THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

SUGAR-COATED RACISM:
WHEN FONDNESS FOR OUT-GROUP STEREOTYPICALITY MASKS DISCRIMINATION

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SPRING 2015

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for a baccalaureate degree
in Psychology
with honors in Psychology

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Abstract

This research considers the possibility that discriminatory acts of White Americans against Black Americans are masked by the simultaneous occurrence of out-group appreciation. The primary objective was to investigate the notion that dominant-group members respond to a status threat from a stereotypically lower-status individual by at once aggressing against the individual while expressing an appreciation for that which the individual represents (e.g. that person's culture). To test this idea, White male undergraduates participated in a study in which they were outperformed on an intelligence test by a White or Black experimental partner. Participants were then given the opportunity to a) aggress against their partner and b) express liking of aspects of Black or White culture (e.g. rap music, country music). Participants were expected to aggress against a superior-performing Black (versus White) partner through the administration of a high quantity of hot sauce in a supposedly unrelated taste test. Those who aggressed were expected to express greater fondness for stereotypically Black genres of music. Correlational analysis were completed, and regression equations were estimated to test the effects of and interactions between variables. We also tested the degree that these tendencies varied as a function of participant's level of social dominance orientation, gender role stress, implicit racism, and implicit adherence to masculinity norms. Predicted patterns emerged, but in non-predicted conditions. While implicit masculinity did predict aggression only in the Black threat condition, Black partners were aggressed against less than White partners when a threat was present. Those low in Social Dominance Orientation consistently expressed positivity toward Blacks and Black culture. However, aggression did not predict selection of Black or masculine music in any condition. Implications for theory and future research are discussed.

Keywords: racism, aggression, masking, outperformance, masculinity, status-quo

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Acknowledgements

I want to express my sincere gratitude to everyone that has made the completion of this thesis possible. First, I am grateful to the Pennsylvania State University for providing me a 2014 Summer Discovery Grant. This financial support was critical in allowing me to further my thesis efforts through the summer of 2014, without which I would not have been able to fully conceptualize and design my empirical study.

Second, without the full and enthusiastic support of my thesis advisor, Dr. Vescio, I would have struggled to maintain high spirits through the long process of data collection and analysis. Dr. Vescio succeeded in striking the balance between, on the one hand, trusting and encouraging independence in thought and initiative, and, on the other hand, never losing sight of the importance of guidance, flexibility, reassurance, and sincere enthusiasm. I count myself lucky to have found an undergraduate thesis advisor that shared my research interests and added to my love of the field. I can safely say that my thesis experience was all the better thanks to Dr. Vescio's mentorship.

Finally, to my research assistants, friends, family, professors, mentors, and fellow academics, all of whom made my life exponentially easier in one way or another, I cannot thank you enough. Your faith in my abilities is meaningful in ways that words cannot describe. I would not be here today if it was not for all of you.

Introduction

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's brought discrimination to the forefront of

American consciousness, forcing the federal government to enforce equal rights and engendering

a sense of social responsibility within sects of the general public. Over the past few decades,

researchers have noted a corresponding decline in Whites' self-reported feelings of prejudice

against Blacks in the United States (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2011; Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, &

Jackson, 2008). Importantly, however, despite this apparent shift in social consciousness, racism

persists. While White observers cite egalitarian worldviews, discriminatory treatment has been

reported to effect large portions of the Black population in the United States (Gallup, 2001; U.S.

Merit Systems Protection Board, 1997).

Despite the undesirability of racism in the United States today, prejudice and

discrimination are still acutely felt by Black Americans, and racial disparities persist. Heated

demonstrations following the shooting deaths of Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown exhibited

frustrations over the failure of US institutions (e.g. the judicial system) to address racial

inequities in an appropriate and effective manner. Cries that "Black Lives Matter" show a

discontent with a system that does not value or protect all people to an equal degree. The

shooting incidents themselves suggest that racial hostility might play out on the individual level

beneath conscious awareness.

The goal of this research is to expand on theories of discrimination and prejudice against

Black Americans, bringing together multiple perspectives to create a more comprehensive

understanding of racial hostility as one form of masked discrimination. I aim to investigate the

relationship between racial aggression and out-group appreciation, and the moderation of that

relationship by traditional notions of masculinity, social dominance orientation, and implicit prejudice. Specifically, I will examine whether White men exhibit aggression toward a superior-performing Black man and simultaneous positivity toward Blacks, in general. To investigate this possibility, I will review relevant research, pointing to gaps in the research and presenting a number of general novel research questions. Next, I will discuss racial disparities in the United States as they relate to systemic racism and individual attitudes, considering the ways in which racism persists on the individual level. I will then discuss the ways in which masking ("sugar-coating") operates with respect to discriminatory behavior, specifically through consideration of research on moral self-licensing. Finally, I will review research on the belief systems that lead to racial discrimination.

Gaps in the Research

The topic of race is a relatively new focus in empirical social psychology research. Between 1970 and 1999, the subject of race gained ground in research circles (Hunt, Jackson, Powell, & Steelman, 2000). However, social psychology journals published a significantly lower proportion of racially-focused articles than did sociology and health journals of similar merit, and empirical research was particularly scarce (Hunt, et al., 2000). Additionally, while the subject of race did gain more emphasis by 1999, other topics of social significance like gender saw a much greater increase in attention over the same thirty year period (Hunt, et al, 2000). Because of this, and because of the naturally evolving nature of racism in modern day America, there are a number of significant gaps in the research. In order to gain a more complete understanding of the mechanisms that contribute to modern day prejudice and discrimination, it is imperative that researchers empirically address the following questions:

- In what situations does discrimination arise?

- How does racism play out on the individual level, especially when unacknowledged by the actor?

- How do implicit biases remain hidden once acted upon?

- Which common ideologies produce racist attitudes?

- Do the mechanisms that drive racial discrimination also drive other forms of discrimination, such as sexism?

Forms of Modern Racism

Important to note is that issues of race are closely aligned with those of social class and economic disadvantage. Data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that in 2011, the Black unemployment rate was twice that of Whites. Blacks also earned a median amount of $160 less per week than Whites, and Blacks received a lower salary in every occupational category compared to Whites. White 4th and 8th graders continue to score significantly higher than Black 4th and 8th graders on math, science, and reading tests. Vast disparities in health care between Black and White medical patients also persist (Dovidio, et al., 2008; U.S. Department of Education, n.d.). As researcher Rebecca Blank pointed out in 2001, "race and ethnicity continue to be salient predictors of well-being in American society," (p. 23). While the continued existence of racial disparities might reasonably be explained as a remnant of a historically discriminatory system, it also establishes the foundation on which systemic racism is built.

Some psychologists have argued that White individuals need not be personally racist or act in discriminatory ways to maintain the economic and social gap between Blacks and Whites (McFarland, 2010; Sibley & Duckitt, 2010). Rather, people may adhere to beliefs in meritocracy, the protestant work ethic, individualism, etc. that work to maintain the status quo at the expense of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups (Biernat, Vescio, & Theno, 1996; McConohay &

Hough, 1976; Sibley & Duckett, 2010; Vescio & Biernat, 2003). By arguing that individuals succeed only through hard work and merit, those in high-status positions can oppose social programs aimed at minimizing the racial and socioeconomic gap in the United States (e.g. welfare, affirmative action, neighborhood integration), while still maintaining a positive view of self (Sibley & Duckitt, 2010). While this form of ideology endorsement might be able to account for racial disparities in the United States, it does not explain why discrimination is still felt by Blacks on the individual level. Specifically, despite White Americans' egalitarian self-concepts, Whites still behave in discriminatory ways in an array of contexts (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; Gallup, 2001).

As societal-level explicit racism has declined, researchers have begun to investigate the more subtle ways in which racial discrimination play outs on the individual level. One construct that has recently received attention is implicit racism. In contrast to explicit attitudes, which are beliefs about concepts and things that one can consciously consider and express, implicit attitudes work in subtler ways. Individuals frequently make positive or negative evaluations about things without recognizing that they have made a judgment. For instance, an individual might automatically associate homework with negativity, even if they consciously believe that homework is important and useful. It is these unconscious evaluations that constitute implicit attitudes.

Implicit racism is defined as a form of prejudice, held among individuals that consider themselves egalitarian and unbiased, that operates below conscious awareness, but that impacts the behavior of the actor in ways that lead to discrimination (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Dovidio, et al., 2002; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald 2002). Importantly, while implicit biases go unnoticed and unacknowledged by the actor (Dovidio, et al., 2002; Hodson, Dovidio, &

Gaertner, 2002), those facing discrimination tend to feel their impacts keenly (Jackman, 1994)

Proponents of the concept contend that while people claim egalitarian virtues, most are biased

but are unable or unwilling to admit it. Implicit racism leads to discrimination primarily when the

actor's behavior can be justified in non-racial terms (e.g. the actor contends to have chosen a

White over Black candidate because SAT scores are more important than grades) (Dovidio, et.

al, 2002). In other words, some internal mechanism works to hide the discriminatory nature of

the actor's behavior. Consequently, some individuals and groups discriminate through

unconscious manifestations of their biases, demonstrated in nonverbal behavior, social

distancing, and hindrance of Black success. What this work indicates is that discriminatory

tendencies have become subtler than they once were, with racial discrimination occurring

primarily when White individuals are blind to the biased nature of their behaviors. However,

considered alone, this research fails to acknowledge that openly hostile acts of racism still occur

with some frequency in the U.S. today.

One line of research, focusing on the idea of "backlash," has demonstrated that

discrimination by dominant-group members sometimes continues to take a hostile form.

"Backlash effect" is a phenomenon whereby an individual's counter-stereotypic behavior results

in their social and economic punishment. According to this model, the tendency to sabotage

counter-stereotypic individuals, present in the majority of individuals tested, psychologically

rewards the actor and functionally reinforces stereotypes (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Phelan &

Rudman, 2010). For instance, when Black individuals perform well in an academic domain—an

act that challenges the stereotype of the low-achieving Black man—they are likely to face

sabotage and dislike from dominant-group members. In contrast, White individuals only

experience similar punishment when they perform well in a domain that is likely to decrease

their status and social-standing, suggesting that backlash is linked to maintenance of the status quo on both sides (Phelan & Rudman, 2010).

Importantly, those that perform well in a counter-stereotypic domain oftentimes fear backlash, and are consequently led to hide their deviance and avoid further confirmation of their atypically (Phelan & Rudman, 2010). In other words, backlash effect may cause dominant and minority group members to behave in ways that reinforce stereotypes. Although this model is not unique to discrimination against Blacks, it does extend to racial stereotype maintenance. For instance, when Blacks behave in a way that challenges stereotypes, they are likely to meet with sabotage, personal dislike, etc. on the individual level. Significantly, research has linked these factors to discrimination in performance evaluations, hiring decisions, helping behavior, etc., even when they function below conscious awareness (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

Based on the broad definition of backlash provided by Rudman & Fairchild (2004), we can assume that racial hostility and aggression constitute backlash in the same way as academic sabotage and personal dislike (p. 157). All of these constructs reinforce dominant-group power, enacting social and economic penalties on those that pose a threat to the status quo. The increase in self-esteem associated with one's punishment of status role violating minorities illustrates the individually gratifying nature of status-quo maintenance. However, given the social unacceptability of racial discrimination, this increase in self-esteem is somewhat puzzling, especially in cases where backlash is publicly occurring. These seemingly inconsistent findings may be resolved if, as I have suggested, the penalties enacted by dominant-group members are masked in some way, allowing individuals to maintain an egalitarian view of self even as they engage in certain discrimination. The findings of a number of studies support this notion.

Empirical research has indicated a human tendency towards the masking of undesirable behavior, illustrating one manner in which individuals guard a positive self-image. Principally, research on "moral self-licensing" (also referred to as "moral credentialing") indicates that individuals may feel licensed to behave in immoral or problematic ways if they have behaved admirably in the recent past (Merritt, Effron, & Monin, 2010). Much of the research on this phenomenon has demonstrated that when people can recall previous good deeds in which they have engaged, they are more likely to a) act selfishly or b) make choices that could be interpreted in a socially undesirable light, without a decline in self-esteem (Kahn & Dhar 2006; Merritt, et al., 2010; Monin & Miller, 2001). Similarly, evidence suggests that people seek out opportunities to gain "moral credits" when they are likely to behave in a socially undesirable way in the future (for review see Effron, Miller, & Monin, 2012).

