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THE INDIAN PRINCESS AND THE SQUAW: AN EXPLORATION OF THE
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THE INDIAN PRINCESS AND THE SQUAW: AN EXPLORATION OF THE
OBJECTIFICATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

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For all the past, present, and future Hernandezes, Crosses, Abilas, Salinases, Reyeses, Zaragosas, Coffeys, Tehaunos, Tahchawwickahs, Alcantars, Albarrans, Mareses, Almarezes, Neals, Williamses, Shaws, Kings, Elmores, Ochoas, and Olivareses.

"No one achieves anything alone." -Leslie Knope

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Abstract

The harmful consequences of interpersonal objectification for women have received considerable empirical attention. However, research considering the impact of race and ethnicity on objectified women is lacking and, thus far, no research has investigated how objectification affects views of Native American women. Historically, stereotypes of Native American women have been influenced by colonization in ways that other groups of women have not. Today, Native American women face higher rates of sexual assault compared to women of other races, resulting in what has been coined as Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women. The present studies seek to extend objectification research to Native American women using Haslam's (2006) model of dehumanization (Studies 1 & 2) and explore how objectification can affect victim-blame in an acquaintance-rape vignette (Study 3). The first two studies found that a Native American woman was mechanistically objectified to a greater extent than a White woman. Study 2 used the Scrambled Sentence Task to prime the "squaw" stereotype, and a mediation analysis indicated that the activation of negative stereotypes explained the objectification of the Native American woman. Furthermore, Study 3 did not find any significant differences between blaming the victim, whether the victim was specified as a Native American woman or White.

Keywords: Objectification, Dehumanization, Native American women, Stereotypes

Introduction

Examples of Native Americans being viewed and treated as less than human are too numerous to count. The settlers who authored the 1776 Declaration of Independence acknowledged that all men were created equal, while simultaneously designating Native Americans as "merciless Indian Savages." Upon his arrival in the New World, Christopher Columbus appraised the *Indians* he encountered instrumentally, remarking that they would make good servants (Columbus, 1893). Furthermore, Columbus, and the settlers that came after him, blatantly objectified and dehumanized Native American women and girls through sexual slavery, rape, and torture; a historical practice reflected in the higher-than-average rates of violence Native American women face today.

Despite overwhelming evidence that suggests that Native Americans continue to experience dehumanization and objectification (e.g., the use of Native American mascots and the exploitation of tribal affiliations and cultural symbols; Angle, 2016; Merskin, 2014; Steele, 1996; Pewewardy, 1997; King & Springwood, 2010), research has yet to explore the extent to which Native American women are objectified at the interpersonal level. The historical degradation of Native American women, largely through the propagation of harmful stereotypes, can be traced from 1492 to the present. Early European settlers perceived and depicted the Native American women they encountered as hypersexual, a belief that is carried on by their descendants who presently manufacture, sell, and wear "sexy squaw" costumes for Halloween parties, music festivals, and fashion runways.

Research on Objectification Theory (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997) has shown that women, more often than men, are negatively impacted by objectification. Thus far, this research has largely focused on the outcomes of objectification of White women. However, there is evidence that suggests that objectification can vary depending on women's race (Anderson, Holland, Heldreth, & Johnson, 2018). In my dissertation I seek to explore whether Native American women are objectified to a greater degree than White women and, the extent to which that objectification leads to a higher degree of victim blaming when a rape victim is a Native American woman.

Objectification, Dehumanization, and Native Americans

When psychologists discuss objectification, they refer to both the process of *seeing* someone as an object and *treating* someone like an object. Frederickson and Roberts's (1997) Objectification Theory offers a framework for understanding the process of objectification: from this theory's perspective, an objectifying gaze directed at women can lead to the internalization of harmful attitudes towards the objectified women. Within this objectifying gaze, for example, an objectified woman is denied autonomy (viewing her as lacking self-determination), is attributed inertness (seeing her as lacking in agency), and denied subjectivity (viewing her as lacking feelings and experiences) (Loughnan & Pacilli, 2014; Nussbaum, 1999). Hence, the objectification of women results in perceiving them as less human (i.e., dehumanization), which results in the attribution of less "mind" and "moral" status to them. Haslam's (2006) dual model of dehumanization explains how people can deny humanness to others along two dimensions: animalistic, and mechanistic. The animalistic dimension, composed of *uniquely human* traits, distinguishes humans from animals and refers to language, culture,

and higher cognition. The mechanistic dimension, composed of *human nature* traits, distinguishes humans from automata and refers to warmth, cognitive openness, and emotional depth.

Jahoda (1999) describes at length how non-European racial groups, like Africans and Indigenous peoples, have been historically dehumanized by White people who continuously associate them with animals and children. Like animals, minority out-groups were viewed as savage and barbaric. At the same time, like children, they were regarded as simple-minded, and unable to achieve the in-group's predetermined markers of civilization. Research has shown that denying humanness to others can lead to negative consequences for targets, including lowered instances of prosocial behaviors offered to the target (such as disaster-support and other help) (Vaes, 2003; Cuddy, Rock, & Norton, 2007), increased antisocial behaviors toward the target (Oberman, 2011; Rudman & Mescher, 2012; Viki et al. 2013), and the perception of the target as having diminished moral standing (Bastian et al., 2011; Loughnan et al., 2013; Gramazio, Cadinu, Pagliaro, & Pacilli, 2018). Although dehumanization research focuses on a variety of different groups that differ by gender, race, ethnicity, and citizenship status, to name a few, Native Americans have yet to be examined through this framework.

The dehumanization of Native Americans was, and remains, a crucial aspect of European colonization. In their accounts, European settlers compared Native Americans to both children and animals—unable to learn civilized ways, or acting savagely—and yet made allies when Native Americans proved useful to the settlers' causes (Jahoda, 1999). Furthermore, settlers described Native Americans as stoic, incapable of both showing and feeling the same emotions as themselves. These stereotypes justified

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settlers' use of extreme violence and brutality toward Native Americans, and trivialized their suffering. Both animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization are useful in understanding the historical and on-going treatment of Native Americans.

Animalistic Dehumanization

Early historical accounts made explicit references between Native Americans and animals. To view Native Americans overarchingly as primitive and bestial was a useful belief for European settlers. It allowed them to make allies of Native Americans in wartime while also understanding them to exist in a state of arrested development, in desperate need of European intervention. Native Americans' resistance to the many settlers' attempts to "civilize" them—to socialize them in accordance with European norms—left the impression that Native Americans were unintelligent and incompetent. Once tribal nations were proclaimed to be wards of the state currently referred to as the United States, paternalistic federal policies designed to protect Native American tribal nations and their citizens resulted in disastrous consequences. These policies—and the paternalistic mindsets fueling them—essentially eroded Native Americans' agency and self-determination. Saminaden et. al (2010) demonstrated that traditional peoples were implicitly associated with child- and animal-like stimuli, to a stronger degree than modern peoples. Although Native Americans were not specifically used in this study, they meet all the same criteria as the "traditional" peoples used, thus further demonstrating how the implicit association might also be present for Native Americans.

By the mid-19th century and into the early 20th century, movies that depicted a fictionalized *Old West* were widely distributed and enjoyed by mainstream America. The Western film genre reinvented and perpetuated the stereotype of Native Americans as a

bloodthirsty, warlike-race that preyed on White settlers (Diamond, 2009; Pewewardy, 2004). These stereotypes of Native Americans as wild and savage were later adapted as mascots for sports teams, putting them on the level of animal mascots (Davis-Delano, 2007). Activists and scholars who oppose Native American mascots contend that the mascots themselves are an explicit form of dehumanization. Furthermore, exposure to a Native American mascot strengthened non-Native peoples' implicit association between Native Americans and the term "warlike" (Angle et al 2016).

While the uptick of research on Native American mascots and their consequences is important, much of the focus remains on Native American men. Within "Native Americans" as a category, evidence suggests that Native American women experience specific forms of animalistic dehumanization. In their correspondences, European settlers personified the New World as a naked, Indigenous queen, on the back of an armadillo, with both together representing the savage dangers across the seas—demonstrating the association between Native American women and animals (armadillo). The association between Native American women and animals is further reinforced through merchandise commonly found in gas stations and gift shops today, like postcards that feature a half-naked Native American woman with a wolf companion (Bird, 1999). Furthermore, media-analysis of TV shows, films, and literature point out that Native American women are associated with "Mother Earth" stereotypes, implying that they are more connected to nature (e.g., Grandmother Willow, Pocahontas, and the now retired Land O'Lakes Maiden) (Bird, 1999; Merskin, 2010). These stereotypes specific to Native American women are typified in the "Indian Princess" depiction, a noble-yet-primitive beauty who aids White settlers (e.g., Pocahontas and Sacagawea).

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Mechanistic Dehumanization

Objectification can also refer to reducing someone to an object and represents a form of mechanistic dehumanization. In the Western world, it is common to see sexualized images of women across all forms of media. Objectification Theory (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997) suggests that women internalize these objectified images of other women, resulting in increased self-monitoring behaviors (self-objectification) which leads to negative consequences. A vast body of research provides evidence that objectification is one of many gender-based forms of oppression for women (for review, see Gervais & Eagan, 2017). Objectified women are perceived as less competent and less intelligent (Heflick and Goldenberg, 2009), and as having less mind and being unworthy of moral concern (Loughnan et al, 2010; Heflick, Goldenberg, Cooper, & Puvia, 2011). People who view sexualized women literally process them as objects (Bernard, Gervais, Allen, Campomizzi, & Klein, 2012; Gervais, Vescio, & Allen, 2012; Gervais, Vescio, Forster, Maass, & Suitner, 2012). Furthermore, mechanistic—not animalistic—dehumanization promotes the perception that women are less capable of feeling pain (Morris, Goldenberg, & Boyd, 2018).

Despite evidence that race can influence how women experience objectification (Anderson et al, 2018), no studies have focused on Native American women. Missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (MMIWG) highlights the dangerously high rates of sexual violence perpetrated toward Indigenous women in North America. Compared to non-Native women, one in three Native American women have reported being raped in their lifetime—a rate twice above the average (Amnesty, 2007). Content analyses of media coverage on MMIWG reveal that media outlets commonly use violent language to

describe Native American victims, including racial stereotyping and victim-blaming (Lucchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moeke-Pickering, Cote-Meek, & Pegoraro, 2018). Together, these findings suggest that the higher rates of sexual assault that Native American women experience can partially be attributed to those harmful stereotypes.

Hypersexualized images of Native American women are typified by the "squaw" stereotype. "Squaw" is derogatory, a slur, referring specifically to Native American women. Although the origins of the term are contested, this slur has historically been used to refer to Native American women's vaginas, and is synonymous with both being a slave and prostitute (Bird, 1999; Merskin, 2010). Settler men used "squaw" to identify Native American women whom they considered sexually promiscuous, subservient to men, and suitable for working the most unpleasant tasks (Merskin, 2010). Additionally, "squaws" were documented as being incapable of the same emotions and moral virtue as White women (Bird, 1999).

