking as intergroup relation strategies in interactions with majority group members. This effect was not expected to occur for majority groups members who were the targets of empathy compared to perspective taking.

- Hypothesis 3: Interpersonal Positivity. It was hypothesized that minority group members perceived interpersonal positivity will decrease based on the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking as intergroup relation strategies in interactions with majority group members. This effect was not expected to occur for majority groups members who were the targets of empathy compared to perspective taking.
- Hypothesis 4: Balance of Power. It was hypothesized that minority group members will perceive their interactions with majority group members as less balanced based upon the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking as intergroup relation strategies. This effect was not expected to occur for majority groups members who were the targets of empathy compared to perspective taking.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHOD

#### Participants

Recruitment. Eighty-four participants (42 dyads) completed the study. Of those, 74 participants (37 dyads) responded appropriately to the attention and manipulation checks and were included in subsequent analyses. Included participants were either White or Black Americans. Participants were recruited from a medium-sized university located in the American Southeast. Individuals 18 years or older were eligible to participate and there were no gender restrictions. This experiment required that participants come to the psychology research lab for a maximum of 30 minutes and interact with a randomly assigned partner. From preliminary research, we found a 0% response rate through the Psychology Department's web-based research participation pool (SONA). Due to the increase in relatively short, cognitively easy online studies that students could have completed, a monetary incentive was necessary to increase participation in lab-based research. Previous research has consistently shown that the addition of monetary incentives increases response rates to survey research (Church, 1993; James & Bolstein, 1990; James & Bolstein, 1992; Singer, 2002). To elaborate on the benefits of monetary incentivization, McCarthy et al. (2005) found that the use of gift cards, as compared to other monetary incentives, significantly increases response rates in empirical research. Thus, participants were informed at sign-up that they would be placed in the drawing for one of twenty Amazon gift cards for a total of twenty-five dollars.

Participants were self-selected for this study through SONA and received one credit towards their course research requirement or extra credit from their professors in return for their participation. Participants were also recruited from other academic departments through an

emailed sign up disseminated by their professors. Incentives (i.e., extra course credit) were determined by the professor.

Demographics. Detailed demographic information from the current sample is reported in Table 1



Table 1

*Demographic Information*


---

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Age	19.46	1.69
	N	%
Gender		
Female	64	86.5
Male	9	12.2
Level in School		
1 <sup>st</sup> year	25	33.8
2 <sup>nd</sup> year	23	31.1
3 <sup>rd</sup> year	15	20.3
4 <sup>th</sup> year	10	13.5
5 <sup>th</sup> year	1	1.4
Race/Ethnicity		
White/Caucasian	54	73
Black/African American	20	27

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## Materials

All measures used in this study are described below. All dependent measures were presented via the computerized survey software Qualtrics.

**Informed Consent.** All participants, both recruited through SONA and recruited outside of the department, reviewed and signed an informed consent form prior to participating in this study (Appendix A). The informed consent document listed the purpose, risks and benefits, confidentiality protocol, participant rights, and the Primary Investigator's contact information.

**Cover Story.** Following the original design, the Researcher told participants that they were interested in "how reasoning and judgment vary across social versus nonsocial contexts." Accordingly, they and their partner would discuss their thoughts, experiences, and opinions on a number of different topics and do some judgment and decision-making tasks on their own. Only after their arrival were participants told that the researchers were particularly interested in interactions involving members of similar versus different ethnic groups and specified whether they were paired with a White or Black student.

**Perceived Group Standing Measure.** Perceptions of group status were the primary dependent measures of interest. Group status was assessed following Major and colleagues (2002) original instructions:

*"There are many people who believe that different groups enjoy different amounts of social status and power in this society. You may not believe this for yourself, but if you had to rate each of the following groups as such people see them, how would you do so?"*

Participants rated the group status and power of both Black and White Americans with 9-point Likert-type scales. On these scales, higher scores indicate stronger endorsement of power and

status for each group, respectively. Consistent with Vorauer and Quesnel's (2016) original measure, participants' ratings of group status and power were combined to create overall measures of the perceived social standing of each group ( $\alpha$ s= .64 - .90). The full measure can be found on Appendix B.

**Individual-Level Power.** Perceptions of individual-level power were assessed using Vorauer and Quesnel's (2016) measure of participants' own and their interaction partner's power. Participants used four 7-point Likert-type scales to assess their and interaction partner's power ( $\alpha$ s= .72 - .83). The full measure can be found on Appendix C.

**Interpersonal Positivity.** Participants also used 7-point Likert-type scales to rate both how positively they felt toward their partner and how positively they believe their partner felt toward them ( $\alpha$ s= .84 - .87). The full measure can be found on Appendix D.

**Balance of Power.** Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) examined the balance of power within discussion. Their original measure of power balance utilized audiotaped recordings of pair discussions and independent coders to count the number of power relevant behaviors (e.g., time spent talking, loudness, initiating, and interrupting) exhibited by each pair member to create a measure of power imbalance within the discussion ( $\alpha$ = .65). Additional independent coders listened to the discussions and counted interruptions ( $\alpha$ = .90), expressions of agreement ( $\alpha$ = .67)/disagreement ( $\alpha$ = .81), intimacy ( $\alpha$ = .64), and number of compliments ( $\alpha$ = .71). They further rated the extent to which the discussion focused on affect ( $\alpha$ = .56) and cognitions ( $\alpha$ = .77).

Although reliabilities ranged from  $\alpha$ = .85 – 90, Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) state that they experienced significant issues with coding due to the method of recording discussions. Since they audiotaped discussions, the independent coders experienced significant trouble

determining which speaker was the actor and which was the target. In order to avoid this issue, participants in the present study used self-report responses to each of these interaction behaviors (Which partner spent more time talking?) on 7-point Likert scales ( $\alpha = .30$ ). Finally, participants completed manipulation checks to assess the efficacy of the empathic and perspective taking manipulations. The full measure can be found on Appendix E.

Demographics. Demographic information was collected after all other measures had been completed. The full measure can be found on Appendix F.

### Procedure

Following approval from the university's Institutional Review Board (under tracking number H17322), the primary researcher activated the study through the Psychology Department's web-based research participation pool (SONA), and participants signed up for study timeslots using this website.