Licensing research on racism in particular has indicated that individuals express less racial sensitivity when they had the opportunity to behave in a *more* discriminatory way in the past (Effron, et al., 2012). Similarly, individuals falsely remembered more racist alternatives to their actions when their status as a non-racist was questioned (Effron, et al., 2012). Collectively, the research on moral self-licensing suggests that after engaging in some form of licensing behavior, individuals show less concern about social desirability, behaving in a manner that reflects their uninhibited inclinations. According to this model, when tempted to engage in racially discriminatory behavior (e.g. backlash), individuals might actively look for opportunities to demonstrate their non-racist nature, thereby maintaining a positive self-image despite their morally dubious behavior. Which beliefs and actions constitute moral credentialing in the way of race requires further investigation.

One mechanism through which individuals can attain "moral credits" is "stereotyping by omission" (Bergsieker, Leslie, Constantine, & Fiske, 2012). More specifically, when evaluating the performance of other-race individuals, participants tended to ignore the individual's negative qualities and accentuate their positive attributes (Bergsieker, Leslie, Constantine, & Fiske, 2012). Presumably, due to social desirability concerns, participants hid any negative evaluations that they might have made in order to avoid being labeled as racist (Bergsieker, et al., 2012). It is possible that this behavior functions as a form of moral self-licensing; praising the positive attributes of a superior-performing individual (or that individual's in-group) provides the moral license people need to engage in backlash, whether or not they are aware of their discriminatory actions. Conversely, this pattern could run the other direction. Those who have recently engaged in discriminatory behavior might overcompensate for their folly by expressing greater appreciation for the individual or group against whom they discriminated. Importantly, the direction of this relationship is less important than its implications. If dominant-group members (e.g. White males) can maintain high self-esteem, an egalitarian view of self, and a high position in society through moral self-licensing, discrimination is likely to go unnoticed and unchallenged except by those that feel its impacts, even when it is openly hostile in nature.

I am not, however, claiming that all dominant-group members are implicitly racist or will engage in discriminatory behavior given the opportunity. Rather, I am suggesting that adherence to certain belief systems is likely to predict racist tendencies in individuals and groups because such ideologies justify racial bias. Social dominance orientation (SDO)—the degree to which people support group hierarchy, or maintenance of the status-quo—is one such belief system. According to Pratto and Shih (2000), individuals with high SDO are typically more racist, nationalist, sexist, and elitist compared to individuals with low SDO. Accordingly, dominant-

group members (e.g. White males) are likely to have high levels of SDO compared to subordinate-group members (e.g. Black males) (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). Research has indicated that while levels of implicit prejudice do not differ between high and low SDO groups (perhaps due to the prevalence of implicit prejudice among those that claim egalitarian values), those high in SDO show comparatively elevated levels of implicit prejudice when race is made salient, suggesting deeply ingrained beliefs about their own racial superiority (Pratto & Shih, 2000).

Research links social dominance orientation to racist attitudes – implicit and explicit. The question that remains is whether or not these attitudes are translated into action, and if so, whether individuals with high levels of SDO feel compelled to mask their discrimination in any way. Further, the fact that individuals with low levels of SDO may still hold implicit attitudes indicates that while SDO might predict racist tendencies, it does not entirely explain them.

I posit that "hegemonic masculinity" is the root of racial prejudice, particularly prejudice relating to discrimination against Black men. Hegemonic masculinity can be understood as a set of ideals that upholds that which is stereotypically male (courage, aggression, autonomy, temperance, etc.) in a way that reinforces the status quo (Donaldson, 1993; Goodey, 1997). The image of the ideal man, "western, white, middle-class, heterosexual, and 'thirty-something,'" represented by only a small minority of men, is reinforced in a way that subordinates atypical men, minorities, and women (Goodey, 1997, pg 403). By and large, the perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity ensures that White men retain the top seat in the social hierarchy. Thus, while not all men adhere to facets of hegemonic masculinity or actively aim to uphold the status quo, most White men benefit from its maintenance (Donaldson, 1993; Goodey, 1997).

Numerous sociologists have theorized that Black-White relations are mediated by concerns over masculinity. Iwamoto (2003) posits that Black boys—deprived of positive images of Blackness—gravitate towards hypermasculine behaviors to guard their self-esteem. Yousman (2003) argues that due to an absense of White identity apart from hegemonic masculinity, White youth males are prone to engaging in discriminatory behavior. Specifically, the appropriation of Black culture (e.g. hip-hop music) serves to a) mask fear of Blacks and b) claim desirable aspects of Black masculinity (Yousman, 2003). In accordance with this theory, psychology research has demonstated that the experience of discrimination threatens the masculinity of Black men, leading to greater shows of masculine strength (Goff, Di Leone, & Kahn, 2012). Because the stereotype of the Black male corresponds with some sought-after masculine ideals (e.g. strength, aggression, athleticism) it seems likely that Black males—especially those that are counterstereotypical in some way—threaten the status quo. Consequently, those that support hegemonic masculinity (implicitly or explicitly) seem most likely to engage in discriminatory behavior, knowingly or not, and despite the possibility of low social dominance orientation and a lack of explicit prejudice.

The Present Research

To address the issues presented above, I designed an empirical study that tests participants' reactions to a superior-performing partner through the manipulation of two variables. In this study, partner race (Black or White) was manipulated through use of an online "getting acquainted session." To simulate an introduction, each participant used a computer to fill out basic information about himself and received similar information about his partner. To create the impression of the partner's race, I utilized names and interests that were pilot tested as being characteristically Black or White. Second, I manipulated the performance of the participant

relative to the performance of their partner on a creative intelligence test, which was described in stereotypically masculine terms as a predictor of academic and career success. Participants saw a display of their own and their partners' scores on the test; I manipulated the display to indicate that they either scored lower or higher than their partner (Threat versus Non-Threat). Consequently, the study utilized a between-participants 2 (Partner Race: Black or White) X 2 (Threat or Non-Threat) experimental design.

Under the guise of an unrelated Consumer Preferences study, I examined the degree to which participants' simultaneously punished and expressed appreciation for their partner. First, to investigate potential appreciation for the partner's in-group, I utilized a music selection task that asked participants to choose a genre of music and a song within that genre that they would like to listen to, out of a selection of stereotypically Black and White genres of music. Second, to investigate potential punishment of the partner, I engaged participants in a food taste-test based on the Hot Sauce aggression paradigm (Lieberman, Solomon, Greenberg, & McGregor, 1999), which required them to administer a sample of hot-sauce to their partner despite the knowledge that the partner had an aversion to spicy foods. Finally, I administered tests of implicit prejudice, explicit prejudice, adherence to cultural standards of masculinity and gender roles, and social dominance orientation to gauge the predictive and/or mediating ability of said factors. In sum, the study investigated how racial discrimination plays out below conscious awareness on the individual level.

Predictions

Based on evidence from psychological research and sociological theory, I expect that when a White man feels threatened by a Black man's superior performance in a masculine domain, he will aggress against the Black man in order to maintain his position as the dominant

power according to the status quo. I further predict that in order to avoid a threat to his egalitarian self-image, or to hide the racially aggressive nature of his behavior from others, he will also express greater appreciation for things deemed desirable to Black men in general. Importantly, I assume that the racially duplicitous and unjust nature of the aggressive behavior is keenly felt by superior performing Black men, despite the supposed masking.

I expect that both punishment (e.g. backlash) and masking (e.g. moral licensing) play out on the personal level. The White male will appreciate whatever the superior performing Black male likes and appreciates in order to feel similar to said male. Simultaneously, the White male will punish the individual Black male in some direct manner, avoiding dissonance through expressed liking for that which the Black male expresses liking for. Conversely, the White man's more general admiration for stereotypically Black things (music, dance, style, etc.) allows him to maintain an egalitarian self-image; *how could I be racist if my favorite musician is Kendrik Lamar*? Thus, when threatened by a Black male in an achievement domain, the White man will demonstrate his admiration for Black culture so that his personal dislike for and/or sabotage of the individual Black male cannot be seen as racist, by himself or others.

I hypothesize that within this study, given information indicating that they were outperformed by a Black man on the creative skills assessment, participants (White men) will a) aggress against the superior-performing Black man through administration of above average levels of hot-sauce, and b) express more liking of stereotypically Black music genres to either compensate for racially aggressive behavior, or license oneself to allow future racial hostility. I expect that along with greater liking of stereotypically Black music, men will express fewer anti-Black attitudes and more favorability toward Blacks following aggression, as these measures of explicit prejudice should also constitute a form of masking behavior. I further hypothesize that

participants outperformed by a White male partner will neither aggress against their partner nor express greater-than-normal preference for stereotypically Black or White music, presumably because no threat to the status quo has been felt. Similarly, participants that outperformed either a White or Black partner will experience no threat, and will thus allocate only normal (baseline) levels of hot-sauce and select White and Black music genres at an average level. I expect that in every condition apart from that in which the partner is a threatening Black male, men's anti-Black attitudes and favorability toward Blacks will be expressed at similar levels. Men in these conditions will have moderately positive attitudes toward Blacks on average, but those attitudes will be more negative than for those who have experienced a threat from a Black partner, and are consequently masking their hostility.

I predict that when the partner is a superior-performing Black man, simultaneous aggression against that partner and appreciation for stereotypically Black music will be most prominent among individuals high in implicit racism, implicit adherence to masculinity norms, social dominance orientation, and gender role stress, and least prominent among those that rate low across the same measures. I expect that ratings of explicit prejudice will provide another avenue for masking behavior, whereby individuals can assert their non-racist nature by expressing few anti-Black attitudes and high favorability toward Blacks.

Method

Participants

Participants were 115 White male undergraduate students between the ages of 18 and 28 (*M* = 19.14, *SD* = 1.78) attending the Pennsylvania State University. Because subjects could not be screened on the basis of race, data for non-White students was excluded from analysis. In full, 44 participants were excluded because of race, failure to complete the study according to instructions, or knowledge of the study's deception. A sample size of 108 participants was required for a moderate effect size. Data was gathered for 159 participants to account for possible exclusions and incomplete data.

Students self-selected to participate in the study through the University's psychology subject pool, which is composed of students in introductory psychology courses. The study was titled "Consumer Preferences and Societal Perceptions," and male students could read a brief description of the study before choosing whether or not to sign up. The subjects received class credit for their participation.

I utilized a between-participants research design for the study. Each participant was randomly placed into one of four conditions, which varied according to the race of the subject's partner (Black versus White) and whether or not the subject was outperformed by said partner (Threat versus Non-Threat).

Procedures

Trained research assistants administered the study in a psychology laboratory on Penn State University's campus. The study was composed of two sections to be completed on the computer, one that required the use of Qualtrics Survey Software and a second that required use of the Free IAT (Meade, 2009). Participants were led to believe that they were participating in a

marketing study run by the business school, and that the second section ("societal perceptions") was unrelated to the first ("consumer preferences").

Participants met a research assistant outside of the study room. Upon entering, they were each handed a participant number and were led to a small room within the larger laboratory room, where they read an implied consent form. Once consenting to participate, participants were asked to read a written introduction to the study while the research assistant "looked for more participants." The introduction described a marketing study that would involve a creative intelligence test and a number of consumer preferences tasks. The research assistant entered the room to reiterate the message of this introduction, then gave instructions for completion of the online part of the survey. The assistant then left the room, allowing the participant to begin.

Participants were informed through the Qualtrics survey that they would be partnered with another student for the study, and that they would need to get acquainted by filling out a questionnaire indicating their preferences and demographics. They proceeded to answer a number of personal questions to indicate their college major, favorite movie, preferred hobbies, etc. in order to enhance the cover story. They were then presented with their partner's profile, which indicated that their partner was either a Black or White male student. The "partner" with which participants were paired was presented as either a Black or a White male student through the use of names, hobbies, and interests that were pilot tested for stereotypicality. For instance, one profile displayed information about "Jamal," an African American Studies major that enjoyed basketball, whereas the other displayed information about "Connor," a psychology major that liked videogames (see Figure C1 and C2 for full profiles).

