



**HAL**  
open science

# Mitigating Homelessness Stigma: Induced Hypocrisy as an Intervention to Foster Humanness Attributions and Contact Intentions

Maxime Mauduy, Pauline Rasset

► **To cite this version:**

Maxime Mauduy, Pauline Rasset. Mitigating Homelessness Stigma: Induced Hypocrisy as an Intervention to Foster Humanness Attributions and Contact Intentions. *Stigma and Health*, In press, 10.1037/sah0000587 . hal-04772603

**HAL Id: hal-04772603**

**<https://hal.science/hal-04772603v1>**

Submitted on 8 Nov 2024

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



Distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial - ShareAlike 4.0 International License

## **Mitigating Homelessness Stigma: Induced Hypocrisy as an Intervention to Foster Humanness**

### **Attributions and Contact Intentions**

Maxime Mauduy<sup>\*1</sup>, Pauline Rasset<sup>\*2</sup>

\* The authors contributed equally

<sup>1</sup>Laboratoire de Psychologie Sociale : contextes et régulation (LPS UR 4471), Université Paris Cité, Institut de Psychologie, Boulogne-Billancourt, France

<sup>2</sup>Univ Rennes, Université Rennes 2, LP3C (Laboratoire de Psychologie: Cognition, Comportement, Communication) - EA 1285, F-35000 Rennes, France

#### **Author note**

Maxime Mauduy  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4604-5314>

Pauline Rasset  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9020-9403>

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Maxime Mauduy, Université Paris Cité, Laboratoire de Psychologie Sociale : contextes et régulation (LPS, UR 4471), Institut de Psychologie, Boulogne-Billancourt, France. Email: [maxime.mauduy@u-paris.fr](mailto:maxime.mauduy@u-paris.fr)

#### **Data availability statement**

All data and materials have been made publicly available via the Open Science Framework and can be accessed at: [https://osf.io/vq6su/?view\\_only=5b9cfaa707894848a5b579e1d3d84fc7](https://osf.io/vq6su/?view_only=5b9cfaa707894848a5b579e1d3d84fc7).

#### **Conflict of interest disclosure**

The authors have no known conflict of interest to disclose

#### **Ethics**

The study was conducted in full agreement with the principles outlined in the Helsinki Declaration (2008), follows APA standards for research ethics (APA, 2017), and incorporates comprehensive measures such as informed consent forms to ensure ethical conduct throughout the research process. Participants voluntarily enrolled in the study and were explicitly informed about the anonymization of their data. They were granted the option to decline participation or withdraw from the study at any point.

#### **Positionality statements**

Mindful that our identities can influence our approach to science (Roberts, et al. 2020), the authors wish to provide the reader with information about our backgrounds. With respect to gender, when the manuscript was drafted, one author self-identified as a man and one author as a woman. Furthermore, none of the authors has experienced homelessness.

#### **Acknowledgments**

The authors thank Axelle Couillaud, Mélanie Chaignon, Alice Kasper, Jessica Mange, and Romain Veillé for their contribution in data collection, and Jessica Mange for providing resources.

### **Abstract**

People experiencing homelessness (PEH) are stigmatized. Their dehumanization contributes to their social exclusion. While previous research underscores the role of intergroup contact in reducing homelessness stigma, this paper is concerned with the precursor step of fostering contact intentions. Therefore, we tested the effectiveness of a psychosocial strategy based on the induced-hypocrisy paradigm for promoting contact intentions with PEH through humanness attribution enhancement. Induced hypocrisy is an effective way to encourage prosocial behaviors. In this two-step procedure, people are asked to promote a social norm (i.e., the normative salience step) and then recall their own past failures to comply with it (i.e., the transgressive salience step). In this preregistered study ( $N = 207$ ), we randomly assigned participants into three conditions, namely, control, norm-alone, and induced-hypocrisy. We then measured participants' humanness attributions to PEH and their contact intentions with them. The findings revealed that the induced-hypocrisy condition surpassed the two control conditions in fostering higher contact intentions, indicating the need for interventions fostering social connection by priming both values and past behaviors. In addition, exploratory results showed that the induced-hypocrisy strategy reinforces some humanness attributions toward PEH, leading to greater contact intentions. Discussion focuses on the role of humanness attributions in preventing PEH stigma with the induced-hypocrisy strategy and highlights the implications of the results for both the prevention of PEH stigmatization and for the induced-hypocrisy paradigm.

**Keywords:** homelessness, stigma, induced-hypocrisy paradigm, dehumanization, contact intentions.

### **Clinical impact statement**

Social exclusion has detrimental effects on the health of people experiencing homelessness (PEH). Contact between PEH and their neighborhood alleviates this burden. Therefore, finding effective ways to foster contact intentions towards PEH is crucial. To promote positive interactions, a two-step strategy is proposed. It encourages individuals to openly reject discrimination and reflect on past transgressive behaviors, guiding them to align their actions with existing compassionate values. The findings show that this approach effectively fosters contact intentions with PEH and could be implemented in awareness-raising programs. This effect may be at least partially due to a rehumanizing effect, though further investigation is needed.

## Introduction

Homelessness is an extreme manifestation of poverty characterized by a lack of housing, whether transitional or chronic (Lee et al., 2010). Despite challenges in estimating its demographic scope, the NGO 'End Homelessness' reports that over half a million individuals experience homelessness in the USA (National Alliance to End Homelessness, 2022). Beyond the evident environmental hardships affecting their material, mental, and physical well-being (Lee et al., 2010), people experiencing homelessness (PEH) confront a significant social burden through stigma. Stigma has a profound and deleterious impact on the mental and physical health of PEH (for a systematic review, see Reilly et al., 2022). Globally, perceived homelessness stigma predicts psychological distress, poorer physical health, and increased avoidance (Weisz & Quinn, 2018). Consequently, the current study sought a way to prevent PEH social stigma.

