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# Social Influence and the Acceptance of Racially Charged Humor

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SOCIAL INFLUENCE AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF RACIALLY CHARGED  
HUMOR

A Thesis Presented

by

NICHOLAS M. JOYCE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
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# ABSTRACT

## SOCIAL INFLUENCE AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF RACIALLY CHARGED HUMOR

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This study examined factors important in determining the acceptance of racially charged humor. Utilizing a 2 x 3 design in which race of joke teller and group targeted by the jokes were manipulated, participant's level of acceptance regarding the jokes as well as target behaviors related to the spread of the derogatory humor were measured. Consistent with predictions, this study found that under the conditions in which comedians derogated their own in-group, White participants demonstrated higher levels of acceptance and a greater likelihood to perform the jokes. This pattern was especially true when the comedian was Black. Potential mechanisms responsible for these effects are discussed.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In inter-group relations every in-group has stories about out-groups. These stories might be made up of beliefs based on real interactions, shared histories, or socially transmitted knowledge. This study looks specifically at the circumstances under which derogatory information about groups, transmitted through humor, is accepted or rejected. It is important to understand the patterns that lead to the acceptance of information about out-groups, not only to help foster positive messages, but also to understand and avoid the messages that lead to prejudice and conflict.

#### Humor as a Conduit for Persuasion in Intergroup Relations

Humor is one way in which we tell stories about groups. Unfortunately in practice most of this humor is inherently negative. Compared with other forms of public racial commentary or derogation, racial humor is much more prevalent and accepted in popular culture (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). Although racial humor may seem like a minor threat, many humor theorists (Berger, 1993) and sociologists (Husband, 1977; Sev'er & Ungar, 1997) assert that disparaging humor creates and perpetuates negative stereotypes and can create a tolerance of prejudiced behavior (Ford & Ferguson, 2004). In addition, several researchers have shown that after telling or retelling disparaging jokes people exhibit more negative attitudes towards the target groups (Hobden and Olson, 1994; Maio, Olson, and Bush, 1997). So while there are public criticisms and negative reactions to some of these comedians, what this research does suggest is that, regardless, humor may be the last publically acceptable avenue for explicitly prejudiced story telling in the United States and that it may represent a subversive danger to the

equality and tolerance that the United States has been explicitly struggling to engender since the civil rights movement.

While derogatory humor may be more publically acceptable than other forms of derogation, it is often argued by comedians that people shouldn't take what they say seriously and that it is solely for entertainment. However, it may be precisely because of its "non-serious and entertaining" nature that humor serves as a powerful conduit for intergroup persuasion. Mulkay (1998) has demonstrated that information presented in an entertainment context is subjected to less scrutiny than its non-humorous counterparts. When information is processed with less engagement and scrutiny people often rely on non-message factors, such as the communicator's credibility, likability or attributes to form their opinions (Petty, Cacioppo & Schumann, 1983). One of the potentially important non-message factors in the context of racial humor is the communicator's own race. This factor may interact with the target's race to influence the impact of the racial humor. Specifically, the present study asks the question, "whom do we believe and when?"

### Persuasive Factors in Intergroup Relations

To begin answering the question "who will be persuasive in the context of derogatory humor?" it is important to start by asking what previous research on persuasion in the intergroup context has shown. Work by many researchers in the field of social psychology has shown that individuals are more likely to be persuaded by ingroup than by outgroup members (Mackie, 1986; Mackie, Gostardo-Conaco & Skelly, 1992; McGarty, Haslam, Hutchinson & Turner, 1994), especially when group membership is salient. This effect extends beyond discussion of the mundane into more emotionally

charged topics such as self-criticism. In recent research Hornsey and Imani (2004) demonstrated that participants were much less defensive and far more likely to accept criticism if it came from an ingroup member than when it came from an outgroup member. Taken by itself, this body of research would suggest that in the intergroup context we are likely to be persuaded by the stories and jokes of our own group, while being less convinced by people who are seen as members of the outgroup.

However, while the persuasive advantage of ingroup members may be powerful, it does not exist in a vacuum. Other research has shown that social norms can exert a powerful influence on people's overt judgments (Asch, 1952), on explicitly reported attitudes (Crandall et al., 2002; Sechrist, & Stangor, 2001), and on behavior (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990). Furthermore, research by Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, and Leigh (1994) provides a contrasting story to the research suggesting that the ingroup will be most persuasive, by demonstrating that the power of implied social norms can override and make immaterial the persuasive advantage conferred by being an ingroup member. In contrast with the ingroup advantage literature, the body of work on social norms would suggest that it would be social norms, and not group affiliation, that will determine what stories are accepted about the outgroup.

So what social norms are relevant in the case of intergroup relations in the United States? In the case of Black-White inter-group relations in the United States, a great deal of research has demonstrated the presence of a strong social norm of egalitarianism (see, e.g. Devine & Elliot, 1995). In addition, research has shown that when made to realize or believe they have violated this norm, individuals who subscribe to and internalize egalitarian beliefs feel great psychological discomfort (Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, &

Elliot, 1991; Son Hing, Li, Zanna, 2002). However, this norm is far from hard and fast, not absolute, and explicit structural racism (McConahay, 1986), aversive racism (Gaertner, & Dovidio, 1988), and implicit racism (Dasgupta, 2004) still manage to thrive in their presence.

If the ingroup isn't always right and social norms are not absolute then it is possible that there are other cues that people may seek out in the context of racial humor. One that may be important to consider is the role that trustworthiness of the source can play in the acceptance of a message. Research by Priester and Petty (1995) demonstrated that people who found the source trustworthy subjected the persuasive messages to less scrutiny, which in turn led to greater levels of message acceptance than the scrutinized messages of untrustworthy sources. While this research does not speak directly to the context of intergroup derogatory humor, the research does suggest that regardless of social norms or group membership, the trustworthiness of the storyteller is an important factor in intergroup persuasion.

### Current Study

There were two primary reasons why racial humor was decided upon as the proxy for communicating information about groups. First, the prevalence of humor in mainstream media provides us with a powerful exemplar for how stories about outgroups are communicated in entertainment, and a more natural testing environment for the participants. Secondly, research on how people process entertainment suggests that, rather than focusing on message content, individuals tend to focus on contextual factors (Mulkey, 1988; Petty et. al., 1983). This allows this study to focus on contextual factors specific to intergroup relations such as communicator group membership and target

group membership in an effort to understand the intergroup nature of this type of persuasion.

Considered alone, each of the frameworks of persuasion discussed above would predict different outcomes when an individual is exposed to derogatory humor. The social identity perspective predicts that people are more accepting of the humor when it comes from an ingroup rather than an outgroup member. The social norms perspective predicts that people reject any message that they believe derogates a group. Finally, the source trustworthiness perspective suggests that they are more likely to accept a message when they trust the comedian. However, it is possible to reconcile these different frameworks by considering how they might interact. For example, it is possible that when comedians make fun of their own group we have no reason to distrust their motives and thus we scrutinize their messages less. However, when we have reason to scrutinize their messages we consider the social norms that surround the situation and based on these we decide whether to accept or reject the information. Furthermore, it is possible that when no social norm exists, we rely on whether the communicator is a member of our group. Combining these three theoretical frameworks in the way described led to the following hypotheses.

1. Racially charged humor is judged more acceptable when it derogates Whites than when it derogates Blacks. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that derogating Blacks is a greater violation of the norm of egalitarianism than is derogating Whites.

2. Racially charged humor that derogates Blacks is judged more acceptable when it comes from a Black comedian (an ingroup member) than when it comes from a White comedian (an outgroup member).
3. Behavioral support for the jokes follows the same pattern as acceptance of the racially charged humor.
4. Behavioral support for the jokes correlates with acceptance of the racially charged humor.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHOD

#### Participants

One hundred and seventy two undergraduates were recruited from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Of this number 127 were White, 14 were Black, and 31 were recorded as other. The gender breakdown was 123 females and 49 males. Age was not recorded, as it did not pertain to any of the theoretical constructs being tested. Participation was voluntary and all participants received course credit for their participation.

#### Design

This study utilized a 2 x 3 design. The first independent variable was the comedian's race (Black or White). Participants were read a short review about either a Black or a White comedian (see Appendix B). The comedian's race was indicated implicitly by his name and explicitly by mentioning his race. However, to hold everything else constant, the comedian was actually the same in both conditions, and the joke was presented in audio only.