Participants then took part in the creative intelligence test. Following completion of the test, participants were provided feedback about their and their partner's score. The creative

intelligence test was administered through Qualtrics. Each participant was given five minutes to complete five GRE questions, and the score percentiles of the participant and his partner were displayed. These percentiles were manipulated to create the illusion of either outperformance, in which the participant scored higher than his partner, or underperformance, in which the participant scored lower than his partner; these manipulations produced the Non-Threat and Threat conditions, respectively.   Next, participants were instructed to knock on the door, indicating that the research assistant should enter the room to introduce them to the consumer preferences portion of the study. Participants learned that they would be involved in a music rating task and a taste-test. The research assistant explained that the computer would determine which one of these tasks they would engage in first, and that upon arrival to the taste-test portion, they should knock for further instructions. The order of the hot-sauce and the music selection tasks was randomized in order to assess whether a sequencing effect was present.

Half of the group first engaged in the music preferences portion of the study. They were asked to select which genre of music they were interested in listening to, then to select the song that they most liked. They then engaged in the food preferences section. Initially, they filled out a short questionnaire indicating their food likes, dislikes, and allergies. They were then presented with their partner's food profile, which indicated a strong dislike of spicy foods. The research assistant then explained to the participant that because they (the experimenter) needed to be blind to the exact conditions of the taste test, they (the participants) would need to help administer the sample. Participants were then provided a small cup, a bottle of hot-sauce, a tray, a spoon, a tray cover, and a more explicit instruction sheet. The research assistant provided them time to administer the hot sauce, took the plate out of the room (supposedly to the partner), and returned with a similar tray containing a saltine for the participant to "taste-test." Afterwards, the

participant was told to continue onto a computer questionnaire about the food they ate. Participants then provided demographic information (age, gender, primary language, etc.) and were informed that the first portion of the study has been completed.

Participants were then introduced to the second portion of the experimental session, which they were led to believe was part of an unrelated study about social attitudes. Participants were informed that the study was mostly interested in masculinity, and that they would therefore complete a Masculinity IAT. Because each person had to complete two IATs, the participants would need to draw the second topic out of a jar. Participants would pick a piece of paper out of the jar; each piece said "race," although participants were led to believe that they could have selected any number of subjects.

The research assistant then opened the Masculinity IAT. Participants completed the IAT, then filled out the Gender Roles Stress Scale. Participants then completed the Race IAT, then the Social Dominance Orientation Scale and the measures of explicit racism. Finally, participants learned that the study was over and were fully debriefed. All participants received a written debriefing form, which the research assistant reviewed aloud.

Variables

Hot Sauce Allocation. Aggression was assessed through a modified version of the hot sauce allocation task (see Lieberman, et. al, 1999). This procedure was selected based on its validity and its ease of administration compared to other aggression measures, including the Bungled Procedure, Experimental Graffiti Paradigms, and more traditional measures such as the Point Subtraction Aggression Paradigm (Ritter & Eslea, 2005). Higher numbers reflect the administration of more hot sauce and a higher level of aggression.

Music selection. Outgroup acceptance and state masculinity were measured through a music selection task. Participants were asked to select the genre of music they were currently interested in listening to out of a selection of six genres, three genres being stereotypically Black (Rap, Reggae, R&B Soul) and three being stereotypically White (Country, Rock, Folk) according to ratings from pilot tests. Outgroup acceptance/admiration was operationalized as above-average selection of stereotypically Black as opposed to stereotypically White music. State (as opposed to trait) interest in hyper-masculinity was operationalized as above-average selection of highly masculine genres over less masculine ones.

The Implicit Association Test. Two versions of the Implicit Association Test (IAT) were used to assess implicit attitudes. First, a Masculinity IAT was used to measure adherence to masculinity norms. The Masculinity IAT was created for the purpose of this study. It was administered using standard IAT protocol (Greenwald, McGheee, & Schwartz, 1998), and contained photos of non-masculine and hyper-masculine male bodies (categorized as such through pilot testing). Second, the Race IAT, which contained photos of Black and White faces, was used to measure attitudes toward Blacks in contrast to Whites. Both IATs were administered through Free IAT software (Meade, 2009).

For both IATs, participants followed computer instructions through the program, using letters on the keyboard to sort pictures and words into given categories. According to general IAT procedure, participants progressed through a number of stages, referred to as blocks. Using the Masculinity IAT as a model, in the first block, participants categorized pictures of bodies as masculine or non-masculine by pressing certain keys ("e" and "i") on the keyboard. Next, participants categorized words as "positive" or "negative" in the same way. In the third and fifth blocks, participants categorized pictures and words simultaneously. For instance, in block three,

participants pressed the "e" key to indicate a masculine body *or* a positive word, and the "i" key

to indicate a non-masculine body *or* a negative word. The fourth block again required

categorization of photos alone, similar to the first block, but associations between keyboard

letters and the categories were reversed. For example, if the "e" key meant "masculine" in block

one, it meant "non-masculine" now, and vice versa. Finally, in the fifth block, the pairings of the

third block were reversed. For the Race IAT, pictures of bodies were replaced with those of

Black and White faces, but all other procedures were identical.

Response times were recorded for each block. The stronger the implicit association

between two categories (e.g. masculinity and positive words, or Blacks and negative words), the

lower the response time will be when those items are paired. The final IAT score, then, is the

differential between response times in blocks 3 and 5. For individuals who have no preference

for masculine versus non-masculine forms, or for Blacks versus Whites, this value will be close

to zero. For those who have a strong implicit preference for masculine forms, such that they are

quick to associate masculine photos with positive words and slow to them with negative words,

the differential will be greater, and the IAT score will be higher. Thus, any IAT score above zero

indicates some preference for masculine over non-masculine forms, or, in the case of race, some

preference for Whites over Blacks. Conversely, a negative number indicates preference for non-

masculine forms or for Blacks over Whites. The higher the score in either direction, the more

biased the participant. For a complete discussion of the IAT procedure, refer to Greenwald, et al.

(1998).

Explicit measures of prejudice. Explicit racism, social dominance, and adherence to

masculinity norms were measured through paper questionnaires. To assess explicit racism,

participants completed a 7-point Semantic Differential Scale and a 10-point Feelings Measure for

Black Americans and for White Americans. Social dominance was measured through the Social

Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Adherence to

hegemonic masculinity norms was measured through a selection of questions from the Gender

Role Stress Scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). All questionnaires can be found in Appendix C.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

To determine the best measure of racial attitudes, we created two variables that represented individual preference for Whites over Blacks. One ("White-Black Attitudes") was calculated by subtracting the Black Semantic Differential score from the White Sematic Differential score. The other ("White-Black Favorability") was the parallel measure for the differential between the White and Black Feelings measures. Correlational analysis revealed that both the White-Black Semantic and the White-Black Feelings measures were more highly correlated with the measures of Black attitudes than White attitudes (see Table A2), suggesting that the variability in the White-Black Semantic scale was driven principally by participants' attitudes and feelings about Blacks rather than Whites. Thus, for the explicit racism dependent variables, we elected to use the Black Semantic Differential Scale (anti-Black attitudes) and the Black Feelings measure (favorability toward Blacks).

Pilot Tests. Data from a pilot test was used to code levels of masculinity and Blackness for different music genres. In the pilot study, participants rated how "stereotypically Black/White" and how "stereotypically masculine/feminine" music genres were on a 7-point scale. The mean ratings for each genre (see table A1) were used to code the level of masculinity and "Blackness" of each music choice available in the current study (country, rock, folk, R&B, rap, reggae). Thus, each music genre had both a masculinity and a Blackness rating.

Scale Reliability. Following the reverse scoring of four SDO scale items, we submitted all scales (SDO, GRS, Black Semantics, and White Semantics) to analyses of reliability. The Cronbach Alpha for each scale was within the acceptable range: for SDO: α=.853, for Gender Role Stress: α=.876, for Black Semantic Scale: α=.945, and for White Semantic Scale: α=.922.

Individual Difference Variables. To test the validity of SDO, GRS, implicit racism, and implicit masculinity as individual difference variables, we performed regression analyses to test the effects of partner race and threat condition on the given variables. No significant main or interactive effects were revealed for SDO (all Fs (1,107) <2.48, ps >.12), GRS (all Fs (1,110) <1.06, ps >.31), or implicit racism (all F (1,108) <.22, ps >.88). Analyses revealed a marginal main effect of threat condition on implicit masculinity, F (1,109) = 3.57, p=.061. In preliminary analyses, implicit masculinity was analyzed as both an independent and a dependent variable due to its marginally significant variability. However, it was treated as an individual difference variable in final analyses because of its significantly predictive effects.

Correlations

We estimated correlations among all dependent variables (hot sauce, genre masculinity, genre Blackness, anti-Black and anti-White attitudes, favorability toward Blacks and Whites) and individual difference variables (SDO, GRS, implicit racism, implicit masculinity). This allowed us to examine relations among variables that have been theoretically and empirically linked in prior research (e.g. SDO and anti-Black attitudes). This also allowed us to examine relations among variables that were similarly conceptualized (e.g., anti-Black sentiment and attitudes toward Blacks). . Full results are presented in table A.2. Relevant results are discussed below.

First, correlations were estimated collapsing across conditions. Results revealed that hot sauce allocation was not predictably related to any variables across conditions. This was not inconsistent with predictions, however, because we expected allocation of hot sauce to depend on an interaction between partner race and threat. Overall, the Blackness of music genre selected was negatively associated with anti-Black attitudes, r= -.206, p=.034. A parallel correlation

emerged between the masculinity of the music genre and anti-Black attitudes, $r= -.267$, $p=.006$. Men who selected highly masculine or highly Black music expressed fewer anti-Black attitudes than did men who selected less masculine or Black music. Similarly, genre masculinity was positively correlated with favorability toward Blacks, $r= -.263$, $p=.007$, although genre Blackness shared no parallel correlation of significance. Men who selected highly masculine music to listen to expressed higher favorability toward Blacks than those who selected less masculine music.

As expected, anti-Black attitudes were correlated with SDO, $r= -.549$, $p=.000$, and there was a positive correlation between anti-Black attitudes and GRS, $r= .292$, $p=.002$. Following these findings, favorability toward Blacks was negatively correlated with SDO, $r= -.506$, $p=.000$, and GRS, $r= -.224$, $p=.021$. Men high in SDO and men with high GRS expressed more anti-Black attitudes and less favorability toward Blacks than men with lower SDO and GRS scores. In conjunction with prior research, implicit racism was not significantly correlated with explicit measures of prejudice such as the Black Semantics Scale and the Black Feelings measure. Similarly, implicit masculinity was not significantly correlated with our explicit measure of masculinity norms, GRS.

Correlations were also estimated within each experimental condition. Full correlation tables can be found in Tables A3 and A4.

As predicted, when the partner was a superior-performing Black man, implicit masculinity was correlated with hot sauce allocation, $r=.371$, $p=.040$. Consistent with theoretical perspectives linking masculinity and racism, those high in implicit masculinity allocated more hot sauce to their superior-performing Black partner than those low in implicit masculinity.

However, inconsistent with predictions, hot sauce allocation was not predicted by implicit

racism, SDO, or GRS in any condition.

Also in the superior-performing Black partner condition, the masculinity of the music

genre selecgted was negatively correlated with anti-Black attitudes, $r= -.461$, $p=.009$, and

positively correlated with favorability toward Blacks, $r=.397$, $p=.027$. Among men who

experienced a threat from a Black partner, those who listened to more masculine music

expressed fewer anti-Black attitudes and more favorability toward Blacks than those that listened

to less masculine music. In contrast to the overall correlations, however, no parallel pattern

emerged between genre Blackness and explicit measures of racism in the superior-performing

Black partner condition. Genre masculinity was also significantly correlated with anti-Black

attitudes in the superior-performing White partner condition, $r= -.440$, $p=.031$. A similar

correlation emerged between genre Blackness and anti-Black attitudes in the same condition, $r= -.447$, $p=.029$, but neither genre masculinity nor genre Blackness predicted favorability toward

Blacks. Among those who experienced a threat from a White partner, men who listened to highly

masculine or highly Black music expressed fewer anti-Black attitudes than those who listened to

less masculine or less Black music. However, favorability toward Blacks was only predicted by

selection of masculine music when the partner was a threatening Black man, and it was never

significantly associated with the selection of Black music.

