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**What Can Language Do?: Person-Centered Label Effects on Perceptions and Behaviors
Toward People Who Are Homeless**

By

Huidi Yuan

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Faculty Advisor: Boaz Keysar

Preceptor: Amanda Ceniti

Abstract

Language not only reflects but also shapes how individuals perceive and respond to marginalized social groups. The present study investigates whether person-centered labels (e.g., “people who experience housing insecurity”) reduce stigma and promote supportive behavior toward homeless individuals compared to conventional labels (e.g., “the homeless”). Drawing on theories of linguistic framing, we test two competing accounts: the label-as-framing account, which predicts that language alters perception and behavior, and the label-as-reference account, which suggests that labels are inert referents to an already stigmatized group. In a between-subjects experiment (N = 390), participants were randomly assigned to one of two label conditions and completed measures of stigma, stereotype endorsement, and a donation-based behavioral task. Results showed that person-centered labels significantly reduced stigma and stereotypes, supporting the label-as-framing account. However, label conditions did not directly influence donation behavior. Instead, stigma partially mediated the relationship between labels and donations, and the effect of labeling on perception was moderated by participants’ perceived similarity between the two labels. These findings suggest that while person-centered language can shift attitudes, its ability to influence behavior may depend on deeper interpretive and motivational processes. Implications for stigma reduction and social policy are discussed.

What Can Language Do?: Person-Centered Label Effects on Perceptions and Behaviors Toward People Who Are Homeless

On a given day in January 2023, roughly 653,104 people, or about 20 of every 10,000 people, experienced homelessness across the United States. This is the highest number of people who reported experiencing homelessness on a single night since 2007 (Tanya de Sousa et al., 2023). When talking about homelessness, terms such as “the homeless” and “homeless people” are commonly used (Tsai et al., 2022). Although these terms may appear descriptive, they carry significant social implications. Language plays a central role in shaping social reality, and the way we label people experiencing housing insecurity may influence how the public perceives them and whether support is extended. Understanding the psychological effects of labeling is, therefore, essential to combating stigma and promoting inclusive interventions for this marginalized group.

Labels Matter in Social Cognition

Labels are central to human social cognition, serving as cognitive shortcuts that help individuals quickly classify and respond to others. From early development, people engage in descriptive-to-prescriptive reasoning, using observed group characteristics to infer normative expectations and behavioral tendencies (Roberts, 2022). Through categorical labeling, people simplify complex social information and reduce cognitive load by assigning individuals to broad social categories based on visible or socially salient characteristics (Gervits et al., 2023). However, on the other hand, when people use the labels they have learned to categorize, describe, and understand others, the normative expectations and salient characteristics associated with the labels can be oversimplified and reinforce stereotypes toward the labeled group (Burgers & Beukeboom, 2020). Once a label is applied, it can activate entrenched stereotypes and shape

judgments about an individual's responsibility, competence, and moral worth (Feroni & Rothbart, 2013; Gervits et al., 2023).

A growing body of research demonstrates that labels do more than categorize—they systematically shape behavioral responses toward the labeled individual. Even in the absence of strong prior associations, people tend to ascribe meaning to novel labels and allow them to guide behavior. For example, Hong & Ratner (2021) found that participants randomly assigned to minimal social categories (e.g., “overestimators” vs. “underestimators”) inferred distinct personality traits and allocated more resources to members of one labeled group over the other. Despite being informed that these group distinctions were arbitrary, participants perceived “overestimators” as more dominant and confident while viewing “underestimators” as more trustworthy but less emotionally stable. These findings suggest that labeling—even when introduced without context—can produce meaningful social inferences and influence downstream decision-making.

In the context of stigmatized groups, these effects are particularly pronounced. For instance, individuals labeled as “mentally ill” are perceived as more dangerous and socially distant, which in turn reduces willingness to offer help or support inclusive policies (Angermeyer & Matschinger, 2003; Martinez et al., 2011). Similarly, poor people labeled as “homeless” are perceived as more stigmatized compared to poor people labeled as “generic” or “domiciled,” leading to greater social distance and less willingness to offer help or support (Phelan et al., 1997). More recently, Lauricella (2025) demonstrated that patients labeled as “homeless” in emergency department documentation were significantly less likely to be admitted for care or receive intravenous opioids, even when controlling for clinical and demographic variables. Collectively, these studies highlight the influence of linguistic framing on eliciting affective and

moral judgments that shape not only interpersonal dynamics but also professional decision-making. Labels are not neutral descriptors; they serve as cues that guide how individuals are perceived, evaluated, and treated.