The second independent variable was the target of the derogatory humor. In the first condition the comedy routine targeted Blacks, in the second it targeted Whites, and in the third, a control condition, the routine was non-racially based, focusing instead on the elderly.

#### Procedure

Participants were brought into a laboratory under the guise of a study on social commentary and comedy. After reading the fictitious review of the comedian,

participants were asked to listen to a humorous comedy routine involving a series of jokes which lasted approximately eight minutes in each of the conditions. After listening to the routines they answered a series of questions designed to act as measures of acceptance of the material as well as manipulation checks. Afterwards the participants were asked if they would be willing to retell the joke for an audio scrap book for use within the lab, they were asked how many friends they would be willing to email the jokes to, and whether they would enter a raffle for tickets to the comedian's next show. Of the three behavioral measures only retelling the jokes was an immediate behaviors; entering the raffle and emailing friends were to be done later and were measured only as behavioral intentions.

The participants were then asked what they thought the study was about, and finally they were debriefed as to the actual nature of the study.

### Materials

Jokes. Because message content was not a factor of analysis in the study, effort was made to provide a variety of joke types in the comedy routine. In total there were four distinct sections of the routine. The first and third sections of the routine contained jokes that manipulated the content slightly based on the stereotypes of the target group. For example, in the third section the joke about White people was about inability to dance, whereas the joke about Black people was about talking in movie theatres. These jokes were piloted to be of approximately equal offensiveness across target condition. The fourth section of the routine was the same joke in each condition with only a minimal manipulation of the identification of the target group. In this case the joke was about body odor. The second section was completely the same across conditions and had to do

with athletic prowess and made fun of each of the target groups. For a full account of the jokes please refer to the scripts (see Appendix A).

Outcome measures. Acceptance of the jokes was assessed by means of three dependent variables, each using a multi-item response questionnaire. For each section of the routine, and for the routine as a whole, participants were asked to report how funny they thought the jokes were, how offensive the jokes were, and how much truth the jokes contained. There were two different questions for each construct, each on a 7-point scale, with the exception of a percentage-based question for the veracity aggregate and a self-report measure of how often they laughed for the funniness aggregate (for item wordings and order see Appendix C). The results from these questions were then standardized and averaged into a composite score for each of the dependent variables. In addition, participants were asked to record themselves telling the jokes, email the jokes to their friends, and given the opportunity to enter a raffle for tickets to the comedian's show.

#### Manipulation Checks

At the end of the study participants were asked to report the race, gender, the approximate age of the comedian, as well as whether or not he had an accent. The question about race served as a manipulation check for the comedian race manipulation. In addition, a recall measure testing them on the content of the jokes they had heard served as a check for the joke target manipulation.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESULTS

#### Analytic Plan

After excluding certain participants and checking for demographic trends (see below), I analyzed the relationship between the information acceptance scales and target behaviors that were used as dependent variables in this study. Because only two of the acceptance scales and two of the behaviors correlated with one another, it was inappropriate to analyze the variable together using a MANOVA as the primary means of analysis (Tabachnick & Fidel, 2001). Instead I used individual ANOVAs for each of the dependent measures to analyze the main hypotheses, and a MANOVA as a secondary confirmatory analysis to support the hypothetical link between the different facets of acceptance and the convergent influence of comedian race and target.

Although this study was originally designed as a 2x3, the analyses below will be presented as a series of 2x2s. The reason for this is that the third target (the elderly) was meant to serve as a control condition. It was believed that a non-racial group would provide us with data similar to the White targets, as previous research has shown the elderly and Whites to be similar on ratings of normative appropriateness to derogate (Crandall et. al., 2002). This would have allowed us to attribute changes in the Black target condition to a change in normative appropriateness. However, the data for the elderly target were inconsistent across measures and had a much higher degree of variability than either of the racial target groups. In the end, no unique or parallel patterns emerged for the elderly. Because of these reasons and to clarify the primary findings of this study, the elderly target group was removed from the primary analyses. However, it

should be noted that inclusion of the elderly target control group does not substantially alter the findings.

After running the primary analyses for the aggregates, each of the joke segments was analyzed separately. However, even though it became apparent that the 2<sup>nd</sup> joke was not showing the same effects as the other jokes, because they were listened to in order it was decided to present the primary analyses for the routine as a whole and not for individual jokes. It should be noted that exclusion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> joke does not change the pattern of results or their significance.

#### Exclusion Criteria

Out of the 172 (127 White, 14 Black, 31 other minorities) participants, 6 were removed for data irregularities, for example answering questions with numbers outside the possible ranges of the scales such as an eight on a one to seven scale, or for recording a letter when asked for a percentage.

Additionally, when analyzing the data it was noted that 32 White participants, 4 Black participants, and 8 other minority participants, despite being given an explicit description, misidentified the race of the comedian. Far from a random effect, a Chi-square test revealed that participants who were asked to listen to a White comedian derogating White people most frequently mistook the identity of the comedian, attributing the jokes to a Black comedian ( $\chi^2(2, N=127) = 6.67, p < .05$ ). Possible reasons for this finding will be briefly addressed in the discussion. For the purposes of the main analyses, only participants who correctly identified the race of the comedian were included. With these exclusion criteria in place, the final sample contained 87 White participants, 8 Black participants, and 22 non-Black minority participants. This reduction

in sample size is potentially problematic and its consequences will be discussed in the discussion section. Finally, because the hypotheses of the present study addressed only the reactions of the dominant group and sample size for the minority group is small, all of the primary analyses include only White participants.

### Demographic Statistics

Participant sex did not interact significantly with the main independent variables in the study's primary analyses. However, there were several differences between the male and female participants in this study. Women were more offended in general by the derogatory humor,  $t(170)=2.26, p<.05$ , and were less likely to perceive truth in the last joke section,  $t(170)=2.14, p<.05$ . However, because the distinction between men and women is not theoretically relevant for this paper, all effects discussed below combine male and female participants.

### Scale Analysis

Three dimensions of information acceptance were assessed: The degree to which individuals found the derogation funny and/or enjoyable, the degree to which individuals found the derogation to be offensive, and the degree to which individuals found the derogation to contain elements of truth, i.e., its perceived veracity. For each of these three constructs, participants rated each of the four sections of the routine individually, as well as the comedy routine as a whole. For purposes of combining these measures into the three "acceptance" aggregates, the individual funniness and veracity items were standardized before computing an average score as there were two different methods for measuring both of these constructs. However, because all of the offensiveness aggregate questions were measured on seven-point scales, the aggregate was computed by

averaging the raw scores. Although the funniness and veracity measures of acceptance are shown in their standardized forms (see Table 1), their raw scores were close to the middle of the scale and showed no floor or ceiling effects, which was the intention when developing the materials.

A varimax rotated factor analysis confirmed that the scale items fell into three separate constructs: an 11-item funniness/enjoyability scale ( $\alpha = .958$ ), an 11-item offensiveness scale ( $\alpha = .926$ ), and a 10-item veracity scale ( $\alpha = .856$ ).

### Differences in Acceptance of Derogatory Humor

Hypothesis 1. The first two hypotheses have to do with the degree to which individuals accept derogatory humor. The first hypothesis proposed a main effect for the target of derogation, such that jokes about Black targets are less acceptable than jokes about White targets.

To test the first hypothesis, a 2x2 ANOVA was run for each of our aggregated measures of acceptance. In regards to the first hypothesis, none of the aggregate measures showed a main effect of target group (veracity,  $F(1,53)=.012$ ,  $p=.91$ ; offensiveness,  $F(1,53)=2.24$ ,  $p=.14$ ; funniness,  $F(1,53)=.225$ ,  $p=.64$ ). There was also no significant difference when the DVs were considered together using a MANOVA, Pillai's Trace=.05,  $F(3, 51) = .82$ ,  $p=.49$ . Not only were these effects non-significant, but the mean differences were close to zero (see Figures 1-3). Taken together, these analyses do not provide any support for the hypothesis that participants would be more accepting of information about White targets than Black targets. This result was surprising when considering past research (Crandall et. al., 2002), and will be discussed in more depth in the discussion.

Despite the lack of a main effect of target, there was an unexpected and un-theorized main effect of comedian race on participants' ratings of the veracity of the derogatory routines. For our White participants, the routines were considered to be higher in veracity when the comedian was Black,  $F(1,53)=9.146$ ,  $p<.01$  (see Figure 1). While this pattern did not hold true for the other aggregates when considered individually (offensiveness,  $F(1,53)=.779$ ,  $p=.38$ ; funniness,  $F(1,53)=1.32$ ,  $p=.26$ ), considered together with veracity using a MANOVA the main effect was significant, Pillai's Trace=.17,  $F(3, 51) = 3.47$ ,  $p<.05$ . This effect indicated that, overall, people found jokes that they thought came from the Black comedian more acceptable than jokes told by the White comedian. While this effect was not hypothesized it is potentially interesting and will be examined in greater depth in the discussion section.

Hypothesis 2. The second hypothesis predicted an interaction effect such that the jokes are more acceptable when there is a match between the race of the comedian and the race of the target group. To test this interaction I ran a 2x2 ANOVA for each of our aggregate measures. It was found that there was a significant interaction such that when the comedian shared membership with the target he was derogating White participants were much more likely to accept the information. While this interaction held true for the veracity measure,  $F(1,53)=4.67$ ,  $p<.05$ , and the offensiveness measure,  $F(1,53)=7.98$ ,  $p<.01$ , it was not significant for the funniness measure,  $F(1,53)=.525$ ,  $p=.47$ . However, descriptively the funniness measure still showed effects in the same direction as the other two (see Figure 3), and when considered together using a MANOVA the effect was significant in the predicted direction, Pillai's Trace=.21,  $F(3, 51) = 4.42$ ,  $p<.01$ .

However, it worth noting that for both the veracity and offensiveness aggregates this interaction is most pronounced for the Black targets (see Figures 1-2). A contrast analysis shows that for both aggregates only the difference between the Black and White comedian for the Black target is significant (veracity,  $t(26)=4.67$ ,  $p<.001$ ; offensiveness,  $t(26)=2.92$ ,  $p<.01$ ).

Generally speaking then, these findings support the second hypothesis that a match between the comedian's group membership and the target of derogation facilitates acceptance of derogatory information about the target. However, this effect is strongest and most clearly in the expected direction for the Black target. Potential mechanisms to explain these findings will be considered in the discussion section.

#### Behavioral Outcomes: Hypotheses 3 and 4

The third and fourth hypotheses of the study had to do with the behavioral consequences of exposure to derogatory humor. Two possible effects were examined. The first is the extent to which the experimental manipulations influenced behavior (Hypothesis 3); the second is the extent to which acceptance of the jokes correlated with behavior (Hypothesis 4). For both of these hypotheses I examined each of the three target behaviors separately.

Entering the raffle. To test whether the manipulation of comedian and target race had a significant effect on entering a free raffle for tickets to a fictional comedy show featuring the comedian a 2x2 ANOVA was run (see Figure 4). While there was a main effect of comedian race, such that participants were more likely to enter the raffle for tickets to the comedian's show when they believed the comedian was Black,  $F(1,53)=5.87$ ,  $p<.05$ , there was no main effect of the comedian's target,  $F(1,53)=.046$ ,  $p=.83$ , nor was there

evidence for the predicted interaction between target and comedian race,  $F(1,53)=.755$ ,  $p=.39$ . These results fail to support Hypothesis 3, which predicted that the likelihood of this behavior would increase when there was a match between comedian race and target race.

To test whether entry into the raffle was related to acceptance of the derogatory humor, a zero order correlation was first computed between each of the aggregate measures of acceptance and this behavior (see Table 1). The only aggregate that was significantly correlated with entering the raffle was the funniness measure,  $r=.35$ ,  $p<.01$ . However, a logistic regression revealed that when all three aggregate measures were considered at the same time, none made a significant independent contribution to the prediction. This provides only minimal evidence in support of Hypothesis 4, as the participants' acceptance of the material as a whole had only a very small relationship to whether or not they would enter the raffle. In the end the best predictor of whether or not they would enter the raffle was if the comedian was Black. This may be due to pressures to appear non-prejudiced and will be considered in greater depth in the discussion section.

Emailing the routine to friends. To test whether or not the manipulation of comedian target and race had an effect on the number of friends that the participant was willing to email the routine to a 2x2 ANOVA was run (see Figure 5). In this case there was no significant main effect of comedian race,  $F(1,53)=1.43$ ,  $p=.24$ , no main effect of comedian target,  $F(1,53)=.01$ ,  $p=.92$ , and no significant interaction between comedian race and target race,  $F(1,53)=.195$ ,  $p=.17$ . What this suggests is that our manipulations

had no effect on the number of people the participants were willing to email the routine to. This fails to provide any supporting evidence for Hypothesis 3.

To test Hypothesis 4, a zero order correlation was run for each of the aggregates measures and the emailing behavior (see Table 1). Again as with the raffle behavior, the only aggregate that was significantly correlated with emailing the routine was the funniness measure,  $r=.24$ ,  $p<.05$ . A multiple regression, using all three aggregates as predictors did not find any significant independent contributions to the prediction. Just as was the case with the raffle behavior, this provides very little support for the fourth hypothesis.

Recording the jokes. To test the third hypothesis we once again ran a 2x2 ANOVA to see if there was an effect of the independent variables on participants' willingness to retell and record the jokes from the routine they had just heard (see Figure 6). While there was no main effect of comedian race,  $F(1,53)=.175$ ,  $p=.68$ , and no main effect of comedian target,  $F(1,53)=2.01$ ,  $p=.16$ , there was a significant interaction such that when the comedian had been derogating his own group, White participants were much more likely to perform the joke again,  $F(1,53)=6.34$ ,  $p<.05$ . Unlike the other two behaviors, this behavior provided solid support for the third hypothesis. Not only was the interaction significant, but the pattern of results directly mirrored those of the acceptance measures.

To test Hypothesis 4 a zero order correlation was run for each of the aggregate measures and the recording behavior (see Table 1).. Unlike the emailing and raffle behaviors, the correlation between the funniness aggregate and the recording behavior only approached significance ( $r=.20$ ,  $p=.059$ ). However, willingness to record was significantly correlated with the offensiveness aggregate,  $r=-.21$ ,  $p<.05$ . Again this

provided only limited support for the fourth hypothesis, such that when offensiveness decreases and funniness increases people were more likely to record the comedy routine. However, the measure of perceived veracity was uncorrelated with the behavior.

### Behavioral Summary

Although the effects of the manipulations on two of the behaviors were not as strong as their effects on acceptance, the target behavior of retelling and recording the jokes mirrored the results for acceptance, providing support for the third hypothesis. It is perhaps not surprising that the other behaviors did not show the same effects as both the raffle and the emailing “behaviors” were both measuring intentions and had no immediate consequences. However, even for these “failed” behaviors a contrast analysis suggested that when the target was White, the White participants were less likely to perform the behavior (raffle,  $t(27)=2.4$ ,  $p<.05$ ; email,  $t(27)=2.6$ ,  $p<.05$ ). While these effects stand in sharp contrast to the predicted effects and the pattern of results we see for the recording behavior, it is possible that these results indicate the same type of subconscious reaction as does the data that shows that White participants were more likely to incorrectly identify the race of the comedian when it was a White comedian making fun of a White target. Implications of this effect will be discussed in more depth in the discussion section.

## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the conditions that promote acceptance of derogatory information about a racial or ethnic minority. Social norms of egalitarianism in contemporary American society tend, as a general rule, to discourage acceptance of such information, but depending on the nature of the communicator the social norm seems to be weakened, making acceptance more palatable. The basic 2x2 design of this experiment manipulated the race of the comedian (Black or White) and the race of the target group (Black or White).

For control purposes, a third target group (the elderly) was included. However, due to the messiness of the data the control group was eliminated from the final analyses. The high degree of variability that made this data unusable may stem from two divergent views in society. There is research suggesting that in the United States there is a high degree of nascent prejudice against the elderly (Harwood, 2008), but that for people who have a great deal of contact with older individuals, such as grandparents, respect may be the norm. It is possible that strong opinions one way or the other may have been driving a diverse array of emotions that overpowered the experimental manipulation.

