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PRIDE AND PREJUDICE: THE EFFECTS OF THE PROUD TO BE PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT ON ATTITUDES TOWARD THE REDSKINS LOGO

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PRIDE AND PREJUDICE: THE EFFECTS OF THE PROUD TO BE
PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT ON ATTITUDES
TOWARD THE REDSKINS LOGO

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
General/Experimental Psychology

by
Nina Danielle Acosta
June 2017

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ABSTRACT

The United States has a long-standing history of appropriating Indigenous representations for the use of mascots in athletics. Despite protest by Indigenous groups against this practice, professional athletics teams continue to appropriate Indigenous representations as mascots. The National Congress of American Indians produced a public service announcement (PSA), *Proud to Be* (PTB), to elicit support from the general public for changing the name/mascot *Redskins*. The purpose of the proposed research is to experimentally examine the effects that PTB has on support among Non-Indigenous participants, as function of political alignment. We considered two competing outcomes: The Counterproductive Hypothesis predicts the more conservative participants are, the less supportive they will be of changing the *Redskin* name/mascot, especially after watching the *PTB* rather than two control PSAs (directed at ending the word retard or reducing texting and driving). We also expect that the more conservative participants are, the less supportive they will be of either “name change” campaign, especially the one that corresponds with the PSA they view. Alternately, The Effective Hypothesis predicts if the PSA induces empathy among viewers, it could elicit support independent of political perspective. That is, participants will be supportive of changing the *Redskin* name/mascot after watching PTB rather than either control PSA. This effect will occur through the effects of *PTB* on increased empathy (specific to the target group). Preliminary analyses provide support for the Effective Hypothesis: Regardless of political

perspective, participants experienced increased empathy for Indigenous People after viewing PTB, which led to increased support for the message promoted by *Proud to Be*.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my thesis to several people who have inspired and facilitated my love for education as well as social justice.

First, to Dominique Mendez: my mentor, sister, and friend. Thank you *L.A. Woman* for your continuous guidance and support as I make my way through life.

Second, I would like to extend my eternal gratitude to Edward Gomez, who helped me to understand people should not be afraid of their government, but government afraid of its people.

I would also like to thank my family: my mom, my brother Joseph, and my cousin Adriana. Thank you all for loving and supporting me.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In 1912, the Boston Red Stockings became the Braves. The team's success in the 1914 World Series might have prompted many other professional sports teams, such as The Cleveland Indians in 1915, to change their names as well (Staurowsky, 1998). Currently, there are over 2,000 high schools with names and mascots referencing an Indigenous representation (Munguia, 2014); however, educational institutions are beginning to shift away from using Indigenous symbols in their athletics. In response to the mounting controversy over the cultural appropriation of and insensitivity to Indigenous cultures, numerous high schools and colleges have changed their Indigenous team representations to ones that are not associated with Indigenous cultures (King & Fruehling, 2001). However, at the professional level (e.g., The National Football League, The National Baseball League, The National Hockey League, etc.) there have been no changes (Anti-Defamation & Mascots n.d). The purpose of the proposed research is to experimentally examine the likely success of a recent attempt by the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) to gather support and pressure one sports team, the Washington *Redskins*, to change its name and mascot.

Indigenous (Mis)Representations

There are various reasons why sport teams' usage of an Indigenous team and mascot may be of concern. One concern is *identity politics*, which refers to the importance of a group having control over their identity and representation/imagery. According to Moscovici (1973), social representations are defined as

A system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function; first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history (Moscovici, 1973, pp. ix-xiv).

Social representation theory helps illustrate how ideas, beliefs, or practices can affect the way people interact with one another and shape people's beliefs and behavior within their own in-group as well as with an out-group. For example, Chief Illinwek, the official mascot of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign is a representation of the Sioux Nation, specifically a male warrior. Chief Illinwek is portrayed by a student, usually a male European American, dressed in traditional Indigenous regalia who "performs" at the university's athletic functions (King & Fruehling, 2001). Typically, one can see photos or videos of Chief Illinwek performing quasi-traditional Indigenous dance

movements, which the News Gazette columnist Ryan Jackson describes as “David Lee Roth split kicks” (Jackson, 2015 pg. 5).

The portrayal of Chief Illinwek is an example of how sports team uses a member of one group (European American) to represent a member of another group (Indigenous Peoples) based on historical as well as stereotypical representations. For the students of the University of Illinois, Chief Illinwek may represent school spirit or pride, as well as communicate a sense of fierce athletic performance due to the mascot being a “chief” and “warrior”. It is also possible that the University believes Chief Illinwek is “honoring” the local Sioux Nation; therefore, the mascot is a positive symbol of the relationship between the Nation and the university community (King & Fruehling Springwood, 2001). For the University of Illinois community, Chief Illinwek has become a powerful symbol representing numerous ideas (e.g., pride, school-spirit, fierce athletic ability, and strength), but more importantly, it communicates to the masses, “this is who an Indigenous person is, this is how they behave” (Fryberg et al., 2008, p. 210).

Fryberg and her colleagues (2008) argue that whether or not identity representations coincide with a group’s experiences, it removes their ability to self-define, which can be disempowering. It also conveys an understanding within the people represented of what they can be, or their possible selves. A mascot such as Chief Illinwek being portrayed by European Americans is also an example of cultural appropriation (King & Fruehling Springwood, 2001). Cultural appropriation is loosely defined as members of one culture “borrowing” elements

from another culture with the assumption that the “borrower” being of the majority group and the “lender” being members of an oppressed group (Young, 2008).

The portrayal of Indigenous Peoples by the majority group has other consequences. There are many misconceptions surrounding Indigenous cultures, some with historical roots, but most stemming from stereotypes (Manning, 2016; Gomez, 2013). Unfortunately, many of these misconceptions go uncorrected due to the biggest misconception of all: All Indigenous people are something to discuss in the past tense (Landry, 2014; Gomez, 2013). This tendency makes Indigenous people virtually invisible. Unfortunately, when Indigenous Peoples are the center of discussion, they are typically referred to only in the historical or stereotypical sense. As highlighted by Fryberg and her colleagues (2008), the stereotypes surrounding Indigenous Peoples are typically trichotomized into: “Warriors, Chiefs, or Indian Princesses”. These “positive” stereotypes” are deeply rooted into Western culture seeded from Hollywood’s early portrayal of Indigenous People in the film genre of Westerns circa John Wayne. However, what about the negative stereotypes? Alcoholics, lazy, living on poverty stricken reservations, and recipients of government assistance are some of the negative stereotypes surrounding Indigenous People (Ridgeway, 2013; Tan et al., 1997).

Media perpetuates the various stereotypical interpretations of Indigenous Peoples, namely in film (Singer, 2007). Most films portray Indigenous Peoples as being spiritual or connected to nature, warrior/savage-like, impoverished,

forsaken, isolated from modern society, and in continuous conflicts with Whites (Ridgeway, 2013; Tan et al., 1997; Vorauer et al., 1998). Indigenous Peoples are rarely portrayed outside of these representations and are completely disassociated with contemporary or modern ideas (Fryberg et al., 2008). Unfortunately, due to the vast limited representation of Indigenous Peoples in contemporary U.S. society, non-Indigenous people may curtail any interpretations they have of Indigenous Peoples that diverge from the common representations including those associated with readily available sources such as team mascots (Fryberg et al., 2008). With much debate surrounding Indigenous images in professional sports, one must ask the question: do these representations have psychological consequences for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples?

The Psychological Effects of Cultural (Mis)Representations

There is paucity of research concerning the experiences of Indigenous Peoples; thus, I draw primarily on the work by Fryberg and her colleagues (2008) regarding the psychological consequences to Indigenous Peoples of their cultures' representations. Fryberg and colleagues (2008) examined the psychological impact of stereotypical Indigenous imagery across four studies. Specifically, they analyzed the psychological consequences of Indigenous mascots and other prevalent Indigenous representations on Indigenous people. The research findings indicate that when Indigenous people are exposed to Chief

Wahoo of the Cleveland Indians, Chief Illinwek of the University of Chicago, and Disney's Pocahontas, Indigenous people reported depressed state self-esteem, low community worth, and fewer achievement-related possible selves (i.e., images of what one hopes to become). Given the evidence in Fryberg and colleagues' research, it is apparent that exposure to popular representations or reminders of stereotypes and stereotypical outcomes are psychologically detrimental to Indigenous Peoples, but how do these images affect other ethnicities, specifically, European Americans?

Fryberg and Oyserman (2008) investigated the impact of Indigenous social representations, specifically mascots, on European Americans. In two studies exposure to various Indigenous representations boosted European American self-esteem compared to those exposed to a non-native mascot (i.e., the University of Notre Dame Fighting Irish) or to no mascot. What causes European Americans to psychologically benefit whereas Indigenous People experience psychological harm? One possible explanation may be the "framing" of these social representations. That is, the images of Indigenous mascots may be framed in a way that reminds European Americans about Indigenous Peoples' disadvantage instead of their European American privilege. By avoiding thoughts of privilege, European Americans can evade the negative psychological implications that accompany collective guilt when realizing their group's role in inequality. They can also engage in downward social comparisons that allow them to feel good about their relative standing (Wood, 1989). Finally, the focus

on disadvantage also can help promote prejudicial attitudes that justify the other group's disadvantages (Miron, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2006).

When members of advantaged groups avoid experiencing collective guilt (e.g., Powell, Branscombe, and Schmitt, 2005), or can engage in victim blame (Biernat & Crandall, 1999), they are unlikely to support efforts to benefit the disadvantaged group (Jost & Banaji, 1994). When images of Indigenous Peoples stimulate European Americans' focus on an outgroup's disadvantage rather than their ingroup's advantage, they are unlikely to demonstrate support for changing Indigenous mascots. They are also unlikely to support mascot change initiatives unless they detect the inaccuracies in how Indigenous Peoples are represented. Stereotypes are especially powerful when the targeted group is unfamiliar or inaccessible to the non-targeted group (Fryberg et al., 2008). That is, due to the underrepresentation of Indigenous Peoples in media and education, it may be difficult for an outside group to have exposure or interactions with an Indigenous person. Thus, non-Indigenous group members may rely on stereotypes generated by the media to form their social representation of Indigenous Peoples. Consequently, they are unable to discern how the inaccuracies in these representations are harmful to Indigenous Peoples. They also likely lack an understanding how terms, such as *redskins* might be offensive and detrimental to Indigenous Peoples.