As predicted, when the partner was a non-threatening Black man, there was no significant

correlation between the selection of highly Black or masculine music and explicit measures of

racism. Rather, SDO was correlated with genre Blackness when the partner was an

underperforming Black man, $r=-.399$, $p=.048$. Among men who interacted with a Black partner

without experiencing a threat, those high in SDO listened to less Black genres of music than

those low in SDO. A parallel correlation emerged between genre Masculinity and SDO when the partner was a superior-performing Black man, $r=-.357$, $p=.048$. Among men who experienced a threat from a Black partner, those high in SDO listened to less masculine genres of music than those low in SDO

Interestingly, it was in the underperforming White partner condition where SDO was most strongly correlated with anti-Black attitudes, $r=.710$, $p=.000$, and favorability toward Blacks, $r= -.685$, $p=.000$. The next strongest correlation between these variables emerged when the partner was a superior-performing Black man; there was still a high positive correlation between SDO and anti-Black attitudes, $r=.677$, $p=.000$, and a high negative correlation between SDO and favorability toward Blacks, $r= -.666$, $p=.000$. Finally, when the partner was a superior-performing White man, there were parallel but slightly weaker correlations between SDO and anti-Black attitudes, $r=.501$, $p=.013$, and between SDO and favorability toward Blacks $r=.-.586$, $p=.000$. In all of these cases, men high in SDO expressed more anti-Black attitudes and lower favorability toward Blacks than did those low in SDO. Contrary to predictions, this pattern was most prominent when men were partnered with a non-threatening White man. The only condition in which these associations did not emerge to a significant degree was the underperforming Black partner condition.

In accordance with predictions, only when the partner was a superior-performing Black man was GRS significantly correlated with both anti-Black attitudes, $r=.590$, $p=.000$, and favorability toward Blacks, $r= -.521$, $p=.003$. When the partner was an underperforming White male, a parallel pattern emerged for GRS and anti-Black attitudes, $r=.460$, $p=.014$, but only a marginal correlation emerged between GRS and favorability toward Blacks, $r= -.326$, $p=.091$. Among those that experienced a threat from a Black partner, those with high GRS expressed

more anti-Black attitudes and less favorability toward Blacks than those with low GRS. Among

those that were paired with a non-threatening White partner, high GRS predicted anti-Black

attitudes, but to a lesser degree, and it did not consistently predict favorability toward Blacks. No

significant correlations were evident when the partner was non-threatening and Black or

threatening and White.

Regression Equations

Twenty regression equations were estimated to examine the effect of threat condition,

partner race, and each potential individual difference variable (mean-centered SDO, mean-

centered GRS, implicit racism, and implicit masculinity) on each dependent variable (hot sauce,

genre masculinity, genre Blackness, anti-Black attitudes—measured by Black Semantics—and

favorability toward Blacks—measured by Black Feelings). In addition, to interpret any

significant interaction, simple slopes analyses (Aiken and West 1991) were conducted using

Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro for SPSS. All significant results are presented below, clustered

in terms of dependent variables. For each dependent variable, four parallel regression equations

were performed to test main and interactive effects involving each potential moderator (SDO,

GRS, implicit racism, and implicit masculinity).

Hot sauce allocation. Significant effects emerged from only one regression equation—

the equation including implicit masculinity as a potential moderator. We regressed the main

effects, all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction between partner race, threat, and

implicit masculinity on hot sauce. This analysis revealed three main effects of partner race, F

$(1,101) = 6.50$, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = .060$, threat, $F (1,101) = 5.34$, $p = .023$, $\eta_p^2 = .050$, and implicit

masculinity, $F (1,101) = 4.10$, $p = .046$, $\eta_p^2 = .039$. Importantly, however, these main effects were

qualified by two significant two-way interactions.

First, as seen in figure B1 (appendix B), partner race interacted with implicit masculinity, $F (1,101) = 3.92$, $p=.051$, $\eta_p^2 = .036$. Men who were low in implicit masculinity (-1 SD) gave more hot sauce to a White partner than a Black partner, $p = .013$. By contrast, among men who were high in implicit masculinity (+1 SD), there was no difference in the amount of hot sauce given to Black and White partners, $p =.829$. Consistent with predictions, however, when men were paired with a Black partner, those high in implicit masculinity gave more hot sauce than men low in implicit masculinity, but only to a marginally significant degree, $p=.085$. A reverse pattern occurred among men with a White partner, but this effect was non-significant, $p=.296$.

Second, as seen in figure B2, partner race interacted with threat, $F (1,101) = 5.09$, $p =.026$, $\eta_p^2 = .048$. Interestingly, men who did not experience a threat gave more hot sauce to Black partners than men who did experience a threat, $p =.042$. There was no significant difference in the amount of hot sauce men gave to White partners between threat conditions, $p =.294$. Contrary to predictions, men allocated more hot sauce to a superior-performing White partner than a superior-performing Black partner, $p=.012$. This pattern was reversed for men that were paired with underperforming (non-threatening) partners, but the amount of hot sauce allocated to White versus Black partners did not significantly differ, $p=.635$.

Music genre masculinity. Only the regression analysis including SDO as a potential moderator revealed significant effects. Two effects approached acceptable levels of statistical significance.

First was a two-way interaction between partner race and SDO, $F (1,102) =3.68$, $p =.058$, $\eta_p^2 =.035$. As displayed in figure B3, among men who were low in SDO, those with a Black partner listened to more masculine music than those with a White partner, $p=.050$. Among men who were high in SDO, there was no such difference, $p=.321$. There were no differences in the

masculinity of the music selected between men low and high in SDO when partners were Black, *p*=.935, or White, *p*=.212.

Second, as seen in figure B4, there was a marginally significant three-way interaction between partner race, threat, and SDO, F (1,102) =2.82, p =.096, η_p^2 =.027. Among those who experienced a threat, there was a tendency for men low in SDO listened to more masculine music when their partner was Black rather than White, p =.084. This pattern was reversed for men high in SDO, but the effect did not approach statistical signficance, *p*=.899. Additionally, when the partner was Black, men low in SDO listened to more masculine music than men high in SDO to a marginally significant degree, p =.075. This pattern was reversed when the partner was White, but the effect was non-significant, *p*=.288.

On the other hand, among those that did not experience a threat, partner race did not predict a difference in the masculinity of the music genre selected in either low or high SDO men; low SDO men listened to similarly masculine music whether their partner was Black or White, *p*=.244, as did men high in SDO, *p*=.116. However, when the partner was White, men low in SDO listened to more masculine music than men high in SDO, *p*=.071. When the partner was Black, there was a parallel but non-significant effect, *p*=.258.

Between the threat conditions, one effect approached significance. Among men high in SDO, those who experienced a threat listened to more masculine music than those who did not experience a threat, but only when their partner was White rather than Black, *p*=.073. This pattern was reversed for men low in SDO, but the effect was insignificant, *p*=.281.

Anti-Black attitudes. We regressed the main effects, all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction between partner race, threat, and mean centered SDO on anti-Black attitudes. This analysis revealed significant main effects of partner race, F (1,98) =8.03, p =.006,

$\eta_p^2=.076$, threat, F (1,98) =8.96, p =.003, $\eta_p^2=.084$, and SDO, F (1,98) =6.33, p =.014, $\eta_p^2=.061$.

The analysis also revealed two significant two-way interactions, one between partner race and threat, F (1,98) =9.88, p =.002, $\eta_p^2=.092$, and the other between threat and SDO, F (1,98) =5.73, p =.019, $\eta_p^2=.055$. However, all main effects and two-way interactions were qualified by a three-way interaction between partner race, threat, and mean centered SDO that approached significance, F (1,98) =3.78, p =.055, $\eta_p^2=.037$.

As seen in figure B5, among those that experienced a threat, men low in SDO expressed fewer anti-Black attitudes than those high in SDO. This effect was significant for men with both White partners, $p=.038$, and Black partners, $p=.000$. No other significant effects were evident in the threat group. Among those who did not experience a threat, the same pattern emerged among men with a White partner. Men low in SDO expressed fewer anti-Black attitudes than those high in SDO, but this pattern was significant only when the partner was White, $p=.000$. There was no significant difference in anti-Black attitudes among those high in SDO.

Contrary to expectations, it was only men low in SDO who experienced a threat from a Black partner that expressed fewer anti-Black attitudes than those who interacted with a Black partner without experiencing a threat, $p=.003$. On the other hand, men low in SDO that experienced a threat from a White partner expressed more anti-Black attitudes than men paired with a non-threatening White partner, $p=.042$.

We next regressed the main effects, all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction between partner race, threat, and mean centered GRS on anti-black attitudes. This analysis revealed three significant main effects of partner race, F (1,98) =4.53, p =.036, $\eta_p^2=.044$, threat, F (1,98) =6.67, p =.011, $\eta_p^2=064$, and mean-centered GRS F (1,98) =12.91, p =.001, $\eta_p^2=.116$. The analysis also revealed three significant two-way interactions. The first two-way

interaction was between partner race and mean centered GRS, F (1,98) =8.30, p =.005, η_p^2=.078, the second was between threat and mean centered GRS, F (1,98) =13.40, p =.000, η_p^2=.12, and the third was between partner race and threat, F (1,98) =6.93, p =.010, η_p^2=.066. However, these two-way effects were qualified by a significant three-way interaction between partner race, threat, and mean centered GRS, F (1,98) =10.2, p =.002, η_p^2=.094.

As displayed in figure B6, among those who experienced a threat, men with low GRS expressed fewer anti-Black attitudes than those with high GRS, but this effect was only significant when the partner was Black, p=.000. This pattern did not emerge among men who had a Black partner but did not experience a threat, p=.482. On the other hand, this pattern did emerge for men in the no threat, White partner group; among those who had a White partner and did not experience a threat, men with low GRS expressed fewer anti-Black attitudes than those with high GRS, p=.000.

As expected, among those who did experience a threat, men with low GRS expressed fewer anti-Black attitudes when their partner was Black rather than White, p=.019. This pattern was reversed for men with high GRS, but the effect was non-significant, p=.346. However, the reversed pattern *was* significant for men who did *not* experience a threat. In the no-threat group, men with low GRS expressed significantly more anti-Black attitudes when their partner was Black rather than White, p=.000.

Among men with low GRS, those who experienced a threat from a Black partner expressed fewer anti-Black attitudes than those with a non-threatening Black partner, p=.000. In other words, for men low in GRS, those who were outperformed by a Black partner were less explicitly prejudiced against Blacks than those who interacted with an underperforming Black

partner. When the partner was White, on the other hand, being outperformed only marginally affected anti-Black attitudes for individuals low in SDO, $p=.064$.

Finally, we regressed the main effects, all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction between partner race, threat, and implicit racism on anti-Black attitudes. This analysis revealed a marginally significant two-way interaction between partner race and threat, $F(1,96)$ $=3.70$, $p =.057$, $\eta_p^2=.037$.

As seen in figure B7, men who experienced a threat from a White partner expressed more anti-Black attitudes than men who had a non-threatening White partner, $p=.041$. For men with a Black partner, the experience of a threat had no significant effect on anti-Black attitudes, $p=.557$. Among men in the no threat condition, those with a Black partner expressed more anti-Black attitudes than those with a White partner, to a marginally significant degree, $p=.063$. This pattern was reversed when a threat was present, but to a non-significant degree, $p=.392$.

Favorability toward Blacks. We regressed the main effects, all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction between partner race, threat, and mean centered SDO on Black Feelings (referred to as favorability toward Blacks). This analysis revealed two significant main effects of partner race, $F(1,98)=12.82$, $p =.001$, $\eta_p^2=.116$, and threat, $F(1,98)=9.10$, $p =.003$, $\eta_p^2=.085$. These main effects were qualified by a significant two-way interaction between partner race and threat, $F(1,98)=10.22$, $p =.002$, $\eta_p^2=.094$.

