

The Impact of Individuals' Racial Identity and Perpetrator's Racial Group Membership on  
Empathy for an Outgroup Victim

by

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A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Science

Approved November 2015 by the  
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ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2015

## ABSTRACT

The previous research literature was reviewed on how perpetrator's group membership and individuals' racial identity impact intergroup attitude and behavior, as well as factors contribute to intergroup bias on individuals' empathy level. This study was designed to extend the existing research on intergroup relations by exploring the effect of perpetrator's ingroup/outgroup membership and the strength of racial identity on people's empathy toward the outgroup victims. A web-based survey was disseminated and administrated at a southwest university. One hundred and six Caucasian American college students who completed the survey and met the criterion of eighteen years old or older were involved in this study. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of two target stories and one distracter story, and reported their empathy level toward each story. And then the participants' strength of racial identity was measured.

Controlling for demographic variables, regression analyses revealed that, as expected, the interaction of the perpetrator's group membership and individuals' racial identity significantly predicted the level of empathy toward the outgroup victim. When the perpetrator was an ingroup member, people who highly identified with their group exhibited less empathy for the outgroup victim. However, perpetrator's membership and the strength of racial identity failed to predict individuals' outgroup empathy separately.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, special thanks to my advisor, Dr. Paul Miller, for offering valuable advice and strong support on each stage of my thesis research, as well as on my professional and personal development. Thank him so much for encouraging me to chase my passion of research. This thesis would never have been written without his help and encouragement. Also, I feel so grateful to Dr. Deborah Hall for inspiring me to do research on this topic, providing useful suggestions on the research method and always standing by me. Moreover, I would love to thank Dr. Jessica Salerno, my committee member, for her time and advice on my thesis.

Furthermore, I would like to thank New College of Interdisciplinary Arts and Science, Arizona State University for supporting the recruitment of my thesis, as well as providing many useful research resources and a great academic atmosphere to me.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents and friends, for their endless love and unconditional support to me.

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## INTRODUCTION

Human beings are motivated to form and maintain interpersonal relationships, and the need to belong to a group is universal (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Belonging to a specific group usually means people tend to distinguish themselves from outgroup others and exhibit favoritism toward ingroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), a phenomenon called "intergroup bias". Intergroup bias refers to individuals' preferential evaluation or treatment towards ingroup over outgroup members (Saleem, 2012).

It is worthy to note that intergroup bias can cause intergroup conflicts through a series of complicated process. When intergroup comparison harms ingroup members' good feelings about their own group, their self-esteem is threatened and they would derogate outgroup members to protect it (Crocker, Thompson, McGraw, & Ingerman, 1987; Fein & Spencer, 1997). But intergroup comparison does not necessarily cause intergroup conflicts. Only when group members obtain negative self-evaluation through social comparison and have the desire to improve it, they then could turn social comparison into social competition (Turner, 1975; Saleem, 2012). It is when people try to achieve more positive self-evaluation at the expense of others that the competition between different groups usually exaggerates intergroup discrepancy and finally leads to intergroup conflicts (Saleem, 2012).

Although much progress has been made in race relations in the United States, problems still persist. Exploring individuals' attitudes and behaviors involved in intergroup relations is vital to understanding the mechanism behind racial conflicts. This study will introduce two factors, the perpetrator's ingroup/outgroup membership and the strength of racial identity, and examine how they influence individuals' intergroup



attitudes. Before I talk about these factors, it is necessary to firstly discuss how individuals define their group identification in the next section.

### **Ingroup versus Outgroup Membership**

Individuals look for their connections to other people in their lifetime, as well as distinguishing themselves from others. According to self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), individuals categorize themselves within a group at three levels: the superordinate level, the intermediate level, and the subordinate level. At the superordinate level, an individual defines his or her identity as a human being in contrast to other forms of life. At the intermediate level of ingroup-outgroup categorizations, people define themselves as members of certain social groups and not others based on perceived social similarities and differences. At the subordinate level, people define themselves as unique individuals different from other ingroup members. This thesis only focuses on the intermediate level of self-categorization to study on intergroup relations. The ingroup-outgroup categorizations could be referred to as social categorizations, but from the perspective of an identifying individual. Social categorization refers to the process of bringing together social objects or events into groups which are equivalent to an individual's actions, intentions, and system of beliefs (Tajfel, 1982). Once an individual defines his or her group identification, his or her attitude and behavior toward the outgroup members are distinct from those toward the ingroup members in a way to favor the ingroup.

Race is an important criterion when individuals categorize their membership in social groups. Even though race and ethnicity are terms that are frequently used in the

research literature, there is a difference in their meanings. According to Krogman (1945), race refers to "a sub-group of people possessing a definite combination of physical characters, of genetic origin, the combination of which to varying degrees distinguishes the sub-group from other sub-groups of mankind" (p. 49). Although race is biologically defined, it can have very complicated social consequences and implications (Casas, 1984, p. 787). In distinction from race, ethnicity is defined as "a group of classification of individuals who share a unique social and cultural heritage (customs, language, religion, and so on) passed on from generation to generation" (Casas, 1984, p. 787). As ethnicity is culturally defined, race and ethnicity are not synonymous. This study will focus on racial groups and explore factors affecting individuals' attitudes toward the racial outgroup members.

### **Intergroup Bias on Helping Behavior**

Helping is one of the topics that has been studied and explored the most regarding individuals' distinct ingroup and outgroup attitudes and behaviors. Over the last several decades, a number of factors have been shown to affect whether members of one ingroup provide assistance to members of an outgroup. In one study, Gaertner and Bickman (1971) found that White participants were more willing to help White people than Black people when they called for help because their cars broke down. In a later study, however, Gaertner (1975) found that, when the White participant as the bystander was the only witness, they helped Black victims as frequently as White victims; except when other passive witnesses were present. Gaertner (1975) suggested that when the situation is ambiguous (i.e., other passive bystanders were present), White individuals were easier to

diffuse responsibility for outgroup victims and to explain the situation as no help needed on their part. According to the justification-suppression model (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), situations with race-neutral factors (i.e. ambiguity or other bystanders) could facilitate people's prejudice because they could justify their (prejudiced) behaviors with nonracist explanations. As a result, people give less help to outgroup members of other races.