The Washington Redskins

One of the most recognizable Indigenous icons in popular U.S. culture is likely from the National Football League (NFL) team, *The Washington Redskins*. An Indigenous man facing a right side view with dark skin, feathers, and braids represents the *Washington Redskins*. The image is incased in a yellow circle with feathers. In addition to the problems of a stereotypical representation of an Indigenous person in ceremonial dress, the team's name also conveys negative representations of Indigenous Peoples. Recently, the most discussed controversial Indigenous representation/term under scrutiny is *redskin* (King, 2010).

The term *redskin* has been under scrutiny as a racial slur for many years. The origins of the term have often been debated amongst historians, sociologists, and Indigenous Peoples. Some argue the term emerged when the first European settlers described Indigenous Peoples who used a red paint to adorn their skin (Goddard, 2005). Conversely, there are those who argue that under the order of King George II of Great Britain, bounty hunters collected the scalps of Indigenous men, women, and children in exchange for monetary compensation (Jawort, 2012). Thus, *redskin* referred to the blood-soaked scalp. Regardless of the source of the word, the connotation is seen as derogatory by many Indigenous people today and is often equated to the "N" word to describe Black people (Gandhi, 2013). The pejorative nature of the term has sparked controversy between Indigenous activists and the team owners and fans. Many

pro-change activists have faced backlash and resistance to changing the name of the Washington D.C. NFL team, *The Redskins*, due to the long-standing history of the team and the public resistance of the fans and team's owner Daniel Snyder.

The Proud to Be Public Service Announcement

Efforts to change the *Washington Redskins'* name have been publicly underway since the 1960s, especially with the fruition of the American Indian Movement (A.I.M.). Protests, campaigns, letter writing, and moratoriums have all been tools in the A.I.M. activists' arsenal to sway public and fan opinion. With the recent popularity of social media, YouTube has become a new tool for activists to share videos for mass viewing and online distribution. Recently, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) produced a two-minute Public Service Announcement, *Proud to Be*. The PSA was produced to educate as well as persuade those who resist changing the *Redskin* team name to supporting the effort to change it. Although the PSA was originally created to air during the 2014 Super Bowl, it was too expensive (Irwin, 2014). Instead, the video was posted online by the NCAI, including on YouTube, and went viral. The PSA has also since received some air-time on television.

The PSA touches on the history of Indigenous Peoples, mentions iconic leaders, as well as highlights positive identities. Through a collage of historic pictorials as well as contemporary scenes, the PSA provides the viewer a variety

of confident as well as optimistic characteristics of Indigenous People. The PSA opens with the positive adjective: “proud,” followed by the ethnic identity: “Indian.” Set to inspirational music and accompanied with videos/photos, the PSA identifies roles (e.g., father, daughter, etc.), Nations (e.g., Navajo, Black Hawk, Apache etc.), famous names (e.g., Sitting Bull, Jim Thorpe etc.), and occupations (e.g., teacher, doctor etc.). The PSA concludes by taking aim at the well-known National League Football team by stating: “Native Americans call themselves many things. The one thing they don’t...” followed by a picture of Washington *Redskins* helmet and football.

The PSA seems to be aimed at counteracting stereotypical representations of Indigenous Peoples by showing diverse representations of their historical and modern roles and identities. At the conclusion of the PSA, these accurate and varied representations are contrasted with the misrepresentativeness of the *Redskins* logo and name. The creators of the PSA seem to presume that by informing viewers of how the *Redskins* misrepresent and derogate Indigenous Peoples, viewers will be more prone to support the campaign to change the name. But does the PSA have the intended effect?

CHAPTER TWO

ARE PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS EFFECTIVE?

Public Service Announcements can be Ineffective or Counterproductive

Psychological studies concerning the effectiveness of PSAs suggest that PSAs often result in a *boomerang effect*, *rebound effect* or *polarization* (Erskine, Rawaf, Grice, Ussher, M., 2015). The *boomerang effect* is an unintended consequence of attempts to persuade, which often result in the targets of the persuasion becoming more firm in their preexisting belief or adopting the opposing position instead. Past psychological research has demonstrated that mass communication campaigns (e.g., public health interventions) can elicit the *boomerang effect*. For example, Bensley and Wu (1991) examined alcohol prevention messages and how these messages influenced drinking behavior in college students. Results demonstrated those who viewed an abstinence message reported *more* drinking intentions as compared to those who received a controlled drinking message.

Other research has identified the ineffectiveness of public service campaigns as well as potential costs. For instance, popular anti-smoking campaigns have also elicited the *boomerang effect*. Harris, Pierce, and Bargh (2013) recruited smokers to ostensibly take part in a study concerning the effects of television on mood and health behaviors. Participants watched a segment of a television program complete with commercials. The television segments as well

as commercial placement were all identical except one of three PSAs was embedded amongst the other commercials. Two of the PSAs were designed to decrease smoking and the other PSA was unrelated to smoking. After the programming, participants were allowed a 10-minute break. They then completed a health behavior survey, which included a question about when they last smoked a cigarette. A second survey asked participants what they did during their break. As the researchers expected, both anti-smoking PSAs increased smoking behaviors relative to the non-smoking PSA. That is, more participants reported having immediately smoked a cigarette on break after watching an anti-smoking rather than control PSA. Thus, the PSAs produced the opposite effects than attended, at least in the short-term.

Like most anti-smoking PSAs, the ones in Harris and colleagues' research targeted smokers, which also is the group most likely opposed to the message. The *boomerang effect* seems to be most prevalent amongst those who may be already in opposition of the message and those who the message is intended to target. Contrastingly, there seems to be a *preaching to the choir effect* as well. Those who would likely already be in support of the message demonstrate further agreement with the message. That is, people tend to polarize and become stronger in their original stance (Isenberg, 1986). One reason for the *boomerang effect* is the phenomenon of reactance (Brehm & Brehm, 2013). When people feel a threat to a freedom, they often increase their desire for the threatened freedom and respond defensively. Because persuasive messages

intended to change behaviors or beliefs constitute a threat to freedom of choice, people bolster their freedom by becoming more likely to exhibit the behavior or endorse the beliefs. In contrast, people whose behavior or beliefs are already consistent with the message have no need to engage in resistance; therefore, they are open to influence and become more strongly committed to the behavior or belief. Consequently, messages intended to change behaviors or opinions drive people to engage in defensive strategies of that behavior or cling to their beliefs (Myers & Lamm, 1975). Thus, the *Proud to Be* PSA might be ineffective and even increase opposition to their cause, particularly among non-supporters (i.e., the targeted audience).

Non-Indigenous people might experience reactance and become more supportive of the Washington *Redskins* retaining their name, contrary to the message in the *Proud to Be* PSA. In addition to experiencing reactance from the threat to their freedom, non-Indigenous viewers of the PSA might experience a threat to their privilege. In many cases, members of high status groups are unlikely to identify with the oppression that people from low status groups' experience; rather, they are concerned about their own group interests (Garcia, Desmarais, Gee, & Branscombe, 2005; Garcia, Branscombe, Desmarais, & Gee, 2006). Group differences in response to affirmative action provide evidence that advantaged groups unlikely understand or care about low status groups' plight. It has been well established that European Americans are most likely to oppose affirmative action for ethnic minorities (e.g., Kluegel & Smith, 1983; Lipset &

Schneider, 1978; Steeh & Krysan, 1996; Stoker, 1998) because they regard affirmative action as unfair to their group and disagree that discrimination is still a problem in the workplace (Kravitz & Klineberg, 2000). This resistance to affirmative action tends to be strongest among European American men who have the least to gain and the most to lose from these policies (Garcia et al., 2005; Kluegel & Smith, 1983). Similarly, high status Americans (i.e., Whites) might be the most opposed to changing the *Redskins'* mascot and name because such changes threaten the high status group's power to define others. Name and mascot change is also associated with financial cost to the wealthy owners and fans who own Redskin memorabilia. Resistance driven by the desire to protect the status quo and the wealthy might be particularly evident among people who are politically conservative.

Throughout American history, conservatives have held onto a strong ideological belief system that encompasses many aspects including: the desire for order and stability, resisting change, maintaining the status quo, and adherence to social and cultural norms (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). Conservatives tend to strongly endorse the hierarchical social, political, and economical arrangement due to fear of change (Jost et al., 2003). Because their resistance to change often includes opposition to equality and efforts to rectify social injustices (Jost et al., 2003), conservatives often embrace justifications that validate the current social arrangements (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). Sometimes these justifications allow advantaged groups to hide their

group interests by centering their opposition to change on how the current system actually benefits members of disadvantaged groups. For example, O'Brien, Garcia, Crandall, & Kordys (2010) found that after reading about how affirmative action harmed (rather than benefited) Whites, European Americans were more likely to express concern about how affirmative action make African Americans look needy or incompetent. In other words, European Americans hid their group interest behind false concern for African Americans as a way to oppose a program that actually benefited that group.

A similar justification regarding the use of Indigenous symbols would be to define this appropriation as a sign of reverence or honor rather than prejudice. With the belief that the *Redskins* mascot is an honor and the longstanding prevalence of the mascot amongst consumers and the football community, it is highly unlikely conservatives would support changing the name or mascot. Moreover, they might become stronger in their resistance to change when they feel efforts are directed at altering their opinion, restricting their ability to define others, or changing a long-term emblem. Therefore, it is possible that after exposure to the *Proud to Be* PSA, conservatives will be more likely to regard the *Redskins'* mascot and name as an honor and be less likely to support efforts to elicit change. In addition to their resistance to change, conservatives tend to show greater favoritism to high status groups (i.e., White heterosexuals), report more prejudice toward ethnic minorities, and endorse stereotypes (Herek & Glunt, 1993; Nosek, Banaji, & Jost, 2009; Sears & Henry, 2003; Reyna, Henry,

Korfmacher, & Tucker, 2006). Nosek, Banaji, and Jost (2009) examined intergroup attitudes amongst liberals and conservatives. They found that liberals reported greater favorability toward disadvantaged groups; whereas, conservatives reported more of a preference for the privileged.