Label Variation Within the Same Group

Crucially, even when referring to the same social group, different labels can carry distinct connotations and social consequences. For instance, neutral labels for ethnic minorities—such as the Romani in Serbia—lead to more favorable evaluations, with individuals perceived as more sociable and competent than when derogatory terms are used (Gligorić et al., 2021). In mental health studies, diagnostic labels like “schizophrenic” versus “person with schizophrenia” have been shown to shift perceptions of warmth, competence, and moral deservingness (Angermeyer & Matschinger, 2003; P. Corrigan et al., 2003; P. Corrigan et al., 2000). Similar variances are also shown in different labels for intellectual disability groups (Werner & Abergel, 2018), immigrant groups (Rucker et al., 2019), and returning citizens (Jackl, 2023). These studies suggest that the choice of label can influence the extent to which individuals labeled in this way are dehumanized, stereotyped, or supported.

Ideologically, conventional labels based on categorical identities—such as “the homeless” or “prisoner”—are thought to define individuals by their marginalized status and reinforce essentialist assumptions that fuel stigmatization. In contrast, person-centered labels such as “people who experience housing insecurity” or “person who is incarcerated” emphasize personhood and situate the condition as temporary, contextual, or externally caused (Bedell et al., 2018; Tran et al., 2018). Theoretically, person-centered reframing is posited to reduce perceptions of personal blame, increase empathy, and promote moral inclusion by highlighting shared humanity. Previous studies in criminal justice and mental health support the mechanism

of perception change: P. Corrigan et al. (2003) found that person-first language was associated with lower levels of stereotype endorsement and social distance toward individuals with mental illness. Similar effects have been reported in labeling studies for individuals who are incarcerated (Denver et al., 2017; Jackl, 2023).

While such findings provide promising evidence that person-centered language can shift social perception, whether these perceptual changes translate into meaningful behavioral outcomes remains less clear. Some scholars argue that the effects of linguistic reframing may be limited when group stigma is deeply entrenched or when person-centered terms are perceived as euphemistic, politically charged, or insincere (Duarte et al., 2015). As a result, it remains unclear whether changing the label alone can meaningfully shift public perceptions and behaviors.

Theoretical Accounts of Labeling Effects

This ambiguity has important theoretical implications. While prior research suggests that language can influence social judgments, the mechanisms behind such effects remain contested. Specifically, it is unclear whether linguistic framing directly alters perceptions and behavior, or whether its influence is constrained by more stable, deeply held beliefs about stigmatized groups. If labels function as powerful framing devices that reshape social perception, then even subtle linguistic changes may shift how individuals think about and act toward the labeled group. However, if labels merely point to a socially devalued category, changing the language may have limited psychological or behavioral impact. To adjudicate between these possibilities, we outline two competing theoretical accounts that make distinct predictions about the effects of person-centered labels.

First, we propose the **label-as-framing account**, which suggests that labels carry embedded social meanings that influence perception and, in turn, behavior. This view suggests

that person-centered language reduces stigma and stereotypes by emphasizing shared humanity and situating the condition as situational rather than defining. In this account, changes in perception mediate changes in behavior: using person-centered labels (e.g., “people who experience housing insecurity”) should reduce stigma and stereotypes compared to conventional labels (e.g., “the homeless”), which should lead to greater support for the labeled group. This account is grounded in theories of linguistic framing and social cognition, suggesting that how people are labeled shapes how they are understood and treated (Hong & Ratner, 2021; Roberts, 2022).

In contrast, the **label-as-reference account** suggests that labels simply denote a category that is already socially stigmatized. In this view, label variation has little effect because both person-centered and conventional terms refer to the same underlying group. Accordingly, participants’ responses should be driven not by label framing but by their existing perceptions, such as levels of empathy or endorsement of stereotypes. This account predicts that there will be no difference in stigma, stereotypes, or behavior across label conditions; instead, individual differences in perception should explain behavioral outcomes. This account implies that language change alone is insufficient to reshape public responses to homelessness unless accompanied by deeper shifts in cultural values and social norms.