Moreover, it has been found that the higher level of emergency of a situation predicted more discrimination against Black victims (Saucier, Miller, & Doucet, 2005), and slower speed, lower quality and less frequency of help that White participants provided to Black victims relative to White victims (Kunstman & Plant, 2008; Gamberini, Chittaro, Spagnoli, and Carlesso, 2015). This biased outgroup helping behavior also has been found in children. Weller and Lagattuta (2013) asked 5- to 13-year-old European American children to respond to prosocial moral dilemmas which involved a focal character who was going to a fun, planned activity when he or she was suddenly confronted by an unfamiliar child of the same age who looked like need help. Participating children answered what most boys or girls would do in that situation and whether the character felt good or bad. Across age, children believed that the character felt happier to help the unfamiliar child from a racial ingroup versus outgroup.

In contrast to the research showing factors that facilitate individuals' prejudiced behavior, other researchers have focused on factors that foster positive intergroup interaction. In recent years, perspective-taking has been proposed as a way to reduce intergroup helping bias. According to Dovidio et al. (1997), fostering an understanding of the perspective of others may weaken the intergroup boundary and increase intergroup

similarity, and thereby promote helping behavior towards outgroup members.

Accordingly, Shih, Wang, Trahan Bucher, and Stotzer (2009) conducted studies by applying the perspective-taking manipulation on non-Asian Americans. They asked participants to watch a clip of a movie depicting the experiences of Asian Americans, and found that perspective-taking elicited empathy towards members from the Asian American group, which also increased liking and helping behaviors offered to Asian Americans.

As above stated, a plenty of factors can either positively or negatively affect the intergroup bias on people's attitude and behavior. Individuals' social identity with a group is one important factor. Social identity refers to individuals' knowledge of their membership within a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1982). For individuals highly identified with a group, they would express their attitude in a way favoring their ingroup over other groups, especially in a context with an ingroup perpetrator. The ingroup perpetrator who inflicts harm on other group members, as a threat to their ingroup positive image, also have a great impact on ingroup members' attitude toward outgroup victims. This study will look for what kind of roles the perpetrator's racial group membership and the strength of individuals' social identity would play on intergroup attitude.

### **The Role of Perpetrator's Ingroup/Outgroup Membership on Intergroup Attitude**

As mentioned above, an ambiguous situation gives people an excuse not to help outgroup members because they could explain the situation as less necessary or even that no help was needed. In a context where a perpetrator inflicts harm on a victim, the

perpetrator's group membership has a similar effect as the ambiguous situation, because individuals identified with a perpetrator group exhibit a tendency to justify the ingroup perpetrator's behavior. For example, they have attributed a perpetrator's wrongdoing toward an outgroup member to external reasons (e.g. considering the historical context) rather than internal reasons (e.g. aggressive nature of the perpetrator; Doosje & Branscombe, 2003).

For example, Tarrant, Branscombe, Warner, and Weston (2012) asked American citizens to read an article about an Ethiopian terrorist suspect who was tortured by either American (ingroup) security services or British (outgroup) security services. They found that participants showed less empathy for the outgroup victim when the torture was implicated as being conducted by the ingroup rather than another group (British people) because the participants morally justified the ingroup's persecuting behavior. For example, participants believed the suspect was responsible for the torture. Also, Leidner and Castano (2012) asked American residents to read a news report describing Iraqi civilians who were tortured and killed by either US soldiers (ingroup) or Australian soldiers (outgroup), and then to summarize the news report for a third person. In participants' summaries, words related to "harm and fairness" appeared less frequently while words related to "loyal and authority" appeared more frequently when the perpetrators in the news story were ingroup versus outgroup members. It revealed a group members' inclination to explain the ingroup member's violent behavior as more moral. In a later study, Rotella and Richeson (2013) tested the effect of perpetrator's group membership on the memory of ingroup participants. Participants were told to read a passage describing the negative treatment of Native American Indians either given by early

Americans (ingroup perpetrator) or Europeans (outgroup perpetrator). In the next recognition task, participants who read the story with the ingroup perpetrator demonstrated poorer memory to recognize some information appearing in the passage than those read the outgroup perpetrator story. Poor memory may reveal that people deny their group's wrongdoing.

Thus, in- or out- perpetrator's membership can elicit individuals' distinct attitudes toward outgroup victims. Most people are usually unwilling to admit their ingroup perpetrating behaviors, and thus are less likely to feel guilt and empathy for outgroup victims. As mentioned above, besides the perpetrator's group membership, the strength of individuals' identity with a group also can impact their attitude for outgroup members. In the next section, the role of social identity in the context of racial groups will be discussed.

### **The Role of Strength of Racial Identity on Intergroup Attitude**

Another factor that affects people's attitude for ingroup versus outgroup members is social identity. As talked before, individuals get to know their social identity by obtaining the knowledge about a social group's membership and the significance of it (Tajfel, 1982). Through realizing one's own values and emotion, an individual gets to know his or her positions in different social groups.

An individual's social identity in the context of a racial group is called racial identity. Racial identity refers to "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1990). Distinct from racial identity, ethnic identity emphasizes shared social and

cultural heritage such as custom, language, religion, etc. Thus, racial identity reflects one's interpretation of, and attitude toward, his or her racial group (Hargrove, 2000). The study of racial identity may improve our understanding of racial relations, and psychological factors underlying racial conflicts.

Hogg and Smith (2007) have suggested that individuals who are highly identified with their racial group would act more in accord with ingroup norms. For example, strong ingroup identification with being Black has been shown to increase African population's participation in collective actions, such as protest movements for their racial group (Klandermans, 2002).

Racial identity can shape individuals' ingroup attitude and behavior as well as their attitude and behavior for outgroup members. Branscombe, Schmitt, and Schiffhauer (2007) asked participants to describe their experiences with White privilege (they benefit from their racial group membership) or White disadvantage (they experience disadvantages based on their racial group membership), and then measured their racial identification and racism. Results indicated that under the privilege condition, when participants' racial identity was threatened, those who had a higher White racial group identification exhibited more racism toward outgroup members, while those with lower identification exhibited less racism. More recently, Andreychik and Gill (2015) asked participants to read two sets of explanations on African Americans' current "inferior" status. One set contained internal explanations, which attributed African Americans' status to reasons like "not working hard as White Americans". The other set involved external explanations, such as "the history of slavery, segregation, and discrimination on African Americans contribute to their current economic and social problems". They

found that participants with weaker White racial identity exhibited more prosocial responses (e.g. warm and sympathetic) to external explanations for African American (group) members. Individuals with higher self-ratings of their racial identity as White, however, gave more defensive and derogatory responses (e.g. apathy or more willing to endorse internal explanations) in the external explanations condition for outgroup members.