The sexualization of Native American women dates back to Christopher Columbus, who wrote in his journal that Native women moved about "lasciviously," and later, in a letter to a friend, that 9- and 10-year-old Native American girls were in high demand for sexual trafficking (Columbus, 1893). Perceptions that Native American women were sexually available, loose, and immoral were deliberately proliferated among settler men. Images of nude Native American women became stand-ins for the land itself. As settlers became aware of the high volume of natural resources, the New World was no longer personified as an Indigenous Queen, but rather by a softer, vulnerable, naked Indigenous princess. The explicit connection between Native American women and the

resource-rich land was made clear: both were open for the explicit use of settlers (Dhillon, 2015; Bird, 1999).

Disney's animated film, *Pocahontas* (1995), provides evidence that Native American women and girls continue to be sexually objectified today. Disney's filmmakers turned a real 12-year-old Native American girl into a voluptuous, scantily-clad, 20-something-year-old woman who mesmerizes and falls in love with John Smith (Bird, 1999). Halloween stores offer a variety of costumes for both women and young girls, with sexualized names such as the "Pocahottie", "Reservation Royalty", and "Sexy Native American Indian", which feature skimpy, fake buckskin dresses, feathered headbands, and plastic tomahawks. In 2012, Victoria's Secret allowed model Karlie Kloss to walk down the runway with a feathered headdress, buckskin-fringe lingerie, and turquoise jewelry (Adams, 2017). Coisey (2017) explains that the cultural appropriation of "Native womanhood" by non-Native people is not only an attempt to market a product, but also conjures up colonial sexual violence used against actual Native American women whose bodies are "systematically objectified, eroticized, and thus devalued…".

The Present Research

Throughout history, Native American women have been racially and sexually stereotyped to a greater extent than White women. Today, Native American women continue to be objectified, and are subjected to incomparable levels of sexual violence. The purpose of this research is to explore the objectification of a Native American woman compared to a White woman. Thus, I proposed that Native American women are objectified to a greater extent than White women. Additionally, the *type* of objectification Native American women experience should have been explained by the stereotypes

associated with them (more specifically, the *squaw* stereotype). While representations of Native American women meet the qualifications for both animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization, previous research indicated that appearance-focus objectification was more likely to lead to mechanistic dehumanization. Thus, we should have expected to find that a Native American woman, compared to a White woman, would be dehumanized to a greater extent along the mechanistic dimension. Furthermore, the higher degree of objectification a Native American woman faces would lead to greater victim-blaming, compared to a White woman, in situations involving sexual assault.

I examined the role of objectification by first assessing the type of objectification a Native American woman experiences compared to a White target, using a focus-appearance manipulation (Study 1). This manipulation task invited participants to focus on women's appearance rather than their personality, essentially reducing women to their physical attributes and disregarding their mental capacity, which is a feature of literal objectification (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Harris & Fiske, 2009; Haslam, 2006). With the understanding that the "squaw" stereotype embodies a less moral perception of Native American women, I expected that Native American women would experience more mechanistic dehumanization, as this dimension reinforces an object-like perception. Next, I primed participants with traits related to the "squaw" stereotype to determine the extent to which the activation of these stereotypes underlies the objectification of Native American women (Study 2). Finally, since research indicated that objectification can lead to negative consequences for women, I explored the impact of objectification on blaming a Native American who is a victim of rape (Study 3).

Study 1

The purpose of my first study was to demonstrate that Native American women experience dehumanization to a greater extent than White women. More specifically, a Native American woman would experience more *mechanistic* dehumanization than a White woman. Previous studies indicated that when women are objectified, they are perceived as less warm and less human (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009). Thus, while both a Native American woman and a White woman both experience mechanistic dehumanization when their appearance is emphasized over their personality, Native American women would experience more mechanistic dehumanization than White women. Finally, I expected no significant differences between targets on the animalistic dimension of objectification.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Native American (NA) women will be mechanistically dehumanized to a larger extent, relative to White women.

Hypothesis 2: NA women and White women will experience similar levels of animalistic dehumanization (i.e., the attribution of human uniqueness [HU] traits should not be significantly different).

Study 1 Method

Participants

Two hundred and ninety-five students from the University of Oklahoma's subject pool were originally recruited via SONA for course credit. However, five participants were dropped because they did not follow the instructions for the Objectification Task

portion of the study, leaving a sample of 290. The breakdown of ethnicity was as follows: White/European descent (72.1%), Black or African American (7.6%), Native American or Alaskan Native (3.8%), Asian (6.9%), Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (1.0%), Latino/Latina/Latinx (7.2%), and Other (1.4%; one person identified themselves as Arab). Ages ranged from 18 to 35 ($M = 19.95$; $SD = 1.91$). One hundred and fifty-one participants identified as men and 139 participants identified as women.

Measures

Objectification Task

The purpose of the objectification task was to narrow participants' focus on women's physical attributes, without regard for the women's mind and mental states— literally objectifying them. All participants viewed a picture of a woman, but her race varied depending on the condition. Participants were randomly assigned to view either a Native American (NA) woman or a White woman (Appendix A). Below the picture, there were instructions that stated, "This is a picture of Jane Harjo (experimental condition)/Samantha Williams (control condition). Please take some time to write about this person's physical appearance. Focus on both positive and negative aspects. There is no time limit for how much you want to write, however, you will not be able to advance until you've entered your text below." Participants were unable to move forward until they entered a response in the text box provided. To ensure that participants followed the prompt, I went through each response to make sure the descriptions focused on appearance. Five participants were dropped because they did not follow the instructions or refused to participate. A total of 148 (71 men, 77 women) participants viewed a picture

of the Native American woman and 142 (80 men, 62 women) participants viewed the White woman.

Objectification DVs

Dual Model of Dehumanization (Haslam, 2006). This measure contained 32 items that pertain to two dimensions of dehumanization: animalistic (Human Uniqueness; HU) and mechanistic (Human Nature; HN) (Appendix B). Each dimension was created from eight positive, and eight negative, traits. For this measure, participants read the following instructions: "Below is a list of words concerning the personality of the woman you saw in the photograph. Please indicate the degree to which you believe each word describes her using the following scale" (1 – disagree strongly, to 5 – agree strongly). The words that formed animalistic dehumanization were: ambitious, analytic, imaginative, sympathetic, broad-minded, humble, polite, thorough, high-strung, insecure, irresponsible, reserved, disorganized, ignorant, rude, and stingy. Negative traits were reverse-coded, and all of the traits were averaged together to create one "Human Uniqueness" score. A comparatively lower score indicated that the target was relatively dehumanized. This measure reached adequate reliability for both conditions (overall α = .74; NA α = .71; White α = .79). The words that formed mechanistic dehumanization were: active, curious, friendly, fun-loving, contented, even-tempered, relaxed, selfless, impatient, impulsive, jealous, shy, simple, timid, uncooperative, and unemotional. Negative traits were reverse-coded, and all of the traits were averaged together to create one "Human Nature" score. A comparatively lower score indicated that the target was relatively dehumanized. This measure reached a decent level of reliability for both conditions (overall α = .65; NA α = .64; White α = .71).

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Control variables. Three questions assessed participants' perceptions of the women's age, attractiveness, and affect. Since age can affect perceptions of competence and attributions of mind (Gray & Wegner, 2009), participants were asked the following question: "How old do you think the person in the photograph is?" and asked to indicate age in years. Research also indicates that attractive people tend to be more objectified than less-attractive people (Kozak, Frankenhauser, & Roberts, 2009; Vaes et al., 2011). So, to assess attractiveness, participants were asked, "How attractive would you rate the person in the photograph?" on a scale of 1 (highly unattractive) to 7 (highly attractive). Finally, an individual's negative or positive affect can affect peoples' judgments of them (Hess, Barry, & Kleck, 2000; Forgas, 1991). To measure affect, participants were asked, "How would you rate the facial expression of the person in the picture?" on a scale of 1 (negative) to 7 (positive)—these questions can be found in Appendix C. I also included gender as a covariate; although the literature shows that there does not appear to be a moderating effect of participant gender on the proclivity to objectify women, the results of a few studies may suggest that men objectify a woman target more than women do (Cikara et al. 2010; Gervais et al. 2012; Heflick and Goldenberg 2009; Heflick et al. 2011; Vaes et al. 2011; Bernard et al. 2012; and Loughnan et al. 2013).

Procedure

The objectification task and all questionnaires were completed online. After signing up through SONA, the university's online management system for experiments, participants completed the study at the time and place of their choosing through Qualtrics, a web-based survey platform. After providing their consent, participants were randomly assigned to view the NA woman or the White woman. After completing the

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objectification task, participants then completed the Dual Model of Dehumanization

measure and control questions. Finally, they answered some demographic questions that

asked for participant gender and ethnicity (Appendix D).

Study 1 Results

Correlations, means, and standard deviations for all variables can be found in

Table 1. First, I conducted exploratory analyses on the control variables, which included

three separate moderation analyses [(target race: NA or White) X (participant gender)] on

the targets' perceived age, perceived attractiveness, and perceived affect. The variables

accounted for a significant amount of variance in perceptions of age, $R^2 = .267$, $F(3, 286)$

$= 34.73$, $p < .001$. For age, the analyses revealed that the White woman was perceived as

significantly older than the Native American woman , $\beta = 3.87$, $t(9.88) = 96.84$, $p < .000$

(*Ms*: White, 23.84; NA, 19.97). However, the condition X gender interaction was not

significant.

For perceived target attractiveness, the variables accounted for a significant

amount of variance in perceptions of attractiveness, $R^2 = .282$, $F(3, 277) = 36.27$, $p <$

.001. The analyses revealed that the White woman was perceived as significantly more

attractive than the NA woman, $\beta = 1.25$, $t(277) = 9.71$, $p < .000$ (*Ms*: White, 5.39; NA,

4.17). Gender was also significant, with women rating both the White woman and the NA

woman higher in attractiveness than men, $\beta = 0.46$, $t(277)$, $= 3.62$, $p < .000$ (*Ms*: Men,

4.55; Women, 5.01). The target race X participant gender interaction was also significant,

$\beta = -0.63$, $t(277)$, $= -2.44$, $p = .015$. Simple slopes revealed that women rated the NA

woman higher in attractiveness than men did, $t(277) = 4.23$, $p < .000$, CI 95% [.43, 1.14],

but there was no significant difference between genders for the White woman's perceived attractiveness, $t(277) = .85$, $p = .39$, CI 95% [-.20, .51] (see Figure 1).

For perceived target affect, the variables accounted for a significant amount of variance in perceptions of affect, $R^2 = .03$, $F(3, 286) = 36.27$, $p = .019$. There was a main effect of condition, indicating that the White woman's affect was perceived as significantly more positive than the NA woman's, $\beta = 0.35$, $t(277), = 2.36$, $p = .019$ (*Ms*: White = 4.52, NA = 4.17). While there was no main effect of gender, $\beta = -0.14$, $t(277), = -0.95$, $p = .341$, the condition X gender interaction was marginally significant, $\beta = -0.54$, $t(277), = -1.80$, $p = .073$. For exploration purposes, I decided to run a simple slopes analysis to probe the interaction. Simple slopes revealed that men were more likely to perceive the White woman's affect as more positive, compared to women, $t(286) = 4.23$, $p = .053$, CI 95% [-.84, .00], however the effect was marginally significant. There was no significant difference between genders for the NA woman's perceived affect, $t(286) = .58$, $p = .563$, CI 95% [-.29, .53] (see Figure 2).