There also may be differences between liberals and conservatives in their abilities to understand viewpoints of ethnic minorities. That is, conservatives may be less likely to take the perspective (i.e., thoughts, feelings, and/or experiences) of other ethnic groups as compared to liberals. For example, Sparkman and Eidelman (2016) examined the role of ethnic perspective taking in explaining political differences in the expression of prejudice and endorsement of stereotypes. Their results indicated that conservatives were more likely to express prejudice and endorse stereotypes, and they were less likely than liberals to report taking the perspective of ethnic outgroups (Sparkman & Eidelman, 2016).

The fundamental ideological differences between liberals and conservatives presented in previous literature suggest conservatives would be unsupportive of the *Proud to be* PSA compared to liberals. That is, given the PSA highlights an issue involving a disadvantaged group, requires viewers to take the perspective of that group, attempts to undermine long-held stereotypes of Indigenous People, and aims to pressure the *Redskins* to change their mascot and name, it is likely that conservatives will be resistant to the message.

Public Service Announcements can be Effective

There may be some PSAs that elicit the intended behavior. The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) in 2007 promoted a television PSA featuring animals that have been abused, neglected, malnourished, and in need of medical attention. During the PSA the slow somber song, "Angel," by Sarah McLachlan played over the video of the animals. Sarah McLachlan, sitting with a golden retriever, verbally elicited for viewers to donate to the ASPCA in order to help abused and neglected animals. Although, there has been no research to investigate whether this PSA was affective in eliciting support, the ASPCA reported having received millions of dollars since its release. The ASPCA considered it a monetary success and has since used another Sarah McLachlan song for a follow-up PSA (Strom, 2008).

The assessment of the PSA's success was based solely on monetary gain succeeding the PSA; thus, there are limitations in concluding that the PSA caused the increase in support. Without a control group, it is impossible to directly link the effectiveness of the PSA to the success of the campaign. If the PSA did indeed elicit increased support, it is uncertain whether that support came from those less likely to support or only those who were already inclined to be supportive. There are conceptual reasons, however, why the PSA might actually have been effective and appealed to even those who were less likely to support the cause. Perhaps the ASPCA commercial encouraged viewers to "humanize" the animals' suffering, which led to increased feelings of empathy for the animals.

Past research indicates that empathy and prosocial behaviors have a strong relationship (e.g., Batson, 2006; Eisenberg and Miller, 1987). Stocks, Lishner, and Decker (2009) found that prosocial behaviors occurred amongst empathetically aroused participants even in an easy psychological escape condition. That is, when participants were given the option to not help the “person” in distress, and given an easy way to escape helping without feeling guilt, participants still offered assistance. Empathy can also inspire prosocial behaviors amongst those less likely to elicit such behaviors: negatively stigmatized groups. For example, Batson, Chang, Orr, and Rowland (2002) examined participants’ willingness to allocate student funds to an agency that would assist recovering addicts when empathy was induced. Participants allocated more funds to the agency when induced to feel empathy for a fictitious addict and reported more positive attitudes toward those battling addictions to hard drugs.

There are two competing explanations for why empathy might mediate a PSA’s effectiveness on prosocial behavior. The motivation behind the prosocial act might be egoistically driven or altruistically driven, although they produce similar results. That is, people can choose to help because they genuinely care and want to improve others’ lives (altruism) or they can help to reduce the feelings of personal discomfort they experience from witnessing others’ distress (egoism). Despite difficulty in determining the motivation behind prosocial behaviors, empathy and prosocial behaviors have a strong relationship

(Eisenberg and Miller, 1987). Further, prosocial behaviors can occur among empathetically aroused participants even when *not* helping will not incur costs. For example, Stocks et al., (2009) found that participants who were given the option to not help a person in distress and given an easy way to escape helping, still offered assistance when they were induced to feel empathy for the person. Thus, it appears that regardless of the underlying motivation, an empathy-inducing PSA would be an effective strategy to increase prosocial behaviors. Thus, it is possible that *Proud to Be* will successfully elicit support if it also induces empathy for Indigenous Peoples, even among non-supporters (e.g., non-Indigenous people and political conservatives).

The *Proud to Be* PSA is the stimulus central to this paper. Specifically, I am interested in the likely effectiveness of the *Proud to Be* PSA to persuade Americans to change the mascot. I am particularly interested in whether the PSA is effective for those who are inclined to resist changing this mascot. Although proponents of the movement to change the *Redskins'* name and mascot might find the PSA poignant and compelling, research suggests that those who already oppose the movement might experience psychological reactance and increase their opposition after watching the video. In contrast, research on empathy and prosocial behavior suggests that *Proud to Be* could be effective even among those resistant to its message if it stimulates increases in empathy.

Overview of Study and Hypotheses

The purpose of the proposed study is to examine the effects that the *Proud to Be* PSA has on support for changing the name *Redskins* among Non-Indigenous participants, as function of political alignment. There are two empirically-based divergent possibilities. Based on the research and theory surrounding the *boomerang* (or *polarization*) effect, the PSA might be *counterproductive* and magnify opposition among those who are already unsupportive of the message. This possibility leads to the “Counterproductive Hypothesis”: the more conservative non-Indigenous participants are, the less supportive they will be of changing the “Redskin” name and mascot, especially after watching the *Proud to Be* PSA rather than a control PSA (directed at either ending the word “retard” or reducing texting and driving). I also expect that the more conservative participants are, the less supportive they will be of either “name change” campaign, especially the one that corresponds with the PSA they view.

Alternately, if the PSA effectively induces empathy among viewers, it could elicit support independent of non-Indigenous people’s political perspective. This possibility leads to the “Effective Hypothesis”: Regardless of political alignment, participants will be supportive of changing the “Redskin” name and mascot after watching the *Proud to Be* PSA rather than a control PSA (directed at either ending the word “retard” or reducing texting and driving). This effect will occur through the effects of *Proud to Be* on increased empathy (specific to the

target group). That is, relative to either of the other PSAs, the *Proud to Be* video will increase empathy for Indigenous Peoples, which in turn will lead to increased support for the PSA's message. The *I am a Person* PSA might produce similar empathy-based support for that cause.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Participants

Participants consisted of undergraduate students ($N = 177$) from California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB) and undergraduate students from Crafton Hill College (CHC). Participants were recruited from CSUSB using the SONA system (See Appendix A for recruitment wording) and the psychology faculty members at CHC recruited participants from psychology classrooms. Participants were issued extra credit points towards their psychology grade for their participation.

Materials and Procedure

The survey was administered via Qualtrics; an online data collection system. All participants completed a consent form (See Appendix B) before proceeding to the political alignment measure (see Appendix C). Participants completed a 7-point political alignment scale ranging from Liberal (far left) to Conservative (far right). Participants were randomly assigned to one of three videos depicting a social issue (see Appendix D): a) *Proud to Be* b) *I Am A Person*, or c) *Don't Text and Drive*. *Proud to Be* (<http://youtu.be/mR-tbOxlhvE>) served as the primary stimulus, or target variable in the study. It is a 2-minute public service announcement subtly informing the viewer about the discriminatory word "Redskin". *I am a Person* (<http://youtu.be/qXd3PFyXmjE>)

served as a comparable “social group” control to the target video because both videos address a derogatory slur toward a group of people. *I am a Person* is a 2.22-minute public service announcement informing the viewer about the discriminatory word, “retard”. This PSA follows a similar format to *Proud to Be* with a focus on the offensiveness of the term “retard”. *Don’t Text and Drive* (http://youtu.be/Q_Z1qPBNaVs) served as a group-neutral control video. It is a 1.34-minute public service announcement about the fatalities associated with texting while driving. Although like the other two videos it is a public service announcement that addresses a social issue (drinking and driving), it is unrelated to a derogatory slur of a social group.

After viewing the assigned video, participants were asked to read a brief description about two social issues, which “could” include the one addressed in the PSA they viewed. Participants actually always received a description of both the *Proud to Be* and *I am a Person* campaigns, which was randomly ordered. A survey followed each description (see Appendix E), which included several scales in Likert format, ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). Because I am interested in people’s responses to a specific PSA, there are no relevant preexisting scales. Thus, I generated items to create three of the four scales central to my hypotheses: Offensive to Native Americans, Change the Team, and Honoring Native Americans. To maintain the cover story that the study was about two different PSAs, I also created two parallel scales that corresponded with the *Change the Word* PSA: Offensive to Intellectually

Disabled People and Change to Word. To help create the items, I referred to YouTube and other internet forums in which the issues were discussed by members of the public. I drew on people's specific statements such as "The Redskin mascot and name honors American Indians" and "It is offensive to call someone a retard".

Empathy for Native Americans. First, participants completed 12 items from the PANAS (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) with seven items related to empathy (i.e., sympathetic, compassionate, soft-hearted, warm, tender, understanding, and moved) and six that were filler items (e.g., anger, annoyance, hostility, discomfort, disgust, and understanding). The empathy scale showed strong internal validity ($\alpha = .92$). For each item, Participants were asked to select the response that best described their emotions towards Native Americans. The empathy scale showed strong internal validity ($\alpha = .92$).

Honors Native Americans. Two items were generated to assess perceptions that the use of Indigenous mascots was positive and meant to honor Native Americans. A sample item is "Native American mascots are respectful because they are used to represent strength and courage." The two items were only moderately correlated ($r = .52$). I first combined the two items together into a single measure; however, because of their moderate correlation and their strong correlation with the Offensive to Native Americans measure below, these items were integrated into that scale.

Offensive to Native Americans. Next, participants were presented with several statements regarding their support for each campaign's message (redskin and retard). The 11-item "Offensive to Indigenous Peoples" measure included the two "honor" items (reverse-coded) plus statements such as "The uses of Native American mascots are offensive", and "The term "Redskin" is offensive to Native Americans" ($\alpha = .94$).

Change the Team. Participants were also presented with items asking about their overall support for the *Proud to Be* campaign. The "Change the Team" measure includes four items regarding support for changing the *Redskins'* name and mascot (e.g., "Overall, I agree that the Washington *Redskins* should change their name" and "Overall, I agree that the Washington *Redskins* should keep their mascot"). The four-item scale produced an internally valid scale ($\alpha = .97$).

Offensive to Intellectually Disabled People. The 6-item "R-Word" measure ($\alpha = .86$) includes: a) The use of the word "retard" is offensive, b) People are overreacting by saying it is offensive to use the term "retard" (reverse scored), and c) The term 'retard' is prejudiced".