Previous researches that have been reviewed in the last two sections have indicated two factors, perpetrator's group membership and individuals' racial identity, have great effects on people's intergroup attitudes, such as empathy, racism, etc. This study will dig into individual's empathic attitude for in- and out-group members, as empathy, which has been suggested can elicit helping behavior, could be a key factor to improve intergroup relations.

### **Intergroup Empathy**

Empathy is the ability of human beings to share and comprehend others' feelings and emotional states (Azevedo et al., 2013; Eisenberg, 2000). Empathy has been found to foster individuals' helping behavior toward others (Batson et al., 1997; Oswald, 1996). Previous researches have shown that people exhibit greater empathy for their ingroup members, but often fail to feel empathy towards outgroup members who belong to a different racial, political or social group. For example, Mathur, Harada, Lipke, & Chiao (2010) found that African-Americans felt less empathy for Caucasian-Americans than their own racial group members suffering from a negative event (e.g. in the midst of a natural disaster). Similarly, Combs, Powell, Schurtz, & Smith (2008) suggested that



people affiliating with a one political party were less likely to raise empathy when misfortunes happened to members of other political parties. Cikara, Bruneau, Van Bavel, & Saxe (2014) has called the difference between people's empathy for ingroup and outgroup members “intergroup empathy bias”, which could lead to dehumanized behaviors toward outgroup members and may cause racial conflicts (Haslam, 2006).

As empathy is a multidimensional construct (Davis, 1983), researchers have different definitions and categorizations of empathy. Davis (1983) measured empathy from four dimensions, perspective-taking, fantasy, empathic concern and personal distress. Empathic concern refers to the other-oriented feelings of sympathy and concern for unfortunate others (Davis, 1983). In this definition, empathy is viewed as close to sympathy. But for other researchers, empathy is quite different from sympathy. For example, Eisenberg (2000) defined empathy as an emotional response stemming from the apprehension or comprehension of another's emotional states or condition, which is similar to the other person's feeling or expected feeling (Eisenberg, 2000). In other words, if someone felt happy or sad, a person would be more likely to feel happy or sad. In her conceptualization, sympathy refers to an emotional response obtained by the comprehension of another's emotional state. It is not the same as the other person's feeling, but consists of feelings of sorrow or concern for the other (Eisenberg, 2000). Unlike Eisenberg, other theorists have defined empathy more like sympathy. For example, Cohen (2008) defines empathy as another-oriented affective response that is characterized by feelings of warmth, compassion and concern for others. Overall, for the purposes of this study, I will be using Cohen's definition of empathy (Cohen, 2008) which is conceptually similar to Davis' (1984) definition of empathic concern.

Tarrant et al. (2009) described to some college students who were from the same university that a target student suffered from a distressful life event. They found that these students exhibited more empathy when the target student came from the same university over when she belonged to a different university. Late, Feather, Wenzel, and McKee (2013) also conducted a study on college students and confirmed the result of Tarrant's study. They asked students to respond to a student's failure to be accepted into an honors program. Participants reported more sympathy toward the target student and more anger for the failure when the students were from their university rather than from another university, because they rated the outgroup student more deserving the failure. Moreover, Johnson et al. (2002) tested the intergroup empathy bias on racial groups. They asked White college students to read a passage about a White or Black defendant who involved in a criminal case. The White participants showed a higher level of empathy for the White defendant over the Black defendant, and assigned more lenient punishments. More recently, Neumann, Boyle, and Chan (2013) conducted a study with Caucasian and Asian participants. They asked participants to watch photographs depicting Caucasian or Asian individuals in socially negative and positive contexts. They found that, in the positive context (e.g. a party), no intergroup bias was found; but in the negative context (e.g. ill), both Caucasian and Asian participants increased their sympathy level when they saw their ingroup members as compared to outgroup members.

For other researchers, empathy has been defined as cognitive perspective-taking or congruent affective response. Xu, Zuo, Wang, & Han (2009) asked Chinese and Caucasian participants to view pictures depicting a Chinese or a Caucasian received needles penetrating (painful condition) or Q-tip gently touching (painless condition). For

both Chinese and Caucasians, their empathic responses significantly decreased when they saw the outgroup member rather than their ingroup member in the painful condition. But it is hard to say less empathy for another racial group is due to different races or the lack of general similarities between them and us, because the similarity between ourselves and others could strengthen our empathic resonance for others (Lamm, Meltzoff, & Decety, 2010; Liew, Han, & Aziz-Zadeh, 2011). Later, Avenanti, Sirigu, & Aglioti (2010) and Azevedo et al. (2013) both used the same painful and painless conditions in their studies, but the painful or painless stimuli was given to a same right hand of White, Black or violet-color model. The violet-color hand, which was defined as no racial group, was evaluated as the most dissimilar and unfamiliar by both White and Black participants. Avenanti and his colleagues (2010) found that participants exhibited empathic responses to both the pain of the ingroup and violet hand member, but not to the outgroup member's hand pain. They interpreted their findings to mean that the decreasing empathy for the racial outgroup was due to racist reasons but not general dissimilarity or unfamiliarity (e.g. the violet-color) between two groups. But Azevedo et al.'s study (2013) indicated that perceived unfamiliarity and racial prejudice both decreased participants' empathy because the effect of racial attitudes could not be differentiated from the effect of perceived familiarity.

Although this kind of biased empathic reaction toward outgroup members has been demonstrated across cultures (Cheon et al., 2011; Mathur et al., 2010; Xu et al., 2009), the degree of expressed outgroup empathy varies among different racial groups. African-Americans displayed stronger empathy towards ingroup members as compared to Caucasian-Americans (Mathur et al., 2010). One possible reason is that Caucasians

make efforts to control their racial bias to maintain a more egalitarian appearance (Richeson et al., 2003), so the suppression of racial bias could be expressed as more empathy, compared to minority group members, for outgroup members. It also may be that minority members (African-Americans) are more identified with their racial group relative to Caucasian-Americans. In Mathur et al.'s study (2010), African-Americans reported higher ingroup identification than Caucasian-Americans, and they also found African-Americans' ingroup identity positively correlated to their ingroup empathy.

Based on the above review of intergroup empathy, individuals' identification with their racial group can affect their level of empathy for other racial groups. In the next section, how the perpetrator's membership and the strength of individuals' racial identification may affect their empathy for outgroup members will be discussed.