The public stigma of PEH refers to people's social and psychological reactions to someone experiencing homelessness. It encompasses the cognitive and behavioral reactions of those who stigmatize (see Bos et al., 2013). The cognitive reactions are especially harsh because PEH not only belong to social groups burdened with extremely unfavorable stereotypes (Fiske et al., 2002) but also belong to one of the most dehumanized social groups in society (Kuljian & Hohman, 2023). Harris and Fiske (2006) provided striking evidence of this dehumanization with fMRI data showing that people display lower activation in brain regions implicated in social cognition when exposed to pictures of PEH. Dehumanization is also about the denial of humanness, which can manifest either through the denial of uniquely human (UH) characteristics that differentiate people from other animals (i.e., animalistic dehumanization), such as culture, or through the denial of human nature-related (HN) characteristics that differentiate people from inert objects (i.e., mechanistic dehumanization), such as emotionality (Haslam, 2006). There is evidence that PEH endure both animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization (Kuljian & Hohman, 2023).

Consequently, people are reluctant to affiliate with PEH, materializing through interpersonal behaviors such as social exclusion and avoidance (Tausen et al., 2023), resulting in increased marginalization (Lott, 2002). To address this issue, researchers have employed the contact strategy

Running title: Induced hypocrisy against homelessness stigma

(Pettigrew et al., 2011), which can effectively reduce the social stigma of homelessness and promotes prosocial behavior (e.g., Knecht & Martinez, 2009; West et al., 2017). However, contact with PEH initiatives is typically instigated among individuals who are already inclined to engage with PEH (e.g., volunteers). Thus, preceding actual contact, strategies that cultivate intentions to engage with PEH are essential. The induced-hypocrisy paradigm (Aronson et al., 1991) emerges as a potential facilitator in this regard.

Induced hypocrisy stands out as a potent cognitive dissonance paradigm that has been proven to be effective in promoting prosocial behaviors and preventing discrimination and social exclusion (Mauduy et al., 2022; Mauduy, Priolo, et al., 2023). In a two-step procedure, people are asked to promote a social norm (e.g., advocating against PEH discrimination) and then recall their own past failure to comply with it (e.g., recalling the last time one looked away from a PEH). This inconsistency triggers the hypocrisy effect, leading people to intend and actually adopt norm-congruent behaviors. Despite its established efficacy, the induced-hypocrisy strategy has not yet been tested for its potential to enhance contact intentions, particularly toward PEH. Given (1) the prevalence of transgressive behaviors toward PEH in Western societies and (2) the effectiveness of induced hypocrisy beyond laboratory settings—whether in class groups (Mauduy, Bagneux, et al., 2023), on the street, or at store entrances (Rubens et al., 2015)—this research posits induced hypocrisy as a pertinent strategy for cultivating contact intentions toward PEH. However, the ability of the hypocrisy strategy to influence humanness attributions to PEH is less clear.

As induced hypocrisy was initially conceived for behavioral change purposes (i.e., promoting prosocial behaviors), few studies have investigated cognitive change following it (Priolo et al., 2019). It has been demonstrated that cognitive change, specifically strengthening the attitudes toward the prosocial cause, is possible (Mauduy, 2022). However, these cognitive changes have typically been studied in contexts where they are not necessary for producing a behavioral change, as individuals have already pro-attitudinal beliefs (e.g., fighting discrimination). In contrast, inducing cognitive change for preventing PEH public stigma might be both relevant and necessary. This cognitive change should not target the cause itself but rather the specific stigmatized group. Indeed, research shows that PEH are dehumanized (Kuljian & Hohman, 2023), and this dehumanization predicts their social exclusion

Running title: Induced hypocrisy against homelessness stigma

(Tausen et al., 2023). However, no study has thoroughly tested whether induced hypocrisy can rehumanize a stigmatized target. The only study that partially addressed this issue was conducted by Bruneau et al. (2018: study 3), which explored the dehumanization of Muslims. This study demonstrated the role of dehumanization in the causal chain linking hypocrisy to reduced rejection of Muslims. However, the induced-hypocrisy procedure used in that study was unconventional, as it involved watching videos. Therefore, additional research is needed to demonstrate that induced hypocrisy can enhance humanness attributions to PEH, and possibly mediating its impact on contact intentions.

In sum, this experimental study aimed to evaluate the effectiveness of induced hypocrisy in fostering contact intentions with PEH. Additionally, it seeks to examine whether this behavioral change is mediated by a cognitive change, namely, increased humanness attribution to PEH. Its efficacy could provide a readily applicable tool for public policies, associations, and individuals committed to curbing discrimination, alleviating the social stigma of homelessness, and thereby cultivating conducive conditions for meaningful interpersonal interactions.

### **Method**

For more details, see the supplementary materials

([https://osf.io/vq6su/?view\\_only=5b9cfaa707894848a5b579e1d3d84fc7](https://osf.io/vq6su/?view_only=5b9cfaa707894848a5b579e1d3d84fc7)).

### **Participants**

Two hundred and fourteen undergraduate students volunteered to participate in this preregistered study (OSF LINK BLINDED FOR PEER REVIEW), which took place during an introductory course for educational purposes. One participant was withdrawn from the study for being homeless, and six others were withdrawn for having already had close contact with a PEH. The remaining 207 participants (i.e., statistical power of 92%; see preregistration for more details) comprised 177 females, 28 males, and two nonbinary participants ( $M_{age} = 21.42$ ;  $SD = 4.97$ ).