Human Nature (HN) traits

I conducted a one-way ANCOVA to determine whether the NA woman (i.e., Jane Harjo) was mechanistically dehumanized (i.e., attributed *less* HN traits) to a greater extent than the White woman (i.e., Samantha Williams) when controlling for participant gender, perceived target attractiveness, perceived target affect, and perceived target age, and Human Uniqueness (HU) traits as covariates. I decided to include HU traits as a covariate because they were positively correlated with HN traits. The analyses revealed that there was a significant difference in the attribution of HN traits for the NA woman

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and the White woman, $F(1, 274) = 15.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that participants who viewed the NA woman and not the White woman attributed less HN traits to the NA woman ($M = 3.31$) than participants who viewed the White woman ($M = 3.45$) and not the Native American woman. As for the covariates, only HU traits, $F(1, 274) = 355.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .57$, and perceived target affect, $F(1, 274) = 20.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, were significant. Perceived target attraction, $F(1, 274) = 0.87$, $p = .351$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, perceived targets' age, $F(1, 274) = 0.51$, $p = .478$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, and participant gender, $F(1, 275) = 0.87$, $p = .353$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, were not significant.

Human Uniqueness (HU) traits

I then conducted a one-way ANCOVA to determine whether there were any significant differences between the attribution of HU traits for the NA woman and the White woman controlling for participant gender, perceived target attractiveness, perceived target affect, perceived target age, and HN traits as covariates. I decided to include HN traits as a covariate because they were positively correlated with UH traits. The analyses revealed that, contrary to my second hypothesis, there was a significant difference in the attribution of HU traits for the NA woman and the White woman, $F(1, 274) = 29.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that the NA woman ($M = 3.56$) was attributed more HU traits than the White woman ($M = 3.33$). As for the covariates, only HN traits were significant, $F(1, 274) = 355.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .57$. Perceived target attraction, $F(1, 274) = 0.66$, $p = .416$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, perceived target affect, $F(1, 274) = 1.55$, $p = .214$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, perceived targets' age, $F(1, 274) = 0.25$, $p = .614$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, and participant gender, $F(1, 275) = 2.32$, $p = .129$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, were not significant.

Study 1 Discussion

Study 1 provided preliminary evidence that a Native American woman can be mechanistically dehumanized to a greater extent than a White woman. In this study, participants who viewed and participated in the objectification of the NA woman were less likely to attribute HN traits to her than were participants who viewed and objectified the White woman. Furthermore, this result remained significant after controlling for participant gender, perceived target attractiveness, perceived target affect, perceived target age, and UH traits. Ultimately, compared to the White woman, participants regarded the NA woman as lacking in emotionality and cognitive depth—or, in other words, the inborn traits that make us human.

The second hypothesis, however, was not supported. Although I expected no significant differences in the application of HU traits to the NA woman and the White woman, participants who viewed and objectified the White woman rated her significantly lower in HU traits than participants who viewed and objectified the NA woman. This indicates that the White woman was *animalistically* dehumanized, relative to the NA woman. Research indicates focusing on a woman's physical appearance—superficial beauty—will lead to a more object-like perception, rather than animal-like. Focusing on a woman's sexual attributes, however, leads to animalistic dehumanization. Thus, it appears that regardless of the same objectification task, participants viewing the White woman perhaps focused more on her as a sexual being than participants viewing the NA woman. This could be partially explained by the exploratory analyses conducted to determine whether there were any significant differences in perceived targets' age,

attractiveness, and affect—the White woman was rated significantly higher in attractiveness compared to the NA woman.

These empirical results provide further support for scholars who argue that the perpetuation of stereotypes of NA women can affect perceptions of real NA women. Although stereotypes exist of many different groups, NA stereotypes can be particularly consequential because there are fewer contemporary depictions of NAs to counteract them compared to other groups. The unique devaluation and degradation of NA women, both historically and presently, could hypothetically lead to the perception that they are more object-like. If that is the case, then it becomes easier for the perceiver to morally disengage with NA women, leading to the belief that they cannot feel pain. However, further investigation was necessary to determine whether the result of mechanistic dehumanization could indeed be explained by stereotype activation—more specifically, would priming the sexually available "squaw" stereotype of NA women partially explain the relationship between objectification and mechanistic dehumanization of NA women? I attempted to answer this question in Study 2.

Study 2

The primary goal of Study 2 was to establish whether the mechanistic dehumanization of NA women could be partially explained by stereotype activation. Fryberg and Stephens (2010) argue that NAs experience psychological invisibility—or, a lack of contemporary representations—in American society. Non-NA people, then, are not only culturally aware of stereotypes of NA women, but they may also be more likely to *rely* on those stereotypes for information about NA women, *because* modern

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representations of NA women are so lacking. These stereotypes, then, could potentially

reinforce the belief that NA women are more object-like, compared to White women.

This study followed the same procedure as Study 1, however, before the objectification

task, participants in both conditions were primed with the "squaw" stereotype, using a

Scrambled Sentence Task (SST; Srull & Wyer, 1979). The same dehumanization

measures were used to assess objectification, and I expected to replicate the results of

Study 1.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Native American (NA) women will be mechanistically dehumanized

relative to the White women (i.e., Jane Harjo will be attributed fewer HN traits than

Samantha Williams).

Hypothesis 2: White women will be animalistically dehumanized relative to NA women

(i.e. Samantha Williams will be attributed fewer HU traits than Jane Harjo; as seen in

Study 1).

Hypothesis 3: The activation of the "squaw" stereotype will partially explain the

relationship between objectification and the mechanistic dehumanization of NA women

(i.e., Jane Harjo).

Study 2 Method

Participants

One hundred and sixty-two students from the University of Oklahoma's subject

pool were originally recruited via SONA for course credit. However, participants were

dropped who did not complete a Scrambled Sentence Task (SST) designed to prime NA

stereotypes, as were participants who expressed—correctly—that this task was somehow related to the objectification task, leaving a sample of 143. The breakdown of ethnicity was as follows: White/European descent (65%), Black or African American (9.8%), Native American or Alaskan Native (4.9%), Asian (7%), Latino/Latina/Latinx (12.6%). Ages ranged from 18 to 35 ($M = 19.95$; $SD = 1.91$). Fifty-five participants identified as men and 87 participants identified as women.

<div align="center">

Measures

</div>

Scrambled Sentence Task

This task presented a varying number of scrambled phrases to participants, with instructions to unscramble each phrase into a grammatically correct order. Like the task originally created by Srull and Wyer (1979), the majority of the phrases contained words synonymous with, or related to, a concept which researchers want to prime participants with, outside of their explicit awareness. The SST continues to be used as a priming procedure for studies that prime religious concepts (Hess & Almozov, 2019; Shariff & Norenzayan, 2007), social motives (Fitzsimons & Shah, 2008), and money (Reutner & Greifeneder, 2018), among others. For this study, the task consisted of 23 phrases which primed the hypersexualized Native American woman stereotype, the "squaw" (see Appendix E). Participants had to rearrange words to form a sensible phrase. The instructions were as follows:

> In the next task, you will complete a test of language ability. The researchers are primarily interested in how long it takes college students to create and type out sensible phrases when given words presented out of order. Try to be as quick and as accurate as possible when unscrambling the words.

The words will be presented on the next page. There is no time limit, however you will not be able to advance to the next section without typing the sensible phrases in the text boxes provided below the scrambled words. When you are ready, please advance to the next section.

Eighteen of the phrases contained the stereotype primes (e.g. "bones cheek high pretty" became "pretty high cheek bones") and five were neutral concepts (e.g. "sky clouds in the" became "clouds in the sky"). All participants completed the same task with the same phrases. Afterwards, I screened the phrases for accuracy, and those who did not complete the task, or who were unable to follow the instructions, were dropped from the analyses.

After completing the task, participants were asked several questions corresponding to their perceived difficulty of the task, their typing ability, and their perception of how long the task took for them to complete. These questions were included to give the impression that the SST was equally important to the study, but was not necessarily connected to the subsequent task and measures (see Appendix F). Another question was included after all DV measures were completed, which asked, "Do you think the unscrambled sentence task affected your judgment of the person in the photograph?" on a scale of (1 – no to 9 – yes), to probe for awareness. Participants were then asked to explain, in an open text box, how the SST impacted their responses.

Objectification Task

The same objectification task from Study 1 was used for Study 2 (Appendix A). Seventy-one people (28 men, 43 women) were randomly assigned to view the NA woman (experimental condition), and 72 people (27 men, 44 women) were randomly assigned to view the White woman (control condition).

Objectification DVs

Dual Model of Dehumanization (Haslam, 2006). The same objectification measures from Study 1 were used, and scored in the same way for Study 2 (Appendix B). The human uniqueness (HU) traits score showed a good reliability (overall α = .75; NA α = .79; α White = .71), as did the human nature (HN) traits (overall α = .70; NA α = .78; White α = .70. All traits were measured on a scale of 1 – disagree strongly, to 5 – agree strongly.

Control variables. The same questions from Study 1 were used (and scored the same way) to assess targets' perceived age, attractiveness, and affect. Participants' gender was also included as a control variable (Appendix C).

Negative Stereotypes. Three stereotypes of NA women were included among the dehumanization traits. The stereotypes were "promiscuous", "immoral", and "seductive", and were combined to create one score (overall α = .70; NA α = .76; White α = .53). Stereotypes were measured on a scale of 1 – disagree strongly to 5 – agree strongly. The sentences in the SST used phrases that were synonymous with the "squaw" stereotype. For example, "she lures me in" would prime "seductive" (See Appendices B and D).

Procedure

The SST, the objectification task, and all questionnaires were completed online. After signing up through SONA, participants completed the study at the time and place of their choosing through Qualtrics. After providing their consent, all participants completed the SST and answered questions related to the task. They were then randomly assigned to view the NA woman or the White woman. After completing the objectification task,

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participants completed the Dual Model of Dehumanization measure, which contained the negative stereotypes mixed in with the 16 HU traits and the 16 HN traits. Next, participants completed the control questions which assessed the targets' perceived age, attractiveness, and affect. Finally, they answered some demographic questions, supplying their gender and ethnicity (Appendix F).

Study 2 Results

Correlations, means, and standard deviations for all variables can be found in Table 2.

Scrambled Sentence Task

Because the SST was screened for accuracy and awareness, only participants who correctly unscrambled all the phrases were included in the analyses. I also checked the open text box which asked participants to explain how the SST was connected to the objectification task. Participants who stated that their answers were impacted by the SST were also dropped from the analyses. I then ran correlations between the task awareness question and all variables of interest. Since the task awareness question did not correlate with any of the other variables of interest, it was not included in the analyses.

Covariates

I decided to run the same exploratory analyses as I did in Study 1, with condition, gender, and the condition X gender interaction predicting the covariates. For targets' perceived age, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .177$, $F(3, 137) = 9.84$, $p < .001$. Condition was significant, $b = 3.50$, $t(140) = 9.84$, $p < .001$, indicating that the White woman ($M = 24.13$) was perceived to be significantly older than the NA woman ($M =$

20.52). However gender, $b = 0.02$, $t(140) = 0.03$, $p = .977$, nor the condition X gender interaction were significant, $b = -0.25$, $t(140) = -0.19$, $p < .853$.