Participants were self-selected for this study through SONA and received 1 credit towards their course research requirement or other incentives (i.e. extra credit) from their professors in return for their participation. Participants were informed either via SONA or their instructors that this study required only White and Black participants. Participants entered the lab in either White - White or White- Black pairs so that researchers could assess the effects of each strategy in intergroup (i.e., mixed-race) and intragroup (i.e., same-race) contexts. In White-White pairs, Actors and Targets were randomly assigned. In White- Black pairs, Actors were the White participants and Targets were the Black participants. Participants were separated while they reviewed an informed consent document. If they wished to participate, the Actor and Target remained separate while the Researcher administered one of the following mindset

manipulations to the Actor. All mindset manipulations were administered via audio recording in order to minimize potential experimenter biases.

- Empathic Script (Batson et al., 1997):

*“We have found that people are better able to answer these questions if, during the discussion, they try to imagine how the other participant feels about the events and experiences that he/she describes and to imagine how these events and experiences have affected his/her life. Try to feel the full impact of the experiences that he/she has had and how he/she feels as a result.”*

- Perspective-Taking Script (Vorauer & Sucharyna, 2013):

*“We have found that people are better able to answer these questions if they try to take the other participant’s perspective during the discussion. So, please concentrate on trying to get inside the other participant’s head and on looking at the discussion through his/her eyes. That is, imagine as clearly and vividly as possible what your reactions would be if you were the other participant, taking into account everything that you know about him/her and trying to adopt his/her own way of looking at things.”*

- All Actors received the following final instructions (Vorauer & Quesnel, 2016):

*“So please do everything you can during the discussion to [imagine how the other participant feels/take the other participant’s perspective]. And remember to do this throughout the whole discussion. It will really help you in answering the questions that we will ask once the discussion is over.”*

The Targets did not receive any mindset manipulation and were blind to the fact that the Actors received any manipulation. Afterwards, the Actor and Target came together for a 12-

minute discussion of social and legal issues in the United States (Appendix G). The topics of discussion only vary from the original study in the name of the country used (i.e., United States). Participants were instructed to move through each of the discussion topics one by one. They were then separated and asked to complete measures of the dependent variables (group status, individual-level power, positivity, and interaction behavior). Perceptions of group status were the primary dependent measures of interest. At that point, the Researcher answered any questions that participants asked and allowed them to leave. Amazon gift cards were distributed to a random selection of twenty-five participants following the completion of data collection. Full debriefing was delayed until data collection was completed to ensure that the purpose and procedures of the study remained confidential and to decrease the likelihood that potential participants were aware of the experimental procedures before completing the study. A debriefing statement was emailed to all participants (Appendix H).

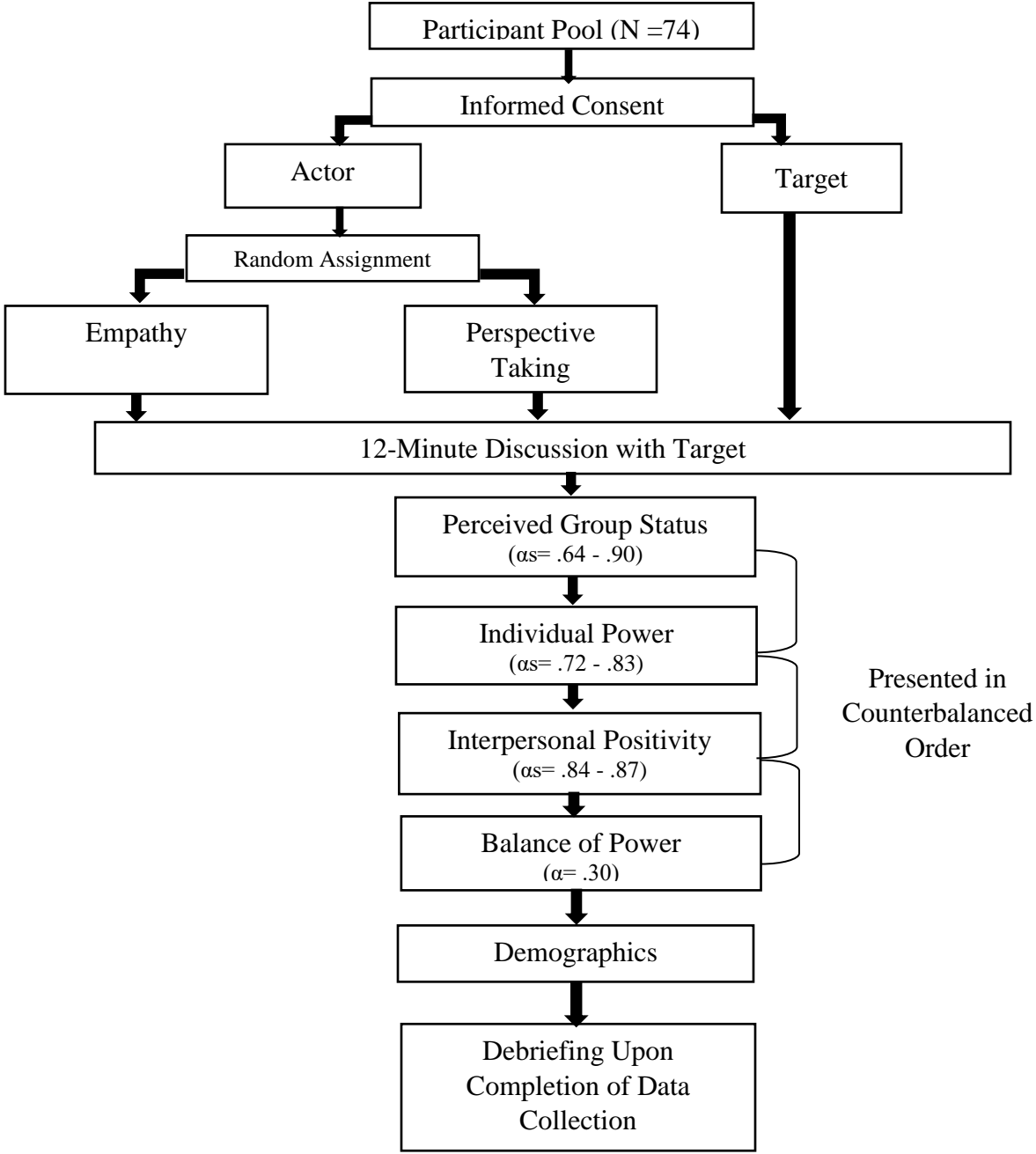


Figure 2. Visual representation of the study procedures.