### **Procedure**

After providing informed consent, all students in each tutorial class were assigned to one of our three conditions. In the *induced-hypocrisy condition*, participants performed the two steps of the induced-hypocrisy paradigm. First, they collectively advocated against discrimination against PEH (i.e.,

Running title: Induced hypocrisy against homelessness stigma

they were asked to list arguments in disfavor). Second, participants privately completed an anonymous questionnaire, highlighting their own past discriminatory behaviors toward this group (for a similar procedure, see Mauduy & Mange, 2023). Afterward, participants completed a booklet composed of the dependent measures, a social desirability measure<sup>1</sup>, and sociodemographic variables. In addition to the induced-hypocrisy experimental condition, two other control conditions were used. The second is the *norm-alone condition*, where participants performed only the collective normative advocacy step. This condition, commonly used in induced-hypocrisy research, serves to demonstrate the added efficacy of combining both steps compared to solely activating the norm with the first step. The third condition is the *control condition*, wherein participants were directly invited to fill in the booklet. Finally, all participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

## Measures

***Humanness attributions.*** The scales were based on the dual model questionnaire (Haslam et al., 2008), with three items for UH traits (i.e., ‘logical’, ‘intelligent’, and ‘rational’; Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .67$ ) and three items for HN traits (i.e., ‘sensitive’, ‘careful’, and ‘inquisitive’;  $\alpha = .49$ )<sup>2</sup>.

***Contact intentions.*** Participants were asked to answer ('yes' or 'no') to a single-item question about volunteering in association with combating homelessness discrimination (i.e., “Would you like to get involved in an association for the homeless?”), for a similar measure, see, for example, Mauduy et al., 2022).

## Hypotheses and Statistical Analysis Plan

First, we hypothesized that participants’ contact intentions would be greater in the hypocrisy condition, surpassing those in the norm-alone condition, and that the norm-alone condition would surpass the control condition. A logistic regression model was performed on the contact intentions, using

---

<sup>1</sup> Originally, our design intended to assess the impact of experimental conditions on contact intentions while accounting for the influence of social desirability as a covariate. Given that social desirability demonstrated no discernible effect on contact intentions, we present our results without incorporating this measure in the primary model. For readers interested in the comprehensive analysis, including social desirability in the model, detailed results can be found in the supplementary material.

<sup>2</sup> Different complementary approaches were employed to get better chance to assess humanness attributions (see also Rasset et al., 2022, 2023). They all fall into a bidimensional humanness perception (Li et al., 2014). As the results of the other scales were not significant, we present here only the results of the dual-model questionnaire, as this is the only one that has been developed to measure attributions of humanity per se (but see the full results in Supplementary Materials).



the condition variable as a predictor. We first examined the overall effect of the condition variable through an omnibus test. Then, we used a contrast method for testing our specific hypothesis more efficiently than omnibus tests (Abdi & Williams, 2010). Specifically, polynomial contrasts were employed, with linear contrasts (i.e., Control < Norm-alone < Induced-hypocrisy) as our interest contrast.

Second, we made parallel assumptions on the humanness attributions. We hypothesized that participants' humanness attributions would be greater in the hypocrisy condition, surpassing those in the norm-alone condition, and that the norm-alone condition would surpass the control condition. Two ANOVAs were performed on each dimension of humanness attributions. Then, polynomial contrasts were employed with linear contrasts (i.e., Control < Norm-alone < Induced-hypocrisy) as our interest contrast.

Finally, we hypothesized that participants' humanness attributions to PEH would positively mediate the effect of hypocrisy on PEH contact intentions. We decided to run a mediation model (with the *lavaan* package, Rosseel, 2012) if at least one of the results of the ANOVAs was significant.

## Results

### Confirmatory analyses

The descriptive data are presented in **Table 1**.

The logistic model calculated for contact intentions indicated a significant omnibus effect of our condition variable [ $\chi^2(204) = 6.50, p = .039, R^2_{Nagelkerke} = 0.06$ ]. More specifically, the linear contrast was significant (*estimate* = 0.80, *SE* = 0.38, *OR* = 2.23, 95% CI [1.10, 5.09], *p* = .036), while the quadratic contrast was not significant (*estimate* = 0.30, *SE* = 0.39, *OR* = 1.35, 95% CI [0.64, 3.06], *p* = .45). Thus, consistent with our hypothesis 1, the results showed a positive trend in participants' contact intentions toward PEH from the control condition, the norm-alone condition, and the induced-hypocrisy condition (see **Figure 1**). Further analyses revealed that contact intentions were greater in the hypocrisy condition than in the two other conditions (*estimate* = 1.04, *SE* = 0.41, *OR* = 2.82, 95% CI [1.27, 6.48], *p* = .01) and that there was no significant difference between the norm-alone and control conditions (*estimate* = 0.20, *SE* = 0.61, *OR* = 1.22, 95% CI [0.37, 4.34], *p* = .74).

The two ANOVAs performed on the UH [ $F(2,204) = 1.08, p = .34, \eta^2 = .01$ ] and HN ( $F(2,204) = 0.01, p = .99, \eta^2 = .00$ ) traits indicated no significant omnibus effects. Additionally, the linear and quadratic contrasts were not significant. These results did not support our hypothesis 2. Since there was no significant effect of the condition on humanness attributions, we did not run the preregistered mediation analysis.

