

The Impact of Vicarious Perspective-Giving on Subordinate Group Members' Outgroup Attitudes

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Abstract

Perspective-giving, a type of intergroup contact where an individual shares his or her perspective with an outgroup member, has been shown to be a successful method of improving positive outgroup attitudes for subordinate group members. No research has been identified that tests the effects of vicarious perspective-giving, which the current study defines as witnessing another ingroup member give his or her perspective to an outgroup member. The current study compares the effects of direct perspective-giving and vicarious perspective-giving on the outgroup attitudes of one subordinate group, female college students. Female students from Bates College completed a task in which they used Facebook chat to either present their own perspective as a female student to a male student, or witness another female student giving her perspective to a male student. Participants completed a questionnaire measuring their attitudes towards male students at Bates College before and after the task. It was found that direct perspective-giving did not change participants' attitudes towards male students, and vicarious perspective-giving actually led to less favorable attitudes towards male students. This has implications for the role that perspective-giving plays on gender dynamics on college campuses and provides a platform for future research on vicarious perspective-giving.

Keywords: Vicarious perspective-giving, direct perspective-giving, gender dynamics, outgroup attitudes.

1. Introduction

People have the general tendency to feel empathy towards other individuals and a desire to increase their happiness (Batson, 1991; Burks, Youll, & Durtschi, 2012). When that individual belongs to an outgroup; however, empathetic responses can be diminished. In some extreme situations, people even derive pleasure from the suffering of an outgroup member (Cikara, Bruneau & Saxe, 2011; Smith, Powell, Combs, & Schurtz, 2009). This tendency can cause intergroup conflicts because members of each respective group do not empathize with the pain of their opponents (Cikara et al., 2011; Castano, 2012).

Psychologists have done extensive research to find methods of reducing intergroup conflict by lowering levels of outgroup prejudice and increasing positive outgroup attitudes. One theory that is highly supported by research is known as contact theory, which suggests that intergroup contact can reduce levels of intergroup prejudice and increase positive intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Allport, 1954). This theory has been supported through multiple experimental methods, including longitudinal studies (Levin, van Larr & Sidanius, 2003), meta-analytic studies (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), surveys (Pettigrew, 1997; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997) and laboratory simulation (Wright et al., 1997). Some researchers declare that contact theory only applies under certain optimal conditions. According to Allport (1954), equal status, cooperation, common goals and institutional support all enhance the likelihood that intergroup contact will lead to reduced intergroup prejudice. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) and Sherif (2001) both found that these optimal conditions often magnified the positive effects of intergroup contact.

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Recent studies have found that members of minority groups and members of majority groups are not affected the same way by intergroup interactions (Hyers & Swim, 1998). Tropp and Pettigrew (2005) performed a meta-analytic study of previous contact theory experiments and found that, although intergroup contact did significantly reduce outgroup prejudices for majority group members, members of minority groups did not show such a strong reduction in outgroup prejudice. It was also found that Allport's optimal conditions (equal status, cooperation, common goals, and institutional support) magnified the reduction in outgroup prejudices from the perspective of majority group members, but had no such effect on the prejudices of minority group members.

This could be due to the power imbalance that exists between different members of a conflict. Shnabel and Nadler (2008) found that members of minority groups and majority groups lose different resources when they are in a conflict, and it is only when these resources are restored that reconciliation can be reached. In their study, minority group members (Arabs in Study 1, Jews in Study 2) lost their sense of status and power in a conflict, and would only reconcile if they received a message from the dominant group that recognized their group's empowerment. In contrast, majority group members (Israelis in Study 1, Germans in Study 2) lost their sense of moral and social acceptability, and only reconciled when they received a message of social acceptance from the outgroup. These findings suggest one reason that minority group members and majority group members react differently to intergroup interactions. When members of different groups come into contact with one another, it is likely that majority group members feel as though the minority group members' willingness to interact implies that they are coming to accept the majority group socially, particularly when Allport's optimal conditions are applied. These conditions, however, may not be adequate for minority group members to change their outgroup attitudes because they do not guarantee that the minority group member feels empowered.

1.1 Perspective-Taking

Given that majority group members and minority group members react differently to intergroup contact, it may be necessary to manipulate the type of interaction that takes place in order to find the best outcome for both parties. One type of interaction that is growing in the current literature is *perspective-taking*. With perspective-taking, a member of one group will hear the point of view of an outgroup member and come to a better understanding of what it feels like to be in the outgroup member's situation (Bruneau & Saxe, 2012; Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson, & Galinsky 2011; Todd, Bodenhausen & Galinsky, 2011). Many studies have shown that majority group members benefit from perspective-taking in a number of ways. In one study, participants showed fewer signs of automatic racial bias when they heard the perspective of a Black person (Todd et al., 2011). It was also found that participants who took on a Black or Latino person's perspective were less likely to deny discrimination against those outgroup members and showed increased positive attitudes towards social and political policies that discouraged discrimination (Todd, Bodenhausen & Galinsky, 2011).