For attractiveness, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .262$, $F(3, 137) = 16.20$, $p < .001$. While there was a main effect of condition, $b = 1.19$, $t(137) = 6.29$, $p < .000$, gender was not significant, $b = 0.25$, $t(137) = 1.28$, $p < .201$, however the gender X condition interaction was significant, $b = -1.02$, $t(137) = -2.63$, $p = .009$. Simple slopes revealed that women rated the NA woman higher in attractiveness than men did, $t(137) = 2.79$, $p = .006$, CI 95% [.22, 1.30], but there was no significant difference between genders for the White woman's perceived attractiveness, $t(137) = -.94$, $p = .349$, CI 95% [-.80, .28] (see Figure 3).

For affect, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .067$, $F(3, 137) = 3.28$, $p = .023$. There was a main effect of condition, $b = 0.46$, $t(137) = 2.26$, $p = .025$. Gender was not significant, $b = -0.13$, $t(137) = -0.59$, $p = .552$, however the gender X condition interaction was significant, $b = -0.89$, $t(137) = -2.11$, $p = .037$. Simple slopes revealed that men perceived the White woman as having a marginally more positive affect than women did, $t(137) = -1.90$, $p = .059$, CI 95% [-1.15, .02], but there was no significant difference between genders for the NA woman's perceived affect, $t(138) = .97$, $p = .281$, CI 95% [-.29, .87] (see Figure 4).

Human Nature (HN) traits

First, I first ran a one-way ANCOVA to determine whether the NA woman was mechanistically dehumanized (i.e. attributed *less* HN traits) to a greater extent than the White woman, controlling for targets' perceived attraction, affect, age, and UH traits as

covariates. I decided to include HU traits as a covariate because, like in Study 1, they were positively correlated with HN traits. The analyses revealed that there was a significant difference between the attribution of HN traits for the NA woman and the White woman, $F(1, 136) = 6.24$, $p = .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that participants who viewed and objectified the NA woman attributed fewer HN traits to her ($M = 3.60$) than participants who viewed and objectified the White woman ($M = 3.76$). As for the covariates, UH traits, $F(1, 136) = 154.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .53$, and perceived target affect, $F(1, 136) = 8.53$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, were significant. Perceived target attractiveness, $F(1, 136) = 0.35$, $p = .553$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, and perceived target age, $F(1, 136) = 0.13$, $p = .721$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$, were not significant.

Human Uniqueness (HU) traits

I then ran a one-way ANCOVA to determine whether the finding from Study 1— that the White woman would be animalistically dehumanized compared to the NA woman—would replicate with attraction, affect, age, and HN traits as covariates. I decided to include HN traits as a covariate because they were positively correlated with HU traits. The analyses revealed that there was a significant difference in the attribution of HU traits for the White woman and the NA woman, $F(1, 134) = 0.71$, $p < .402$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that the White woman ($M = 3.59$) was attributed significantly fewer HU traits than the NA woman ($M = 3.86$). As for the covariates, only HN traits, $F(1, 136) = 154.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .53$, and perceived target attractiveness, $F(1, 136) = 5.05$, $p = .026$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, were significant. Perceived target affect, $F(1, 136) = 0.02$, $p = .886$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and perceived targets' age, $F(1, 136) = 0.71$, $p = .40$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, were not significant.

Mediation Analyses

Finally, I conducted a mediational analysis using Hayes's (2017) PROCESS macro to determine whether the activation of negative stereotypes could partially explain the relationship between condition and attribution of HN traits, when controlling for HU traits, perceived target attraction, perceived target affect, and perceived target age. Condition was entered into the model as the predictor of the attribution of HN traits. The mean of the three negative stereotypes was entered in the model as the mediator of that relationship. The macro uses 5,000 bootstrapped samples to generate 95% confidence intervals (CI), using the percentile method. A significant mediation is indicated by confidence intervals that do not contain zero.

Both the direct effect of condition on the attribution of HN traits, B = .158, 95% CI = [.033, .282], and the total effect, B = .237, 95% CI = [.105, .368], were significant. Furthermore, the indirect effect of condition on the attribution of HN traits through negative stereotypes, B = -.079, 95% CI = [-.151, - .023], was also significant. The full model, along with coefficients, is shown in Figure 5. Results from the mediation analysis indicated that the endorsement of negative stereotypes partially mediated the relationship between condition and the attribution of HN traits.

Study 2 Discussion

The first hypothesis, which sought to replicate the finding that the NA woman would be significantly mechanistically dehumanized relative to the White woman, was supported. Again, this result was significant after controlling for participant gender, perceived target attractiveness, perceived target affect, perceived target age, and UH

traits. The lack of HN traits attributed to the NA woman provided further evidence that participants viewed her as more object-like than did participants who viewed and rated the White woman on the same traits.

The second hypothesis, which sought to replicate the finding that the White woman would be animalistically dehumanized relative to the NA woman, was also supported. Again, participants viewing the White woman animalistically dehumanized her to a greater extent than participants did who viewed the NA woman.

The third hypothesis, which sought to establish the underlying mechanism of mechanistic dehumanization of the Native American woman through the inclusion of negative stereotypes, was also supported. The mediation analysis revealed that priming participants with the "squaw" stereotype resulted in the higher endorsement of negative stereotypes. The activation of negative stereotypes partially explained the lower attribution of HN scores. Thus, the mechanistic dehumanization of the NA woman could be explained partially by the activation of the "squaw" stereotype, as she was more mechanistically dehumanized as compared to the White woman.

Studies 1 and 2 provided further evidence that a woman's race can affect how she is objectified (Anderson et al., 2018). These studies were the first to attempt to provide a causal, empirical link to determine the type of dehumanization experienced by NA women when compared to White women, and to what extent. Considering the harm perpetuated against NA women as influenced by colonization, it is important to understand how objectification can differentially impact them when compared to other groups of women, especially at the interpersonal level.

Information about NA women is largely disseminated through stereotypes contrived by non-NA people, and can negatively affect how NA women are perceived by others. This finding, that NA women are more mechanistically dehumanized compared to White women, is the first step in understanding the bigger picture of objectification specific to NA women. Previous research established that people view certain traits as fundamental and essential to humans: specifically, warmth, morality, and competence (Haslam et al. 2005, see Haslam 2006 for review; Harris et al. 2005; Frith & Frith, 1999; and Harris & Fiske 2006), and an appearance-focus negatively affects perceptions of women, such that they are seen as less competent and warm. The perception that NA women are more object-like than human can lead to negative attitudes and beliefs that NA women are cold, uncaring, and incompetent. These attitudes could lead to behaviors that discriminate against NA women in practical terms—in terms of healthcare (i.e., like an object, they cannot feel pain), or of professional opportunities (i.e., they will be viewed as being unqualified for a job and less likely to be hired), among others.

It is also important to note that the reported objectification happened when viewing a relatively young, attractive, and healthy NA woman dressed in everyday clothing. She was not overtly sexualized, either in appearance or occupation; nor was her body emphasized more than her face. Despite her appearance, participants' perceptions of the NA woman (Jane Harjo) were influenced by the "squaw" stereotype, which seems to imply that, at minimum, being a NA woman is enough to be perceived as a "squaw." However, more research is necessary to determine what other factors could influence the activation of the "squaw" stereotype. Additionally, the "Indian Princess" stereotype

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would benefit from experimental research to determine whether priming that particular stereotype results in animalistic or mechanistic dehumanization.

This finding also seems to suggest that priming the "squaw" stereotype results in a unique form of objectification, different from what White women would experience. The results from Study 2 replicated the unexpected finding from Study 1 that the White woman was animalistically objectified to a greater extent than the NA woman. It could be possible that the activation of negative stereotypes might better explain animalistic objectification for White women only. Furthermore, participants may have viewed the White woman as more of a sexual object than the NA woman. While I did include a perceived attractiveness variable, this did not necessarily distinguish between *types* of attractiveness. Participants who viewed the White woman may have rated her higher in attractiveness in terms of being sexually attractive, desirable, or available, as compared to the NA woman, whose attractiveness was perhaps judged along different criteria. Results from Vaes, Paladino, and Puvia (2011) provide further evidence, highlighting important gender differences in the sexual objectification of women: Women who viewed a sexualized woman were more likely to objectify her as a form of distance. In other words, women who rated the sexualized woman as being more vulgar and superficial were less likely to want to be around her. Vaes et al (2011) theorized that this was because the sexualized women represented a subgroup of women with whom the participants did not want to be associated. In contrast, men were more likely to objectify the sexualized woman when they personally found her to be sexy. Therefore, participants may have been rating attractiveness based on different sets of criteria for each woman.

It is important to consider that the phrases constructed for the Scrambled Sentence Task (SST) may be a limitation of this study. The phrases constructed may have unintentionally primed participants with separate constructs—one of a sexualized woman, and the other of a beautiful NA woman. For example, some of the phrases primed the sexualized component of the aforementioned stereotypes (i.e. "she lures me in" and "here for my pleasure") while the other sentences included the racialized component of the stereotype (i.e. "pretty high cheek bones" and "long thick dark hair"). The stereotypes used in Study 2 (i.e. promiscuous, seductive, and immoral) suggest a more sexually available woman, and not necessarily a sexually available woman of a particular race. Unfortunately, the only stereotype I included which could pertain to NA beauty was "exotic," which was not included in the negative stereotypes because it decreased the reliability of the negative stereotypes group. However, participants who viewed the NA woman rated her higher on the exotic attribute ($M = 3.00$, $SD = .929$) than did participants who viewed and rated the White woman ($M = 2.56$, $SD = 1.04$) on the same variable. Also, a simple one-way ANOVA indicated that the means are significantly different, $F(140, 141) = 7.21$, $p = .008$. Future research should further investigate whether focusing on a NA woman's beauty is means enough to mechanistically dehumanize her to a greater extent, and whether this result would differ depending on other factors of the NA woman (dress, occupation, perceived sexual availability, etc.).

Study 3

From the objectification research, we know that there are greater social consequences for objectified women. Focusing on women's physical appearances, rather than their personalities, leads individuals to perceive women as less competent, which

can undermine women's ability to do their job, or even be hired for a job in the first place (Glick et al, 2005; Gurung & Chrouser, 2007; Loughnan et al (2010). When women who are victims of violence are sexualized, their *moral status* as victims is undermined (Loughnan et al., 2013; Gramazio, Cadinu, Pagliaro, & Pacilli, 2018). This means people are less likely to think of sexually-objectified women as worthy of moral concern, which makes observers more likely to victim-blame them.

Research on people's proclivity to blame women who are victims of sexual assault is vast (Grubb & Harrower, 2008), yet objectification research provides another avenue of understanding this issue. When women are likened to objects, people are less likely to view them as deserving moral concern—such as treating them fairly, or being worried about their being potentially harmed (Loughnan et al., 2013). This leads people to believe that objectified victims did not suffer from their assault, compared to non-objectified victims, which makes it easier to victim-blame. Additionally, there is reason to believe that the victim's race may impact how much they are blamed or held responsible, with more negative consequences for non-White women (Katz, Merrilees, Hoxmeier, & Motisi, 2017; Donovan, 2007; Willis, 1992). However, existing research had yet to investigate whether NA women are victim-blamed to a greater extent than White women.

The increasing awareness that NA women face higher rates of violence compared to other women remains important. Rates of violence against NA women living on reservations are ten times higher than the national average (Lucchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018). NA women are *twice* as likely to experience sexual assault compared to women of other ethnicities (Addington, 2019). Understanding better how objectification affects NA

women, then, would have been a helpful contribution towards understanding the consequences they face.