### **Exploratory analyses**

We observed that participants in the induced-hypocrisy condition reported a relatively high average number of transgressions ( $M = 3.45$ , median = 4, min = 1, max = 5) with substantial variability ( $SD = 1.03$ ). Prior research has highlighted that the characteristics of transgressive recall can influence induced hypocrisy (e.g., Fointiat et al., 2008; Sénémeaud et al., 2014; Stone & Fernandez, 2011). While a greater number of “trivial” transgressions enhances the hypocrisy effect, a larger number of “serious” transgressions diminishes the effect (Fointiat et al., 2008). Given that discrimination against PEH could be deemed “serious” transgressions, it may explain the absence of impact on humanness attributions. Consequently, we conducted an exploratory reanalysis by distinguishing participants who recalled a number of transgressions above the median (i.e.,  $\geq 4$  transgressions,  $n = 44$ ; ‘*high induced-hypocrisy condition*’) from those who recalled a number of transgressions below the median (i.e.,  $\leq 3$ ,  $n = 33$ ; condition ‘*moderate induced-hypocrisy condition*’). Given the context of discrimination toward the PEH, our hypothesis was that the effect of hypocrisy would be more pronounced in the *moderate-hypocrisy* condition than in the *high-hypocrisy* condition.

For UH attributions, the results indicated a main effect of our conditions,  $F(3,203) = 2.76, p = .04, \eta^2 = .04$ . More precisely, simple comparisons showed that participants in the moderate induced-hypocrisy condition attributed significantly more UH traits to PEH ( $M = 4.65, SD = 0.80$ ) than did participants in the control condition ( $M = 4.23, SD = 0.83$ ; see **Figure 2**). This effect was significant for participants in neither the norm-alone condition ( $M = 4.21, SD = 0.84$ ), nor the high induced-hypocrisy condition ( $M = 4.20, SD = 0.64$ ). For HN attributions, the results indicated no main effect of our conditions,  $F(3,203) = 0.01, p = .99, \eta^2 = .002.76, p = .04, \eta^2 = .04$ .

Therefore, we decided to run the preregistered mediation model, with our experimental conditions as predictors, UH attributions as mediators and contact intentions as outcomes. The means of the UH attributions were centered, and the Weighted Least Squares with Mean and Variance adjustment (WLSMV) estimator was used rather than the traditional maximum likelihood estimator due to the categorical nature of the outcome. For the control vs. moderate induced-hypocrisy condition comparisons (see **Figure 3**), the results indicated a significant total effect ( $estimate = 0.68$ ,  $SE = .33$ , 95% CI [0.03, 1.34],  $p = .04$ ,  $\beta = .24$ ), along with significant effects of induced hypocrisy on UH attributions ( $estimate = 0.42$ ,  $SE = .17$ , 95% CI [0.09, 0.75],  $p = .01$ ,  $\beta = .19$ ) and UH attributions on contact intentions ( $estimate = 0.250$ ,  $SE = 0.13$ , 95% CI [0.01, 0.49],  $p = .048$ ,  $\beta = .19$ ). After accounting for the effect of UH attributions on contact intentions, the direct effect of induced hypocrisy on intentions was no longer significant ( $estimate = 0.580$ ,  $SE = 0.34$ , 95% CI [-0.08, 1.23],  $p = .08$ ,  $\beta = .20$ ). Taken together, these exploratory results align with our second hypothesis, indicating that the induced-hypocrisy effect on contact intentions could be mediated by the increase in UH attributions toward PEH.

## Discussion

This study underscores the efficiency of the induced-hypocrisy paradigm in mitigating the public stigma of PEH, specifically by enhancing the willingness to interact with them and, in some way, through the enhancement of humanness attributions toward them.

Preventing the social exclusion from which PEH suffer is an important issue, since it is the cause of many negative consequences on the mental and physical health of PEH (for a systematic review, see Reilly et al., 2022). In this respect, the results of our study are rather clear, as they indicate we have enhanced PEH contact intentions through the use of a new strategy based on induced-hypocrisy paradigm. More precisely, individuals who recall their transgressions against an anti-discrimination social norm, to which they subscribe, exhibit greater willingness to initiate contact with PEH. These results have concrete implications for overcoming PEH public stigma. Beyond merely reminding individuals of their values (e.g., universalism and benevolence in this study; Schwartz, 2006), our findings indicate that it is crucial to actively involve individuals, prompting individual reflection on their

stance regarding these norms and fostering awareness of their deviations (Mauduy, Priolo, et al., 2023). As such, these findings contribute to existing research showing that induced hypocrisy reduces discriminatory behavior (Mauduy et al., 2022). Although some researchers have expressed concerns about the effectiveness of a hypocrisy procedure that is not conducted face-to-face (McGrath, 2018), our research supports previous research (Mauduy, Bagneux, et al., 2023; Mauduy & Mange, 2023) by providing additional support for induced-hypocrisy's effective implementation in group settings (i.e., approximately 30 participants per group).

Furthermore, public stigma toward PEH not only includes behavioral reactions made of social exclusion but also cognitive reactions made of dehumanization. Indeed, PEH are often dehumanized (Kuljian & Hohman, 2023), and reduced attributions of humanness foster their social exclusion (Tausen et al., 2023). Therefore, preventing the dehumanization of PEH is also a major challenge in reducing their stigma. However, while our study demonstrated the positive impact of induced hypocrisy on contact intentions, the interpretation of this effect in terms of rehumanization is limited.

Our exploratory findings suggest that the induced-hypocrisy strategy can enhance humanness attributions toward PEH, mediating its impact on contact intentions. These results are important because they show that improving the perception of humanity in PEH could help reduce their social exclusion. Although obtained in an exploratory manner, these results are supported by the literature (Bruneau et al., 2018; Tausen et al., 2023).

