

The Influence of Narrative Voice of a Story on Judgments of Past Injustice and Present
Day Discrimination

THESIS

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts in the
Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Janet J. Rha

Graduate Program in Psychology

The Ohio State University

2011

Master's Examination Committee:

Lisa Libby, Advisor

Jennifer Crocker

Robert Arkin

Copyrighted by

Janet J. Rha

2011

Abstract

Individuals from different groups often perceive and experience the exact same event differently, and these differences in perception persist when judging past injustice and present day discrimination. We attempted to investigate whether narrative voice influences individuals of different group memberships and attitudes, in perceiving victims of past injustice and whether that perception influences present day discrimination. Past research has shown that first-person narrative voice leads to favorable perception of the character and the character's group, although these effects were limited to in-group members and later revelation of the character's group membership (Kafman & Libby, 2011). Based on this, we predicted that to the extent voice influenced evaluation, first-person voice would lead to favorable perception of the victimized individual in the story and lead to higher perception of present day discrimination. We expected that the effect of voice may interact with group membership such that the predicted effect would emerge only for in-group members and not out-group members. We also predicted that racial attitudes may moderate the effect of voice on out-group members such that those with less racist attitudes would be more likely to show the predicted effects of narrative voice.

In two studies, we manipulated narrative voice, first-person or third-person, of a story about a historical instance of racial discrimination and measured participants'

evaluation of the target of that discrimination and judgment of present day discrimination. In Study 1, we looked at Black and White participants' responses. In Study 2, we also manipulated whether participants were affirmed or not to see whether White participants high in racist attitudes would have narrative voice effect when they are self-affirmed. We found support that narrative voice interacted with group membership and racial attitudes of the participant in predicting evaluation of the target of discrimination and judgment of present day discrimination. The current research adds to the existing literature on narrative voice and group differences in social perception.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my advisor, Lisa Libby, for providing valuable feedback and guidance which immensely helped writing and improving this document, and for encouraging me to have a sense of ownership in this project. I really appreciate her patience and words of encouragement throughout the process.

Thanks also to all members of the Libby Lab for providing helpful suggestions and answering many questions I had. I especially thank Greta Valenti and Tiffany Hardy for taking their time to read and give feedback on this work.

Finally, thank you to my committee members, Jennifer Crocker and Robert Arkin, for being on the committee, and for providing me with feedback on this document.

Vita

February 9, 1986Born – Bloomington, IN, USA
2009.....B.A. Psychology, New York University

Fields of Study

Major Field: Psychology

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Vita.....	v
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Study 1	6
Chapter 3: Study 2	37
Chapter 4: General Discussion.....	50
References	58
Appendix A: First-person Narrative Story.....	61
Appendix B: Third-person Narrative Story	64

List of Tables

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Study 1 Proportion of picturing the story from the first-person perspective	25

List of Figures

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
2.1. Mean composite positive character trait evaluation score by narrative voice and race.	16
2.2. The rating of the extent of present day discrimination by narrative voice and race.	18
2.3. Mean composite empathic concern score by narrative voice and race.	20
2.4. The rating of the subjective temporal distance to the time of school desegregation by narrative voice and race.	23
2.5. The rating of the character hostility by modern racism and narrative voice	28
2.6. The rating of the extent of present day discrimination by modern racism and narrative voice.	31
2.7. The rating of the frequency of present day discrimination by modern racism and narrative voice.	33
3.1. The rating of character hostility by modern racism and narrative voice.	41
3.2. Mean composite negative character trait evaluation score by modern racism and narrative voice.	43
3.3. The judgment of present day discrimination composite by modern racism and narrative voice.	45
3.4. Ratings of change of discrimination over time by modern racism, narrative voice and affirmation condition.	48

Chapter 1: Introduction

Individuals from different groups often perceive and experience the exact same event differently. Further, these discrepancies have the potential to lead to group conflict. For example, on most issues involving race in the United States, Black Americans are much more likely to see racism as a problem than are White Americans. A national opinion survey showed that about 75% of White Americans but only 55% of Black Americans said that there has been significant progress toward eliminating racial discrimination since the 1960s (Correspondents of The New York Times, 2001). Similarly, in one survey, a majority of White Americans, 53%, responded that Whites and minorities have equal job opportunities, but only 17% of Black Americans agreed. This general pattern of Blacks seeing more present day racial discrimination was also found in a longitudinal survey; across six years of a study, White and Black respondents consistently reported discrepant views of discrimination (Carroll, 2006).

Black and White perceptions differ not only for general social issues in regard to race, but also for specific legal cases. For the OJ Simpson case, in which the former American football star was tried on counts of murder, 64% of White respondents but only 12% of Black respondents in a survey said OJ Simpson was probably guilty (New York Times, 1995). Blacks were more likely than Whites to view this case as not only a murder case but also as tinted with racial discrimination (Jones, 2008). There were worries about

the possibility of riots if Simpson was convicted of murder, which led police officers to be on 12-hour shifts around the L.A. county courthouse on the day of the verdict (Jones, 2008).

These differences in perception not only occur in regard to perceptions of change in racism over time or of specific cases but also in subjective temporal distance of past injustices. Members of the perpetrator group tend to see the past injustice to be more subjectively remote in time than members of non-perpetrator groups. For example, Germans tend to feel the Holocaust is further away in time than non-Germans do especially when they feel threatened to be blamed for the Holocaust (Peetz, Gunn, & Wilson, 2010).

These examples of differences in perceptions of historical injustices and present day discrimination among different racial groups suggest negative consequences like out-group hatred and riots may result from small misunderstandings between groups. The present research explores ways in which these group differences in perception of instances of historical injustices might be attenuated and how that may influence perception of present day discrimination.

Within the field of social psychology, there has been some research attempting to understand and reduce these group differences in perceiving historical injustices and present day discrimination. Several studies show similar findings as the real-world examples described above, that group membership can alter individual's perception and experiences of the same event. These examples showed that Black and White Americans

disagree on the present progress toward equality as Black Americans, compared with White Americans, think less progress has been made in eliminating discrimination, reducing the wage gap, and providing equal job opportunities. Research investigating why these different perceptions exist suggests that Black and White Americans disagree on the present progress toward equality due to their differential use of reference points in comparing the present state. White Americans tend to compare the present with the past, seeing more progress toward equality, while Black Americans tend to compare the present with their ideals, seeing less progress (Eibach, & Ehrlinger, 2006). Making Black and White Americans have the same comparison point, by priming or framing questions so that they have past or ideal as a reference point, however, removed these disagreements about the progress toward equality between these groups (Eibach, & Ehrlinger, 2006).

Group differences in perception of present day discrimination also seem to relate to differential subjective temporal distance to the past injustice. Germans see the Holocaust as more subjectively remote in time than non-Germans do, and more subjective distance was related to lower collective guilt which in turn predicted less willingness to compensate for their group's past wrongdoing (Peetz, Gunn, & Wilson, 2010). This distancing from the past injustice was especially pronounced when Germans felt their collective identity was threatened by the past event.

Similarly, another line of research suggests even when people know exactly when an event took place, historical injustices directed against a certain group feels more recent in time to people who are members of that group, compared to people who are not

members of the discriminated group. These discrepancies in judgments of historical injustices can predict how varying group members judge present day discrimination. In a study comparing Jews and non-Jews, Jews saw more anti-Semitism in the present and felt that the Holocaust was more recent in time than non-Jews did (Libby, Eibach, & Ross, 2011). Further, this difference in perceptions of the Holocaust's subjective temporal distance accounted for the tendency for Jews to perceive more anti-Semitism in the present than non-Jews did. These findings suggest that group membership influences reactions to incidents of past injustices and that these reactions could influence how past injustices figure into intergroup relations in the present.

In the current studies, we investigated a method for reducing intergroup discrepancies in perceptions of discrimination. Specifically, we exposed individuals to information about a historical instance of discrimination and manipulated whether or not they adopted the perspective of the target of that discrimination. Past research suggests that perspective-taking may help facilitate social coordination and foster social bonds and helping behaviors (e.g., Galinsky, Ku, & Wang, 2005; Batson, 2009). Taking the perspective of another's situation may evoke empathic concerns, which in turn provoke helping behaviors (Batson, 2009). In the context of present research, we looked at whether taking the target's perspective when learning about an instance of past discrimination influences one's evaluation of the target and judgments of present day discrimination.

Group differences in perceptions of instances of discrimination may be associated with differential perspective-taking depending on group membership: members of the victimized group may imagine themselves in the shoes of the target of the historical injustice while members of the perpetrator group may understand the historical injustice from a point of view of a spectator. As past research on perspective-taking has shown, walking in shoes of the target of the past injustice may lead to greater empathic concern toward the victimized group members in the present.

In order to investigate how perspective-taking of past injustices may influence the way different group members perceive the past event as well as present day discrimination, we used narrative voice as a way to manipulate perspective-taking on a historical instance of discrimination in the current series of studies. Our general predictions were that by taking the perspective of the target of past injustice in the story, individuals may understand the victimized group perception on past and present discrimination because they identify with the protagonist and that may consequently lead to changes in their judgment about present day discrimination in a way similar to what the victimized group members may think about the issue.

Chapter 2: Study 1

One way people can encounter instances of historical injustice and discrimination is in narrative forms such as from books, documentaries, and even from other people telling a story about their own or their acquaintances' experiences. These stories of past injustices could be told in an autobiographical, first-person narrative form, where a person tells a story about his or her own experiences, or in a biographical, third-person narrative form, where a person tells a story about someone else's experiences. For example, we may learn about stories of discrimination against Blacks by reading *The Color Purple*, which is written in the first-person narrative voice as if the protagonist is telling a story herself, or by reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which is written in the third-person narrative voice as if an observer is telling a story about the protagonist. We may learn about experiences of the Holocaust by reading the *Diary of Anne Frank*, which is written by Anne Frank herself in the autobiographical form, or by reading a scholar describing what Anne Frank has gone through written in a biographical form. In our research, we used these first- or third-person narrative voices as a way to manipulate perspective-taking with the target in a story of past discrimination. First-person narrative voice may lead readers of a story to experience the event as if they were the target, while third-person narrative voice may lead readers to experience the story as if they were a spectator of the injustice.

Expanding further, we were interested in how different forms of narratives may influence how readers perceive a target of discrimination and the event of past injustice in a story and whether that in turn will lead to changes in perception of related issues in present. In addition, we wanted to examine whether this type of perspective-taking affects members of different groups in the same way. To this end, we manipulated the narrative voice (first-person vs. third-person) in a story about a Black student who goes to school on the first day of school desegregation in the 1950s. Then we measured Black and White participants' evaluation of the Black protagonist traits, empathic concern toward the protagonist and judgments of present day discrimination.

Reading a story of everyday events in first-person narrative voice increases readers' likelihood of identification with the character in a story and adoption of that character's motivations and behaviors (Kaufman & Libby, 2011). Furthermore, increased identification with the character leads to favorable perception of the character and the character's group. High levels of identification with a stigmatized group member led to lower levels of stereotype reliance in readers' evaluations of the character and lower levels of prejudice toward the character's group (Kaufman & Libby, 2011).

On this basis we predicted that when there is a narrative voice effect, the first-person narrative voice would lead to increased identification with the target of discrimination in our story, leading to more positive and less negative evaluation of the target of discrimination and to seeing more present day discrimination compared to the third-person narrative voice.

Although we hoped this effect would hold for both White and Black readers, and thereby identify a method for eliminating intergroup discrepancies, we also expected that on average Whites may not be as sensitive to this voice manipulation as Blacks would be. Previous research suggests that voice manipulations are less effective if readers knew from the outset that the character was a member of an out-group narrative voice influenced identification with out-group members only when the character's out-group status was not revealed until later in the story after identification had a chance to occur (Kaufman & Libby, 2011). In line with these findings, we predicted that stronger narrative voice effect among Black participants compared to White participants because the group membership of the target of discrimination in the story is revealed from the beginning. We also predicted that among Black participants, those in the first-person narrative voice condition would make evaluations more in favor of the target of discrimination in the story and perceive discrimination as more of a problem than those in the third-person narrative voice condition. Study 1 tests these predicted effects of narrative voice on Black and White participants.

