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Effects of stereotypical media representations of American Indians on implicit and explicit bias: the power of Pocahontas

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Effects of stereotypical media representations of American Indians on implicit and explicit bias: The power of Pocahontas

by

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ABSTRACT

According to cultivation theory, people learn information about the world from exposure to media and according to social cognitive theory, we learn how to interact with our social environment through observation of others. Together, these provide an explanation for why stereotypical media portrayals might increase biased attitudes. However, no research has examined the connection between media portrayals and biased attitudes for American Inidans, a group who are only represented in .2-.4% of American media (Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, & Stone, 2008). The purpose of this study is to assess the role of stereotypical media portrayals of American Indians on both explicit and implicit attitudes and examine the potential mediating impact of both motivation to respond without prejudice and awareness of White privilege on these relationships. In this study participants were randomly assigned to watch either a series of videos with stereotypical representations of American Indians or a series of control videos. Measures of explicitly biased attitudes (modern racism and colorblind racial attitudes), implicitly biased attitudes, awareness of White privilege, and motivations to respond without prejudice (both internal and external) were assessed pre and post-test. Results from three separate hierarchical regression analyses suggest that media does impact modern racist attitudes towards American Indians, but not general colorblind racial attitudes nor implicit attitudes towards American Indians. Importantly, this relationship between media portrayals and modern racist attitudes is moderated by one's awareness of White privilege such that higher awareness of White privilege only led to less endorsement of modern racist attitudes towards American Indians when not presented with stereotypical portrayals of American Indians. There were no differences between those low and high on awareness when stereotypical media portrayals were present. Implications and limitations are discussed.

Keywords: implicit bias, explicit bias, American Indian media, stereotypes, motivation,

White privilege

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Vine Deloria Jr., a famous American Indian author, in speaking about the plight of American Indians in the 20th Century, stated "to be an Indian in modern American society is in a very real sense to be unreal and ahistorical.," (Deloria, 1969, p. 2). The media has been implicated in perpetuating this sense of being "unreal" and "ahistorical" through exposing media consumers to stereotypical representations of American Indians. In particular, it is believed that repeated exposure influences the attitudes individuals and the larger society have toward American Indians (and other social groups). Two theories, cultivation and social cognitive theory, together allow us to make sense of how and why media portrayals influence attitudes.

Theoretical Underpinnings

Cultivation theory suggests that people learn information about the world from exposure to television and other media, cultivating overgeneralizations about the world. Individuals assume what they see and hear in the media is factual and apply it to other areas of their lives, potentially influencing how they treat people who are different from them (Gerbner et al., 2002). Furthermore, Bandura's (1994) social cognitive theory suggests that we learn how to interact in social settings through personal, behavioral, and environmental influences. Underlying his theory, the suggestion that we mimic the ways in which others handle certain situations. Therefore, if an individual sees a certain interaction in the media, he/she may use that information in forming their interaction(s) in a similar situation. If that situation in the media is highly stereotyped and the individual has limited exposure to another person from that stereotyped group, the individual is likely to use the information from the media to make assumptions about the stereotyped group in real life. Therefore, it is important to critically

examine the stereotypical depictions of different racial groups in the media to fully understand the attitudes individuals may hold toward stereotyped groups.

Media and Attitudes

Research on the effects of media exposure on biased attitudes suggests that the more exposure to media an individual has, the higher levels of biased attitudes they endorse regardless of the content of the media they are consuming (Lee, 2009). For the context of this study, biased attitudes are defined as attitudes that are stereotyped against the target group (American Indians in this case) as well as negative beliefs about that group. While considerable research still needs to be conducted in this area, specific groups have received some attention. For example, media exposure has been linked to higher levels of biased attitudes toward Arabs following exposure to terrorist activity covered in the media (Persson & Musher-Eizenman, 2005; Das et al., 2009; Huesmann et al., 2012) and to stronger biased attitudes against obese individuals following exposure to weight-loss reality shows (Domoff et al., 2012). Furthermore, we also see this effect with portrayals of African Americans (Niemann et al., 1994; Tyree, 2007), Latino/a Americans (Niemann et al., 1994; Rivadeneyra, 2006), and Asian Americans (Mok, 1998; Leong & Schneller, 1997; Taylor & Stern, 1997) in the media. Allport (1954) suggests that the media tends to portray minority groups in a negative manner, and that over time this negatively affects the attitudes that the majority group (White individuals in this case) holds about those minority groups. These findings all suggest that American Indians might also be affected by this phenomenon, though the ways that this manifests needs to be examined.

American Indians in the Media

American Indians are somewhat different than other racial minority groups studied because American Indians are less often and less diversely represented in the media.

Stereotypical representation might be particularly problematic, regardless of the stereotypes that

are presented, as a result of this low occurrence in American media (Fryberg & Stephens, 2010;

Greenberg, Mastro, & Brand, 2002; Kopacz & Lee Lawton, 2011) as the relative absence of

American Indians in the media sends the message that American Indians are not contemporary

people (e.g., "unreal"). Furthermore, when American Indians as a group are underrepresented in

the media, these limited images are the only information the larger society has to influence their

attitudes, and thus each depiction carries extra weight in regards to how American Indian people

are viewed and treated.

  When Indians do appear in television and movies, their representation is typically in

historical and/or stereotypical forms like Pocahontas, Geronimo, Crazy Horse, and Chief Joseph.

Castarphen and Sanchez (2010) propose that these are the extant representations because the

public wants and expects to see the romanticized version of Native life. However, this conveys

the message that this is who American Indians are and that they do not exist as contemporary,

multi-dimensional beings. When American Indians do show up as people in jeans and a t-shirt in

contemporary roles, they are portrayed only in the negative stereotyped situations as alcoholics,

disease-ridden, fighters, etc. (Fryberg & Stephens, 2010). While there may be glimmers of truth

in some of these portrayals, as Vine Deloria Jr. stated, most American Indians are not that way in

everyday life and are not only that way.

  The media intends to educate and entertain the public on the topics it presents.

According to Merskin (1998), the most common portrayals of American Indians overgeneralize

and lump many heterogeneous groups into one category, which undermines the vast diversity

that exists between different tribes. Some of the common stereotypical themes in television and

movie portrayals of American Indians include historical/spatial representations, the bloodthirsty

savage, squaw, social denigrate, super-citizen (with cradle-to-grave benefits and casino profits), the doomed warrior, wise elder, silly sidekick, and the Indian princess (Kopacz & Lee Lawton, 2001; Merskin, 1998; Tan et al., 1997). These different representations can cultivate ostracism and misunderstanding of American Indian people and culture. While the intention is often to educate and entertain, such media portrayals damage American Indian people by lowering self-esteem, community worth, and academic achievement in American Indian adolescents (Fryberg & Stephens, 2010). In addition to the negative effects on American Indian individuals themselves, these stereotypes are believed to increase biased attitudes of the public.

Explicitly Biased Attitudes

Biased attitudes can manifest in two distinct ways: explicitly and implicitly. Explicit bias can be defined as the negative attitudes, beliefs, and behavior held by an individual towards a social group or category (often a minority group), resulting from the conscious, effortful processing of information relevant to that minority group (Boniecki & Zuwerink Jacks, 2002; Casey, Warren, Cheesman, & Elek, 2012). Sue and colleagues (2007) suggest that the way explicit bias appears in everyday interactions is through microaggressions. These are the daily verbal and behavioral encounters that communicate negative attitudes toward a person of color. Often, they are not necessarily intentional, but still communicate possible hostility or derogatory slights toward the other person. For example, saying "you're not like the other Native people I have met; you're so motivated!" communicates the message that the person's race as a whole is lazy and unmotivated in life even though the intention is to compliment the individual. While seemingly obvious in our everyday interactions, however, it is often difficult to assess explicit bias in individual's self-reports because most people do not wish to appear biased or prejudiced.

Types of Explicitly Biased Attitudes

One way to combat this difficulty in measuring explicit bias is to examine colorblind racial ideology (CBRI), or a set of beliefs that explain how highly dominant or authoritarian White individuals adopt such attitudes (Poteat & Spanierman, 2012). The intent behind CBRI is to appear nonprejudiced to people of color, but at times this attitude comes across as demeaning and undermining of one's uniqueness (Offerman, Basford, Graebner, Jaffer, De Graaf, & Kaminsky, 2014). A statement an individual who is high in CBRI might say is "I don't see color when I look at you," which is meant to suggest that the person doesn't look down upon the person of color, but sends the message that the person is not different, undermining their uniquenss and their historical experience of oppression (Neville, Poteat, Lewis, & Spanierman, 2014). Another way explicitly biased attitudes arise more directly is through what as been termed modern racism (McConahay, 1986). In theory, "racism" no longer exists in the form of radical actions being taken against people of color, but rather in more subtle versions. Thus, research have developed scales such as the Modern Racism Scale which assesses more subtle forms of racism such as the belief that "over the past few years, Native Americans have gotten more economically than they deserve," (McConahay, 1986). Previous researchers have suggested that modern racism and CBRI are similar constructs that both measure the concept of explicit bias; however, modern racism tends to be a more overt construct (obvious what it is measuring), while the concepts measured by the colorblind racial attitude scale (CoBRAS) are more subtle (Neville, Poteat, Lewis, & Spanierman, 2014; Plaut, 2010). It is possible that this indicates that it might be easier to detect changes using the modern racism scale. Therefore, the current study will examine these two constructs in conjunction to assess explicit bias.

Implicitly Biased Attitudes

In addition to explicit bias, individuals possess implicit biases or the attitudes or beliefs that are automatically activated without a person's awareness, which plays a role in the way people interact with others (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). These biased attitudes are inherent in human nature, meaning we all hold some level of automatic biases against groups we are not exposed to or who are different from ourselves (Ehrlich, 1973). However, what an individual chooses to do with this automatic implicit bias determines their behavior. Although individuals have the ability to control the way they react to their implicit biases, implicit bias is still linked with many negative outcomes (Devine, 1989). For example, implicit bias has been associated with many outcomes including prejudicial behavior toward outgroups (Nosek et al., 2007), decreased prosocial behavior with the outgroup (Stepanikova, Triplett, & Simpson, 2011), differential treatment in professional settings (Fisher & Borgida, 2012; Segrest Purkiss, Perrewe, Gillespie, Mayes, & Ferris, 2006), disparities in treatment during legal situations (Fisher & Borgida, 2012; Kang et al., 2012) and health care treatment (Boysen & Vogel, 2008; Chapman, Kaatz, & Carnes, 2013; Fisher & Borgida, 2012). This suggests that implicit biases, in addition to explicit biases, have many negative consequences, and therefore deserve attention.

Motivations to Respond without Prejudice

Individuals in today's society often do not want to appear biased against other people because it is not socially acceptable to be "biased.' Therefore, it is important to identify the reasons or motivations people have to appear unbiased (Plant & Devine, 1998). These individual factors could influence the effects that media representations have on the individual; either enhancing or buffering the individual from the effects of the media representations. For example, research on motivations to reduce bias indicates that there are differing levels and types

of motivations to respond without prejudice based on one's beliefs. More specifically, individuals who are internally motivated to appear unbiased do not wish to be biased because they as an individual value being that way. These individuals have also been shown to exhibit less implicit bias (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002). Moreover, an individual who is externally motivated to appear unbiased does not wish for others to view them as biased, but does not necessarily value that quality as an individual. Therefore, those either low in motivation to appear unbiased overall or only higher in external motivation may still exhibit high levels of implicit bias. For example, an individual who is highly externally motivated to appear unbiased might score high on an implicit measure of biased attitudes but inhibit their expression of that bias explicitly when others are around and not participate in biased behaviors like a tomahawk chop at a football game with an "Indians" mascot (this behavior stereotypes a historic act of the past that associates Indians with "savagery"). However, an individual internally motivated to appear unbiased would score low on implicit bias and also not express explicit bias (not participate in the tomahawk chop). Accordingly, the current study expects that the differential effects of media representations based on whether an individual is motivated to respond without bias stems from both internal and external reasons.

Awareness of White Privilege

Another influence on explicit and implicit bias may be one's awareness of privilege. White privilege, or the unearned advantages of being White in a racially diverse society, is concept that could potentially have an impact on biased attitudes (Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009). While White privilege is characteristic of American society, as many material and socio-cultural influences encourage its' persistence (Wildman, 2005), individuals who are aware of their own White privilege have different reactions to that privilege ranging

from defensiveness, to denial, to acceptance. However, an awareness of White privilege has generally been linked to reduced prejudicial attitudes toward minority individuals in general (Stewart et al., 2012). Therefore, it is likely that if a person is aware of his/her White privilege, s/he might have lower explicit bias toward American Indians. This would manifest as the expression of less microaggressions and engaging in less prejudicial behavior than those who are unaware of their White privilege. Accordingly, the current study will examine awareness of White privilege as a potential moderator of the relationship between stereotypical media and bias (both explicit and implicit).

In sum, the current study will examine the effects of media consumption of stereotypical portrayals of American Indians on both explicit and implicit bias by randomly assigning participants to watch a series of three videos that are either stereotypical representations of American Indians (stereotype condition, Pocahontas, Smoke Signals, and The Searchers) or similar representations of White individuals (control condition, The Little Mermaid, Unforgiveable, and Gettysburg). For explicit bias, it is expected that there will be main effects of motivation to reduce prejudice, awareness of White privilege, and condition. In particular, since explicit bias is more under conscious awareness, it is expected that there will be lower levels of explicit bias for those highly motivated to respond without prejudice for either type of motivation (external and internal motivations). In addition, because explicit attitudes should be directly influenced by media portrayals, I expect higher levels of explicit bias for those in the stereotype condition than the control condition. Additionally, it is expected that there will be an interaction between condition and motivation as well as an interaction between condition and awareness of White privilege on explicit bias. Specifically, I expect a buffering effect on motivation and awareness such that those highly motivated to being unbiased (whether internal

or external) and those more aware of White privilege should show less of an impact of stereotype condition on explicit attitudes. For implicit bias I expect to find a main effect of internal motivation and not explicit motivations as as implicit attitudes reflecting uncontrolled processes should only be linked with true unbiased attitudes. Thus, those who are internally motivated should also exhibit lower levels of implicit bias. In terms of implicit attitudes I expect, that there should be no overall difference in implicit bias across conditions (stereptype vs control) due to the automatic activation of implicitly biased attitudes, but it is expected that there will be an interaction between condition and motivation. More specifically, I expect a buffering effect for only those high in internal motivation to being unbiased such that they should be less likely to be negatively primed when seeing a stereotypical image and may show lower levels of implicit bias than those low in internal motivation. Thus, overall I expect both types of motivations to have an effect for explicit attitudes but only internal motivations to have effect for implicit attitudes.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The goal of this project is to examine the effect of stereotypical media exposure on explicit and implicit attitudes towards American Indians and the effect of individual characteristics (i.e., motivation to respond without prejudice and with awareness of White privilege) on this relationship. In the following sections, I will first discuss the general influence of media and the specific portrayals of minority groups in the media. I will then discuss the particular stereotypes and portrayals of American Indians in the media and the potential role these images have on our attitudes. Furthermore, I will discuss the potential moderating effects of individual characteristics including motivations to respond without prejudice and with awareness of White privilege.

General Theories

Media messages are unavoidable for most Americans and while media provides a positive source of entertainment for many, it also influences the way individuals see the world, both positively and negatively. Approximately 97.1% of American households have a television set (Television Bureau of Advertising, 2012) and 92.6% of Americans watch television regularly (Proquest, 2012). Households that own one form of technology are more likely to also own other technological devices, indicating approximately 80% of households receive media sources from more than one medium each day (Television Bureau of Advertising, 2012). Therefore, many individuals are gaining information from various media outlets and making judgments based off of what they see and hear.

Racial Myths

Gorham (1999) coined the term "racial myths" to talk about stereotypical perceptions that individuals are exposure to via media portrayals. Repeated exposure to stereotypical portrayals

can influence the attitudes held about certain groups (social, racial, etc.), either by increasing or decreasing negative attitudes. For example, Lee and colleagues (2009) found that both heavy and light television viewers held stereotypical views of many racial minorities, but overall there was a positive correlation between heavy television exposure and the amount of negatively held stereotypes. While one must be cautious in interpreting the causal relationship of television on bias, it is suggested that television consumption, is linked with an increase stereotypical or biased views of particular groups. Cultivation theory and social cognitive theory together provide an explanation for why this may be the case.

Cultivation Theory

In their explanation of cultivation theory, Gerbner and colleagues (2002) asserted that information that an individual learns through television exposure can provide an overly-generalized view of how the world works; in particular, cultivation theory leads to a "symbolic transformation of message system data into hypotheses about more general issues and assumptions," (p. 52). This implies that individuals take what they have learned as "facts" from television (and other media forms) and use it to assume what certain social situations might be like. For example, cultivation theory predicts that because of television consumption, people see the world as a dangerous place, a place with clear gender roles, and a place dominated by certain races. Therefore, it is plausible that people might take what they have learned from television (and other media source) portrayals with regards to race and apply it to their everyday interactions with diverse groups like American Indians. If one sees American Indians smoking a peace pipe in the media, s/he might expect that from all or most American Indians.

Social Cognitive Theory

In combination with cultivation theory's assertion that certain views are learned through television consumption, social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1994) offers a complimentary explanation as to why television intake increases racial stereotypes/bias. Bandura's (1994) theory suggests that we learn ways to interact with the world and with other people through transactions with the environment and through our interpretation of those transactions. These personal, behavioral, and environmental components influence the ways in which we handle certain situations. He suggests that we tend to mimic the ways in which we see others interacting with the world. For example, if a child sees his mother get angry when she spills milk, it is possible that child will learn to be angry when s/he spills milk as well. In turn, this can be generalized more broadly to media in that if an individual sees a certain interaction in the media he/she may use that to form their interaction in a similar situation. For example, if an individual has limited exposure to American Indian culture but sees the stereotype of the Plains Indian "teepees," he/she might ask an American Indian individual if he/she lives in a teepee. In sum, if a situation is highly stereotyped and he/she has limited exposure to another person from that group, the individual never learns not to make such assumptions.