Our exploratory results were observed only when participants were distinguished based on the number of transgressions they reported, indicating that recalling a large number of transgressions is detrimental to the hypocrisy effect on humanness attribution. This finding aligns with previous studies showing that recalling numerous transgressions can reduce or cancel out the induced-hypocrisy effect (e.g., Fointiat et al., 2008; Martinie & Fointiat, 2010; Stone & Fernandez, 2011) and can be explained by cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957). Specifically, recalling many transgressions may reinforce the salience of transgression-related cognitions, leading to increased resistance to changing these cognitions. Moreover, these results were obtained only for attributions of human uniqueness, not human nature (Haslam, 2006), consistent with research indicating that animalistic dehumanization

predicts avoidant behaviors more than does mechanistic dehumanization (Tausen et al., 2023). Finally, these results provide further support for the alternative explanation of the induced-hypocrisy effect in the context of a theoretical debate surrounding its explanation. The initial explanation in terms of self-consistency (Aronson, 1999) posits that induced hypocrisy motivates individuals to restore their self-concept by aligning attitudes with transgressions or adopting prosocial behaviors. Our findings, showing enhanced humanness attributions, support the alternative explanation in terms of social norm deviation which posits that induced hypocrisy is driven by a desire to conform to social norms by adopting normative behavior or strengthening cognitions associated with the social norm (e.g., Priolo et al., 2016; Mauduy et al., 2022; Mauduy et al., 2023). Moreover, these results are particularly innovative in the field of induced hypocrisy. They indicate that the induced-hypocrisy strategy may provoke beneficial cognitive changes that precede and facilitate desired behavioral changes, whereas researchers did not previously consider that these hypocrisy effects on behavioral change could be mediated by other changes, such as those involving cognitions.

However, these exploratory results warrant caution and replication, as our confirmatory results did not show a significant effect of hypocrisy on humanness attributions toward PEH. Besides, the lack of a direct influence of hypocrisy on these attributions may be consistent with existing literature. For instance, we employed subtle and indirect measures of humanness attributions that are traditional measures of dehumanization (Kteily & Landry, 2022). Yet, induced-hypocrisy effects typically manifest through a deliberate process, leading individuals to consciously engage in normative behaviors (Stone & Fernandez, 2008). According to the Associative-Propositional Evaluation (APE) model (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2014, 2006), reducing cognitive dissonance - a deliberative process involving propositional beliefs - can directly lead to explicit but not to implicit changes, as might be the case with the subtle measures used in this study. Therefore, it might be preferable to use more blatant measures of dehumanization, such as the Ascent of Man measure (Kteily et al., 2015) to better understand the impact of induced hypocrisy on the rehumanization of the PEH.

Furthermore, in this research we assumed that rehumanization mediates the impact of induced hypocrisy on contact intentions. However, it is possible that the effect of hypocrisy on humanness attributions requires an initial effect on contact intentions. In other words, contact intentions might

Running title: Induced hypocrisy against homelessness stigma

mediate the impact of induced hypocrisy on humanness attributions toward PEH, which could in turn foster effective contact. Indeed, the APE model (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2014, 2006) suggests that subtle changes may occur indirectly, rather than directly, as a result of induced hypocrisy. Said differently, explicit changes should occur at first. This hypothesis is supported by literature on both induced hypocrisy and stigma. Indeed, previous research has shown that induced hypocrisy leads to subtle changes after deliberate commitment to normative behavior (Mauduy et al., 2022). Moreover, research on intergroup relations has demonstrated a bidirectional relationship between contact and humanness attributions (Capozza et al., 2017). Thus, future studies should investigate the indirect influence of induced hypocrisy on contact while investigating its serial mediation through contact intentions at first and then subtle humanness attributions. While these hypotheses and future research directions could theoretically contribute to understanding the psychological processes underlying the prevention of PEH public stigma, targeting both dehumanization and social exclusion reactions is likely necessary to effectively combat PEH public stigma.

### **Limitations**

This study has several limitations. First, the sample consisted solely of students. We focused on this population because they are future professionals who may work with PEH. Raising their awareness of homelessness stigma at an early stage is crucial. However, students might be more inclined than the general population to engage in PEH, which needs to be considered. Second, we measured behavioral intention, rather than behavior. We focused on intention, measured through the commitment to perform a behavior, because (1) it is classically used to measure the hypocrisy effect (Priolo et al., 2019) and (2) we precisely aimed at testing a strategy that could strengthen intentions to have contact with PEH. However, measuring both contact intentions and effective contact is the crucial next step to provide better evidence of the benefits of the induced-hypocrisy strategy. Additionally, this study specifically examined contact intentions using a single-item measure, as in previous research (see Priolo et al., 2019). Future studies should use more comprehensive measures of intention to address this limitation.

### **Conclusion**

People who experience homelessness are stigmatized, which manifests through dehumanized perceptions and avoidant behaviors. In addition to previous research showing that contact lowers the

public stigma of PEH, this research examined the precursor step of how to promote motivation to be in contact with PEH. This study provides pioneering evidence that induced hypocrisy can be an effective intervention tool for reducing the public stigma of homelessness while improving contact intentions and even rehumanizing PEH under certain conditions. Thus, this research has practical implications for public campaigns. It indicates that communications aimed at lowering the stigma of PEH should focus not only on promoting a more inclusive society but also on actively involving individuals by challenging them with their own behaviors.