In this study it was hypothesized that the race of the comedian and the race of the target interact such that derogatory humor is more acceptable when it comes from a member of the target's ingroup than from a member of the target's outgroup. However, because Whites are likely to be more attentive to the norm of egalitarianism in relation to a Black minority than in relation to the White majority, this effect should be especially pronounced when a Black person is the target of the comedy routine. Consistent with

these ideas, White participants in this experiment were, overall, more accepting of derogatory humor directed at Blacks when the comedian was Black rather than White; race of the comedian had much less of an effect on acceptance of humor directed at Whites. These findings tend to support a framework in which social norms of egalitarianism have a powerful effect, but are only situationally activated.

It was also hypothesized that participants are less likely to accept derogatory information about Black people than about White people. We expected this finding based on research by Crandall and associates (2002) that ranked ordered groups in terms of normative appropriateness to derogate. The findings did not support this hypothesis, however. The lack of a mean difference in acceptance of derogatory information between Black or White targets tends to suggest that within this context, people do not heed the social norms that say that it is societially less appropriate to derogate Blacks.

However, focusing simply on main effects, or the lack thereof, would be missing the primary finding of this study. Univariate analyses of the three aggregate measures showed, as predicted, that humor directed at Blacks was more acceptable to the White participants when the comedian was Black rather than White, and that the effect of comedian race was much smaller when the humor was directed at Whites. So while the expected main effect was not present, it is because it is the interaction between comedian race and target race that facilitates the acceptance of racist humor and not just the targets' race.

It should be noted that in this study acceptance was operationalized as three separate facets: How funny people found the comedy routine, how offended people were by the routine, and the perceived veracity of the routine. While these three constructs

were originally conceptualized as three parts of a larger “acceptance” construct, only funniness and veracity correlated significantly with each other. In the end, however the effects of the interaction between comedian race and target race were most strongly seen for the veracity and offensiveness measures, and were insignificant for the funniness measure. In retrospect, it is possible that funniness only provides the context of entertainment, and does not affect the acceptance of information. This interpretation is consistent with Mulkey’s research (1988), that suggests that people change there mode of processing based on whether they believe the context to be an entertaining one, rather than how incrementally entertaining the context actually is.

In addition to our dependent measures of acceptance, the study included three behavioral measures: Entering a raffle for tickets to the comedian’s show, emailing friends the routine they had listened to, and recording themselves performing part of the routine. Each of these behaviors was chosen because of its logical relationship to the further spread of the derogatory humor, and thus the spread of the negative information they contained.

There were two hypotheses predicting the circumstances in which the target behaviors would be facilitated. The first was that people are more likely to exhibit the behaviors when the comedian’s target is a member of his ingroup, and the second was that the incidence of behavior would increase as participants were more accepting of the behavior. Consistent with the first prediction, the White participants in the experiment were more likely to agree to perform the jokes when the routine they listened to featured a match between the race of the comedian and the race of the target. This pattern was similar to the pattern of acceptance, except that the increase in behavior due to ingroup

derogation was significant for both Black and White targets. Contrary to the second prediction, however, there was only a very low correlation between acceptance of the jokes and incidence of behavior.

In sum, this study demonstrated that when derogatory humor is expressed by a member of the target's in-group, the information it contains is more readily accepted and willingness to retell the joke increases. These findings lead us back to question why it is that derogatory information is accepted so long as it comes from within the targeted group.

In the introduction three theoretical frameworks that might explain these findings were discussed. Each one of them would predict different patterns of acceptance. Due to the unexpected main effects of comedian race we can rule out the social identity driven hypothesis that people will be more persuaded by their own group members, as the White participants were more likely to accept information coming from a Black comedian than from a White comedian. At the same time, the pattern of results doesn't support the stable social norm perspective either. Is it egalitarian to make fun of White people? Does it not promote inequality when Black individuals derogate their own group? Although from a logical standpoint the answer to both of these questions is no, the participants still accepted the information.

Perhaps these results suggest that the way in which people process and internalize egalitarianism prevents White people from accepting derogatory information about minorities when presented by Whites, but does not protect White people as targets, or minority groups from themselves, despite the inherent inequality that acceptance of this information might produce. It is also possible that people consider ingroup derogation, or

derogation of the dominant group, to be non-egalitarian, but that in ambiguous circumstances these protective norms are not activated and other cues become salient.

Participants' attributions of the comedian's motives and trustworthiness may provide us with a clue as to what the salient cues in these situations were. Simply put, when people derogate their own group, one has to ask why they are doing it. Because it seems that they have little to gain from telling us bad things about a group that they belong to, we may place more trust in them than if we assumed they had something to gain. The more we attribute the comedian's purpose to be noble or trustworthy, the more persuasive and credible they may become and the less we will scrutinize their message (Priester & Petty, 1995). Without scrutiny or thoughtfulness, we might not realize that we should be rejecting the information on the basis of it not being egalitarian.

In the end this study has provided us with useful data on the circumstances under which people accept derogatory humor. However, it has also left us with many questions about why this is so. In order to explore the driving mechanism behind the observed effects several changes will be made to future studies. First, additional behaviors with immediate consequences will be used, to explore the extent to which acceptance of a comedy routine generalizes to actual behavior. In addition, to test the idea that it is norms of equality that are driving these effects, a group unprotected in our society will provide another reference point. If the egalitarianism hypothesis holds true, ingroup and outgroup derogators should have about the same effect on acceptance of derogatory information and on subsequent behavior. If we continue to see the ingroup effect, however, this will imply that attributions of the comedian's trustworthiness are more likely the driving mechanism or that egalitarian norms are only considered when trust is in doubt. In future

iterations of this study, measures of participants' attributions of the comedian's motives will help refine our knowledge of the currently unknown mechanisms.

Another issue that will be addressed in future studies will be our small sample size. Even our White participant pool was smaller in the end than was planned. The primary reason for this smaller sample size was a high error rate in identifying the comedian's race during the manipulation check. However, far from being a random effect, or the result of participant inattention, a significant pattern emerged, such that White participants often mistook the race of the comedian when it was a White comedian targeting White people. Considered alone, this might seem like an anomaly. However, both the failed email and raffle behavioral intentions showed a similar pattern in which the White participants were disinterested in participating when they believed it was a White comedian making fun of White people. It is possible that this may represent an aversive, and perhaps even unconscious reaction to ingroup derogation by member of that ingroup. In the future it would be interesting to test this hypothesis by taken implicit measures of attitudes towards the comedian. While some social identity literature shows that criticism is more persuasive when it comes from the ingroup (Hornsey & Imani, 2004), it is possible that unconsciously we resent the betrayal that the criticism may imply.

## Conclusions

This study demonstrates that derogation of Black targets in a comedy routine is accepted by Whites when the derogation comes from a Black comedian, but not when it comes from a White comedian. Based on this research two mechanisms have risen to the top as the most likely candidates: selective activation of social norms, and attributions of

comedian motives. Although these explanations are not mutually exclusive, they represent different dangers to a society that values equality.

If an inability to see untrustworthy motives causes people to be persuaded more readily, then children who trust authority implicitly and people who are unable to discern motives will be greatly at risk in forming impressions about other groups. Additionally, if social norms of egalitarianism are at all responsible for this effect, it will demonstrate a protective layer through which information has to pass. In general this filter helps protect people who consider themselves egalitarian from being persuaded by material that might cause them to violate their ideals and to succumb to prejudice. However, this filter provides uneven protection, allowing White people to be persuaded by negative information as long as it comes from a member of the derogated outgroup. Both of these mechanisms highlight the need for media to be very aware of how and who presents information. Dave Chappelle, arguably one of the most popular comedians of the last 20 years, said that his comedy routines and his television programs were meant to highlight negative stereotypes so that people would realize how ridiculous they were. However based on the present research, his routines may have inadvertently persuaded people in the wrong direction.