The increase in biased attitudes that potentially results from the consumption of media often has negative effects. In particular, high levels of biased attitudes against a particular racial group has been linked to decreased prosocial behavior (i.e. generosity, altruism, fairness, trust, etc.; Stepanikova, Triplett, & Simpson, 2011) as well as employment or workplace discrimination (Ziegert & Hanges, 2005), poor health care decisions (Blair et al., 2015; Hagiwara et al., 2015), and discriminatory legal decisions (Pearson, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2007). These

negative consequences of bias influence the lives of racial minorities and deserve more attention in the literature on how to reduce biased attitudes.

Media Influences on Biased Attitudes

As early as 1954, Allport suggested that the media portrays minority outgroups in unsympathetic ways and that this has a "lasting effect" on outgroup attitudes by majority group members (Caucasian as majority group; p. 201). Subsequently, research on the effects of media exposure (particularly television consumption) on an individual's level of biased attitudes suggests that the more exposure to media an individual has, the higher levels of bias they endorse (Lee, 2009). For example, media exposure has been linked toward higher levels of bias in regards to Arabs following exposure to terrorist activity (Persson & Musher-Eizenman, 2005; Enny et al., 2009; Huesmann et al., 2012) and stronger biases against obese individuals following exposure to weight-loss reality shows (Domoff et al., 2012). In general, this research has suggested that media exposure both in amount of consumption and type of consumption (i.e., stereotypical representations) can increase prejudicial attitudes toward outgroup members (Lee et al., 2009). Additionally, Mastro (2015) proposes that the media acts as a proxy for everyday interactions regarding cases in which interpersonal contact with the outgroup is limited or absent. Most non-Native people in the United States have very little exposure to American Indians, making this effect quite strong. Because the discussion of the role of media and the effects of images portrayed by the media on attitudes towards American Indians is very limited in the media, I will now review the studies on other racial and ethnic minorities and discuss the possible similarities and differences with American Indians.

African Americans

Media portrayals of African Americans is becoming increasingly positive, but still tend to be quite stereotypical in nature. Some examples of stereotypes about African Americans include athletic, dark-skinned, and always in an antagonistic role (Niemann et al., 1994). Additionally, reality television often portrays the stereotypes of the "angry black woman, hoochie, hood rat, homo thug, sambo, and coon" (Tyree, 2011, p. 1) which all portray African American individuals as of lower class, unintelligent, and intimidating. These stereotypes are negative portrayals of African Americans and directly impact the way African Americans think of themselves (decrease self-esteem; Ward, 2004) and how others think of them (Lee, 2009). More specifically, Dovidio and colleagues (1997) found that when exposed to images of Cucasian and African American women and men that were computer modified, participants more quickly associated positive traits (e.g. good, kind, trustworthy) with Caucasian images and negative traits (e.g. bad, cruel, untrustworthy) with the African American images. In general, the act of stereotyping results in a cycle of negative interracial interactions.

One common and particularly troubling stereotype about African Americans portrayed by the media is the "Black criminal" (Das et al., 2008; Dixon, 2008; McAneny, 1993). This stereotype suggests that African Americans are "more likely" to commit crimes and that African American individuals are dangerous. In a content analysis of television news programming in Los Angeles and Orange counties in California, researchers found that Black individuals were 1.72 times more likely than White individuals to be portrayed as perpetrators of crime on television news. Compounding on this ratio, when including only felonies in the analysis, Black individuals were 2.46 times more likely to be portrayed as felons than White individuals (Dixon & Linz, 2006). Furthermore, Black individuals are underrepresented as police officers in the

media (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Oliver, 1994). However, when they are portrayed in this "positive" role of a police officer, Black police officers are more likely to be portrayed as using aggressive behavior, further perpetuating this view of the "Black aggressor" (Oliver, 1994). As a result, Dixon (2008) found that this exposure to Blacks' overrepresentation in the media as criminals was positively correlated with individuals' perceptions of Black individuals as violent. Therefore, the media portrays African Americans generally in a negative light, even when in a 'positive role' which, in turn, influences how individuals see African Americans.

Latino/a Americans

Similar to African Americans, Latino/a Americans are often portrayed in stereotypical ways and often negatively. For example, Latino males are often portrayed as immigrant workers, in antagonistic roles, and non-college educated, while Latina females are stereotyped as dark haired, sexy, submissive, and overweight (Niemann et al., 1994). Furthermore, Latinos in general are overrepresented as immigrants (often undocumented), Spanish only speakers, and uneducated (Rivadeneyra, 2006). These stereotypes influence the perceptions of all Latino individuals even though this is not the case for all Latino individuals.

Additionally, there have been some similar findings with regards to Latino/a Americans and crime in the media as African Americans and crime. Dixon and Linz (2006) suggest that similarly to African Americans, Latino/a Americans are more likely than White individuals to be portrayed as a criminal and underrepresented as police officers. In addition, in an analysis of the racial content of crime in news programming in Orlando, Florida, it was found that Latino/a individuals are overrepresented as crime suspects when compared to White individuals (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002). Together, these stereotypes provide a mixed portrayal of Latino/a

individuals with both positive and negative stereotypes present. However, these stereotypes in general provide a biased representation of Latino/a individuals.

Asian Americans

Like both African Americans and Latino/a Americans, Asian Americans are represented stereotypically in the media. However, unlike the other two groups, Asian Americans have been portrayed in different types of roles. Mok (1998) found that Asian Americans are either portrayed in "background" roles like waiters, cooks, servants, laundry workers, etc., or they are in a prominent role that lacks depth like a villain, warmonger, geisha, karate expert, dragon lady, or prostitute. Both the background roles and prominent roles lacking depth are stereotypical and biased representations that might influence perceptions of Asian Americans as a whole.

A different portrayal of Asian Americans, when compared to other racial/ethnic minorities, is that of the "model minority." This is a positive stereotype, but a stereotype nonetheless. In this instance, Asian Americans are portrayed as having above average intelligence and education and being generally achievement-oriented (Leong & Schneller, 1997). Taylor and Stern (1997) found that Asian Americans are overrepresented in American media, meaning there are more Asian Americans portrayed in the media than would be seen in a typical US setting. However, they are too often portrayed in advertisements as the model minority, resulting in the disappearance of all other aspects of Asian life. This portrayal of the model minority is harmful to Asian American individuals and to other minority groups. Because of this stereotype, Asian American individuals are often held up to a higher standard than other racial groups (including Caucasians). In addition, other minority groups are compared to Asian Americans and are almost always considered "inferior," which drastically hinders interracial

interactions between minority groups (Mok, 1998). Although different, the portrayals of Asian Americans in the media are like other racial representations: stereotypical in nature.

While the stereotypes of African Americans, Latino/a Americans, and Asian Americans might not be the same in content as those of American Indians, they all imply the stereotypes are true of all individuals of that group. More specifically, the effects of these stereotypes on the general public inform the current study. For example, understanding how portrayals of African Americans as a "black aggressor" in the media negatively influences viewers' attitudes and subsequently informs how portrayals of American Indians in a negative valence (i.e. lazy, unintelligent, etc.) might influence viewers as well. In contrast, the effects of the "positive" stereotype of the Asian model minority has implications for how positive stereotypes about American Indians might also be perceived. Regardless of the stereotypes being portrayed in the media, they reduce the culture to simplistic assumptions that are not true of the entire group (or even most of it). Therefore, the impact of these stereotypical portrayals is needs to be examined more closely. Those of one understudies group, American Indians, is the focus of the current study.

American Indians in the Media

American Indians have been marginalized by Europeans since the time of first contact (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Berkhofer, 1978). Native American portrayals in the media are rare, and when a TV show or movie does attempt to depict an aspect of American Indian life, the people are often portrayed as historical figures like Pocahontas, Geronimo, Crazy Horse, and Chief Joseph (Fryberg & Stephens, 2010). Furthermore, most non-American Indian people, along with many American Indian people, learn about American Indian people from movies and television. Combined with the overgeneralization and denigration of American Indian people,

this means the main educational source about American Indians is very stereotypical in nature (Mihesua, 1996). As a result, people expect to see the buckskin dresses, braids, and feathers when they see American Indian people. This conveys a message that American Indians are either ahistorical relics of an idyllic past or that they are extinct. When they are conveyed as people in jeans and a t-shirt in contemporary roles (not extinct), they are typically portrayed in overtly negative situations as alcoholics, disease-ridden, fighters, etc. (Fryberg & Stephens, 2010). These portrayals may compound the perception that American Indians are nonexistent or social denigrates. Therefore, it is important to examine the effects of media portrayals on biased attitudes in order to better understand how these representations might influence biased attitudes, so that these portrayals could be changed.

Origin and Persistence of American Indian Stereotypes

While American Indian stereotypes in the media exist, it is important to understand where they come from and why they persist despite their inaccuracy. The first news story in the very first newspaper published in America portrayed a story about American Indians and Thanksgiving practices, reporting that two American boys were missing and presumably were hurt by "barbarous Indians" in the area (Harris, 1690). Castarphen and Sanchez (2010) suggest that the origin of American Indian portrayals stems from an attempt to "prove" the narratives (or stereotypes) people had heard were true. Therefore, it can be suggested that media portrayals of American Indians either come from a desire to understand and explain a life that is not well understood or to justify certain actions that are otherwise frowned upon. As suggested by Lippman, "stereotypes are the pictures in the head of the world beyond our reach," and are used to legitimize the status quo (Lippman, 1922). Regardless of the motivations for stereotypes, I

suggest that they have an impact on both American Indians themselves as well as the general public.

Castarphen and Sanchez (2010) discuss the influence of social space and distance on the persistence of any stereotypes in the media, but particularly American Indian stereotypes. Western settlement in the 18th century fueled the negative portrayals of American Indian peoples. At that time, American Indians and settlers were living in close proximity. However, soon after, American Indians were forced out of their lands and separated from the rest of American society. The concepts of social space and distance imply that Americans in general are so far removed from the culture practiced by American Indians today that they attempt to explain it in whatever ways they can. Furthermore, Kopacz and Lawton (2011) suggest that the media purposely only portrays the most interesting or distinctive pieces of a culture. When there is an absence of learning about the social environment of a group, the media is called upon to present information to the greater public (Merskin, 1998). This results in stereotyped portrayals of American Indian people (as well as other groups) and the continued marginalization of these people.

Furthermore, there has been only one study examining the effects of stereotypical images in the media on American Indians themselves. Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, and Stone (2008) examined the self-worth, community-worth, and achievement-related possible selves in youth presented with stereotypical images from the media (Pocahontas, Chief Wahoo, etc.) compared to those presented with stereotypically negative information about American Indians (alcoholics, school drop-outs, etc.), as well as a control group which was not exposed to either. Results suggested that both images and stereotypically negative information depressed all three of these outcomes compared to the control group, but interestingly the stereotypical images (Pocahontas, Chief Wahoo, etc.) affected the outcomes even more than the stereotypically negative

information. This suggests that the images themselves are leading to reductions in self-worth, community-worth and achievement-related possible selves.

American Indian stereotypes

A Cheyenne man mentioned in Merskin's (1998) study on the portrayals of American Indians in the mass media stated that "the fact that it makes any sense to talk about the (single, homogenous) portrayal of Native Americans, all in one lump, is symptomatic in itself" (p. 342). This man is referring to the notion that American Indian peoples developed hundreds of diverse cultures and thus should be very difficult or even impossible to lump all American Indian individuals into one group (into a stereotype). Therefore, he suggests that this, in and of itself, is symptomatic of a greater problem. Complementarily, Berkhofer (1978) eloquently states that: "so long as the modern understanding of human actions assumes some sort of cultural influence between stimulus and response, then the future of the Indian as image must be determined by the preconceptions of White cultural premises" (p. 197). This implies that because of the privileged position held by White individuals in America, the "Indian" will always be an image created by White people themselves, not by American Indians. Stereotypes, by definition, lump all individuals of a group together and assigns a characteristic, determined by the majority culture, to that group as a whole. There are many stereotypes of American Indian people as a whole, falsely assigning characteristics to all American Indian people.

Categorization of American Indian Stereotypes. The media portrays American Indians in many different ways. While many scholars have delineated several different categories of American Indian stereotypes (Freng & Willis-Esqueda, 2011; Kopacz & Lee Lawton, 2011; Tan, Fujioka, & Lucht, 1997), I propose there are three main categories that seem to incorporate most representations of American Indians in the media: historical representations,

contemporary "social denigrate", and romanticized representations. The first, historical

representations are historical and spatial representations that portray American Indians as they

lived in the past (Kopacz & Lee Lawton, 2011). The "dead" Indian is often portrayed through

Westerns and shows American Indian people in a historical context either giving in to White

domination or fighting to the death. Also, the bloodthirsty savage and the squaw are also two

historical representations. The bloodthirsty savage is a common portrayal that shows a young,

cruel, aggressive, and violent man who kills indiscriminately. The squaw is a promiscuous

young woman who is merely the property of men and is often abused. Regardless of the

portrayal, these historical stereotypes show American Indians only in the past and perpetuate the

idea that American Indians no longer exist as culturally distinct.

More recently, the second type, "social denigrate," has become a common portrayal in

the news, showing lazy, alcoholic, uneducated, unemployed individuals reliant on either welfare

or casino money (or both) who cannot survive off a reservation. This person also might show up

as unintelligent, humorless, and believing in a nonsensical religion (Merskin, 1998). This could

also be a portrayal of the super-citizen who is portrayed as a person who receives "cradle-to-

grave" benefits that they do not deserve or as wealthy casino owners (Tan et. al., 1997).

Altogether, these stereotypes portray both American Indian men and women in a detrimental

fashion. Because so many individuals in the United States actively believe in the American

Indian stereotype of the social denigrate, when tribes do succeed economically, they are often

seen as giving up their traditional ways and no longer culturally distinct (Cattalino, 2004). The

social denigrate stereotype is harmful as it creates an understanding for many Americans that

anyone who is a contemporary American Indian and *not* a social denigrate is less of a "real"

Indian.

In contrast, romanticized stereotypes are also present in American media, and while they still have negative effects, they do shed a more positive light on American Indian cultures. Some examples of this are the doomed warrior, the wise elder, the White man's sidekick, and the Indian princess (Kopacz & Lee Lawton, 2011). The doomed warrior is the man who is young, strong, noble, and stoic, but often attracted to White women and has a sense of doom over his tribe. Furthermore, the wise elder is often a mystical, all-knowing, nature loving medicine man or woman who shares his/her wisdom to help White settlers, has no apparent cultural or tribal identity and is often separate from his/her tribe. Additionally, the White man's sidekick, exemplified by Tonto in *The Lone Ranger* is a dimwitted, but friendly child of the tribe who unquestioningly serves the White hero in the movie. The last of the common positive stereotypes is the Indian princess exemplified by Pocahontas. This girl is a beautiful, sexualized chief's daughter who is willing to sacrifice everything for the love of the White man. This woman is often portrayed as overly sexual, but not promiscuous because this woman is unattainable. These positive stereotypes are entertaining and thus show up in many forms of media. However, these are equally as damaging and hurtful as these portrayals present individuals who opened up Euro-American settlement and/or imply that American Indians assented to this destruction. Next, I will discuss some of the reasons discussed in the literature as to why these stereotypes developed and persist.

American love of American Indian stereotypes

Berkhofer (1978), in his explanation for why Americans love American Indians explains that, "so long as the modern understanding of human actions assumes some sort of cultural influence between stimulus and response, then the future of the Indian as image must be determined by the preconceptions of White cultural premises" (p. 197). In essence, the image of

the American Indian is not one created by American Indians themselves, but rather developed

from a cultural love of American Indian stereotypes by White Americans. I am arguing that this

attraction to American Indian stereotypes is motivated by an attempt to find a physical

connection with the land, anxiety or guilt felt about the terrible origins of the country, and an

intention to develop a collective "American" national identity.

Physical connection with the land. Phillip Deloria, a Dakota historian, tracks the

appropriation of American Indian images throughout the history of America. He claims that

since the founding of our country, Americans have always wanted the best of both worlds,

meaning they want both civilized order (from homeland in England) as well as the desire for

savage freedom at the same time (represented by American Indians). He also suggests that

White Americans have always held a paradoxical attitude toward American Indian people, both

wanting to destroy them as well as honor them. America, as a country, was founded with the

hopes of escaping perceived oppression as well as being liberated with a new sense of freedom.

However, a large part of that freedom necessitated ownership of land or at least some claim over

that land. Originally, the knowledge of the land that settlers gained post-1492 came from the

knowledge that could be afforded them by American Indians. In order to have control over that

knowledge and to have a true tie to that land, the people living on the land must be destroyed

(Deloria, 1994). Since that time, many attempts have been made to eradicate the original

inhabitants of what we now call North America, but American Indians have been resilient and

therefore those attempts have failed. One thing that has not disappeared is the desire for an

affinity with the land.

The desire for a natural understanding and kinship with the land on the part of White

Americans has given rise to many stereotypes about Native culture. Some of those stereotypes

include American Indians being "one with Nature," living on reservations, being warlike and treacherous, and much more. Each of these stereotypes comes from interactions between settlers and American Indians at the time of first contact when an understanding of land ownership was crucial. The experiences settlers had while engaging with American Indian people at the time of contact were formative in the impressions and understanding of the ways of being of American Indian people. Some had negative experiences surrounding war and defense of land by American Indians leading to the stereotypes about savagery (Mihesua, 1996). Churchill (2002) claims these stereotypes allow Americans to honor and idealize American Indians for their bravery and courage as well as despise and dispossess American Indian people for their sub-human nature. In contrast, other settlers had positive experiences around being taught how to use the land and experiencing the vast knowledge of the land (Mihesua, 1996). While the stereotypes mentioned here are often divided into categorizations of "positive" and "negative," Churchill (2002) further argues that this is not a matter of positive and negative because those "positive" stereotypes are just as harmful as the negative ones. In particular, he suggests that those who idealize American Indians for being "one with nature," at the base of the argument, believe that the only reason the Americas were found in the pristine condition they were at the time of first contact was because American Indians were incapable and incompetent at developing the technologically advanced society that we have today. This assumes that the "technological advancement" is superior and that American Indians would essentially die out over time regardless, with White individuals replacing American Indians as native to the landscape (Deloria, 1959). Regardless, these stereotypes are a result of individuals attempting to maintain some sort of likeness with the land.