### **Ingroup Identity, Ingroup versus Outgroup Perpetrator, and Intergroup Attitude**

Previous researchers have examined the impact of ingroup racial identity and perpetrator's membership on individuals' intergroup attitude and behavior. As noted above, strong ingroup identity and ingroup perpetrators can separately predict negative attitude for outgroup members. Specifically, individuals with a higher racial identity revealed more racism and less sympathy for outgroup members. But it is worth to note that the effect of racial identity on people's intergroup attitude usually works in the context with a threat to their ingroup identity and positive group image, such as privilege status than other racial groups (Branscombe et al., 2007) or past harm on other group members (Andreychik & Gill, 2015). An ingroup perpetrator who gave torture (Tarrant et al., 2012) and negative treatment (Rotella & Richeson, 2013) on or even killed (Leidner

& Castano, 2012) outgroup members could also be one of such threats. To protect ingroup identity and group image, most people would deny or justify ingroup perpetrators' unjust behaviors, which is less possible to elicit their positive attitude toward outgroup victims. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the perpetrator's group membership, like other threats to racial identity, should have interaction effects with the strength of ingroup members' racial identity on their intergroup attitude. There has been little research, however, to test the interaction of participants' ingroup identity and the perpetrator's ingroup vs. outgroup membership on individuals' attitudes and behaviors toward outgroup members.

Miron, Branscombe, and Biernat (2010) asked ninety Caucasian Americans to read that Americans enslaved Africans and caused damage and death during colonization and then measured their racial identity, judgments of harm and standards of injustice. The result suggested that, comparing to low identifiers, participants with higher identification with their group didn't want to admit the past harm on African Americans inflicted by ingroup members, and required more evidence to identify ingroup unjust behaviors. It is difficult to elicit perpetrating group members' empathy for outgroup victims if they do not accept that ingroup perpetrators' behaviors is illegitimate or unjust. This study indicates the interaction effect of participants' racial identity and perpetrators' group membership on participants' attitude toward outgroup victims, and also provides us a possibility of the impact of the interaction of ingroup identity and perpetrator's membership on individuals' empathy for the outgroup. Considering the importance of empathy on helping behavior and positive intergroup relations, it is worth to explore the

role of group identity, perpetrator's membership and their interaction on outgroup empathy.

### **Current Aims**

The current study aims to contribute to the research on factors that influence the ingroup individuals' empathy level toward outgroup members. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to examine the impact of the strength of individuals' racial identity and the perpetrator's group membership on the level of their empathy to an outgroup victim. Also, this study seeks to explore the interaction of racial identity and perpetrator's group membership on the outgroup empathy. Specifically, whether a perpetrator's ingroup or outgroup membership moderates the relation between individuals' racial identity and empathy for and racial outgroup member.

Hypothesis 1: The strength of individuals' ingroup racial identity will impact their empathy toward outgroup members. That is, participants with higher ingroup racial identity will give less outgroup empathy for an outgroup victim than those with lower ingroup racial identity.

Hypothesis 2: Based upon previous findings (Leidner & Castano, 2012; Rotella & Richeson, 2013; Tarrant et al., 2012), perpetrators' racial group membership will differ individuals' empathy level for members of another racial group. Participants will exhibit a lower level of empathy for a victim from another racial group when the perpetrator is an ingroup member versus an outgroup member.

Hypothesis 3: When the perpetrator is a racial ingroup member, individuals who strongly identify their racial group will exhibit lower levels of empathy toward a victim

who is a member of a racial outgroup; whereas those weakly identified with the racial ingroup will exhibit more empathy. But when the perpetrator is an outgroup member, individuals' empathy level for a racial outgroup victim will not vary by their racial identity level. Participants with high racial identity as well as those with low racial identity will exhibit a similar level of empathy for the outgroup victim.

## METHOD

### **Participants**

Approval from the Institutional Review Board at Arizona State University was obtained. Participants were recruited anonymously online through two ways, SONA system and summer online courses. Students recruited via SONA system were students from ground programs at Arizona State University West campus. Each student received one academic credit for their participation in this study. Students recruited via summer online courses were students from the online psychology program of Arizona State University. No compensation was offered for their participation in this study.

All students were presented a brief description of this study. For students recruited via SONA system, they can see the post which contained the brief description by logging into their accounts with SONA system. For students recruited via summer courses, they can see the description of study in a course announcement posted by course instructors. Through a link provided in the brief description of the study, all participants were directed to qualtrics.com where the questionnaires were administrated. Participants' consent was obtained on the first page of the online survey. By checking the box with the consent statement "I have read the information above, understand my rights as a participant, and provide my consent to take part in this study", participants agreed to participate in this study. Participants were notified that their participation was completely voluntary and they were allowed to withdraw from the study at any time.

Responses from 160 participants were collected. Even though this study wanted to look at both White and Hispanic participants, the sample size of Hispanic participants was too small to get significant results. So this study only focused on White participants,



and responses from non-White participants and five participants with missing data were excluded. As a result, a final sample of 106 White participants that met the inclusion criteria was included in the analysis for the current study. Among these participants, 76 were female (71.7%) and 30 were male (28.3%); the mean age was 26.0 years old (SD = 7.58, range = 18-50).

### **Procedure**

This study used two news stories to elicit participants' empathy responses. The first news story described an Asian college student who was attacked by a Hispanic man at night. The perpetrator later walked away casually, but the student died the next day because of the serious injuries (please see Appendix C for the stimuli used in this study). The second news story changed the perpetrator's race to a White man, but the other part of the story was identical to the first story. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of the two stories. Moreover, all of them read an additional distracting news story about a woman who sued herself for killing her husband in a car accident. This story which was irrelevant to the study was used to obscure the purpose of the study. Each time participants finished reading a news story, they were asked to report their empathy level to the victim. After that, participants completed the questionnaire which measured the strength of their racial identity and several distracting questionnaires which were not pertinent to this study.

## Measures

### **Predictor variable.**

*Perpetrator's membership.* The perpetrator's membership was manipulated by varying the perpetrator's race in the news story. White participants who read a story with a White perpetrator were in the ingroup context, while those who read a story with a Hispanic perpetrator were in the outgroup context. The victim was always an Asian college student in both conditions.

*Racial identity.* Participants' strength of racial identity was measured by a revised version of the Affirmation and Belonging subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). The MEIM is a 20-item measure which comprises three subscales to assess individuals' ethnic identity and one Other-Group Orientation scale (6 items) to assess individuals' attitude toward other ethnic groups. Three subscales are Affirmation and Belonging (5 items), Ethnic Identity Achievement (7 items), and Ethnic Practices or Behaviors (2 items). To be consistent with the purpose of this study, all "ethnic" or "ethnicity" words were changed to "racial" or "race".