Free speech is a powerful right. It gives us the right to express ourselves, defend ourselves from persecution and also apparently to dig our own graves. Although self-deprecating humor sells, it may undermine a foundation for equality that has been long in the making. As an entertainment consuming society this represents a difficult choice, to do what sells or to do what is socially responsible.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations for all Dependent Measures for White Participants. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

| <i>Aggregates</i> | 1.    | 2.    | 3.   | 4.    | 5.   | 6.  |
|-------------------|-------|-------|------|-------|------|-----|
| 1.Funniness       | 1     |       |      |       |      |     |
| 2. Offensiveness  | -.06  | 1     |      |       |      |     |
| 3. Veracity       | .53** | -.14  | 1    |       |      |     |
| <i>Behaviors</i>  |       |       |      |       |      |     |
| 4. Raffle         | .35** | -.10  | .12  | 1     |      |     |
| 5. Email          | .24*  | .05   | .18  | .49** | 1    |     |
| 6. Recording      | .20   | -.21* | -.07 | .15   | -.03 | 1   |
| Mean              | .09   | 1.6   | .11  | .57   | 2.71 | .17 |
| SD                | .81   | .64   | .80  | .497  | 3.95 | .38 |

Figure 1. *Participants' Perceived Veracity as a Function of Comedian Race and Target Race. The y-axis represents standardized scores.*

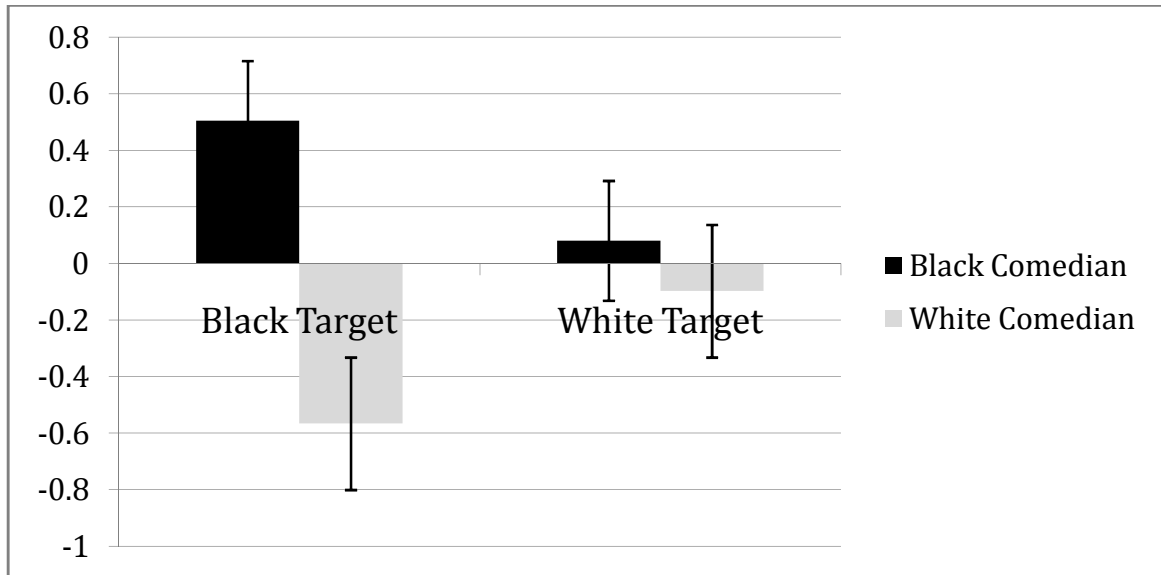


Figure 2. *Participants' Perceived Offensiveness as a Function of Comedian Race and Target Race. The y-axis represents raw scores on a 1(non-offensive) to 7(very offensive) scale.*

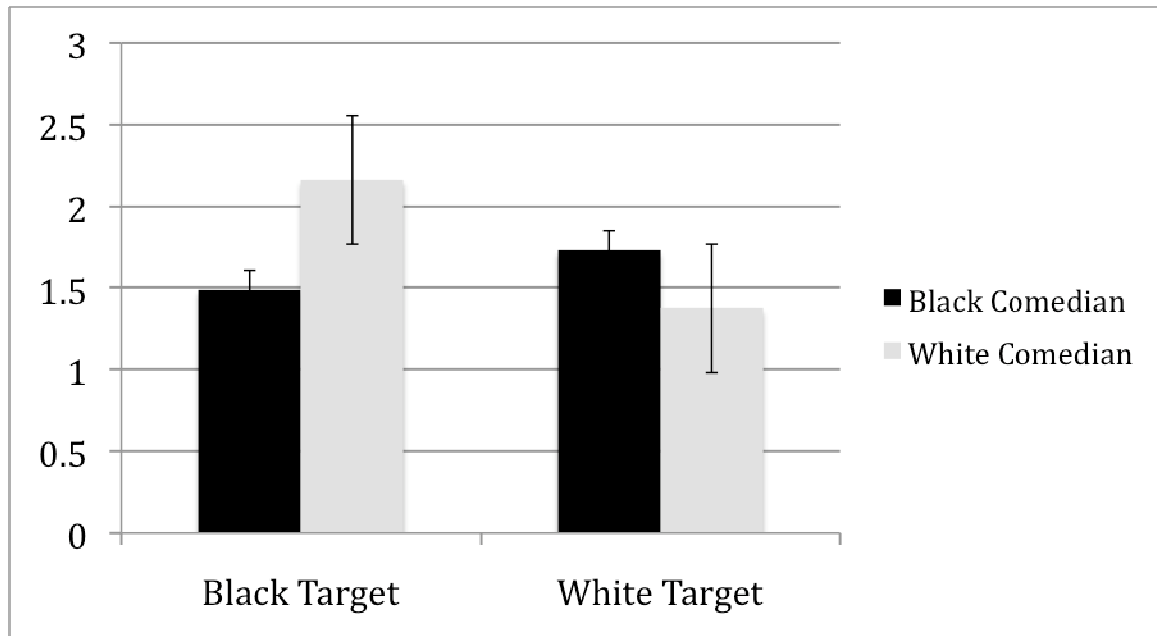


Figure 3. *Participants' Perceived Funniness/Enjoyability as a Function of Comedian Race and Target Race. The y-axis represents standardized scores.*

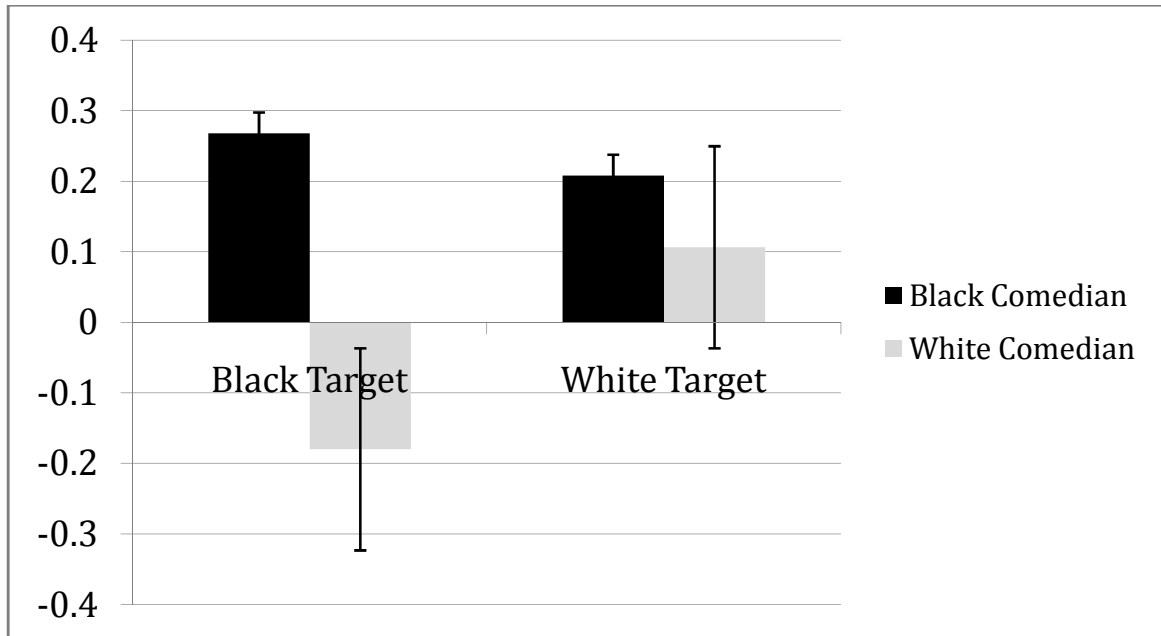


Figure 4. *Participants' Intentions to Enter a Raffle as a Function of Comedian Race and Target Race. The y-axis represents percentage of participants in each condition who participated.*