Guilt about origins of America. The explanation of White guilt being a means for perpetuating stereotypes about American Indian people can be summed up in the song lyrics in the brutal song from Disney's Pocahontas, "Savages." The lyrics by Stephen Schwarz (1995) resound:

> "What can you expect from filthy little heathens? Their whole disgusting race is like a curse, their skin's a hellish red, they're only good when dead, they're vermin, as I said, and worse. They're savages! Savages! Barely even human. Savages! Savages! Drive them from our shore! They're not like you and me, which means they must be evil. We must sound the drums of war!"

It is the end of these lyrics when Governor Ratcliffe, the main antagonist, claims that we must sound the drums of war using the stereotype of the savage as a justification for war to be made upon American Indians. Retrospectively, this can be seen as a rationalization or a means of justifying the inhuman and immoral treatment of American Indian people at that time by White settlers. Pewewardy (1996) claims that the way American Indians in general, but Pocahontas in particular, are portrayed is an "extension of White America's attempt to cope with a sense of cultural guilt," (n.p.). Similarly, Huhndorf (2001) argues that the movie Dances with Wolves is another example of how these stereotypes are perpetuated to assuage the guilt felt about the past. The White characters in this film are able to "adopt" American Indian culture and fight alongside Natives to fight back against the horrible ways of American Indians, all the while perpetuating inaccuracies about them. Pewewardy (1996) describes a paradox in the attitudes toward American Indians that seems to parallel the paradox previously described by Deloria (1998). American people perpetuate stereotypes with both feelings of amazement and scorn as a means to suggest that there was good reason for past atrocities, but that American Indian people are revered today. These romanticized representations of American Indians suggest that American Indian people are incapable of living autonomously and require the help of White individuals.

This need for White help leads to the understanding that without the atrocities that happened at the time of first contact, American Indians would not have survivied. Either way, the portrayals of American Indians in many ways is "guilt quenching" (p. 218) for without these stereotypes Americans would have to face the immorality of the past (Stedman, 1982).

      Desire for collective "American" identity. In addition to both the desire for a kinship with the land as well as a means for easing guilt that comes along with the past, American Indian stereotypes also come from a desire for a collective "American" identity that is inherently intertwined with race. Additionally, this is inherently tied with the notion of land as national identity and is predicated on the notion that there is a shared land that houses the "nation." Therefore, Scheckel (1998) identifies that there is an inherent sovereignty claimed by American Indian people as this was the way of life before contact with Europeans. When combined with the "doctrine of discovery" claimed by the United States Supreme Court, claiming that by extension of the direct ties between Britain and England after the Revolutionary War, the US Government holds title to all land in the United States, there is a complicated understanding of what American nationality looks like. Slotkin (2001) suggests that no modern state has been constituted by a single cultural/racial group but that states become nations when diverse races/cultures are brought together to constitute a unified group. Under this notion, there is a necessary movement of American Indians into that collective identity.

      In turn, it is also necessary to have a way to honor the people indigenous to this nation and one such way to do that is through the romanticizing and historicizing of American Indian people through stereotypes. By romanticizing, we see that the story of the American Indian is worthy of being recognized as part of America's national identity. In addition, by historicizing, we see that American Indians are no longer around. Both means attempt to create a collective

national identity and both means further generalize this diverse group of people. The representation of Pocahontas is a key example of how this helps to create a national identity. Many individuals claim descendency to Pocahontas (or other female figures like her) which is near impossible to prove (or disprove). These individuals are able to adopt this American Indian identity and therefore claim the land, meaning the American identity becomes White individuals who believe they are Native to the land. This American identity allows for ties to land, inherently diminishing the American Indian identity.

In essence, there is a confusion around the stereotypes about American Indians that exist today. The stereotypes are motivated by desire to be connected with land, a feeling of guilt about the past relations with American Indian people, and a desire for a collective American identity. However, they manifest in a historicized, romanticized, and/or denigrated fashion, leading to the general public (typically) being able to recognize the injustices faced by and atrocities committed against American Indians (holocaust, removal, boarding schools, etc.), and yet still hold a firm belief that American Indians are lazy, get benefits from the government their whole life, are on welfare, drive fancy cars, and are alcoholics (Mihesua, 1996). These views often are confounded by a deep belief in meritocracy in our country which results in negative attitudes toward the group as a whole. While there are various effects of the different types of stereotypes of American Indians that are commonly used in the media, they all perpetuate the marginalization and misunderstandings around American Indian people and culture. The intentions of such media portrayals is often to educate and to entertain, but still have negative effects both on the general population as a whole and on American Indian people. Thus, while the intent is positive, the outcomes are not (Fryberg & Stephens, 2010).

Relative Absence of American Indians in the Media

Native Americans, comprising approximately 1.5% of the American population, only make up about .2%-.4% of American media. This suggests that American Indians are even underrepresented within the media, (Fryberg & Stephens, 2010; Greenberg, Mastro, & Brand, 2002; Kopacz & Lee Lawton, 2011). When a representation does exist in a television program, it is typically historical. Similarly, Native American representations in the news are also infrequent, but in its rare occurrences is confined to unemployment, poverty, alcohol-related illness, and educational failure, promoting the stereotype of the social denigrate Indians (Greenberg, Mastro, & Brand, 2002). This perpetuates the idea that Native people are either ahistorical or social denigrates. This relative absence of American Indians in the media leads to problematic perceptions of American Indians.

Baynes (2007) suggested that the absence of portrayals of and stereotyping of people of color is similar to the Brown v. Board of Education decision that made our country aware of segregation. Not portraying minority groups in proportionate ways to the actual population leaves the general public to believe that they either don't exist or are separate from society. In addition, young children generally learn to identify with characters of their own race and when those are either not there or are heavily stereotyped; this causes the children to think they do not matter (Bandura, 1994). Furthermore, when those representations are heavily stereotyped, the children might live a life that fulfills those stereotypes. While it isn't explicit, the problem lies in the implication of broadcasters that certain individuals and/or groups don't exist. Next, I will discuss how these attitudes can be both explicit and implicit.

Biased Attitudes

Explicit Bias

Research on prejudice, bias, racism, etc. has been constantly evolving due to shifting

demographics and experiences in the United States. Originally, research focused on what will be

addressed as "explicit bias" in the current study. This type of bias can be defined as the negative

attitudes, beliefs, and behavior held by an individual towards a social group or category (often a

minority group), resulting from the conscious, effortful processing of information relevant to that

minority group (Boniecki & Zuwerink Jacks, 2002; Casey, Warren, Cheesman, & Elek, 2012).

Explicit bias is thought of as the beliefs that can be retrieved from memory and self-reported.

Historically, people tend to think of old-fashioned racism (i.e., bigotry) when addressing explicit

bias, but today researchers focus on more subtle forms of explicit bias like colorblind racial

ideology (CBRI; Poteat & Spanierman, 2012; Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton, & Zanna, 2008)

and "modern racism" (McConahay, 1986). Furthermore, it has been suggested that a person's

explicit bias is the best predictor of interracial interactions and friendliness within those

interactions (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). While explicit bias has evolved from

aggressive prejudicial behavior (i.e. slavery or segregation) to more subtle forms of prejudice

(i.e. inequality in the workplace or microaggressions) over time, it is still a prominent issue in the

United States.

Colorblind racial ideology. Colorblind racial ideology (CBRI) is the denial, distortion,

or minimization of color and is thought of as the prevailing form of racial ideology in the post-

civil rights era (Neville, 2009). CBRI is a set of beliefs that explain how highly dominant or

authoritarian White individuals adopt such attitudes (Poteat & Spanierman, 2012). Often the

intent behind colorblind racial ideology is positive, particularly intended as a desire to appear

nondiscriminatory or as though one is not biased against particular groups. However, it comes out in many ways that can come across to members of a minority group as undermining the uniqueness and/or potentially ignoring some of the important experiences of minority people (Offerman, Basford, Graebner, Jaffer, De Graaf, & Kaminsky, 2014). CBRI most often manifests as microaggressions and are therefore correlated with perceptions of racism by minority individuals as well as impediments in intergroup relations (Plaut, 2012; Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009). Explicit bias in these more subtle or modern forms is a continued problem in the US, but has not received much attention in the literature until recently.

Microaggressions. One form of these more sublte forms of explicit bias ahs been termed racial microaggressions. Racial microaggressions are everyday verbal, behavioral, or environmental offenses that are derogatory or racial slights toward people of color and can be either intentional or unintentional (Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, 2007). They can range from more subtle versions like microinvalidations to microinsults to the more explicit microassaults. Microinvalidations are things that negate the feelings, thoughts, and experiences of people of color. One example would be saying "I don't see color when I look at you." Furthermore, microinsults are the actions that convey insensitivity or demean a person's heritage. For example, when an individual says, "I'm really surprised by how smart you are!" In this example, an individual is attempting to compliment the other person but conveys the message that he/she isn't expected to be smart because of his/her racial heritage. Lastly, there are microassaults which are the more obvious statements where discriminatory intent is evident. This could include calling an individual a racially charged name or making a direct derogatory statement about their race. Overall, microaggressions are explicit forms of bias and it has been found that colorblind racial ideology is associated with a greater likelihood of an individual using

a microaggression (Offerman, Basford, Graebner, Jaffer, De Graaf, & Kaminsky, 2014).

Previous studies on microaggressions measure a minority individuals' perception of others' uses

of microaggressions (Torres-Harding, Andrade, & Romero Diaz, 2012). Colorblind racial

ideology is, therefore, a form of explicit bias that deserves to be better understood.

CBRI is also linked with the perception of more microaggressions by minority

individuals as well as intergroup conflict. In one study examining the effects of CBRI on

interracial interactions, researchers assigned White participants to a condition where they would

interact with an individual who was either White or Aboriginal Canadian. Furthermore, they

were also presented with either a message that was either multiculturally informative or

promoted colorblind racial ideology. Participants then filled out an "experience of the exchange"

questionnaire and their behavior was examined and coded for hostility, comfortable-ness,

nervousness, criticalness, and uncertainty. The results showed that the individuals who were

given the color-blind prompt expressed more negative affect toward the partner who was an out-

group member. However, those individuals in the antiracism message condition had no effects

on the outcomes assessed in the study (Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009). It is evident that

CBRI can be induced based on the situation and is also linked to less favorable intergroup

behavioral and attitudinal outcomes. Therefore, the present study will measure colorblind racial

attitudes as a measure of explicit bias.

Modern Racism. Another way to assess explicit bias is through the examination of

racism in its' most current form. As the ways in which racism and explicit bias have changed in

the United States from enslavement of Black individuals and removal of American Indians,

McConahay (1986) created the Modern Racism Scale in an attempt to more accurately assess the

concept of explicit bias. This measure is intended to assess the cognitive component of racial

attitudes in the post-Civil Rights era. Modern racism has been linked to the failed

implementation of racial equity policy (Johnson, 2007). It has been suggested that modern

racism and CBRI both tap into the concept of explicit bias (Neville, Poteat, Lewis, &

Spanierman, 2014; Plaut, 2010). Yet, while they are similar, they also tap into different parts of

explicit bias. The modern racism scale examines individuals' external blaming of minority

individuals whereas CBRI more specifically examines internal and systemic factors of explicit

bias. Therefore, the current study examines these scales as separate assessments of explicit bias.

Implicit Bias

While explicit bias is important as it directly affects minority individuals, research has

more recently turned toward examining the implicit bias that is held by individuals as it is

understood as relatively constant. Implicit attitudes are the attitudes or beliefs that manifest as

actions or judgments that are under the control of automatically activated evaluation without the

performer's awareness of it (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Implicit biases has been

linked with many outcomes including prejudicial behavior toward outgroups (Nosek, 2007),

decreased prosocial behavior with the outgroup (Stepanikova, Triplett, & Simpson, 2011),

disparities of treatment in professional settings (Fisher & Borgida, 2012; Segrest Purkiss,

Perrewe, Gillespie, Mayes, & Ferris, 2006), treatment during legal situations (Fisher & Borgida,

2012; Kang et al., 2012), and health care treatment (Boysen & Vogel, 2008; Chapman, Kaatz, &

Carnes, 2013; Fisher & Borgida, 2012).

Implicit bias and interpersonal behavior. Other studies have more specifically

examined individual outcomes of implicit bias. For example, Stepanakova, Triplett, and

Simpson (2011) explored the impact of implicit bias on decision making in social situations,

particularly examining how implicit bias effects prosocial behavior. They found that those

participants who scored higher on measures of anti-black implicit bias also were less generous and trusting toward their Black partner (in the study) than those who were with a White partner on a decision making simulation regarding equal allocations of money between participants. Supporting this notion within a decision-making simulation, implicit bias is negatively related to nonverbal friendliness, indicating that as implicit bias increases, friendliness decreases (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Thus, high levels of implicit bias in White individuals has generally negative implications for prosocial behavior in interactions with individuals who are of a minority race.

     Implicit bias in professional settings. Ethnicity and race have been examined as factors that are considered in professional settings like hiring decisions, judgment of employees in interviews, etc. One's name, accent, and appearance have all been shown to influence whether an individual is hired for a position. Even when people don't report explicit biases, implicit biases have been found to influence treatment in professional settings. For example, researchers have found an interaction between stereotypical name cue and accent cue on interviewer judgment of an applicant for a job. A Latino individual with a stereotypical Latino name without an accent will be judged more favorably than a Latino individual with an "Anglo" name and no accent. Conversely, a Latino person with a stereotypical Latino name with an accent will be judged less favorably as a Latino person with an "Anglo" name with an accent. This suggests that employers judge an ethnic minority individual (Latinos in this case) as favorable, but only if they do not have an accent (Segrest Purkiss, Perrewe, Gillespie, Mayes, & Ferris, 2006). Furthermore, Fisher and Borgida (2012) reviewed the literature that addresses the racial and gender disparities in other professional contexts. They found a trend in the hiring process for racial minorities and for women, a trend that disfavors the minority individual, linking implicit

bias as a common factor in the hiring process. Together, these studies show that implicit bias plays a large role in both the perception of and hiring process of minority individuals.

Implicit bias in legal settings. Kang and colleagues (2012) posit that in legal settings, there are many different time points and individuals that influence the legal process, meaning a minority individual coould be a victim of implicit bias at a number of points in the system (i.e., encounters with police, prosecution, at trial (jury and judge), and sentencing. For example, police officers, similar to the larger society, may associate Latino and Black individuals as aggressive or with a "shooter bias," which suggests that these individuals are more likely to be a shooter and therefore influences the decision making of police officers increasing aggressive behavior toward them (Fisher & Borgida, 2012). In sum, minority individuals may be adversely affected within legal settings, from encounters with police to their trial, leading to greater rates of incarceration and having to manage living with both minority status and "criminal" status (Dixon & Linz, 2000; Dixon & Maddox, 2005).

Implicit bias in healthcare settings. Additionally, health care settings also are not free from the effects of implicit bias. Fisher and Borgida (2012) suggest that there are many disparities in the medical treatment of minority individuals including reception of information regarding health problems, access to public health services, and even physical treatment from physicians. Supporting this claim, in a meta-analysis of the effects of implicit bias on health care disparities, researchers have concluded that there are disparities of medical treatment for minorities (including racial and gender) that have ultimately led to increases in morbidity and mortality (Chapman, Kaatz, & Carnes, 2013). Furthermore, Boysen and Vogel (2008) examined the levels of implicit bias toward African Americans, lesbians, and gay men that are held by counseling trainees. These trainees were presented with some multicultural training, and

interestingly while there explicit attitudes showed some improvement their implicit biases towards these groups did not.   Therefore, even healthcare settings are not free from implicit bias and these biased attitudes can result in differences in the treatment of minority individuals in many areas of their life (Snipes, Sellers, Tafawa, Cooper, Fields, & Bonham, 2011). Next, I will discuss the factors that might influence media's relationship with biased attitudes, particularly examining awareness of White privilege and motivations to appear unbiased.

<div align="center">**Factors Influencing Media's Influence on Racial Attitudes**</div>

The literature has shown that exposure to stereotypical images has an influence on our attitudes (Lee, 2009). Also, as discussed in the case of American Indians, these portrayals are often negative and stereotypical in nature (Kopacz & Lee Lawton, 2011). However, there are individual characteristics that might moderate the degree to which an individual is affected by these media portrayals. While fewer studies have examined these moderating influences, some research has examined an individual's motivation to appear unbiased and the counseling literature has often highlighted one's awareness of one's privilege as an important factor in attitudes. Next, I will discuss these two as important factors that might influence biased attitudes.

Motivations to Respond Without Bias

Research on biased attitudes and prejudice has evolved over the past 50 years due to social pressures in America that have pushed for equality. This push has resulted in "politically correct" standards as a default for many individuals. These standards mandate how individuals are supposed to respond to certain situations with the risk of being seen unfavorably or in a negative light by others if not followed. Therefore, whenever an individual is reporting their attitudes or behaviors on a self-report measure, there is a possibility that they are responding in a

socially desirable manner that doesn't match their actual beliefs or attitudes. Therefore, Plant and Devine (1989) created a scale to measure how motivated individuals are to appear unbiased due to both internal and external reasons.

The motivations to respond without prejudice scale was created in order to pick apart the motivations that underlie one's desire to avoid prejudiced responses. The scale has two factors: internal and external motivation. Internal motivation stems from the internalization and importance of non-prejudiced standards to the individual. In turn, external motivation is the desire to comply with the nonprejudiced societal norms. It is assumed that an individual who is internally motivated to appear nonprejudiced is also externally motivated and as a result truly believe and adopt the standard of being nonprejudiced. These individuals might show lower levels of implicit bias and explicit bias both. Conversely, an individual who is externally motivated is not always internally motivated and might not believe the social norms, but comply with them anyway, resulting in lower levels of explicit bias, but not implicit bias (Plant & Devine, 1998). As a result, it is important to examine these motivations as they might moderate the levels of implicit and explicit bias.

Costarelli, Sandro, Gerlowska, and Justyna (2015) examined individuals who claim ambivalence about a particular racial group and their motivation to respond without prejudice. They found that participants were more likely to endorse external motivations to respond without prejudice, but not internal. Additionally, actual behaviors corresponding with motivations to respond without prejudice have also been measured. In one study, participants were told to administer a painful electric shock to an unseen male opponent who was either explicitly or implied to be gay. The individuals who endorsed higher internal motivation to respond without motivation aggressed less than those who endorsed higher external motivation (Cox & Devine,

2014). Lastly, it has been suggested that individuals who are internally motivated to appear unbiased also show less implicit bias against outgroup individuals (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002). Together, these three articles imply that individuals who are internally motivated to respond without prejudice might also express lower implicit and consequently explicit bias, whereas those who endorse external motivation to respond without prejudice might not. Based on this, the current study also suggests that an individual who is motivated (either internally or externally) to appear unbiased will endorse lower levels of explicit bias but not implicit bias. In addition, the current study predicts an interaction between condition and internal motivation to appear unbiased on explicit attitudes in that those who are highly internally motivated should experience a buffering effect of the stereotypical media on explicit attitudes.