It has been theorized that majority group members benefit from perspective-taking because they are able to provide the image of a sympathetic listener, which can increase their sense of social acceptability (Bruneau & Saxe, 2012; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel et al., 2009). Perspective-taking also specifically prompts majority group members to empathize with minority group members, which people in positions of power do not necessarily do naturally (Batson, 2009; Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006). These two advantages that perspective-taking provides for majority group members do not necessarily apply to minority group members. Minority group members do not automatically feel as though they are in a position of power, so they are not as likely as majority group members to ignore the perspectives of others. Minority group members also do not require a feeling of social acceptance to reconcile, so hearing the story of an outgroup member would not have the same positive effect that it does on majority group members (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008).

1.2 Perspective-Giving

If minority group members do not necessarily benefit from perspective-taking in the same way that majority group members do, then what type of intergroup interaction would benefit a minority group member? One approach that holds promise is *perspective-giving*.

Rather than perspective-taking, where an individual hears the point of view of an outgroup member, perspective-giving highlights the action of an individual informing an outgroup member of their own point of view. Bruneau and Saxe (2012) suggest that minority and majority group members are affected differently by the act of perspective-giving and perspective-taking.

They argue that minority group members often feel victimized and voiceless due to their group's past and current oppression, and the act of perspective-giving could counter these feelings of powerlessness. Majority group members, on the other hand, do not need to feel empowered, but instead could benefit from stepping into the shoes of a minority group member through perspective-taking. To test this theory, Bruneau and Saxe examined both perspective-taking and perspective-giving and their effects on minority and majority group members independently. In the perspective-taking condition, participants read a paragraph that they believed to be written by an outgroup participant (who was actually a confederate) about the difficulties that their ethnic group faces. Participants were then instructed to rephrase the paragraph in their own words. In the perspective-giving condition, participants wrote a paragraph about the difficulties that their ethnic group faces and then sent it to an outgroup participant (who was actually a confederate), who would summarize the paragraph and send it back to the participant. They found that minority group members (Mexican immigrants in Study 1 and Palestinians in Study 2) showed a greater increase in positive attitudes towards the outgroup when they were in the perspective-giving condition. In contrast, majority group members (White Americans in Study 1 and Israelis in Study 2) showed a greater increase in positive attitudes towards their minority counter-parts when they were in the perspective-taking condition.

These studies provide compelling evidence that perspective-giving is an effective way of increasing positive outgroup attitudes for minority group members. Because this idea is relatively new in the literature, little has been done to examine exactly what methods of perspective-giving are most effective in increasing positive outgroup attitudes. Bruneau and Saxe argue that perspective-giving allows minority group members to feel that they are being heard, which in turn promotes feelings of fairness and trust towards outgroup members and increases their attitudes towards the majority group in general. If this is true, then what are the requirements for minority group members to feel as though they have been heard? Do minority group members need to be the ones presenting their own perspective, or is it enough for them to see that a majority group member has heard the perspective of another member of their ingroup? In other words, will minority group members develop a more positive attitude towards the majority group when their perspective is given vicariously through another ingroup member?

1.3 Vicarious Perspective-Giving

The current study defines vicarious perspective-giving as witnessing another ingroup member give his or her perspective to an outgroup member. Though this exact concept has not yet been explored experimentally, various studies have examined the concept of vicarious intergroup contact through other lenses. Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe and Ropp (1997) conducted both a questionnaire and a laboratory based experiment and found that participants showed less prejudice towards outgroup members if they knew someone from their ingroup who was friends with a member of the target outgroup. This suggests that friendships can vicariously promote positive intergroup attitudes for group members who do not have direct outgroup friendships themselves. Shnabel, Nadler, and Dovidio (2014) examine the role of a message given vicariously through a third party member to reach reconciliation. Although a message of acceptance or empowerment promoted reconciliation by members of a conflict when the message came directly from the opposing party, a message from an uninvolved third party member did not so easily lead to reconciliation. In a pilot study this phenomenon was found to be true even when the third party member delivering the message of empowerment or acceptance was on the same "side" as the person giving the message.

Perspective-giving in the context of the current study is different from Shnabel, Nadler and Dovidio's study in several ways. First, in their study each member of the conflict is basing their willingness to reconcile on a message that they *receive* from another person, whereas the fundamental quality of perspective-giving is that the attitude change is based on the act of *giving* a message to another person. This is a particularly important difference because the act of "being heard" is a potential mediator in the perspective-giving model presented by Bruneau and Saxe (2012). Second, the studies by Shnabel, Nadler, and Dovidio only looked at third parties in the context of situational incidents of harm between two individuals.

The current study focuses on pre-existing battles of discrimination between members of a subordinate group and a dominant group. People who are part of a subordinate group may often feel a special bond or identification with other members of their subordinate group (Tatum, 1997).