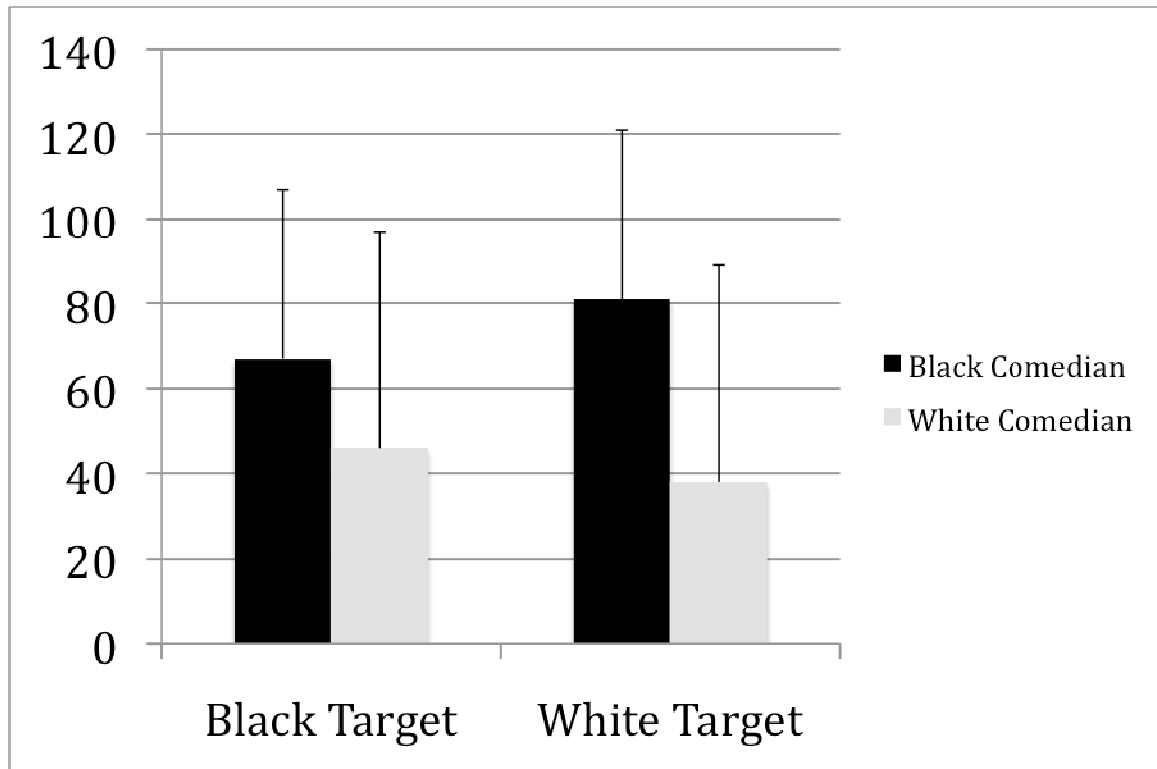


Figure 5. *Participants' Intentions to Email their Friends the Routine they Listened to as a Function of Comedian Race and Target Race. The y-axis represents the average number of friends they were willing to email the routine to.*

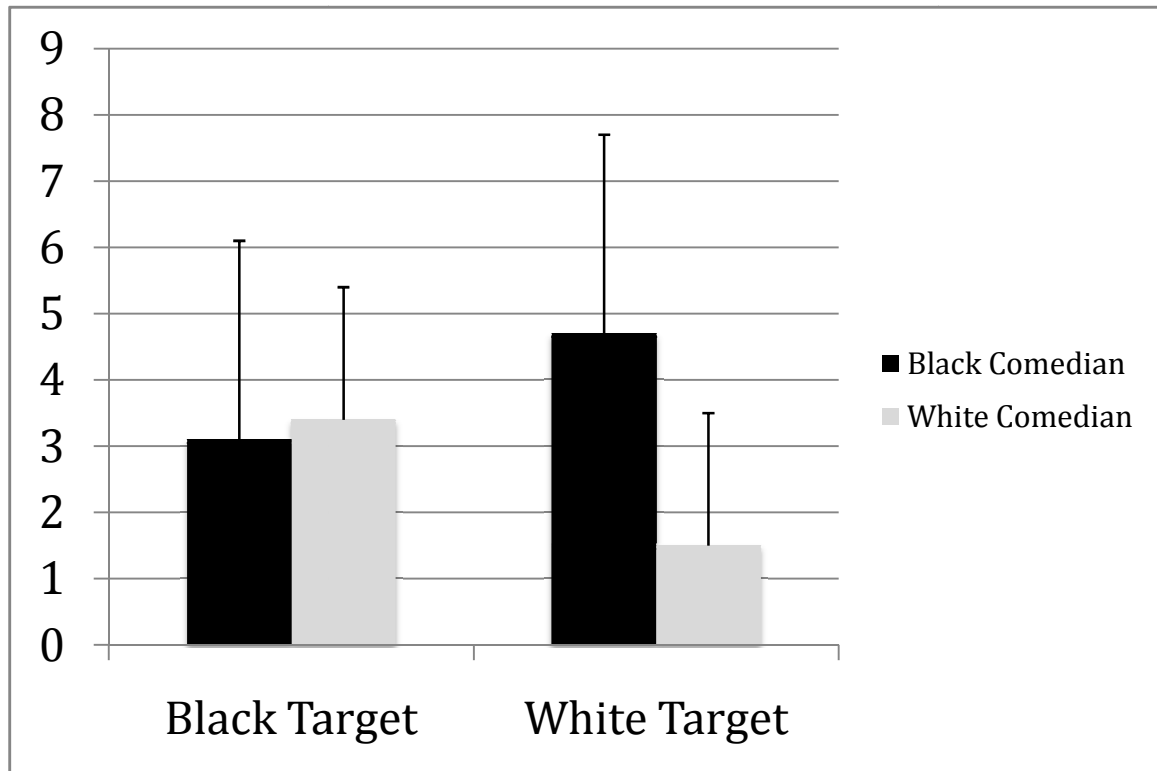
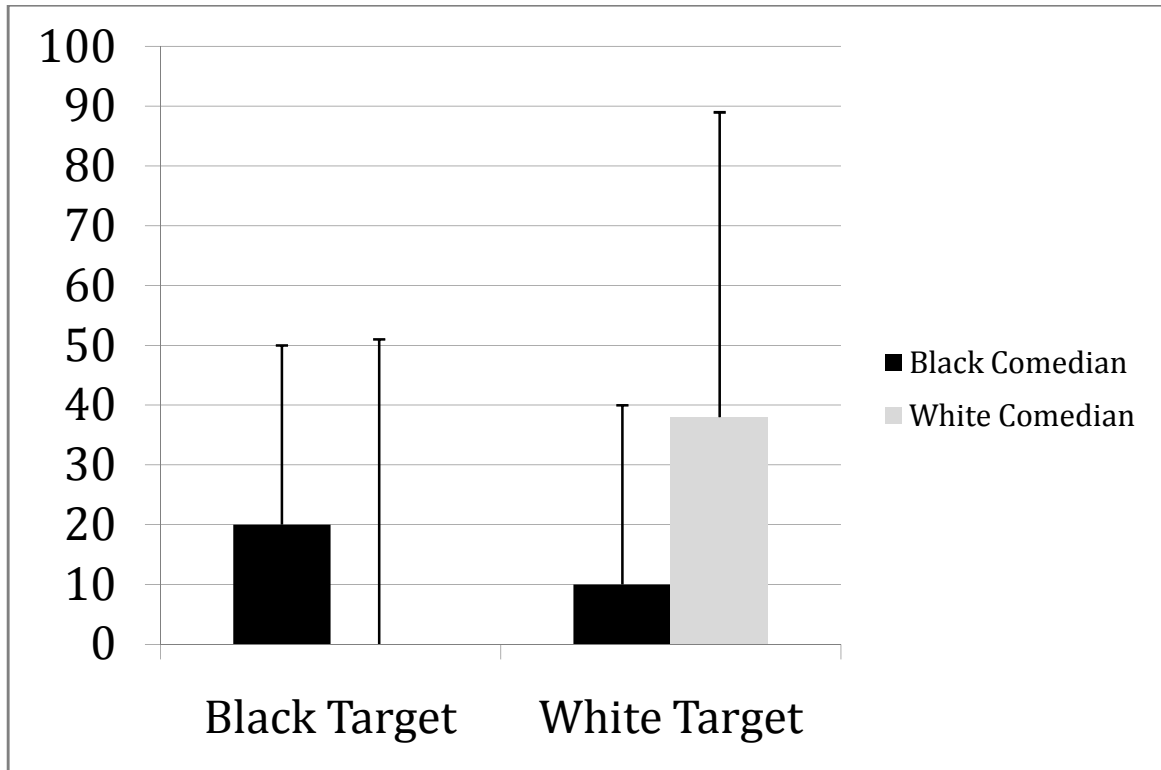