Change the Word. Participants were presented with items asking about their overall support for changing the word "retard" campaign. The "Change Word" measure includes two statements regarding support for changing the ("Overall, I agree that the word "retarded" should be changed" and "Overall, I

agree it is fine to use the word "retard."). These two statements were highly correlated, $r(117) = .80$, so they formed a reliable composite measure.

Participants concluded the study by providing demographic information and answering a manipulation check (i.e., "What video did you view?").

Participants were asked if they were football fans, as well as what team they support if they were fans. Participants were also asked to provide their ideas as to what the hypotheses were for the study. Finally, participants were asked which political group they feel would be most supportive of each PSA message. At the conclusion of the study, participants received a debriefing statement (see Appendix G) and thanked for their participation.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

My primary goal was to assess whether exposure to the *Proud to Be* PSA would be effective at increasing support of its message among conservatives or result in counterproductive effects and lead to reduced support. Before testing the competing hypotheses, I first conducted preliminary analyses to clean the data and examine the descriptive statistics and intercorrelations for all measures.

Preliminary Analyses

Data-cleaning

A total of 177 participants completed the study. I removed the data from six participants because they failed the manipulation check and their feedback at the end of the study suggested they did not watch the PSA. I also removed data from one other participant whose responses were identified in our test of multivariate outliers. The final sample of participants consisted of 149 women and 21 men. Participants' age ranged from 18-66 with a median age of 22 years. Participants' reported their ethnicities as follows: 6 African American, 11 Asian, 89 Hispanic/Latino, 56 White, 0 Native American/Indigenous, and 8 Other.

Descriptive Analyses

I conducted descriptive analyses for all measures, including the moderator and outcome measures. Table 1 contains a list of means, standard deviations,

range of responses, and internal consistency (when applicable) for each measure. The moderator variable indicated that the sample of participants tended to lean somewhat liberal to neither liberal nor conservative ($M = 3.45$ $SD = 1.60$) despite a 1-7 response range. Importantly, a one-way ANOVA indicated that political alignment was similar across the three PSA conditions, $F(2, 159) = 1.14$, $p = .323$. The responses for all outcome measures ranged from 1 or 2 to 7 but the means tended to be above the midpoint, particularly for the Change the Word measures. Follow-up paired sample t-tests indicated that participants were more concerned about the term *retard* than *redskins*. That is, they regarded the term *retard* as more offensive to intellectually disabled people ($M = 6.06$, $SD = .99$) than the word *redskin* ($M = 4.66$ $SD = 1.30$) to Indigenous Peoples, $t(169) = -14.38$, $p < .001$. Participants were more likely to support the message to change the word *retard* ($M = 6.05$ $SD = 1.28$) than the message to change the *Redskins'* name and mascot ($M = 4.93$, $SD = 1.70$). Additionally, participants were more likely to express empathy for intellectually disabled people ($M = 5.87$ $SD = 1.09$) than Indigenous Peoples ($M = 5.16$ $SD = 1.24$), $t(169) = -9.47$, $p < .001$.

Zero-Order Correlations

I examined the correlations among the moderator and outcome variables. Political alignment was negatively associated (two-tailed) with all the outcome variables. The significant correlations ranged from $r = -.18$ ($p < .05$) for political alignment and Empathy for Native Americans to $r = .86$ ($p < .01$) for Offensive to Native Americans and Change the Team. Despite the high correlation between

the two measures, I treated them as separate constructs to correspond with my hypotheses.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Political Alignment and Outcome Measures

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>α</i>
Political Alignment	3.45	1.60	1-7	-
Offensive to Native Americans	4.66	1.30	2-7	.93
Change the Team	4.93	1.70	1-7	.97
Empathy for Native Americans	5.16	1.24	1-7	.89

Table 2. Zero-Order Correlations among Political Alignment (PA) and Outcome Variables

	Political Alignment	Offensive to NAs	Change the Team
Offensive to Native Americans	-.26**		
Change the Team	-.33**	.86**	
Empathy for Native Americans	-.18*	.41**	.45**

Note. **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Moderated Multiple Regression

Both the Counterproductive and Effective Hypotheses were tested with multiple moderated regression (MMR). PSA condition was dummy-coded to compare each control PSA (coded as 1) to *Proud to Be* (coded as 0). That is, I coded the three-level variable into two dummy variables. The first dummy variable compared *Proud to Be* to *Don't Text and Drive*. The second dummy variable compared *Proud to Be* to *I am a Person*. *Proud to Be* was coded as 0 in both dummy variables, *Don't Text and Drive* was coded as 1 in Dummy 1 and 0

in Dummy 2, and *I am a Person* was coded as 0 in Dummy 1 and 1 in Dummy 2. After mean-centering the political alignment measure to increase interpretability (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003), I computed the interaction terms between this measure and both dummy variables. The dummy variables, political alignment, and the interaction terms (see Garcia, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Ellemers, 2010; Hayes, 2013) were simultaneously entered into the first step of the MMR. Three MMR analyses were conducted with Empathy for Native Americans, Offensive to Native Americans, and Change the Team/Mascot as outcome measures.¹

In addition to using MMR to test the competing hypotheses, I used simple slopes analyses to assess whether the slope between Political Alignment and the outcome measures differed from zero within each PSA condition. I then computed end-point analyses to compare the *Proud to Be* and control PSA conditions at ± 1 SD from the mean for Political Alignment, with relatively liberal participants at -1SD and relatively conservative participants at +1 SD.

I examined the findings for patterns that supported either the Counterproductive or Effective Hypotheses. I expected that the Counterproductive Hypothesis would be supported if three conditions were met. First, the analyses produced nonsignificant main effects of condition but significant interaction terms. Second, simple slope analyses showed a negative

¹ When variables are dummy coded and the continuous variable is centered, the B for the main effects and their interactions are interpretable (Hayes, 2013) because B represents the difference between the unweighted means of the groups involved in the contrast (see Cohen et al., 2003). Thus, I reported unstandardized coefficients (B) rather than standardized coefficients (β). See Table 1 for the descriptive statistics of the criterion variables and Table 3 for the model summary of the regression analyses.

relationship between political ideology and support for the target PSA's message, particularly among participants who viewed the *Proud to Be* PSA rather than either control video. Third, end-point analyses showed that empathy, perceptions of offensiveness, and support for changing the team were lower for the *Proud to Be* message among strongly conservative participants who viewed that PSA rather than either control video (i.e., a *boomerang effect*). This latter effect could be accompanied by the opposite effect for liberal-leaning participants with end-point analyses showing increased support for the *Proud to Be* video among those who viewed that video rather than the control videos (i.e., a polarization effect).

I expected the Effective Hypothesis to be supported if the analyses produced one of two patterns of findings. First, this hypothesis would be supported if the analyses produced main effects of both dummy variables but the interaction terms were non-significant. That is, participants (regardless of political alignment) who viewed the *Proud to Be* PSA were more positive towards the message relative to those who view either control video. A second possibility is that the interaction terms were significant with simple slopes showing that *Proud to Be* led to increased empathy and support for the message, especially as political alignment moved further right. Endpoint analyses would then show that among those on the right side of the political alignment scale, empathy, perceptions of offensiveness, and support for changing the team would be higher in the *Proud to Be* than the two control conditions. Further, the moderated effects of condition on Offensive to Native Americans and Change the Team would be

mediated by Empathy. That is, the effects of *Proud to be* PSA on the two outcome measures would be because the PSA effectively increased empathy among those (particularly conservatives) who viewed that video.

In the next section, I report the MMR analyses followed by the simple slope and endpoint analyses for each measure. The regressions for all measures are reported and summarized in Table 3. The simple slopes are illustrated in Figures 2 to 4.

Empathy for Native Americans. In the MMR for NA Empathy, the main effects of Dummy 1 was nonsignificant, $B = -.302$, $t(156) = -1.28$, $p = .202$, Dummy 2 was marginally significant, $B = -.444$, $t(156) = -1.92$, $p = .056$, and Political Alignment was nonsignificant, $B = .048$, $t(156) = 0.44$, $p = .658$. The interaction term between Dummy 1 and Political alignment was significant, indicating that political alignment played a role in participants' experiences of empathy for Native Americans when they watched *Proud to Be* rather than the *Don't Text and Drive* control PSA, $B = -.314$, $t(156) = -2.13$, $p = .034$. However, political alignment did not play a role in expression of empathy towards Native Americans among participants who viewed the *I am a Person* PSA rather than the *Proud to Be* PSA, $B = -.199$, $t(156) = -1.32$, $p = .188$.

Simple slopes analyses provided some support for the Effective Hypothesis. The slope for *Don't Text and Drive* significantly differed from zero, $B = -0.27$, $t(156) = -2.66$, $p = 0.0085$. Increases in political alignment (towards conservatism) were associated with reduced empathy for Native Americans.

Although the slope for *I am a Person* showed a similar pattern, that slope was not significant, simple slope, $B = -0.15$, $t(156) = -1.45$, $p = 0.1504$. The negative relationship between political alignment and empathy shown in the *Don't Text and Drive* control condition, however, was eliminated among participants who watched the *Proud to Be* PSA. That is, the simple slope for *Proud to Be* was not significantly different from zero, $B = 0.05$, $t(156) = 0.44$, $p = 0.6576$.

End point analyses provided strong support for the Effective Hypothesis. Among relatively liberal participants, empathy levels were similar between *Proud to Be* and both *Don't Text and Drive*, $B = 0.2024$, $t(156) = 0.611$, $p = 0.54$, and *I am a Person*, $B = 0.13$, $t(156) = -0.39$, $p = 0.6977$. Relatively liberal participants who watched *Proud to Be* reported the same levels of empathy as did those who watched either of the two control PSAs. Among relatively conservative participants, however, empathy differed as a function of PSA condition, $B = -0.81$, $t(156) = -2.40$, $p = 0.0174$. Relatively conservative participants reported greater empathy for Native Americans after watching *Proud to Be* rather than *Don't Text and Drive*, $B = -0.81$, $t(156) = -2.40$, $p = 0.0174$, or *I am a Person*, $B = -0.76$, $t(156) = -2.21$, $p = 0.0283$. Figure 1 depicts the interactive effects of PSA condition and Political Alignment on Empathy for Native Americans.