White Privilege Attitudes

White privilege, or the unearned advantages of being White in a racially diverse society, is a popular topic of interest recently and has been linked to many emotional, cognitive and behavioral outcomes. Common emotions associated with awareness of White privilege are fear, guilt, and anger. When examining the cognitive component of White privilege awareness, this is where we see a divide in individuals. On the one hand, some individuals deny, minimize, or distort White privilege, while others rationalize and justify White privilege, and still others accept responsibility for White privilege (although not personally). Furthermore, the behaviors in response to these cognitions can range from apathy, avoidance, ambivalence, to even addressing White privilege when it comes up (Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009). Apathy, avoidance, and ambivalence behaviors can be seen by minority individuals as a form of racism in and of itself, which is an unintended consequence of low awareness of White privilege.

Ultimately, White privilege is a state of being in our society as there are material and socio-cultural support for the persistence of White privilege in our country (Wildman, 2005). Therefore, it is important to consider this when examining any racial biases.

While there are many aspects of society that keep White privilege in place in our society, Wildman (2005) suggests there is also evidence that simple awareness of White privilege can create better outcomes in interracial interactions. Stewart and colleagues (2012) examined the effects of heightened awareness of White privilege on racial prejudice. Researchers in this study manipulated White privilege awareness through students participating in a "racial equality project" which informed them of the disadvantages at their university and conversely that White students were the ones that held the advantage in the university. Other participants in the control group were not given the option to participate in the "racial equality project" and only completed the measures of racial attitudes and perceived efficacy (their ability to reduce inequality – either "high" or "low" efficacy). Results showed that awareness of White privilege by itself was a significant predictor across conditions in improved/reduced prejudicial attitudes toward African Americans. In addition, I am proposing that because of Allports (1954) contact hypothesis, awareness of White privilege is indicative of some level of "contact" with racial issues in our country. Therefore, it is suggested that awareness of White privilege by itself will aid in reducing prejudicial attitudes toward racial minority groups in our country. In addition, it is also suggested that there will be an interaction between awareness of White privilege and condition so that high levels of awareness act as a buffer against the negative effects of the stereotype condition on explicit attitudes.

Current Study

The content of the stereotypes of American Indians in the media have been examined on a qualitative level (Kopacz & Lee Lawton, 2011; Tan et al., 1997), and the effects of stereotypical media on American Indians, themselves (Fryberg et al., 2012) have been examined. However, there seems to be a missing piece between the presence of the stereotypes themselves and the effects they have on majority individuals, and an important piece influencing social interactions between individuals. Therefore, in order to address this limitation in the literature this current study randomly assigned participants to watch a series of videos that contained either stereotypical representations of American Indians (stereotype condition; Pocahontas, Smoke Signals, and The Searchers) or contained similar content with White individuals (control condition; The Little Mermaid, Unforgiveable, and Gettysburg). Participants completed measures of explicit and implicit attitudes, motivations to respond without prejudice, and awareness of White privilege 1-week before and directly after watching the experimental videos. The current study will add to the extant literature in three ways: (a) it will examine whether the relationship between stereotypical media exposure and biased attitudes (explicit and implicit) can be extended to images of American Indians in the media; (b) it will examine the possible moderating effects of external and internal motivations to appear unbiased on the relationship between exposure and attitudes; and (c) it will examine the possible moderating influence of White privilege awareness on the relationship between exposure and attitudes. The following are the specific hypotheses of the current study separated out by expectations for explicit and implicit bias:

Explicit Bias

  Motivation. Since explicit attitudes are under conscious control, I hypothesize a main

effect of both internal and external motivation on explicit attitudes. Specifically, I predict that as

internal motivation to control levels of prejudice increases, explicit attitudes should decrease. In

addition, as external motivation to control levels of prejudice increases, explicit attitudes should

also decrease.
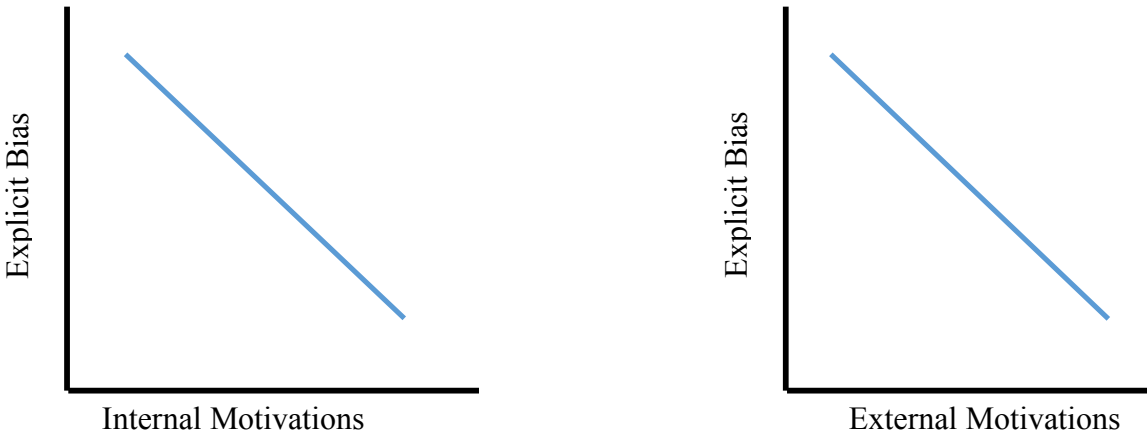
Figure 1. Motivations and Explicit Bias

  White Privilege. Similar to motivation, I predict that as awareness of White privilege

increases, explicit attitudes will decrease.
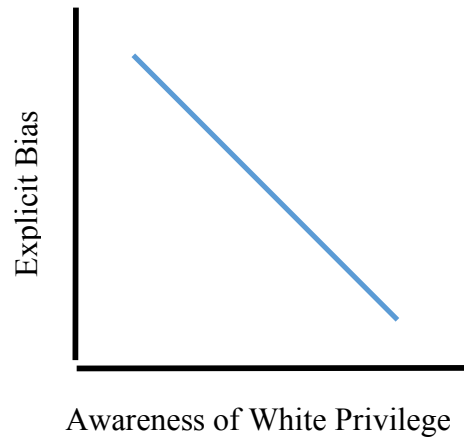
Figure 2. Awareness of White Privilege and Explicit Bias

Condition. Based on the findings that stereotypical media portrayals influence biased attitudes, I hypothesize a main effect of condition on explicit attitudes. More specifically, individuals in the stereotype condition should show greater levels of explicit bias compared to those in the control condition.

Figure 3. Condition and Explicit Bias

Condition x Motivation Interaction. Based on the notion that individual characteristics could moderate the degree to which an individual is affected by media portrayals, I also hypothesize an interaction between condition and motivation on explicit attitudes. Specifically, those reporting higher motivation to be unbiased (whether internal or external) should show less of an impact of stereotype condition on explicit attitudes than those with lower motivation. In other words, higher motivation should act as a buffer against the increase in explicitly biased attitudes produced by the stereotype condition.
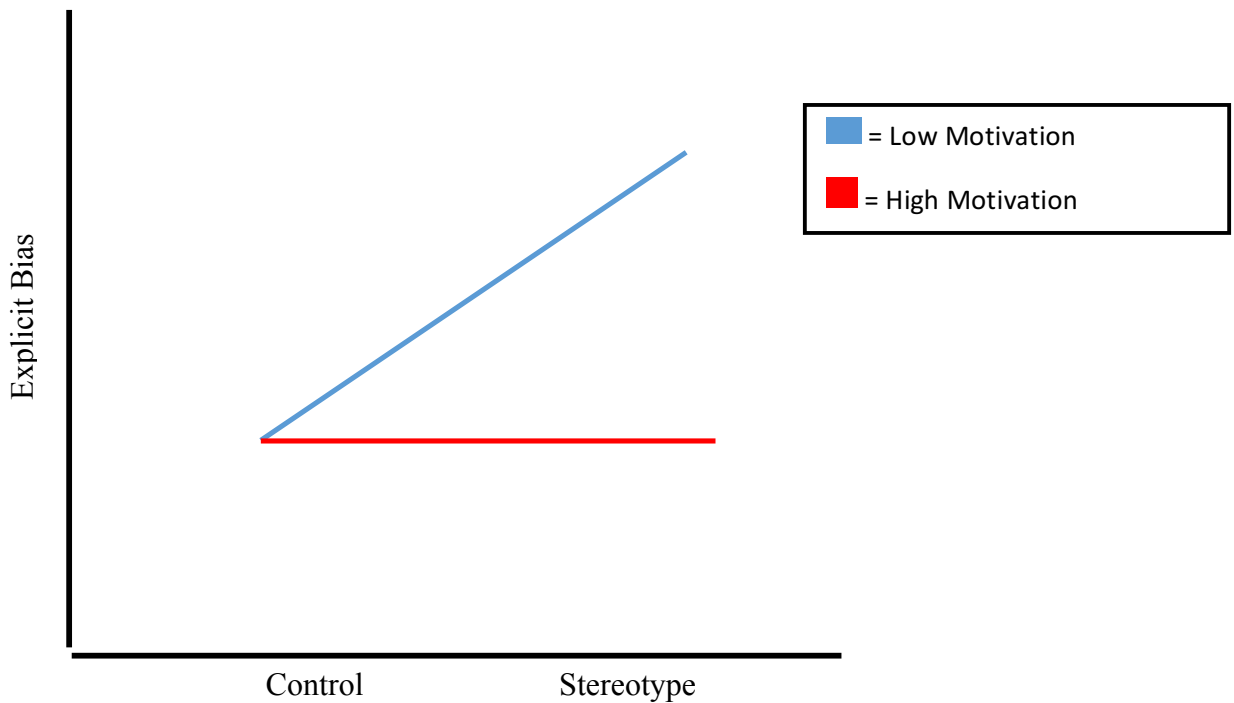
Figure 4. Interaction of Condition and Motivation on Explicit Bias

Condition x Awareness Interaction. Similar to motivation, I also hypothesize an interaction between condition and awareness of White privilege on explicit attitudes. Those individuals reporting higher awareness of White privilege should show less of an impact of

stereotype condition on explicit attitudes than those with lower awareness. In other words, high awareness of White privilege should act as a buffer against the increase in explicitly biased attitudes produced by the stereotype condition.
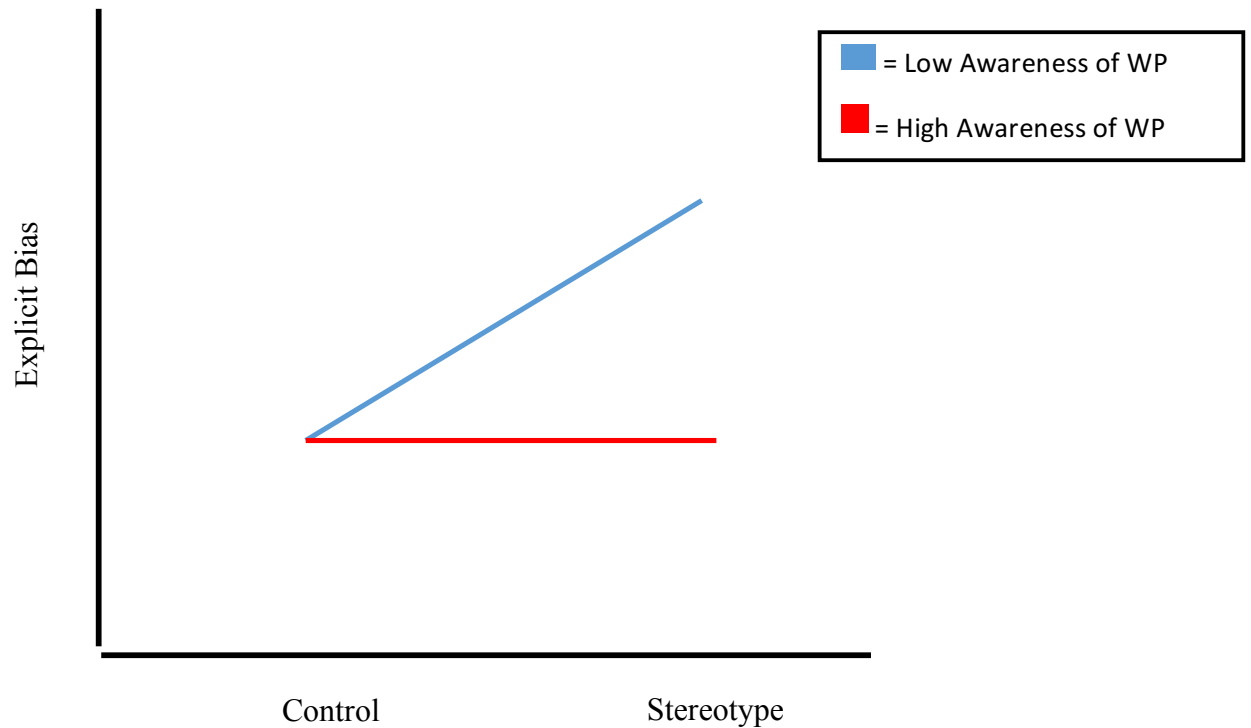
Figure 5. Interaction of Condition and Awareness of White Privilege on Explicit Bias

Implicit Bias

Motivation. Since internal motivation reflects a true motivation to be unbiased, I hypothesize a main effect of internal motivation on implicit attitudes. More specifically, higher levels of internal motivation to respond without prejudice should be linked with lower levels of implicit bias. However, I do not a main effect of external motivation on implicit attitudes since these motivations only reflect a desire to be seen by others as unbiased.
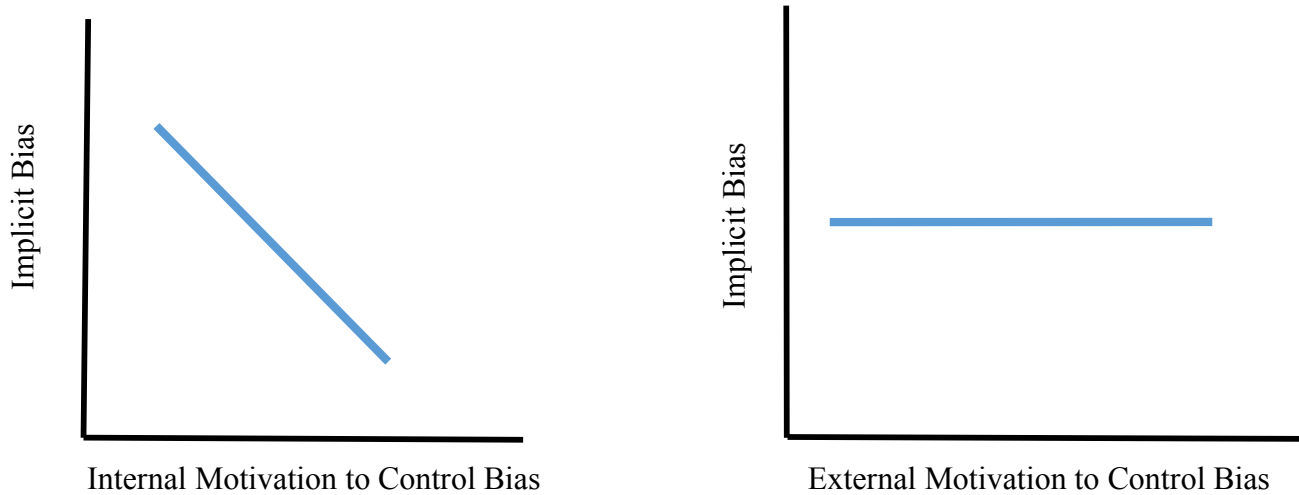
Figure 6. Motivations on Implicit Bias

Awareness of White Privilege. Similar to internal motivations, I hypothesize a main effect of awareness of White privilege on implicit attitudes as awareness of White privilege has been shown to be a reflection of internalized understandings of racial inequities. Specifically, it is expected that individuals who are high in awareness of White privilege will exhibit lower levels of implicitly biased attitudes.
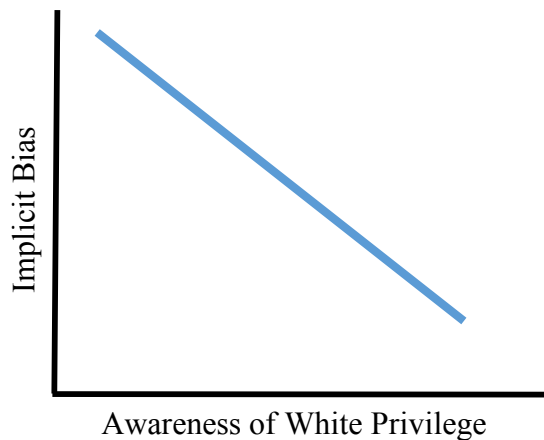
Figure 7. Awareness of White Privilege and Implicit Bias