As mentioned above, however, racial identity is not synonymous as ethnic identity, so some items in MEIM which are supposed to measure ethnic identity are not appropriate to be used to measure racial identity. Only Affirmation and Belonging subscale was adopted to measure participants' racial identity (even though other two subscales were still included in this study, significant results were not predicted to be found on the two subscales due to the decreased relevance to racial identity). This subscale contains two items concerning self-categorization, two items concerning group belongingness, and one item concerning group evaluation. These items are very close to

items of the White Racial Identification Measure (Branscombe et al., 2007). For example, the item "I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to" in the Affirmation and Belonging subscale is similar as the item "I am comfortable being White" in the WRIM, which both indicate self-categorization. Also, "I have a lot of pride in my racial group and its accomplishments" from the Affirmation and Belonging subscale and "White people have a lot to be proud of" from the WRIM both measure group members' evaluation of their ingroup. In Branscombe and her colleagues' study, the WRIM exhibited a high internal reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .83$ . Thus, it is reasonable to use Affirmation and Belonging subscale to measure the strength of White participants' racial identity in the current study. This study did not directly adopt the WRIM because, as mentioned above, I originally wanted to look at both White and Hispanic participants. So the Affirmation and Belonging subscale of MEIM as a more general measure, not specific for White racial identity, has been used in this study. Besides, the Other-Group Orientation scale was also included in this study, because individuals' attitudes toward other racial groups may interact with their racial identity as an aspect of racial identity (Phinney, 1992). Also, items from this scale can provide contrast items to balance racial identity items.

Participants reported on a four-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 4 (1 = "strongly disagree", 4 = "strongly agree"). Scores were derived by reversing negatively worded items, summing across items, and obtaining the mean. For the Affirmation and Belonging subscale of MEIM, high scores indicate strongly identified with the ingroup and low scores indicate weakly identified with the ingroup. For the Other-Group Orientation scale, high scores suggest a positive attitude toward other racial groups while

low scores suggest a negative outgroup attitude. In the current study, Affirmation and Belonging subscale revealed a high internal reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .79$ . And the Other-Group Orientation scale revealed an acceptable reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .75$ .

**Outcome variable.**

*Situational empathy.* Batson's Empathy Scale (1997) was used to measure the participants' empathy level for the outgroup member, the Asian college student. This scale includes seven adjective words: sympathetic, softhearted, warm, compassionate, tender, concerned, and moved. To obscure the purpose of the study, eight additional adjective words were added to the original empathy scale, such as interested, upset, ashamed, etc. Participants reported the degree that they experienced each emotion when reading each story on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 7 ( 1 = "not at all", 4 = "moderately", and 7 = "extremely"). This scale revealed a high internal reliability in the current study, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .84$ .

## RESULTS

### Descriptive Statistics for Demographic Information

Descriptive statistics of participants' demographic variables are presented in Table 1. The sample was comprised of 106 White/Caucasian ASU students. The majority of participants were females (71.7%) and single (68.9%).

*Table 1*

*Descriptive Statistics of Demographic Variables*

Participant	Response	N (%)
Age (Years)	<i>M (SD)</i>	25.97 (7.58) <sup>a</sup>
Sex	Female	76 (71.7)
	Male	30 (28.3)
Ethnicity	White/Caucasian	106 (100)
Marital Status	Single	73 (68.9)
	Married	23 (21.7)
	Divorced	7 (6.6)
	Separated	1 (.9)
	Widowed	2 (1.9)
Highest Level of Education	High school graduate	8 (7.5)
	Some college, or two year degree	75 (70.8)
	Undergraduate college degree	23 (21.7)

*Note.* <sup>a</sup>N(%), values indicate the number of individuals followed by the respective percentage in parenthesis, except mean and standard deviation of age.

### Correlation between the Strength of Racial Identity and Other-Group Orientation

As shown in Table 2, other-group orientation was negatively related to the strength of participants' racial identity,  $r = -.21, p < .05$ , indicating that participants with a

lower level of racial identity reported a more positive attitude toward the outgroup victim, while those with a higher level of racial identity exhibited more negative attitude for the outgroup member.

*Table 2*

*Summary of Means, Ranges, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for Scores on the Measures*

Measure	Mean	Range	SD	1	2	3
1. Racial Identity	2.87	1.6~4	.55		-.21*	-.12
2. Other-Group Orientation	3.46	2~4	.46			.20*
3. Situational Empathy	4.13	1~7	1.27			

*Note.* Values indicate standardized regression coefficients \* $p < .05$

## **Predictions of Strength of Racial Identity and Perpetrator's Racial Group**

### **Membership on Situational Empathy**

In this sample, the gender (female = 1, male = 2) was negatively correlated with the level of participants' situational empathy,  $r = -.36, p < .001$ . Females exhibited a significantly higher level of situational empathy for the Asian victim. Therefore, gender was statistically controlled for in the regression analyses. A regression was tested on the strength of participants' racial identity, the perpetrator's racial ingroup/outgroup membership, and their interaction on the participants' empathy level for the outgroup victim.