Consistent with predictions, men who experienced a threat from a Black partner expressed more favorability toward Blacks than men who experienced a threat from a White partner (see figure B8), $p=.001$. There was no significant difference in expressed favorability toward Blacks in the no threat condition, $p=.292$. In other words, when the partner was non-threating, his race did not affect how favorably participants saw Blacks. Also as predicted, when

the partner was Black, men who experienced a threat expressed more favorability toward Blacks than men who did not experience a threat, $p=.030$. Conversely, when the partner was White, men expressed significantly more favorability toward Blacks when they did *not* experience a threat, $p=.022$.

We regressed the main effects, all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction between partner race, threat, and mean centered GRS on Black Feelings. This analysis revealed three significant main effects of partner race, $F(1,98) =5.05$, $p =.027$, $\eta_p^2=.049$, threat, $F(1,98) =4.68$, $p =.033$, $\eta_p^2=.046$, and mean centered GRS, $F(1,98) =7.03$, $p =.009$, $\eta_p^2=.067$. The analysis also revealed three significant two-way interactions that were qualified by a three-way interaction. The first two-way effect was between partner race and mean centered GRS, $F(1,98) =4.67$, $p =.033$, $\eta_p^2=.045$, the second was between threat and mean centered GRS, $F(1,98) =5.96$, $p =.016$, $\eta_p^2=.057$, and the third was between partner race and threat, $F(1,98) =4.65$, $p =.034$, $\eta_p^2=.045$. The qualifying three-way interaction between partner race, threat, and mean centered GRS was significant, $F(1,98) =4.51$, $p =.036$, $\eta_p^2=.044$.

As seen in figure B9, for men with low GRS, those who experienced a threat from a Black partner expressed more favorability toward Blacks than those who experienced a threat from a White partner, $p=.005$. Additionally, among those who experienced a threat from a Black partner, men with low GRS expressed more favorability toward Blacks than men with high GRS, $p=.002$. Furthermore, among those low in GRS, men who experienced a threat from a Black partner expressed more favorable attitudes toward Blacks than did those who interacted with a non-threatening Black partner, $p=.005$. No such pattern emerged when the partner was White.

Discussion

While the predicted pattern of effects emerged in this study, they emerged in the non-predicted conditions. Most notably, as hypothesized, implicit masculinity predicted aggression only in the Black partner threat condition, such that individuals high in implicit masculinity allocated more hot sauce to their partners. However, further analyses revealed that men low in implicit masculinity gave Black partners less hot sauce than they gave White partners, which contrasted with our hypothesis that high SDO would predict hostility toward Black partners. Also contrary to predictions, men aggressed against superior-performing Black partners *less* than they aggressed against both low-performing Black partners and superior-performing White partners. There was no evidence that the selection of stereotypically Black or masculine music was related to how much participants aggressed against their partner, in any condition.

There are numerous ways that we might understand these results. First, there is the issue of methodologies. Our measure of aggression might not have been the most indicative of the real-world hostility we were interested in isolating. Because the hot sauce task has typically been validated in a setting where participants felt openly hostile towards another individual (Lieberman, et al., 1999), there is a strong possibility that as a measure, hot sauce allocation a) reflects only *acknowledged* feelings of hostility and b) is susceptible to social desirability bias. The fact that, among men *low* in implicit masculinity, there was a significant drop in the amount of hot sauce given to a Black partner compared to a White partner lends credence to this possibility. However, if social desirability fully explained our results, one would expect that men with lower-performing Black partners would be just as interested in appearing non-racist as those with higher-performing Black partners. However, as results demonstrated, this was not the case—men allocated significantly less hot sauce to superior-performing Black men. This

suggests that there must be additional forces at play here. Consideration of alternative hypotheses is warranted.

Also in the realm of methodologies, there is always the possibility that outperformed on the creative intelligence assessment did not produce a masculinity threat among participants. Additionally, if the threat condition was successfully created, the lab setting might have reduced feelings of realism or relevance in ways that impacted the accuracy of results. For instance, if there is no incentive to fully engage in the study (e.g. a monetary reward), participants are unlikely to be as invested in their efforts as they would be in real-life situations. Conversely, high-performing Black individuals could simply be less threatening to White men than both high-performing White individuals and low-performing Black and White individuals. This prospect, however, seems unlikely. For one thing, it conflicts with the well-supported literature on Backlash Effect, which has demonstrated a human tendency to punish atypical individuals that threaten the status quo (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Furthermore, while we might be able to explain why a White male would feel more threatened by the superior performance of a White over a Black partner, it becomes more challenging to explain why under-performing individuals would pose more of a threat than a superior-performing Black man. From the study results, we can at least be sure that the threat conditions produced variable behaviors. This indicates that the creative intelligence assessment did have a significant effect on participants, even if the threat was not precisely what was intended.

Experimental findings indicated some support for our predictions. First, implicit masculinity predicted allocation of hot sauce when the partner was a superior-performing Black man. This suggests that men high in implicit masculinity are particularly susceptible to a masculinity threat, and that they respond to such a threat by giving their threatening partner

elevated levels of hot sauce. Additionally, genre masculinity predicted fewer anti-Black attitudes and more favorability toward Blacks in the threat conditions. When threatened, those who selected masculine music to listen to also expressed greater liking of Blacks in general. This indicates that perhaps that those individuals were interested in demonstrating their appreciation for Blackness (including masculinity) in more than one way, whereas non-threatened participants had no such inclination.

Further results, while not always consistent with hypotheses, did support parts of our theoretical argument. For instance, while music Blackness was not significantly impacted by hot sauce allocation, music masculinity did vary by condition, suggesting that study conditions did lead to a shift in participants' state masculinity. Interestingly, while men low in SDO tended to listen to more masculine music than those high in SDO, the only exception to this pattern occurred when men were faced with a superior-performing White partner, instead of a superior-performing Black partner. Additionally, across conditions, those low in SDO selected more masculine music when their partner was Black rather than White. While these results are inconclusive when considered alone, they come together to create something of a cohesive narrative. Specifically, they indicate that masculinity may be the driving force behind many of our findings.

Because of the behavioral and attitudinal shifts produced by our manipulations (e.g. the presence of a negative correlation between genre masculinity and anti-Black attitudes within the two threat conditions), we know for certain that our conditions resulted in some between-group variations. However, to understand the unexpected results that came out of these manipulations, a revision of theoretical logic was called for.

Contrary to expectations, White male participants experienced a masculinity threat upon outperformance by both White and Black male partners. I contend that participants—especially those low in SDO, GRS, and implicit masculinity, who are presumably more socially conscientious than those high in the same measures—overcompensated for ill feelings toward superior-performing Black partners by giving them less hot sauce, listening to more masculine music, expressing fewer anti-Black attitudes, and indicating higher favorability toward Blacks than occurred within other conditions. I further contend that when the partner was a superior-performing White, on the other hand, the occurrence of more anti-Black attitudes, less favorability toward Blacks, and higher selection of masculine genres among those high in SDO (controlling for implicit racism) represented masculine posturing. In more theoretical terms, the experience of a masculinity threat, rather than being an avenue toward racism in itself, produced a need to showcase masculinity in a way that reinforced the status quo. It is also possible that a masculinity threat led to in-group competition more than out-group comparisons. This would account for higher hot sauce allocation to White partners, and masculine posturing would function as a mode of competition. It thus makes sense that individuals low in SDO, GRS, and implicit masculinity tended to actively avoid such posturing through expressed liking of Blacks when race was salient.

When there was no threat present, there were generally fewer behavioral and attitudinal discrepancies between the partner race conditions. A notable exception was anti-Black attitudes. First, whereas the masculinity of music listened to was negatively correlated with anti-Black attitudes in both threat conditions, no such pattern emerged when there was no threat. This indicates that the threat condition was necessary in producing a predictive connection between

the two variables—when masculinity had been challenged, men who chose masculine music were likely to express few anti-Black attitudes, consistent with the masculine posturing theory.

Second, among men in the no threat condition, there was an unexpected tendency for men low in SDO and GRS to express more anti-Black attitudes when their partner was Black as opposed to White. Indeed, within the no-threat group overall, men with Black partners expressed more anti-Black attitudes than men with White partners to a marginally significant degree (see figure B3.3). However, it seems likely that this effect is produced by moral credentialing. Specifically, among those low in SDO and GRS, men paired with a White partner demonstrated an unusually low baseline for anti-Black attitudes. Those with a Black partner, on the other hand, expressed more anti-Black attitudes, perhaps by virtue of the fact that many of them felt that they *could* have acted in a more racist way in the past (e.g. by aggressing against their Black partner), but chose not to. This form of self-licensing has been well-supported in the research (Monin & Miller, 2001). The general reversal of this effect in the threat condition suggests that perhaps moral credentialing is most effective when the actor is not particularly attached to the situation. Perhaps the power of self-licensing is diminished by feelings of dismay or ill-will resulting from some threat (e.g. the superior performance of a low-status individual), which either could lead to punishment, or, in the case of this study, racial overcompensation.

While we did not find evidence for masked discrimination per say, this study was an important first step in the investigation of the topic. Future researchers should work to tease out the connections between the many variables considered here. While the eventual aim should be the establishment of a theoretical and practical guide to discriminatory behavior, researchers must first gain a better understanding of potential overcompensation for hostility, especially among those who are somewhat socially conscious. It is quite possible that overcompensation is

understood to be just as harmful as open hostility for those who experience it, and such behaviors should not be treated lightly. Ongoing research will consider the questions left open by this study.

As this study demonstrates, the various factors that drive personal interactions are not easily investigated. Social desirability concerns, the generalizability of data collected on a University campus, and the validity of measures used are just a few of the many challenges that emerge in research on discrimination. However, ongoing research on not only race and discrimination, but also hegemonic masculinity, which seems to be inexorably linked to the phenomenon of discrimination, is extremely relevant and important in the modern era. Given persistent racial disparities, the continued occurrence of discrimination, and the recent explosion of racial tensions in Ferguson, Missouri and beyond, we find this fact particularly problematic, and we call on researchers and laymen alike to approach the topic with care, attention, and the interest it necessitates and deserves.

Appendix A: Tables

Table A1 Mean Ratings of Music Genre Masculinity and Blackness

Music Genre	Mean Blackness (higher numbers more Black over White)	Mean Masculinity (higher numbers more masculine over feminine)
Country	2.47	5.58
Folk	2.82	5.97
Rock	3.32	7.24
Rap	6.91	7.47
Reggae	6.18	6.68
R&B	6.85	6.35

Table A2 Summary of Overall Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1: SDO												
2: GRS	.374 **											
3: Implicit Masculinity	.118	-.122										
4: Implicit Racism	.048	.030	-.031									
5: Hot Sauce Weight (g)	.121	-.013	.002	-.170								

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
6: Genre Masculinity	-.186	.068	-.089	-.053	.134							
7: Genre Blackness	-.079	-.036	.039	.047	.087	.615 **						
8: Anti-Black Attitudes	.549 **	.292 **	.053	.052	.120	-.267 **	-.206 *					
9: Favorability Toward Blacks	-.506 **	-.224 *	.005	-.062	-.122	.263 **	.147	-.676 **				
10: Anti-White Attitudes	.193 *	-.044	.067	-.071	.026	-.092	-.073	.649 **	-.360 **			
11: Favorability Toward Whites	-.114	.135	-.011	-.010	-.067	.170	.096	-.390 **	.689 **	-.576 **		
12: White-Black Attitudes	-.490 **	-.418 **	.006	-.146	-.123	.240 *	.183	-.570 **	.470 **	.255 **	-.126	
13: White-Black Favorability	.566 **	.452 **	-.020	.075	.093	-.175	-.096	.501 **	-.619 **	-.132	.143	-.778 **

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level. * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A3 Summary of Correlations: Black Partner X Threat, Black Partner X No Threat