### CHAPTER 3 RESULTS

All data were submitted to multilevel modeling (MLM) analyses to account for the nested structure, and because dyad members were distinguishable, a heterogeneous compound symmetry covariance structure was utilized for the residuals. In the analyses, participants' role served as a fixed-effects within-dyad factor, and both exchange type and mindset manipulation served as fixed-effects between-dyads factors. MLM analyzed a 2 (role: actor or target) x 2 (exchange type: mixed-race or same-race) x 2 (mindset manipulation: empathy or perspective taking) interaction for the dependent measures. For each of the analyses presented in this section, a different dependent measure was utilized. Perceptions of group status were the primary dependent measures of interest. Due to a low Cronbach's alpha, the Balance of Power dependent variable was not submitted to MLM analysis. All results are presented in Table 2. Means and standard deviations for each condition are presented in Table 3.



Table 2  
Results of MLM Analyses

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	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>
<u>Black Status in Society</u>		
Empathy versus Perspective Taking	.029	34
Exchange Type	4.510	34
Role	.017	33
Empathy versus Perspective Taking * Role	1.614	33
Exchange Type * Role	.391	33
Empathy versus Perspective Taking * Exchange Type * Role	.360	33
<u>White Status in Society</u>		
Empathy versus Perspective Taking	.163	34
Exchange Type	.297	34
Role	4.868	33
Empathy versus Perspective Taking * Role	.173	33
Exchange Type * Role	.126	33
Empathy versus Perspective Taking * Exchange Type * Role	.645	33
<u>Participants' Individual-Level Power</u>		
Empathy versus Perspective Taking	.233	34
Exchange Type	1.466	34
Role	0	33
Empathy versus Perspective Taking * Role	3.150	33
Exchange Type * Role	2.304	33
Empathy versus Perspective Taking * Exchange Type * Role	1.502	33
<u>Partners' Individual-Level Power</u>		
Empathy versus Perspective Taking	.181	34
Exchange Type	.013	34
Role	4.324	33
Empathy versus Perspective Taking * Role	3.569	33
Exchange Type * Role	.805	33
Empathy versus Perspective Taking * Exchange Type * Role	.420	33
<u>Interpersonal Positivity</u>		
Empathy versus Perspective Taking		
Exchange Type	.535	34
Role	4.085	34
Empathy versus Perspective Taking * Role	.861	33
Exchange Type * Role	2.404	33
Empathy versus Perspective Taking * Exchange Type * Role	.020	33
	.020	33

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Table 3

*Means and Standard Deviations of Each Condition*


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	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<u>Black Status in Society</u>		
Actors	5.00	1.23
mixed-race	4.80	1.30
same-race	5.24	1.05
Targets	4.92	1.66
mixed-race	4.50	1.55
same-race	5.41	1.69
<u>White Status in Society</u>		
Actors	7.19	1.32
mixed-race	7.20	1.50
same-race	7.18	1.89
Targets	7.85	1.03
mixed-race	7.98	.95
same-race	7.71	1.13
<u>Participants' Individual-Level Power</u>		
Actors	5.05	.61
mixed-race	4.89	.53
same-race	5.25	.66
Targets	5.44	.69
mixed-race	5.10	.70
same-race	5.03	.42
<u>Partners' Individual-Level Power</u>		
Actors		
mixed-race	5.14	.63
same-race	5.20	.64
Targets	5.06	.63
mixed-race	5.44	.63
same-race	5.36	.69
	5.53	.69
<u>Interpersonal Positivity</u>		
Actors	5.27	.69
mixed-race	5.10	.59
same-race	5.46	.77
Targets	5.38	.67
mixed-race	5.22	.61
same-race	5.57	.70

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Hypothesis 1a: Black Status in Society. It was hypothesized that the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking as intergroup relation strategies will decrease minority group members perceived social standing in society when they engage in mixed-race interactions with majority group members. Multilevel analyses did not reveal a significant 2 (role: actor or target) x 2 (exchange type: mixed-race or same-race) x 2 (mindset manipulation: empathy or perspective taking) interaction. A significant main effect of exchange type was observed in participants' assessments of Black status,  $F(1,34) = 4.51, p = .041; d = .37$  such that participants in mixed-race exchanges ( $M = 4.65, SD = 1.45$ ) reported lower assessments of Black status than participants in same-race exchanges ( $M = 5.32, SD = 1.39$ ). That is, individuals that participated in a mixed-race (i.e., White and Black) exchange reported lower perceptions of Black status than individuals that participated in a same-race (i.e., White and White) exchange. Figure 3 depicts this main effect.