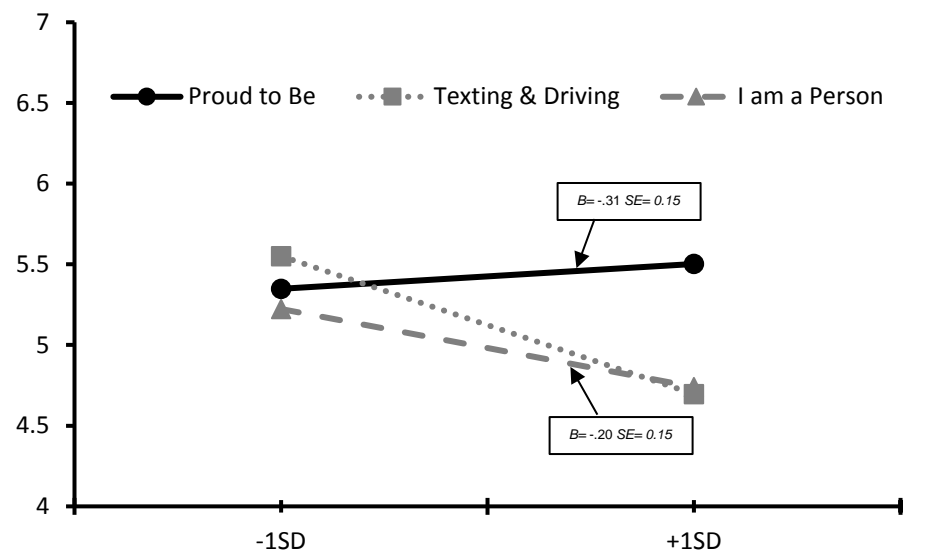


Figure 1. Plot Points of Dummy 1 and Political Alignment Interaction and Dummy 2 and Political Alignment Interaction through Empathy for Native Americans

Offensive to Native Americans. The main effects of Dummy 1 was nonsignificant, $B = -.38$, $t(156) = -1.60$, $p = .111$, Dummy 2 was nonsignificant, $B = .019$, $t(156) = .08$, $p = .936$, and Political Alignment was nonsignificant, $B = .08$, $t(156) = .74$, $p = .462$. The interaction term between Dummy 1 and Political Alignment was significant, indicating that political alignment played a role in participants' thoughts of the *Redskins* mascot/name being considered offensive to Native Americans when they watched *Proud to Be* rather than *Don't Text and Drive* control PSA, $B = -.384$, $t(156) = -2.579$, $p = .011$. Additionally, the interaction term between Dummy 2 and Political Alignment was also significant, indicating political alignment played a role in participants' thoughts of the *Redskins* mascot/name being considered offensive to Native Americans when

they watched *Proud to Be* rather than *I am a Person* PSA, $B = -.45$, $t(156) = -2.94$, $p = .004$.

For the Offensive to Native Americans measure, simple slopes analyses supported the Effective Hypothesis. The slope for both *Don't Text and Drive*, $B = -0.30$, $t(156) = -3.00$, $p = 0.0032$, and *I am a Person*, $B = -0.37$, $t(156) = -3.47$, $p = 0.0007$, significantly differed from zero. In both PSA conditions, increases in political alignment (towards conservatism) were negatively associated with perceptions that the Washington *Redskins'* name and mascot were offensive to Native Americans. The negative relationship between political alignment and perceptions of offensiveness, however, was eliminated among those who watched the *Proud to Be* PSA, $B = 0.08$, $t(156) = 0.74$, $p = 0.4617$.

Endpoint analyses for Offensive to Native Americans suggested *Proud to Be* was effective, at least among those who were more politically conservative. For relatively liberal participants, perceptions of offensiveness did not differ between the *Proud to Be* PSA and *Don't Text and Drive* PSA, $B = -0.23$, $t(156) = 0.70$, $p = 0.4858$. That is, relatively liberal participants who watched *Proud to Be* reported equal perceptions of offensiveness as did those who watched the texting and driving PSA. Unexpectedly, relatively liberal participants reported lower perceptions of offensiveness if they watched the *Proud to Be* PSA rather than the *I am a Person* PSA, $B = 0.74$, $t(156) = 2.25$, $p = 0.0255$. I found the opposite effect among relatively conservative participants: Compared to those who watched *Proud to Be*, those who were conservative-leaning were more likely

to regard the *Redskins'* name and mascot as offensive to Native Americans if they watched *Proud to Be* rather than either the *Don't Text and Drive*, $B = -1.00$, $t = -2.94$, $p = 0.0038$, or *I am a Person* PSAs, $B = -0.70$, $t = -2.00$, $p = 0.047$. Figure 2 depicts the interactive effects of PSA condition and Political Alignment on Offensive to Native Americans.

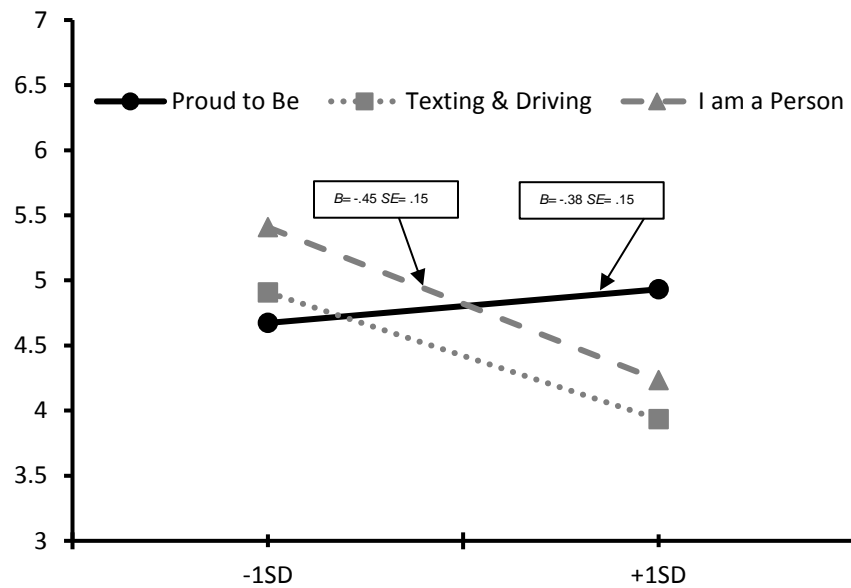


Figure 2. Plot Points of Dummy 1 x Political Alignment Centered and Dummy 2 x Political Alignment Centered on perceptions of Offensiveness to Native Americans

Change the Team. The main effects of Dummy 1 was significant, $B = -.664$, $t(156) = -2.21$, $p = .028$, Dummy 2 was nonsignificant, $B = -.190$, $t(156) = -6.45$, $p = .520$, and Political Alignment was nonsignificant, $B = .086$, $t(156) = .627$, $p = .531$. The interaction term between Dummy 1 and Political Alignment was significant, indicating political alignment played a role in participants' attitudes toward changing the team when they watched *Proud to Be* rather than the texting

and driving control PSA, $B = -.556$, $t(156) = -2.964$ $p = .004$. Additionally, the interaction term between Dummy 2 and Political alignment was also significant, indicating political alignment played a role in participants' attitudes toward changing the team when they watched *Proud to Be* rather than *I am a Person* control PSA, $B = -.680$, $t(156) = -3.55$ $p = .001$.

For the Change the Team measure, simple slopes analyses supported the Effective Hypothesis. The slope for both *Don't Text and Drive*, $B = 0.47$, $t(156) = -3.68$, $p = 0.003$, and *I am a Person*, $B = -0.59$, $t(156) = -5.04$, $p < .001$, significantly differed from zero. In both PSA conditions, increases in political alignment (towards conservatism) were negatively associated with agreement that the Washington *Redskins* should change its name and mascot. The negative relationship between political alignment and support for changing the team's name and mascot, however, was eliminated among those who watched the *Proud to Be* PSA, $B = 0.08$ $t(156) = 0.63$, $p = 0.5313$.

The endpoint analyses for Change the Team also showed that *Proud to Be* was effective for increasing support among those who were more politically conservative but not liberal. Relatively liberal participants were equally likely to support changing the team and name regardless of whether they watched *Proud to Be* PSA or the texting and driving PSA, $B = 0.23$, $t(156) = 0.54$, $p = 0.5903$. Unexpectedly, there was a significant difference at the liberal end of the scale between those in the *Proud to Be* and *I am a Person* conditions, $B = 0.9$, $t(156) = 2.19$, $p = 0.0299$. Relatively liberal participants reported *less* support for changing

the team and name after they watched the *Proud to Be* PSA rather than *I am a Person* PSA. Among those who were relatively conservative, support for changing the name and mascot differed between those who watched the *Proud to Be* and either the *Don't Text and Drive*, $B = -1.56$, $t = -3.64$, $p = 0.0004$, or *I am a Person* PSAs, $B = -1.28$, $t = -2.92$, $p = 0.047$. Figure 4 depicts the interactive effects of PSA condition and Political Alignment on agreement that the *Redskins* should change their name and mascot.²

² Although the effectiveness of the Change the Word PSA was not central to my hypotheses, I also conducted regression analyses in which Change the Word was compared to Texting and Driving (Dummy 3) and Proud to Be (Dummy 2) and entered into a model with Political Alignment and the interaction terms between alignment and the dummy variables. The regressions only produced a marginally significant interaction for each outcome measure. The Empathy for Intellectually Disabled People revealed a marginally significant interaction between Change the Word and Texting and Driving, $B = -.22$, $t(156) = -1.68$, $p = .095$. The Offensive to Intellectually Disabled People revealed a marginally significant interaction between Change the Word and Proud to Be, $B = .22$, $t(156) = 1.94$, $p = .054$. Finally, the Empathy for Intellectually Disabled People revealed a marginally significant interaction between Change the Word and Proud to Be, $B = .25$, $t(156) = 1.73$, $p = .087$. Together, the inconsistent results across measures and the marginally significant effects suggest that Change the Word PSA was not a very effective PSA.