Research Question & Hypotheses

While person-centered labeling has shown promise in reducing stigma in contexts such as mental health and criminal justice (e.g., “person with schizophrenia”; “person who is incarcerated”), it remains unclear whether such labels have similar effects in the domain of homelessness. This represents a critical empirical gap, given that homelessness carries particularly entrenched stereotypes related to personal failure, danger, and moral deviance. Thus,

beyond testing two theoretical accounts of labeling effects, this study also aims to evaluate whether linguistic reframing can meaningfully shift perceptions and behavior toward one of society's most persistently stigmatized groups.

To address this, the present study asks: Can person-centered labels reduce public stigma and stereotypes and foster prosocial behaviors toward homeless individuals? If person-centered labeling significantly reduces stigma and stereotypes and leads to increased prosocial behavior, this would support the label-as-framing account, which holds that language can shape social cognition and behavior. In contrast, if labeling condition has no effect on perception or behavior—and helping behavior is instead predicted by individual attitudes—this would support the label-as-reference account, suggesting that linguistic change is insufficient in the face of deep-rooted social stigma. We therefore test two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Participants exposed to person-centered labels will report lower levels of stigma and stereotype endorsement than those exposed to conventional labels.

Hypothesis 2: (a) Participants in the person-centered condition will show greater willingness to support the labeled group (measured via charitable donation), and (b) their perceptions of stigma and stereotypes will mediate this effect.

Method

Participants

A total of 399 participants were recruited from an online participant pool (e.g., Prolific) and directed to an online survey hosted on Qualtrics. Eligibility criteria required participants to be (1) adults residing in the United States with either citizenship or permanent residency and (2) native English speakers. Participants who failed a pre-registered attention check were excluded from analyses. Nine participants were excluded on this basis, resulting in a final sample of 390

participants (M age = 38.81 years, SD = 13.89; 43.08% male, 55.38% female, and 1.28% non-binary or third-gender). There were no significant differences in age, $t(350.25) = 1.53$, $p = 0.13$, or gender distribution, $\chi^2(3, N = 390) = 1.37$, $p = .712$, between the person-centered and conventional label conditions. The survey took approximately 13 minutes to complete, and participants were compensated at a rate of \$12 per hour.

Design and Procedure

The current study used a between-subject online experiment in a survey format. Participants were randomly assigned to either person-centered or conventional label conditions. In the person-centered label condition, participants were exposed to the term “people who experience housing insecurity,” while in the conventional label condition, they encountered the term “the homeless.” The assigned label was used to refer to homeless individuals in all the instruction texts and questions in the survey. The survey assessed their perceptions of stigma, stereotypes, and supportive behaviors toward homeless individuals.

Measure

The survey assessed participants’ perceptions of stigma, stereotypes, and support toward the labeled group. **Perceived stigma** was measured using six items across three domains: responsibility, social distance, and danger (see Table 1 for detailed measures and items). Items assessing responsibility and danger were developed specifically for the present study, whereas the social distance items were adapted from a validated measure (Mitelman et al., 2023). Participants indicated their agreement with each statement on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Stereotypes were assessed using the 8-item Abbreviated Questionnaire from the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002). Participants rated their perceptions of homeless

individuals' competence, warmth, status, and competitiveness. Responses were collected on 5-point Likert scales, using either 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely) or 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), depending on the item wording.

To assess **supportive behavior** in a relatively realistic context, participants were asked to allocate a \$100 donation across three charitable organizations: one supporting homeless individuals, one supporting children, and one supporting animals. They were told that their decision would determine the amount of donation we, as researchers, would make to each organization. Participants read brief descriptions of each organization. They were instructed to distribute the full \$100 across the three organizations in any proportion. The amount allocated to the organization supporting homeless individuals was recorded as an index of supportive behavior.

Table 1
Main Measures

	Measures	Domains	Items	
Survey Measures	Stigma $N = 6$	Responsibility $N = 2$	[label] are responsible for their condition.	
	<i>Likert (1-5)</i>	Social distance $N = 3$	I would be willing to have [label] as my close personal friend.	
		Danger $N = 1$	[label] is dangerous.	
	Stereotype $N = 8$	<i>Likert (1-5)</i>	Competence $N = 2$	How competent are [Label]?
			Warmth $N = 2$	How warmhearted are [Label]?
Status $N = 2$			How well educated are [Label]?	
		Competition $N = 2$	The resources spent on [Label] could have been spent on me.	
Behavioral Measures	Donation \$100		Covenant House - For [Label]	
			Save the Children	
			American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA)	

At the end of the survey, participants reflected on which label they preferred out of person-centered and conventional labels using binary choice and free-response questions. Their familiarity with each label was measured using a 5-point Likert scale (1 (not familiar at all) to 5 (extremely familiar)). Moreover, their perception of how the two labels overlap in meaning was measured using a numeric rating scale (0% = completely different to 100% = exactly the same). Lastly, demographic information was collected, including age, gender, education, annual household income, political orientation, and experience with housing insecurity.

This study was approved by the University of Chicago Social and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (IRB Protocol #H11209). Informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to participation.

Results

We first explored our assumption that people perceive person-centered labels as less offensive and prefer them over conventional labels. At the end of the survey, more participants ($M = 77.2\%$) rated the person-centered label as less offensive than the conventional label, especially in the person-centered condition ($t(365.78) = 3.40, p < .001$). However, preference for personal language use differed according to the label condition they were assigned ($t(387.85) = 3.59, p < .001$), where person-centered labels were preferred by 58.9% of participants in the person-centered condition ($t(196) = 2.53, p = .012$) compared to 40.9% of participants in the conventional condition ($t(192) = -2.56, p = .011$).

Hypothesis 1: Effects of Person-Centered Labels on Stigma and Stereotypes

To test whether person-centered labels reduce stigma and stereotypes, we conducted one-way ANOVAs comparing responses from those exposed to the person-centered label

(“people who experience housing insecurity”) with those exposed to the conventional label (“the homeless”).

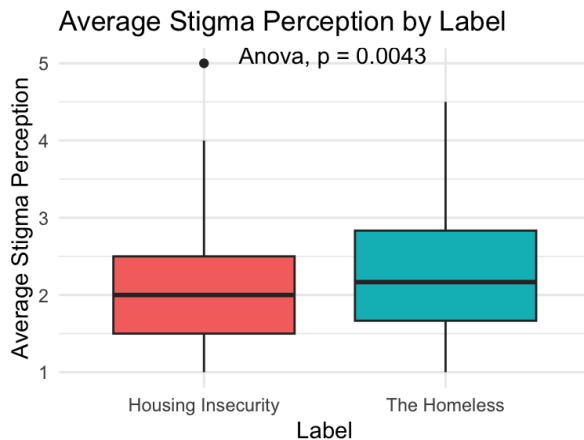
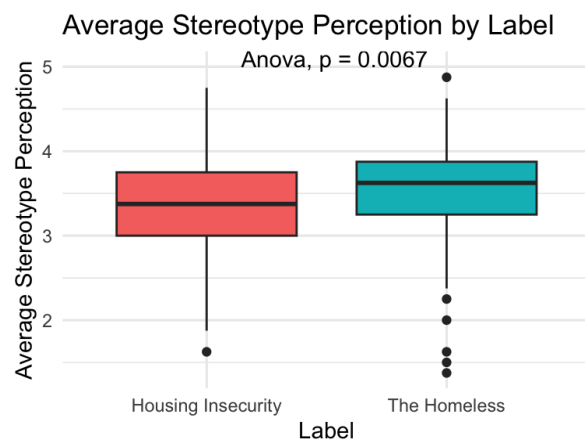
Table 2
Stigma and Stereotype by Label

	DV	Label
Stigma	Responsibility	$F = 0.61, p = .436$
	Social Distance	$F = 10.20, p = .002^{**}$
	Dangerousness	$F = 29.54, p < .001^{**}$
Mean stigma		$F = 8.24, p = .004^{**}$
Stereotype	Competence	$F = 0.51, p = .474$
	Warmth	$F = 4.77, p = .030^{**}$
	Status	$F = 3.72, p = .054^{\dagger}$
	Competition	$F = 3.30, p = .069^{\dagger}$
Mean stereotype		$F = 7.43, p = .007^{**}$

Note. Each cell reports the F statistic and corresponding p-value. All tests had 1 and 388 degrees of freedom. $\dagger p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Participants in the person-centered label condition reported significantly less stigma ($M = 2.07, SD = 0.71$) than those in the conventional label condition ($M = 2.28, SD = 0.73$), $F(1, 388) = 8.24, p = .004$ (see Figure 1), especially in social distance preference and dangerousness perception (see Table 2). Similarly, stereotype perceptions were significantly lower in the person-centered condition ($M = 3.37, SD = 0.52$) compared to the conventional condition ($M = 3.51, SD = 0.53$), $F(1, 388) = 7.43, p = .007$ (see Figure 2), especially in warmth perception (see Table 2). Stigma and stereotypes were positively correlated, indicating that a lower level of stigma was associated with lower-level stereotypical beliefs, $r(388) = .11, p = .031$.

These results support Hypothesis 1, suggesting that person-centered labels reduce both stigma and stereotypes toward homeless individuals. When people see person-centered labels, they are less likely to hold stigmatizing beliefs and stereotypes about the labeled group.

Figure 1**Figure 2**

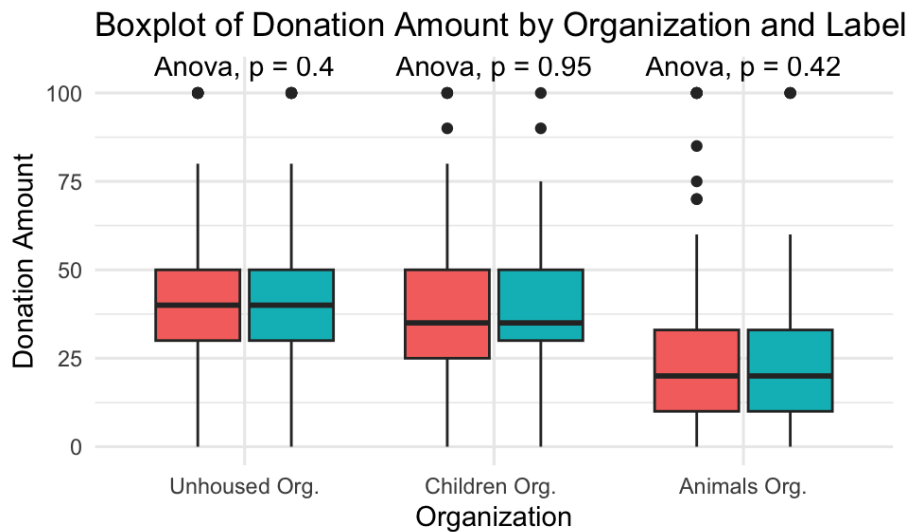
Hypothesis 2: Effects of Labels on Prosocial Behavior

We next tested whether people donated more to organizations supporting homeless individuals in the person-centered label condition compared to the conventional label condition. A one-way ANOVA revealed no significant difference between label conditions, $F(1, 388) = 0.71$, $p = .402$. Participants in the inclusive label condition donated an average of \$40.29 ($SD = 21.06$), while those in the conventional condition donated \$42.06 ($SD = 20.36$). Thus, there was no evidence to support Hypothesis 2a. This study did not show a difference in donation behaviors between label conditions.

Nevertheless, regression analyses showed that stigma perceptions significantly predicted donation amounts, $b = -8.24$, $SE = 2.01$, $t = -4.10$, $p < .001$: lower levels of stigma to homeless individuals predicted higher donation amounts. However, stereotypes did not predict donations, $r(388) = 0$, $p = .927$.

A mediation analysis was conducted to examine whether stigma mediated the effect of the label on donation behavior. The indirect effect of the label on donation through stigma was statistically significant, $b = 1.55$, $SE = 0.65$, 95% CI [0.41, 2.97], indicating that person-centered labeling reduced stigma, which in turn was associated with greater donation behavior. However, the direct effect of the label on donations became stronger (more negative) after accounting for stigma (total effect: $b = -1.76$; direct effect: $b = -3.30$), suggesting a suppression effect. This pattern implies that while stigma partially mediates the relationship between label and donation, it also suppresses variance in the direct path, revealing a stronger negative relationship when stigma is controlled. The overall model was significant, $F(2, 387) = 13.91$, $p < .001$, with an $R^2 = .07$. Therefore, Hypothesis 2b is partially supported. The present study showed participants' stigma perception mediated the relationship between the label and donation behavior.

Figure 3

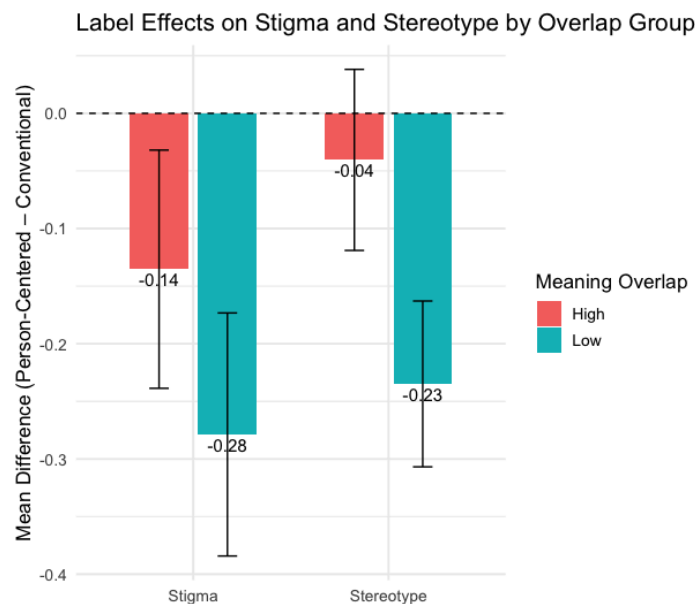


Exploratory Analysis

To support the main findings, we conducted additional exploratory analyses examining the effect of perceived meaning overlap between the two labels (“the homeless” and “people who

experience housing insecurity”). These analyses tested whether the influence of label conditions on stigma and stereotype perception varied as a function of how similar participants perceived the labels to be. The differences between the two label groups represent the labeling effects on stigma and stereotypes. The meaning overlap values were split at the median point (Median = 61) into two categories: low overlap and high overlap. Descriptive analysis showed that the labeling effect is more influential in participants who rated high overlap ($M_{\text{stigma dif}} = -0.28$, $SD_{\text{stigma dif}} = 0.11$; $M_{\text{stereotype dif}} = 0.023$, $SD_{\text{stereotype dif}} = 0.07$) than in participants rated low overlap ($M_{\text{stigma dif}} = -0.14$, $SD_{\text{stigma dif}} = 0.10$; $M_{\text{stereotype dif}} = -0.04$, $SD_{\text{stereotype dif}} = 0.08$). A similar trend was observed in every sub-scale of stigma and stereotype as well. However, the Label \times Overlap interaction in ANOVA was only significant for the competence sub-scale in stereotype ($F(1, 383) = 4.83$, $p = .029$) and marginally for mean stereotype ($F(1, 383) = 3.33$, $p = .068$). No significant interaction effects were observed for other stigma or stereotype outcomes. These patterns suggest that label effects on stigma and stereotype perception were marginally reduced among participants who perceived the two labels as highly similar.

Figure 4



Besides, we explore the potential moderating effects of political orientation, age, income, and education level. A 2x2 between-subjects ANOVA showed that political orientation did not predict donation amounts ($F(1, 370) = 0.43, p = .512$) or interact with label condition to predict donation amounts, $F(1, 370) = 0.15, p = .704$. Linear regression showed that higher age predicted more donations to the homeless organization, $b = 0.18, t(388) = 2.45, p = .015$. However, no significant interaction between age and label condition was observed, $b = 0.05, t(386) = 0.06, p = .713$. This suggests that the small positive association between age and donation did not vary across labeling conditions. Moreover, neither income ($b = -0.22, t(388) = -0.22, p = .825$) nor education level ($b = -0.11, t(388) = -0.14, p = .891$) significantly predicted donation behavior.

Discussion

This study examined whether person-centered labels influence public perceptions and behaviors toward homeless individuals. Specifically, we tested whether such labels reduce stigma and stereotypes and whether these perceptual changes translate into greater prosocial behavior. By doing so, we sought to adjudicate between two theoretical accounts: the *label-as-framing account*, which predicts that labels shape perception and behavior, and the *label-as-reference account*, which holds that labels are merely referential and psychologically inert.