For example, women are members of a subordinate group because of their non-dominant gender; so many women feel a particularly strong gender group identity (Winfrey, Warner, & Banwart, 2014). Unlike the conflicts involving situational disputes between two individuals in Shnabel, Nadler, and Dovidio's study, perspective-giving conflicts involving subordinate group members and dominant group members could be affected by ingroup identification. It is possible that participants of a subordinate group would find the perspective given by another ingroup member to be more meaningful than the third party message in Shnabel, Nadler, and Dovidio's experiment. If so, it could be that the act of third party subordinate ingroup members giving their perspectives to dominant group members might have an impact on participants' outgroup attitudes.

1.4 The Current Study

The current research explores these theories by examining the effects of vicarious perspective-giving on the outgroup attitudes of subordinate group members. It uses a similar design to that of Bruneau and Saxe (2012), but with the added condition of a third party subordinate group member acting as a vicarious perspective-giver. Female students at Bates College took the role of subordinate group members and male students as dominant group members. This categorization is justified by the disadvantages and discrimination that women in college experience athletically (Cohen, 1993), academically (Jacobs, 1996; Reed, Enders, Lindor, McClees & Lindor, 2011) and socially (Yoon, Funk & Kropf, 2010).

All participants wrote about some of the difficulties female students face at Bates College because of their gender. Participants then either sent their paragraph to a male student through Facebook chat (direct perspective-giving), or read a conversation in which a different female student sent her paragraph to a male student through Facebook chat (vicarious perspective-giving). In the control condition participants did not send their paragraph to anyone. The dependent variable was participants' change in attitudes towards male students at Bates College from before to after the perspective-giving task, measured with a pre and post attitude questionnaire.

This study tests the replicability of Bruneau and Saxe's (2012) findings on direct perspective-giving with a different subordinate group, female students. If findings are consistent, participants in the current study will have more favorable attitudes towards male students after being given the chance to directly share their perspective. This study also examines the effect of vicarious perspective-giving on subordinate group member's outgroup attitudes, a concept that has not yet been explored in psychology literature. If vicarious perspective-giving has a similar effect to that of direct perspective-giving, then participants should have a more positive attitude towards male students after their perspective is shared vicariously through another female student.

1. Method

2.1 Participants

Participants were undergraduate female students from Bates College. The sample was composed of 79 participants who were recruited from email announcements and either received credit for an introductory psychology class or \$5 for their participation. Participants identified as White/European-American (53), Asian/Asian-American (7), Latina/Latino (7), Black/African-American (5), Multi-racial/multi-ethnic (5) or other (1). Participants were first-year students (38), seniors (19), sophomores (14) or juniors (7).

2.2 Procedure

All participants arrived one at a time at an academic building at Bates College where they were greeted by a female experimenter. There were two parts to the study. The first was two questionnaires about participants' attitudes towards male students at Bates College. These questionnaires were filled out before and after the perspective-giving task to measure the dependent variable, change in attitude. The second was a writing task, followed by a conversation on Facebook chat with two other bogus participants, whose roles were actually played by the experimenter.

The particular task a participant was instructed to complete varied based on the condition they were assigned to: *control*, *direct perspective-giving* or *vicarious perspective-giving*. As a cover story, the experimenter explained that the participant was to be involved in two separate studies, one that she was helping a professor with involving two questionnaires, and one that was her thesis involving a writing task. This helped avoid participants altering their responses from the pre to the post questionnaires based on demand characteristics.

2.2.1 Questionnaires

All participants completed two questionnaires, one before the writing and Facebook chat task and one after. Similar to Bruneau and Saxe's study (2012), participants were told that the surveys were lengthy and not designed to be taken back to back, so they would break it up and take one survey before the tasks for the thesis and one after. This helped minimize suspicion that the pre and post questionnaires were purposefully given before and after the writing and Facebook tasks. Both questionnaires contained the following questions concerning the participant's attitudes towards male students at Bates College (items adapted from Bruneau & Saxe, 2012):

1. Male students at Bates College are generally ignorant and selfish.
2. Male students at Bates College are generally thoughtful and honest.
3. When forming their opinions about campus policies and activities, the average male student at Bates College is motivated by self-interest.
4. When forming their opinions about campus policies and activities, the average male student at Bates College is motivated by a biased perspective on the issue.
5. When forming their opinions about campus policies and activities, the average male student at Bates College is motivated by careful consideration of the facts.
6. When forming their opinions about campus policies and activities, the average male student at Bates College is motivated by a logical analysis of costs and benefits.
7. The suffering of male students at Bates College is something that really concerns me.
8. If I saw a male student at Bates College grieving over a lost family member, I would think about myself in that situation.
9. Indicate how warm or cold you feel towards male students at Bates College.
10. The average male Bates student has no problems with exploiting female Bates students for his own gain.