Method

Participants

Two hundred fifty five (122 female, 133 male) undergraduate students participated in exchange for partial course credit. Data from 13 participants who indicated that they were neither Caucasian nor African American and 26 participants who failed to follow instructions for listening to recorded instruction ($n = 3$) or who failed the

story comprehension checks, either by incorrectly identifying the race of the target of discrimination ($n = 19$) or identifying the story as fiction rather than fact ($n = 4$), were excluded from the analysis. The final sample consisted of 183 Caucasians (82 female, 101 male) and 33 African Americans (21 female, 11 male).

Materials and procedure

Participants arrived at the laboratory and were seated at individual workstations, each of which contained a computer on which participants would record their responses.

In the beginning of the session, participants were asked to put on headphones. Once they put on the headphones, they heard background information about school desegregation in 1950's. The background information was as follows:

Before 1954 many American schools were segregated: there were separate schools for Black and White students. One of the goals of the Civil Rights Movement was to integrate the schools so that Black and White students attended school together. In the 1954 US Supreme Court case, Brown v. Board of Education, the Court ruled that segregation in the schools was unconstitutional. In the wake of this decision, schools around the country were forced to integrate. In many communities White citizens protested this order, and in some cases US Army troops had to be sent in to ensure the safety of Black students as they attended previously White schools for the first time.

Participants were then asked to locate the folder at the side of their workstation, which contained a one-page story depicting a Black student's experience on the first day of school after school desegregation in the 1950's (see Appendices A and B for the full

story). In the story, the Black student arrives at school with police in a car and walks up the stairs to the school building while White parents protest against school desegregation in front of the building. Depending on the condition, participants read the story in either first- or third-person narrative voice. The first- and third-person narrative voice versions of the story differed only in the pronouns and possessives used (e.g., “I/my” in the first-person narrative voice version, “he/his” in the third-person narrative voice version).

After participants read the story, they filled out a set of questionnaires on the computer. First, participants responded to ten items measuring their empathic concerns toward the target of discrimination (adapted from Escalas, & Stern, 2003). Five items assessed sympathy (e.g. “Based on what was happening in the story, I understood what the main character was feeling.”) and five items assessed empathy (e.g. “While reading the story, I experienced feeling as if the events were really happening to me.”).

Participants indicated their agreement with each statement using a 7-point scale labeled: *Strongly disagree* (1), *Moderately disagree* (2), *Slightly disagree* (3), *Neither agree nor disagree* (4), *Slightly agree* (5), *Moderately agree* (6), and *Strongly agree* (7).

Participants were then asked to take a moment to close their eyes and picture the last scene in the story, in which the target of discrimination is on the steps of the school looking back at the protesting crowd. They were instructed to take all the time they needed to form a vivid image. Then, they reported from which visual point of view they saw the scene, by choosing one of three options: From the main character's visual point of view, From the visual point of view of another character in the story, or Other. Next, participants reported whether they pictured any of the scenes from the story in their mind

while they were reading, by indicating yes or no. Participants who indicated yes were asked three follow-up questions to assess how much of the time they pictured the scenes from each of three visual points of view: (1) the point of view of the main character, (2) the point of view of the characters in the story other than the main character, and (3) the point of view that were not the main character's or any other character's. Participants responded to these three questions using a 5-point scale labeled: *Never* (1), *A little bit of the time* (2), *Some of the time* (3), *Most of the time* (4), and *All of the time* (5).

Next, participants went on to evaluate the subjective temporal distance between the present day, and both the time of the events in the story and the time of desegregation. Specifically, it was explained that “Regardless of how long ago an event actually occurred, it can feel very close in time, or it can feel very far away in time.” Participants then responded to the question, “to you, how far away in time does it feel like the event in the story occurred?”, using a 9-point scale with end points labeled *Feels very recent like yesterday* (1), and *Feels like a long, long time ago* (9). They went on to answer the same question with reference to the time when the desegregation of American schools occurred. Participants then indicated how much racism in the US has changed over time, “How would you say that racism against Blacks has changed in the US, if at all, since the time of school desegregation?”, using a 7-point scale labeled: *Racism has decreased greatly* (-3), *Racism has decreased moderately* (-2), *Racism has decreased slightly* (-1), *Racism has remained unchanged* (0), *Racism has increased slightly* (1), *Racism has increased moderately* (2), and *Racism has increased greatly* (3).

Participants then answered three questions assessing their judgment of present day discrimination. They rated the extent (“To what extent do you think racism is a problem for Blacks in the US today?”), frequency (“How often do you think Blacks encounter racism in the US today?”) and seriousness (“How serious do you think the problem of racism is for Blacks in the US today?”) of present day racism using a 5-point scale labeled: *Not at all* (1), *A little bit* (2), *Moderately* (3), *Very much* (4), and *Extremely* (5).

Next, participants answered a few demographic questions, including a question asking for their race. Response options for the race question included *Caucasian*, *African-American*, *Latino/a*, *Asian*, *Native American*, and *Other*. If they indicated that they were African American, they received the Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (Pinel, 1999), and if they indicated that they were of a race other than African American, they received the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; McConahay, 1983). Participants were not aware that they were funneled to receive different measures.

The Stigma Consciousness measure is a 10-item questionnaire about people’s perception about the negative impact of stereotypes about their group. Sample items include: “Stereotypes about Blacks have not affected me personally (reverse scored),” “Most Whites have a lot more racist thoughts than they actually express,” and “Most Whites have a problem viewing Blacks as equals.” Participants indicated their agreement with each statement using a 7-point scale labeled: *Strongly disagree* (1), *Moderately disagree* (2), *Slightly disagree* (3), *Neither agree nor disagree* (4), *Slightly agree* (5), *Moderately agree* (6), and *Strongly agree* (7).

The Modern Racism Scale is an 8-item questionnaire that has statements relating to subtle racism. Sample items include: “Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve,” “It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America (reverse scored),” and “Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.” Participants indicated their agreement with each statement using a 7-point scale labeled: *Strongly disagree* (1), *Moderately disagree* (2), *Slightly disagree* (3), *Neither agree nor disagree* (4), *Slightly agree* (5), *Moderately agree* (6), and *Strongly agree* (7).

Participants then answered a set of questions assessing their evaluation of the target of discrimination. They first indicated the dimension that best fit their feelings about the target of discrimination for three statements that started with “I feel that the main character in the story is...” on 7-point bipolar scales. These scales include *Very bad* (1), *Moderately bad* (2), *Slightly bad* (3), *Neither bad nor good* (4), *Slightly good* (5), *Moderately good* (6), and *Very good* (7); *Very different from me* (1) to *Very similar to me* (7); and *Very unlikable* (1) to *Very likable* (7). They then indicated how much they felt that the main character's style of thinking was like theirs on a 5-point scale labeled: *Not at all like mine* (1), *A little bit like mine* (2), *Moderately like mine* (3), *Very much like mine* (4), and *Exactly the same as mine* (5). Participants then rated the extent to which the target of discrimination possessed five positive traits (*intelligent, kind, thoughtful, dependable, considerate*) and five negative traits (*hostile, unlikeable, selfish, boring, unfriendly*), using a 5-point scale labeled: *Not at all [trait]* (1), *Slightly [trait]* (2),

Somewhat [trait] (3), *Moderately [trait]* (4), and *Extremely [trait]* (5). These ten trait items were presented in a random order.

At the end of the questionnaire, participants were fully debriefed and dismissed.

Results

Character Trait Evaluation

We predicted that to the extent voice influenced evaluation first-person voice would lead to more positive ratings of the target of discrimination, both in general and on stereotypic Black traits. We expected that the effect of voice may interact with race such that the predicted effect would emerge only for Black participants and not Whites.

Stereotypical traits. Participants' evaluations of the target of discrimination on stereotypic Black traits, hostility and intelligence, were each submitted to a 2 (narrative voice: first vs. third) X 2 (race: Black vs. White) ANOVA. For intelligence, the results revealed a marginally significant main effect of narrative voice, such that participants who read the story written in the first-person narrative voice rated the target of discrimination as more intelligent than participants who read the story written in the third-person narrative voice, $F(1, 212) = 3.64, p = .06$ (first-person: $M = 3.99, SD = .10$; third-person: $M = 3.71, SD = .10$). Results revealed no effect of race, $F < 2.00, p > .20$, and no interaction between narrative voice and race, $F < 3.00, p > .10$.

For hostility, there was only a marginally significant main effect of race, such that White participants rated the target of discrimination as more hostile than Black participants did, $F(1, 212) = 3.49, p < .06$ (White: $M = 2.06, SD = .07$; Black: $M = 1.72$,

$SD = .17$). There was no effect of narrative voice, $F < 3.00$, $p > .10$, and no interaction between narrative voice and race, $F < 1.00$, $p > .70$.

General positive and negative evaluation. Composite scores for positive and negative character trait evaluation were created by averaging responses on the five positive trait evaluation measures (intelligent, kind, thoughtful, dependable, considerate; $\alpha = .74$) and the five negative trait evaluation measures (hostile, unlikable, selfish, boring, unfriendly; $\alpha = .67$). For positive traits, a 2 (narrative voice: first vs. third) X 2 (race: Black vs. White) ANOVA revealed a main effect of narrative voice, such that those in the first-person narrative voice condition rated the target of discrimination more positively than those in the third-person narrative voice condition, $F(1, 212) = 5.70$, $p < .05$ (first-person: $M = 3.69$, $SD = .08$; third-person: $M = 3.41$, $SD = .08$). However, this main effect was qualified by a significant interaction between narrative voice and race, $F(1, 212) = 7.27$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 2.1).

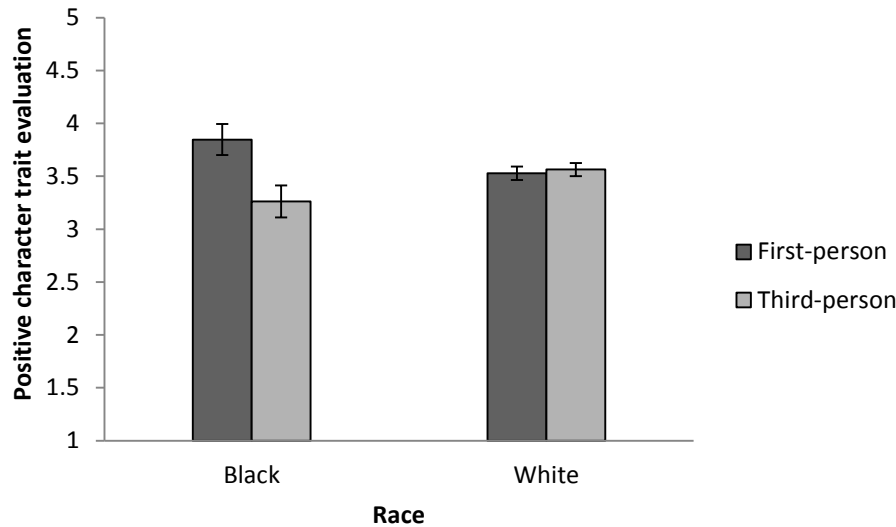


Figure 2.1. Mean composite positive character trait evaluation score in Study 1, by narrative voice and race.

Amongst Black participants, the first-person narrative voice led to more positive evaluations of the target of discrimination than did the third-person narrative voice, $F(1, 212) = 7.63, p < .01$ (first-person: $M = 3.85, SD = .15$; third-person: $M = 3.26, SD = .15$). For White participants, narrative voice of the story had no effect on how positively they rated the target of discrimination, $F < 1.00, p > .60$. Black participants tended to rate the target of discrimination more positively than White participants did in the first-person narrative voice condition, $F(1, 212) = 3.96, p < .05$, but this tendency reversed in the third-person narrative voice condition, although it was marginally so, $F(1, 212) = 3.33, p = .07$. There was no main effect of race, $F < 1.00, p > .90$.

For negative traits, there was a marginally significant main effect of race, such that Blacks evaluated the target of discrimination less negatively than Whites did, $F(1,$

212) = 3.39, $p = .07$ (Black: $M = 1.52$, $SD = .10$; White: $M = 1.71$, $SD = .04$). There was no significant main effect of narrative voice, $F < 1.00$, $p > .40$, and no interaction between narrative voice and race, $F < 1.00$, $p > .40$.

Judgment of Present Day Discrimination

We predicted that to the extent voice influenced evaluation first-person voice would lead to higher ratings of present day discrimination. We expected that the effect of voice may interact with race such that the predicted effect would emerge only for Black participants and not Whites.

The three measures assessing judgment of present day discrimination consisted of ratings of the extent, frequency and seriousness of present day discrimination. Each measure of present day discrimination was submitted, separately, to a 2 (race: Black vs. White) X 2 (narrative voice: first- vs. third-person) ANOVA. The only significant effects to emerge were the main effects of race for all three questions (all other effects: $ps > .18$). Compared to Whites, Blacks thought racism was more of a problem today (extent), $F(1, 212) = 18.44$, $p < .001$ (Black: $M = 3.27$, $SD = .15$; White: $M = 2.56$, $SD = .06$), thought Blacks encounter racism more often (frequency), $F(1, 212) = 18.37$, $p < .001$ (Black: $M = 3.30$, $SD = .15$; White: $M = 2.63$, $SD = .06$), and thought racism was more serious a problem in the US today (seriousness), $F(1, 212) = 15.88$, $p < .001$ (Black: $M = 3.42$, $SD = .18$; White: $M = 2.64$, $SD = .08$).

Although no interaction emerged on any of these three measures, the pattern of means for judgments of the extent of present day discrimination were consistent with the

interaction pattern observed for positive trait ratings, $F(1, 212) = 1.75, p = .19$ (see Figure 2.2).

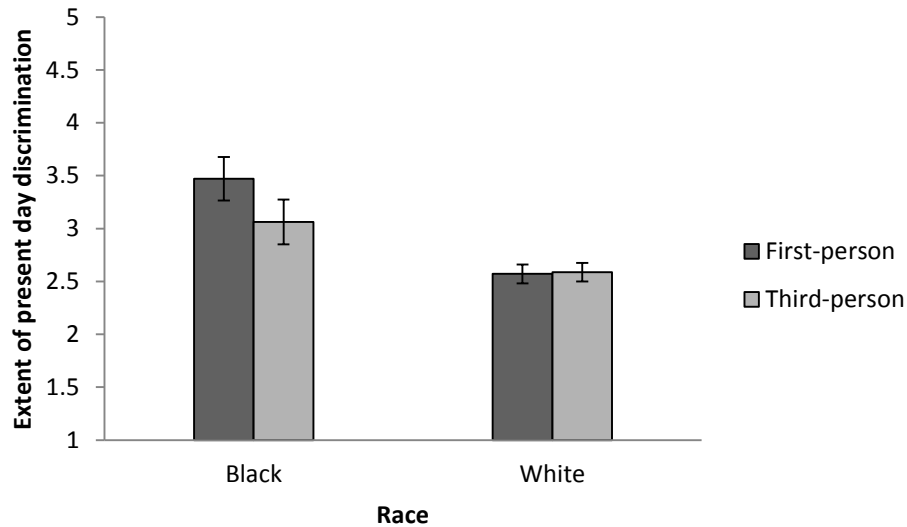


Figure 2.2. The rating of the extent of present day discrimination, “to what extent do you think racism is a problem for Blacks in the US today?” in Study 1, by narrative voice and race. 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*

Simple effects tests for this item revealed that Black participants in the first-person narrative voice condition appear to think that discrimination is more of a problem in the US today than Black participants in the third-person narrative voice condition did, $F(1, 212) = 1.92, p = .17$ (first-person: $M = 3.47, SD = .21$; third-person: $M = 3.06, SD = .21$). Meanwhile, narrative voice had no effect on White participants’ judgment of the extent of present day discrimination, $F < 1.00, p > .90$.

A composite score for judgments of present day discrimination measures was computed by averaging responses to the three questions ($\alpha = .84$). A 2 (narrative voice: first vs. third) X 2 (race: Black vs. White) ANOVA again revealed a main effect of race, such that Black participants rated more present day discrimination than White participants did, $F(1, 212) = 23.26, p < .001$ (Black: $M = 3.33, SD = .14$; White: $M = 2.62, SD = .06$). There was no significant main effect of narrative voice, $F < 1, p > .4$, and no interaction between narrative voice and race, $F < 1, p > .5$.

Empathic concern

We predicted that to the extent voice influenced evaluation, first-person voice would lead to higher ratings of empathic concern. We expected that the effect of voice may interact with race such that the predicted effect would emerge only for Black participants and not Whites.

An empathic concern composite score was computed by averaging the ten sympathy and empathy items ($\alpha = .85$). A 2 (narrative voice: first vs. third) X 2 (race: Black vs. White) ANOVA revealed a main effect of narrative voice, such that reading in the first-person narrative voice led to higher empathic concern than reading in the third-person narrative voice, $F(1, 212) = 7.68, p < .01$ (first-person: $M = 5.42, SD = .12$; third-person: $M = 4.94, SD = .13$), and a main effect of race, such that Blacks had higher empathic concern toward the target of discrimination than Whites did, $F(1, 212) = 4.57, p < .05$ (Black: $M = 5.37, SD = .16$; White: $M = 4.99, SD = .07$). These were qualified by

a significant interaction between narrative voice and race, $F(1, 212) = 5.70, p < .05$ (see Figure 2.3).

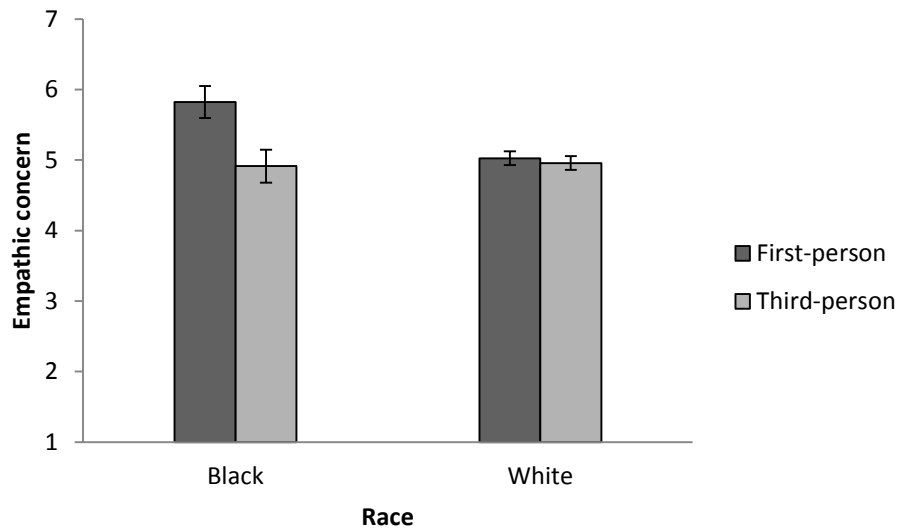


Figure 2.3. Mean composite empathic concern score in Study 1, by narrative voice and race.

Similar to the results for the positive character evaluation, simple effects tests revealed that among Black participants, the first-person narrative voice led to more empathic concern toward the target of discrimination than did the third-person narrative voice, $F(1, 212) = 7.85, p < .01$ (first-person: $M = 5.82, SD = .23$; third-person: $M = 4.91, SD = .23$). There was no significant effect of voice on empathic concern among White participants, $F < 1.00, p > .60$.

Black participants had more empathic concern toward the Black target of discrimination than White participants did in the first-person narrative voice condition, $F(1, 212) = 10.50, p < .005$ (Black: $M = 5.82, SD = .23$; White: $M = 5.02, SD = .10$), but there was no race difference in the third-person narrative voice condition, $F < 1.00, p > .90$.

Mediational analyses

To assess whether the significant interaction between narrative voice and race on positive evaluation of the target of discrimination could be accounted for by participants' level of empathic concern with the target, a mediational analysis was conducted (Baron & Kenny, 1986).¹

As already reported, there was a significant interactive effect of narrative voice and race on the positive character evaluation and on empathic concern. The narrative voice X race interaction significantly predicted positive character evaluation, $b = -.16, \beta = -.25, t(179) = 2.70, p < .01$. The narrative voice X race interaction also significantly predicted empathic concern scores, $b = -.21, \beta = -.22, t(179) = 2.39, p < .05$. When empathic concern was included in a linear model predicting positive evaluation from race, narrative voice, and their interaction, the effect of empathic concern was significant ($b = .14, \beta = .22, t(179) = 3.17, p < .005$). The narrative voice X race interaction was also significant ($b = -.13, \beta = -.21, t(179) = 2.20, p = .03$), but this effect was significantly

¹ We also wanted to assess whether the interaction between narrative voice and race on judgments of present day discrimination could be mediated by empathic concern. However, the effect of the interaction between narrative voice and race on judgments of present day discrimination was not significant, $F(1, 212) = 1.75, p = .19$, thus, not fulfilling the requirements for conducting a mediational analysis.

weaker compared to when the mediator was not included (Sobel $z = 1.91$, $p = .056$). Thus, the participant's level of empathic concern toward the target of discrimination seemed to partially account for the positive character evaluation evoked by the interaction between race and narrative voice of the story. This suggests Black participants in the first-person narrative voice condition having more empathic concern was contributing to the pattern of making more positive character trait evaluations.

Subjective temporal distance and change of discrimination over time.

We predicted that to the extent voice influenced evaluation first-person voice would lead to ratings of closer subjective temporal distance and less decrease in discrimination over time. We expected that the effect of voice may interact with race such that the predicted effect would emerge only for Black participants and not Whites.

Each measure of subjective temporal distance, one about the event in the story and another about the time of desegregation, and change of discrimination over time was submitted, separately, to a 2 (race: Black vs. White) X 2 (narrative voice: first- vs. third-person) ANOVA. For the subjective temporal distance measure about the event in the story, the only significant effects to emerge were main effects of race, such that Blacks felt the event in the story to be closer in time than Whites did, $F(1, 212) = 9.99$, $p < .005$ (Black: $M = 4.24$, $SD = .37$; White: $M = 5.52$, $SD = .16$). There was no main effect of narrative voice, $F < 1$, $p > .6$, and no interaction between narrative voice and race, $F < 1$, $p > .6$.

For the subjective temporal distance measure about the time of desegregation, there was a main effect of race, such that Blacks felt the time of desegregation to be closer in time than Whites did, $F(1, 212) = 38.34, p < .001$, and a main effect of narrative voice, such that participants who read the story in first-person narrative voice felt the time of desegregation to be closer in time than those participants who read the story in third-person narrative voice did, $F(1, 212) = 4.78, p < .05$. However, these main effects were qualified by a marginally significant interaction between narrative voice and race, $F(1, 212) = 2.94, p = .09$ (see Figure 2. 4).

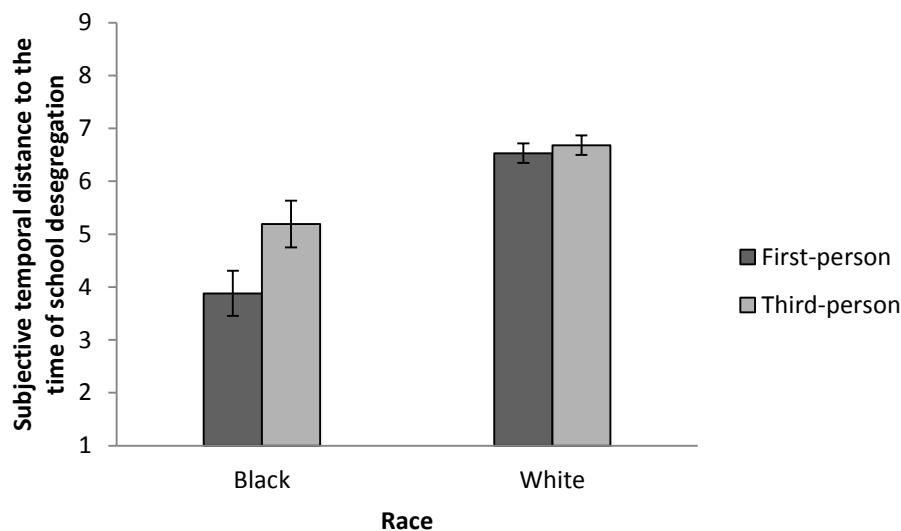


Figure 2.4. The rating of the subjective temporal distance to the time of school desegregation in Study 1, by narrative voice and race. *1 = Feels very recent like yesterday, 9 = Feels like a long, long time ago*

Among Black participants, reading the story written in first-person narrative voice led them to feel closer in time than reading the story written in third-person narrative voice, $F(1, 212) = 4.49, p < .05$ (first-person: $M = 3.88, SD = .19$; third-person: $M = 5.19, SD = .44$). For White participants, narrative voice of the story had no effect on their subjective temporal distance to the time of desegregation, $F < 1.00, p > .50$.

Black participants felt the time of desegregation to be closer in time than White participants in both first-person narrative voice, $F(1, 212) = 32.06, p < .001$ (Black: $M = 3.882, SD = .43$; White: $M = 6.53, SD = .19$), and third-person narrative voice, $F(1, 212) = 9.77, p < .005$ (Black: $M = 5.19, SD = .44$, White: $M = 6.69, SD = .18$).

Participants' judgments of change in discrimination were submitted to a 2 (race: Black vs. White) X 2 (narrative voice: first- vs. third-person) ANOVA. Results revealed that the only significant effect for the change of discrimination over time rating was a main effect of race, such that Blacks said discrimination has decreased less over time than Whites did, $F(1, 212) = 7.58, p < .01$ (Black: $M = -1.64, SD = .14$; White: $M = -2.06, SD = .06$). There was no main effect of narrative voice, $F < 2.00, p > .10$, and no interaction between narrative voice and race, $F < 1.00, p > .30$.

Visual perspective

We predicted that the first-person visual perspective would be relatively more common among Black participants in the first-person narrative voice condition than Blacks in the third-person narrative voice condition. We predicted no differences in visual perspective among White participants regardless of narrative voice condition.

A chi-square test revealed marginally significant differences in taking the first-person visual perspective between Black participants in the first-person narrative voice condition and Black participants in the third-person narrative voice condition, $\chi^2 (1, N = 216) = 2.97, p < .09$ (see Table 1.1). There was no difference in taking the first-person visual perspective among Whites regardless of their voice conditions, $\chi^2 (1, N = 216) = .27, p = .61$.

Narrative voice	Race	
	Black	White
First-person	.88	.52
Third-person	.12	.48

Table 1. Proportion of participants picturing the story from the first-person perspective in Study 1

Summary of results

As we expected might occur, narrative voice influenced the judgments of Black participants but not White participants. In particular, Black participants reading the story in the first-person narrative voice evaluated the target of discrimination more favorably on the positive traits, thought racism was more of a problem, showed more empathic concern, and felt that the time of desegregation was subjectively closer in time compared

to those who read the story in the third-person narrative voice, but no such narrative voice effects emerged amongst Whites.

A possible explanation is that narrative voice influenced the extent to which Black participants identified themselves as a part of this past group. Past research suggests that distant selves are evaluated more negatively by people than recent selves are evaluated (Wilson & Ross, 2001). In line with this, Black participants who read the story in the first-person narrative voice may have identified with the target of discrimination, taking the shared group membership as their current social identity, while those who read the story in the third-person narrative voice may have distanced themselves from the target of discrimination and saw the shared group membership as a distant social identity. Thus, narrative voice may have produced differences in identification and subjective distance from the social identity that is shared with the target of discrimination, which led to differences in judgments of the character's positive traits, and present day discrimination. These are interesting possibilities for further investigation.

Another interesting finding was that there seemed to be no narrative voice effect among White participants. This lack of a narrative voice effect may be due to differential motivations and beliefs among these participants. White participants who hold non-racist beliefs may be more open to understanding perceptions of Blacks, while those who hold racist beliefs may not be as open to understanding Black perceptions. White participants had completed the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981; McConahay, 1983) at the end of the session, and analyses revealed that the narrative voice manipulation had no effect on participants' scores ($t(181) = .42, p = .68$). Thus,

further analyses looking only at White participants were conducted to see if White participants' racial attitudes moderated the effect of narrative voice.

Modern racism among White participants as a moderator

Since the modern racism measure was continuous, regression analyses were used to test our predictions. Modern racism scores ranged from 1.00 to 7.00, out of the possible 1 (lowest modern racism) to 7 (highest modern racism), with a mean of 3.20 (SD = 1.11). Participants' modern racism scores were centered by subtracting the sample mean. Then, linear regressions predicting each rating from the centered modern racism score, narrative voice (first-person = -1, third-person = 1), and their interaction were conducted. Ratings included ratings of the target of discrimination, both in general and on stereotypic, judgment of present day discrimination, empathic concern, subjective temporal distances and change of discrimination over time. Modern racism scores were recentered at 1 standard deviation above and below the sample mean to examine the effect of narrative voice among participants scoring low and high modern racism, and narrative voice was dummy coded to test simple slopes at first- and third-person narrative voice conditions.

Character Trait Evaluation

We predicted that narrative voice would have more impact on ratings of the target of discrimination, both in general and on stereotypic Black traits, for low modern racism participants than for high modern racism participants.

Stereotypical traits. For evaluations of hostility, there was neither the effect of modern racism, $b = .08, \beta = .10, t(179) = 1.31, p = .19$, nor the effect of narrative voice, $b = -.10, \beta = -.11, t(179) = 1.48, p = .14$. There was a marginal interaction between narrative voice and modern racism, $b = .11, \beta = .13, t(179) = 1.77, p = .08$ (see Figure 2.5).

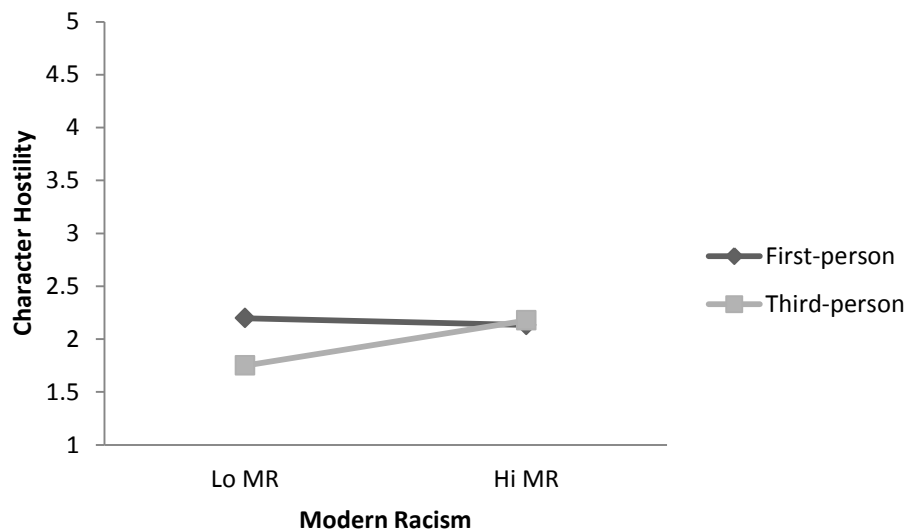


Figure 2.5: The rating of character hostility by modern racism and narrative voice. The graph is plotted at 1SD below and above the sample mean of modern racism score. 1 = *Not at all hostile*, 5 = *Extremely hostile*

Tests of simple slopes revealed support for our prediction that low modern racism participants would be more sensitive to the narrative voice manipulation, $b = -.22, \beta = -.24, t(179) = 2.30, p < .05$, than high modern racism participants would be, $b = .02, \beta$

$= .02, t(179) = .21, p = .83$. The direction of the effect for low modern racism participants was unexpected, however, as they rated the target of discrimination as more, not less, hostile in the first-person condition than in the third-person condition.

Considering the simple slopes within each voice condition revealed that low modern racism was associated with lower ratings of hostility only in the third-person, not in the first-person narrative voice (first-person: $b = .19, \beta = .23, t(179) = 2.11, p < .05$; third-person: $b = -.03, \beta = -.03, t(179) = .33, p = .74$).

For evaluations of intelligence, there was an effect of modern racism, such that lower modern racism was associated with higher rating of character intelligence ($b = -.11, \beta = -.16, t(179) = 2.11, p < .05$). Neither the effect of narrative voice ($b = -.04, \beta = -.05, t(179) = .62, p = .54$) nor the interaction was significant ($b = -.02, \beta = -.03, t(179) = .38, p = .70$).

General positive and negative evaluation. For positive character trait evaluation composites, we found the effect of modern racism, such that lower modern racism was associated with more positive ratings, $b = -.13, \beta = -.25, t(179) = 3.46, p < .005$. There was neither the effect of narrative voice ($b = .01, \beta = .02, t(179) = .31, p = .76$) nor the interaction between narrative voice and modern racism ($b = .007, \beta = .01, t(179) = .19, p = .85$).

For negative character trait evaluation composites, there was a marginal effect of narrative voice such that the first-person narrative voice led to more negative evaluations ($b = -.07, \beta = -.13, t(179) = 1.76, p = .09$) and a significant effect of modern racism, such that lower modern racism was associated with less negative ratings ($b = .13, \beta = .26, t$

(179) = 3.66, $p < .001$). There was no interaction between narrative voice and modern racism ($b = .04$, $\beta = .07$, $t(179) = 1.01$, $p = .31$).

Judgment of Present Day Discrimination²

We predicted that narrative voice would have more impact on judgments of present day discrimination for low modern racism participants than high modern racism participants.

² Since one item from Modern Racism Scale (“Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.”) was similar to the question assessing the extent of present day discrimination (“To what extent do you think racism is a problem for Blacks in the US today?”), we looked more closely to these items by running regression analyses in three different ways.

First, we included that item from the Modern Racism Scale as a covariate in the regression analysis predicting the extent of present day discrimination scores from narrative voice and averaged modern racism score. The results revealed that the relationship between modern racism and judgment of the extent of present day discrimination depended on narrative voice of the story participants read, when this item was included as a covariate, $b = .11$, $\beta = .14$, $t(179) = 2.19$, $p < .05$. However, there was no direct effect of narrative voice, $b = .02$, $\beta = .03$, $t(179) = .41$, $p = .68$, and no direct association of modern racism, $b = -.05$, $\beta = -.07$, $t(179) = .84$, $p = .40$, on the rating of the extent of present day discrimination.

Second, instead of averaging scores from all 8 items from Modern Racism Scale, we averaged modern racism scores excluding the item similar to the extent of present day discrimination question. The relationship between modern racism and judgment of the extent of present day discrimination did not depend on narrative voice of the story participants read, $b = .07$, $\beta = .09$, $t(179) = 1.30$, $p = .19$. There was direct association of modern racism, such that lower modern racism was associated with higher rating of the extent of present day discrimination, $b = -.22$, $\beta = -.29$, $t(179) = 4.12$, $p < .001$. There was no direct effect of narrative voice on the rating of the extent of present day discrimination, $b = -.002$, $\beta = -.002$, $t(179) = .04$, $p = .97$.

Lastly, we used that single item from Modern Racism Scale instead of using the averaged modern racism scores. There was the relationship between modern racism and judgment of the extent of present day discrimination depended on narrative voice of the story participants read, when this item was used alone, $b = .09$, $\beta = .15$, $t(179) = 2.35$, $p < .05$. There was also direct association of modern racism, such that lower modern racism was associated with higher rating of the extent of present day discrimination, $b = -.27$, $\beta = -.47$, $t(179) = 7.31$, $p < .001$. However, there was no direct effect of narrative voice on the rating of the extent of present day discrimination, $b = .02$, $\beta = .02$, $t(179) = .32$, $p = .75$.

Although the statistical significance levels were different, regression analyses using these different ways revealed similar patterns of interaction between narrative voice and modern racism on the rating of the extent of present day discrimination. We also ran the same three different analyses in addition to the regression analysis using averaged modern racism scores for Study 2 and found similar patterns of results.

To test this hypothesis, a regression analysis predicting each of the ratings of the extent, frequency, and seriousness of present day discrimination from narrative voice, modern racism and their interaction term was conducted.

Extent of discrimination. We found an effect of modern racism for ratings of extent of discrimination such that low modern racism was associated with higher rating of the extent of present day discrimination ($b = -.27, \beta = -.35, t(179) = 4.98, p < .001$). There was no effect of narrative voice ($b = -.002, \beta = -.002, t(179) = .03, p > .90$). The interaction between narrative voice and modern racism was marginally significant, $b = .09, \beta = 0.11, t(179) = 1.64, p = .10$ (see Figure 2.6).

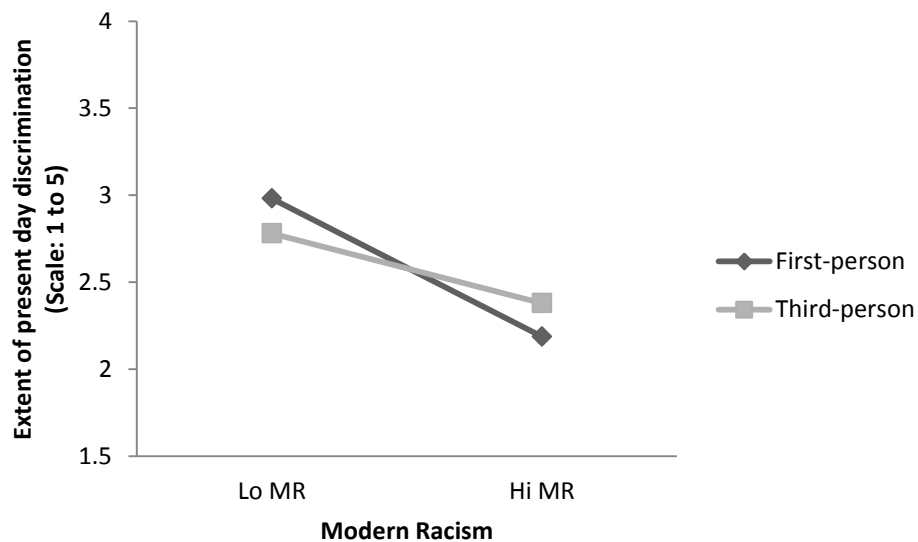


Figure 2.6: The rating of the extent of present day discrimination, “to what extent do you think racism is a problem for Blacks in the US today?” by modern racism and narrative voice. The graph is plotted at 1SD below and above the sample mean of modern racism score. 1 = *Not at all*, 5 = *Extremely*

Tests of simple slopes revealed no narrative voice effect among low modern racism participants, $b = -.10$, $\beta = -.12$, $t(179) = 1.18$, $p = .24$, and among high modern racism participants, $b = .10$, $\beta = .11$, $t(179) = 1.15$, $p = .25$. Considering the simple slopes within each voice condition revealed that low modern racism was associated with higher ratings of extent of discrimination both in the first-person and the third-person narrative voice (first-person: $b = -.32$, $\beta = -.43$, $t(179) = 4.48$, $p < .001$; third-person: $b = -.36$, $\beta = -.46$, $t(179) = 4.86$, $p < .001$).

Frequency of discrimination. For ratings of frequency of discrimination, there was an effect of modern racism, such that low modern racism was associated with higher rating of the frequency of present day discrimination, $b = -.23$, $\beta = -.31$, $t(179) = 4.43$, $p < .001$, but no effect of narrative voice, $b = -.08$, $\beta = -.10$, $t(179) = 1.44$, $p = .15$. There was a marginal interaction between narrative voice and modern racism, $b = .09$, $\beta = .12$, $t(179) = 1.68$, $p = .10$ (see Figure 2.6).

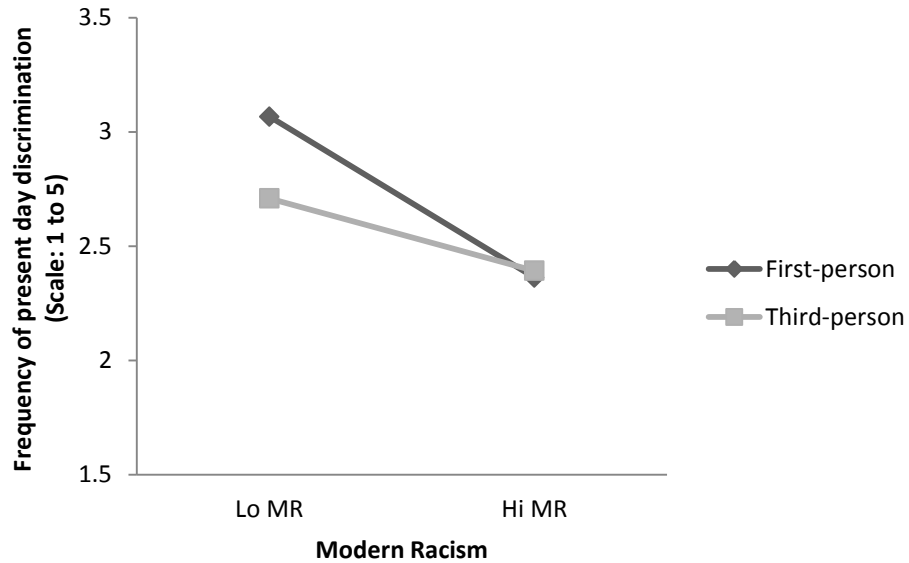


Figure 2.7. The rating of the frequency of present day discrimination, “How often do you think Blacks encounter racism in the US today?” by modern racism and narrative voice. The graph is plotted at 1SD below and above the sample mean of modern racism score. 1 = *Not at all*, 5 = *Extremely*

Tests of simple slopes revealed support for our prediction that low modern racism participants would be more sensitive to the narrative voice manipulation, $b = -.18$, $\beta = -.22$, $t(179) = 2.21$, $p < .05$, than high modern racism participants would be, $b = .01$, $\beta = .02$, $t(179) = .18$, $p = .86$. As expected, they rated frequency of discrimination higher in the first-person condition than in the third-person condition. Considering the simple slopes within each voice condition revealed that low modern racism was associated with lower ratings of frequency of discrimination in both first-person and third-person narrative voice (first-person: $b = -.32$, $\beta = -.43$, $t(179) = 4.48$, $p < .001$; third-person: $b = -.14$, $\beta = -.19$, $t(179) = 1.88$, $p = .06$).

Seriousness of discrimination. For ratings of seriousness of discrimination, there was only an effect of modern racism, such that low modern racism was related to higher rating of the seriousness of present day discrimination, $b = -.46, \beta = -.49, t(179) = 7.53, p < .001$. There was no effect of narrative voice ($b = -.003, \beta = -.003, t(179) = .04, p > .9$) and no interaction ($b = -.003, \beta = -.004, t(179) = .06, p = .96$).

Composite. When regression analysis predicting the composite of all three judgment of present day discrimination ratings from narrative voice, modern racism and their interaction term was conducted, only an effect of modern racism was found, such that lower modern racism was associated with higher ratings of judgment of present day discrimination, $b = -.32, \beta = -.45, t(179) = 6.85, p < .001$. There was neither the effect of narrative voice, $b = .06, \beta = .08, t(179) = 1.23, p = .22$, nor an interaction between narrative voice and modern racism $b = -.03, \beta = -.04, t(179) = .56, p = .57$.

Empathic concern

We predicted that narrative voice would be more impactful on ratings of empathic concern for low modern racism participants than high modern racism participants.

When the regression analysis predicting the composite score of empathic concern from narrative voice, modern racism and their interaction term was conducted, results revealed only the effect of modern racism, such that low modern racism was associated with higher rating of empathic concern, $b = -.12, \beta = -.15, t(179) = 2.01, p < .05$. There was neither an effect of narrative voice, $b = -.04, \beta = -.04, t(179) = .58, p = .56$, nor an interaction, $b = -.05, \beta = -.06, t(179) = .83, p = .41$.

Subjective temporal distance and change of discrimination over time

We predicted that narrative voice would have more impact on ratings of subjective temporal distance and change of discrimination over time for low modern racism participants than high modern racism participants.

For both subjective temporal distance measures, the regression analysis revealed no effect of narrative voice or race (all $ps > .20$) and no interaction between narrative voice and modern racism (all $ps > .50$).

For ratings of change of discrimination over time, there was neither the effect of voice nor race ($ps > .60$). We found a marginal interaction between narrative voice and modern racism, $b = .09$, $\beta = .12$, $t(179) = 1.67$, $p = .10$.

Tests of simple slopes revealed no narrative voice effect among low modern racism participants, $b = -.11$, $\beta = -.15$, $t(179) = 1.43$, $p = .15$, and among high modern racism participants, $b = .08$, $\beta = .10$, $t(179) = .95$, $p = .35$. Considering the simple slopes within each voice condition revealed that low modern racism score was not associated with higher ratings of change of discrimination over time in first-person narrative voice, $b = -.13$, $\beta = -.16$, $t(179) = 1.51$, $p = .13$, and in third-person narrative voice, $b = .07$, $\beta = .09$, $t(179) = .86$, $p = .39$.

The findings among Whites in Study 1 demonstrated that the narrative voice effect on White individuals differed depending on their level of modern racism. Among low modern racism individuals, reading the story in the first-person narrative voice,

compared to third-person, led to higher ratings of character hostility, while there was no voice effect among high modern racism individuals. In contrast, there was a hint that participants thought racism was more of a problem when the story was written in the first-person narrative voice, compared to third-person, among low modern racism individuals, but not among high modern racism individuals.

Chapter 3: Study 2

Since the pattern of high modern racism participants in Study 1 seemed to suggest that narrative voice had no effect on changing their views on both the target of discrimination in the story and judgments of present day discrimination, Study 2 investigates a possible means to increase high modern racism individuals' understandings of the victimized group's experiences. When people are threatened, they tend to respond in a self-serving, defensive way which prevents them from accepting given information with different points of views (e.g., Ditto & Lopez, 1992; Kunda, 1990). One reason high modern racism individuals may be reluctant to change their views is that forcing them to take the perspective of the target of discrimination via the first-person narrative voice makes them feel threatened. Since self-affirmation theory poses that people feel less threatened after affirming their important values (Steele, 1988; Sherman, 2000), we used a self-affirmation task in an attempt to lead high modern racism participants feel less threatened and therefore to be more capable of understanding the Black (victimized) perception.

In Study 2, White participants read the same story about the Black student as Study 1 in either first- or third-person narrative voice. However, before reading the story, they completed a self-affirmation manipulation: Participants were either affirmed by writing about their most important value, or not affirmed by writing about their least

important value. Participants responded to the same dependent measures as Study 1. We predicted that when participants had not been affirmed, only low modern racist participants would be sensitive to the voice manipulation, as in Study 1. However, when participants had been affirmed, the effect of voice would no longer depend on modern racism; both high and low modern racist participants would be sensitive to the voice manipulation.

Method

Participants

One hundred eighty two undergraduates (68 female, 114 male) participated in exchange for partial course credit. Data from 36 participants who indicated their race as other than Caucasian and 24 participants who failed to follow instructions ($n = 9$) or who failed the story comprehension checks, either by incorrectly identifying the race of the target of discrimination ($n = 1$) or identifying the story as fiction rather than fact (n , or who did not read the story ($n = 14$), were discarded from the analysis. The final sample consisted of 122 Caucasians (44 female, 78 male).

Materials and procedure

Participants arrived at the laboratory and were seated at individual workstations, each of which contained a computer on which participants would record their responses.

Following the self-affirmation procedures of Sherman et al. (2000), participants first ranked six personal values listed on a sheet of paper (business, art-music-theater, social life-relationships, science-pursuit of knowledge, religion-morality and

government-politics) in order of importance. After ranking values on the sheet of paper, participants were randomly assigned to either the affirmation or no-affirmation condition. Those in the affirmation condition were asked to indicate their most important value of the six provided and to spend five minutes writing an essay about why the value was the most important and meaningful to them. Participants in the no-affirmation condition were asked to indicate their least important value and to spend five minutes writing an essay about why their least important value could be important to someone else.

Once the self-affirmation task was finished, the remainder of the procedure was the same as that of Study 1 except for a slight modification to the question order. In this study, participants rated the character traits immediately after the measure of empathic concern instead of toward the end of the session.

Results

Regression analyses were used to predict each rating from modern racism score centered around the sample mean, narrative voice (first-person = -1, third-person = 1), affirmation condition (no affirmation = -1, affirmation = 1), all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction. Ratings included responses on character trait evaluations, judgments of present day discrimination, empathic concern, subjective temporal distances and change of discrimination over time. Modern racism scores ranged from 1.13 to 6.25 with a mean of 3.20 (SD = 1.14). A 2 (narrative voice: first-person vs. third-person) X 2 (affirmation: affirmation vs. no affirmation) revealed no main effects or interaction on modern racism scores (all F 's < 3.00, all p 's > .14).

Character Trait Evaluation

We predicted that in the no affirmation condition, narrative voice would have more impact on the character trait evaluation for low modern racism participants than high modern racism participants, but in the affirmation condition, narrative voice would have similar effect on the character trait evaluation for both low and high modern racism participants.

The regression analysis revealed no three-way interaction among narrative voice, modern racism and the affirmation condition for character intelligence ($p = .09$), hostility ($p = .33$) or positive and negative composites ($ps > .20$). Thus, in following sections, we focused on the effects collapsing across affirmation manipulation conditions.

Stereotypic traits. For evaluations of hostility, there was only an interaction between narrative voice and modern racism, $b = .18$, $\beta = .22$, $t(118) = 2.43$, $p < .05$ (see Figure 3.1). No other significant main effects or interactions were found (all $ps > .25$).

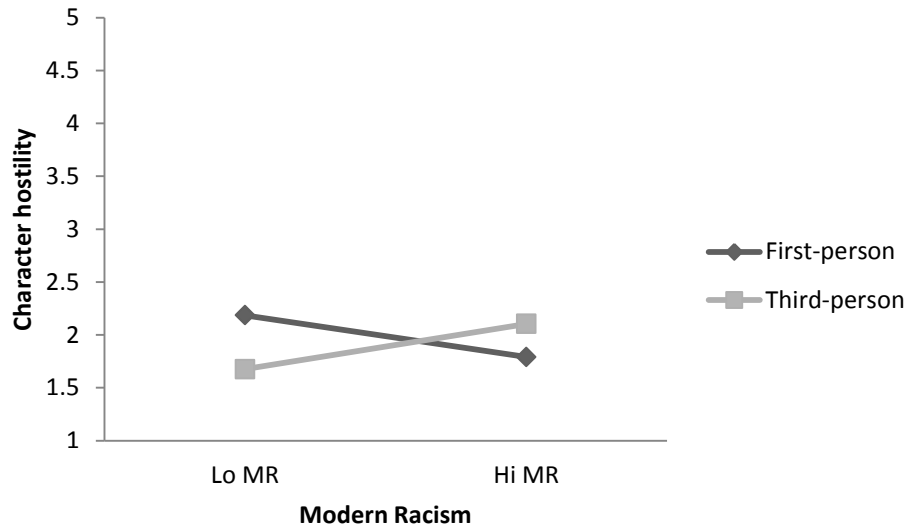


Figure 3.1: The rating of character hostility by modern racism and narrative voice. The graph is plotted at 1SD below and above the sample mean of modern racism score. 1 = *Not at all hostile*, 5 = *Extremely hostile*

To further investigate the relationship among modern racism, narrative voice and character ratings, modern racism scores were recentered 1 standard deviation above and below the sample mean to test simple slopes at high and low levels of modern racism scores, and narrative voice was dummy coded to test simple slopes at first- and third-person conditions. Tests of simple slopes revealed support for our prediction that low modern racism participants would be more sensitive to the narrative voice manipulation, $b = -.26$, $\beta = -.28$, $t(118) = 2.23$, $p < .05$, than high modern racism participants would be, $b = .18$, $\beta = .19$, $t(118) = 1.47$, $p = .15$. The direction of the effect for low modern racism participants was unexpected, however, as they rated the target of discrimination as more, not less, hostile in the first-person condition than in the third-person condition.

Considering the simple slopes within each voice condition revealed that low modern racism was associated with lower ratings of hostility only in the third-person, not in the first-person narrative voice (first-person: $b = -.18, \beta = -.22, t(118) = 1.58, p = .12$; third-person: $b = .219, \beta = .25, t(118) = 2.13, p < .05$).

For evaluations of intelligence, there was an effect of modern racism, such that lower modern racism was associated with higher rating of character intelligence ($b = -.22, \beta = -.31, t(118) = 3.52, p < .005$). No other effects were significant (all $ps > .15$).

Composite. For the negative trait evaluation composite ($\alpha = .55$), there was an effect of modern racism, $b = .11, \beta = .28, t(118) = 2.75, p < .01$. No other significant main effects or interactions were found (all $ps > .25$) other than a marginal interaction between narrative voice and modern racism on the negative trait evaluation composite, $b = .07, \beta = .16, t(118) = 1.79, p = .08$ (see Figure 3.2).

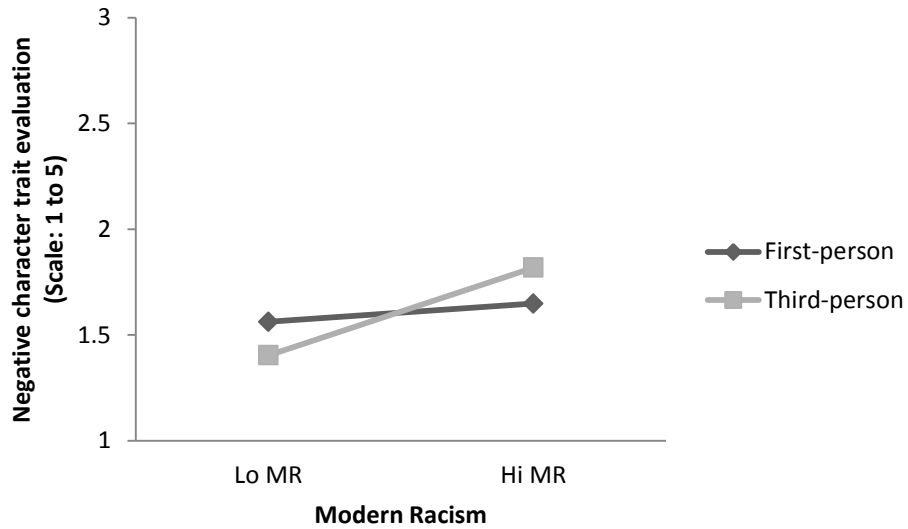


Figure 3.2: Mean composite negative character trait evaluation score by modern racism and narrative voice. The graph is plotted at 1SD below and above the sample mean of modern racism score.

Tests of simple slopes revealed no narrative voice effect among low modern racism participants, $b = -.08$, $\beta = -.15$, $t(118) = 1.22$, $p = .23$, or among high modern racism participants, $b = .09$, $\beta = .19$, $t(118) = 1.46$, $p = .15$. When the simple slopes within each voice condition were considered, we found that low modern racism was associated with lower ratings of negative traits only in the third-person, not in the first-person narrative voice (first-person: $b = 0.04$, $\beta = .08$, $t(118) = .62$, $p = .54$; third-person: $b = -.62$, $\beta = .77$, $t(118) = 6.73$, $p < .001$).

Judgment of Present Day Discrimination

We predicted that in the no affirmation condition, narrative voice would have more impact on judgments of present day discrimination for low modern racism participants than high modern racism participants, but in the affirmation condition, narrative voice would have similar effect on judgments of present day discrimination for both low and high modern racism participants.

Since both ratings of the extent and seriousness of discrimination were highly correlated and resulted in similar patterns, a composite for judgment of present day discrimination was computed by averaging responses on two measures (To what extent do you think racism is a problem for Blacks in the US today? How serious do you think the problem of racism is for Blacks in the US today?; $\alpha = .83$). The regression analysis predicting the composite score from narrative voice, modern racism, affirmation and their interaction terms revealed no significant three-way interaction for the judgment of present day discrimination composite ($p > .97$). Thus, in following sections, we focused on the effects collapsing across affirmation manipulation conditions.

There was an effect of modern racism such that lower modern racism was associated with higher rating, $b = -.49$, $\beta = -.60$, $t(118) = 8.03$, $p < .001$, and an interaction between narrative voice and modern racism, $b = .13$, $\beta = .16$, $t(118) = 2.14$, $p < .05$ (see Figure 3.3). No other effects were significant (all $ps > .10$).

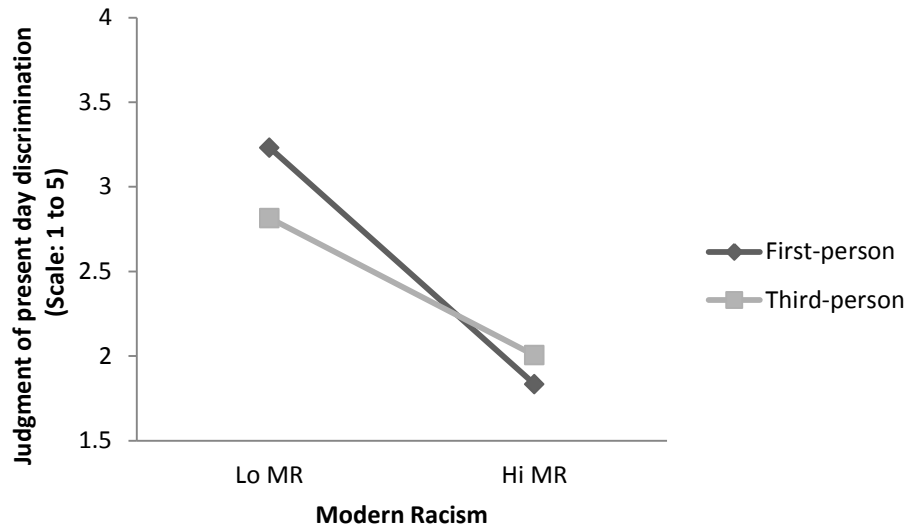


Figure 3.3: The judgment of present day discrimination composite by modern racism and narrative voice. The graph is plotted at 1SD below and above the sample mean of modern racism score.

Tests of simple slopes revealed support for our prediction that low modern racism participants would be more sensitive to the narrative voice manipulation, $b = -.22$, $\beta = -.24$, $t(118) = 2.32$, $p < .05$, than high modern racism participants would be, $b = .16$, $\beta = .13$, $t(118) = 1.17$, $p = .25$. As expected, they gave higher ratings of present day discrimination in the first-person condition than in the third-person condition.

Considering the simple slopes within each voice condition revealed that low modern racism was associated with lower ratings of hostility both in the first-person and the third-person narrative voice (first-person: $b = -.62$, $\beta = -.77$, $t(118) = 6.73$, $p < .001$; third-person: $b = -.32$, $\beta = -.40$, $t(118) = 4.10$, $p < .001$).

Empathic concern.

We predicted that in the no affirmation condition, narrative voice would have more impact on empathic concern for low modern racism participants than high modern racism participants, but in the affirmation condition, narrative voice would have a similar effect on empathic concern for both low and high modern racism participants.

The results did not yield a three-way interaction between narrative voice, modern racism and affirmation condition, however, $b = -.03$, $\beta = -.03$, $t(118) = .31$, $p = .75$. Other than the negative relationship between modern racism and empathic concern, such that low modern racism was associated with higher empathic concern, $b = -.28$, $\beta = -.31$, $t(118) = 3.43$, $p = .001$, no other main effects or interactions were statistically significant (all $ps > .30$).

Subjective temporal distance and change of discrimination over time.

We predicted that in the no affirmation condition, narrative voice would have more impact on subjective temporal distance and change of discrimination over time for low modern racism participants than high modern racism participants, but in the affirmation condition, narrative voice would have a similar effect on subjective temporal distance and change of discrimination over time for both low and high modern racism participants.

There was no three-way interaction among narrative voice, modern racism and affirmation condition for subjective temporal distance to the event of the story and to the time of desegregation (all $ps > .3$). No other main effects and interactions were significant

(all $ps > .19$) except for the effect of modern racism ($b = .37, \beta = .20, t(118) = 2.19, p < .05$) and the effect of affirmation ($b = .41, \beta = .19, t(118) = 2.12, p < .05$) for ratings for subjective temporal distance to the event of the story.

For ratings of change of discrimination over time, there was a significant three-way interaction among modern racism, narrative voice and affirmation condition, $b = .18, \beta = .22, t(118) = 2.37, p < .05$. In the no affirmation condition, reading the story in the first-person narrative voice led to less decrease of discrimination over time than reading in the third-person narrative voice among low modern racism participants only, consistent with the patterns observed in Study 1 (low modern racism: $b = -.38, \beta = -.40, t(118) = 2.23, p < .05$; high modern racism: $b = .23, \beta = .24, t(118) = 1.27, p = .21$) (see Figure 3.4). In the affirmation condition, narrative voice had no effect on the rating of change of discrimination over time for either low or high modern racism participants (low modern racism: $b = .09, \beta = .10, t(118) = .51, p = .61$; high modern racism: $b = -.14, \beta = -.15, t(118) = .82, p = .42$).

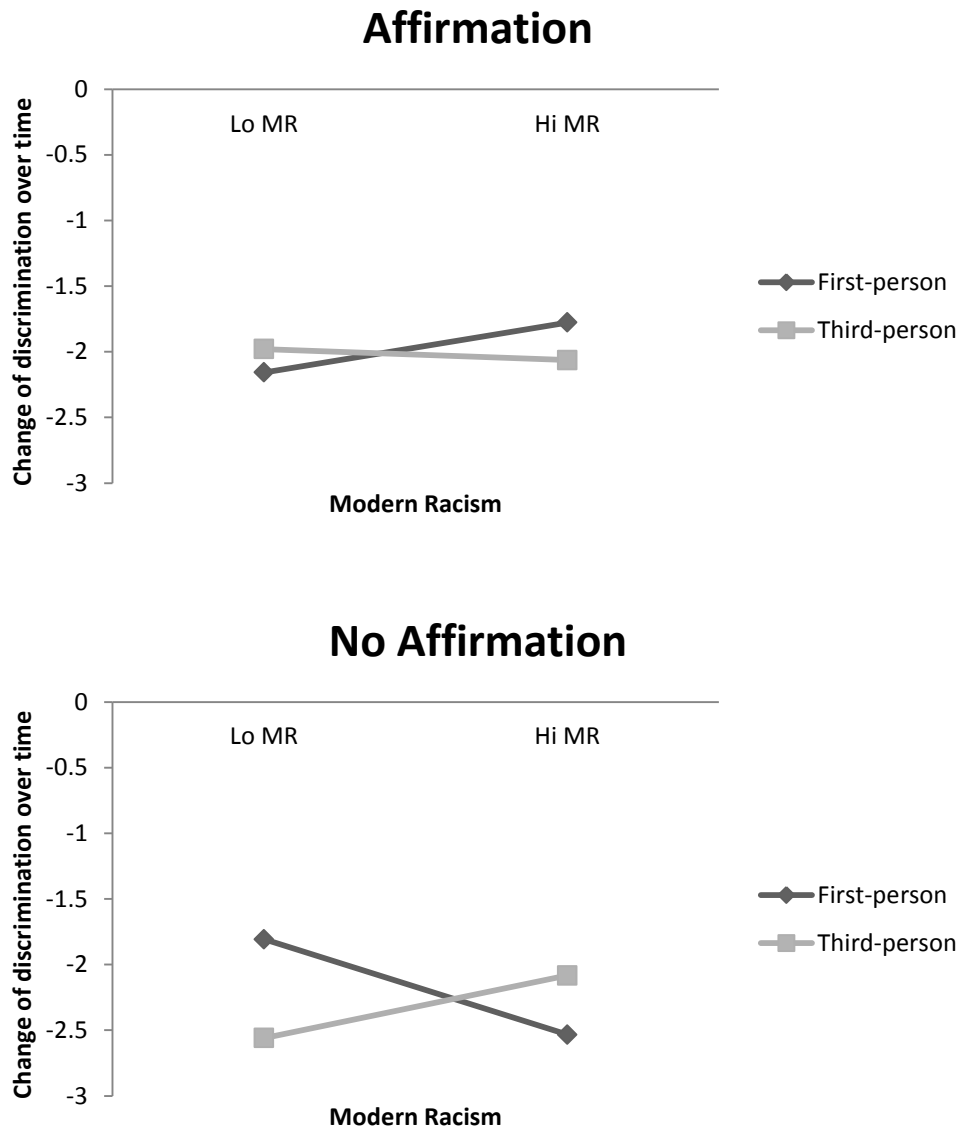


Figure 3.4. Ratings of change of discrimination over time by modern racism, narrative voice and affirmation condition. The graph is plotted at 1SD below and above the sample mean of modern racism score. -3 = *Racism has decreased greatly*, 3 = *Racism has increased greatly*

The affirmation manipulation was unsuccessful in making high modern racism participants sensitive to the voice manipulation in general as only low modern racism participants showed sensitivity to the voice manipulation. However, Study 2 replicated the demonstration from Study 1 that the narrative voice effect on White individuals differed depending on their level of modern racism. Among low modern racism individuals, reading the story in the first-person narrative voice, compared to third-person, led to higher ratings of character hostility and negative traits while there was no voice effect among high modern racism individuals. In contrast, low modern racism participants thought racism was more of a problem when the story was written in the first-person narrative voice, compared to third-person, but high modern racism individuals did not show this narrative voice effect.

Chapter 4: General Discussion

The goal of the current studies was to investigate whether narrative voice influences individuals of different group memberships and attitudes, in perceiving victims of past injustice and present day discrimination. The results from Study 1 suggested that narrative voice has differential effects for in-group and out-group members. Black participants who read a story about a Black target of discrimination going through discrimination in the first-person narrative voice rated the target more favorably and saw more present day discrimination compared to those who read the story in the third-person narrative voice. On average, Whites were not influenced by narrative voice of the story. This lack of narrative voice effect among White participants was explained by different racial attitudes these participants held. Racial attitudes, measured by Modern Racism Scale, predicted White participants' sensitivity to the narrative voice manipulation. Since high modern racism participants seemed to have no narrative voice effect on changing their views on both the target of discrimination in the story and judgments of present day discrimination, Study 2 focused on whether this lack of the narrative voice effect on high modern racism participants can be changed by affirming their self-values. Results revealed that the affirmation manipulation was unsuccessful in making high modern racism participants sensitive to the voice manipulation in general.

Only low modern racism participants showed sensitivity of narrative voice in their ratings of character traits and present day discrimination.

Implications for research on narrative voice

The present studies extend the body of research on narrative voice in several ways. Effects of different narrative voices have not received a great deal of attention in social psychological literature, although individuals indirectly experience many events through certain forms of narrative. Building on past research that examined antecedents and consequences of first- and third-person narrative voice, which only focused on a story about everyday events (Kaufman & Libby, 2011), our studies showed how the way a story about a discriminated group member is told can have different influences on how in- or out-group members perceive and judge historical injustices and present day discrimination. We found that Blacks were more sensitive to the narrative voice manipulation. Blacks who read the story in the first-person narrative voice became more empathic, judged character more positively and saw present day discrimination as more of a problem compared to Blacks who read the story in the third-person narrative voice. On average, Whites did not seem to be influenced by narrative voice of the story. Results revealed that, however, White individuals' racial attitudes predicted character evaluations and judgments of present day discrimination as a function of narrative voice. Narrative voice had greater influence on individuals with lower racist beliefs in evaluating a victimized group member and judging present day discrimination than on individuals with higher racist beliefs.

Although it was not the focus of our predictions, another interesting pattern emerged across the studies. The narrative voice effect among individuals low in racist beliefs reversed depending on whether they were evaluating the target of discrimination in the story at an individual level or whether they were judging present day discrimination in general. The third-person narrative voice led to more positive ratings of the target of discrimination in the story, while the first-person narrative voice magnified ratings of present day discrimination among individuals low in racist beliefs. Past research has shown narrative voice differences in identification and adoption of character motivation as a function of group membership (Kaufman & Libby, 2011), but these differential interactive effects of narrative voice and modern racism on interpreting a story at an individual versus general level have not been studied before. The current finding suggests that when individuals evaluate a victimized individual from past injustice, the third-person narrative voice was where individuals responded more in line with their own racial attitudes, but when individuals judge present day discrimination in general, the first-person narrative voice was where individuals responded in line with their own racial attitudes. Thus, at an individual level, reading in the third-person narrative voice may be leading people to incorporate their previous racial attitudes in evaluating an individual in a story, while at a general world view level, reading in the first-person narrative voice may be leading people to incorporate their previous racial attitudes in judging present day discrimination. Further research investigating the nature of these differences would provide a better understanding of how narratives can influence an individual's perception of the real world.

Implications for research on group differences in social perception

The present research adds new insights to the body of research on group differences in perception in several ways. Reading the story in the first-person as opposed to the third-person narrative voice caused Blacks to rate the target of discrimination in the story more positively, but not less negatively. This differential narrative voice effect on the character trait evaluation can be supported by the idea of in-group favoritism (Brewer, 1999). Consistent with previous research on in-group favoritism, our findings suggest that people are motivated by preferential treatment of in-group members rather than by direct hostility toward out-group members, and how this in-group favoritism occurs only when the story was told in the first-person narrative voice. Additionally, only in-group members had different levels of empathic concern as a function of narrative voice, and this level of empathic concern mediated the race by voice interaction on the positive character trait evaluation. This result further explains the process in which in-group favoritism lies in that in-group members who read the story in the first-person narrative voice understanding the target of discrimination in the story more significantly contributes to the pattern of making more positive inferences. Among White participants, however, the narrative voice effect holds only when they evaluate the target's negative traits, but not when they evaluate the target's positive traits. This may suggest that individuals focus on positive aspects of their own group members but on negative aspects for out-group members.

Although in-group favoritism seems to be prominent among Black participants when they read the story in the first-person narrative voice, this tendency to respond in

favorable ways to their own group seems to disappear when they read the story in the third-person narrative voice. One speculation may be that narrative voice influenced how much Blacks identified with the target of discrimination and distanced themselves from the shared group membership. Past research has suggested that people derogate their past selves that are perceived to be distant more than their past selves that are perceived to be recent to maintain positive self-regards of their current selves (Wilson & Ross, 2001). Since Black participants shared their group membership with the target of discrimination in the story, perceived distance from the group member of the past may have influenced participants' responses. Reading the story from the first-person narrative voice may have led participants to identify with the target of discrimination, taking the group membership of the target of discrimination as their current social identity, while reading the story from the third-person narrative voice may have distanced participants from the target of discrimination, taking the group membership of the target of discrimination as distant social identity. This distancing of the social identity in the third-person narrative voice may have led them to evaluate issues related to this social identity less favorably than those who read in the first-person narrative voice.

Future directions

Across two studies, the effect of narrative voice on Whites' judgments depended on their level of modern racism. This narrative voice effect was only apparent for Whites who held less racist beliefs but not for Whites who held more racist beliefs, and the narrative voice effect on these individuals with less racist beliefs differed when they were evaluating the target of discrimination in the story or when they were judging present day

discrimination in general. Modern racism differences did not occur in the first-person narrative voice condition for evaluating the target of discrimination in the story such that individuals low in racist beliefs who read the story in the first-person narrative voice evaluated the target of discrimination to have as much negative traits as individuals high in racist beliefs who read the story in the first-person narrative voice evaluated. For judging the present day discrimination, however, modern racism differences disappeared for the third-person narrative voice and visual perspective conditions such that individuals low in racist beliefs who read the story in the third-person narrative voice saw as much present day discrimination as individuals high in racist beliefs saw.

One possible explanation for these findings is that different types of processes may have been operating when evaluating the target of discrimination and when judging the present day discrimination for Whites who hold less racist beliefs in the first-person narrative voice. Since Whites with less racist beliefs are presumably more willing to understand what Black people experienced and are experiencing, these participants may actually have taken the identity of the Black target of discrimination and experienced the discrimination as an individual. By taking the identity of the target of discrimination, we are using Cohen's (2001) definition of identification: "a process that consists of increasing loss of self-awareness and its temporary replacement with heightened emotional and cognitive connections with a character" (p. 251). Since taking the identity of the target of discrimination lead participants to experience the event at the individual level, individuals low in racist beliefs who took the identity of the target of discrimination may not have considered evaluating the target's trait as much of a racial matter. However,

in the third-person narrative voice condition, these individuals with low racist beliefs may have brought their racial attitudes into evaluating the target of discrimination due to the lack of identification. Because individuals with low racist beliefs may have indirectly experienced discrimination the target experienced by identity taking in the first-person narrative voice, they may see more discrimination in the present although they would rate the target of discrimination as an individual. Although individuals high in racist beliefs seem to rate the target of discrimination similar to individuals low in racist beliefs when they read the story in the first-person narrative voice, they may not be taking the identity of the target of discrimination and therefore do not change their judgment of present day discrimination.

Since this explanation is rather speculative, further research is needed to investigate whether identification indeed is the factor driving these differential effects of narrative voice on character evaluation and judgment of present day discrimination. A study that is currently being conducted in our lab looks exactly into this question. We adapted the identification scale from Kaufman and Libby (2011) to look at whether identification with a victimized character in a story about historical injustice mediates differential effects of narrative voice on character evaluation and judgment of present day discrimination among individuals who are low in racist beliefs. We expect to see those low in racist beliefs who read the story in the first-person narrative voice to have higher identification level compared to those who read the story in the third-person narrative voice, and this identification level would mediate the effect of narrative voice on the character trait evaluation and judgment of present day discrimination measures.

Conclusion

The current research demonstrated that individuals' evaluation of a historically victimized group member and judgment of present day discrimination depend partly on the way the instance of historical injustice is told, but also on individuals' group membership and their beliefs about the issue. In this research, we not only sought to investigate how group membership relates to cognition in perceiving racial discrimination but also strived to identify how subjective perceptions might be manipulated in ways that help reduce prejudice while enhancing the understanding of out-group members and fostering inter-group harmony. These two studies were the first step to understanding processes that go through from learning about an event in different narrative forms.

References

- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, A. (1986). The moderator–mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 1173-1182.
- Batson, D. C. (2009). Two forms of perspective taking: Imagining how another feels and imagining how you would feel. In K.D. Markman, W.M.P. Klein & J.A. Suhr (Eds), *Handbook of imagination and mental simulation* (pp. 267-279). New York: Psychology Press.
- Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love or outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(3), 429-444.
- Carroll, J. (2006, July 10). Whites, Minorities Differ in Views of Economic Opportunities in U.S. *Gallup Poll*. Retrieved from <http://www.gallup.com/poll/23617/WhitesMinorities-Differ-Views-Economic-Opportunities-US.aspx>
- Cohen, J. (2001). Defining identification: A theoretical look at the identification of audiences with media characters. *Mass Communication*, 4, 245.
- Correspondents of *The New York Times*. (2001). *How race is lived in America: Pulling together, pulling apart*. New York: Times Books.
- Ditto, P. H., & Lopez, D. F. (1992). Motivated skepticism: Use of differential decision criteria for preferred and nonpreferred conclusions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 63, 568-584.
- Eibach, R.P., & Ehrlinger, J. (2006). "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize": Reference Points and Racial Differences in Assessing Progress Toward Equality. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(1), 66-77.
- Elder, J. (1995, October 2). Trial leaves public split on racial lines. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/10/02/us/trial-leaves-public-split-on-racial-lines.html?ref=ojsimpson>
- Escalas, J. E., & Stern, B. S. (2003). Sympathy and Empathy: Emotional responses to

- advertising dramas. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29, 566-578.
- Galinsky, A. D., Ku, G., & Wang, C. S. (2005). Perspective-taking and self-other overlap: Fostering social bonds and facilitating social coordination. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 8, 109-124.
- Jones, T. L. (2008). O. J. Simpson. Retrieved from http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/notorious_murders/famous/simpson/index_1.html
- Kaufman, G. F., & Libby, L. K. (2011). Down the rabbit hole: Exploring the antecedents and consequences of identification with fictional characters. Manuscript in preparation.
- Kunda, Z. (1990). The case for motivated reasoning. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 480-498.
- Libby, L. K., & Eibach, R. P., & Ross, M. (2011). *Perceiving the present in light of the past: How subjective distance of historical injustices influences interpretations of present-day discrimination*. Manuscript in preparation.
- McConahay, J. B. (1983). Modern racism and modern discrimination: The effects of race, racial attitudes, and context on simulated hiring decisions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 9(4), 551-558.
- McConahay, J.B., Hardee, B.B., & Batts, V. (1981). Has racism declined in America? It depends on who is asking and what is asked. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 25(4), 563- 579.
- Nigro, G., & Neisser, U. (1983). Point of view in personal memories. *Cognitive Psychology*, 15, 467-482.
- Peetz, J., Gunn, G. R., & Wilson, A. E. (2010). Crimes of the past: Defensive temporal distancing in the face of past in-group wrongdoing. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(5), 598-611.
- Pinel, E. C. (1999). Stigma Consciousness: The psychological legacy of social stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76(1), 114-128.
- Sherman, D. A. K., Nelson, L. D., & Steele, C. M. (2000). Do messages about health risks threaten the self? Increasing the acceptance of threatening health messages via self-affirmation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26, 1046-1048.

Steele, C. M., Spencer, S. J., & Aronson, J. (2002). Contending with group image: The psychology of stereotype and social identity threat. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 34, pp. 379-440). San Diego: Academic Press.

Wilson, A. E., & Ross, M. (2001). From chump to champ: People's appraisals of their earlier and current selves. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80, 572-584.

Appendix A: First-person Narrative Story

I sat in the back of the station wagon, the deputies in front. As we neared the school, the sun was crashing over the entrance of Central High School. The chilled air bit the whites of those glaring eyes surrounding the station wagon. Every face that I looked into, as the car crawled, glistened. The din: “Two, four, six, eight, we don’t wanna integrate,” split the morning. Arms flailed the air with homemade signs. Bodies hunched. I sat in the back of the station wagon, my back pressed against the hot leather seat. A tomato splashed against the window on my left. I didn’t flinch.

The station wagon stopped. The pack writhed and screamed in a wild revival beat. “Two, four, six, eight, we don’t wanna integrate.” Little children were standing, blank and bewildered, amongst a sea of cardboard signs: GOD SAVE US FROM BLACKS. NO BLACKS IN OUR SCHOOLS. I was locked behind glass and steel, waiting for their parents to calm down. The attention of their mothers and fathers was focused on me. I didn’t know whether I should feel angry or proud. Dad had said that when this day came, I should feel proud. “The beautiful story that will become history,” Dad had said, “is all about you, kid, and you must hold to your dignity and not be daunted.” I held. The deputy had maneuvered the station wagon so that it stood directly in front of the entrance, ringed on both sides by the Army and the State Police. When the door opened for me, the frenzy increased. The troopers fought to restrain the crowd as I headed out.

Locked between the shoulders of the deputies, I began climbing the steps. I knew that in the minds of those two who were protecting me there was also the feeling that I was an invader. They had not made their feelings secret—they had told me during the drive. I was the Black challenger mounting the forbidden stairs. My throat felt parched. I

swallowed constantly. “Say, yeh Black, we don’ wancha here,” fell on my ears. It seemed as though the sun cracked over me, a huge egg, depositing a hot yolk. For some reason I stopped on the steps for a moment. One of the guards caught me by the arm. “Com’on now,” the guard drawled, “we gotta git you inside.” I looked over the face of the building. The American flag fell over the heavily carved masonry of the peaked entrance. I smiled. Vines crept up the dark brick walls, mint-green on brown. The Army stood, legs spread, guns bayoneted held at their sides. They were silent and unblinking. “Here, Blackie,” someone yelled. “Two, four, six, eight, we don’t wanna integrate,” the crowd chanted. I didn’t know what possessed me, but I spun around. My two heavy-set guards, puffing and sweating, and swearing too, grabbed my arms. They dragged me up the two remaining steps. I looked back once more before entering the building.

Appendix B: Third-person Narrative Story

He sat in the back of the station wagon, the deputies in front. As they neared the school, the sun was crashing over the entrance of Central High School. The chilled air bit the whites of those glaring eyes surrounding the station wagon. Every face that he looked into, as the car crawled, glistened. The din: “Two, four, six, eight, we don’t wanna integrate,” split the morning. Arms flailed the air with homemade signs. Bodies hunched. He sat in the back of the station wagon, his back pressed against the hot leather seat. A tomato splashed against the window on his left. He didn’t flinch.

The station wagon stopped. The pack writhed and screamed in a wild revival beat. “Two, four, six, eight, we don’t wanna integrate.” Little children were standing, blank and bewildered, amongst a sea of cardboard signs: GOD SAVE US FROM BLACKS. NO BLACKS IN OUR SCHOOLS. He was locked behind glass and steel, waiting for their parents to calm down. The attention of their mothers and fathers was focused on him. He didn’t know whether he should feel angry or proud. His dad had said that when this day came, he should feel proud. “The beautiful story that will become history,” his dad had said, “is all about you, kid, and you must hold to your dignity and not be daunted.” He held. The deputy had maneuvered the station wagon so that it stood directly in front of the entrance, ringed on both sides by the Army and the State Police. When the door opened for him, the frenzy increased. The troopers fought to restrain the crowd as he headed out.

Locked between the shoulders of the deputies, he began climbing the steps. He knew that in the minds of those two who were protecting him there was also the feeling that he was an invader. They had not made their feelings secret—they had told him

during the drive. He was the Black challenger mounting the forbidden stairs. His throat felt parched. He swallowed constantly. "Say, yeh Black, we don' wancha here," fell on his ears. It seemed as though the sun cracked over him, a huge egg, depositing a hot yolk. For some reason he stopped on the steps for a moment. One of the guards caught him by the arm. "Com'on now," the guard drawled, "we gotta git you inside." He looked over the face of the building. The American flag fell over the heavily carved masonry of the peaked entrance. He smiled. Vines crept up the dark brick walls, mint-green on brown. The Army stood, legs spread, guns bayoneted held at their sides. They were silent and unblinking. "Here, Blackie," someone yelled. "Two, four, six, eight, we don't wanna integrate," the crowd chanted. He didn't know what possessed him, but he spun around. His two heavy-set guards, puffing and sweating, and swearing too, grabbed his arms. They dragged him up the two remaining steps. He looked back once more before entering the building.