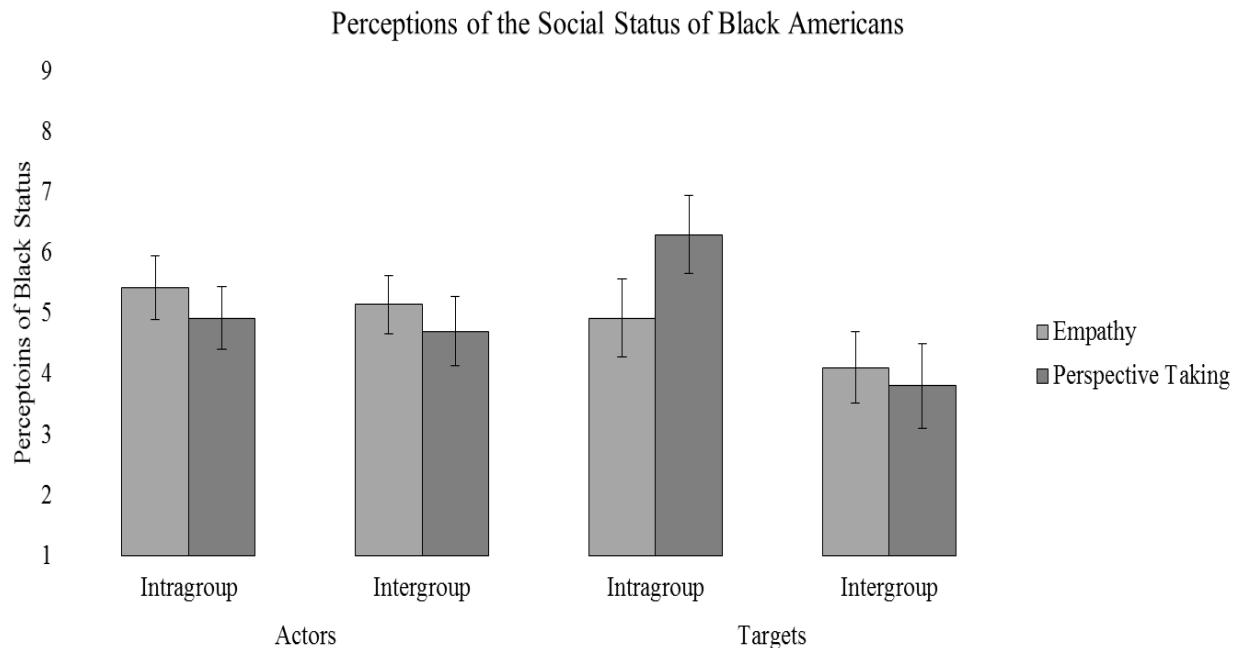


Figure 3. Visual representation of the results for the Black Status in Society dependent measure.

Hypothesis 1b: White Status in Society. It was hypothesized that the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking as intergroup relation strategies will impact majority group members' perceptions of social standing when they engage in mixed-race interactions with minority group members. Multilevel analyses did not reveal a significant 2 (role: actor or target) x 2 (exchange type: mixed-race or same-race x 2 (mindset manipulation: empathy or perspective taking) interaction. A significant main effect of role was observed in participants' assessments of White status,  $F(1,33) = 4.87, p = .034; d = .56$  such that targets ( $M = 7.85, SD = 1.03$ ) reported higher assessments of White status than actors ( $M = 7.19, SD = 1.32$ ). That is, individuals that were the target of either mindset manipulation reported significantly higher perceptions of White status than individuals that were administered the mindset manipulation. Figure 4 depicts this main effect.

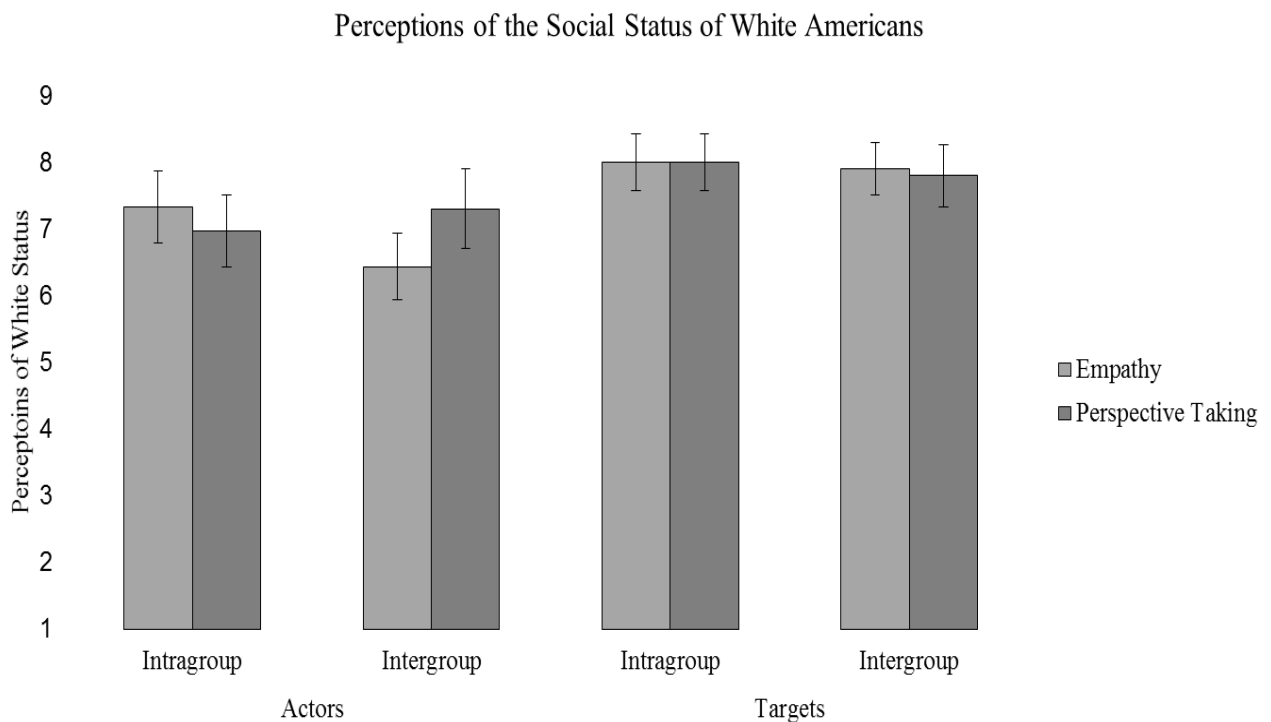


Figure 4. Visual representation of the results for the White Status in Society dependent measure.

Hypothesis 2: Individual-Level Power. It was hypothesized that minority group members perceived individual-level power will decrease based on the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking as intergroup relation strategies in interactions with majority group members. A significant 2 (role: actor or target) x 2 (exchange type: mixed-race or same-race) x 2 (mindset manipulation: empathy or perspective taking) interaction was not observed. A significant main effect of role was also observed in participants' perceptions of their partners' power,  $F(1,33) = 4.32, p = .045; d = .48$  such that targets ( $M = 5.44, SD = .69$ ) reported higher perceptions of their partners' power than actors ( $M = 5.14, SD = .63$ ). That is, individuals that were the target of either mindset manipulation reported significantly higher perceptions of their partners' power than individuals that were administered the mindset manipulation. Figure 5 depicts this main effect.