The purpose of my third study, therefore, was to demonstrate that the consequences of objectification for NA women are greater than for White women. Objectification, then, could be another framework to understanding the sexual violence perpetrated towards NA women. Given that NA women are historically viewed as less moral than White women, combined with the hypersexualized stereotypes of NA women today, it should have followed that NA women would be victim-blamed to a greater extent than White women. For Study 3, participants were randomly assigned to complete the same objectification task (experimental condition = NA; control condition = White) used in Studies 1 and 2. Then, they read a vignette about two people, named Kaitlyn and Brayden, who are involved in an acquaintance-rape scenario. After participants assessed the degree to which Kaitlyn and Brayden were responsible for their actions, participants were asked to indicate the race of each person. I expected that participants who read about Kaitlyn Begaye, the NA woman, would attribute more blame to her than participants who read about Kaitlyn, a White woman.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Native American (NA) women will be victim-blamed significantly more than White women.

Study 3 Method

Participants

A total of 184 participants were recruited via SONA for course credit, however, because the purpose of the study depended on whether participants viewed the victim as NA (in the NA condition) and the victim as White (in the White condition), 51 participants who identified the victims as member of a different ethnicity were dropped from the final analyses, leaving a sample of 133. Seventy participants identified themselves as men, and 63 identified themselves as women. Ages ranged from 18 to 35 ($M = 20.15$; $SD = 1.87$), and the breakdown of ethnicity was White/European descent (71.4%), Black or African American (8.3%), Native American or Alaskan Native (1.5%), Asian (7.5%), Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (.8%), Latino/Latina/Latinx (9.8%), and Other (.8%). In the NA condition, there were a total of 58 participants (men = 27, women = 31) and in the White condition, there were a total of 75 participants (men = 43, women = 32).

Measures

Vignette

Acquaintance-Rape vignette (adapted from Grubb & Harrower, 2005). Participants were presented with a screen that read, "In the next task, we will ask you to read a vignette that describes the interaction between a woman named Kaitlyn (Kaitlyn Begaye in the NA condition) and a man named Brayden (Brayden Johnson in the NA condition). Please read the vignette very carefully and answer the questions that will follow. As stated in the consent form, this vignette contains references to sexual violence. You may skip this section of the study and not be penalized." Only participants who indicated "Yes – I agree" read the vignette. Participants then read either a vignette about

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Kaitlyn Begaye and Brayden Johnson (NA condition) or Kaitlyn and Brayden (White condition), depending on which condition they had been previously assigned to (see Appendix G for the control condition vignette and see Appendix H for the experimental condition vignette). The vignette follows two acquaintances, Kaitlyn and Brayden, meeting at a party and subsequently enjoying some private time at Kaitlyn's apartment. The vignette ends with the two people engaging in sexual intercourse, despite Kaitlyn's later pleas to stop.

DVs

 Blaming the victim questions (adapted from Grubb & Harrower, 2005). After reading the vignette, participants read the following instructions: "Having read the account of what happened, please take some time to indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about Kaitlyn/Brayden using the following scale: 1 – strongly disagree to 7 – strongly agree." Participants were then presented with the same set of statements about Kaitlyn and Brayden to assess the degree of blame, responsibility, and harm attributed to them. Sample items included "Kaitlyn/Brayden showed bad judgement", "Kaitlyn/Brayden was at fault", and "Kaitlyn's/Brayden's actions were understandable" (See Appendix G). The character viewing order and questions were randomized. Measures for each character were reliable (Kaitlyn overall α = .81, Kaitlyn Begaye α = .74, Kaitlyn α = .84; Brayden overall α = .83, Brayden Johnson α = .76, Brayden α = .84). See Appendix I for all vignette questions.

 Manipulation check. Participants were asked to "Please indicate the group you think Kaitlyn/Brayden would most closely identify with" (see Appendix I). In the NA

condition, participants who indicated that Kaitlyn Begaye identified with any race other than "Native American" were dropped, leaving a sample of 58 participants. Similarly, participants in the White condition who indicated that Kaitlyn identified as any other race than White were dropped, leaving a sample of 75 participants. For my analyses, I was not particularly interested in Brayden's race. However, I think it is important to note that in the NA condition, 65.6% of participants indicated that Brayden was White/ European descent, 27.6% indicated that Brayden was Native American, 3.4% indicated that Brayden was Latino, and 3.4% indicated that Brayden was Other. In the White condition, 97.3% indicated that Brayden was White/European descent and 2.7% indicated that Brayden was Black or African American.

Procedure

Procedure

All scenarios and questionnaires were completed online. After signing up through SONA, participants completed the study at the time and place of their choosing through Qualtrics. Because of the sensitive materials presented in the vignette, The University of Oklahoma's IRB stipulated that participants be made aware of the sexual violence included in the vignette, and that an option must be included for participants to be able to skip the vignette altogether, without penalty. Participants who did not agree to read the vignette were sent to the end of the study. After completing the first part of the study (Study 1), those who consented to complete the vignette portion of the study read about an encounter between two characters named Kaitlyn and Brayden, who were involved in an acquaintance-rape scenario. For consistency, participants who had been randomly

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assigned to view the NA in Study 1 read the vignette about Kaitlyn Begaye and Brayden

Johnson (NA condition). Those who were randomly assigned to view the White woman

read the vignette about Kaitlyn and Brayden. After reading the vignette, participants

answered questions about each character in the vignette. Finally, they answered some

demographic questions. At the end of the study, I provided on-campus resources for

mental health and sexual violence for students, in case reading the vignette triggered

harmful effects.

Study 3 Results

Correlations, means, and standard deviations for all variables can be found in

Table 3.

I conducted an ANCOVA to determine whether participants were more likely to

blame the victim when she was NA (experimental) as opposed to when she was not NA

(control), controlling for gender. Results indicated that there was no difference between

conditions, $F(1,132) = 0.43$, $p = .514$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$, however, gender was significant,

$F(1,132) = 9.17$, $p = .003$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$.

For exploratory reasons, I then conducted the same ANCOVA to determine

whether there was a difference in blame for Brayden—the perpetrator—by condition

when controlling for gender. Results indicated that there was no difference between

conditions, $F(1,132) = 2.45$, $p = .120$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, however, gender was significant,

$F(1,132) = 7.00$, $p = .009$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. Taken together, these results indicated that not

only was there no significant difference in attribution of blame for Kaitlyn despite her

race, but there was also a no significant difference between conditions for the attribution of blame for Brayden.

Since there were significant correlations between gender and attributions of blame, I decided to conduct moderation analyses to investigate the role of participants' gender on attributing blame to either Kaitlyn or Brayden by condition. I ran two separate 2 (condition: NA or White) X 2 (participant gender: men or women) regressions for attribution of blame for Kaitlyn and Brayden.

Results indicated that, while condition was not a significant predictor of attribution of blame for Kaitlyn ($B = -.171$, $SE = .152$, $t(177) = -1.128$, $p = .261$), there was a main effect of gender ($B = -.446$, $SE = .151$, $t(177) = -2.95$, $p = .004$) indicating that men were more likely to blame Kaitlyn—regardless of her race—than were women. The condition X gender interaction however was not significant ($B = -.360$, $SE = .303$, $t(177) = -1.188$, $p = .236$). Together, the variables accounted for approximately 6% of the variance in attribution of blame for Kaitlyn, $R^2 = .06$, $F(3,177) = 3.60$, $p = .015$. For Brayden, gender was marginally significant ($B = .236$, $SE = .138$, $t(177) = 1.718$, $p = .089$) indicating that women were more likely to blame Brayden, regardless of condition, than men. However, condition ($B = .124$, $SE = .138$, $t(177) = 0.903$, $p = .368$) and the condition X gender interaction ($B = .218$, $SE = .276$, $t(177) = 0.792$, $p = .429$) were not significant. Together, the variables accounted for approximately 2% of the variance in attribution of blame for Brayden, $R^2 = .02$, $F(3,177) = 1.36$, $p = .255$.

Study 3 Discussion

In Study 3, the hypothesis that a NA woman (Kaitlyn Begaye) would be victim-blamed to a greater extent than the White woman (Kaitlyn) was not supported. There could have been a few reasons for the lack of effect found in this study: First, despite including several cues that Kaitlyn Begaye was NA, such as her last name (a prominent NA, Navajo/Diné name), and that her living on a Navajo reservation in New Mexico, participants overwhelmingly chose "White/European Descent" for her race. This resulted in unequal sample sizes. Also, due to the vignette including rape, participants were able to skip this portion of the study, which further reduced the sample size. This also meant that participants were essentially self-selecting to participate in this study and may have been motivated to participate for reasons I did not account for (i.e., personal experiences, strong beliefs about rape, etc.).

The correlations indicated that men were more likely to victim-blame, whereas women were more likely to blame the perpetrator, regardless of condition. After running separate moderation analyses for attributions of blame for both Kaitlyn and Brayden, the only significant result I found was in the analysis for the victim. Overall, men were significantly more likely to blame the victim (Kaitlyn), regardless of her race, than women. The literature corroborates this finding, as it has been shown that men are more likely to endorse rape myths, blame the victim, and show leniency towards the perpetrator of the rape than women (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005; Gray, 2006; Grubb & Harrower, 2008, 2009; Jimenez & Abreu, 2003; B. E. Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997; McDonald & Kline, 2004; Schneider, Mori, Lambert, & Wong, 2009). Yet, researchers also found the opposite to be true, that women are more likely to victim-blame (Cowan,

2000). These seemingly contradictory findings are explained by the endorsement of gender role beliefs, like Ambivalent Sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1997). More specifically: A previous study found that participants scoring high in "benevolent sexism" blamed the victim more, and showed more leniency towards the perpetrator, in an acquaintance-rape scenario (Abrams et al., 2003; Viki et al., 2004) more so than did those who scored low in benevolent sexism.

A future study should take into consideration gender differences, endorsement of gender roles, and an alternative priming of race. A subliminal prime of a NA woman, before the vignette, might enhance participants' perception that Kaitlyn Begaye is NA. Participants may have been aware of the NA cues in the experimental condition, yet remained unmotivated to indicate Kaitlyn's race as NA, which could be a reflection of liberal and egalitarian attitudes. Furthermore, it was unclear whether Kaitlyn, in either scenario, was objectified. Future studies should include another manipulation check to assess the degree to which Kaitlyn was objectified by participants when reading the scenario. Finally, the awareness of MMIWG has grown tremendously in the last few years; and, considering that participants were currently enrolled at the University of Oklahoma, they may have been especially sensitive to the rape of a NA woman. Another variable could be included to determine how aware participants are of MMIWG.

General Discussion

Overall, the three studies presented here constituted the first attempt to apply objectification and dehumanization research to the study of attitudes towards Native American women. The results of Study 1 found that when both a Native American and a

White woman were objectified under the same conditions, the Native American woman was mechanistically dehumanized to a greater extent than a White woman. Study 2 sought to replicate the findings of Study 1, and to test whether the activation of negative stereotypes mediated the relationship between mechanistic dehumanization and Native American women. The mediational analysis revealed that the negative stereotypes were partially responsible for the mechanistic dehumanization result. Finally, Study 3 was designed to determine consequences in the form of victim-blaming for Native American women in the form of acquaintance-rape. However, for that study, my hypotheses were not supported.