Condition. I hypothesize a main effect of condition on implicit attitudes as the stereotype condition should prime existing biases about American Indians. Individuals in the stereotype condition should show higher levels of implicit bias compared to the control condition.
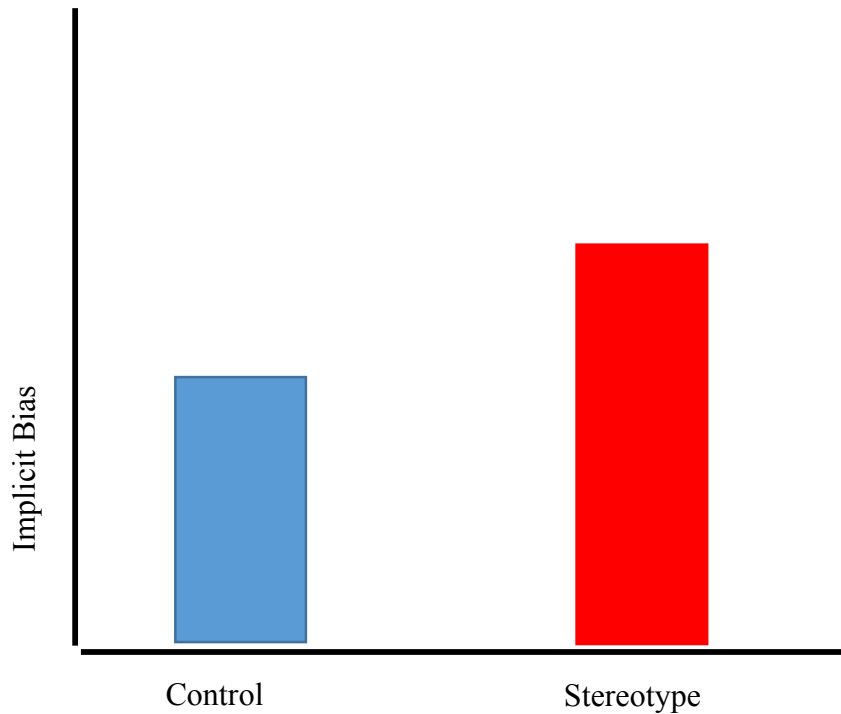
Figure 8. Condition and Implicit Bias
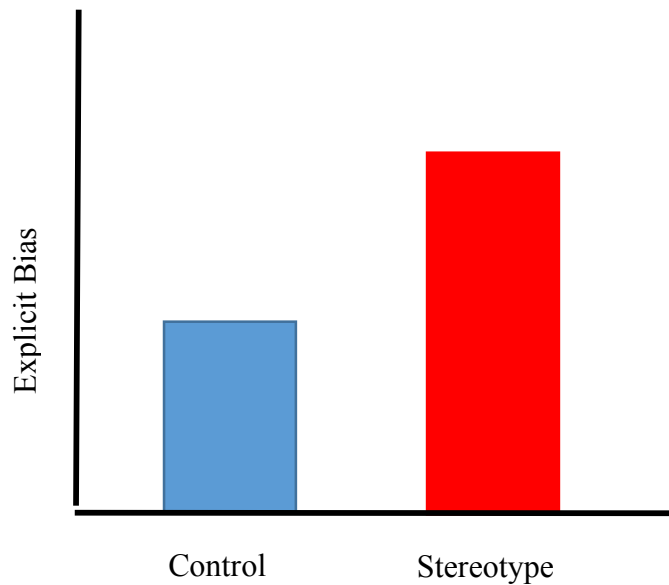
Condition X Internal Motivation Interaction. Based on the notion that individual differences between people might impact the effects of media portrayals, I hypothesize an interaction between condition and internal motivation. Specifically, those low in internal motivation to being unbiased may be particularly likely to be negatively primed when seeing a stereotypical image and may show higher levels of implicit bias than those high in internal motivation.
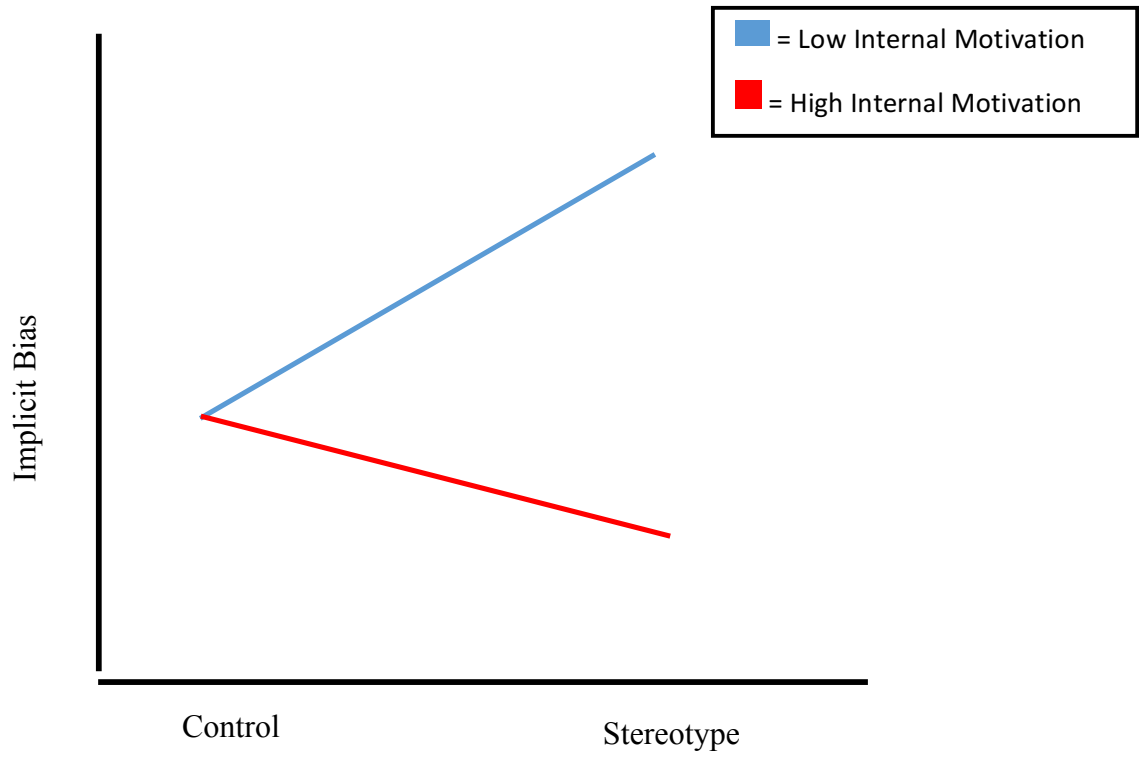
Figure 9. Interaction of Condition and Motivation on Implicit Bias

CHAPTER 3. METHOD

Participants

Demographics

The current study consisted of 115 participants who were enrolled in their undergraduate studies at a large Midwestern University. Majority of the participants in the current study identified as female (64.3%). Majority of participants (94.8%) were 18-24 years of age (range is 18 years of age to 34 years of age). Just over half of the participants (53.9%) were freshman, followed by sophomores (22.6%), juniors (13.0%), and seniors (9.6%). As for racial composition of the participants, 75.7% identified as European American/Caucasian, 3.5% identified as Hispanic/Latino(a), 5.2% identified as African American/Black, 6.1% identified as Asian American/Pacific Islander, and 8.7% identified as "other." The current study was approved by the institution's Insitutional Review Board on December 19th, 2014 (IRB ID: 15-428; see Appendix L).

Recruitment and Compensation

Participants were undergraduate students enrolled in a psychology and/or communication studies course at Iowa State University signed up to participate through SONA (i.e., an online research participant sign-up system). They participated in the experiment in exchange for credit in their class towards research experience.

Procedure

Time 1

Upon arriving in the laboratory, participants read and had the option to sign the consent form (see Appendix A). After signing the consent form, participants were directed by a Research Assistant to a computer where they would complete the study. First, participants

completed the Implicit Association Test (IAT), followed by the Colorblind Racial Attitudes

Scale, the Modern Racism Scale, the Motivations to Respond without Prejudice scale, and lastly

the White Privilege Attitudes Scale. Scales were included specifically in this order in order to

not contaminate results of the IAT with any potential priming from the other scales (McDermott,

1997). Participants were awarded their class credit for participation in Time 1 of the study.

| Consent | Implicit Association Test | Colorblind Racial Attitudes | Modern Racism Scale |

| Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice | White Privilege Attitudes | Social Desirability |
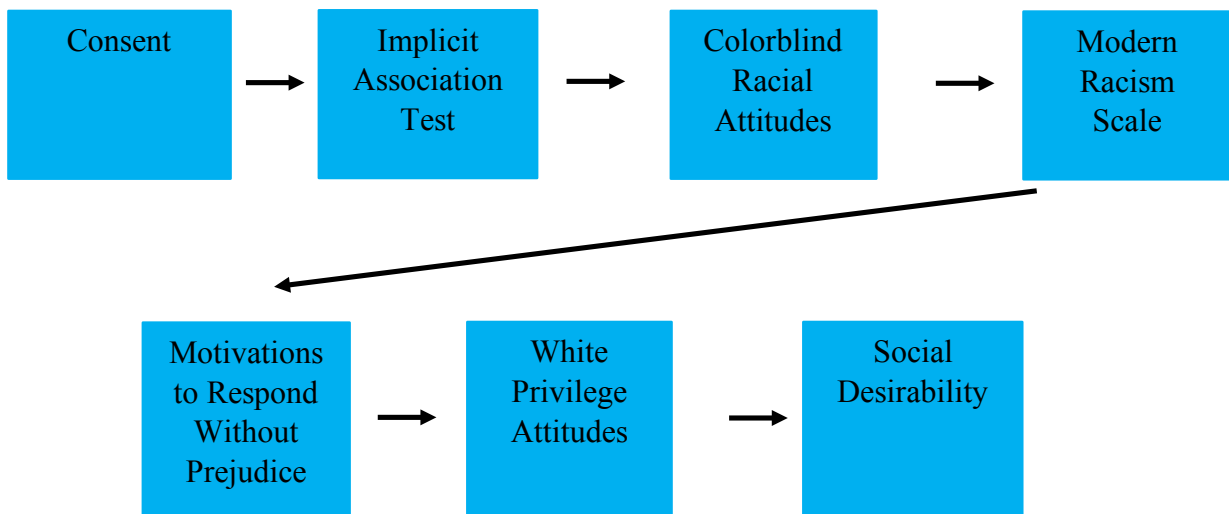
Figure 10. Procedure at Time 1

Time 2

Participants were asked to sign up for the second part of the study at least one week after

participating in the first portion of the study. All participants completed the second part of the

study between one and four weeks after participating in Time 1 of the study. At the start of time

2, participants read and had the option to sign the time 2 informed consent form (see Appendix

G). Participants were then randomly assigned to watch three short video clips from either the

stereotype or the control condition. As a manipulation check, after watching each video clip,

participants were asked to explain in one sentence what they saw in the movie. No participants

failed the manipulation check and thus, no participants were dropped for this reason. After the

manipulation check, the participant then completed the same measures as Time 1 of the study

followed by a demographics questionnaire. After completing these measures, participants were

debriefed on the purpose of the study and were awarded class credit for the second portion of the

study.

Consent		Videos (Control or Stereotype)		Implicit Association Test		Colorblind Racial Attitudes		Modern Racism Scale
Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice		White Privilege Attitudes		Social Desirability		Debriefing		Demographics
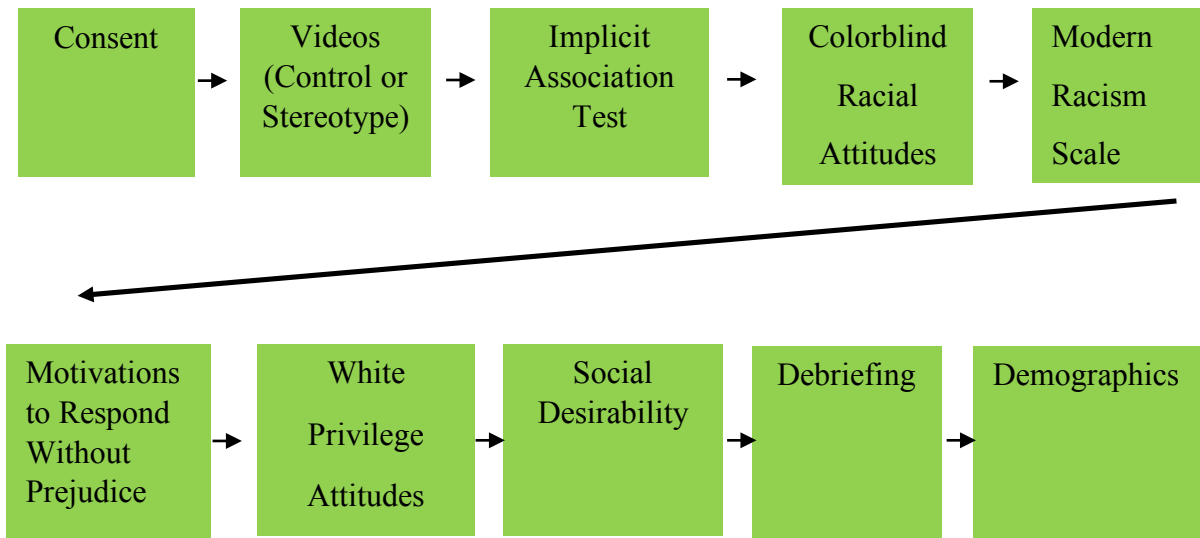
Figure 11. Procedure at Time 2

Stimuli

The stimuli that were presented in the stereotype condition were short video clips from

the movies *Smoke Signals, Pocahontas,* and *The Searchers*. These clips were chosen because

they are each an exemplar of the three categories of stereotypes identified earlier. The clip from

Smoke Signals shows the "social denigrate" stereotype with a young boy who sees his father hit

his mother while drunk and leave them. The Pocahontas clip is an exemplar of the

romanticization previously discussed. This shows an American Indian woman who is "one with nature" as she is singing with animals in a canoe. Lastly, the Searchers clip is a historicized exemplar as it portrays a battle scene from the past. Furthermore, the movie clips within the control condition included *Unforgivable, The Little Mermaid,* and *Gettysburg.* A research assistant first identified the movie clips portraying White characters that had similar experiences (i.e., driving a car, main character in a Disney movie) as those portrayed in the stereotype condition. Then, a group of six research assistants rated these videos according to characters' attractiveness, characters' likeability, negative emotions evoked from the clip, positive emotions evoked from the clip, how much they liked the clip, and how similar it is to the exemplar in question. These were rated on a five-point scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). The clips that were most similar to the exemplars, on average (amongst all ratings), were chosen as the control stimuli. Tables 1 through 3 display numeric representations of how each of the movie clips compares to their exemplars. The clip from Unforgivable was rated most similar to the clip from Smoke Signals as it portrays a White man hit his wife for a seemingly small infraction. The clip form the Little Mermaid is similar to Pocahontas as it shows a White woman (a mermaid) singing a song with fish around her. Lastly, Gettysburg is similar to The Searchers as it shows a battle scene between two groups of White people. In sum, the video clips from each condition were approximately 9 minutes in length.

Table 1. Pocahontas Comparisons

	Exemplar 1	Comparison Clip		
Categories	**Pocahontas**	**Snow White**	**Cinderella**	**The Little Mermaid**
Positive emotion you feel(i.e. happy,, attentive, enthusiastic, etc.)	4.00	3.33	3.50	3.33
Negative emotion you feel (i.e. fear, hostility, guilt, sadness)	2.17	1.83	1.67	2.83
How much do you like this clip?	4.33	3.33	4.00	4.50
Characters' likeability	4.67	3.83	4.33	4.33
Characters' attractiveness	4.67	3.50	4.50	4.67
How similar is it to the exemplar?		3.50	3.33	4.67

Table 2. Smoke Signals Comparisons

	Exemplar 2	Comparison Clip	
Categories	**Smoke Signals**	**Enough**	**Unforgiveable**
Characters' attractiveness	2.33	4.67	3.33
Characters' likeability	2.17	2.33	2.50
How much do you like this clip?	2.17	2.00	2.17
Negative emotion you feel (i.e. fear, hostility, guilt, sadness)	4.67	4.67	4.67
Positive emotion you feel(i.e. happy,, attentive, enthusiastic, etc.)	1.00	1.00	1.00
How similar is it to the exemplar?		3.17	3.83

Table 3. The Searchers Comparisons

	Exemplar 3	Comparison Clip		
Categories	**The Searchers**	**Silverado**	**Glory**	**Gettysburg**
Characters' attractiveness	2.50	2.83	2.67	2.83
Characters' likeability	2.00	2.50	2.33	2.33
How much do you like this clip?	1.83	2.50	1.67	2.33
Negative emotion you feel (i.e. fear, hostility, guilt, sadness)	4.00	3.50	4.17	3.67
Positive emotion you feel(i.e. happy,, attentive, enthusiastic, etc.)	1.50	2.00	1.33	2.50
How similar is it to the exemplar?		2.17	3.17	2.67

Measures

Implicit Association Test (IAT)

The Implicit Association Test (IAT) was designed to assess implicit attitudes by examining the extent to which individuals associate evaluative attributes with particular concepts (Greenwald et al., 1998; see Appendix B). The current study assesses the extent to which the two races "European American" and "Native American" (Native American is used in lieu of American Indian as it is more colloquial) are associated with the evaluative attributes of good and bad. Consistent with one other study (Nosek et al., 2007), Native Americans were represented with 8 photos of Native Americans (4 male, 4 female) and Europeans were represented with 8 photos of European Americans (4 male, 4 female). The IAT consisted of a practice trial to learn the stimuli and the "critical tasks." The critical tasks of the IAT involve pairing the evaluative words (e.g. good v. bad) with the target stimuli (e.g. Native American v.

European American). In one critical task, participants made evaluative responses by pressing one computer key for "Native Americans" *or* "Bad" and another key for "European Americans" *or* "Good." The other critical task reverses the target group (one key for "European American" *or* "Bad" and the other key for "Native American" *or* "Good") in order to compare the responses. The practice tasks consisted of 30 individual responses while the critical tasks consisted of 30 responses. Measures of implicit attitudes do tend to exhibit lower reliability coefficients than self-report measures because of the lack of conscious control over the responses (i.e., conscious recollection of past responses on explicit measures increases consistency; Bosson, Swann, & Pennebaker, 2000). However, the reliability of the computerized IAT has shown some improvement over past implicit measures. For example, Lemm (2001) found a test-retest correlation of .47 that utilized an IAT measuring attitudes about homosexuality. These reliability estimates while much lower than traditional self-report standards have been argued to be appropriate for research purposes with implicit measures (see Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001). Consistent with this idea the IAT has shown the ability to predict important outcomes such as increases in prejudicial behavior and attitudes (Nosek, 2007).

Explicit Bias

The two scales used for the current study will be Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Brown, 2000) and Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986).

Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). This scale is a 20-item survey that is used to assess individuals' color-blind racial attitudes (Neville et al., 2000; see Appendix C). The items are rated on a 6-point Likert scale (1=*strongly disagree* to 6=*strongly agree*). Scores are summed and range from 20 to 120, with higher scores indicating more blindness to color and

racial privilege. To reduce potential response biases, seven items are worded in a negative direction and are reverse coded for the analyses. The CoBRAS has reported psychometric properties in other studies (Cronbach's alpha = .86, 2-week test-retest reliability estimate = .68) and has been used under a variety of settings including various racial groups, communities, and social classes of people. Specifically, Neville and colleagues (2000) compared the CoBRAS with other established racial attitude measures including Global Belief in a Just World (GBJWS) and Multidimensional Belief in a Just World Scale – Sociopolitical Subscale (MBJWS-SS) and both measures were found to be significantly correlated with the CoBRAS (r = .53, p < .005 and r = .61, p < .005, respectively). To establish discriminant validity, the CoBRAS was compared with the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) and was found to not be significantly correlated with the CoBRAS (r = .13, p > .05). In the current study, participants scores on the CoBRAS had internal consistency (a) of .87.

Modern Racism Scale (MRS). This scale is a 7-item measure of modern racism that assesses one's explicit racial attitudes toward individuals of a minority race. Participants respond on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*) and scores range from 7 to 42 with higher scores indicating higher levels of modern racism. Two of the items are reverse coded. The measure has also reported psychometric properties (Cronbach's alpha's ranging from .61 to .79) and correlates with other measures of racial prejudice like the racial thermometer (r = .441; McConahay, 1986; see Appendix D). In the current study, participant scores on the MRS had internal consistency (α) of .83.

Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice

The motivation to respond without prejudice scale is a 9-item measure of both the internal (IMS) and external motivations (EMS) to respond to appear unbiased to others.

Participants respond on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) and a composite

score is made for each internal (scores ranging from 5 to 45) and external (scores ranging from 4

to 36) motivation subscales. Higher scores indicate higher motivation to respond without

prejudice. The measure has substantial psychometric properties in other studies (Cronbach's

alpha ranging from .76 to .85) and each of the subscales correlates with other measures (internal

motivation with lower prejudice on MRS and external motivation with higher prejudice on MRS;

Plant & Devine, 1998; see Appendix E). In the current study, the participants scores on the IMS

and EMS showed reliabilities (α) of .85 and .78, respectively.

Awareness of White Privilege

The White Privilege Attitudes Scale (WPAS), more specifically the White Privilege

Awareness (WPA) subscale will be used to measure participants' awareness of White privilege.

The WPA scale consists of four subscales including willingness to confront White privilege,

anticipated costs of addressing White privilege, White privilege awareness, and White privilege

remorse. The awareness subscale was used in the current study as awareness of White privilege

has been linked with decreases in negative (or biased) behaviors in previous studies (Stewart et

al., 2012; Wildman, 2005). Therefore, this should be a key aspect of White privilege attitudes to

examine as a moderator of the relationship between stereotypical media and biased attitudes.

This subscale is a five-item cognitive dimension of White privilege attitudes. Items reflect

degree of understanding of White privilege and racial inequalities in the U.S. Items such as

"White people have it easier than people of color" [reverse coded] were included and rated on a

scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores indicate higher levels of

White privilege awareness. In the current study only four items were used due to an input error

when entering the items into the survey. Despite the omission of this item, participants' scores

showed reliability scores (α = .85) consistent in past research (α = .84; Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009; see Appendix F).

Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR)

The BIDR is a 40-item scale that has two, 20-item subscales. These subscales measure *Self-Deceptive Enhancement* which is intended to measure the overconfidence in one's ability that is exaggerated above actual ability. The other subscale, *Impression Management*, represent desirable but uncommon bahaviors. Endorsement of a high number of these behaviors indicate tailoring of responses to impress the researcher. The items are stated as a series of statements that the participant identifies as true or untrue on a scale from one to seven (1 = *not true*, 7 = *very true*). Half of the items are positively worded and the other half are negatively worded and thus reverse coded prior to analyses. In addition, the scores are dichotomized by assigning 1 point for each response of a 6 or 7 (endorsing as highly true) and a 0 for any other response. The dichotomized scoring is intended to only identify highly exaggerated responses. The BIDR has been shown to have reliability coefficients (α) ranging from .66 to .72 for the SDE subscale and .73 to .75 for the IM subscale (Vispoel & Tao, 2013; see Appendix G). In the current study, the participant scores on the SDE subscale showed a reliability (α) of .695 and the scores on the IM subscale showed a reliability (α) of .789.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Differential attrition

To test for differences due to attrition, chi-square analyses were conducted on the demographic variables race, gender, year in school, and age on those who participated at both Time 1 and 2 ($n = 115$) and those who participated at Time 1 only ($n = 36$). In addition, univariate Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tests were conducted to examine attrition difference on participants' scores on the outcome measures (i.e., modern racism, colorblind racial attitudes, and implicit bias). Specifically, the percentage of participants who participated in those who participated in both time points and those who completed only Time 1 did not differ by race $X^2(4, 114) = 3.90, p = .42$, gender $X^2(1, 114) = .17, p = .68$, age $X^2(1, 114) = .08, p = .77$, or year in school $X^2(3, 114) = .84, p = .84$. There were no also significant effects for colorblind racial ideology $F(1,149) = .12, p = .73$ or implicit bias $F(1,149) = .05, p = .83$. However, there was a significant effect for those who completed both time points and completed only Time 1 on modern racism, $F(1,149) = 3.953, p = .05$. Specifically, the mean score for modern racism for those who did not complete time two was 16.20 and the mean for those who did complete time two was 18.11. Thus, it seems like those who did not complete the second part of the study had *slightly* lower modern racism scores on average than those who did.

Pre-intervention differences

To test whether the random assignment was successful, independent samples t-tests were conducted on each of the variables (external motivation, internal motivation, awareness, implicit attitudes, colorblind racial attitudes, and modern racism) across conditions at Time 1. Results indicate that those who participated in the study did not differ on external motivation [$t(113) = -$

1.06, p = .290], internal motivation [$t(113)$ = -1.23, p = .223], awareness [$t(113)$ = .81, p = .586], implicit attitudes [$t(113)$ = -.04, p = .965], colorblind racial attitudes [$t(113)$ = -.27, p = .79], or on modern racism [$t(113)$ = -.33, p = .745] at time 1. Thus, the results suggest that random assignment worked and there are no differences on any of the variables at Time 1 (pre-manipulation).

Outliers

To check for univariate outliers, the z scores of each of the overall scales was examined (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). In two cases (one on the IMS and one on implicit attitudes measures), there were outliers at p < .001 (i.e., z scores above 3.29). Thus, these two cases were removed from subsequent analyses. To check for multivariate outliers, we examined Mahalanobis distances among the variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). No additional cases were found to be outliers at p < .05 (n = 113).

Normality

To test the normality, a Shapiro-Wilks test was conducted. With the null hypothesis that the data are normally distributed, a p-value < .05 indicates that the data are not normally distributed. With the data with outliers removed, there was one measure with p < .001 (Internal Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice; see Table 4). However, Box (1953) suggests that regression analyses are robust to non-normality and that when little is known of the parent distribution, the practice of transforming data to fit a normal distribution can lead to wrong conclusions. Thus, no transformation for this variable was conducted in the subsequent analyses.

Table 4. *Shapiro-Wilk Test for Normality*

	Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	DF	Sig
Implicit	.994	112	.928
CoBRAS	.983	112	.174
MRS	.983	112	.180
Awareness	.979	112	.071
IMS	.939	112	.000***
EMS	.989	112	.480

Note. *** indicates p < .001

Correlations

To examine the relationships between the measures utilized in the current study, correlations were run examining all the measures used (see Table 5). Most importantly, the correlations between the social desirability subscales (self-deceptive enhancement and impression management) and the other measures were examined in order to determine whether social desirability should be included in the subsequent analyses. The social desirability subscale of impression management was not significantly correlated with any of the outcome measures, and only significantly correlated with the internal motivations to respond without prejudice scale ($r = .24, p < .001$). Thus, the social desirability scale was not included in the main analyses.

Additional significant correlations include the correlation between modern racism and colorblind racial ideology ($r = .56, p < .001$). While this correlation implies that both are tapping into a similar construct, it also suggests some degree of uniqueness as they have a shared variance of 31.36%. Consistent with this, the two measures were differentially related to motivations to respond without prejudice. Colorblind racial ideology was only significantly negatively correlated to internal motivations to respond without prejudice ($r = -.27, p < .001$). This implies that the more one is internally motivated to respond without prejudice, the less

colorblind racial ideology one has. However, modern racism was negatively related with

internal motivations to respond without prejudice but also significantly positively related to

external ($r = -.47, p < .001$ and $r = .30, p < .001$, respectively). This indicates that the more

internally motivated and individual is to appear unbiased, the less modern racism they endorse.

At the same time, the more externally motivated an individual was to appear unbiased, the more

modern racism they endorsed.

Table 5. *Correlations between Measures*

	SDE	IM	CoBRAS	Implicit	MRS	EMS	IMS
SDE	--						
IM	.487**	--					
CoBRAS	.085	-.058	--				
Implicit	-.080	-.071	-.088	--			
MRS	-.110	-.107	.566**	-.071	--		
EMS	-.022	.103	.096	-.186	.298**	--	
IMS	.090	.239**	-.274**	-.139	-.473**	-.149	--

Note. *** indicates p < .001

Main Analyses

To examine the role of stereotypical media on explicit attitudes (colorblind racial ideology and

modern racism) and implicit attitudes (implicit associations), the current study conducted three

hierarchical multiple regression analyses examining the three outcomes, separately. The three

outcomes (colorblind racial ideology, modern racism, and implicit associations) utilized were

from the Time 2 assessment, after the experimental manipulation. Four separate predictors of

attitudes were included in the analyses. These four predictors were (a) condition; and pre-test

self-reports of (b) internal motivation to respond without prejudice; (c) external motivation to

respond without prejudice; and (d) awareness of White privilege. All continuous variables were

standardized and condition was set as a dichotomous variable (1 = stereotype or 0 = control).

The four predictor variables (movie condition, internal motivations to respond without prejudice, external motivations to respond without prejudice, and awareness of White privilege) were first entered in the first step of the regression, followed by three interaction terms (conditionXinternal motivations, conditionXexternal motivations, and conditionXawareness) in the second step. The interaction terms were created by multiplying the standardized values of both types of motivation and awareness with condition (Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004).

Explicitly Biased Attitudes

To examine the role of media representations on explicit attitudes, there were two separate regression analyses conducted, as colorblind racial ideology (CoBRAS) and modern racism (MRS) assess different aspects of explicit attitudes.

Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS)

See Table 6 for overall results. Step 1 predicting colorblind racial ideology was significant, $F(4, 108) = 45.38$, $p < .001$. As expected, awareness of White privilege negatively predicted colorblind racial attitudes ($B = -.769$, $p < .001$), indicating that as awareness of White privilege increases, colorblind racial ideology decreases. Contrary to expectations, neither condition ($B = .036$, $p > .05$), external motivations to respond without prejudice ($B = -.038$, $p > .05$), nor internal motivations to respond without prejudice ($B = -.098$, $p > .05$) predicted colorblind racial attitudes. Furthermore, Step 2 of the multiple regression was not significant, $F(3, 105) = .80$, $p > .05$. There were no significant interaction effects of condition and internal motivations to respond without prejudice ($B = -.103$, $p > .05$), condition and external motivations to respond without prejudice ($B = -.65$, $p > .05$), or condition and awareness of White privilege ($B = .85$, $p > .05$).

Table 6. *Hierarchical Regression of Condition, External and Internal Motivations to Reduce Prejudice, Awareness of White Privilege, and Interactions predicting Colorblind Racial Attitudes*

Variable	B	SE$_b$	β	T	p	F	R^2 Change	p
Step 1						45.375	.603	.000***
Condition	.911	1.488	.036	.612	.542			
EMS	-.488	.768	-.038	-.636	.526			
IMS	-1.283	.797	-.098	-1.610	.110			
Aware	-9.720	.759	-.769	-12.814	.000**			
Step 3						.801	.008	.496
Condition	.965	1.493	.039	.646	.520			
EMS	.073	1.077	.006	.067	.946			
IMS	-.213	1.100	-.016	-.193	.847			
Aware	-10.405	1.087	-.823	-9.573	.000**			
CondXIMS	-2.087	1.632	-.103	-1.279	.204			
CondXEMS	-1.021	1.568	-.053	-.651	.516			
CondXAware	1.302	1.533	.071	.850	.398			

Note. * indicates p < .05, ** indicates p < .01, *** indicates p < .001

Modern Racism Scale (MRS)

See Table 7 for overall results. Overall, Step 1 of the multiple regression predicting modern racism was significant, $F(4, 108) = 16.14$, $p < .001$. As expected, awareness of White privilege negatively predicted modern racism ($B = -.37, p < .001$), indicating that as awareness of White privilege increases, modern racism decreases. Also as expected, both external and internal motivations to respond without prejudice predicted differences in implicit attitudes ($B = .20, p < .001$ and $B = -.34, p < .001$, respectively). As external motivations to respond without prejudice increase, modern racism also increases. Conversely, as internal motivations to respond without prejudice increases, modern racism decreases. Contrary to what was expected condition did not predict differences in modern racism ($B = -.09, p > .05$). However, Step 2 of the multiple regression was significant, $F(3, 105) = 2.802, p = .04$, and there was a significant interaction between condition and awareness of White privilege ($B = .26, p = .01$; see Figure 1). While,

those lower in awareness of White privilege showed higher levels of modern racism across conditions compared to those higher in awareness of White privilege, this effect was most pronounced for the control condition. In the control condition, those reporting higher awareness of White privilege, reported about half as much racist attitudes towards American Indians as those reporting lower awareness. Interestingly, this difference was reduced to only about 2 points when participants viewed the stereotypical portrayals (see figure 1).

Table 7. *Hierarchical Regression of Condition, External and Internal Motivations to Reduce Prejudice, Awareness of White Privilege, and Interactions predicting Modern Racism*

Variable	b	SE_b	β	T	p	F	R^2 Change	P
Step 1						16.136	.374	.000***
Condition	-.805	.733	-.085	-1.099	.274			
EMS	.992	.378	.203	2.642	.010**			
IMS	-1.710	.392	-.342	-4.357	.000***			
Aware	-1.764	.374	-.367	-4.724	.000***			
Step 3						2.802	.046	.044*
Condition	-.767	.715	-.081	-1.072	.286			
EMS	1.360	.516	.278	2.634	.010**			
IMS	-1.080	.527	-.216	-2.048	.043*			
Aware	-2.676	.521	-.557	-5.138	.000***			
CondXIMS	-1.053	.782	-.137	-1.346	.181			
CondXEMS	-.844	.751	-.116	-1.123	.264			
CondXAware	1.832	.735	.264	2.494	.014**			

Note. * indicates p < .05, ** indicates p < .01, *** indicates p < .001
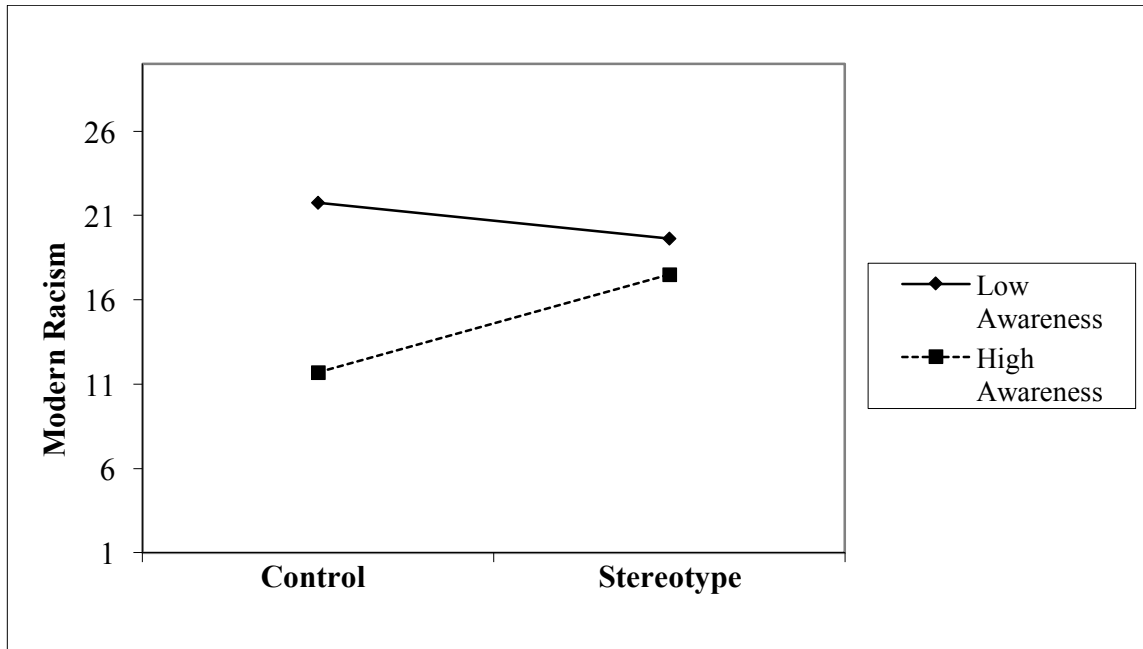
Figure 12. *Interaction between Condition and Awareness of White Privilege*

Implicitly Biased Attitudes

     See Table 8 for overall results. Overall, Step 1 of the multiple regression was not significant, $F(4, 107) = .90$, $p = .60$. External motivations to respond without prejudice did not predict differences in implicit attitudes ($B = -.05$, $p > .05$). Contrary to what was expected, internal motivations to respond without prejudice ($B = .03$, $p > .05$) and condition ($B = .05$, $p > .05$) both did not predict differences in implicit attitudes. Similarly, awareness of White privilege did not predict differences in implicit attitudes ($B = .15$, $p < .05$). Furthermore, Step 2 of the multiple regression was not significant, $F(3, 104) = .46$, $p > .05$, and there was no significant interaction between condition and and the other variables ($p's > .05$).

Table 8. *Hierarchical Regression of Condition, External and Internal Motivations to Reduce Prejudice, Awareness of White Privilege, and Interactions predicting Implicit Attitudes*

Variable	B	SE_b	β	t	p	F	R^2 Change	p
Step 1						.904	.033	.465
Condition	.041	.078	.051	.525	.601			
EMS	-.022	.041	-.053	-.545	.587			
IMS	.012	.042	.029	.297	.767			
Aware	.064	.041	.154	1.573	.119			
Step 3						.455	.024	.878
Condition	.044	.078	.054	.565	.573			
EMS	.001	.056	.002	.016	.987			
IMS	.048	.057	.114	.845	.400			
Aware	.009	.057	.021	.153	.878			
CondXIMS	-.058	.085	-.090	-.688	.493			
	-.052	.084	-.079	-.614	.541			
CondXEMS								
	.133	.082	.185	1.392	.167			
CondXAware								

Note. * indicates p < .05, ** indicates p < .01, *** indicates p < .001

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

The current study examined the effects of stereotypical media representations of American Indians on both explicit and implicit attitudes about American Indians. Furthermore, the current study expanded the extant literature by examining potential moderating effects of internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice and awareness of White privilege on these relationships. In the present study, both internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice were linked to modern racist attitudes towards American Indians but not general color blind racial attitudes. In turn, expanding the literature on awareness of White privilege, the current study found that this concept was negatively linked with explicit attitudes (both modern racist attitudes towards American Indians and general color blind racial attitudes). Importantly, while not present for implicit attitudes or general colorblind racial ideology, there was a interaction between awareness of White privilege and condition for modern racist attitudes towards American Indians. Specifically, participants in the control condition *and* low in awareness of White privilege report about twice as much modern racist attitudes towards American Indians as those high in awareness of White privilege. However, this difference largely went away in the stereotype condition. Thus, awareness of White privilege seems to be a buffer against modern racist beliefs towards American Indians but only when not primed with stereotypical images of American Indians. Each of these results will be discussed more below.

Explicit Attitudes

Motivations

Several new findings not initially expected in regards to explicit attitudes were present in the current study. For example, the first hypothesis predicted a main effect of motivation (both internal and external motivation) on explicit attitudes such that both types of motivation would

be negatively associated with explicit attitudes (i.e., motivation linked to less bias). This hypothesis was partially supported for modern racist attitudes towards American Indians, but not for general colorblind racial attitudes. Individuals in this study who reported higher levels of internal motivation to control their levels of prejudice also reported lower levels of modern racist attitudes. Interestingly however, individuals who reported higher levels of external motivation to control their levels of prejudice also reported *higher* levels of modern racism (opposite of what was predicted). In other words, external motivation was positively linked with modern racist beliefs.

In conceptualizing these surprising results, it is possible that the measures themselves help to explain both why external motivation is linked with higher modern racism as well as why the effects were found for modern racist attitudes towards American Indians and not general colorblind racial attitudes. The modern racism scale was created in a manner that allows the researchers to adapt it to the population they are observing. For example, the Modern Racism scale includes items like "[Native Americans] are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights" where the words in brackets can be changed for the group. The colorblind racial attitude scale, however, does not refer specifically to American Indians but rather about racism in general with items like "everyone who works hard, no matter what race the are, has an equal chance to become rich." When you are priming with "Native Americans" and then asking about racism in general, the prime might not be matching the outcome assessed. Yet, for the measure that is specific to the population, significant results were found. In addition, the measure of modern racist attitudes is overt in nature (see example above). Colorblind racial attitudes, on the other hand, is more of a subtle measure with general questions (see example above). The more subtle nature of this scale could also produce the observed results as individuals were thinking too

broadly about issues of race. These issues could possibly be different in the minds of the participant for American Indians than for racial minorities in general. Therefore, people might endorse higher levels for American Indians than for other racial groups.

Support for the idea that these measures are assessing different manifestations (i.e., general versus specific) of explicitly biased attitudes may be present in examining the zero-order correlations. While colorblind racial attitudes and modern racist beliefs were positively, significantly correlated to each other, consistent with previous research (Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2005), in this study they also had different relationships with internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice. Colorblind racial attitudes was only significantly negatively correlated to internal motivations to respond without prejudice, and not significantly correlated with external motivations. Conversely, modern racist attitudes were significantly *negatively* related to internal motivations to respond without prejudice and is also significantly *positively* related to external motivations. Therefore, we can see that there is a differential simple relationship between these concepts, which could be accounting for the findings of the current study. In examining past literature, internal and external motivations have been found to be significantly negatively correlated in previous studies (Plant & Devine, 1998). While these constructs were negatively related in the current study, they were not significantly related at the .05 level. This lack of a significant relationship also helps to understand the surprising results.

Another potential explanation for some of the unexpected findings regarding explicit attitudes is that racial topics have been highlighted in the media lately with the Black lives matter movement and the 2016 Presidential race. The Black lives matter movement brought to the forefront issues of police brutality and the racial inequities faced by African Americans in the United States. The 2016 Presidential race has largely contested issues of race on both sides. In

addition, there was a news broadcast that showed an event on a nearby campus in which students at a University hosted Presidential candidate, Donald Trump, at a football game which was followed by a protest against his views on immigration. Latino/a students on that campus were peacefully protesting at that game, which was interrupted by another student ripping up signs as well as a large number of students shouting racial insults at the protesters. All of these incidences likely have changed the way participants are viewing race at this time. While it is uncertain how this increased focus on race could effect this study (i.e., increase in caution regarding racial matters, an increase in endorsement of modern racism, and/or ambivalence about the issues at hand), it is important to keep these recent events in mind while interpreting these results.

White Privilege

Next, I predicted a main effect of White privilege on explicit attitudes. Individuals who reported greater awareness of White privilege were expected to also report lower levels of explicit bias. Corroborating the extant literature (Stewart et al., 2012), this hypothesis was supported as there was a main effect of White privilege awareness on both general colorblind racial attitudes and modern racist attitudes towards American Indians. Awareness of White privilege was linked with a decrease in explicit attitudes, indicating potentially positive outcomes for interracial interactions. Interestingly, while there were differential effects of the types of motivation on general colorblind racial attitudes and modern racist attitudes, awareness of White privilege consistently predicted both. This is likely due to the fact that awareness of White privilege (similar to colorblind racial attitudes) was not altered to specifically refer to American Indians. Items in the colorblind racial attitudes scale such as "Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today," could be referring to American Indians, but

many people might not be thinking about American Indians specifically when responding to the colorblind racial attitudes scale. The focus of the measure matched in this case.

Condition

Interestingly, while there were links between motivations to respond without prejudice and awareness of White privilege on explicit attitudes, there was no significant effect of media condition on explicit attitudes. While this findings contradicts the original hypotheses, there are several reasons for these outcomes. First, there might not have been enough power to detect a small effect. For example, our study had enough power to detect a medium effect of 0.15 (with alpha of .05, sample size of 113, 4 predictors in step 1, and 7 in step 2, there would be a power o 0.92), but not enough power to detect a small effect of .02 (with alpha of .05, sample size of 113, 4 predictors in step 1 and 7 in step 2, there would be a power of .18). Additionally, exposure to media portrayals one time might not have as large an impact on an individual, particularly when, as noted above, campuses are being effected by racial issues and the media portrayals of racial issues may have altered (and/or provided differing portrayals) on how participants were viewing race. When examining the effects of violent media on aggression (paralleling stereotypical media and racial bias), researchers have shown via longitudinal designs that over time repeated exposure to violent media leads to increases in aggression (Huessmann, Moise-Titus, Podolski, & Eron, 2003). Therefore, repeated exposure to stereotypical media of American Indians would be a better predictor of changes in attitudes. While I attempted to address this by showing three clips (as opposed to a single video), it is possible that this would require additional exposures to produce the hypothesized effects.

Interaction: Condition X Motivation

An interaction effect between condition and motivation was also hypothesized. That is, those highly motivated to being unbiased (whether internal or external) were hypothesized to show less of an impact of stereotype condition on explicit attitudes while those with lower motivation were hypothesized to show a greater impact on levels of explicit attitudes. High motivation, in turn would act as a buffer against the increase in explicitly biased attitudes produced by the stereotype condition. However, this was not confirmed in the current study. One possibility is that there is no interaction effect of motivation and condition. While this effect is not consistent with previous studies examining motivations to be non-biased for other racial groups, it could be that it is different for American Indians because the invisibility of this group. Individuals may be more motivated to be non-biased towards minority groups that are discussed in society more (i.e., African Americans or Latino/as). Yet, similar to the reasons discussed regarding explicit attitudes above, the nonsignificant findings should be taken with caution until they can be confirmed in additional studies due to lower power, the need for additional viewings of American Indian media portrayals over time, and recent exposure to political discussions around race may have played a role in the lack of findings.

Interaction: Condition X Awareness

For the last hypothesis regarding the outcome of explicit attitudes, I also expected an interaction between condition and awareness of White privilege. It was hypothesized that individuals reporting higher awareness of White privilege should show less of an impact of stereotype condition on explicit attitudes than those with lower awareness. In other words, high awareness of White privilege should act as a buffer against the increase in explicitly biased attitudes produced by the stereotype condition. While there was, in fact, an interaction, there

was not a complete buffering effect (see Figure 1). Whereas, those high in awareness of White privilege did report about half as much modern racism as those low in awareness of White privilege within the control condition, this difference was not present in the stereotype condition. It seems the stereotype condition primed an increase in modern racist attitudes towards American Indians, bringing those individuals higher in awareness more in line with those who were lower in awareness. In general, these findings seem to indicate that awareness of White privilege is beneficial, but even those aware of White privilege are impacted, at least briefly, by stereotypical media portrayals. This finding may make sense given our discussion of American Indians being largely invisible. While awareness of White privilege, consistent with previous research (Stewart et al., 2012), might be an overall protective factor, media portrayals of American Indians, given their rarity, may elicit latent schemas for most individuals. Thus, benefits of awareness of White privilege may have some caveats for groups that we are less exposed to. Future research needs to examine this idea. For example, directly comparing the effect of media portrayals of different racial/ethnic groups.

Implicit Attitudes

Motivation and Awareness

The hypothesis regarding implicit attitudes predicted a a main effect of internal (but not external) motivation on implicit attitudes as internal motivation are thought to reflect a true motivation to actually be unbiased. In other words, individuals who are highly internally motivated to control their levels of prejudice should exhibit lower levels of implicit bias. In turn, I hypothesized a main effect of awareness of White privilege on implicit attitudes as awareness of White privilege has been shown to reflect more reflection upon racial inequities in our country and more positive interracial interactions (Pinterits, Poteat, & Spanierman, 2009; Stewart et al.,

2012; Wildman, 2005). Results did not support either of these hypotheses. One reason for this, may be self-determination. According to Devine and colleagues (2001), self-determination theory plays a role in the manifestation of internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice. They indicate that the more autonomous the reasoning behind one's regulatory efforts to reduce bias (i.e. self- and process- driven), the more successful they are at regulating their expression of bias. Therefore, if individuals are internally motivated to be non-biased or aware their privileged status, but did not come to that decision autonomously or did so with little self- and other-reflection, it is possible that they would still exhibit higher implicitly biased attitudes. In the case of American Indians it is possible that since there are fewer representations of them in the media, that this self-reflection process is less established than for other racial groups and led to the no differences being found. Given that most studies have found a link between these factors for other racial groups, however, future research needs to examine this idea across portrayals of larger samples of different racial/ethnic groups.

Condition and Condition X Motivation Interaction

Regarding implicit attitudes, I hypothesized a main effect of condition on implicit attitudes. I expected that those individuals in the stereotype condition would show higher levels of implicit attitudes than those in the control condition as it should prime any prior knowledge of American Indians. Furthermore, I hypothesized an interaction between condition and internal motivation. However, the results showed overall similar high levels of implicitly biased attitudes across conditions and no interaction between condition and motivation. A potential reason why condition and condition by motivation interaction did not impact implicit bias is that the images used in the implicit association test (IAT). The stimuli presented in the IAT were chosen because they had been used in a prior study by Greenwald et al. (1998). However, the images

depict historical representations of American Indians as opposed to "realistic" or contemporary depictions. Thus, upon further reflection of these stimuli, it seems like the images themselves could influence how the participants were responding. This is likely a small effect, if any, as these are the automatic, implicit attitudes, but may have limited the ability to detect differences based on the current single-time point manipulation. Consistent with this, examination of the zero-order relationship showed that implicitly biased attitudes were not correlated with any of the measures used in the current study. Other explanations, as noted above, may be that limited exposure to American Indians (or the videos are the only ones they have seen) may influence differences in the degree of self-reflection regarding diversity in regards to American Indians compared ot other racial groups, lower power of the current sample, use of a single time-point, and recent media coverage of diversity. As such, as with other null findings, these explanations need to be taken with caution till they can be examined in future studies.

Implications (Research & Clinical)

While a number of expected relationship were not present, there were some significant links (i.e., awareness of White privilege on both assessments of explicit attitudes) and an interaction effect (i.e., condition X awareness on modern racist attitudes) that has implications for research and clinical practice. One of the key implications is thast while awareness of White privilege is important, it is not the only factor that needs to be examined. While those who reported higher levels of awareness also reported less explicit bias towards American Indians this effect was largely reduced when presented with stereotypical video portrayals of American Indians. Individuals think that because they are aware of White privilege, they are less biased. It might be helpful to additionally examine behavioral outcomes as opposed to strictly attitude-based outcomes. However, the current study might suggest that stereotypical media at least

primes, in the short-term, more biased attitudes even for those who are aware of White privilege. This has practical implications for teachers and counselors attempting to increase tolerance and clinical skills in that awareness in itself may not be sufficient to change learned biased schemas. There may need to be additional focus on other factors such as education on the true nature of American Indian history and on what is actually occurring in Indian country today so that additional self-reflection can occur.

Some of the non-significant findings also provide important implications for future research. For example, the difference found in the measures tailored to American Indians (i.e., modern racism) and those not (i.e., color bling racial attitudes) suggest that future researchers should consider tailoring and or developing explicit bias measures toward specific groups. Currently, not a lot is known about *why* American Indian stereotypes are different from those of other groups and deserves further attention. Additionally, as there was no interaction effect between awareness of White privilege and condition on implicit attitudes, future researchers could strive to identify whether awareness of White privilege alone is enough for a reduction in implicit bias or if endorsement of and sensitivity to White privilege in our country is required beyond simple awareness (general awareness v. self-awareness). Furthermore, the current studies mixed findings regarding internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice suggests a need for further understanding of how and why internal and external motivations are different, so as to better inform the practices of teaching and counseling to encourage others to be self-reflective and engage in internal motivations as opposed to external motivations to respond without prejudice.

Limitations

The current study had a number of limitations. First, the current results are based on 113, predominantly White participants who attend a predominantly White institution in the Midwest. This limits the ability to detect differences as well as the generalizability of the results. In addition, the sample size prohibited my ability to look at other potentially mediating variables like gender or race. In addition, the manipulation used in the current study (three short video clips) represent a brief intervention that occured at one time point. A longer manipulation or one that occurred over a longer period of time might lead to larger effects. Similarly, the manipulation used three video clips representative of the three proposed stereotype categories. It is possible that these three clips impacted the participants differently, leading to unclear results. Future studies could expose participants to the representations one at a time, examining the impact each category of representations (historical, romanticized, social denigrate) has on bias. In addition, the analyses examining differences in those indivdiuals who chose to complete both parts of the study and those who only completed the first part revealed that those who only completed part one had, on average, lower scores on modern racism at the first timepoint. As a result, the final sample may have had slightly less variability on this Lastly, this particular sample likely had limited contact with minority individuals, specifically American Indian indivdiuals, which could have influenced the results. However, I did not assess previous contact with American Indians or exposure to media content about American Indians. This limited exposure could have impacted attitudes about this group (which might be different from other more "visible" groups). Future research could directly assess contact and media exposure as potential explanatory variables.

Conclusion

This study was the first empirical examination of the effect of stereotypical media portrayals on biased attitudes towards American Indians. The results, while mixed, suggest that stereotypical media portrayals of American Indians may impact biased attitudes when those attitudes are (a) explicit and (b) specific to American Indians. In addition, the findings that awareness of White privilege, or the advantages of being White in America, showed some overall connections with how individuals think about American Indians points the to the importance of further elaborating on its role in perceptions of different minority groups. Finally, the findings that stereotypical media portrayals did not impact implicit attitudes towards American Indians or for more general racial attitudes suggest that this phenomena is complicated and deserves further attention in the literature.

APPENDIX A. TIME 1 CONSENT FORM
Consent Form Time 1

Title of Study: Attitudes and Media (Session 1)

INTRODUCTION
This study intends to examine media contributions to attitudes and behaviors.

DESCRIPTION OF PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to respond to a variety of tests. In the first task, you will be asked to associate words with pictures as quickly as you can. The other tests will ask you to report your attitudes or beliefs about racial/social topics. Lastly, you will complete a brief demographics questionnaire. The study will take up to one hour to complete.

RISKS

Though the risks of responding to the questions and performing the tasks are minimal, it is possible that you may experience some discomfort by responding to questions about social justice issues. You are free to skip any question that you do not wish to answer or that makes you feel uncomfortable and will still receive appropriate compensation. Consequently, if you experience distress during your participation, you can discontinue participation without penalty.

BENEFITS AND COMPENSATION

If you decide to participate in this study, there may be no direct benefit to you. It is expected that the information gained in this study will benefit the scientific research community by helping researchers understand the effects of media representations on personal views. Understanding these effects can help develop more effective media representations of minority individuals. You will be compensated for participating in this study with two research credits toward your psychology class.

For individuals who are not recruited through SONA (via email or through a class) and complete both parts of this study, your name will be entered into a $50 visa gift card drawing. Winners will be notified via email.

PARTICIPANT RIGHTS

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or leave the study at any time. If you decide to not participate in the study or leave the study early, it will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. As noted in your psychology classes, there are alternatives to participation in this study for earning research credit.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The following procedures are in place to help maintain confidentiality. Only the researchers of this experiment will have access to the responses. Your email will be linked with your responses only to link your Time 1 and Time 2 responses together and your email will be separated from

your results as soon as data collection for the study is finished. The data will be stored on a password protected office computer, which is behind a locked door. If the results are published, they will be presented in summary form so that all responses will remain confidential. Records identifying participants will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by applicable laws and regulations and will not be made publicly available. However, federal government regulatory agencies, auditing departments of Iowa State University, and the Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves human subject research studies) may inspect and/or copy your records for quality assurance and data analysis. These records may contain private information.

QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For further information about the study contact the principal investigator, Haley Strass, at strassha@iastate.edu, 515-294-8759 or Dr. David Vogel, at dvogel@iastate.edu, 515-294-1582. If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact the IRB Administrator, 515-294-4566, IRB@iastate.edu, or Director, 515-294-3115, Office for Responsible Research, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

By clicking "yes" below you indicate that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study, and that you have read the information about the study.

__Yes, I consent to participation in this study

__No, I would not like to participate in this study

APPENDIX B. IAT TRIAL DESCRIPTIONS

Sequence of Trials	1	2	3/4	5	6/7
Task Description	Initial target-concept discrimination	Associated attribute discrimination	Initial combined task	Reversed target-concept discrimination	Reversed combined task
Task Instructions	*Native Americans European* Americans	*Bad Good*	*Native American *Bad European* American Good*	*European Americans Native* Americans	*European Americans *Bad Native* Americans Good*
Sample Stimuli		*Tragic *Painful *Agony *Humiliate Marvelous* Wonderful* Beautiful* Lovely*			

Note. Sample trial descriptions, instructions and stimuli for the IAT using European Americans and Native Americans. An asterisk on the left side of the picture or word indicates the participant will press the "E" key and an asterisk on the right side of the picture or work will indicate the participant will press the "I" key in response to the stimuli.

APPENDIX C. COLORBLIND RACIAL ATTITUDES SCALE (COBRAS)

Directions. Below is a set of questions that deal with social issues **in the United States** (U.S.). Using the 6-point scale, please give your honest rating about the degree to which you **personally** agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers. Record your response to the left of each item.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

1.____Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.

2.____ **Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.**

3.____ It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.

4.____ **Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.**

5.____ **Racism is a major problem in the U.S.**

6.____ **Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.**

7.____ Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.

8.____ **Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.**

9.____ White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color their skin.

10.____Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.

11.____ **It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.**

12.____ **White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.**

13.____ Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the U.S.

14.____ English should be the only official language in the U.S.

15.____ **White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.**

16.____ Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.

17.____ **It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.**

18.____ Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

19.____ Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

20.____ **Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.**

The following items (which are bolded above) are reversed score (such that 6 = 1, 5 = 2, 4 = 3, 3 = 4, 2 = 5, 1 = 6): item #2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 15, 17, 20. Higher scores show greater

APPENDIX D. MODERN RACISM SCALE (MRS)

Directions. Below is a set of questions that deal with views about racial minority individuals in the United States. Using the 6-point scale, please give your honest rating about the degree to which you **personally** agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers. Record your response to the left of each item.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

1. _____ Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to [Native Americans] than they deserve.

2. _____ It is easy to understand the anger of [Native Americans] in America.

3. _____Discrimination against [Native Americans] is no longer a problem in the United States.

4. _____ Over the past few years, [Native Americans] have gotten more economically than they deserve.

5. _____ [Native Americans] have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.

6. _____ [Native Americans] are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

7. _____ [Native Americans] should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

The following items (which are bolded above) are reversed score (such that 6 = 1, 5 = 2, 4 = 3, 3 = 4, 2 = 5, 1 = 6): item #2. Higher scores show greater levels of modern racism.

APPENDIX E. INTERNAL MOTIVATION TO RESPOND WITHOUT PREJUDICE SCALE (IMS) AND EXTERNAL MOTIVATION TO RESPOND WITHOUT PREJUDICE SCALE (EMS) ITEMS

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

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

External Motivation Items

1. _____Because of today's politically correct standards I try to appear nonprejudiced toward [Native Americans].
2. _____ I try to hide any negative thoughts about [Native Americans] in order to avoid negative reactions from others.
3. _____If I acted prejudiced toward [Native Americans], I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.
4. _____I attempt to appear nonprejudiced toward [Native Americans] in order to avoid disapproval from others.
5. _____I try to act nonprejudiced toward [Native Americans] because of pressure from others.

Internal Motivation Items

1. _____I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward [Native Americans] because it is personally important to me.
2. **_____According to my personal values, using stereotypes about [Native Americans] is OK.**
3. _____I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward [Native Americans].
4. _____Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about [Native Americans] is wrong.
5. _____Being nonprejudiced toward [Native Americans] is important to my self-concept.

The following items (which are bolded above) are reversed score (such that 9 = 1, 8 = 2, 7 = 3, 6 = 4, 5 = 5, 4 = 6, 3 = 7, 2 = 8, 1 = 9): item #2 (Internal Motivation). Higher scores show greater levels of motivation to respond without prejudice.

APPENDIX F. White Privilege Attitudes Scale

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

1. ____ I intend to work toward dismantling White privilege.
2. ____ I want to begin the process of eliminating White privilege.
3. ____ I take action to dismantle White privilege.
4. ____ I have not done anything about White privilege.
5. ____ I plan to work to change our unfair social structure that promotes White privilege.
6. ____ I'm glad to explore my White privilege.
7. ____ I accept responsibility to change White privilege.
8. ____ I look forward to creating a more racially equitable society.
9. ____ I take action against White privilege with people I know.
10. ____ I am eager to find out more about letting go of White privilege.
11. ____ I don't care to explore how I supposedly have unearned benefits from being White.
12. ____ I am curious about how to communicate effectively to break down White privilege.
13. ____ I am anxious about stirring up bad feelings by exposing the advantages that Whites have.
14. ____ I worry about what giving up some White privilege might mean for me.
15. ____ If I were to speak up against White privilege, I would fear losing my friends.
16. ____ I am worried that taking action against White privilege will hurt my relationships with other Whites.
17. ____ If I address White privilege, I might alienate my family.
18. ____ I am anxious about the personal work I must do within myself to eliminate White privilege.
19. ____ Everyone has equal opportunity, so this so-called White privilege is really White-bashing.
20. ____ White people have it easier than people of color.
21. ____ Our social structure system promotes White privilege.
22. ____ Plenty of people of color are more privileged than Whites.
23. ____ I am ashamed that the system is stacked in my favor because I am White.
24. ____ I am ashamed of my White privilege.
25. ____ I am angry knowing I have White privilege.
26. ____ I am angry that I keep benefiting from White privilege.
27. ____ White people should feel guilty about having White privilege.
28. ____ I feel awful about White privilege.

The following items (which are bolded above) are reversed score (such that 6 = 1, 5 = 2, 4 = 3, 3 = 4, 2 = 5, 1 = 6): item #4, 11, 19, 22. Higher scores show greater levels of White Privilege. Items 1-12 assess Willingness to confront White privilege, items 13-18 assess Anticipated Costs of Addressing White Privilege, items 19-23 assess White Privilege Awareness, and items 24-28 assess White Privilege Remorse.

APPENDIX G. BALANCED INVENTORY OF DESIRABLE RESPONDING (BIDR)

BIDR Version 6 - Form 40A

Using the scale below as a guide, write a number beside each statement to indicate how true it is.

+_____+_____+_____+_____+_____+_____+

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

not true   somewhat   very true

____ 1. My first impressions of people usually turn out to be right.

____ 2. It would be hard for me to break any of my bad habits.

____ 3. I don't care to know what other people really think of me.

____ 4. I have not always been honest with myself.

____ 5. I always know why I like things.

____ 6. When my emotions are aroused, it biases my thinking.

____ 7. Once I've made up my mind, other people can seldom change my opinion.

____ 8. I am not a safe driver when I exceed the speed limit.

____ 9. I am fully in control of my own fate.

____ 10. It's hard for me to shut off a disturbing thought.

____ 11. I never regret my decisions.

____ 12. I sometimes lose out on things because I can't make up my mind soon enough.

____ 13. The reason I vote is because my vote can make a difference.

____ 14. My parents were not always fair when they punished me.

____ 15. I am a completely rational person.

____ 16. I rarely appreciate criticism.

____ 17. I am very confident of my judgments

Using the scale below as a guide, write a number beside each statement to indicate how true it is.

```
+_____+_____+_____+_____+_____+_____+
1        2           3           4           5           6           7
not true                     somewhat                          very true
```
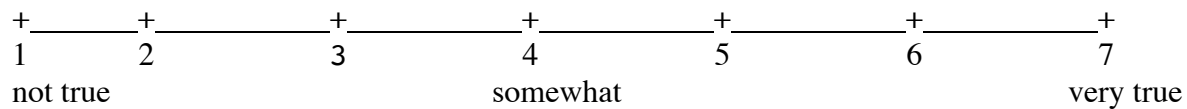
_____ 18. I have sometimes doubted my ability as a lover.

_____ 19. It's all right with me if some people happen to dislike me.

_____ 20. I don't always know the reasons why I do the things I do.

_____ 21. I sometimes tell lies if I have to.

_____ 22. I never cover up my mistakes.

_____ 23. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.

_____ 24. I never swear.

_____ 25. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.

_____ 26. I always obey laws, even if I'm unlikely to get caught.

_____ 27. I have said something bad about a friend behind his/her back.

_____ 28. When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.

_____ 29. I have received too much change from a salesperson without telling him or her.

_____ 30. I always declare everything at customs.

_____ 31. When I was young I sometimes stole things.

_____ 32. I have never dropped litter on the street.

_____ 33. I sometimes drive faster than the speed limit.

_____ 34. I never read sexy books or magazines.

_____ 35. I have done things that I don't tell other people about.

_____ 36. I never take things that don't belong to me.

_____ 37. I have taken sick-leave from work or school even though I wasn't really sick.

Using the scale below as a guide, write a number beside each statement to indicate how true it is.

```
+_____+_____+_____+_____+_____+_____+
1       2            3            4            5            6            7
not true                         somewhat                              very true
```

_____ 38. I have never damaged a library book or store merchandise without reporting it.

_____ 39. I have some pretty awful habits.

_____ 40. I don't gossip about other people's business.

APPENDIX H. TIME 2 CONSENT
Consent Form Time 2

Title of Study: Attitudes and Media (Session 2)

INTRODUCTION
This study intends to examine media contributions to attitudes and behaviors.

DESCRIPTION OF PROCEDURES

If you agree to participate, you will first be asked to watch three short video clips (about 3 minutes each). Then, you will be asked to associate words with pictures as quickly as you can. The other tests will ask you to report your attitudes or beliefs about racial/social topics. Lastly, you will complete a brief demographics questionnaire. The study will take up to one hour to complete.

RISKS

Though the risks of responding to the questions and performing the tasks are minimal, it is possible that you may experience some discomfort by responding to questions about social justice issues and watching the videos. You are free to skip any question that you do not wish to answer or that makes you feel uncomfortable and will still receive appropriate compensation. Consequently, if you experience distress during your participation, you can discontinue participation without penalty.

BENEFITS AND COMPENSATION

If you decide to participate in this study, there may be no direct benefit to you. It is expected that the information gained in this study will benefit the scientific research community by helping researchers understand the effects of media representations on personal views. Understanding these effects can help develop more effective media representations of minority individuals. You will be compensated for participating in this study with two research credits toward your psychology class.

For individuals who are not recruited through SONA (via email or through a class) and complete both parts of this study, your name will be entered into a $50 visa gift card drawing. Winners will be notified via email.

PARTICIPANT RIGHTS

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or leave the study at any time. If you decide to not participate in the study or leave the study early, it will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. As noted in your psychology classes, there are alternatives to participation in this study for earning research credit.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The following procedures are in place to help maintain confidentiality. Only the researchers of this experiment will have access to the responses. Your email will be linked with your responses only to link your Time 1 and Time 2 responses together and your email will be separated from your results as soon as data collection for the study is finished. The data will be stored on a password protected office computer, which is behind a locked door. If the results are published, they will be presented in summary form so that all responses will remain confidential.

Records identifying participants will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by applicable laws and regulations and will not be made publicly available. However, federal government regulatory agencies, auditing departments of Iowa State University, and the Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves human subject research studies) may inspect and/or copy your records for quality assurance and data analysis. These records may contain private information.

QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For further information about the study contact the principal investigator, Haley Strass, at strassha@iastate.edu, 515-294-8759 or Dr. David Vogel, at dvogel@iastate.edu, 515-294-1582. If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact the IRB Administrator, 515-294-4566, IRB@iastate.edu, or Director, 515-294-3115, Office for Responsible Research, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

By clicking "yes" below you indicate that you voluntarily agree to participate in this study, and that you have read the information about the study.

__Yes, I consent to participation in this study

__No, I would not like to participate in this study

APPENDIX I. DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographics

- Race
    - o European American/Caucasian
    - o Hispanic/Latino(a)
    - o African American/Black
    - o Asian American/Pacific Islander
    - o American Indian/Alaskan Native
    - o Other _____(self-report)
- Gender
    - o Male
    - o Female
    - o Other _____ (self-report)
- Age
    - o 18-24 years
    - o 25-34 years
    - o 35-44 years
    - o 45-54 years
    - o 55-64 years
    - o Age 65 or older
- Year in school
    - o Freshman
    - o Sophomore
    - o Junior
    - o Senior
    - o Graduate or Professional Student

APPENDIX J. DEBRIEFING

Debriefing Form (After Time 2)

Thank you for your participation. The study you just participated in was designed to examine the effects of stereotypical media portrayals of Native Americans on implicit and explicit bias. To help maintain the anonymity of all of your responses, NO personal information (e.g., name, email) or electronic identifiers are connected to your responses. In addition, only the researchers of this experiment will have access to the data. The data will also be stored on a password protected office computer, which is behind a locked door. If the results are published, your identity will remain anonymous.

Answering these items may have caused emotional distress. Student Counseling Services (SCS) offers free counseling to students on the Iowa State Unviersity Campus, and is located on the third floor of Student Counseling Services Building. To schedule an appointment, call (515) 294-5056. Office hours are Monday through Friday, 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.

For further information about the study, contact the principal investigator, Haley Strass, at strassha@iastate.edu, (515) 294-8759 or Dr. David Vogel at dvogel@iastate.edu, (515) 294-1582. If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact the IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, IRB@iastate.edu, or Director, (515) 294-3115, Office for Responsible Research, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

APPENDIX K. SONA POSTING SHEET

STUDY POSTING FORM

Ann Schmidt MUST receive a copy of this form <u>before</u> you send an activation request.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR (*Faculty Supervisor*): David Vogel

RESEARCHERS: Haley Strass

STUDY NAME & NUMBER: Media and Attitudes #50

BRIEF ABSTRACT: The purpose of the study is to examine one's attitudes in response to video portrayals of different groups of people.

STUDY DESCRIPTION (*Must be exactly as approved by IRB*): If you agree to participate, you will be asked to watch a set of three videos, followed by answering a series of questions. The study will take 45 minutes or less to complete and you will receive two credits in your psychology class for your participation. IRB #15-428

ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS: Any participant 18 years of age or older will be eligible to participate in the current study.

**DURATION (*Minimum 30min.):* ** 45 minutes

CREDITS: 2 credits

PREPARATION: None

IRB APPROVAL CODE:

IRB APPROVAL EXPIRATION:

IS THIS AN ONLINE STUDY? Yes

ATTENTION RESEARCHER:
THE STUDY DESCRIPTION POSTED ON SONA <u>MUST BE IDENTICAL</u> TO THAT
APPROVED BY IRB. IF YOU NEED TO MODIFY THE DESCRIPTION OF A STUDY, YOU MUST PROVIDE ANN
WITH THE NEW IRB-APPROVED DESCRIPTION.

Field	Explanation
Study Name	Media and Attitudes
Brief Abstract	The purpose of the study is to examine one's attitudes in response to video portrayals of different groups of people.
Detailed Description	It is likely that different types of media influence people in different ways and how they view the world. The purpose of this study is to explore how media affects one's attitudes about groups of people and/or social issues affecting our

	country today.
Eligibility Requirements	Participants must be 18 years of age or older
Duration	45 minutes
Preparation	None
IRB Approval Expiration Date	

This page was extracted from the experiment management system documentation (v2.63), further was modified with permission of Sona Systems to meet Iowa State Department of Psychology's specific program needs

APPENDIX L: IRB APPROVAL

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Institutional Review Board
Office for Responsible Research
Vice President for Research
1138 Pearson Hall
Ames, Iowa 50011-2207
515 294-4566
FAX 515 294-4267

Date: 8/26/2015

To: Haley Strass
3801 Lincoln Way, Unit 302
Ames, IA 50014

CC: Dr. David Vogel
W112 Lagomarcino Hall

From: Office for Responsible Research

Title: Examination of the Effects of Stereotypical Media Representations of American Indians on Implicit and Explicit Bias: The Power of Pocahontas

IRB ID: 15-428

Approval Date: 8/25/2015

Date for Continuing Review: 8/24/2017

Submission Type: New

Review Type: Expedited

The project referenced above has received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Iowa State University according to the dates shown above. Please refer to the IRB ID number shown above in all correspondence regarding this study.

To ensure compliance with federal regulations (45 CFR 46 & 21 CFR 56), please be sure to:

- **Use only the approved study materials** in your research, **including the recruitment materials and informed consent documents that have the IRB approval stamp.**

- **Retain signed informed consent documents for 3 years after the close of the study**, when documented consent is required.

- **Obtain IRB approval prior to implementing any changes** to the study by submitting a Modification Form for Non-Exempt Research or Amendment for Personnel Changes form, as necessary.

- **Immediately inform the IRB of (1) all serious and/or unexpected adverse experiences** involving risks to subjects or others; and (2) **any other unanticipated problems involving risks** to subjects or others.

- **Stop all research activity if IRB approval lapses,** unless continuation is necessary to prevent harm to research participants. Research activity can resume once IRB approval is reestablished.

- **Complete a new continuing review form** at least three to four weeks prior to the **date for continuing review** as noted above to provide sufficient time for the IRB to review and approve continuation of the study. We will send a courtesy reminder as this date approaches.

Please be aware that IRB approval means that you have met the requirements of federal regulations and ISU policies governing human subjects research. **Approval from other entities may also be needed.** For example, access to data from private records (e.g. student, medical, or employment records, etc.) that are protected by FERPA, HIPAA, or other confidentiality policies requires permission from the holders of those records. Similarly, for research conducted in institutions other than ISU (e.g., schools, other colleges or universities, medical facilities, companies, etc.), investigators must obtain permission from the institution(s) as required by their policies. **IRB approval in no way implies or guarantees that permission from these other entities will be granted.**

Upon completion of the project, please submit a Project Closure Form to the Office for Responsible Research, 1138 Pearson Hall, to officially close the project.

Please don't hesitate to contact us if you have questions or concerns at 515-294-4566 or IRB@iastate.edu.

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