Figure 6. *Participants' Willingness to Recite the Routine they Listened to as a Function of Comedian Race and Target Race. The y-axis represents the percentage of people in each condition who participated.*



## APPENDIX A

### ROUTINES BY SEQUENCE TYPE AND CONTENT

#### (1). Doing Drugs (modified group content same topic)

So I was hanging out with some black (white/some of my grandmother's) friends of mine recently, and we're shooting the shit, and it was great we talked about all this good stuff that was going on, I mean we really connected and talked about the finer things in life...man, that was a really great minute and a half, but then you know, we ran out of things to say so we did what any reasonable group of friends would do...we started smoking pot. So we get really high, and we order like 15 pizzas, which made sense because there were like 4 of us, and that was pretty "groovy," but then things started going down hill. I don't know how else to say it, so I am just going to say it, but I am never smoking with black (white/old) people again.

Black (old) version: You see, when you get high with a black (old) person all they wanna do is talk about their (medical) problems. Now I know everyone has problems, but god damn it I'm high and you are killing my buzz, you know? I mean, imagine the situation, you're ripped and sitting down on the couch, biting into a slice of pizza and trying not to smile too much while you are chewing, when all of a sudden (stereotyped black/old name here) turns to you and says, "My brother got arrested yesterday." (I think I might have cancer) I mean, I am high as hell, what am I supposed to do with that? "Man, I'm sorry, do you wanna use the nice playstation controller tonight? The other one still has pizza on it from last time..."

White version: You see, when you get high with a white person all they wanna do is talk about other times that they got high. Now I know that we've all been high before, but damn it, I was probably there. I mean, imagine the situation, you're ripped and sitting down on the couch, biting into a slice of pizza and trying to smile too much while you are chewing when all of a sudden (stereotyped white person name) turns to you and says, "Last week man, you totally missed it, (Name) and I got wasted and totally fell off some dude's roof...it was fucking awesome man." I mean, although that did put to bed the mystery of my broken rain gutter, what do you say to something like that? "That's awesome, you want to use the playstation controller without pizza on it, or can I use that one?"

(2). Sports (same joke, both target and comparison group lampooned)

Now I don't know if it has anything to do with me smoking pot all the time, it's probably just a coincidence, but I do play a lot of videogames. My favorites are the sport's ones. No, I don't play videogames instead of sports because of my diminished lung capacity, my little arms and legs, or the fact that I am afraid of round objects. I don't play sports because I am lazy. It is as simple as that. It isn't even because I can't find a sport that I'm interested in. Sports these days offer something for everyone. I can see the slogan now, "SPORTS...not just for black people anymore." Take old people for example, old people have shuffleboard. Which when you think about it is a lot like nagging your children...you push and you push and you see just how far you can go. However, unlike

real life, when you push too hard, shuffleboard won't put you in a home. Or take white people, white people get down when it comes to snow or ice. Maybe it's because you could never convince a black person that throwing themselves down a hill was a good idea. And then there is always mountain climbing, anything to get away from minorities I suppose. Oh or Nascar! White people do great at driving in circles! White people get so excited about watching traffic, or more specifically a bunch of white people in traffic. It might be fun to have really old people or black people driving in Nascar, but they just don't. Imagine the victory speeches though. Black people would be like, "I just wanna give it up to Jesus and a shout out to little ray ray, and my sponsors, Popeyes and KFC without whom none of this would have been possible. It was a tough race, and there was lots of good competition. I thought we had lost for sure when I got pulled over by the police in the 40<sup>th</sup> lap..." Old people would never win, so no awesome victory speeches thanking their sponsors Viagra and Preparation H, but on the other hand, there would be a lot more accidents, and as far as I can tell those are the best parts of the races.

### (3). Individual Jokes (content specific by group)

But these are all just stereotypes. And we all know that stereotypes are bad, unfortunately they are funny as hell sometimes. The problem is, sometimes they just aren't true...

Black Version: Take for example, the stereotype that Blacks aren't articulate. We all know that's not true. Anyone who has ever sat in front of a group of black people at the movie theatre knows that Black people know how to communicate a plot element as if

the movie didn't already have words, "He didn't just do what I think he did, did he?"

"Oh, yes he did!"

Old Version: Take for example, the stereotype that old people are slow drivers. It's just not true. We all know that when old people get to a stop sign, a crowded farmers market, or are just plain driving on the sidewalk, that old people can drive like the wind...

White Version: Take for example, the stereotype that white people can't dance. It's just not true. We all know that as long as white people can put on their cowboys hats, their cowboy boots, and stand in single file lines of thirty people or more, white people all of a sudden get their groove back...

#### 4. Smells (Same joke variable group)

Now a lot of people get really upset about some of the things that I say in my routines, and I keep telling them that these are just jokes. For example I had this really fun bit about how black (white/old) people smell...I mean we are talking primo high-class laughs here. Well this one black (white/old) woman, though, she came up to me after a gig and said, "look, you really need to stop telling jokes about how black (white) people smell bad." I have to say, I was really upset. I mean I didn't know what to say. I mean how do you explain to someone, who obviously, just obviously didn't get it that you can't smell yourself.

(Thank you and goodnight)

## APPENDIX B

### PRIMES

#### Black Comedian Prime

In this study we had several comedians record a small segment of their routine in the studio. The segment that you will be listening to today comes from a local comedian who was recently reviewed after a show in NYC. The review wrote,

“...As the crowd that packed into the Comedy Basement last night will surely attest, Jamal Franklin is a star on the rise. His mellow demeanor, physicality and slick social commentary provided the audience with a memorable glimpse into the life of a young Black man living in the modern era...”

We consider ourselves fortunate to have young talent helping us in our research and want to take this moment to help promote a small venue performance that they will be doing in Amherst. There are some free tickets available for people who participate in our study, so please check in with your experimenter after you are finished.

#### White Comedian Prime

In this study we had several comedians record a small segment of their routine in the studio. The segment that you will be listening to today comes from a local comedian who was recently reviewed after a show in NYC. The review wrote,

“...As the crowd that packed into the Comedy Basement last night will surely attest, Gregory Smith is a star on the rise. His mellow demeanor, physicality and slick social commentary provided the audience with a memorable glimpse into the life of a young White man living in the modern era...”

We consider ourselves fortunate to have young talent helping us in our research and want to take this moment to help promote a small venue performance that they will be doing in Amherst. There are some free tickets available for people who participate in our study, so please check in with your experimenter after you are finished.