					Black Partner X No Threat				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1: SDO		.291	.534 **	.259	.206	-.220	-.399 *	.156	-.126
2: GRS	.595 **		.134	-.099	-.038	.175	.017	-.176	-.053
3: Implicit Masculinity	.203	-.199		.284	-.042	-.046	.067	.351	-.308
4: Implicit Racism	.160	.273	.110		-.218	-.061	-.188	.304	-.535 **
5: Hot Sauce Weight (g)	.110	.026	.371 *	-.211		.202	.107	.056	.293
6: Genre Masculinity	-.357 *	-.101	-.301	-.036	.100		.571 **	-.018	.103
7: Genre Blackness	-.031	-.076	.003	.074	.262	.499 **		-.035	.034
8: Anti-Black Attitudes	.677 **	.590 **	.126	-.071	.165	-.461 **	-.197		-.523 *
9: Favorability Toward Blacks	-.666 **	-.521 **	.021	.077	-.246	.397 *	.189	-.803 **	
Black Partner X Threat									

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level. * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A4 Summary of Correlations: White Partner X Threat, White Partner X No Threat

					White Partner X No Threat				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1: SDO		.301	-.204	-.023	-.010	-.322	-.241	.710 **	-.685 **
2: GRS	.338		-.125	.078	.100	-.004	-.051	.460 *	-.326
3: Implicit Masculinity	-.025	-.351		-.282	.017	.143	.186	-.157	.208
4: Implicit Racism	-.383	-.146	-.232		-.102	-.032	.119	.195	-.173
5: Hot Sauce Weight (g)	.251	-.098	-.185	-.161		.053	-.124	-.030	.029
6: Genre Masculinity	.207	.160	-.300	-.112	.196		.696 **	-.148	.199
7: Genre Blackness	.367	-.041	-.164	.167	.085	.693 **		-.147	.220
8: Anti-Black Attitudes	.501 *	.246	.131	-.184	.203	-.440 **	-.447 *		-.632 **
9: Favorability Toward Blacks	-.586 **	-.102	-.163	.202	-.233	.302	.094	-.648 **	
	White Partner X Threat								

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level. * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Appendix B: Figures

Figure B1: Effects of Implicit Masculinity and Partner Race on Hot Sauce Allocation
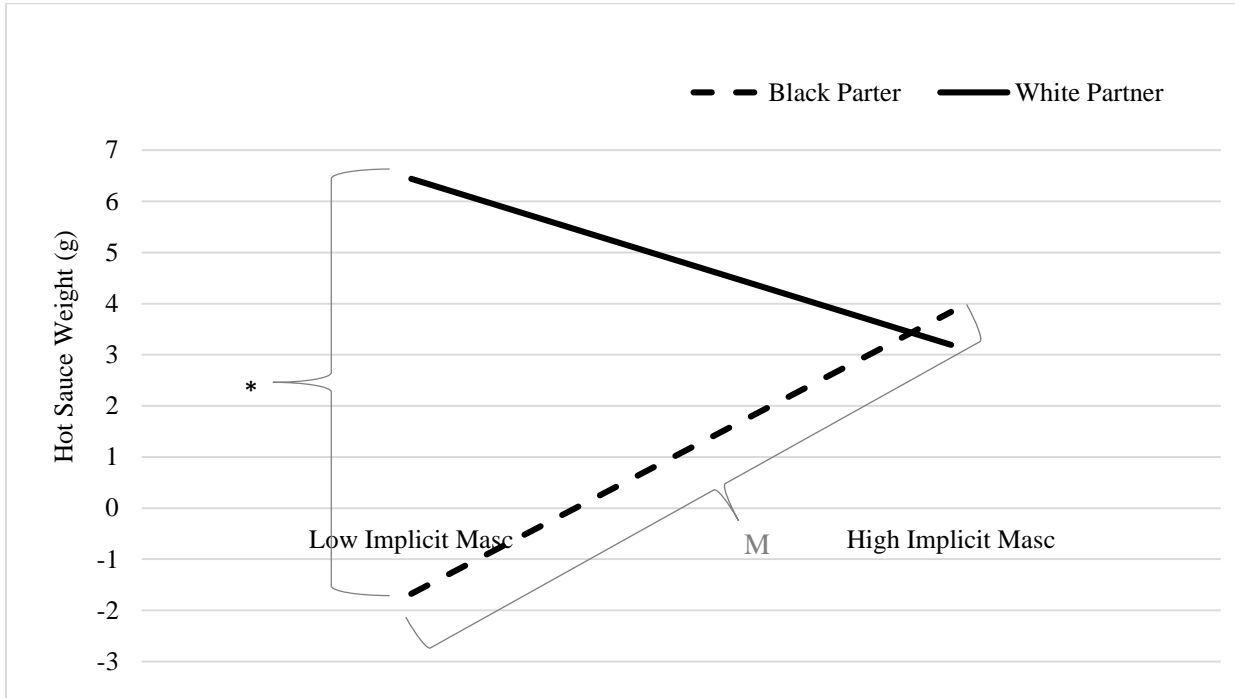