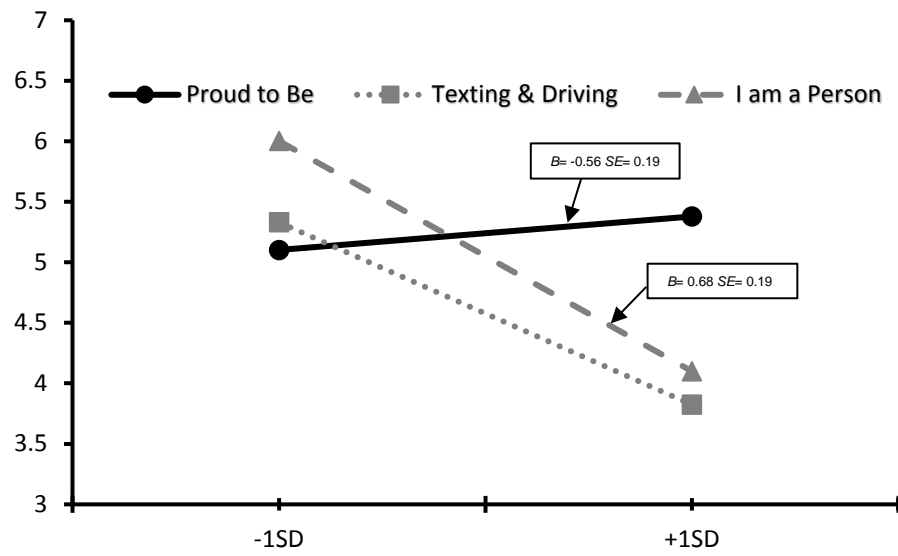


Figure 3. Plot Points of Dummy 1 x Political Alignment Centered and Dummy 2 x Political Alignment Centered on Change the Team

Table 3. Model Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis

Dependent variable	ENA		ONA		CTT	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Constant	5.43	0.16	4.80	0.16	5.24	0.20
Dummy 1	-0.30	0.24	-0.38	0.24	-0.66*	0.30
Dummy 2	-0.44*	0.23	0.02	0.23	-0.19	0.29
Political Alignment	0.05	0.11	0.08	0.11	0.09	0.14
Dummy 1 x Political Align	-0.31*	0.15	-0.38*	0.15	-0.56**	0.19
Dummy 2 x Political Align	-0.20	0.15	-0.45**	0.15	0.68**	0.19

Note. ENA = Empathy for Native Americans; ONA = Offensive to Native Americans; CTT = Change the Team. [†] $p \leq .10$; * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$

Moderated Mediation Analyses

If the effectiveness of the *Proud to Be* PSA was to some extent due to its ability to increase empathy, a test of moderated mediation should show that the effect of video type (target versus control) on support occurred through (or were

mediated by) empathy. That is, because *Proud to Be* tends to increase empathy among those who tend to have low empathy for the group (i.e., those who are right leaning), the PSA leads to increased support.

To test the role of empathy, I conducted a test of moderated mediation with PROCESS Model 8 (Hayes, 2013). Specifically, I tested whether the moderated relationship between PSA condition and perceptions that the *Redskins* name and mascot are offensive and should be change are mediated by empathy. I was interested in whether the moderated mediation would be one in which conservatism was associated with increased empathy for Native Americans, which was in turn associated with greater support for the message and initiative for change.

Before conducting the moderated mediation analyses, I combined the two control PSAs into one condition. My rationale for combining the control conditions was that they produced similar effects in the analyses when compared to the *Proud to Be* PSA. As an extra precaution, I conducted MMRs on the outcome variables with *Don't Text and Drive* (coded as 0) versus *Proud to Be* (coded as 1) as one variable (Dummy 1b), *Don't Text and Drive* (coded as 0) versus *I am a Person* (coded as 1) as a second variable (Dummy 2b), the main effect of Political Alignment (centered), and the two interaction terms. These analyses produced no main effects or interactive effects of *I am a Person*, indicating that the two control conditions did not differ in their effects on the outcome variables, *ts* ranged from 0.59 to 1.65 and *ps* ranged from 0.555 to 0.101. Given the

evidence that the two control conditions produced similar effects across the analyses, I was confident in combining the conditions, which I coded as 0 for the control conditions and 1 for *Proud to Be*.

To assess for moderated mediation, I followed Preacher et al.'s (2007) recommendation to estimate the conditional indirect effects using a bootstrap CI to assess whether these indirect effects differed from zero at specific values of the moderator (see Figure 4 for conceptual model tested). I followed this procedure by using Model 8 in PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) with 5,000 bootstrap estimates for the construction of 95% bias-corrected CIs for the conditional indirect effects. With Model 8, I was able to test whether Political Alignment moderated the relationships between the PSA Condition (*Proud to Be* versus the control PSAs). To assess the moderated mediation effects, I used the mean to represent moderate political alignment, one standard deviation below the mean to represent liberal political alignment and one standard deviation above the mean to represent conservative political alignment.

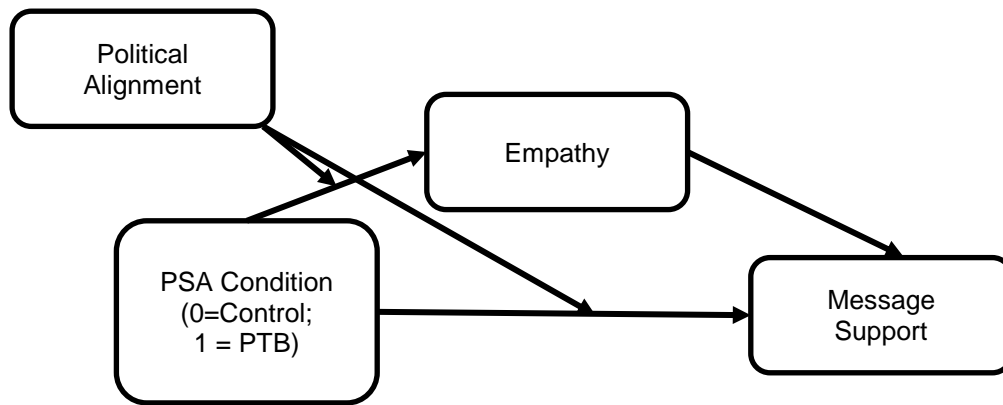


Figure 4. Conceptual Moderated Mediation Model

Offensive for Native Americans. The moderated mediation analyses (see Table 4 for OLS regression model coefficients for both outcome measures) showed that the indirect effect of PSA condition on NA Offensive through NA Empathy was positive among those who were politically moderate (0.00, 95% CI: 0.02 to 0.31) or relatively conservative (0.29, 95% CI: 0.10 to 0.58). These findings indicate that PSA condition was associated with increased empathy for Native Americans among those who were politically moderate or conservative, which in turn was associated with increased perceptions that the *Redskins'* name and mascot were offensive to Native Americans. This indirect effect, however, was not significantly different from zero among those who tended to be politically liberal (-0.02, 95% CI: -0.24 to 0.19). The point estimates and 95% CIs for the conditional indirect effect are summarized in Table 5 for both outcome measures.

Change the Team. The moderated mediation analyses showed that the indirect effect of PSA condition on Change the Team through NA Empathy was

positive among those were politically moderate (0.19, 95% CI: 0.03 to 0.40) or relatively conservative (0.39, 95% CI: 0.13 to 0.76). These findings indicate that the increases in empathy for Native Americans that were associated with PSA condition among politically moderates or conservatives was in turn associated with increased support for changing the *Redskins'* name and mascot. This indirect effect, however, was not significantly different from zero among those who tended to be politically liberal (-0.02, 95% CI: -0.33 to 0.25).

Table 4. Model 8 in PROCESS: Ordinary Least Square Regression Model
Coefficients (Standard Errors in Parentheses)

	NA Empathy	NA Offensive	Change the Team
Constant	5.05 (0.12)***	2.78 (0.40)***	2.78 (0.40)***
CDN	0.38 (0.20) [†]	0.03 (0.19)	0.23 (0.24)
Political Alignment	-0.21(0.07)*	-0.26(0.07)***	-0.43(0.09)***
CDN x Political Alignment	0.26 (0.13)*	0.33 (0.12)**	0.50 (0.16)**
NA Empathy		0.37 (0.08)***	0.50 (0.09)***
R^2	0.07**	0.24***	0.31***

Note. $N = 162$. * $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$. *** $p \leq .001$.

Table 5. Conditional Indirect Effects of Public Service Announcement Condition on perceptions of Offensiveness to Native Americans and Change the Team through Empathy for Native Americans at Levels of Political Alignment

Political Alignment	NA Offensive		Change the Team	
	Point estimate	95% bias-corrected bootstrap CIs	Point estimate	95% bias-corrected bootstrap CIs
Low (-1.61; 1.93 before centering)	-0.02	-0.24 to 0.19	-0.02	-0.33 to 0.25
Moderate (0; 3.45 before centering)	0.00	0.02 to 0.31	0.19	0.03 to 0.40
High (1.61; 5.06 before centering)	0.29	0.10 to 0.58	0.39	0.13 to 0.76
Note. <i>N</i> = 162; 5000 bootstraps				

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The purpose of my study was to experimentally examine the effects that the *Proud to Be* PSA might have on support for changing the name *Redskins* among Non-Indigenous participants, as function of political alignment. I anticipated two opposing hypotheses: “The Counterproductive Hypothesis” or “The Effective Hypothesis”. Support for the Counterproductive Hypothesis would have been demonstrated by a polarization type effect in which viewing *Proud to Be* magnified opposition to the PSA’s message as conservatism increased. The Effective Hypotheses would have been sustained if participants who watched the *Proud to Be* PSA showed increased empathy and support for the message regardless of political alignment or as conservatism increased.

Summary of Results

I used multiple moderation regression (MMR) analyses to test the moderating effect of political alignment (strongly liberal to strongly conservative) on the relationships between PSA condition (*Proud to Be*, *I am a Person*, and *Don’t Text and Drive*) on Empathy for Native Americans, Offensiveness for Native Americans and support for Changing the team and mascot. Results indicated that political alignment was associated with decreased empathy among participants who watched the *Don’t Text and Drive* or *I am a Person* PSA;

however, this inverse relationship was mitigated when participants were exposed to the *Proud to Be* PSA. Thus, *Proud to Be* was successful in eliciting empathy for Indigenous Peoples among participants who tended to report reduced empathy to begin with (those at the right side of the political alignment continuum). Similarly, political alignment was negatively related to perceptions that the *Redskins'* name and mascot were offensive to Native Americans when participants were exposed to either of the two control PSAs. However, when participants were exposed to the *Proud to Be* PSA, results indicated that the inverse effect of political alignment on beliefs about offensiveness was alleviated. Once again, the results indicate that *Proud to Be* was successful. Last, when participants were exposed to either control PSA, conservatism was associated with lower support for changing the team and mascot. Conversely, when participants were exposed to *Proud to Be*, that relationship was mitigated, and conservatism no longer predicted opposition to changing the *Redskins'* name/mascot.