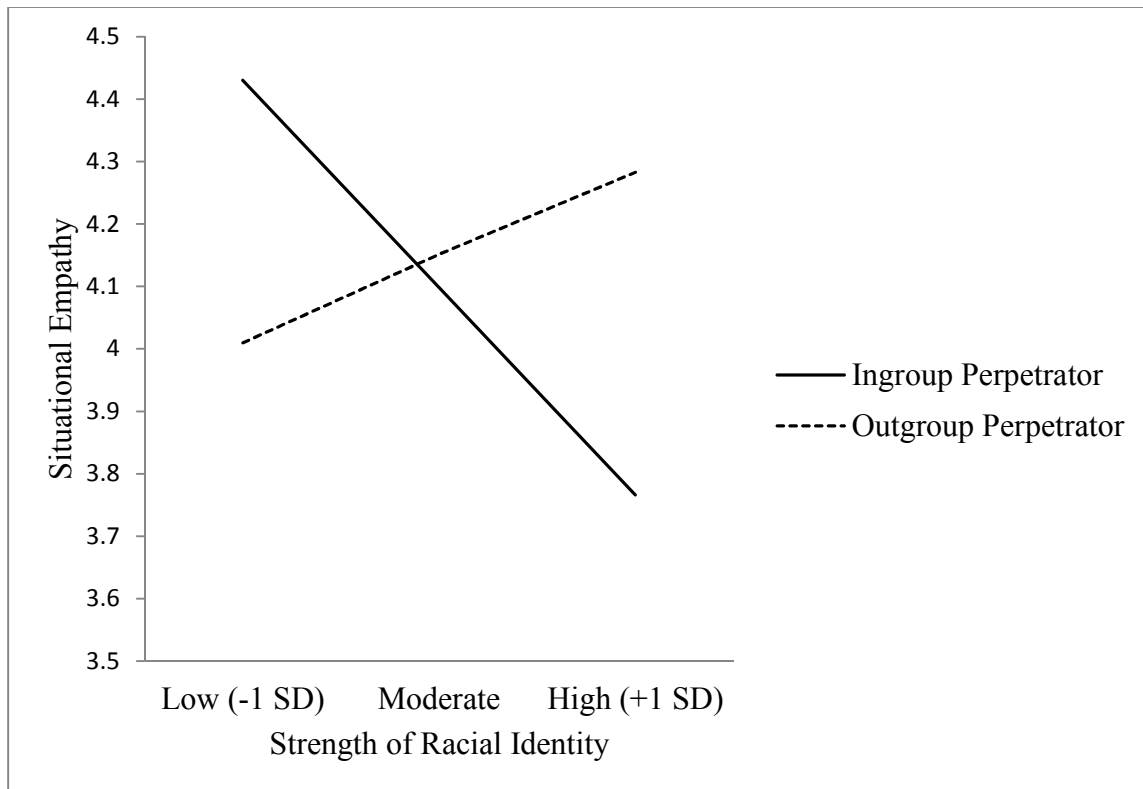
**Main effect of the strength of racial identity.** Controlling for gender, the main effect of participants' strength of racial identity on situational empathy was non-

significant,  $b = -.20$ ,  $SE = .21$ ,  $t(101) = -.94$ ,  $p = .348$ , indicating that participants' strength of racial identity was not a reliable predictor of participants' situational empathy.

**Main effect of perpetrator's racial ingroup/outgroup membership.**

Controlling for gender, the main effect of the perpetrator's membership on situational empathy was non-significant,  $b = .05$ ,  $SE = .23$ ,  $t(101) = .23$ ,  $p = .819$ , indicating that the level of participants' situational empathy did not reliably differ when the perpetrator was White (ingroup member) versus Hispanic (outgroup member).

**Interaction of strength of racial identity and perpetrator's racial ingroup/outgroup membership.** Controlling for gender, the interaction effect of the strength of racial identity and perpetrator's racial group membership on situational empathy to an outgroup victim was significant,  $b = .86$ ,  $SE = .42$ ,  $t(101) = 2.05$ ,  $p < .05$ , indicating that the predictive effect of racial identity on situational empathy was found to vary between the ingroup perpetrator condition and the outgroup perpetrator condition. For participants in the ingroup perpetrator condition, those strongly identified with the ingroup reported a significantly lower level of situational empathy for the outgroup victim,  $b = -.60$ ,  $SE = .28$ ,  $t(101) = -2.12$ ,  $p < .05$ . When, the perpetrator was the outgroup member, however, their strength of racial identity was unrelated to their level of situational empathy to the outgroup victim,  $b = .26$ ,  $SE = .31$ ,  $t(101) = .83$ ,  $p = .406$ .



*Figure 1. Regression Slopes for Situational Empathy as Predicted by the Strength of Racial Identity in the Ingroup Perpetrator Condition and the Outgroup Perpetrator Condition*



## DISCUSSION

### **Strength of Racial Identity and Perpetrator's Ingroup/Outgroup Membership**

Inconsistent with Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2, the main effect of the strength of racial identity and the main effect of the perpetrator's racial group membership were both non-significant. But it is inaccurate to claim that the strength of racial identity and the perpetrator's ingroup/outgroup membership failed to predict the participants' empathy level for the Asian (outgroup) victim, because this study found a significant interaction effect of the two factors (which I will discuss later). When there is a significant interaction, the main effect should be interpreted with reference to its interaction effect (Doncaster & Davey, 2007).

For example, some studies (Branscombe et al., 2007; Miron et al., 2010) suggested that the effect of racial identity on individuals' attitude was only significant in the context with social identity threat, such as the perpetrator's ingroup membership, privilege status, etc. Thus, it would be better to look at this relation under different conditions.

Also, previous studies, which found the significant effect of the perpetrator's group membership on individuals' intergroup attitude, did not look at participants' racial identity (Lediner & Castano, 2012; Rotella & Richeson, 2013; Tarrant et al., 2012). Different from those studies, the current study added the strength of racial identity to further explain how perpetrator's ingroup versus outgroup membership influences individuals' empathy for the victim from another racial group.

## **The Interaction Effect of Strength of Racial Identity and Perpetrator's Membership on Outgroup Empathy**

As expected, Hypothesis 3 was confirmed on the Affirmation and Belonging subscale measuring the strength of racial identity, but not on other two subscales. The results confirmed that when the perpetrator was a racial ingroup member, participants who strongly identified with their ingroup revealed a lower level of empathy for the Asian victim; while those weakly identified with their racial group exhibited a higher level of outgroup empathy. But when the perpetrator was a racial outgroup member, there was no significant difference of empathy level between participants with stronger racial identity and those with weaker racial identity. This finding could be explained by participants' concerns about their social identity. According to Tarrant et al. (2012), perpetrators identified as ingroup members threaten individuals' group identity. People with different strength of racial identity have different social motivations to deal with it this threat. For low identifiers, others' suffering experience is an incentive to elicit their caring and sense of justice regardless of their racial identity. For those highly identified with their racial group, however, the ingroup perpetrator's unjust behavior threatens their positive image of their group image which they protect by minimizing the impact on the outgroup victim (Andreychik & Gill, 2009).

Individuals use different ways to deal with such a psychological threat on their racial group identity. Firstly, high identifiers have been found to externalize the threat (e.g., by expressing a more negative attitude) so as to exhibit more racism on the outgroup victim (Branscombe et al., 2007). Also, they could blame the outgroup victim for placing their own group in such embarrassing situation because they do not want to be

responsible for the ingroup perpetrator. Racism often represents itself as the lack of empathy (Neef, 2014; Avenanti et al., 2010). Therefore, when factors such as these are presented, it would be difficult to arouse the empathic concern of participants with strong racial identity toward the outgroup victim.