Haslam (2006) explains that people who are mechanistically dehumanized are viewed as being cold, passive, and rigid—*object-like*; while this does not necessarily lead to dislike or derogation, researchers have established that this type of dehumanization can lead to less moral concern (Gray et al., 2007, 2011, 2012; Waytz, Gray, et al., 2010). The lack of moral concern associated with the denial of Human Nature traits could also imply *indifference* on the part of the perceiver, and is typically reserved for out-groups. While not the purpose of these studies, an *indifference* toward Native American women could explain the phenomenon of MMIWG, in which cases of violence against Native Women, Girls, and Two-Spirit people could be so ignored as to reach endemic status. With regards to the appearance-focused objectification task used in Study 1, asking participants to write about the Native American woman may have increased their awareness of her as a *Native American* rather than a Native American *woman* (or, even a *woman*). Thus, participants may have responded to the Native American *woman* as "Native American", a group they may not have much familiarity with, and which they cannot perceive as

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inherently gendered in the same way which a *woman* is gendered by the Human Nature

traits we now know are attributed to *White* women. It would also be important to explore

how *humanness*—such as it is in these studies, as more associated with Human Nature

traits, and *White* women—is attributed or denied to Native Americans in conditions

besides appearance-focus objectification. Future research could determine whether

familiarity with Native Americans could possibly influence this finding.

In contrast to the Native American woman, and the consequences of her

mechanistic dehumanization, the White woman was more animalistically dehumanized,

indicating that, while participants attributed fewer UH traits to her, the White woman was

still regarded as embodying warmth and emotionality (higher HN). This result is in line

with previous empirical evidence that *women* are viewed as being low in competence and

high in warmth, invoking more benevolent, paternalistic stereotypes (Haslam et al., 2005;

Loughnan & Haslam, 2007, Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001, Glick & Fiske, 2001). However,

this may underline the weakness in what constitutes the framework of *woman* in

objectification research. Given that participants were asked to objectify both the White

woman and the Native American woman in the same way (appearance-focused), it is

curious that the White woman was not also similarly mechanistically dehumanized. This

distinction, between *types* of dehumanization, is going to be key in identifying unique

prejudices against Native American women.

Recently, researchers have attempted to conceptually distinguish between sexual-

and appearance-focused objectification, as it relates to Haslam's two forms of

dehumanization. When Morris, Goldenberg, and Boyd (2018) had participants focus on a

woman's sexual attributes, as opposed to her physical beauty, they animalistically

dehumanized her to a greater extent than when focusing on a woman's physical beauty. Thus, participants may have been motivated to sexually objectify the White woman (focusing on her sexual attributes and sexual availability) on their own, in a way that participants did not do for the Native American woman.

Vaes et al. (2011) explains that women and men objectify women for different reasons. For men, activating a sex-goal led to their objectifying women more than men who were not primed. Women were more likely to socially and physically distance themselves from objectified women. It follows that for Study 1 participants, describing the White woman could have activated goals that motivated them to respond in different ways. This is further evidenced by the White woman being found as more attractive than the Native American woman.

Furthermore, although the relationship between attraction and objectification has been explored (Golden, Johnson, & Lopez, 2001), objectification research has yet to include target affect as an important variable for consideration. Surprisingly, the data suggests that participants who perceived Samantha's, the White woman's, affect as negative were more likely to ascribe UH traits to her, as opposed to those who perceived her as having a positive affect. Put in another way, Samantha's positive affect resulted in more animalistic dehumanization. People perceived others who smiled as more attractive and intelligent, and evaluated them more positively (McGinley, McGinley, & Nicholas, 1978; Lau, 1982). Furthermore, men's judgments were more heavily influenced by a woman who was smiling (Mehu, Little, & Dunbar, 2008). Although I did control for affect, future studies should further investigate the role of affect in objectification, and

determine whether there are differences between a smiling, sexualized women versus a smiling, objectified women, among other possibilities.

Limitations and Future Directions

While these studies contribute novel information to the field, there are notable limitations which provide ample opportunities to generate further research. First, the research paradigm used in these studies leaves much to be desired. The literature on objectification and dehumanization is vast and my use of Haslam's Dual Model of Dehumanization is but one piece of the puzzle. Because there exist multiple conceptions of what it means to objectify another person (Nussbaum, 1995), future research could determine whether the variation in dehumanization experienced by Native American women, and Native American peoples more broadly, can be accounted for in other dimensions. For example, Haslam (2011) has established that other models such as the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) and Gray, Gray, and Wegner's (2007) Theory of Mind Perception easily map onto animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization. The SCM posits that humans stereotype others on the basis of warmth and competence, which have been shown to correlate moderately with Haslam's mechanistic and animalistic dehumanization dimensions respectively. Furthermore, Gray proposed that objectification can occur through the attribution (or denial) of mind primarily through the measure of experience and agency.

Additionally, the results from Studies 1 and 2 suggest that "The Indian Princess" and "The Squaw" stereotypes could conceptually map onto Haslam's Model of Dehumanization. If people view Native American women in terms of superficial beauty,

it might be possible that the "Indian Princess" stereotype could also be activated and perhaps provide a stronger link between negative stereotypes and mechanistic objectification, more than the "squaw" stereotype. The "princess" stereotype is characterized as a beautiful, noble Native American woman. In contrast, if participants objectified a Native American woman in terms of being a sexual object, perhaps the activation of the "squaw" stereotype would be stronger. Obviously more research is needed in understanding how Native American women stereotypes are measured in terms of subtle dehumanization. Future research could provide a better understanding of how these stereotypes operate psychologically and how to combat them.

Another limitation may be inherent in the design of Studies 1 and 3. The move to online-only instruction because of the COVID-19 pandemic interfered with the data collection process which was originally going to take place in the lab. To gather data, my advisor and I reconceptualized my original study to work in an online—albeit less controlled—format, and we decided to combine both studies into one package to reach as many participants as possible. While this in and of itself is not generally viewed as a major issue, I think that the primary aim of Study 3 required that it be a stand-alone study. While I did find my primary hypothesis supported in Study 1, the objectification-manipulation task that participants completed may have, in a sense, worn off by Study 3. Previous research looking at the effects of objectification on blaming victims of rape also included other indicators of objectification, such as pictures of rape victims in varying stages of objectification (i.e., sexualized versus non-sexualized) and occupations of the rape victims (i.e. supermodel versus sex worker). Although Study 3 was set up in such a way that participants who read about Kaitlyn Begaye (the NA condition) had previously

viewed Jane the Native American woman (the NA condition in Study 1), the effect of objectifying the Native American woman may not have carried over to Kaitlyn Begaye. Furthermore, the details of Kaitlyn Begaye as a convenience store worker, plus other aspects of her life, may have had the opposite effect of humanizing her to the participants. Future research could either create a stand-alone study where both victims are equally objectified (as either supermodels or sex workers) and then ask the same questions. In addition to manipulation checks for the race of each victim, items that assess whether participants viewed each victim in an objectified way could also be included. Additionally, future research could investigate whether there is a time limit on the effect of objectifying another person. How long do the effects of objectifying others affect the perceiver, and, more importantly, the perceived?

While this research has contributed to the growing psychological research that focuses on the harmful effects of stereotypes on NA peoples, and specifically NA women, this area remains largely under-investigated. In addition to understanding the effects of interpersonal objectification for NA women, understanding the harmful consequences of self-objectification for NA women is just as important. Anderson et al. (2018) proposed that Black women who deviate from Western beauty standards may be subjected to more scrutiny by others, and therefore, are more at risk for objectification. Additionally, Black women who do conform to Western beauty standards may have internalized racist and sexist beliefs about what it means to be beautiful, indicating that they might engage in heightened self-surveillance, or self-objectification. Similarly, NA women must contend with Western beauty standards, however, it is necessary to explore how similar and different NA women either respond to or reject those standards.

Furthermore, NA women may be at risk for self-objectification in the domain of culture that might be unique from other racial and ethnic groups. For example, NAs are expected to know a lot about their cultural and ceremonial teachings, and are often "called out" in class to provide the NA perspective (Shotton, Lowe, & Waterman (2013). For NA women, who must contend with Western cultural norms and their own tribal nations' cultural norms, the pressure to be a NA woman could result similarly in self-objectification.

Table 1:
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study 1 Measures

Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study 1 Measures

	1	2	3	4	5	6	*M*	*SD*
1. COND	—						1.490	.501
2. HU	-.180[**]	—					3.451	.420
3. HN	.084	.740[**]	—				3.386	.376
4. AFFECT	.143[*]	.202[**]	.361[**]	—			4.355	1.287
5. ATTRACT	.482[**]	.093	.234[**]	.258[**]	—		4.779	1.263
6. AGE	.509[**]	-.105	.020	.361[**]	.265[**]	—	21.890	3.865

* indicates significance at p < .05, ** indicates significance at p < .01

Table 2:
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study 2 Measures

Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study 2 Measures

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	*M*	*SD*
1. COND	—							1.507	.502
2. HU	-.204*	—						3.721	.488
3. HN	.043	.737**	—					3.679	.466
4. AFFECT	.187*	.258**	.382**	—				4.54	1.275
5. ATTRACT	.463**	.147	.208*	.313**	—			4.92	1.632
6. AGE	.425**	-.143	-.018	.025	.269**	—		22.38	4.176
7. TASK	-.023	.036	-.031	-.063	-.021	-.062	—		

* indicates significance at p < .05, ** indicates significance at p < .01 Condition was

coded Jane The Native American woman (NA) = 1 and Samantha The White woman
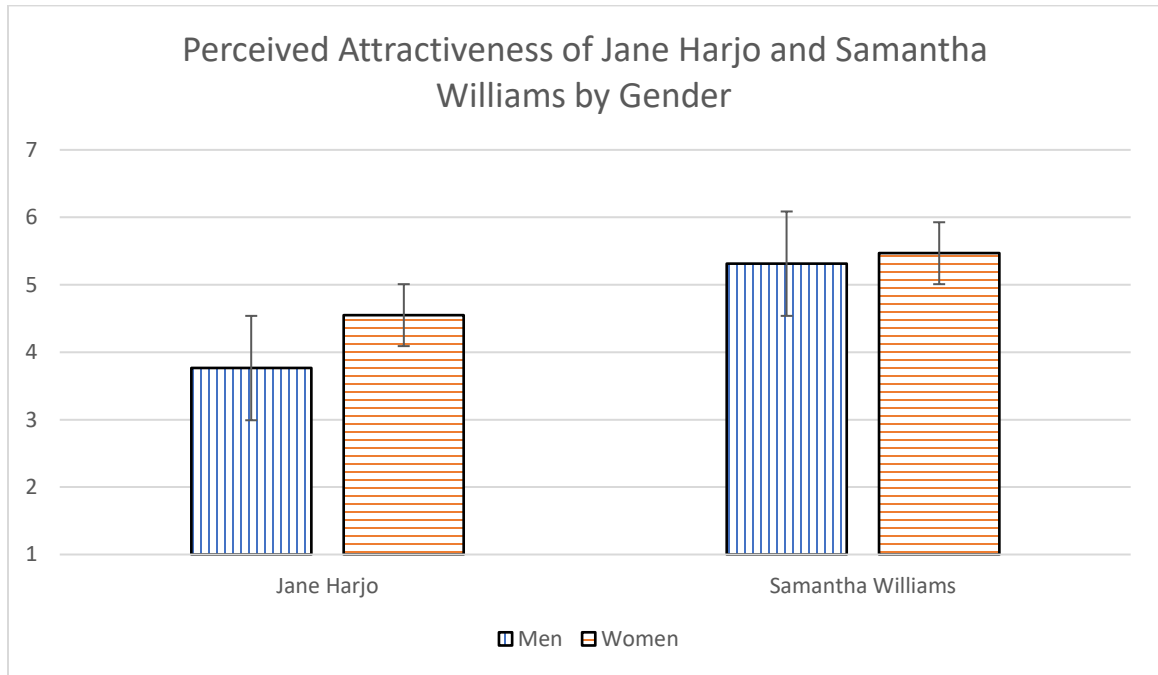
(White) = 2.