The questionnaire was created online using Qualtrics. Participants answered questions using a slider bar with only the endpoints labeled. Answers could range from 1 to 100. A Cronbach's alpha was conducted to measure the internal consistency of the pre questionnaire ($\alpha = .70$) and the post questionnaire ($\alpha = .74$). The questions about males were mixed with other similar filler questions regarding the participant's attitudes towards different groups of people on campus, such as White students, LGBT students, and Latino/Latina students. Questions from the Moral Foundation Questionnaire (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009) and the Social Dominance Orientation scale (Pratto & Sidanius, 1996) were also used as filler questions, just as in Bruneau and Saxe's study (2012). Also following the procedure from Bruneau and Saxe (2012), participants were told that the two surveys were composed of questions randomly generated from the same larger bank of questions, so there might be some repeated questions across both surveys. Some of the filler questions repeated across the pre and post surveys while some were used only in one survey. This helped minimize suspicion that questions about male students were purposefully asked both before and after the writing and Facebook tasks.

2.2.2 Writing and Facebook Chat Tasks

As previously noted, participants were assigned to one of three conditions: the direct perspective-giving condition, the vicarious perspective-giving condition, and the control condition. In all conditions, participants were instructed to fill out two attitude questionnaires, one at the beginning of the experimental session and one at the end. In between these questionnaires, all participants completed a writing task in which they wrote four to five sentences answering the question: "What are some of the difficulties that female students face at Bates College because of their gender?" In the experimental conditions, participants then used this paragraph in a Facebook chat task with two other Bates student participants. In reality, there were no other participants and the chat conversation was carried out by the experimenter in the hallway outside the lab typing into multiple Facebook chat windows.

In the control condition, participants completed the same writing task but did not participate in the Facebook chat task. In the experimental conditions, just before the participant started the first questionnaire, the experimenter explained that she had to go greet two other participants who were scheduled to arrive shortly down the hall. In fact, there were no other participants arriving. The experimenter then left the room and made appropriate movements and sounds as if she were actually greeting other participants, such as opening and closing doors and speaking to others in the hall.²

When the experimenter returned after the participant had completed the first questionnaire, she gave participants in the direct perspective-giving and vicarious perspective-giving conditions the following cover story: "Psychologists have done a large amount of research examining peoples' abilities to effectively communicate sensitive emotional issues with others in person. In modern times, however, people are using virtual communication systems to express sensitive topics as much as they are doing so with people face to face. The current study seeks to test the ability for people to effectively express and communicate sensitive and emotional topics through an internet chat device without making any contact with the conversation partners in person."

The experimenter then gave the participant the writing task to do and left the room, saying she had to check on the other participants. When the participant finished writing her paragraph, the experimenter reentered the lab and pulled up the fake Facebook account of "Ursula Bates." She explained that the participant would be having a conversation with another female Bates student, using the fake account of "Cassandra Bates," and a male Bates student, using the fake account of "Benjamin Bates." The experimenter would also read the conversation from the fake Facebook account of "Emma Bates."

Participants were told that they would play the role of either sender (direct perspective-giving condition) or observer (vicarious perspective-giving condition) in this task. Senders were instructed to type their paragraph from the writing task into the chat window as soon as they were prompted by the experimenter on her fake Facebook account. They were told that once they send their paragraph, Benjamin would respond by rephrasing the paragraph in his own words and sending it back through the chat window. Cassandra would read the conversation but not type anything into the chat window. All participants would then answer questions about the chat. This procedure was adapted from Bruneau and Saxe's study (2012), with minor adjustments to fit with the cover story of the current study.

Observers were instructed to watch the chat window and read the conversation between the two other participants without typing anything. They were told that Cassandra would type and send the paragraph she wrote in the writing task. Benjamin would then respond by summarizing her paragraph in his own words and sending it through the chat window. All participants would then answer questions about the chat. The experimenter then used a computer in the hallway with the chat windows of Emma Bates, Benjamin Bates, and Cassandra Bates open. In the direct perspective-giving condition, the experimenter waited until the participant typed in her paragraph and then summarized it in her own words and sent it back through Benjamin Bates's account. The experimenter rephrased paragraphs in a similar style across each trial to ensure that the quality and style of Benjamin's response was consistent across trials. She paraphrased the paragraph sentence by sentence using synonyms and altering word order.

In the vicarious perspective-giving condition, the experimenter typed in a preset paragraph as Cassandra Bates about the difficulties female students face at Bates College, and then responded as Benjamin Bates with a preset reworded response. As in the study by Bruneau and Saxe (2012), the content of the paragraph was constructed based on responses from a pilot study of five female students at Bates College given the same writing prompt (write four to five sentences about some of the difficulties that female students face at Bates College because of their gender).

²Halfway through the study it was made apparent by suspicious participants that the act of opening doors and speaking to no one in the hallway actually prompted their disbelief in the existence of two other participants because they only heard one voice and one set of foot prints. To minimize future suspicion counts, the experimenter instead told participants that the other students were in rooms on the other wing of the building, so they would not expect to hear any footprints or voices at all. This was done at a point where the participant count in each condition was even so that this change in procedure was not a confound across conditions.