Secondly, people from the perpetrator group may bias their appraisal of the distressful experience happening to an outgroup member. Miron and Branscombe (2008) found that ingroup members were likely to minimize the stressful impact of an outgroup members' negative experience because their appraisal was biased by their concerns for their own group identity. But it is less possible that the bias appraisal explanation would be relevant in the current study because the death of the Asian victim in the target stories was conclusive and unchangeable.

A third possible explanation may be that people with high racial identity are inclined to find an excuse for their ingroup perpetrator's behavior to dissolve the threat to their group identity, especially in an ambiguous situation. For example, people could morally justify an ingroup perpetrator's harmful behavior, consistent with the study by Tarrant et al (2012). For example, they might explain that the Asian victim was a bad guy who provoked the White perpetrator initially. Additionally, individuals who highly identified with their racial group can also increase the confirmatory injustice standards (Miron et al., 2010). That means people would ask for more evidence to confirm the ingroup perpetrator's unjust behavior. If they do not obtain enough evidence, they refuse to accept that their ingroup member inflicts the harm on others. As a result, the higher individuals identified with the ingroup, the less they would feel empathy for outgroup victims, because their actions build a screen that blocks the way to outgroup empathy.

## **Limitations and Future Research**

The first limitation could be the self-report measures used in this study. Knowles and Peng (2005) claimed that it was inappropriate to simply modify measures assessing other racial groups' racial identity because of the low social sensitivity of White racial identity. They suggested using implicit measures such as IAT (Implicit Association Test) to assess White racial identity, instead of explicit self-report measures which were used in the current study. The advantage of the IAT is measuring automatic associations (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995) that allow individuals doing this test with little or no conscious control, so the IAT is less affected by individuals' attempts to present themselves in socially desired ways (Knowles & Peng, 2005). The validity of self-report questionnaires is doubtful because what these questionnaires assess probably reflects individual different concerns on self-presentation rather than real White racial identity. Another problem of the explicit self-report measures on racial topics is that it is difficult to obscure the real purpose of the study. Even though the distraction story and mixed irrelevant items on the racial identity and empathy measures were added to obscure the purpose, when participants are asked about their attitude about their race and racial groups, it is so sensitive that they may figure out some part of the study purpose and tend to hide their real attitudes. Most people adhere firmly to the social norms to avoid expressing their prejudice, even though they scored high on subtle measures of racial prejudice (Crandall, Eshleman & O'Brien, 2002).

Another limitation of this study is that the sample only consisted of college students, who generally have a higher education level. According to Cribbs and Austin's research (2011), education significantly influenced individuals' attitudes toward racial

outgroups. As the level of education increased, the degree of negative racial stereotype decreased. So participants in the current study could be more accepting for other racial groups, and thus their attitude toward outgroup group members is less biased by prejudice. As a result, most participants would present comparatively high empathy on both ingroup perpetrator and outgroup perpetrator conditions.

Finally, the materials (target stories) which were used to elicit participants' situational empathy may not have been vivid enough to elicit participants' reactions, even though I still get a significant interaction effect of the strength of racial identity and the perpetrator's racial group membership on empathy for outgroup members. Only written narratives were presented to participants, no images or videos provided in this study. Written narratives may not be able to produce a strong impact on participants, either to arouse their emotional reactions for the outgroup victim, or to elicit the different reactions between participants with high and low racial identity in the ingroup and the outgroup perpetrator conditions. Also, it is difficult to know whether the participants' empathic response was elicited by the victim in the target stories or other components in the stories.

Based on the limitations talked above, my future study will recruit a board range of participants, not limited to college students, to look at other age and educational groups. Also, the small sample of other non-White racial groups in this study did not allow me to compare the strength of racial identity of different racial group members, and their possible different empathy level for the outgroup victim. So, one direction of my future study is to recruit more non-White participants to make comparisons between the majority group (White) and the minority groups (e.g. Hispanic, Black, Asian, etc.).

Moreover, pictures and videos should be adopted for future research to more strongly arouse participants' emotion. And some additional information should be added to the instruction of empathy scale to specify the object which participants should respond to. Also, future studies should try the IAT to see whether it can improve the validity of questionnaires of racial topics significantly, even though the distracter story and mixed irrelevant items on measures to some degree obscure the real purpose of the study.

Besides, this study provides evidence for the impact of individuals' racial identity and the perpetrator's ingroup/outgroup membership on individuals' empathy toward outgroup members. Their impacts on other relevant intergroup negative attitudes, such as aggression, guilt, shame, etc., also should be explored in future studies. Further, because empathy has been regarded as a key factor to elicit people's helping behavior or prosocial behaviors, it is also worthy to study on the two factors' influences on individuals' behaviors toward other racial groups.

Finally, future research should also look at the mechanism behind the relation between the interaction of the strength of racial identity and the perpetrator's membership and the level of outgroup empathy. For example, collective guilt could lead to reparatory and positive attitude for outgroup victims. Collective guilt refers to a negative emotional reaction experienced when individuals perceive their ingroup to be responsible for wrongly harming another group, even though they are not personally responsible (Gunn & Wilson, 2011; Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). But collective guilt is a rare phenomenon in our society because it is usually obstructed by factors such as social identity threats (Gunn & Wilson, 2011). Studies in the future can look at whether failing

to elicit collective guilt is the reason why individuals with high racial identity in the ingroup perpetrator condition feel less empathy for an outgroup victim.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMATION LETTER AND CONSENT FOR SONA SYSTEM RECRUITMENT

Dear Participant:

I am a professor in the School of Social & Behavioral Sciences at Arizona State University.

I am conducting research to investigate how people form their reaction to social incidents. I am inviting your participation, which will involve reading two brief stories and reporting your reaction to it, answering some questions about your demographic background and your characteristics. This is an online study that takes approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. In return for participating in the survey, you will be given 1 credit.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You can skip questions if you wish. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. You must be 18 years old or older to participate in this study.

Although there is no direct benefit of participating in this study, there is the potential for you to gain a better understanding of the process of conducting psychological research. There are no foreseeable risks or discomfort to your participation.

The responses you provide in this study will be anonymous—that is, the researchers can in no way link the responses you provide in the study to any personally identifying information. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name will not be known. All data collected in this study will be reported in aggregate form.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the researcher at: [icpam@asu.edu](mailto:icpam@asu.edu) / (602)543-6014. If you have any questions about your rights as participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can



contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board at Arizona State University, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Sincerely,

Paul A. Miller, Ph.D.