Table 3:
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study 3 Measures

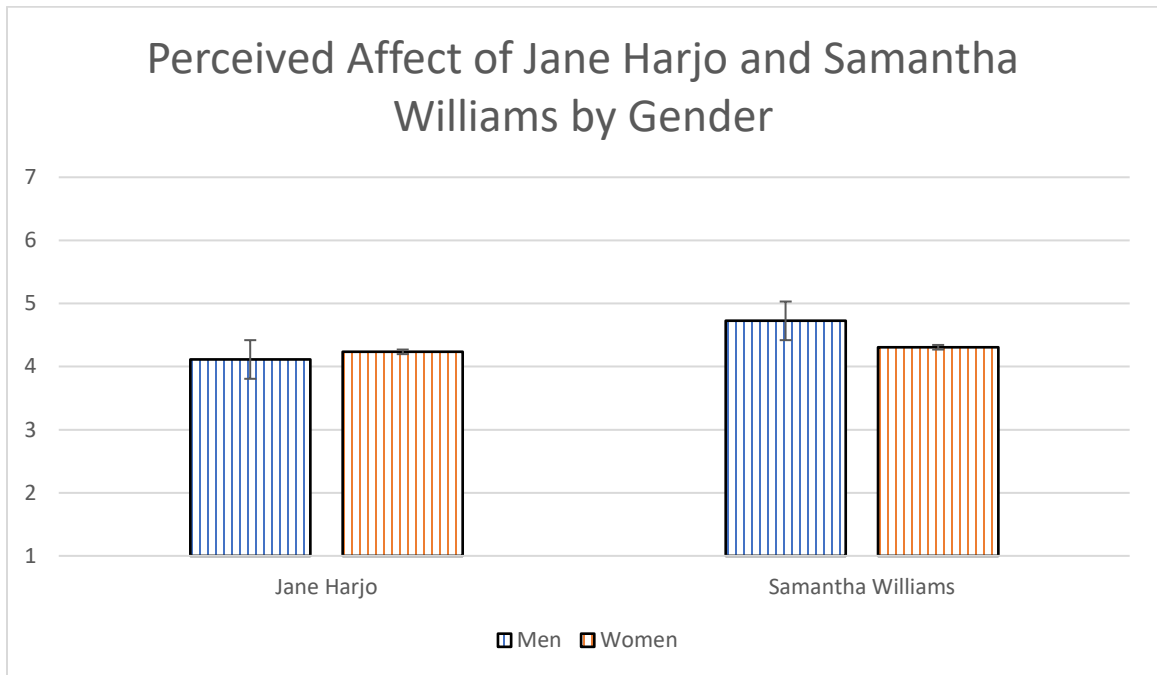**Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Study 3 Measures**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	*M*	*SD*
1. Condition	—						1.563	.498
2. Kaitlyn Blame	.082	—					2.06	.960
3. Brayden Blame	-.155	-.663**	—				6.38	.766
4. Participant Gender	-.104**	-.261**	.236**	—			1.47	.501

** indicates significance at p < .01; Participant Gender was coded 1 = Men, 2 = Women
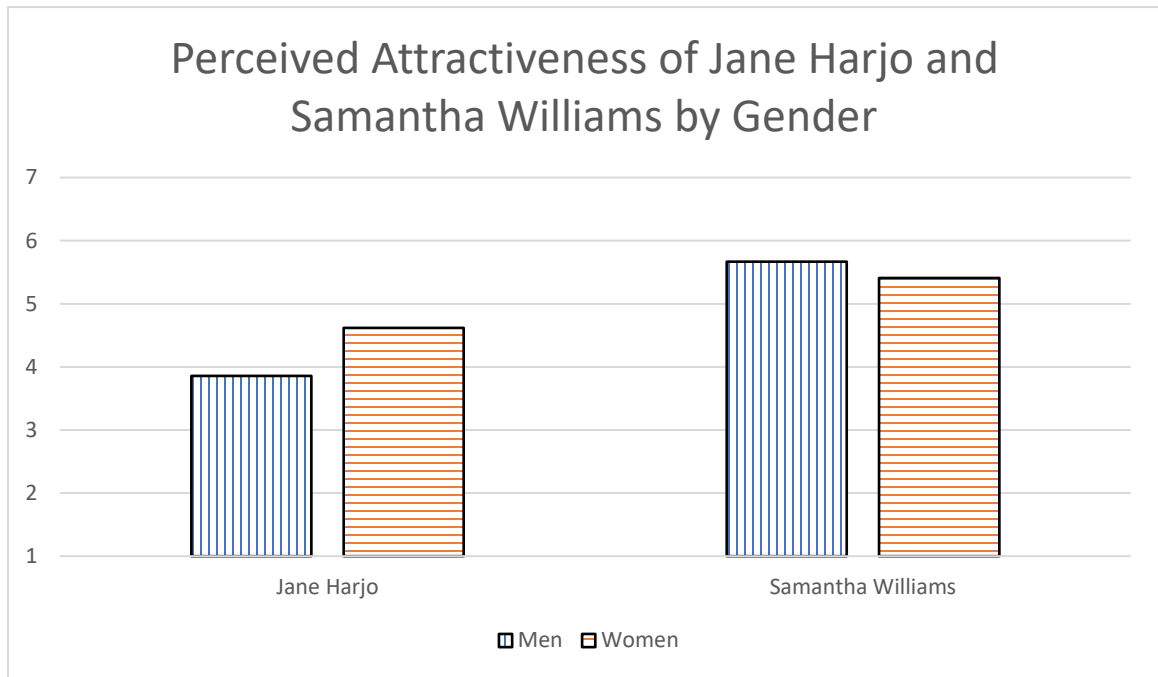
Figure 1:
Study 1 Graph

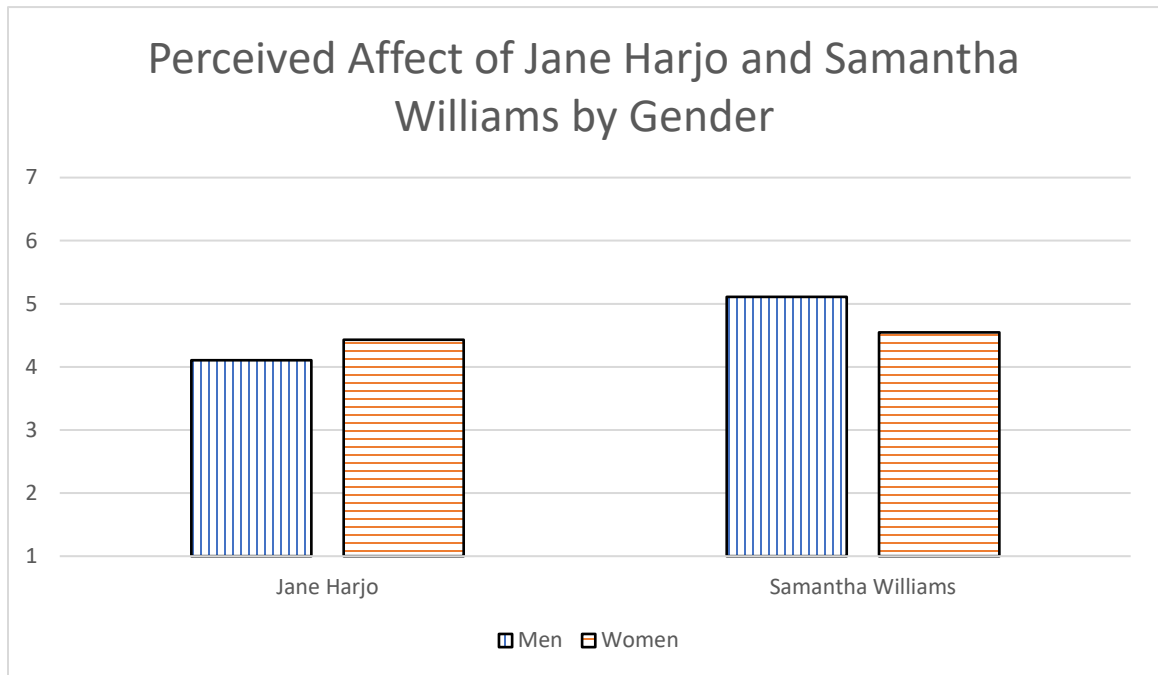Perceived Attractiveness of Jane Harjo and Samantha Williams by Gender

Figure 2:
Study 1 Graph

Perceived Affect of Jane Harjo and Samantha Williams by Gender

Perceived Attractiveness of Jane Harjo and Samantha Williams by Gender

Figure 4:
Study 2 Graph

Perceived Affect of Jane Harjo and Samantha Williams by Gender

Figure 5:
Study 2 Mediation Model
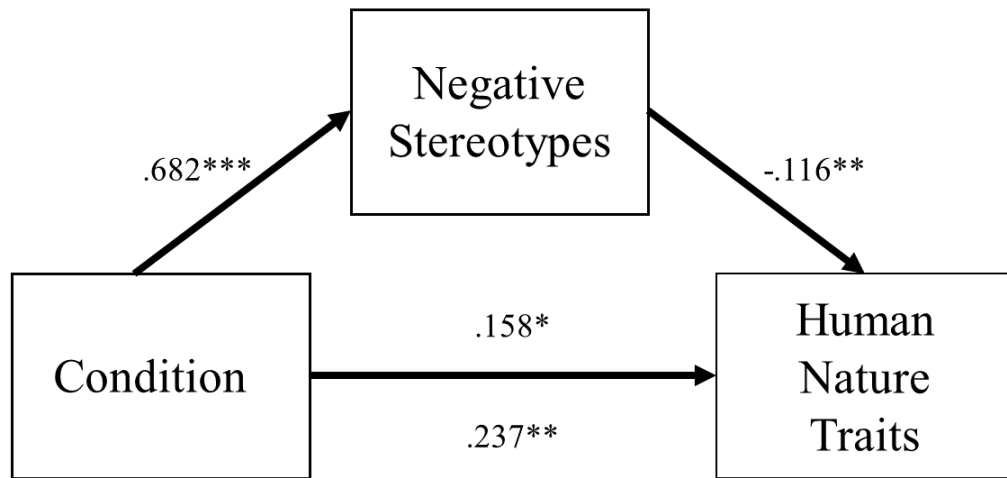
Note. Condition was coded as experimental condition (the Native American woman) = 1 and control condition (the White woman) = 2. Covariates were perceived target affect, perceived target attractiveness, perceived target age, and human uniqueness traits.
* < .05, ** < .01, *** < .001

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Appendix A

Focus-appearance Objectification Task

"This is a picture of Jane Harjo/Samantha Williams. Please take some time to write about this person's physical appearance. Focus on both positive and negative aspects."