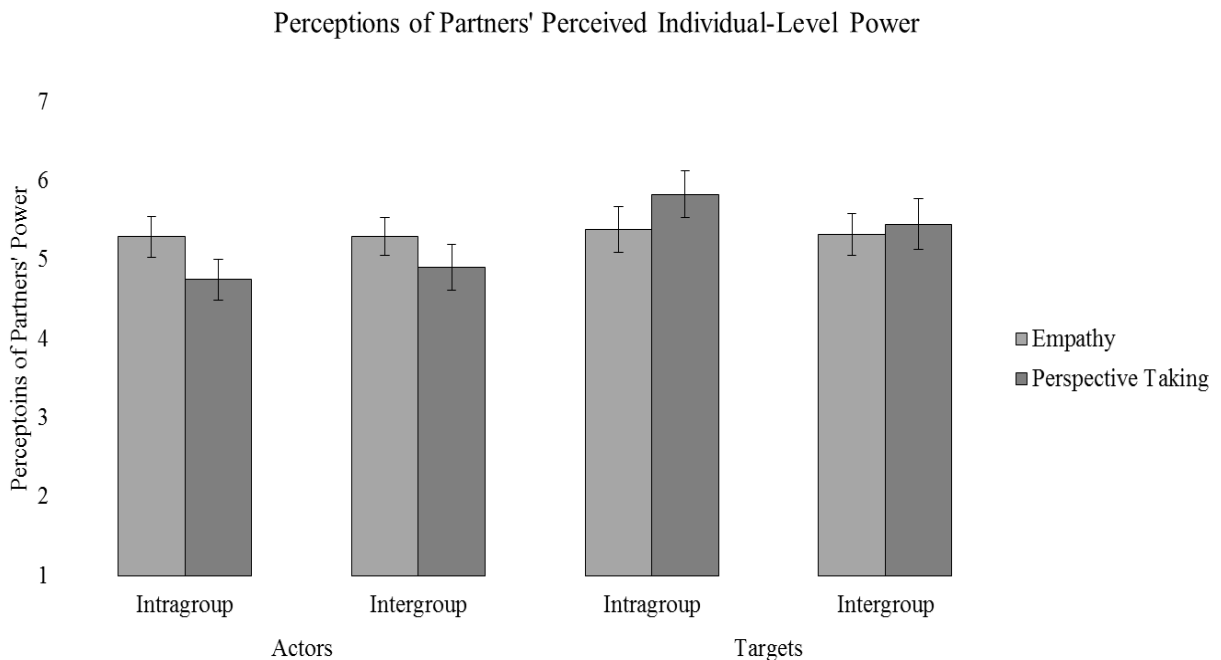


Figure 5. Visual representation of the results for Individual-Level Power dependent measure.

Hypothesis 3: Interpersonal Positivity. It was hypothesized that minority group members perceived interpersonal positivity will decrease based on the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking as intergroup relation strategies in interactions with majority group members. No significant interactions or effects were observed.

## CHAPTER 4 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to replicate and extend the findings of Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) with salient racial ingroup and outgroup members in the United States. They concluded that Indigenous Canadian targets of empathy rather than perspective taking in mixed-race exchanges with White Canadian actors experienced a significant decrease in perceptions of their groups' social status which suggests that minority group members may be more likely than majority group members to make group-level inferences in mixed-race contexts (Vorauer & Quesnel, 2016). In order to replicate and extend these findings, the present study randomly assigned White participants to the role of actor or target and to the mixed-race or same-race exchange type condition. The White actors were additionally randomly assigned to receive either an empathic or perspective taking mindset manipulation. Following the manipulation, actors and targets completed a brief 12-minute discussion and then responded to status related dependent measures.

Hypothesis 1a: Black Status in Society. Hypothesis 1a predicted that the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking would decrease minority group members' perceptions of Black status in society when they engage in mixed-race interactions with majority group members. This effect was not expected to occur for majority groups members who were the targets of empathy compared to perspective taking. This hypothesis was not supported as no significant interactions were observed. However, a significant main effect of exchange type was observed such that participants in mixed-race exchanges reported significantly lower assessments of perceived Black status than participants in same-race exchanges. In other words, individuals that participated in a mixed-race (i.e., White and Black) exchange reported lower perceptions of Black status than

individuals that participated in a same-race (i.e., White and White) exchange. One potential explanation for this finding is that mixed-race interactions result in a more accurate assessment of Black status in America by White Americans.

Research has shown that Americans tend to underestimate the amount of racial inequality in society (Norton & Ariely, 2011). Indeed, objective measures of inequality consistently show significant disparities among racial majority and minority groups which are evident in assessments of average wealth, education, and home ownership (Payne, 2017). Those assessments reveal disparities which favor majority group members. Research has also revealed disparities in Americans' perceptions of racial inequality. When Whites' perceptions of racial inequalities are analyzed, they tend to make comparisons to past injustices and determine that there is currently less of a disparity between Whites' and Blacks' status than in the past. However, when Blacks' perceptions of racial inequalities are analyzed, they tend to make comparisons to a future with total equality and determine that there is a significant disparity between Whites' and Blacks' status (Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006). White and Black Americans' discrepancy in comparison points (e.g., to past injustices or to a future with equality) leads to lower ratings of Black status by Blacks and higher ratings of Black status by Whites. Perhaps participating in mixed-race exchanges through inductions of empathy and perspective taking allow White Americans to more accurately perceive the current societal status of Black Americans.

On the other hand, it is possible that the results simply reflect the findings from the literature that White Americans underestimate the social standings of Black Americans. The mixed-race and same-race dyads differ not only in whether the group members are of the same race or of a different race, but also differ in the specific racial composition of the participants. Since the mixed-race dyads were composed of White and Black participants, and the same-race



dyads were composed of only White participants, it is possible that the perception of lower Black status by mixed-race dyads is driven by the responses of Black participants.

In summary, there are several possible pathways of the effects of Black participants in the mixed-race dyads on perceptions of Black status. The lower perception of Black status could be due to the influence of contact with Black participants on White participants' assessment of Black status, the lower average assessment of Black status by Black participants in the White – Black dyads such that the scores of Black participants impacted the overall average, or some combination of the two may have occurred. Mixed-race contact has been shown to reduce prejudice (Amir, 1969; Mann, 1959). If mixed-race contact influenced Whites' perception of social status, the change in perception they experienced may be more beneficial than an objective assessment of racial disparity. Although objective measures of inequality consistently reveal disparities among racial groups, research has shown that subjective perceptions of inequality are more likely to influence policy preferences than objective measures of inequality (Niehues, 2014). Thus, individuals that perceive greater disparities between people of different racial groups are more likely to support policy focused on the reduction of racial inequality.