To assess whether increases in empathy for Native Americans among those who viewed the *Proud to Be* PSA explained the reduced effects of conservatism on the other two outcome measures, I conducted a moderation mediation analyzes using Model 8 in PROCESS (Hayes, 2013). With this analytical approach, I was able to test whether the interactive effect of PSA and political alignment on offensiveness to Native Americans and Change the Team occurred through increases in empathy for Native Americans. I found that when

politically moderate and conservative participants (i.e., non-liberals) were exposed to *Proud to Be* rather than the combined control PSAs, they experienced increased empathy for Native Americans, which in turn was associated with increased agreement the *Redskins* use of Indigenous representations were offensive to Native Americans and should change their name. Because *Proud to Be* increased empathy among non-liberals, the PSA had the effect of eliminating non-liberals' tendency to regard the use of Indigenous names and mascots by the *Redskins* (and other sports teams) as offensive and needing to change. Overall, the findings provided support for the Effective Hypothesis. That is, politically moderate and conservative participants who viewed the *Proud to Be* PSA were more likely to support changing the name and mascot as compared to those who watched either of the control PSAs.

My analyses produced one unexpected finding. Politically liberal participants perceived equal offensiveness and indicated equal support for changing the name and team when they watched *Proud to Be* rather than *Don't Text and Drive*; however, this was not the case when they viewed *I am a Person*. Rather, liberals showed *less* support for the *Proud to Be* message when they watched that PSA rather than the texting and driving PSA. It is difficult to explain this result considering the literature on attitude polarization suggests that liberals should have become *more* supportive after viewing a PSA that was consistent with their attitudes (Isenberg, 1986). One possibility is that liberal participants who viewed *Proud to Be* experienced reactance to the message, which led to

lowered support. This explanation, however, seems inconsistent with my finding that liberal participants reported similarly high levels of empathy for Native Americans regardless of which PSA was viewed (means were over 5.0 across conditions). Because empathy tended to be high among liberals and did not drop in the *Proud to Be* PSA, it seems implausible to conclude that PSA led to lower support for its message among liberals. It appears instead that *I am a Person* led to *increased* support. Perhaps something about that PSA reminded liberal participants about their values concerning identity politics or primed political correctness. Unfortunately, my data do not provide the opportunity to explore these or other possibilities. Further research would be needed to assess whether this effect is replicated and what might drive it. Despite this anomalous finding among liberal participants, *Proud to Be* was successful with its likely intended audience (i.e., conservatives) and this success seemed driven by the PSA's ability to evoke empathy for the target group among conservatives.

The Role of Empathy

Proud to Be was meant to target groups that may be resistant to the message (i.e., non-Indigenous Peoples and conservatives). Despite the unlikelihood of support from non-Indigenous participants and conservatives, my study revealed these groups to be supportive of changing the name and mascot after viewing the *Proud to Be* PSA as compared to the combined control PSAs. Empathy is a likely contributor to the success of the *Proud to Be* campaign in that participants were more likely to feel empathetic to the issue after viewing the

Proud to Be PSA as compared to the combined control PSA, and empathy mediated the relationship between the PSA x Political Alignment interaction on the outcome measures.

The mediating role of empathy suggests that the *Proud to Be* PSA's empathy-driven approach could serve as a model for other marginalized groups that seek to educate the public about their identity concerns and gain control over their identity-management. The findings also suggest that inducing empathy at a large scale might lead members of high-status groups to be more concerned about the well-being (not just identity concerns) of marginalized groups. Thus, in addition to offering an evidence-based approach to testing the effectiveness of a PSA, my research adds to the body of literature concerning the role of empathy in prosocial behavior directed towards outgroup members. Overall, my findings suggest that, empathy-driven approaches could elicit prosocial attitude change even among sometimes-rigid or inflexible ideologies such as conservatism (Herek & Glunt, 1993; Nosek, Banaji, & Jost, 2009; Sears & Henry, 2003; Reyna, Henry, Korfmacher, & Tucker, 2006).

Empathy and Perspective-Taking

One reason for *Proud to Be*'s effectiveness at increasing empathy among relatively conservative individuals might be that the PSA induced viewers to take the perspective of Indigenous Peoples. Although that possibility is beyond the scope of this research, there is substantial evidence that perspective taking elicits empathy. When one imagines how another feels (i.e. takes their

perspective) it can evoke empathy that can lead to prosocial behavior, improve feelings toward a stigmatized group, and improve intergroup relations (Batson et al., 1995; Batson, Early, & Salvarani, 1997; Batson et al., 2002). Relevant to the current research is the evidence that ethnic perspective-taking differs between liberals and conservatives (Sparkman & Eidelman, 2016). Sparkman and Eidelman (2016) found that primarily White liberals were more likely than their conservative counterparts to try and take the perspective of other ethnic outgroups (i.e., try to understand different ethnicities better by imagining their experiences from their perspective). Liberals were also less likely than conservatives were to express prejudice or endorse stereotypes, and mediational analyses showed that these effects of political ideology on prejudice and stereotyping occurred indirectly through empathy. That is, empathy mediated the relationships between political ideology and prejudice and stereotyping. Together, the research showing that perspective-taking leads to empathy and that ethnic perspective-taking differs among liberals and conservatives suggests that the effectiveness of *Proud to Be* might be because it induces conservatives to take the perspective of Indigenous Peoples. This shift in perspective-taking activates empathy, which in turn leads to support for the message. to add Sparkman's and Eidelman's (2016) modified ethnic perspective-taking measure in order to evaluate participants' likelihood of adopting Indigenous Peoples' perspective of prejudice and stereotyping before the *Proud to Be* PSA is viewed. This type of measure could add evidentiary support to the effectiveness of the

Proud to Be PSA. That is, those who may be less likely to take the perspective of other ethnicities' may still support changing the name and mascot of the Washington *Redskins* after viewing the *Proud to Be* PSA.

Future Research

Future research concerning the effectiveness of *Proud to Be* (or similar identity management PSAs) could include Sparkman's and Eidelman's (2016) modified ethnic perspective-taking measure (Davis, 1983) in order to evaluate participants' likelihood of adopting Indigenous Peoples' perspective before the *Proud to Be* PSA is viewed. This type of measure could add evidentiary support to the effectiveness of the *Proud to Be* PSA. That is, conservatives (and others who may be less likely to take the perspective of other ethnicities) may still support changing the name and mascot of the Washington *Redskins* after viewing the *Proud to Be* PSA.

Although behavioral measures were beyond the purpose of the current paper, future research regarding the *Proud to Be* PSA could also assess behavior change by giving participants the opportunity to sign a petition, join a protest, or volunteer time towards a cause. Conservatives might show increased likelihood of engaging in these prosocial behaviors following exposure to the PSA. As noted earlier, empathy is positively associated with prosocial behavior (e.g., Batson, 2006; Eisenberg and Miller, 1987).

Another route for future research would be evaluating participants' racial attitudes toward Indigenous People after priming them with exposure of mascots

“performing” at sporting events and then measuring their racial attitudes post exposure to the *Proud to Be* PSA. Plausibly, mascots increase stereotyping and prejudice, which would lead to lower support for changing sports’ teams use of Indigenous mascots and names. Exposure to the PSA, however, could mitigate this effect and lead to a reduction in stereotyping and prejudice and to an increase in message support. This research could not only add to the possible effectiveness of the *Proud to Be* PSA to alter racial attitudes, but add to the stereotype application literature.

Limitations

Although my study is well designed, it is still in its infancy and not without flaw. There are several possible limitations to consider. First, the majority of my participants tended to be at the liberal end of the scale. Because conservatives are prime targets of the *Proud to Be* PSA, they should constitute an equal share of the participant sample. Due to the high percentage of self-identifying liberal students on university campuses (Doherty, Kiley, Jameson, 2016), it is important to develop the study further by recruiting participants away from academia. This limitation will easily be remedied in a future study, in which I will recruit participants outside of the university setting via online platform TurkPrime.

A second limitation is that the tendency for liberals in my study to show *increased* support for the message in *Proud to Be* after watching *I am a Person* remains unexplained. In my TurkPrime study, I will assess whether I replicate this

effect and include measures of political correctness endorsement (Acosta & Garcia, in progress) and liberal identification (e.g., Ehrlich & Gramzow, 2015).

Conclusion

The *Proud to Be* PSA is one outlet to provoke thought and change. In addition to protest, teach-ins, and boycotts, the comedy troupe *All Def Digital* produced a similar albeit comedic approach to addressing racist issues in sports playfully entitled, *Nobody Really Cares About Racism in the NBA*. After the owner of Los Angeles *Clippers*, Donald Sterling, publicly used ethnic slurs to describe an African American former basketball player, the comedy group produced the PSA to address the public outcry of racism toward African Americans in sports while satirizing the invisibility of Indigenous Peoples and the various racist team names such as *Redskins*, *Blackhawks*, *Chiefs*, and *Braves* used in professional sports.

Many Indigenous People consider *redskin* a racial slur and offensive (Fenelon, 2016); thus, it raises many issues surrounding negative stereotypes, stereotype threat, and identity politics. Recently, Burkley, Burkley, Andrade, and Bell (2017) examined the impact of Indigenous mascots on stereotype application. Their results indicated participants with prejudicial attitudes toward Indigenous Peoples who were exposed to the mascots rated an Indigenous individual as more stereotypically aggressive as compared to participants with non-prejudicial attitudes. Burkley and colleagues (2017) note that this phenomenon did not occur when participants were exposed to a Euro based

mascot or neutral image. Therefore, they concluded exposure to Indigenous mascots facilitates the application of negative stereotypes and results in harmful evaluations of Indigenous Peoples (Burkley et al., 2017).