Checking the box below will be considered your consent to participate.

- I have read the information above, understand my rights as a participant, and provide my consent to take part in this study.

APPENDIX B  
INFORMATION LETTER AND CONSENT FOR SUMMER COURSES  
RECRUITMENT

Dear Participant:

I am a professor in the School of Social & Behavioral Sciences at Arizona State University.

I am conducting research to investigate how people form their reaction to social incidents. I am inviting your participation, which will involve reading two brief stories and reporting your reaction to it, answering some questions about your demographic background and your characteristics. This is an online study that takes approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Compensation cannot be offered for participation unfortunately. Your participation however will help researchers understanding of social behavior. Your participation in this study will not impact your grades or academic standing.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You can skip questions if you wish. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. You must be 18 years old or older to participate in this study.

Although there is no direct benefit of participating in this study, there is the potential for you to gain a better understanding of the process of conducting psychological research. There are no foreseeable risks or discomfort to your participation.

The responses you provide in this study will be anonymous—that is, the researchers can in no way link the responses you provide in the study to any personally identifying information. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name will not be known. All data collected in this study will be reported in aggregate form.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the researcher at: [icpam@asu.edu](mailto:icpam@asu.edu) / (602)543-6014. If you have any questions about your

rights as participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board at Arizona State University, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Sincerely,

Paul A. Miller, Ph.D.

Checking the box below will be considered your consent to participate.

- I have read the information above, understand my rights as a participant, and provide my consent to take part in this study.

APPENDIX C

TARGET AND DISTRATER NEWS SROTIES

**Target Story one:**

A local newspaper reported that an Asian college student was critically injured last Friday night while he was walking just a block away from his home. The brutal attack was captured on video by a security camera on the apartment building nearby. Surveillance video from the scene shows that the suspect, who later was identified as a Hispanic man, approached the Asian student from behind. He slammed the student's head against the wall and repeatedly kicked and punched him. The student fell to the ground, bleeding and unconscious. Afterwards the attacker was seen casually walking away. Paramedics arrived soon thereafter and took the student to the emergency room in critical condition. Despite immediate medical care, the student died from his injuries the following day.

**Target Story Two:**

A local newspaper reported that an Asian college student was critically injured last Friday night while he was walking just a block away from his home. The brutal attack was captured on video by a security camera on the apartment building nearby. Surveillance video from the scene shows that the suspect, who later was identified as a White man, approached the Asian student from behind. He slammed the student's head against the wall and repeatedly kicked and punched him. The student fell to the ground, bleeding and unconscious. Afterwards the attacker was seen casually walking away. Paramedics arrived soon thereafter and took the student to the emergency room in critical condition. Despite immediate medical care, the student died from his injuries the following day.

**Distracter Story:**

Recent news reported that a 55-year old woman has been given permission to sue herself for negligence following a road accident in which her husband dies when she lost control of the car. Her husband was thrown from the car when it overturned after hitting a huge sagebrush bush as the couple drove across the desert. The court suggests that this old woman will have give evidence against herself as a negligent driver, as well as facing cross examination by lawyers on her behalf as a motorist. Her lawyer said, as a widow, she has been forced to sue herself to receive money from her insurance to cover medical and funeral expenses.

APPENDIX D

REVISED MULTIGROUP ETHNIC IDENTITY MEASURE



Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements as they apply to you. Please be as honest as possible.

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my own racial group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own racial group.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

3. I have a clear sense of my racial background and what it means for me.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

4. I like meeting and getting to know people from racial groups other than my own.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my racial group membership.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

6. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

7. I sometimes feel it would be better if different racial groups didn't try to mix together.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

8. I am not very clear about the role my race in my life.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

9. I often spend time with people from racial groups other than my own.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

10. I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my racial group.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

11. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own racial group.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

12. I understand pretty well what my racial group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my own group and other groups.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

13. In order to learn more about my racial background, I have often talked to other people about my racial group.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

14. I have a lot of pride in my racial group and its accomplishments.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

15. I don't try to become friends with people from other racial groups.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

16. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

17. I am involved in activities with people from other racial groups.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

18. I feel a strong attachment towards my own racial group.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

19. I enjoy being around people from racial groups other than my own.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

20. I feel good about my cultural or racial background.

1

2

3

4

Strongly Disagree

Somewhat Disagree

Somewhat Agree

Strongly Agree

APPENDIX E

REVISED SITUATIONAL EMPATHY SCALE

Please indicate to what extent you had experienced the emotion below while reading the story.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All			Moderately			Extremely

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Interested
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Upset
3. \_\_\_\_\_ Sympathetic
4. \_\_\_\_\_ Afraid
5. \_\_\_\_\_ Softhearted
6. \_\_\_\_\_ Ashamed
7. \_\_\_\_\_ Warm
8. \_\_\_\_\_ Distressed
9. \_\_\_\_\_ Compassionate
10. \_\_\_\_\_ Scared
11. \_\_\_\_\_ Tender
12. \_\_\_\_\_ Irritable
13. \_\_\_\_\_ Concerned
14. \_\_\_\_\_ Angry
15. \_\_\_\_\_ Moved

APPENDIX F  
IRB APPROVAL DOCUMENTS





EXEMPTION GRANTED

Paul Miller  
Social and Behavioral Sciences, School of  
602/543-6014  
icpam@asu.edu

Dear Paul Miller:

On 3/20/2015 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Racial Identity and Outgroup Empathy
Investigator:	Paul Miller
IRB ID:	STUDY00002408
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• recruitment material.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;</li><li>• Appendix for thesis.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);</li><li>• IRB protocol-Yunzhu Ouyang.docx, Category: IRB Protocol;</li><li>• consent information.pdf, Category: Consent Form;</li></ul>

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 3/20/2015.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Yunzhu Ouyang  
Yunzhu Ouyang



EXEMPTION GRANTED

Paul Miller  
Social and Behavioral Sciences, School of  
602/543-6014  
icpam@asu.edu

Dear Paul Miller:

On 6/2/2015 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Modification
Title:	Racial Identity and Outgroup Empathy
Investigator:	Paul Miller
IRB ID:	STUDY00002408
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Appendix for thesis.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);</li><li>• recruitment material for summer courses.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;</li><li>• IRB protocol-Yunzhu Ouyang.docx, Category: IRB Protocol;</li><li>• consent information summer 2015.pdf, Category: Consent Form;</li></ul>

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 6/2/2015.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Yunzhu Ouyang  
Yunzhu Ouyang