This paragraph mentioned difficulties such as sexual harassment and objectification, neglect and disrespect in academic and athletic settings, and a lack of resources for female students at Bates College (see Appendix A for the full paragraph and rephrasing of the paragraph). The preset rephrased version of this paragraph held a similar style to the experimenter's improvised summaries during trials of the direct perspective-giving condition. For participants in the vicarious perspective-giving condition, the experimenter spaced out sending Cassandra's paragraph and Benjamin's rephrasing of the paragraph by three minute intervals, which was approximately the average amount of time it took the experimenter to improvise rephrased paragraphs in the direct perspective-giving condition. This delay was designed to convince participants in the vicarious perspective-giving condition that the paragraphs were actually being written at that moment by real participants.

The experimenter would also continuously type into the chat window even after the message was copied and pasted, as Facebook chat has a feature that visually indicates on screen when someone is typing. Following the Facebook chat task, participants in both the direct and vicarious perspective-giving conditions answered several questions about the chat conversation to continue the cover story. Participants were asked how effectively they thought the male participant summarized the message of the sender, how sympathetic he was to the sender's message, as well as several filler questions that fit the cover story. Participants in the vicarious perspective-giving condition were also asked how strongly they felt that the other female participant's paragraph reflected the ideas they had written in their own paragraph about the difficulties female students face at Bates. All questions were answered with paper and pen by circling one number on a scale from 1 to 10.

Participants then completed the second attitude questionnaire with the continued impression that it was part of a separate study. Control participants also completed this second questionnaire, but immediately after the writing task rather than doing the Facebook chat task. This control provided an understanding of whether any significant results in attitude change were because the participant was able to write her feelings about the difficulties female students face at Bates, or because she was actually able to share these feelings or witness these feelings being shared with a member of the dominant outgroup. This helped better understand the importance of having one's voice heard (directly or vicariously) versus simply having stated one's opinion without it being heard. At the conclusion of the study, all participants were asked if they found any aspects of the study unusual or suspicious, to account for participants guessing that other participants were fake or that the questionnaires were related to the writing and Facebook chat tasks. Lastly, Participants were debriefed and given their compensation.

2. Results

In order to determine how change in attitude towards male students varied by condition, a 2 (time: pre vs. post) x 3 (condition: direct vs. vicarious vs. control) mixed-model ANOVA, with repeated measures on the first factor and independent groups on the second, was conducted. All tests were run excluding data from participants who reported suspicion of either the pre and post questionnaires or the Facebook chat task (12 out of 79 participants were suspicious). One participant's data were deleted due to a technical error. There was a marginally significant main effect of time, $F(1,64) = 2.88, p < .10$. This was qualified by a significant difference between the pre and post attitude scores in the vicarious condition. There was no significant main effect of condition, $F(2,64) = 0.45, p = .64$. There was a significant time-condition interaction, $F(2,64) = 6.60, p < .01$, indicating that participants' change in attitude from the pre to the post questionnaires varied by condition.

Independent t-tests were run to indicate for which conditions there was a significant change in attitude from the pre to the post questionnaires. As displayed in *Figure 1*, there was no significant difference between attitudes towards male students in the pre ($M = 53.4, SD = 11.8$) and post ($M = 53.4, SD = 12.4$) questionnaires in the control condition, $t(21) = 0.03, p = .98$. Contrary to predictions, there was also no significant difference between attitudes towards male students in the pre ($M = 53.3, SD = 13.3$) and post ($M = 55.2, SD = 13.5$) questionnaires in the direct condition, $t(21) = -1.45, p = .16$, although the trend was in the expected direction. Also contrary to predictions, attitudes towards male students actually decreased significantly from the pre ($M = 60.4, SD = 14.3$) to post ($M = 52.9, SD = 11.5$) questionnaires for participants in the vicarious condition $t(22) = 2.60, p < .05$.

This indicates that participants held less favorable views towards men after their perspective was shared with a male student vicariously, but their attitudes towards men did not vary when they directly shared their perspective with a male student or did not share their perspective with anyone.