Fryberg and colleagues (2008) have established that Indigenous representations in sports also have negative consequences for Indigenous People. These groups experience stereotype threat when exposed to stereotypical Indigenous mascot representations because these representations limit the way they view themselves. It is disempowering for Indigenous Peoples to not control their own imagery or representations (Fryberg et al., 2008). The *Washington Redskins*' name and imagery might be particularly disempowering. Despite the historical debate as to the origins or context of the phrase, *redskin* as it stands today is an ethnic slur that should not be rebranded to represent Indigenous Peoples for athletic entertainment (Fenelon, 2016).

The NCAI produced *Proud to Be* to incite understanding of the offensiveness of the phrase *redskin*. After decades of public protest, the Washington *Redskins* lost their team trademark in July of 2015 after Indigenous activists convinced a trademark agency to void the team's registration on grounds that the phrase *redskins* is considered an ethnic slur. The Washington *Redskins* have trademarked the slur for more than 80 years and despite their various counterarguments (e.g., the longevity of its use, how Indigenous People actually love the team, and how an Asian-American rock band, *The Slants*, was allowed a trademark despite *slant* being known as an Asian ethnic slur), the

Redskins were denied their appeal and will subsequently lose millions without protection from counterfeit merchandise. Despite the Washington Redskins being allowed to continue using their name and mascot, it is a victory for Indigenous activists and a step toward change. My findings suggest that PSAs like *Proud to Be* might generate one more crucial step in Indigenous People's progress towards identity management.

APPENDIX A
STUDY SYNOPSIS

Assessment of Advertisements”: The study in which you are being asked to participate is designed to better understand people’s experiences with visual media and emotions.

APPENDIX B
INFORMED CONSENT

Assessment of Advertisement

PURPOSE: The study in which you are being asked to participate is designed to better understand people's experiences with visual media and emotions. This study is being conducted by Nina Acosta as part of her thesis requirement under the advisement of Dr. Donna Garcia. This study has been approved by the department of Psychology Institutional Review Board sub-committee, California State University, San Bernardino. The official Psychology IRB stamp of approval should appear on this consent form.

DESCRIPTION: If you choose to participate in the study, you will be asked to view an advertisement. You also will also be asked to complete three short surveys. The first survey will be regarding your feelings toward the video message, the second will be regarding your level of agreement with the video message, and the third asks for information about yourself. The video takes approximately 4 minutes and the surveys take approximately 35 minutes. Overall, your participation should take no more than 40 minutes.

PARTICIPATION: Participation in this research is voluntary. You may choose to participate or not. If you do choose to participate but later change your mind, you may withdraw from the study at any time. Refusal to participate or withdraw at any time during the study will involve no penalty or loss of extra credit to which you are otherwise entitled.

CONFIDENTIALITY OR ANONYMITY: Your responses on the survey will be used solely by the researchers and stored on a secure computer, with all identifying information about you removed. By signing this form you give the researchers permission to use your responses, in aggregate form to be published in student theses, scientific journals or presented at professional conferences. All data will be destroyed 7 years after publication.

DURATION: Your participation in the study will take approximately 40 minutes.

RISKS: There are no known risks to participating in this study. The video and the survey should cause no more discomfort than you experience in everyday life.

BENEFITS AND COMPENSATION: Although participation may not benefit you directly, we believe that the information obtained from this study will help us gain a better understanding of how individuals respond to messages in advertisements. As compensation for your time, you will receive 2 credit points for your involvement in our study today.

QUESTIONS: If you have questions or concerns about your research participation, please contact the department of Psychology Institutional Review Board sub-committee, California State University, San Bernardino at

psych.irb@csusb.edu. If you wish to learn about the results of this study, please contact Dr. Donna Garcia at dmgarci@csusb.edu.

California State University Psychology Institutional Review Board Sub- Committee			
Approved	5/29/14	Void After	5/29/15
IBB # H14SP- 21		Chair	

By clicking "I consent," I acknowledge that I am 18 years old and have been informed of, and understand, the nature and purpose of this study, and I freely consent to participate.

APPENDIX C
POLITICAL ALIGNMENT SCALE

What is your political alignment?

[Scale: 1= Strongly Disagree; 4 = Neither Agree or Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree]

1. Liberal
2. Conservative

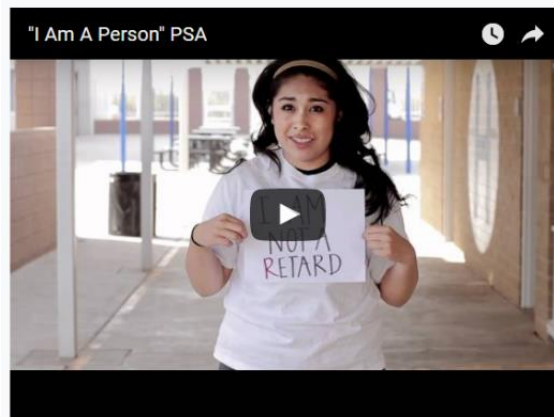
APPENDIX D

VIDEOS

Instructions:

You will be randomly assigned to watch one of three videos regarding a social issue. Please let the video play to the end. Please proceed to the next screen.

[Participants randomly viewed the *Proud to Be*, *I am a Person* or *Don't Text and Drive* PSA.]



APPENDIX E

PANAS SCALE AND OUTCOME MEASURES

Instructions:

You will be randomly assigned to read about and rate two social issues. One of these two issues may include the one you already viewed.



Change the Mascot is a national campaign to end the use of the racial slur “redskins” as the mascot and name of the NFL team in Washington, D.C. Launched by the Oneida Indian Nation, the campaign calls upon the NFL and Commissioner Roger Goodell to do the right thing and bring an end the use of the racial epithet.

Please select the response that best describes your emotions towards Native Americans who are against using the word "Redskin."

[Scale: 1= Strongly Disagree; 4 = Neither Agree or Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree]

1. Sympathetic
2. Anger
3. Compassionate
4. Annoyance
5. Soft-hearted
6. Hostility
7. Warm
8. Discomfort
9. Tender
10. Disgust
11. Moved
12. Understanding

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

[Scale 1= Strongly Disagree; 4 = Neither Agree or Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree]

1. The uses of Native American Mascots are offensive
2. The use of Native American images for mascots degrades Indigenous cultures
3. The term “Redskin” is a racial slur
4. Native American mascots are based on positive stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples
5. The term “Redskin” is offensive to Native Americans
6. Native American mascots are respectful because they are used to represent strength and courage
7. Native American mascots are based on negative stereotypes of Native American Peoples
8. Native American mascots reinforce negative stereotypes of Native Americans
9. It is racist to use any image of Native Americans as a mascot for a sports team
10. The term “Redskin” is not insulting
11. It is racist to use any ethnicity as a mascot for a sports team
12. Overall, I agree that the Washington Redskins should CHANGE their name
13. Overall, I agree that the Washington Redskins should KEEP their name
14. Overall, I agree that the Washington Redskins should CHANGE their mascot
15. Overall, I agree that the Washington Redskins should KEEP their mascot



Spread the Word End the Word is an ongoing effort by the Special Olympics, Best Buddies, and other supporters to inspire respect and acceptance through raising consciousness of society about the R-word and how hurtful words and disrespect can be toward people with intellectual disabilities.

Please select the response that best describes your emotions towards intellectually disabled people who are against using the word, "retard/retarded."

[Scale: 1= Strongly Disagree; 4 = Neither Agree or Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree]

1. Sympathetic
2. Anger
3. Compassionate
4. Annoyance
5. Soft-hearted
6. Hostility
7. Warm
8. Discomfort
9. Tender
10. Disgust
11. Moved
12. Understanding

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

[Scale: 1= Strongly Disagree; 4 = Neither Agree or Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree]

1. The use of the word "retarded" is offensive.
2. The use of the word "retarded" degrades people with intellectual disabilities.
3. "Retard" is just a term people use that is NOT offensive to any group of people.
4. The use of word "retarded" in everyday language is offensive to people with intellectual disabilities.
5. The term "retard" is prejudiced.
6. The term "retard" is insulting to people who have intellectual disabilities.
7. It is not okay to use "retard" to imply a person is stupid.
8. People are overreacting by saying it's offensive to use the term "retard."
9. The use of "retard" as an insult is based on negative stereotypes of people with intellectual disabilities
10. People who call others "retarded" are reinforcing negative stereotypes of people with intellectual disabilities.
11. It's no big deal to use the word "retard" to mean stupid.
12. People should not use the word "retard" as an insult to others under any circumstance
13. When people are acting stupid, it is okay to call them a retard.
14. Overall, I agree that the word "retarded" should be changed.

15. Overall, I agree it is fine to use the word "retard."

APPENDIX F
DEMOGRAPHICS

DEMOGRAPHICS

- Male
- Female

Please type in your age

To which racial/ethnic group do you belong (Select one)

- African-American/Black
- Asian
- Hispanic/Latino
- Indigenous Peoples/Native Americans
- Caucasian/White
- Other

Please indicate your political affiliation

- Peace and Freedom
- Democratic
- Green Party
- Republican
- American Independent
- Libertarian

What video did you view?

- “Proud to Be” Social Issue regarding Native Americans
- “I Am A Person” Social Issue regarding Mentally Challenged
- “Don’t Text and Drive” Social Issue regarding the dangers of texting while driving

Do you have thoughts about what we are expecting to learn in this study?

At what point did these thoughts occur?

What did you think overall about the advertisement you saw?

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement:

[Scale: 1= Strongly Disagree; 4 = Neither Agree or Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree]

1. I am a football fan.

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement:

[Scale: 1= Strongly Disagree; 4 = Neither Agree or Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree]

1. I watch football.

If you have a favorite team, please list the team:

Below are questions about what you would expect our research to show.

- I expect the Democrats/Liberal will support the message in the PSA about the Redskins [the word Retard; texting and driving].
- I expect the Conservatives/Republicans will support the message in the PSA about the Redskins [the word Retard; texting and driving].

Which group do you think will be the most supportive of the message in the PSA about the Redskins [the word Retard; texting and driving]?

- Conservatives/Republicans
- Both (i.e., both groups will be equally supportive/unsupportive.)

Please provide your name here in order to be granted credit on SONA. All

information will be kept anonymous and will not be shared with anyone, other

than the researchers. If your name is not provided, you will not be granted credit.

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