Hypothesis 1b: White Status in Society. Hypothesis 1b predicted that the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking would impact majority group members' perceived status in society when they engage in mixed-race interactions with minority group members. This hypothesis was not supported as no significant interactions were observed, but a significant main effect of role was observed such that targets reported significantly higher assessments of perceived White status than actors. In other words, individuals that were the target of either mindset manipulation reported significantly higher perceptions of White status than individuals who were administered a mindset manipulation (the actors). It is likely that the White actors considered their status in society as

normal and not privileged (Kahn, Ho, Idanius, & Pratto, 2009) which leads to them being blind to the elevated status of their group in comparison to other racial groups. However, Black Americans consistently report awareness of the elevated status of White Americans in society (Hartmann, Gerteis, & Croll, 2009). Thus, it is possible that targets' assessments of White status were increased by the inclusion of Black participants' ratings, or actors' assessments of White status were decreased by their blindness to the elevated status of Whites in America.

Additionally, given that the effect occurred for all targets, regardless of race, it is possible that the mindset manipulation given to the White actors carried over into their interaction style with the targets. For example, actors, given a role to take the perspective of a target or empathize with a target, may feel more powerful, and this perception of power may then be perceived by the targets of the strategies. Previous research has shown that when actors engage in either perspective taking or empathy, they activate automatic scripts related to the social position of those involved in the dyadic exchange (Baldwin, 1992). In fact, Vorauer, Hunter, Main, and Roy (2000) found that during mixed-race exchanges, members of the majority group become aware of the elevated status of their group which activates constructs related to the power of their group. The activation of these social hierarchies may be translated to mixed-race interactions. This means it is possible that actors' awareness of the elevated power of the White majority group translated to the dyadic exchange and influenced targets' perceptions of their White partners' status in society.

Hypothesis 2: Individual-Level Power. Hypothesis 2 predicted that the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking would significantly decrease minority group members perceived individual-level power in interactions with majority group members. This effect was not expected for majority group members who were the targets. This hypothesis was not supported as no significant interactions were observed. However, a significant main effect of role was observed

such that targets reported significantly higher perceptions of their partners' power than actors. That is, individuals that were the target of either mindset manipulation reported significantly higher perceptions of partners' individual-level power than individuals that were administered a mindset manipulation. Again, it is possible that actors are perceived as more powerful by targets following an exchange due to the activation of automatic scripts related to the social position of members of the dyad (Baldwin, 1992). This means that actors' awareness of the elevated power of the White majority group may have translated to the dyadic exchange and influenced targets' perceptions of their partners' power.

Hypothesis 3: Interpersonal Positivity. Hypothesis 3 predicted that the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking would decrease minority group members perceived interpersonal positivity. This effect was not expected from majority group members who were the targets of empathy and perspective taking. This hypothesis was not supported as no significant interactions or main effects were observed. Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) reported significantly lower perceptions of interpersonal positivity in mixed-race exchanges than in same-race exchanges. Although this main effect was not observed in the current study, results are in the expected direction as participants in mixed-race exchanges ( $M = 5.16$ ) rated interpersonal positivity lower than participants in same-race exchanges ( $M = 5.52$ ). Further research with appropriate statistical power is required to accurately assess any potential effect of interpersonal positivity. Hypothesis 4 predicted that the induction of empathy compared to perspective taking would lower minority group members perceptions of the power balance in their discussion. This hypothesis was not analyzed as the measure did not have appropriate internal consistency (i.e., Cronbach's alpha = .30).

## Implications for Theory, Research, & Practice

The present study was unable to replicate previously observed negative effects of empathy on minority group members' perceptions of status in society. However, it is possible that the low statistical power impacted the ability to detect any effects. To date, Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) are the only researchers to observe any negative effects of empathy to the targets of the intergroup relations strategy. On the contrary, numerous researchers have identified positive effects of empathy. For instance, the use of empathy increases actors' altruistic behavior toward targets (Batson, Ahmad, & Lishner, 2009). This means that individuals who utilize empathy are more likely to engage in mutually beneficial helping behaviors directed at the target of their empathy. Additionally, Finlay and Stephan (2000) experimentally manipulated the use of empathy as an intergroup relations strategy. Empathy was induced via instructing participants to read about discriminatory acts against Blacks; results showed that White participants reported a smaller disparity in their attitudes toward other Whites (i.e., ingroup) and Blacks (i.e., outgroup) than when no such empathy induction occurred. In other words, they reported less of a difference in attitudes between their racial ingroup and racial outgroup. They concluded that reading about discriminatory acts against Blacks induced feelings of injustice in participants which impacted their attitudes toward Whites and Blacks (Finlay & Stephan, 2000). Previous researchers have clearly demonstrated the positive effects of empathy in mixed-race contexts. Considering the mixed findings on the effects of empathy as an intergroup relations strategy, future researchers should continue to examine the impact of empathy in mixed-race contexts.

Regarding the implications of these findings for practice, researchers have also documented the positive effects of empathy-based intervention programs. Previous researchers have extended their examinations into the use of empathy to a variety of intergroup relations

programs (e.g., multicultural education and cultural-diversity training) (Banks & McGee-Banks, 1995). In those programs, researchers note that inducing empathy is an effective strategy to improve intergroup relations. Indeed, multiple researchers assert that those programs are successful at improving intergroup relationships because they experimentally increase empathy for minority individuals and groups (Bridgeman, 1981; Byrnes & Kiger, 1990), so it would seem that the efficacy of those programs may be dependent on the induction of empathy.

Researchers have also linked empathy to the ability to take the perspective of others. McGregor (1993) postulated that engaging in empathy forces individuals to take the perspective of others which elicits emotional reactions and cognitive dissonance. The dissonance they experience then motivates individuals to change their attitudes to maintain consistency with their behaviors and attitudes (Festinger, 1957). This is consistent with Vorauer (2013) who stated that empathy and perspective taking can give rise to each other in such a way that the induction of one may lead to the other. Thus, intergroup relations programs which focus on empathy may also initiate perspective taking. The activation of both empathy and perspective taking may be positive considering the aforementioned research showing that both intergroup relations strategies lead to improvements in self and other overlap (Davis, Conklin, Smith, & Luce, 1996; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000a), social bonds (Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005), psychological closeness (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997; Pickett, Gardner, & Knowles, 2004), and reported prejudices and stereotypes (Batson et al., 1997; Galinsky & Ku, 2004; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000a).

However, the activation of both empathy and perspective taking may be negative considering that their use has been linked to the automatic activation specific social hierarchies (Coke, Batson, & McDavis, 1978; Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006; Lammers,

Galinsky, Gordijn, & Otten, 2008) which results in lower status individuals engaging in perspective taking and higher status individuals engaging in empathy. The activation of these social hierarchies is translated to mixed-race interactions (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000). Thus, future research must attempt to reconcile the mixed research on the use of empathy and perspective taking as strategies to improve intergroup relations.