Appendix B

Dehumanization Measures and Negative Stereotypes

Below is a list of words concerning the personality of the woman you saw in the photograph. Please indicate the degree to which you believe each word describes her using the following scale: 1 = disagree strongly; 2 = disagree slightly; 3 = neutral; 4 = agree slightly; 5 = agree strongly.

1. _____ Ambitious (UH1) (+)

2. _____ Analytic (UH2) (+)

3. _____ Imaginative (UH3) (+)

4. _____ Sympathetic (UH4) (+)

5. _____ Broad-minded (UH5) (+)

6. _____ Humble (UH6) (+)

7. _____ Polite (UH7) (+)

8. _____ Thorough (UH8) (+)

9. _____ Active (HN1) (+)

10. _____ Curious (HN2) (+)

11. _____ Friendly (HN3) (+)

12. _____ Fun-loving (HN4) (+)

13. _____ Contented (HN5) (+)

14. _____ Even-tempered (HN6) (+)

15. _____ Relaxed (HN7) (+)

16. _____ Selfless (HN8) (+)

17. _____ High-strung (UH9) (-)

18. _____ Insecure (UH10) (-)

19. _____ Irresponsible (UH11) (-)

20. _____ Reserved (UH12) (-)

21. _____ Disorganized (UH13) (-)

22. _____ Ignorant (UH14) (-)

23. _____ Rude (UH15) (-)

24. _____ Stingy (UH16) (-)

25. _____ Impatient (HN9) (-)

26. _____ Impulsive (HN10) (-)

27. _____ Jealous (HN11) (-)

28. _____ Shy (HN12) (-)

29. _____ Simple (HN13) (-)

30. _____ Timid (HN14) (-)

31. _____ Uncooperative (HN15) (-)

32. _____ Unemotional (HN16) (-)

33. _____ Promiscuous (Negative Stereotype; Study 2 only)

34. _____ Immoral (Negative Stereotype; Study 2 only)

35. _____ Seductive (Negative Stereotype; Study 2 only)

Appendix C
Control questions

1. How attractive would you rate the person in the photograph?

   1 (very unattractive)   2   3   4   5   6   7 (highly attractive)

2. How old do you think the person in the photograph is? ____ years old

3. On a scale of 1 (negative) to 7 (positive) how would you rate the facial expression of the person in the picture?

   1 (negative)   2   3   4   5   6   7 (positive)

Appendix D

Demographic questions

1. What is your gender?

___ man ___ woman ___ nonbinary

2. Please indicate the group you most closely identify with.

1) African or African American

2) American Indian

      Tribal affiliation: _____

3) Caucasian (White or European descent)

4) Latino/Latina/Latinx

5) Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander

6) Other group (please specify):

      _____

Appendix E

Scrambled Sentence Task

In this task, you will complete a test of language ability. The researchers are primarily interested in how long it takes college students to create sensible phrases when given words presented out of order.

1. bones cheek high pretty – pretty high cheek bones
2. skin tan smooth her – her smooth tan skin
3. orders my all obeys - obeys all my orders
4. hair dark long thick – long thick dark hair
5. and care without wild - wild and without care
6. strong spirit will and – strong will and untamed
7. eyes brown her big – her big brown eyes
8. flirt big a such – such a big flirt
9. minds dull are their - their minds are dull
10. them for pity no - no pity for them
11. look coy gives a – gives a coy look
12. noble proud and how – how noble and proud
13. how it enjoys feels - enjoys how it feels
14. my here pleasure for - here for my pleasure
15. thing for one good - good for one thing
16. deserve they get what - get what they deserve
17. lures me she in – she lures me in
18. ready she's and willing - she's ready and willing
19. sky clouds in the - clouds in the sky (neutral)
20. outside nice is it - it is nice outside (neutral)
21. good the is soup- the soup is good (neutral)
22. her pen the is - the pen is hers (neutral)
23. tall building a what – what a tall building (neutral)

Appendix F

Questions about the SST

1. Did you complete the task on your phone, a tablet, or on a computer?

      1 – phone 2 – tablet 3 – computer/laptop

2. How would you rate your typing skills?

      1 (quite slow) 2   3   4 (average)   5   6   7 (quite fast)

3. How would you rate your texting skills?

      1 (quite slow) 2   3   4 (average)   5   6   7 (quite fast)

4. About how long do you think it took for you to unscramble the sentences? Please enter a number.

      ___time in seconds ____time in minutes

5. How difficult would you rate the unscrambling sentences task?

      1 (very easy) 2   3   4 (average)   5   6   7 (very difficult)

6. Do you think you did better or worse at the unscrambling sentences task than others taking this study?

      1 (worse)   2   3   4 (average)   5   6   7 (better)

7. In your opinion, if the unscrambled sentence task had been presented on pencil and paper where participants wrote out the sentences instead of typing them, do you think participants would be slower or faster than if they completed the task on the computer?

1 (much slower)   2   3   4 (same)   5   6   7 (much faster)

8. Do you have any thoughts about the task that you would like to share with the researcher?

_____

9. Do you think the unscrambled sentence task affected your judgement of the person in the photograph?

1 (no) 2   3   4 (unsure)   5   6   7   8   9 (yes)

10. If yes, please explain how and why it influenced your judgement.

_____

Appendix G

Vignette (Control condition)

In the next task, we will ask you to read a vignette that describes the interaction between a woman named Kaitlyn and a man named Brayden. Please read the vignette very carefully and answer the questions that will follow.

As stated in the consent form, this vignette contains references to sexual violence. You may skip this section of the study and not be penalized

It was Friday after work and some of the employees were having a big party at their apartment. It had been a tough week of work at the convenience store and everyone seemed ready to blow off some steam. Kaitlyn lived close enough to the convenience store that she walked over to the party. Brayden decided to drive there after his shift from the convenience store, since he did not live close by. Both Kaitlyn and Brayden knew most of the people there but they had only met each other a few times before. The two were attracted to each other, so when they noticed each other at the party, they made up an excuse to start up a conversation. It turned out that they had a lot in common and had fun talking. They had both grown up in Chicago and joked about their lives there and life in St. Louis. By that time, the party was getting pretty loud and crowded, so when Brayden asked Kaitlyn if she wanted to go somewhere quieter to talk, it seemed like a good idea to her. After all, they had been having a good time together. She told him she lived right around the corner and they could go back there for a while if they wanted. He said that sounded good, so they left the party. When Brayden and Kaitlyn got to her apartment, her roommate hadn't yet returned from her night out, so the two got a couple of beers out of the fridge and sat on the couch talking. They seemed to be getting along great and when Brayden asked Kaitlyn if he could kiss her, she said "yes" and moved closer to him.

Things started to get passionate and Kaitlyn was afraid her roommate would be home soon, so the two moved into her bedroom. Pretty soon they didn't have any clothes on, but when they seemed close to having intercourse Kaitlyn pulled away and said she didn't want to go all the way. Brayden insisted, saying they were too far into it to stop, but she told him again she didn't want to. Kaitlyn pleaded continuously that she did not want to have sex, even after they had started. After a while, Kaitlyn didn't say anything else and they finished having sex. When it was over, Kaitlyn turned away from Brayden in bed and he assumed that she fell asleep. He put on his clothes and left.

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Appendix H

Vignette (Experimental condition)

In the next task, we will ask you to read a vignette that describes the interaction between a woman named Kaitlyn Begaye and a man named Brayden Johnson. Please read the vignette very carefully and answer the questions that will follow.

As stated in the consent form, this vignette contains references to sexual violence. You may skip this section of the study and not be penalized

It was Friday after work and some of the employees were having a big party at their apartment. It had been a tough week of work at the convenience store and everyone seemed ready to blow off some steam. Kaitlyn Begaye and Brayden Johnson both went to the party. Kaitlyn lived on the Navajo reservation where the convenience store was located and she was close enough that she walked over to the party. Brayden decided to drive there after his shift from the convenience store, since he did not live on the reservation. Both Kaitlyn and Brayden knew most of the people there but they had only met each other a few times before, since they worked different jobs at the convenience store. The two were attracted to each other, so when they noticed each other at the party, they made up an excuse to start up a conversation. It turned out that they had a lot in common and had fun talking. They had both grown up in New Mexico and enjoyed visiting Albuquerque and they joked about the differences between working on the reservation and living on the reservation. By that time, the party was getting pretty loud and crowded, so when Brayden asked Kaitlyn if she wanted to go somewhere quieter to talk, it seemed like a good idea to her. After all, they had been having a good time together. She told him she lived right around the corner and they could go back there for a while if they wanted. He said that sounded good, so they left the party. When Brayden and Kaitlyn got to her apartment, her roommate hadn't yet returned from her night out, so the two got a couple of beers out of the fridge and sat on the couch talking. They seemed to be getting along great and when Brayden asked Kaitlyn if he could kiss her, she said "yes" and moved closer to him.

Things started to get passionate and Kaitlyn was afraid her roommate would be home soon, so the two moved into her bedroom. Pretty soon they didn't have any clothes on, but when they seemed close to having intercourse Kaitlyn pulled away and said she didn't want to go all the way. Brayden insisted, saying they were too far into it to stop, but she told him again she didn't want to. Kaitlyn pleaded continuously that she did not want to have sex, even after they had started. After a while, Kaitlyn didn't say anything else and

they finished having sex. When it was over, Kaitlyn turned away from Brayden in bed and he assumed that she fell asleep. He put on his clothes and left.

Appendix I

Questions about the vignette

Having read the account of what happened, please take some time to answer the following questions using the following scale:

1 -------- 2 -------- 3 -------- 4 -------- 5--------6--------7

Strongly   Neutral   Strongly

Disagree   Agree

1. Kaitlyn showed bad judgement.
2. Kaitlyn could have avoided this situation.
3. Kaitlyn caused her own problems.
4. Kaitlyn was irresponsible.
5. Kaitlyn was at fault.
6. Kaitlyn's actions are understandable.
7. I feel sympathy for Kaitlyn.
8. Kaitlyn should face some sort of consequence for her actions.
9. Kaitlyn got what she deserved.
10. Kaitlyn suffered a great deal from this encounter.

1. Brayden showed bad judgement.
2. Brayden could have avoided this situation.
3. Brayden caused his own problems.
4. Brayden was irresponsible.
5. Brayden was at fault.
6. Brayden's actions are understandable.
7. I feel sympathy for Brayden.
8. Brayden should face some sort of consequence for his actions.
9. Brayden got what he deserved.
10. Brayden suffered a great deal from this encounter.

11. Please indicate the group you think Kaitlyn Begaye would most closely identify with.

1) African or African American

2) American Indian

Tribal affiliation: _____

3) Caucasian (White or European descent)

4) Latino/Latina/Latinx

5) Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander

6) Other group (please specify):

_____

12. Please indicate the group you think Brayden Johnson would most closely identify with.

1) African or African American

2) American Indian

Tribal affiliation: _____

3) Caucasian (White or European descent)

4) Latino/Latina/Latinx

5) Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander

6) Other group (please specify):

_____