Figure B2 Effects of Threat and Partner Race on Hot Sauce Allocation
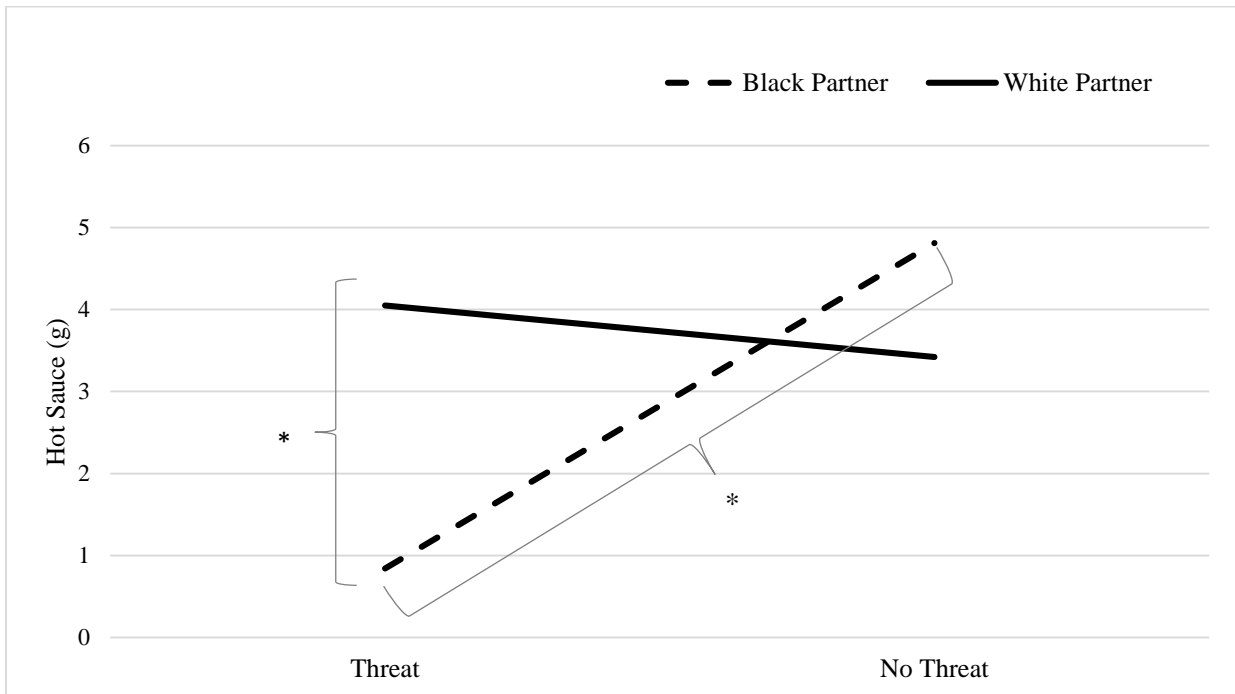
Figure B3 Effects of SDO and Partner Race on Genre Masculinity
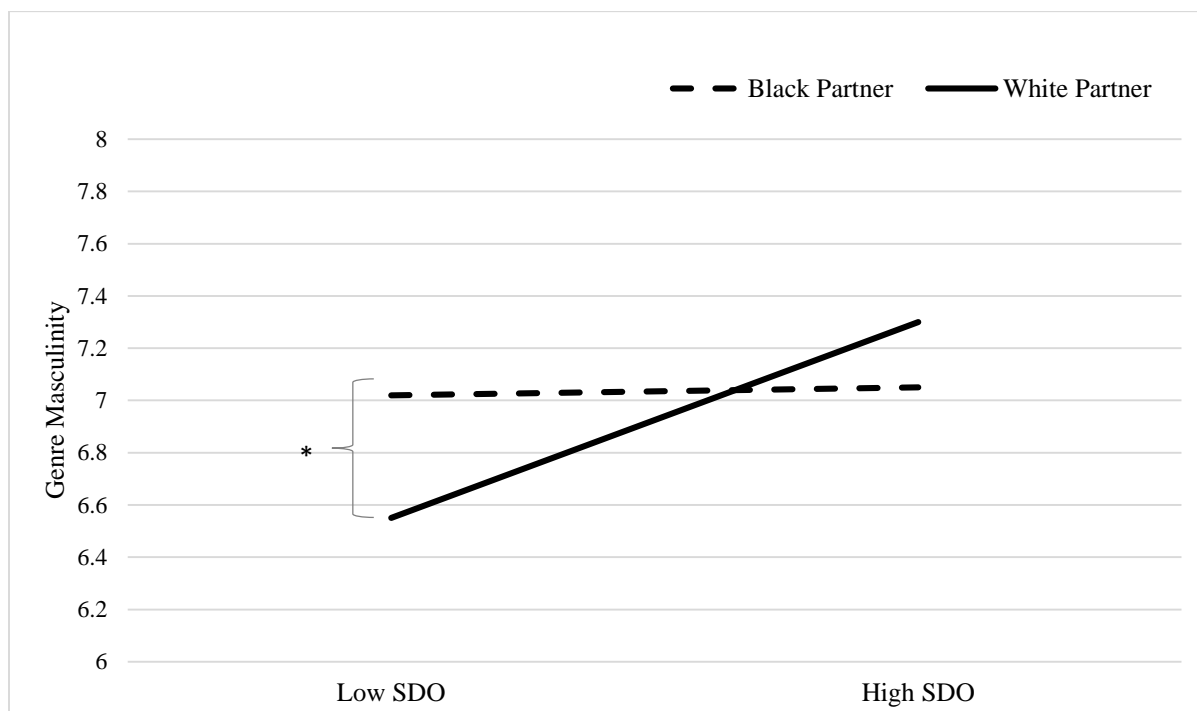
Figure B4 Effects of SDO, Partner Race, and Threat on Genre Masculinity
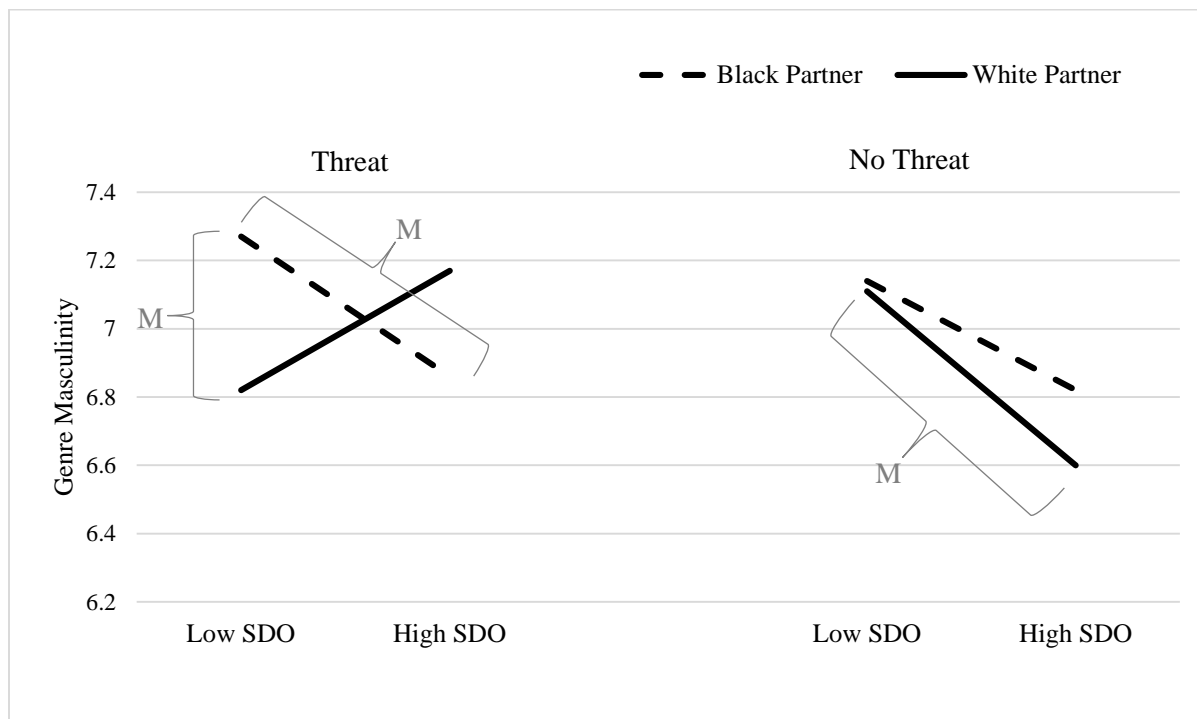
Figure B5 Effects of Threat, SDO, and Partner Race on Anti-Black Attitudes
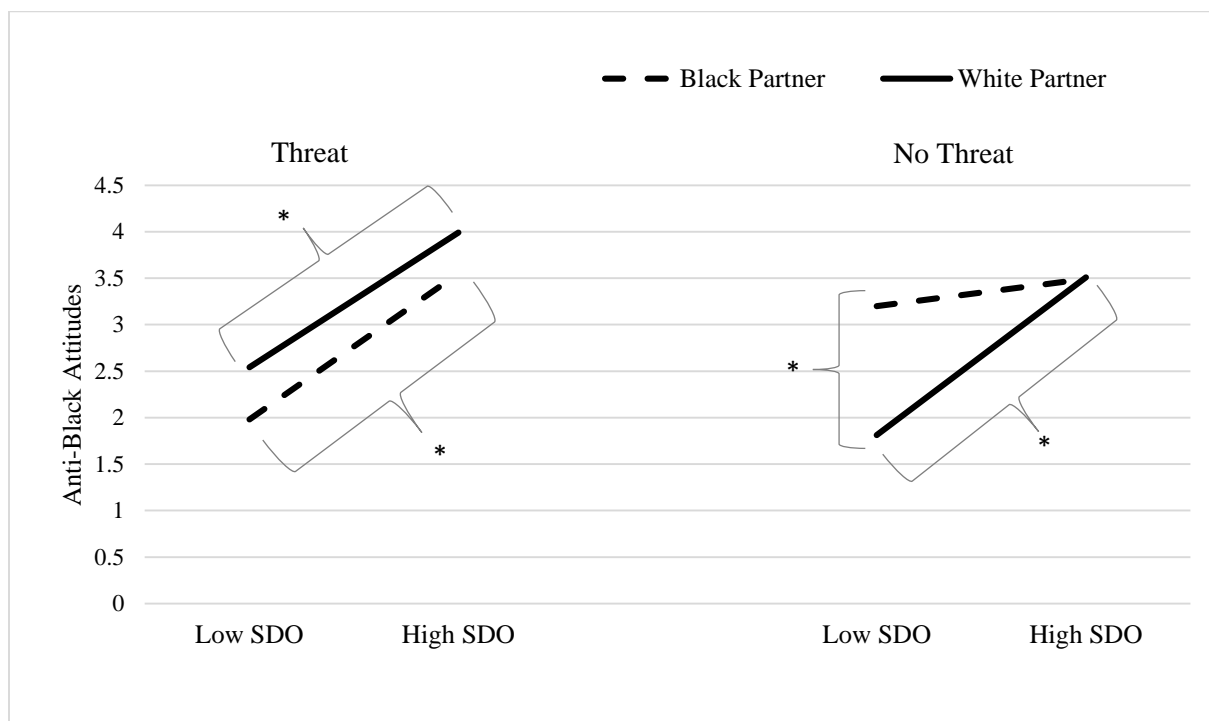
Figure B6 Effects of Threat, GRS, and Partner Race on Anti-Black Attitudes
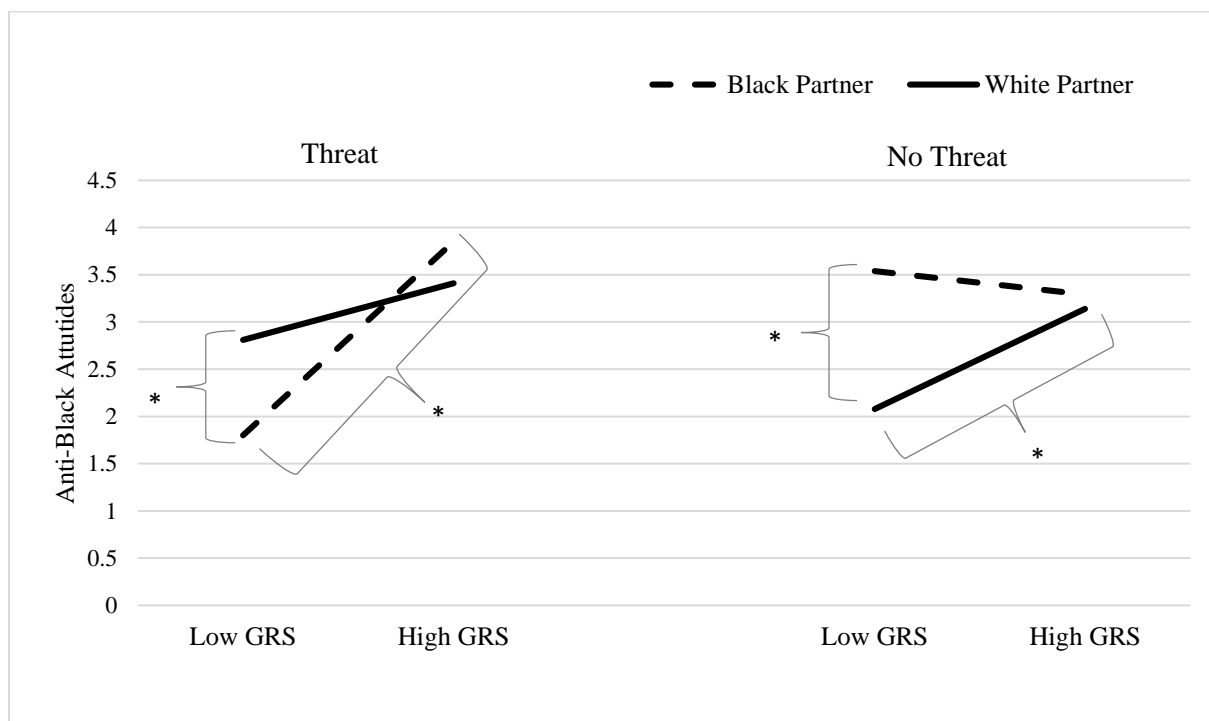
Figure B7 Effects of Partner Race and Threat on Anti-Black Attitudes
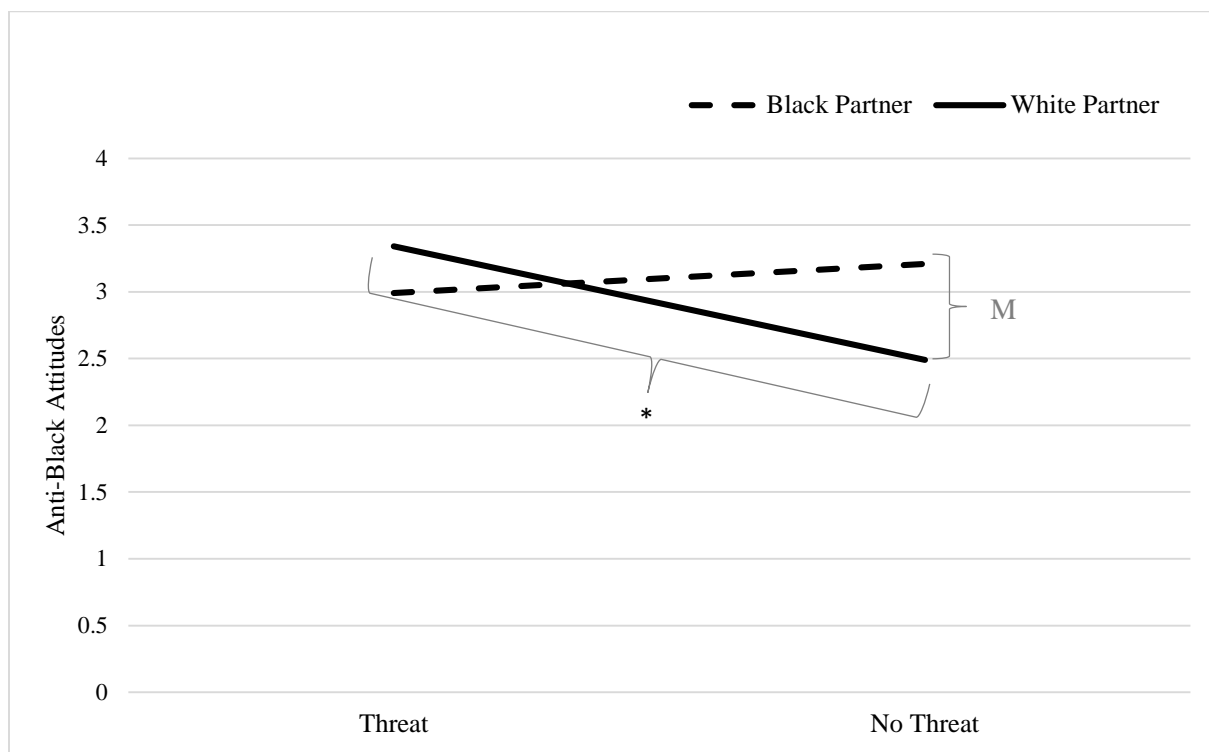
**Figure B8** Effects of Partner Race and Threat on Favorability toward Blacks
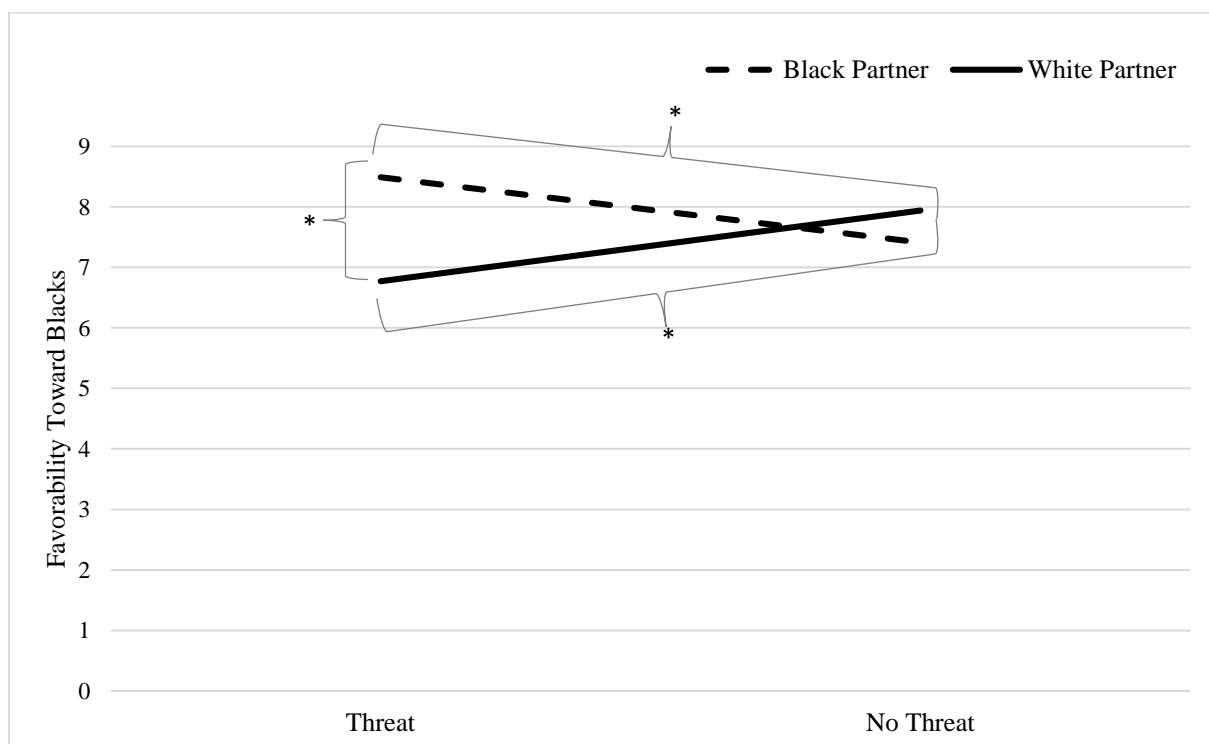
Figure B9 Effects of Threat, GRS, and Partner Race on Favorability toward Blacks
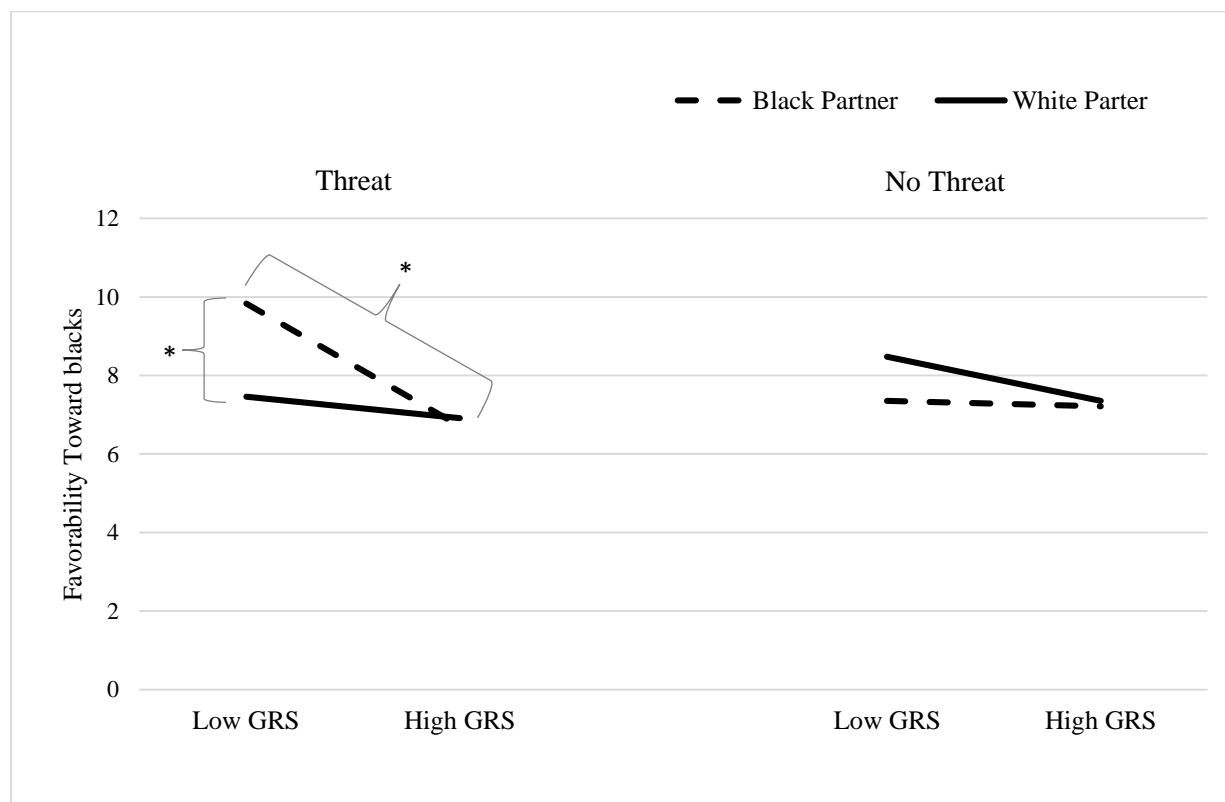
Appendix C: Data Collection Materials