### References

- Abdi, H., & Williams, L. J. (2010). Contrast Analysis; How to express a research hypothesis as a contrast. *Encyclopedia of Research Design*, 1–14.
- Aronson, E. (1999). Dissonance, hypocrisy, and the self-concept. In E. Harmon-Jones & J. Mills (Eds.), *Cognitive dissonance: Progress on a pivotal theory in social psychology* (pp. 103–126). American Psychological Association.
- Aronson, Elliot., Fried, Carrie., & Stone, Jeff. (1991). Overcoming denial and increasing the intention to use condoms through the induction of hypocrisy. *American Journal of Public Health*, 81(12), 1636–1638. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.81.12.1636>
- Bos, A. E. R., Pryor, J. B., Reeder, G. D., & Stutterheim, S. E. (2013). Stigma: Advances in Theory and Research. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 35(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2012.746147>
- Bruneau, E., Kteily, N. S., & Falk, E. (2018). Interventions Highlighting Hypocrisy Reduce Collective Blame of Muslims for Individual Acts of Violence and Assuage Anti-Muslim Hostility. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 44(3), 430–448. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167217744197>
- Capozza, D., Di Bernardo, G. A., & Falvo, R. (2017). Intergroup Contact and Outgroup Humanization: Is the Causal Relationship Uni- or Bidirectional? *PLOS ONE*, 12(1), e0170554. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0170554>
- Festinger, L. (1957). *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. Stanford University Press.

Running title: Induced hypocrisy against homelessness stigma

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(6), 878–902. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878>

Fointiat, V., Morisot, V., & Pakuszewski, M. (2008). Effects of past Transgressions in an Induced Hypocrisy Paradigm. *Psychological Reports*, 103(2), 625–633. <https://doi.org/10.2466/pr0.103.2.625-633>

Gawronski, B., & Bodenhausen, G. (2014). The associative-propositional evaluation model: Operating principles and operating conditions of evaluation. *Dual-Process Theories of the Social Mind*, 188–203. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-385522-0.00002-0>

Gawronski, B., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2006). Associative and propositional processes in evaluation: An integrative review of implicit and explicit attitude change. *Psychological Bulletin*, 132(5), 692–731. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.132.5.692>

Harris, L. T., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Dehumanizing the lowest of the low. *Psychological Science*, 17(10), 215–226. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315187280-8>

Haslam, N. (2006). Dehumanization: An Integrative Review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10(3), 252–264. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1003\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1003_4)

Haslam, N., Loughnan, S., Kashima, Y., & Bain, P. (2008). Attributing and denying humanness to others. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 19(1), 55–85. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280801981645>

Knecht, T., & Martinez, L. M. (2009). Humanizing the homeless: Does contact erode stereotypes? *Social Science Research*, 38(3), 521–534. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2009.01.009>

Kteily, N. S., Bruneau, E., Waytz, A., & Cotterill, S. (2015). The Ascent of Man: A Theoretical and Empirical Case for Blatant Dehumanization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(5), 901–931. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000048>

Kteily, N. S., & Landry, A., P. (2022). Dehumanization: Trends, insights, and challenges. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 26(3), 222–240. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2021.12.003>



Running title: Induced hypocrisy against homelessness stigma

- Kuljian, O. R., & Hohman, Z. P. (2023). Warmth, competence, and subtle dehumanization: Comparing clustering patterns of warmth and competence with animalistic and mechanistic dehumanization. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *62*(1), 181–196.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12565>
- Lee, B. A., Tyler, K. A., & Wright, J. D. (2010). The New Homelessness Revisited. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *36*(1), 501–521. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-115940>
- Li, M., Leidner, B., & Castano, E. (2014). Toward a comprehensive taxonomy of dehumanization: Integrating two senses of humanness, mind perception theory, and stereotype content model. *Testing, Psychometrics, Methodology in Applied Psychology*, *3*, 285–300.  
<https://doi.org/10.4473/TPM21.3.4>
- Lott, B. (2002). Cognitive and behavioral distancing from the poor. *American Psychologist*, *57*(2), 100–110. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.57.2.100>
- Martinie, M. A., & Fointiat, V. (2010). Enfreindre sans craindre: Tolérance à la dissonance dans le paradigme de l'hypocrisie induite. *Psychologie Française*, *55*(1), 41–47.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psfr.2010.02.003>
- Mauduy, M. (2022). *Rôle des normes sociales dans la production et compréhension de l'effet d'hypocrisie induite: Application à la prévention des discriminations*. Université de Caen Normandie.
- Mauduy, M., Bagneux, V., & Sénémeaud, C. (2023). Fostering victim-defending behaviors among school bullying witnesses: A longitudinal and experimental test of two new strategies for changing behavior. *Social Psychology of Education*, *26*(1), 263–274.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-022-09745-z>
- Mauduy, M., & Mange, J. (2023). Subjective Norm Rather Than Social Norm in the Induced-Hypocrisy Paradigm: A Test in the Context of School Bullying Victim Support. *International Review of Social Psychology*, *36*(1), 14. <https://doi.org/10.5334/irsp.776>
- Mauduy, M., Priolo, D., Margas, N., & Sénémeaud, C. (2022). When Combining Injunctive and Descriptive Norms Strengthens the Hypocrisy Effect: A test in the Field of Discrimination. *Frontiers in Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.989599>