Regardless of mindset manipulation, results indicate significant differences among actors and targets within the dyadic exchanges. In terms of participants' assessments of White status in society, White and Black targets reported significantly higher assessments of White status than White actors. It seems that being the target of either intergroup relation strategy results in heightened perceptions of White status. Future researchers should continue to examine the potential effects of this difference in perceived White status. Similarly, results indicate significant differences among actors and targets in reported perceptions of their partners' individual-level power. Considering that dyadic exchanges result in the activation of automatic scripts related to social hierarchies (Baldwin, 1992), future researchers must continue to examine the effects of the activation of these scripts on participants in dyadic exchanges. In terms of improving intergroup relations, researchers and practitioners alike must use caution when assigning participants to dyads as the extent of the effects of activating scripts related to social hierarchies has not yet been determined.

#### Conclusions, Limitations, & Future Directions

Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) concluded that Indigenous Canadians that were targets of empathy rather than perspective taking in mixed-race exchanges with White Canadians experienced a significant decrease in perceptions of their groups' social status which suggests that

minority members may be more likely than majority members to make group-level inferences in mixed-race exchanges (Vorauer & Quensel, 2016). The present study could not replicate these findings in a sample of White and Black Americans. Perhaps Black Americans are less likely than Indigenous Canadians to make group-level inferences in mixed-race exchanges. However, it is also possible that limitations to the study (e.g., low sample size) influenced the results.

This study experienced a significant power limitation to data analyses. Approximately 180 participants (90 dyads) were required to provide appropriate power for this experiment. Eighty-four participants (42 dyads) completed the study. Of those, 74 participants (37 dyads) responded appropriately to the attention and manipulation checks so that they could be included in subsequent analyses. Inadequate power may have played a role in the lack of significant interactions observed in the MLM analyses. Additional, appropriately powered, research must be conducted in the future to accurately assess the potential negative effects of actors' empathy on Black Americans. Considering that Crocker and Major (1989) have linked perceptions of group status to overall psychological well-being, future researchers should replicate this design using large samples of White and Black Americans to determine if there are any negative effects of empathy or perspective taking. Future studies should include a control condition as well as an empathic and perspective taking condition. A control condition will allow researchers to compare the effects of both intergroup relations strategies to a similar condition with no experimental manipulation.

Finally, researchers should attempt to create an accurate measure to assess the Balance of Power within a dyadic exchange. Vorauer and Quesnel's (2016) original measure utilized audiotaped recordings of pair discussions and independent coders to count the number of power relevant behaviors (e.g., time spent talking, loudness, initiating, and interrupting) exhibited by

each pair member to create a measure of power imbalance within the discussion. Additional independent coders listened to the discussions and counted interruptions, expressions of agreement/disagreement, intimacy, and number of compliments. They further rated the extent to which the discussion focused on affect and cognitions. Although assessments of internal consistency ranged from  $\alpha = .85 - .90$ , the independent coders experienced significant trouble determining which speaker was the actor and which was the target. To avoid this issue, participants in the present study used self-report responses to each of these interaction behaviors (Which partner spent more time talking?) on Likert scales ( $\alpha = .30$ ). However, considering the lack of internal consistency with the self-report measure, researchers should work to develop an accurate measure for Balance of Power.

Researchers should continue to examine the malleability of Black and White Americans perceptions of group status. If Vorauer and Quesnel's (2016) findings are accurate, researchers must focus on ways to improve Blacks and Whites perceptions of group status which will positively impact their overall psychological well-being (Crocker & Major, 1989). Researchers must also focus on improving support for policy meant to decrease racial inequality in America. Niehues (2014) found that perceptions of racial disparities significantly impact individuals support for policy meant to reduce racial inequality. Future researchers should focus on modifying perceptions of White and Black status in America so that they are in-line with objective measures of status. If researchers experimentally modify group status perceptions so that they are consistent with reality, researchers may be able to identify effective means of enacting positive social change which ameliorates the burden of inequality in America.



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APPENDIX A  
INFORMED CONSENT

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

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DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

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Reasoning and Judgment Across Social and Nonsocial Situations

Thank you for your participation in this research! The primary investigator of this project is Rain M. Carroll, a Master of Experimental Psychology Master student at Georgia Southern University. This research is conducted under the direction of Dr. Amy Hackney, Professor of Psychology. The purpose of this research is to examine how social situations impact reasoning and judgment. There are no possible risks to you greater than those experienced in daily life.

The benefits to you include firsthand experience with Psychological research. The benefits to society include a greater understanding of the effects that social and nonsocial situations have on reasoning and judgment. The benefits to society also include a greater understanding of social cognitions.

Participation will require approximately 30 minutes to complete the study. Confidentiality of your data will be maintained as only essential researchers will have access to data. Primary investigator, Rain M. Carroll, and faculty supervisor, Dr. Amy Hackney, will be the only researchers to have access to coded participant data. Coded data will be maintained in a secure location for a minimum of 3 years following the completion of this study. Coded data from this study may be placed in a publically available repository for study validation and further research. You will not be identified by name in the data set or any reports using information obtained from this study, and your confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

You have the right to ask questions and have those questions answered. If you have questions about this study, please contact the researcher named above or the researcher's faculty advisor, whose contact information is located at the end of the informed consent. For questions concerning your rights as a research participant, contact Georgia Southern University Office of Research Services and Sponsored Programs at 912-478-5465. No monetary compensation will be provided for participation in this study. One SONA credit will be provided for participation in this study. Additionally, you will be entered into a drawing for one of twenty \$25 Amazon gift cards which will be randomly distributed when data collection is finished.

You have the right to choose not to participate in this research as participation is voluntary. You may also end your participation at any time by informing the researcher that you no longer wish to participate. You may also refuse to respond to any questions that you do not wish to answer. There is no penalty for refusing to participate in the research, ending participation in the research, or refusing to answer any question. Withdrawal at any time or refuse to answer questions will not result in the loss of SONA credits.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to participate in this research study. If you consent to participate in this research study and to the terms above, please sign your name and indicate the date below.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the GSU Institutional Review Board under tracking number H17322

Title of Project: Reasoning and Judgment Across Social and Nonsocial Situations

Principal Investigator: Rain M. Carroll, 2036 Brannen Hall, (270) 217-3732,  
[rc04970@georgiasouthern.edu](mailto:rc04970@georgiasouthern.edu)

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Amy Hackney, 1028 Brannen Hall, [912-478-5749](tel:912-478-5749), [ahackney@georgiasouthern.edu](mailto:ahackney@georgiasouthern.edu)

By continuing on to the next part of this survey, you are giving your consent to the researchers.