Figure C1 Profile of Black Partner

Meet your partner

Name: Jamal
Major: African American Studies
Hometown: Brooklyn NY
Favorite Movie: The Hangover
Favorite Hobby: Playing basketball
Favorite Band/Musician: Kanye West
Favorite TV Show: Sons of Anarchy
Hero: Dirk Nowitzki

Figure C2 Profile of White Partner

Meet your partner

Name: Connor
Major: Psych
Hometown: Long Island NY
Favorite Movie: The Hangover
Favorite Hobby: Playing videogames
Favorite Band/Musician: The Rolling Stones
Favorite TV Show: Sons of Anarchy
Hero: Dirk Nowitzki

Table C1 Threat Manipulation: Skills Test Scores

1. Black Partner X Threat
You scored in the **84th** percentile on this creative skills assessment. Your partner **Jamal** scored in the **95th** percentile on the assessment.
2. Black Partner X No Threat
You scored in the **84th** percentile on this creative skills assessment. Your partner **Jamal** scored in the **75th** percentile on the assessment.
3. White Partner X Threat
You scored in the **84th** percentile on this creative skills assessment. Your partner **Connor** scored in the **95th** percentile on the assessment.
4. White Partner X No Threat
You scored in the **84th** percentile on this creative skills assessment. Your partner **Connor** scored in the **75th** percentile on the assessment.

Figure C3 Music Selection Task

You will now be asked to consider a variety of music genres and listen to various songs in order to indicate your music preferences.

First, please select from the list below the genre of music that you would currently like to listen to.

○ Country

○ Rock

○ Rap

○ Reggae

○ R&B Soul

○ Folk

Gender Role Stress Scale

Please indicate how stressful each of the following situations would be using the following scale

	Not at all stressful						Extremely stressful
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Having your lover say that she/he is not satisfied	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being perceived by someone as "gay"	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being perceived as having feminine traits	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Appearing less athletic than a friend	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being compared unfavorably to men	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being outperformed at work by a woman	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Having a female boss	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Letting a woman take control of the situation	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being married to someone who makes more money than you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being with a woman who is more successful than you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being with a woman who is much taller than you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being unemployed	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Social Dominance Orientation Scale

Instructions: Listed below are a number of statements. Read each item and decide how much you agree with each one.

	Strongly Diagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others.	○	○	○	○	○
Some people are just more worthy than others.	○	○	○	○	○
This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were.	○	○	○	○	○
Some people are just more deserving than others	○	○	○	○	○
It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.	○	○	○	○	○
Some people are just inferior to others.	○	○	○	○	○
To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.	○	○	○	○	○
If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country.	○	○	○	○	○
In an ideal world, all nations would be equal.	○	○	○	○	○
All humans should be treated equally.	○	○	○	○	○
It is important that we treat other countries as equals.	○	○	○	○	○

Black Semantic Differential Scale (Anti-Black Attitudes)

Please indicate your feelings towards Black Americans by completing the following scale.

Black Americans are:

Beautiful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Ugly
Good	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Bad
Pleasant	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Unpleasant
Honest	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Dishonest
Nice	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Awful

White Semantic Differential Scale (Anti-White Attitudes)

Please indicate your feelings towards White Americans by completing the following scale:

White Americans are:

Beautiful	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	Ugly
Good	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	Bad
Pleasant	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	Unpleasant
Honest	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	Dishonest
Nice	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	Awful

Black Feelings Measure (Favorability toward Blacks)

Please rank your feelings toward Black Americans on the following 0-10 scale.

Highly negative feelings   Highly positive feelings

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

White Feelings Measure (Favorability toward Whites)

Please rank your feelings toward White Americans on the following 0-10 scale.

Highly negative feelings   Highly positive feelings

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

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ACADEMIC VITA

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EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA   Expected Graduation: May 2015
Schreyer Honors College
      Bachelor of Arts in Psychology
      Minors: History and Spanish
      Honors Thesis: "Sugar-Coated Racism"

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Social Psychology Laboratory, University Park, PA   Spring 2013-Present
Research Assistant

- Responsibilities include running studies and collecting data on social behavior
- Work with graduate students to ensure successful recruitment of participants and effective study design
- Provide input on current and future research in lab meetings
- Performed analyses to test reliability and validity in a scale development project

Honors Thesis Research, University Park, PA   Spring 2014-Present
"Sugar-Coated Racism"

- Planned and designed empirical study investigating the interplay of race, aggression, and liking
- Independently worked through IRB protocol, programmed the study, and executed a pilot survey
- Will analyze data, complete a literature review, and integrate work into a complete thesis

SERVICE EXPERIENCE

Chacras de Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina   Spring 2014
Volunteer

- Worked to promote sustainable human development within vulnerable communities in Buenos Aires
- Engaged with community members to enhance quality of life through sustainable programs
- Participated in biweekly seminars on volunteerism and non-profit work

Skills of Central Pennsylvania, State College, PA   Fall 2014
Tutor

- Taught up to fourteen adult special education students in various academic subjects
- Coordinated with volunteers and employees to plan lessons and create materials
- Worked one-on-one with learners to develop life skills for use in everyday life

Capital Area Therapeutic Riding Association, Grantville, PA   Summer 2013
Volunteer

- Acted as companion to disabled participants in therapeutic horse-riding activities
- Facilitated horse feedings and pasture time rotation according to the riding schedule
- Managed volunteer activities, such as cleaning the horse pens and organizing lesson preparation

AUIP, Fiji   Summer 2012

Study Abroad Intern
- Experiential educational program
- Researched eco-tourism and sustainable development

Invisible Children, University Park, PA   Fall 2011-Spring 2013

Volunteer
- Planned events and fundraisers to raise awareness about the devastation caused by the Lord's Resistance Army
- Partook in bi-weekly meetings to discuss mediums through which awareness could be enhanced
- Participated in rally in Washington D.C. that solidified involvement of the US government in the conflict

Renewable Energy for Central America (RECA), Roatan, Honduras   Spring 2011

Volunteer
- Worked to install a 2.5kW solar photovoltaic system as part of a student-led educational program
- Collaborated with community leaders to introduce the concepts and benefits of renewable energy
- Contributed to marketing materials for promotion of the RECA project

LEADERSHIP EXPERIENCE

Student Sustainability Advisory Council, University Park, PA   Fall 2012-Present

Subcommittee Head
- Research the University's environmental sustainability efforts, develop and write proposals for future initiatives
- Direct the work of team-members, create deadlines, and report to general council on subcommittee progress
- Formally advise Penn State Administration on specific ways to make the university a leader in sustainability

Penn State Equestrian Team, University Park, PA   Fall 2011-Present

General Member
- Engage in weekly lessons; attend weekly meetings
- Active with THON through fundraising and participation
- Compete in intercollegiate shows, ranging from two to six per year

Transportation Chair   Fall 2012-Spring 2013
- Made logistical travel decisions and coordinated with Penn State's Club Sports Office
- Assisted in running horse shows and various other events
- Attended weekly officer meetings discussing the direction of the club

AWARDS AND HONORS

The Phi Beta Kappa Society	Fall 2013-Present
Schreyer Academic Excellence Scholarship	Fall 2011-Present
Undergraduate Discovery Summer Grant	Summer 2014
Schreyer Ambassador Travel Grant	Spring 2014
Liberal Arts Enrichment Fund	Spring 2014
The Evan Pugh Scholar Award	Spring 2014
The President's Freshman Award	Spring 2012
IHSA National All-Academic Award, First Team	Spring 2012, 2013
Dean's List	7/7 Semesters

PRESENTATIONS

Spielvogel, B. (April 2015). Sugar-Coated Racism. *The Undergraduate Research Exhibition*. Conference conducted from the Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA.

Spielvogel, B. (April 2015). Sugar-Coated Racism. *To be presented at the Psi Chi Research Conference.* Conference conducted from the Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA.

Li, J., Manbeck, A., Ross, A.S., & Spielvogel, B. (April 2014). What type of Americans are Prejudiced against Muslims? *The Psi Chi Research Conference.* Conference conducted from the Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

SKILLS

- Advanced Spanish reading and writing; intermediate-advanced proficiency in speaking
- Proficient in use of SPSS Statistics, Qualtrics Survey Software, DirectRT