Consistent with Hypothesis 1 and the label-as-framing account, we found that participants exposed to the person-centered label (“people who experience housing insecurity”) reported significantly lower levels of stigma and stereotype endorsement than those exposed to the conventional label (“the homeless”). Specifically, participants in the person-centered condition perceived homeless individuals as less dangerous, less socially distant, and less responsible for their situation and attributed lower levels of stereotype-based traits such as low

warmth and low competence. These findings align with past research showing that reframing stigmatized identities through person-first language can reduce dehumanizing perceptions (Bedell et al., 2018; P. Corrigan et al., 2003).

However, the results for Hypothesis 2 were more nuanced. Although participants' behavioral support—measured through donation allocation—did not significantly differ between label conditions, mediation analyses revealed that perceptions of stigma predicted donation behavior. Specifically, lower stigma was associated with higher donations, and stigma partially mediated the relationship between labeling condition and donation. This pattern suggests that the influence of labels on behavior may operate indirectly through shifts in affective judgment rather than through direct linguistic effects. Notably, stereotype perceptions did not predict donation, highlighting that moral evaluations—such as perceived blame and threat—may be more consequential for prosocial behavior than trait-based assessments like warmth or competence.

Moreover, the direct effect of the label on donation becomes more negative after accounting for stigma, suggesting a suppression effect or the existence of additional, unmeasured mediators working in the opposite direction. One possibility is that person-centered language while reducing stigma, may simultaneously evoke unintended psychological reactions—such as reduced perceived urgency of need or reduced evoked empathy—which may independently reduce donation behavior. Future work should explore these additional mechanisms.

Our exploratory analysis further revealed that participants' perceptions of meaning overlap moderated label effectiveness. Participants who perceived greater similarity between the two labels showed weaker effects of labeling on stereotype-related outcomes, particularly competence. These findings suggest that when individuals interpret new labels (e.g., “people

who experience housing insecurity”) as semantically interchangeable with conventional terms, the intended benefits of reframing may be diminished. This moderation effect supports the idea that linguistic interventions must introduce a meaningful conceptual distinction to alter social perception—merely substituting words is insufficient if the underlying category is interpreted as unchanged.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study used a hypothetical donation task, which may not fully reflect real-world giving behavior. Future research should extend these findings using actual donations or other behavioral measures. Observing the public’s behavior through field experiments can be a meaningful approach. Moreover, because the donation measure was at the end of the survey, participants might be primed to show more prosocial behavior towards homeless individuals. We might see a greater difference between label conditions if they were not primed.

Social desirability bias is another concern; participants may have responded to inclusive labels in ways they believed were socially acceptable. The online self-report survey used in the present study may exacerbate this bias and also ignore the gap between thoughts and actual behaviors. Incorporating implicit measures or behavioral indicators of stigma in a more naturalistic context could provide more nuanced insights.

While our study focused on a single linguistic intervention, future research should explore how labels interact with other messaging strategies, such as narratives that emphasize personal stories of homelessness or structural explanations for housing insecurity. Combining linguistic reframing with evidence-based persuasion techniques may offer a more comprehensive approach to reducing stigma and promoting prosocial action.

Finally, there exist other theoretical frameworks that can explain our results. The present study assumed the two labels refer to the same group of people. However, it is possible that conventional and person-centered labels, in fact, refer to different social groups, one of which is more stigmatized than the other. The exploratory analysis results for meaning overlap, which showed it marginally moderated label effectiveness on stigma and perception, support this alternative theory. It shows that people who interpret two labels as different words, which may indicate a different group reference, are more vulnerable to label effect. However, since meaning overlap is not a direct measure of group reference but only an approximating approach, this hypothesis could not be tested empirically in the present study. Future research could explore this theory with direct group referencing measures, using novel labels and social groups or taking developmental approaches.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that person-centered labeling can meaningfully reduce stigma and stereotype perceptions toward homeless individuals, supporting the view that language shapes social cognition. However, these perceptual shifts did not directly translate into increased prosocial behavior, highlighting the limitations of linguistic interventions in driving tangible support. Importantly, the effects of labeling were moderated by how participants interpreted the labels—suggesting that framing efforts must go beyond surface-level language to shift deeper social meanings. Taken together, these findings offer partial support for the label-as-framing account while also underscoring the enduring power of entrenched stigma. To foster inclusive attitudes and behaviors toward marginalized groups like people who are homeless, language reform must be paired with broader strategies that address both perception and structural context.

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