## APPENDIX C

### MATERIALS

For all scale items please indicate your answer next to the question. For example:

1. Some comedy is meant to be funnier than others. Using the scale below, indicate how funny you thought this part of the routine was. **7 ← YOUR ANSWER**

|                     |   |                   |   |                     |   |                     |
|---------------------|---|-------------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| 1                   | 2 | 3                 | 4 | 5                   | 6 | 7                   |
| Not at all<br>funny |   | A little<br>funny |   | Moderately<br>funny |   | Incredibly<br>funny |

**Please answer the following questions for the FIRST clip that you were asked to listen to.**

1. Some comedy is meant to be funnier than others. Using the scale below, indicate how funny you thought this part of the routine was.

|                     |   |                   |   |                     |   |                     |
|---------------------|---|-------------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| 1                   | 2 | 3                 | 4 | 5                   | 6 | 7                   |
| Not at all<br>funny |   | A little<br>funny |   | Moderately<br>funny |   | Incredibly<br>funny |

2. Comedy is meant to be enjoyed. Using the scale below, how enjoyable was this section to listen to?

|                         |   |                       |   |                         |   |                         |
|-------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| 1                       | 2 | 3                     | 4 | 5                       | 6 | 7                       |
| Not at all<br>enjoyable |   | A little<br>enjoyable |   | Moderately<br>enjoyable |   | Incredibly<br>enjoyable |

3. Some comedy serves as social commentary. Using the scale below, indicate how true you thought this part of the routine was.

|                    |   |                  |   |                    |   |                    |
|--------------------|---|------------------|---|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| 1                  | 2 | 3                | 4 | 5                  | 6 | 7                  |
| Not at all<br>true |   | A little<br>true |   | Moderately<br>true |   | Absolutely<br>true |

4. What percentage of what the comedian said would you say is true?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Some comedy is offensive, while other comedy is not. Using the scale below, indicate how offended you were personally by this part of the routine.

| 1                      | 2 | 3                    | 4 | 5                      | 6 | 7                      |
|------------------------|---|----------------------|---|------------------------|---|------------------------|
| Not at all<br>offended |   | A little<br>offended |   | Moderately<br>offended |   | Incredibly<br>offended |

6. Consider people that you know and care about, how many of them would be offended by this part of the routine?

| 1            | 2             | 3                     | 4            | 5           |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|
| None of them | A few of them | About half of<br>them | Most of them | All of them |

***Please answer the following questions for the SECOND clip that you were asked to listen to.***

1. Using the scale below, indicate how funny you thought this part of the routine was.

| 1                   | 2 | 3                 | 4 | 5                   | 6 | 7                   |
|---------------------|---|-------------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| Not at all<br>funny |   | A little<br>funny |   | Moderately<br>funny |   | Incredibly<br>funny |

2. Using the scale below, how enjoyable was this section to listen to?

| 1                       | 2 | 3                     | 4 | 5                       | 6 | 7                       |
|-------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Not at all<br>enjoyable |   | A little<br>enjoyable |   | Moderately<br>enjoyable |   | Incredibly<br>enjoyable |

3. Using the scale below, indicate how true you thought this part of the routine was.

| 1                  | 2 | 3                | 4 | 5                  | 6 | 7                  |
|--------------------|---|------------------|---|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| Not at all<br>true |   | A little<br>true |   | Moderately<br>true |   | Absolutely<br>true |

4. What percentage of what the comedian said would you say is true?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Using the scale below, indicate how offended you were personally by this part of the routine.

| 1                      | 2 | 3                    | 4 | 5                      | 6 | 7                      |
|------------------------|---|----------------------|---|------------------------|---|------------------------|
| Not at all<br>offended |   | A little<br>offended |   | Moderately<br>offended |   | Incredibly<br>offended |

6. Consider people that you know and care about, how many of them would be offended by this part of the routine?

| 1            | 2             | 3                  | 4            | 5           |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|
| None of them | A few of them | About half of them | Most of them | All of them |

***Please answer the following questions for the THIRD clip that you were asked to listen to.***

1. Using the scale below, indicate how funny you thought this part of the routine was.

| 1                | 2 | 3              | 4 | 5                | 6 | 7                |
|------------------|---|----------------|---|------------------|---|------------------|
| Not at all funny |   | A little funny |   | Moderately funny |   | Incredibly funny |

2. Using the scale below, how enjoyable was this section to listen to?

| 1                    | 2 | 3                  | 4 | 5                    | 6 | 7                    |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|---|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| Not at all enjoyable |   | A little enjoyable |   | Moderately enjoyable |   | Incredibly enjoyable |

3. Using the scale below, indicate how true you thought this part of the routine was.

| 1               | 2 | 3             | 4 | 5               | 6 | 7               |
|-----------------|---|---------------|---|-----------------|---|-----------------|
| Not at all true |   | A little true |   | Moderately true |   | Absolutely true |

4. What percentage of what the comedian said would you say is true?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Using the scale below, indicate how offended you were personally by this part of the routine.

| 1                   | 2 | 3                 | 4 | 5                   | 6 | 7                   |
|---------------------|---|-------------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| Not at all offended |   | A little offended |   | Moderately offended |   | Incredibly offended |

6. Consider people that you know and care about, how many of them would be offended by this part of the routine?

1                      2                      3                      4                      5

None of them      A few of them      About half of them      Most of them      All of them

***Please answer the following questions for the LAST clip that you were asked to listen to.***

1. Using the scale below, indicate how funny you thought this part of the routine was.

| 1                | 2 | 3              | 4 | 5                | 6 | 7                |
|------------------|---|----------------|---|------------------|---|------------------|
| Not at all funny |   | A little funny |   | Moderately funny |   | Incredibly funny |

2. Using the scale below, how enjoyable was this section to listen to?

| 1                    | 2 | 3                  | 4 | 5                    | 6 | 7                    |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|---|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| Not at all enjoyable |   | A little enjoyable |   | Moderately enjoyable |   | Incredibly enjoyable |

3. Using the scale below, indicate how true you thought this part of the routine was.

| 1               | 2 | 3             | 4 | 5               | 6 | 7               |
|-----------------|---|---------------|---|-----------------|---|-----------------|
| Not at all true |   | A little true |   | Moderately true |   | Absolutely true |

4. What percentage of what the comedian said would you say is true?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Using the scale below, indicate how offended you were personally by this part of the routine.

| 1                   | 2 | 3                 | 4 | 5                   | 6 | 7                   |
|---------------------|---|-------------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| Not at all offended |   | A little offended |   | Moderately offended |   | Incredibly offended |

6. Consider people that you know and care about, how many of them would be offended by this part of the routine?

| 1            | 2             | 3                  | 4            | 5           |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|
| None of them | A few of them | About half of them | Most of them | All of them |

***Please answer the following questions as they relate to the ENITRE routine.***

1. On the scale below, please indicate how well you think you remember the routine as a whole. Do you remember...

| 1          | 2              | 3                | 4          | 5         |
|------------|----------------|------------------|------------|-----------|
| None of it | A little of it | About half of it | Most of it | All of it |

2. In the first section, what is implied that old (white/black) people do when they get high?

3. In the second section, why does the comedian say he doesn't play sports?

4. In the third section, what is the gist of the joke?

5. At the end, what joke offends the women?

6. If you had to say, which was your favorite section of the comedy routine?

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Using the scale below, indicate how funny you thought the routine as a whole was.

| 1                | 2 | 3              | 4 | 5                | 6 | 7                |
|------------------|---|----------------|---|------------------|---|------------------|
| Not at all funny |   | A little funny |   | Moderately funny |   | Incredibly funny |

8. Using the scale below, how enjoyable was the routine as a whole to listen to?

| 1                    | 2 | 3                  | 4 | 5                    | 6 | 7                    |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|---|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| Not at all enjoyable |   | A little enjoyable |   | Moderately enjoyable |   | Incredibly enjoyable |

9. Using the scale below, indicate how true you thought the routine as a whole was.

| 1               | 2 | 3             | 4 | 5               | 6 | 7               |
|-----------------|---|---------------|---|-----------------|---|-----------------|
| Not at all true |   | A little true |   | Moderately true |   | Absolutely true |

10. What percentage of what the comedian said would you say is true?

\_\_\_\_\_

11. Using the scale below, indicate how offended you were personally by the routine as a whole.

| 1                      | 2 | 3                    | 4 | 5                      | 6 | 7                      |
|------------------------|---|----------------------|---|------------------------|---|------------------------|
| Not at all<br>offended |   | A little<br>offended |   | Moderately<br>offended |   | Incredibly<br>offended |

12. Consider people that you know and care about, how many of them would be offended by routine as a whole?

| 1            | 2             | 3                     | 4            | 5           |
|--------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|
| None of them | A few of them | About half of<br>them | Most of them | All of them |

13. If someone told these jokes to you in a social setting, what would be your likely reaction which of the following reactions would you have (check all that apply)

- a. Tell them that you were offended.
- b. Laugh out loud.
- c. Tell them another similar joke.
- d. Talk to them about a real life example of something the joke talks about.

14. How much would you pay or have to be paid (indicate in negative numbers if you would have to be paid) to see this comedian live?

\_\_\_\_\_

15. How old would you estimate the comedian was?

\_\_\_\_\_

16. What was the ethnicity of the comedian?

\_\_\_\_\_

17. Did the comedian have any identifiable accent?

\_\_\_\_\_

18. What gender was the comedian?

\_\_\_\_\_

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