APPENDIX B  
GROUP STANDING MEASURES

There are many people who believe that different groups enjoy different amounts of social status and power in this society. You may not believe this for yourself, but if you had to rate each of the following groups as such people see them, how would you do so? Please circle the appropriate number.

European (White) Americans:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very								Very
Low Status								High Status

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very								Very
Low Power								High Power

African Americans:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very								Very
Low Status								High Status

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very								Very
Low Power								High Power

APPENDIX C  
PERCEIVED POWER MEASURES

Now we ask about your feelings about yourself, the other participant, and the discussion. In each case please circle the appropriate number.

I currently perceive myself to be:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
not at all							extremely
powerful							powerful

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
not at all							extremely
strong							strong

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
not at all							extremely
effective							effective

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
not at all							extremely
influential							influential

I currently perceive the other participant to be:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						extremely
powerful						powerful

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						extremely
strong						strong

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						extremely
effective						effective

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						extremely
influential						influential

APPENDIX D  
INTERPERSONAL POSITIVITY MEASURES

Now we ask about your feelings about yourself, the other participant, and the discussion. In each case please circle the appropriate number.

Right now, I believe that the other participant:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
does not like me at all					likes me very much	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
does not feel at all warm toward me					feels very warm toward me	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
does not respect me at all					respects me very much	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
does not admire me at all					admires me very much	

Right now, I:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
do not like the other participant at all					like the other participant very much	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
do not feel at all					feel very warm	
warm toward					toward	
the other participant					the other participant	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
do not respect					respect	
the other participant					the other participant	
at all					very much	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
do not admire the					admire the	
other participant at all					other participant very much	

If you are reading this select 6 as the answer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not very					very	
true of me					true of me	

Right now, at the current moment, I have high self-esteem.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not very					very	
true of me					true of me	



APPENDIX E  
BALANCE OF POWER

Please rate the extent to which you perceived the discussion with your partner to be balanced:

Which partner spent more time talking?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Myself		It was Balanced				My Partner

Which partner was louder?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Myself		It was Balanced				My Partner

Which partner initiated discussion of the topics?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Myself		It was Balanced				My Partner

Which partner interrupted the discussion more often?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Myself		It was Balanced				My Partner

Which partner agreed more frequently with the other?

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

Myself		It was Balanced					My Partner
--------	--	-----------------	--	--	--	--	------------

Which partner disagreed more frequently with the other?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Myself		It was Balanced					My Partner

If you are reading this select 3 as the answer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Myself		It was Balanced					My Partner

Which partner discussed personal or intimate topics more often?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Myself		It was Balanced					My Partner

Which partner complimented the other more often?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Myself		It was Balanced					My Partner

Which partner discussed their emotions or feelings more often?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Myself		It was Balanced				My Partner

Which partner discussed their cognitions (judgments, thoughts, beliefs, or reasoning) more often?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Myself		It was Balanced				My Partner

Please slide the bar to indicate your agreement with the statement below (100 = complete agreement with the statement):

My partner attempted to view the discussion through my eyes

My partner attempted to feel my emotions during the discussion

APPENDIX F  
DEMOGRAPHIC MEASURES

1. How do you identify your gender?
  - a. Male
  - b. Female
  - c. Other
2. How old are you?
3. Choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be:
  - a. White
  - b. Black or African American
  - c. American Indian or Alaska Native
  - d. Asian
  - e. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
  - f. Hispanic or Latino
  - g. Other
4. What year in school are you?
  - a. First year (Freshman)
  - b. Second Year (Sophomore)
  - c. Third Year (Junior)
  - d. Fourth Year (Senior)
  - e. Fifth Year (or higher)

## APPENDIX G DISCUSSION TOPICS

The following discussion topics are provided to help you exchange information about each other. You may spend as much or as little time on each as you like, and if you find that you are going off on "tangents," that's perfectly o.k. But please do go through them in the order in which they appear.

1. Positive and Negative Academic Experiences  
(e.g., courses, instructors, assignments, fellow students)
  
2. Positive and Negative Social Experiences  
(e.g., friends inside and outside university, classmates, roommates, parties, sports, clubs)
  
3. Opinions about Social Issues
  - a) Should we have capital punishment (i.e., the death penalty) in the United States?
  - b) Should euthanasia (i.e., mercy-killing) be legal in the United States?
  
4. Career Goals
  
5. Employment Experiences
  
6. Relationships with Family Members

## APPENDIX H DEBRIEFING MESSAGE

Thank you for participating in our study. In experiments it is often necessary to conceal our research goals and hypotheses because when people know what is being studied they often alter their responses. However, we do not want you to leave misinformed, so we will now tell you what we were actually studying. We hope you will find this research interesting. Maybe it will spark your own research ideas!

The purpose of this study is to examine the perceptions of group social status and individual power which Georgia Southern University students hold after they have been exposed to empathy or perspective-taking as a diversity training program.

Vorauer and Quesnel (2016) examined how easily these perceptions change in social situations. They concluded that minority group members that were targets of empathy compared to perspective-taking experienced a significant decrease in perceptions of their groups' social status and power. Individuals decrease in perceived group social status was significantly greater when dealing with intergroup discussions (individuals of different races) as compared to intragroup discussions (individuals of the same race). Participants in the intergroup perspective-taking and empathy conditions and participants in the intragroup condition did not make group-level inferences related to the interactions. Their findings suggest that minority members may be more likely to make group-level inferences in intergroup social contexts. The purpose of this research was to replicate their findings. As their research utilized a participant pool of indigenous and white Canadians, this research focused on African American and Caucasian Americans.

We apologize that we could not reveal our true research questions to you up front, but we hope you can see why it was necessary to keep this information from you. When people know exactly what the researcher is studying, they often change their behavior, thus making their responses unusable for drawing conclusions about human nature and experiences. For this reason, we ask that you please not discuss this study with other students who might participate anytime in the next year. Thank you for your cooperation.

If you have any questions about this study, feel free to ask the researchers rc04970@georgiasouthern.edu. Thank you for your help.