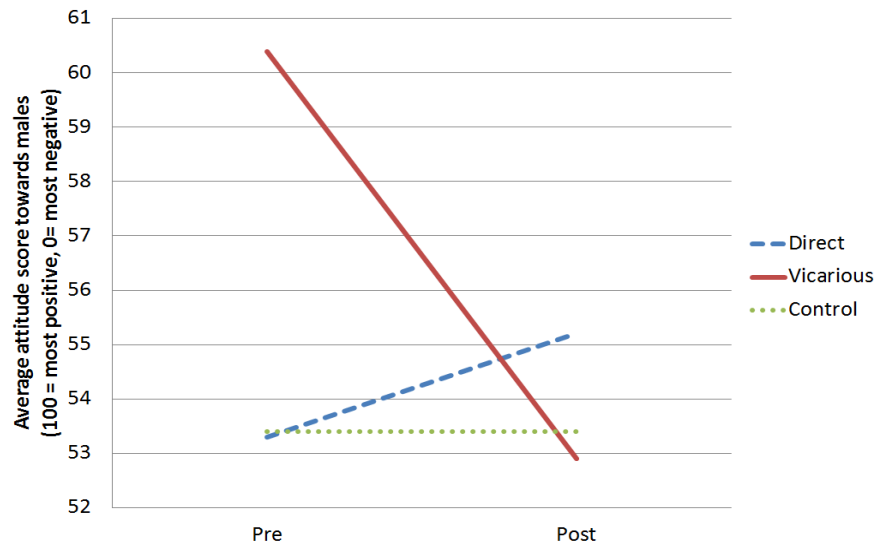


Fig. 1. Participants' average attitude scores towards male students in the pre and post questionnaires for the Direct, Vicarious and Control conditions. There was no significant difference between attitudes towards male students in the pre and post questionnaires in the control and direct conditions. Attitudes towards male students decreased significantly from the pre to post questionnaires for participants in the vicarious condition.

A one way ANOVA was conducted to determine any variation in baseline attitudes (pre questionnaire only) based on condition. There was no significant difference between baseline attitudes across conditions, though results did approach significance, qualified by higher baseline attitudes in the vicarious condition than in the control or direct conditions $F(2,64) = 2.15, p = .13$. This indicates that participants in the vicarious condition had non-significantly higher baseline attitudes than those in the direct or control.

A Pearson correlation test was run to examine the relationship between change in attitude and how effectively participants felt the male student summarized the message of the sender, how sympathetic they felt the male student was towards the message of the sender, and for the vicarious condition only, how strongly participants felt that the female student's message reflected the ideas of the participant's own paragraph. Change in attitude was calculated by subtracting the average male pre questionnaire attitude scores from the average male post questionnaire attitude scores. Thus, higher scores indicate a greater change in attitude from the pre to post questionnaire. Positive scores indicate more favorable attitudes in the post questionnaire than in the pre questionnaire, and negative scores indicate less favorable attitudes in the post questionnaire than the pre questionnaire. For both the direct and vicarious conditions, no correlations were significant. This contradicts Bruneau and Saxe's study (2012), which found that positive attitude change correlated significantly with how effectively participants thought the receiver summarized the message of the sender. In the current study there were two non-significant positive correlations. For participants in the direct condition, there was a non-significant positive correlation between change in attitude towards male students and how sympathetic the participant thought the male student was towards her message, $r(22) = .30, p = .17$. For participants in the vicarious condition, there was a non-significant positive correlation between change in attitude towards male students and how effectively the participant thought the male student summarized the message of the other female student $r(23) = .33, p = .13$.

In order to determine if the participants' attitude changes were specific to male students or not, a 2 (time: pre vs. post) x 3 (condition: direct vs. vicarious vs. control) mixed-model ANOVA, with repeated measures on the first factor and independent groups on the second, was conducted to see if change in attitude towards White students varied by condition. Similar results emerged to those regarding attitudes towards male students.

There was no significant main effect of time, $F(1,63) = .99, p = .33$. There was no significant main effect of condition $F(2,63) = 1.40, p = .26$. There was a significant time-condition interaction $F(2,63) = 3.374, p < .05$, indicating that participants' change in attitude towards White students from the pre to the post questionnaires did vary significantly by condition.

Independent t-tests were run to indicate for which conditions there was a significant change in attitude from the pre to the post questionnaires. There was no significant difference between attitudes towards White students in the pre ($M = 60.8, SD = 14.0$) and post ($M = 61.6, SD = 14.0$) questionnaires for the control condition $t(21) = -0.60, p = .56$. There was no significant difference between attitudes towards White students in the pre ($M = 56.7, SD = 17.8$) and post ($M = 57.7, SD = 17.8$) questionnaires in the direct condition, $t(21) = -0.47, p = .64$. This indicates that the lack of change in attitudes from the pre to post questionnaires for participants in the control and direct conditions was not specific to male students. Attitudes towards White students became significantly less favorable from the pre ($M = 66.6, SD = 10.1$) to post ($M = 61.6, SD = 11.4$) questionnaires for participants in the vicarious condition $t(21) = 2.47, p < .05$. This indicates that the decrease in attitudes from the pre to post questionnaires for participants in the vicarious condition was not specific to male students.

3. Discussion

Contrary to predictions, participants in the direct perspective-giving condition did not show a significant change in attitude towards male students from the pre to post questionnaires. Also contrary to expectations, participants in the vicarious perspective-giving condition actually reported significantly less favorable attitudes towards male students after completing the Facebook chat task. Participants in the control condition did not show a significant change in attitudes towards male students from the pre to post questionnaires.