Running title: Induced hypocrisy against homelessness stigma

- Mauduy, M., Priolo, D., Margas, N., & Sénémeaud, C. (2023). Does the First Step of the Induced-Hypocrisy Paradigm Really Matter? An Initial Investigation Using a Meta-Analytic Approach. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506231188164>
- McGrath, A. L. (2018). Encouraging ecological behaviour through induced hypocrisy and inconsistency: A commentary. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *56*(June), 1–2. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2018.01.005>
- National Alliance to End Homelessness. (2022). *State of Homelessness: 2023 Edition*. <https://endhomelessness.org/homelessness-in-america/homelessness-statistics/state-of-homelessness/>
- Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U., & Christ, O. (2011). Recent advances in intergroup contact theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *35*(3), 271–280. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.03.001>
- Priolo, D., Milhabet, I., Codou, O., Fointiat, V., Lebarbenchon, E., & Gabarrot, F. (2016). Encouraging ecological behaviour through induced hypocrisy and inconsistency. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *47*, 166–180. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2016.06.001>
- Priolo, D., Pelt, A., Bauzel, R. S., Rubens, L., Voisin, D., & Fointiat, V. (2019). Three Decades of Research on Induced Hypocrisy: A Meta-Analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *45*(12), 1681–1701. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167219841621>
- Rasset, P., Montalan, B., & Mange, J. (2023). Only human after all? A pre-registered study on gaze behavior and humanity attributions to people with facial difference. *PLOS ONE*, *18*(12), e0295617. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0295617>
- Rasset, P., Montalan, B., Mauny, N., Boudjemadi, V., & Mange, J. (2022). Not All ‘Intouchables’: Variations in Humanness Perceptions between Physical and Mental Disability. *International Review of Social Psychology*, *35*(1), 7. <https://doi.org/10.5334/irsp.596>
- Reilly, J., Ho, I., & Williamson, A. (2022). A systematic review of the effect of stigma on the health of people experiencing homelessness. *Health & Social Care in the Community*, *30*(6), 2128–2141. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hsc.13884>

Running title: Induced hypocrisy against homelessness stigma

- Rosseel, Y. (2012). lavaan: An R Package for Structural Equation. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *48*(2).
- Rubens, L., Gosling, P., Bonaiuto, M., Brisbois, X., & Moch, A. (2015). Being a Hypocrite or Committed While I Am Shopping? A Comparison of the Impact of Two Interventions on Environmentally Friendly Behavior. *Environment and Behavior*, *47*(1), 3–16.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916513482838>
- Schwartz, S. H. (2006). Basic Human Values: An Overview. *Jerusalem Hebrew University*, *48*, 49–71.
- Sénémeaud, C., Mange, J., Fointiat, V., & Somat, A. (2014). Being hypocritical disturbs some people more than others: How individual differences in preference for consistency moderate the behavioral effects of the induced-hypocrisy paradigm. *Social Influence*, *9*(2), 133–148.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510.2013.791235>
- Stone, J., & Fernandez, N. C. (2008). To Practice What We Preach: The Use of Hypocrisy and Cognitive Dissonance to Motivate Behavior Change. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *2*(2), 1024–1051. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2008.00088.x>
- Stone, J., & Fernandez, N. C. (2011). When thinking about less failure causes more dissonance: The effect of elaboration and recall on behavior change following hypocrisy. *Social Influence*, *6*(4), 199–211. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510.2011.618368>
- Tausen, B. M., Lee, J. H., Dischinger, A. S., & Dennis, I. A. (2023). When dehumanization does (and does not) matter: Exploring the relationship between social justice motivations, avoidant behaviors, and intentions to help individuals experiencing homelessness. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *53*(9), 835–849. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12971>
- Weisz, C., & Quinn, D. M. (2018). *Stigmatized Identities, Psychological Distress, and Physical Health: Intersections of Homelessness and Race*. *3*(3), 229–240.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/sah0000093>
- West, K., Hotchin, V., & Wood, C. (2017). Imagined contact can be more effective for participants with stronger initial prejudices. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *47*(5), 282–292.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12437>

**Tables**

**Table 1**

*Means and Standard Deviations for Study Variables across Conditions*

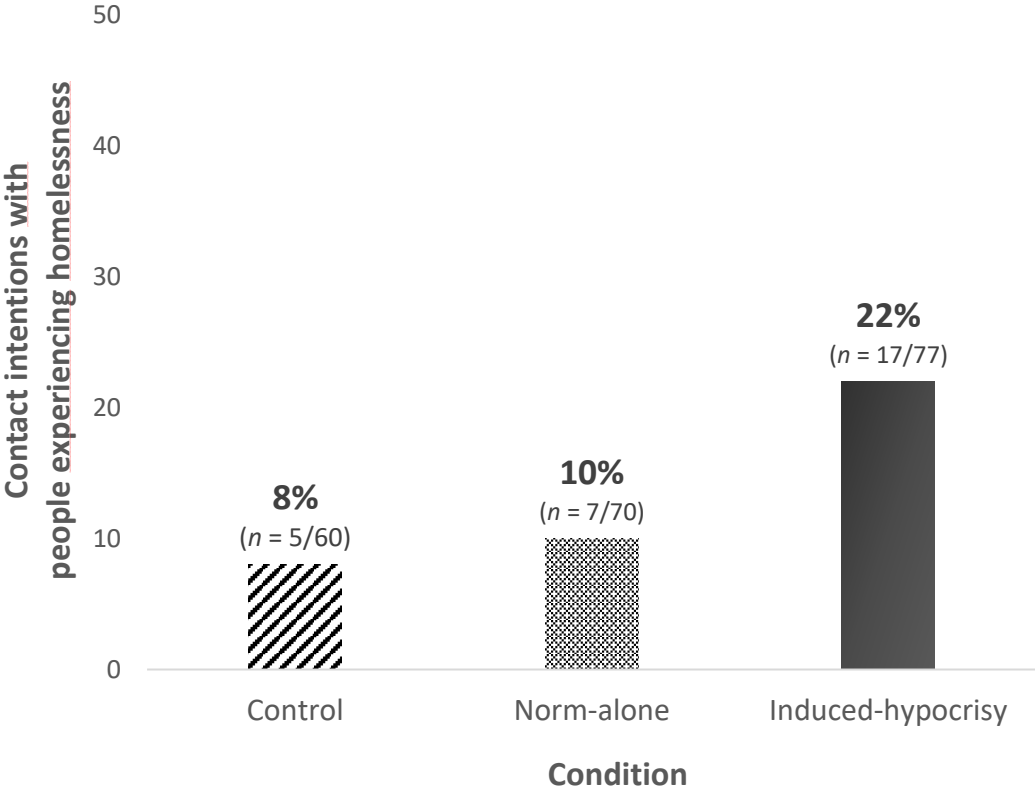
Conditions	Measures		
	UH traits	HN traits	Contact intentions
Control ( <i>n</i> = 60)	4.23 (0.83)	4.95 (0.88)	8% ( <i>n</i> = 5)
Norm-alone ( <i>n</i> = 70)	4.21 (0.84)	4.94 (0.92)	10% ( <i>n</i> = 7)
Induced-hypocrisy ( <i>n</i> = 77)	4.39 (0.74)	4.93 (0.93)	22% ( <i>n</i> = 17)