The lack of attitude change for participants in the direct condition is not consistent with the hypothesis that female students would view male students more positively after being given the chance to share their perspective with a member of the outgroup. This expectation was based on a study done by Bruneau and Saxe (2012), who found that members of a subordinate group (Mexican immigrants in Arizona and Palestinians) increased their positive attitudes towards dominant group members (White Americans in Arizona and Israelis) after being given the chance to share their perspective with a member of the dominant group. This failure to replicate results could be due to a difference in the population of participants. Bruneau and Saxe (2012) theorized that subordinate group members often feel silenced as a result of their victimhood, and being given the chance to share their perspective makes them feel listened to by the outgroup, which in turn makes them view the outgroup more positively. Bruneau and Saxe (2012) and Shnabel, Nadler, and Dovidio (2014) also suggest that when a subordinate group member feels as though a dominant group member has listened to his or her opinion, feelings of intergroup trust are restored and the subordinate group member therefore has a more positive attitude towards the outgroup.

Given these two theories, it could be that there is already a relatively high rate of trust between female and male students on campus, and therefore the restoration of trust theory would not apply to female students when they share their perspective with male students. Most activities, events and housing arrangements at Bates College are co-ed, which could lead to a sense of unity across genders, making a male student's outgroup membership seem less important to a female student compared to their common identity of being a Bates student. It could also be that women at Bates College already feel as though they are able to speak their voice and share their perspectives with men on campus, so the Facebook chat task would not increase their attitudes towards men any more than their baseline attitudes. There are certain events and organizations at Bates College that could give women a sense that they have a voice and their group's perspective is heard on campus. For example, every year Bates hosts a "Women's Dinner" for all female students, during which students, faculty, and guest speakers discuss the academic achievements that women have had and will continue to have in society. There are also clubs on campus that promote women's rights to equal education and host events on campus for women to give and listen to speeches or other forms of self-expression.

These theories, however, conflict with the result that participants showed a decrease in positive attitudes towards male students after their perspective was shared vicariously through another female student. Do female students feel less listened to after their perspective is shared vicariously with a male student? Does trust towards the outgroup decrease after a female student's perspective is shared vicariously with a male student?

A correlation test was conducted that indicates this is most likely not the case. There was no correlation found between change in attitude and how well the participant thought the male student sympathized with the other female student's paragraph, how well she thought he summarized the other female student's paragraph, or how similar the female student's paragraph was to her own. If the decrease in positive attitudes towards male students was truly due to the act of vicarious perspective-giving, it would be expected that the participant's perception of the paragraph sent and the male student's summary of the paragraph would have some effect on how significant an attitude change there was. The lack of correlation indicates that perhaps the decrease in positive attitudes in the vicarious condition was not directly related to the male participant's summary. It is important to note, however, that in the vicarious condition there was a non-significant positive correlation between change in attitude and how effectively the participant thought the male student summarized the message of the other female student. It is possible that this correlation would become significant if more participants were run. Another possible explanation for the results of the vicarious condition is that reading the perspective of another female student made the participant feel as though she is not alone in her feelings of victimization. This could make the participant feel more justified in expressing negative attitudes towards male students, which could make her feel even less favorable towards men than she felt before hearing this other female student's perspective.

A similar conclusion was drawn from a study by Warren (2011), which found that African Americans were more likely to perceive a police officer's encounters as disrespectful if their friends or family had told them stories about negative encounters with the police. This displays evidence that hearing about the challenges faced by an ingroup member can have a negative effect on one's outgroup attitudes. It is quite possible that in the current study, female students had less favorable attitudes towards male students because they had witnessed an ingroup member discuss the challenges female students face at Bates. This adds to Warren's conclusion by suggesting that it doesn't even have to be another friend or family member for this effect to take place; hearing the perspective of an anonymous ingroup member can be enough to decrease subordinate group members' outgroup attitudes.

In the current study, it could be that the act of hearing another female student's perspective had a greater effect on the participant's outgroup attitudes than the knowledge that a male student heard a female student's perspective. This is supported by the fact that there was no change in attitude towards male students in the direct condition, meaning that the act of a male student hearing the perspective of a female student (herself) does not have an effect on her outgroup attitudes. Instead what effects participants' outgroup attitudes is listening to another female student talk about the challenges she faces. In order to truly test the accuracy of this interpretation, however, a fourth condition must be added in which participants hear the perspective of another female student with no male student present to listen. If the results of this added condition replicated those of the vicarious condition (a decrease in positive attitudes towards male students), then it would be apparent that the decrease in positive attitudes was due to the participant reading another female student's perspective rather than witnessing a male participant read the perspective of a female student. This interpretation would also explain the lack of correlation between change in attitude and how sympathetic the male student was or how well he summarized the message. These factors only affect the participant's perception of how the male student reacted to the other female student's paragraph, when what really matters is the other female student's perspective itself, regardless of the male student present.

However, the credibility of this explanation is limited by the fact that participants in the vicarious condition also showed a significant decrease in positive attitudes towards White students after having their perspective vicariously shared with a male student. Given that the race of the male student was not apparent to the participant, attitudes towards White students should not be affected by the Facebook chat task. It is therefore possible that participants' decrease in positive attitudes towards male students was due to something other than the subject of gender being present in the Facebook chat task.

4.1 Limitations and Further Studies

One limitation to this study is the low number of participants run due to the limited time the experimenter had to complete the study.

Another limitation is that participants were specifically instructed to write about the challenges of female students at Bates College in general, and to not disclose any personal information³. It is possible that this limitation made participants feel as though they were not truly sharing their own personal perspective with a male student, and therefore the positive effects of perspective-giving on outgroup attitudes seen in previous literature (Bruneau and Saxe, 2012) did not apply. A third limitation is the particular population of participants who were used as subordinate group members.

All participants were approximately 18-22 years of age, and all of them attend a small liberal arts school in Maine with an approximately equal ratio of female to male students. This particular body of females is not necessarily representative of the ways in which women in general feel targeted or victimized by men. It is also not necessarily representative of the ways in which subordinate group members feel voiceless or victimized by dominant group members. Because of this, the findings of the current study regarding the effects of direct and vicarious perspective-giving are not necessarily generalizable to all subordinate group members. Further studies should be conducted to examine the concept of vicarious perspective-giving with a larger sample size or with a different population of participants to gain a deeper understanding of the effects it can have on outgroup attitudes.

4.2 Implications and Conclusions

The current study provides both theoretical and practical implications for subordinate group members in the context of perspective-giving. Members of subordinate groups are often silenced and not given the opportunity to have their voice be heard (Bruneau & Saxe, 2012). If positive outgroup attitudes increased after subordinate group members' perspectives were shared vicariously by other ingroup members, then perhaps intergroup relations would improve through the perspective-sharing of leaders, such as Michelle Obama. Instead, the current study displayed evidence that in certain situations, vicarious perspective-giving can lead to a decrease in outgroup attitudes. Though the results of the current study should not be generalized to suggest that these leaders cannot improve intergroup conflicts, they do indicate that vicarious perspective-giving may not be a valid substitute for direct perspective-giving in terms of improving cross-group attitudes. Despite the existence of influential female figure heads, it is still very important for all women to be given the chance to directly share their perspective with dominant group members.

The current study has practical implications that could be very important to the gender dynamic between female and male students at Bates College and other colleges and universities in the United States. The overwhelming majority of participants expressed at least one difficulty or challenge that they feel female students at Bates face because of their gender. This indicates that female students do indeed feel victimized and disadvantaged at Bates College. The average attitudes of female students towards male students on campus were fairly moderate, neither extremely positive nor extremely negative, indicating that there is room for improvement. The results of this study provide no support for the theory that direct perspective-giving has a positive effect on female students' outgroup attitudes. Furthermore, vicarious-perspective giving actually had a negative effect on female student's outgroup attitudes. In order to improve women's perceptions of men on campus, the results of the current study suggest that it is necessary to find an alternative method of increasing outgroup attitudes that does not rely on direct perspective-giving and that actively avoids vicarious perspective-giving. This, however, does not mean that activities involving direct and vicarious perspective-giving should not take place or that they have no benefit. One could argue that whether or not a subordinate group member views the dominant group positively is not of importance, or that their feelings of resentment are justified and don't necessarily need to disappear in order for cross group dynamics to improve. Women who feel victimized can certainly benefit from perspective-giving in a variety of ways and they deserve the chance to speak their voice and be heard by men regardless of the effects this has on their outgroup attitudes.

³This was done for participant identity protection purposes.

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Appendix A

Preset paragraph: One of the biggest issues women face at Bates is harassment and objectification from men. The hook up culture makes girls feel pressured to dress sexy and feel noticed by men, but men take this as an invitation and get aggressive and out of hand, especially if they've been drinking. Apart from social life, women are also treated with less respect than men in other ways. For example, women are often shut down in class or assumed to be less intelligent than male students. Women's sports teams also get less recognition and support than men's teams. Even though Bates is a small and relatively liberal school, female students face a lot of sexism and more resources should be made available to them.

Rephrased version of preset paragraph: Women at Bates face a lot of issues, especially harassment and objectification. Girls feel like they always need to look sexy and get attention or "hook up," but men (especially if they've been drinking) take advantage of this and are aggressive and disrespectful. Women also experience sexism in the classroom and on sports teams. They are stereotyped to be less intelligent than men and their academic contributions are often not respected. They also don't get as many fans for sports games and their hard athletic work is not properly appreciated. Even at a school as small and liberal as Bates, girls are unfairly treated and deserve to have more resources to help eliminate the sexism on campus.