*Note.* *N* = 207. UH: uniquely human. HN: human nature. Uniquely human and human nature traits were assessed with items from the Dual Model questionnaire. Contact intentions were assessed by asking participants whether or not they would like to become involved in an association preventing homelessness discrimination (yes/no response).

**Figures**

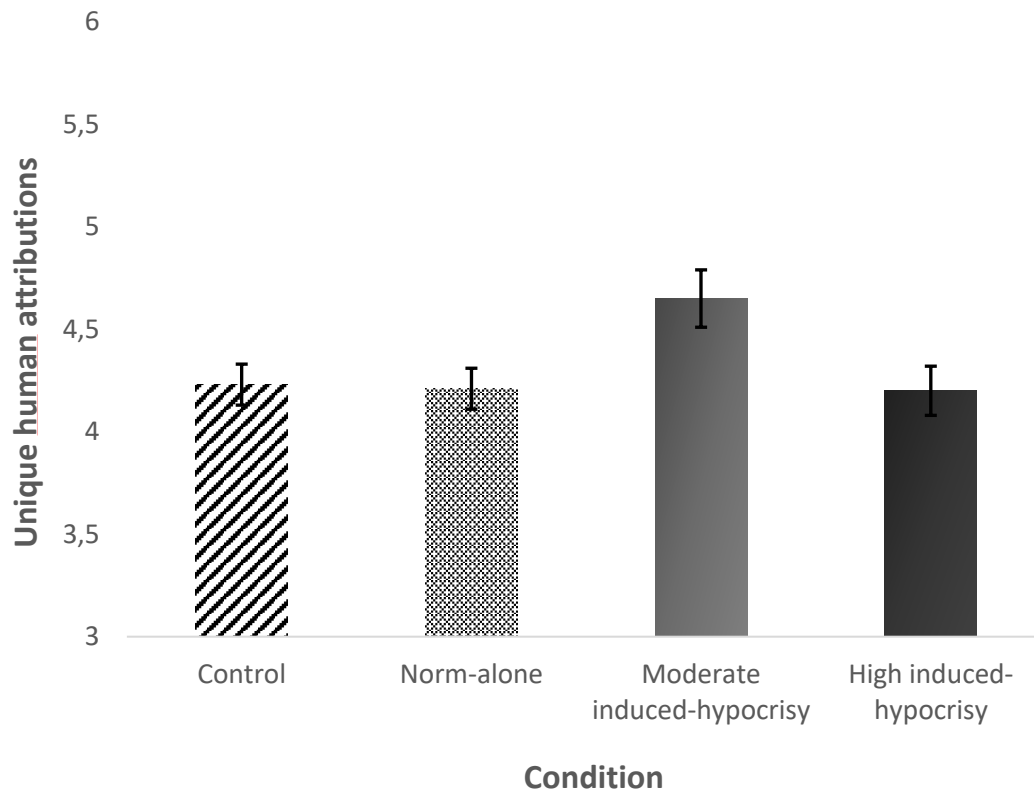
**Figure 1**

*Contact intentions with homelessness across the three conditions.*



**Figure 2**

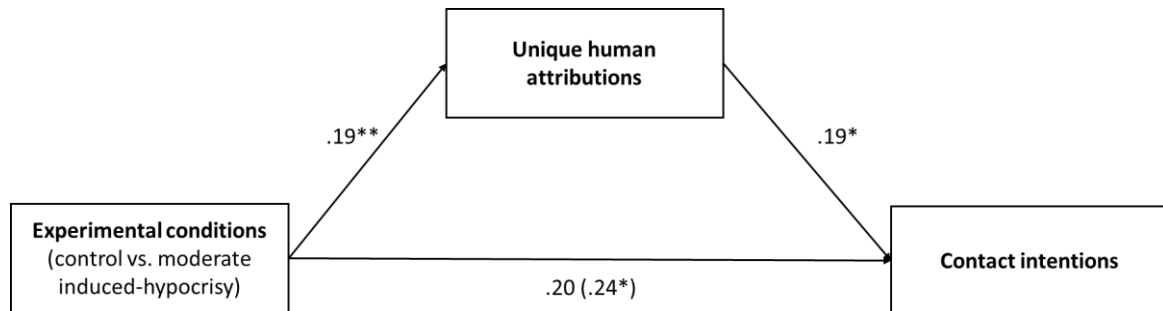
*Unique human attributions to people experiencing homelessness across conditions.*



*Note.*  $N = 207$ . The data are presented as the means and standard errors.

**Figure 3**

*Induced-hypocrisy effect (vs. control) on contact intentions with people experiencing homelessness mediated by an increase in participants' uniquely human attributions to PEH*



*Note.* Data show  $\beta$  weights statistically significant at : \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ .