

HOW VIOLATIONS OF IDENTITY-BASED EXPECTATIONS CAN LEAD TO OUTGROUP
DEROGATION

by

JACQUELINE A. NEWBOLD

(Under the direction of Leonard L. Martin)

ABSTRACT

An investigation of the expectations that develop over time as a consequence of living with certain identities and how violations of those expectations can have downstream consequences for outgroup members. In Study 1, a qualitative design is used to establish the existence of these identity-based expectations (IBE's) related to gender identities. The general response patterns indicated support for the hypothesis that the responses would differ when compared between genders. Predicted themes including women being more likely to reference gender, be conscientious, anticipate a threat, and plan a defense to avoid physical or psychological harm were present in the data, and fell 4 sub-types: Gender-based Implications of a Situation, Avoiding a Negative Interaction, Navigating a Negative Interaction, and Expecting the Best. In Study 2, I tested whether experiencing a violation, versus a confirmation, of an IBE related to a high-status identity would lead to outgroup derogation. Results for Study 2 did not show a direct effect of condition on outgroup derogation, however a moderation effect between condition and social dominance orientation on Modern Racism Scale scores was present.

Participants who experienced a violation of an IBE showed higher scores on the Modern Racism Scale than participants with low social dominance orientation whose IBE was confirmed. The hypothesis that affect would change for participants in the IBE violation condition were only partially supported. Finally, possible weaknesses in the study design and implementation along with implications of the results are addressed.

INDEX WORDS: Identity, Outgroup derogation, Gender, Social expectations, Violations of expectations, Intergroup dynamics

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my dissertation, first and foremost, to my parents, John and Vilma Newbold, who have supported me endlessly in whatever ways I have needed, when convenient for them but especially when inconvenient for them. Thank you, without you this achievement would never have been possible. To my sister, Michelle Newbold, who is my best friend and most unwavering champion, I could not imagine going through life's uphill battles with anyone else. My gratitude to you is immense and I appreciate you more than you will probably ever know, thank you for all you have done, and all I am sure you *will* do, to help me make my wildest dreams come true. To the family that I have chosen, Amy Brooks, Caroline Jones, LeeAnn Beam, Blair Iaffaldano, Emily Bornstein, and Robert Coffman: there is no way I would have made it to adulthood, much less to my PhD graduation, without your advice, wisdom, kindness, and generosity. I hope to one day repay you all for everything you have done for me, but I doubt that would even be possible. Thank you, thank you, thank you. And finally, to my advisor, Lenny Martin, I would never have wanted to, or been able to weather the ridiculousness of graduate school without you as my mentor. You are the most intelligent human that I know, and yet somehow you are also the most grounded and understanding. Because of you, I will forever focus on understanding myself and my place in the universe so that I may, hopefully, find a way to follow my bliss. And, you know, illustrate my theory of the universe by putting my elbows together and moving my forearms about. I am so glad that my journey included taking your class as an undergraduate and being transfixed by the understanding that I am an immediate-return being in a delayed-return world, thank you for everything.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODCUTION

How Violations of Identity-Based Expectations Can Lead to Outgroup Derogation

People need to know what to expect out of their social interactions. Will their boss be nice? Will their spouse find their new joke funny? Can I trust my financial advisor? As MaCrae and Bodenhausen (2000) put it, “knowing what to expect- and exactly where, when, and from whom to expect it- is information that renders the world a meaningful, orderly, and predictable place”. Fortunately, as a result of their multiple interactions, people develop expectations for how a given social situation or interaction will unfold. This allows them to predict, and, therefore, navigate, their social world.

Because social situations do not unfold in the same way for everyone, people may expect their behavior to elicit different reactions in different situations, and they may expect different reactions based on who they are. For example, they may expect that their friends would laugh at their risqué joke but expect that the school board would react to the same joke with indignation. They might also expect that the joke would be perceived as funny if they were male but would be perceived as inappropriate if they were female. In short, people may develop expectations specific to different social situations and their different identities or social categories. For the most part, these expectations would be correct as they reflect past experiences. But occasionally, these expectations may be wrong, and a social situation will unfold counter to how one predicted. What happens, then, when people experience a violation of their social expectations?

The VIBE Model

Here I propose a theoretical model of the processes that occur when people have their social expectations violated. I focus specifically on the potential outcome of a violation of an identity-based expectation (IBE), an expectation that has developed as a result of living with a specific identity. People often incorporate aspects of their category membership into the self-concept as identities (Tajfel, 1982), and thus, think of themselves in terms of their ethnicity, attractiveness, age, profession, and so on, as opposed to a simple amalgamation of their unique attributes and individual differences. This means people will develop expectations based on the social situation, their multiple identities, and the interaction of their identities with the situations. Although the expectations will often be confirmed as the situation unfolds, there will be times when an expectation is not fulfilled and there is a violation of the IBE (VIBE). The result of the VIBE will depend on what was initially expected, and therefore what identity the expectation is related to. A VIBE related to a high-status identity will have a different outcome than a VIBE related to a low-status identity (See Figure 1.1).

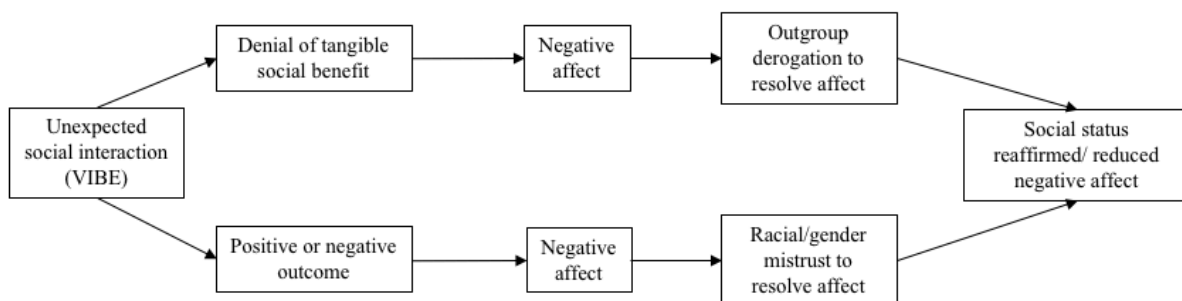


Figure 1.1: Proposed model for pathway from violation of IBE to outgroup derogation

Once people have developed a sense for what they can expect out of a particular identity-situation combination, then other people can either confirm or violate those expectations, with the outcome being either positive or negative depending on what was expected and what unfolded. Suppose a man and a woman have a suggestion while at a meeting consisting entirely of male board of directors. The man may expect to have his suggestion taken seriously, whereas the woman may expect to have her suggestion discounted. If the situation unfolds according to expectations, then both the man and the woman would not feel shocked by the interaction. At least, the situation was predictable. The man would presumably feel better overall, though, because the expectancy confirmation led to a positive outcome for him. If the interaction violated expectations, however, then we would see the opposite pattern. The man and the woman would probably both experience surprise, and the interpretation of the outcome experience in a VIBE depends on the discrepancy between the IBE and the VIBE. The woman, for instance, would presumably feel better overall because of the positive outcome she experienced as a result of the expectancy violation, but she may also experience feelings of mistrust or social identity threat (Kuntsman & Fitzpatrick, 2018). In contrast, the man would probably feel irritated and indignant that the board members did not value his opinion like he expected them to. In order to resolve the negative affect he experiences as a result of the VIBE, he may engage in outgroup derogation as a response to the intergroup threat (Sampavisam et al., 2016) and psychologically “right the world” in his mind. After reaffirming his status through derogation, the man should have reduced feelings of negative arousal. I will investigate each piece of the model by highlighting previous research on the development of social expectations, social identity theory, and outgroup derogation.

Previous Experiences and Social Expectations

Developing social expectations helps people navigate the hundreds of social interactions they experience on a daily basis; even social interactions between complete strangers usually unfold smoothly. According to Mead (1934), people establish self-conceptions from past experiences, including interactions with others, which help people predict their social environment. In order to navigate everyday social life, people construct and use categorical representations to help organize and utilize information to simplify and streamline the person perception process (MacCrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). Swann and Read (1980) argue that establishing and maintaining accurate self-conceptions is a strong human motivation, consistent with the importance of human sociality as a means for survival throughout human history (Ainsworth, 1989; Axelrod & Hamilton, 1981). Noting the importance of categorical thinking in everyday life, MacCrae and Bodenhausen (2000) outline a dual cognitive-system: a slow-learning system consisting of semantic memory, norms, expectations, etc. and a fast-learning system that forms temporary representations of novel or surprising stimuli. These two systems allow for flexible processing. People can navigate the environment more easily if they have stored knowledge about that environment, but they also need to be able to create temporary representations of novel or surprising stimulus events when the unexpected happens. Past experiences shape whether information is stored as a norm versus novel or surprising. Social categories such as stereotypes and person-schemas are integrated into the slow-learning system which allows for natural, smooth social interactions.

These expectations are influenced by varying aspects of the perceiver, other people, and the surrounding environment. In addition to personal, idiosyncratic self-conceptions, people also acquire perceptions of the self that are tied to their different ingroups. Turner (1984) suggests

that upon affiliation with groups, people's self-concepts shift from being composed of unique attributes and individual differences to being composed of shared social category memberships and their associated stereotypes. These identity-based self-conceptions should have the same function as idiosyncratic self-conceptions—to help people predict their social environments. An identity can be conceptualized as the understanding that the people concerned define themselves, and are defined by others, as members of a group, a group being a collection of people who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner (1979) argue that people in a given social category must have an emotional tie to the common definition of themselves and they must “achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership of it”. For instance, if the perceiver is a Black woman, she will have an identity as a Black person and as a female person along with emotions connected to her perceptions of Black people and women in her society. Many identities are relatively constant across the lifespan (e.g., race, gender identity), allowing for a prolonged period of time for them to influence one's social interactions. Based on the different IBEs they develop, people will expect social interactions to unfold in a specific way. For example, a young woman walking alone down a street might expect a lone man walking in her direction to say ‘Hello’ or cat-call her, whereas a young man in the same situation would probably not expect the other man to acknowledge him at all. For both people, this expectation helps them navigate the situation, albeit in different ways. These different ways are likely related to the status of an individual or their identity since category group memberships not only influence our own behavior, but others interacting with us who recognize that group membership.

Identity Status

Tajfel and Turner (1979) define social status as a ranking or hierarchy of perceived prestige. In many societies, including the United States, the configuration of social groups is structured in such a way that social status is mostly permanent and relations between low- and high-status groups are perceived as characterized by marked stratification. This makes it impossible, or at least very difficult, for people to move beyond the restrictions imposed on them by underprivileged or stigmatized group membership, known as low social mobility. This is in contrast to societies with high social mobility, wherein members generally assume that their society is flexible and permeable, so that if they are not satisfied with the conditions imposed upon their lives as a result of their belonging to certain social groups it is possible for them to move individually into another group which suits them better (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social intergroup situations that are perceived as containing strong elements of stratification will result in social behavior that reflects intergroup patterns rather than interpersonal patterns, which will equally influence behavior regardless of the status level of any person's given membership group. In other words, as Tajfel and Turner (1979) put it, "in the *relevant* intergroup situations, people will not interact as people, on the basis of their individual characteristics or interpersonal relationships, but as members of their groups' standing in certain defined relationships to member of other groups." Because there are implications about social status and discrimination within these real-world group stratification factors, some social interactions will be positive and imply benefits for a perceiver, while others will be negative and predispose the perceiver to anticipate mistreatment. Through many experiences of these interactions in all domains of life, people with different identities will develop specific expectations for social interactions, including those that reflect people interacting less as individuals and more as group members

relating to other group members. Take a man and woman living in the United States and their respective expectations for how a request for a promotion will go. The man might expect to discuss his recent projects and accomplishments and assume he will receive the promotion, whereas the woman may expect to discuss plans for family planning or why she deserves the job over her male co-worker and assume the request will be denied.

Regardless of group status, social identity theory (SIT) argues that ingroup favoritism occurs for everyone as individuals try to achieve positive group distinctiveness, which people engage in as an attempt to enhance the components of self-image that relate to their group membership (Levin & Sidanius, 1999; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The motivation to enhance the self-image through positive group distinctiveness relates to ingroup bias, where one positively evaluates their ingroup over outgroups (Tajfel, 1982). Evidence for the strength of this phenomenon comes from Tajfel's minimal groups paradigm where ingroup bias was achieved simply by placing people in arbitrary groups. Even though the group identification had no real meaning, people still engaged in ingroup favoritism. Merely placing people into categories, such as groups, leads to more favorable views of the ingroup, though the degree of favorability will fluctuate over time (Durrheim et al., 2016). Researchers investigating intergroup conflict have proposed several reasons for ingroup bias including the automatic and controlled processing components of stereotypes and prejudice (Devine, 1989), the influence of impermeable boundaries between groups and the legitimacy of status hierarchies, (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), and real and false perceptions of threat from outgroups (Campbell, 1965).

Threat to Status and Outgroup Derogation

For high-status groups in societies with legitimate status hierarchies, perceived threats from the outgroup imply a challenge to the status quo. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979),

“Any threat to the distinctively superior position of a group implies a potential loss of positive comparisons and possible negative comparisons, which must be guarded against”. This is because according to SIT, the legitimacy of status differences disfavors dominated, low-status groups and favors dominant, high-status groups who can maintain their dominant position (Caricati & Sollami, 2017). Thus, whereas low-status groups will be motivated to delegitimize their disadvantage, it is expected that high-status groups will be more likely to try to legitimize social stratification (Caricati, 2017; Caricati & Sollami, 2017; Costa-Lopes et al., 2013; Owuamalam et al., 2016; Rubin et al., 2014).

Similar to how many White Americans experience diversity messages endorsed by employers as a threat to their traditionally high-status ingroup (Dover et al., 2016), a VIBE could be experienced by a high-status group member as a threat to their privileged place in society. Research by Fein and Spencer (1997) found that perceptions of self and self-image maintenance can influence outgroup derogation. Participants whose self-image had been bolstered through a self-affirmation procedure were less likely to engage in outgroup derogation than were participants in the control condition. They also found evidence for the inverse relationship: participants’ whose self-images had been threatened were more likely to engage in outgroup derogation than those in the control condition. This study shows how threats to the self-concept can increase the likelihood that someone will engage in outgroup derogation. VIBE’s for high-status group members will likely create a psychological threat as the unexpected social interaction challenges the legitimacy of the status hierarchy and related benefits. This threat can result in prejudiced evaluations of others as a means to re-affirm the self and legitimize the social hierarchy and their high-status position in that hierarchy (Caricati & Sollami, 2017; Fein & Spencer, 1997).

According to Markovsky (1991), discrimination can be viewed as a conflict of justice principles. One group views the other as inferior and expects social interactions to unfold accordingly, i.e., in their favor-- what could be fairer from the perspective of the superior group? Over time, the repetition of these interactions leads to social expectations which are tied to different group identities, called IBE's in this model. When an IBE for a high-status person is violated, this violation is perceived as unjust causing the high-status person to experience negative arousal. To alleviate the negative arousal, high-status individuals may seek to reaffirm and legitimize their social status through outgroup derogation.

Present Studies

The theoretical model proposed here describes the process, and outcomes, that occur when people have their IBE's violated. I focus specifically on this process as it manifests for those with high-status identities, as a VIBE related to a high-status identity will have a different outcome than a VIBE related to a low-status identity (See Figure 1). Someone with a high-status identity who experiences a VIBE will likely be denied some type of benefit (e.g., social, monetary), and thus experience negative affect (e.g., feeling frustrated or indignant). In order to resolve the negative affect experienced as a result of the VIBE, one may engage in outgroup derogation to psychologically reaffirm their high-status and therefore reduce their negative affect.

In Study 1, I investigated whether people do in fact have expectations that are influenced by a particular identity. I expected that participant's expectations for social situations would not be random but would be similar for those of the same gender and different across genders, in order to establish that people do have IBE's. Then, in Study 2 I tested whether a violation of an expectation associated with a high-status identity lead to outgroup derogation as a way to resolve

their negative affective experience. The results from this study allow me to investigate one set of circumstances that can lead to outgroup derogation of individuals in low-status groups.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of Study 1 is to show that people do have IBEs, that is, different expectations based on their identity for how social situations will unfold. In this study, I compared how men vs. women explain their expectations for nineteen different social situations. I predicted that there would be shared expectations for shared identities, that these expectations would differ based on identity, and as a result of intersectionality, some expectations would be the result of multiple identities. Specifically, I hypothesize that men's responses will be similar to each other and women's responses will be similar, and that these response patterns will differ between men and women. In addition, I also hypothesize that there are systematic differences in the response patterns which can be attributed to other identities, such as being LGBTQIA or part of an ethnic minority (e.g., Black or Latinx).

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 1 METHODS

Participants

All participants for this study were undergraduate students recruited from the UGA Psychology Department Research Participant (RP) Pool and were compensated with partial course credit for their participation. Participants were recruited from the RP Pool until data saturation, the point in data collection where enough information has been collected to replicate the study, no new information can be obtained, and further coding is no longer feasible (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Guest et al., 2006), was achieved. Thus, I collected data from 79 participants (65.8% female) aged between 18 and 28 years ($M = 18.73$, $SD = 1.46$). Participants reported identifying as majority White (62%), followed by Asian (12.7%), Asian Indian (10.1%), Multi-racial (6.3%), Black or African American (5.1%), Middle Eastern (2.5%), and Latinx (1.3%). This sample included individuals who identified being majority heterosexual (84.8%) and cis-gender (91% of those that responded). Participants in this sample reported generally high yearly household income, with 44.3% of participants indicating their household income was above \$100,000 annually, 13.9% indicating it was between \$80-100,000 annually, and 19% indicating it was between \$50-80,000 annually. Only 21.5% of participants indicated having a total household income that was less than \$50,000 annually.

Materials

Gender

I am interested in investigating whether gender identity predicts individual's expectations for a variety of social interactions. As part of the demographic information, Participants reported their gender by indicating whether they identity as *Male*, *Female*, or *Other* at the end of the study after they completed their responses to the nineteen scenarios.

IBEs

As the dependent variable, participants read nineteen social scenarios (See Appendix A) and wrote brief responses explaining how they would expect the social interaction described to unfold. These responses should reflect the identity-based expectations participants have developed over time. Examples of scenarios include “Your partner and you live together and have both just been laid off from your current jobs due to a national financial crisis, how do you think your partner will react to this situation?” and “You are at a bar and just ordered a drink when you get a call you have to take. What do you do before you step outside to take the call?”. Participants are given enough time and space as needed to respond to each scenario. This measure attempts to inform the main research question: Do people have expectations for social interactions that are related to a specific identity, and do people of certain identities have significant overlap of their expectations?

Procedure

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic crisis and subsequent restrictions, this study was conducted entirely online and thus there was no experimenter to conduct it for participants. Prompts (found Appendix A) were interpreted by participants and their responses were given

purely based on these interpretations. This method of data collection has its downsides and upsides. Participants were unable to ask for clarifications of the prompts before they responded and there was no researcher present to ask for clarifications or further thoughts from the participants. However, the absence of an experimenter means that participants were not influenced by the two experimenters who coded the data and were two women of color. These responses were elicited solely by the prompt's information and requested description of the expected behavior. In light of these restrictions, it was necessary to recruit at least 20 participants per gender to reach data saturation and ensure rigor as most responses were brief (2-3 sentences) and some respondents only provided one-word responses to prompts. In addition, women's responses to the prompts tended to be more varied than men's responses. The online study was conducted using Qualtrics software via the department RP Pool Sona Systems website. Prior to participation, students read a description of the study, estimated time for participation, and were informed that they may withdraw from participation at any time. After indicating their consent to participate, participants read short descriptions of nineteen scenarios followed by a question asking them to describe how they expected either themselves (e.g., "What do you do before you step outside to take the call?") or another person (e.g., "What do you expect your instructor to do or say?") to behave in each social situation. Participants had unlimited space and time to respond. After responding to the different scenarios, participants reported their demographic information (i.e., age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and household income). Finally, after all study materials were completed, participants read a debriefing statement describing the full nature and purpose of the study.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 1 RESULTS

Analysis

All identifying information was separated from the data and was only retained as a means of granting credit for participation. Data was organized using subject numbers and all coders were blind to the demographic information during the response coding process. Using pilot data (N= 9, 5 males), I hypothesized several themes for responses from people of each gender. I discussed these responses with members of the research team not directly involved in data collection to ensure credibility of the themes gleaned from the pilot data. For female responses, I generally expected respondents to mention ideas related specifically to their gender (e.g., assuming sexist/chivalric reactions from others, noting the influence of gender), defensiveness (e.g., protecting oneself from harm), threat (e.g., physical, psychological), conscientiousness (e.g., planning and/or being prepared), and an anticipation of negative/unwanted interactions (e.g., physical touching or other sexual advances). In contrast, for male responses, I expected less focus on defensiveness, threat, conscientiousness, and the influence of gender in general, as well as more variability in their responses (e.g., confusion regarding purpose of task).

Coding began as responses were submitted to ensure responses were collected until data saturation was reached. Initially, I read through all of the responses to determine whether more data needed to be collected to achieve data saturation. Due to the nature of the study, regarding gender-ed experiences, it was necessary to recruit more women as it took more responses before

I could confirm no new information would be added with additional respondents. Given that this investigation is not an interview but a design that uses specific prompts for data collection, I decided to separate the responses by prompt, so that responses were coded not as whole documents from the respondent but as a set of responses to a specific social scenario.

Two coders, including myself, first coded a set of responses to a prompt and we each individually coded these based on several themes including gender, defensiveness, threat, and conscientiousness, planning, and avoidance. After this initial round of coding, interrater reliability was established by comparing the coders' different coded responses for the same participants to each other. There were three rounds of coding until there was relatively strong interrater reliability was established. At this point, we divided the remaining responses between us to begin coding on our own. Throughout the coding process, I coded several of the same set of responses as the other coder and compared her coding results to mine and was able to monitor any discrepancies in our coding style.

Findings

The general response patterns indicated support for the hypothesis that found in the responses would differ when compared between genders. I found support for each of the themes I predicted, including women being more likely to reference gender, be conscientious, anticipate a threat, and plan a defense to avoid physical or psychological harm. Because there were so many of these specific themes, and more (e.g., money), found in the data, I decided to create umbrella groups to help organize these concepts into a smaller number of broader themes. These themes can broadly be divided into 4 supra-types: Gender-based Implications of a Situation, Avoiding a Negative Interaction, Navigating a Negative Interaction, and Expecting the Best. Some themes were more likely to be coded for in certain prompts versus others. For example,

statements relating to gender were frequently made for items that related to or implied gender norms such as who pays on a date and how a boss will react when asked for a raise.

Although I originally predicted I would be able to make claims regarding intersectionality from these data that did not turn out to be the case. There was not one mention of race or ethnicity even though nearly 40% of participants identified as being not-White, and only one participant made a reference to an LGBTQ+ identity. Given this dearth of information regarding marginalized identities not specifically relating to male and female gender, I was not able to explore responses in regards to intersectional IBE's.

Gender-based Implications of a Situation

Throughout the responses, participants made explicit statements about how a situation would impact them specifically in relation to their gender. Gender-related statements were coded in both men and women's responses and seemed to be particularly relevant in the items that involved gender norms, such as prompts regarding the workplace and romantic dates. For instance, when asked what would happen when a participant and another woman arrived at a door at the same time, one female respondent wrote "*I would probably expect a simple "I'm sorry" just to be polite for running into each other- women tend to apologize for unnecessary things.:*" For the prompt that asked what would happen when the bill came on a pair's first dinner date, one woman wrote, "*I expect my date to pay for the meal as I am a woman and I feel that that is the male's responsibility*" while another remarked that "*My date would pay for me. I wouldn't try and stop him paying for it either. He needs to be a gentleman and would want to pay for me. If he let me pay, then we wouldn't go on another date*". Similarly, for the same prompt, men's responses included "*I would expect my date to look at me to pay the check because in our society today it is customary for the man to pay for at least the first date and for future dates*"

and “*I was raised that the man takes the check out of respect for his date and it is a sign that I enjoyed myself and has nothing to do with whether or not they can pay*”.

Although coded for in responses written by both men and women, this theme was more frequently coded for in women’s responses. In the prompt that asks what participants think a boss would say when they have requested a raise, a woman respondent wrote, “*I expect them to be hesitant at first but proud I took the initiative to ask. I think they would review my performance as well. Because I am a women I think they would be surprised at my boldness but respect it.*” In fact, when responding to this prompt, the boss was only ever referred to as “they” (which is how they were referred to in the content of the prompt), “he/she”, or “he” —never strictly as “she”. When responding to another prompt asking what a participant would do if they were not able to share an Uber with a friend, one woman wrote, “*I don't think it is safe to be out on your own at night, especially as a woman*”. Even when the scenario did not mention or imply gender norms, women included references to gender in their responses.

Navigating a Negative Interaction

According to the VIBE model, some identities are associated with a higher likelihood of negative social interactions than those who have other, higher status identities. The data from Study 1 support this hypothesis as many more responses from women, than from men, included expectations of negative interactions. Specifically, women’s responses more often referred to unwanted sexual advances and planning how to mitigate the experience of a negative interaction. For the prompt that describes what participants expect a professor who has been flirting with them to do when asked to stay after class, women frequently not only noted they expected an unwanted sexual advance from the professor, but also included precautions to ensure their safety. For instance, one woman wrote “*I expect him to make a move on me so I'll just*

pretend I forgot he told me to stay after and leave” and another responded that they “*expect my instructor to do or say something inappropriate. I would feel very uncomfortable having to stay back and ask a friend to wait for me.*” Negative responses from women also included being underestimated or expecting reactions of surprise when behaving in a stereotypically unfeminine manner, such as pointedly requesting a raise, in response to which one woman said she expected her boss to “*probably laugh or maybe even fire me for even asking in the first place.*” In another example, after making what they felt was a significant contribution to a class discussion, a different woman expected her peers “*probably wouldn't think it was as significant as [she] thought. Or they may be surprised that such a comment came from [her]*”. These responses may indicate that women have been in these situations before and therefore have developed strategies to handle what they expect to be uncomfortable interactions.

Men’s responses indicated they also anticipated negative social interactions given certain social scenarios, particularly for scenarios where the interaction was blatantly problematic. For instance, one man explained that if an instructor was flirting with him and asked the student to stay after class, he “*would expect some sort of verbal advance in exchange for some mutual reciprocity. However, [he] would deny this as it is unethical.*” The ideas of surprise, danger, and sexism, however, were not as pervasive in the men’s responses as they were for the women’s responses. Take responses for the prompt, “You find out that someone you have never hung out with alone before has been telling people you sexually assaulted them. There is no way this story is possible, and you try to tell your friends that. How do you expect them to react?” Although there were several women who indicated that their friends would believe the accuser outright, such as one woman who wrote that her friends would “*side with the person that is lying*”, statements such as these were not apparent in the men’s responses, with the strongest tone

indicating some friends may have “*suspicions*” or stop socializing with them “*because they weren’t sure*”. At other times, interpretations of the potential negative outcomes of a given social scenario were very different between men and women. When respondents were asked what they would do when they could not share an Uber home, the women’s responses predominantly referenced safety concerns and taking precautions to avoid being alone with a stranger. In contrast, the men’s responses that anticipated a negative situation did not refer to issues of safety regarding assault, but to hazards related to drunk driving and/or money. As one man put it, “*I would spend the night at the current house as I am strongly against drunk driving. Or, I could also pay for my own Uber and just deal with the extra expense.*” Not one of the women’s responses to this prompt included concerns about the extra cost of Ubering alone, only about the extra danger of doing so. Men and women both understand the potential outcomes of these different common social interactions, but what kind of negative outcome may occur and how to handle it differs between them.

Avoiding a Negative Interaction

Another overarching theme in responses from both men and women was explaining how they would attempt to avoid the anticipated negative outcome altogether. Sometimes this avoidance takes the form of having rebuttals ready for another’s reactions. As one woman wrote, when she asks her boss for a raise, she “*would explain what [she has] done to help him become more successful*” and another woman explained that if she was concerned she may be pregnant, before telling her sexual partner anything, she “*would take a pregnancy test*” since “*there is no reason to scare them if [she wasn’t] sure*”. For this same scenario, another woman wrote, “*I would only be in a sexual relationship with someone if I know they would be responsible in these types of situations*”. All of these participants are indicating that they would have a plan to avoid a

negative reaction from another person, whether that means preparing reasons why one deserves a raise or only picking sexual partners who would handle a stressful situation responsibly. Men also wrote about avoiding negative situations, for instance, when organizing an Uber ride for everyone in a group, one man said if he would be sure to get “*proof they will pay me back for my uber ride*” if he paid for the trip up front.

Participants indicated that for some situations they would seek out another person for support or protection. This was especially true for women respondents, with several noting that if they felt a professor was behavior flirtatiously they would never stay alone in a room with that professor and instead would ask a friend to stay with them. This was also a common strategy for avoiding an Uber ride alone, as one woman put it, “*I would ask a friend to spend the night with me and we go home together. It is safer when catching an uber or any form of public transportation with a friend.*” In some cases, participants would not even entertain the possibility of the situation suggested in the prompt and insisted it was a non-issue. For instance, in another response to the prompt about not being able to share an Uber with someone, a man wrote “*don't drink anything other than water*” so that he would not need to find a ride home, which was in direct contradiction to the parameters of the prompt. When asked what he would do if he suspected a professor was flirting with him and then asked the student to stay after class, one man simply responded, “*That would never happen*”. In another response, after reading about the circumstances around an unplanned pregnancy, one man wrote, “*well I wouldn't have gotten in the situation in that first place*”. It is clear that both men and women find one effective strategy to handling negative social interactions is to avoid them altogether. When possible, this seems an effective method of reducing uncomfortable, and possibly dangerous, scenarios one might find themselves in.

Expecting the Best

For many social situations, participants gave the other actors in the hypothetical scenario the benefit of the doubt and expect a positive social interaction. Several respondents of both gender identities explained that it is likely they were misinterpreting their professor's behavior if they felt they were flirting with them and that an after-class meeting would unfold in a professional manner. When asked to write how they think group members would respond to a contribution to a discussion, many participants indicated a positive response, as one woman said, *"My group members will probably be responsive to my point. I usually take the lead role in small group settings, so I think they might value my input more as a result"* and one man wrote that group members would *"Build off it, say good point,"* and offer reassurance. Similarly, although I expected men to indicate more negative responses to the prompt that asks how neighbors would react to them posting flyers offering babysitting services, both women and men indicated they would expect positive reactions. For example, *"If I have lived in the neighborhood for a while and the people know my parents and my family probably would get some offers"* wrote one man. Similarly, a woman responded to this prompt by writing that she thinks *"they'll respond positively. My neighbors might not know me personally, but they are friends with my mother and have a positive image of me from what she's told them."* Contrary to the gender-based responses I hypothesized for this prompt, any responses that expected a negative response had nothing to do with the potential babysitter being a man, but about how flyers are an obsolete method of soliciting this type of job and that one would be more successful using an internet site. Another prompt that elicited many unexpected, positive responses asked participants to describe how their partner would react if they both lost their job at the same time while living together. The majority of responses were not gendered and included responses of support, such as one woman

saying her partner “*will say we just have to pray about it and figure it out. We need to take it one day at a time. He would also try to comfort me.*” One possibility for this type of response is that it functions as a type of avoidance. If the situation unfold positively and interactions are not negative, then a social situation may be easier to navigate. Alternatively, participants may have lived experiences in these scenarios that indicate more positive outcomes than I had initially anticipated.

Effects of Other Marginalized Identities

I hypothesized that there would be systematic differences in the response patterns that could be explained by belonging to other identities, such as being LGBTQIA or part of an ethnic minority (e.g., Black or Latinx). When responses were divided by these other category memberships there were not clear patterns in the responses related to those memberships, thus I did not find support for this hypothesis. The exception is when there were heteronormative interactions, in this case a respondent would simply explain that situation was not applicable to them due to their sexual orientation and gender. For example, for the social scenario explaining the possibility of an unplanned pregnancy and inquiring as to the partner’s expected reaction, one participant responded simply, “*I’m male. And not straight.*” It is unlikely that intersectionality is not relevant or predictive in IBE’s, rather, the prompts for this study were specifically designed to be sensitive to the different lived experiences of men and women. Other prompts that were more general or touched on situations directly related to other identities would probably yield a more clear pattern of responses. It is also worth noting that this sample was not particularly diverse (62% White, 84% heterosexual), so most likely there were not enough responses from individuals who identify as LGBTQIA or BIPOC to be able to detect robust patterns.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 2 INTRODUCTION

As a second investigation of the VIBE model, Study 2 experimentally tests whether violations of social expectations result in outgroup derogation for high-status individuals. I manipulated job position qualification in comparison to a female applicant as a means of violating (vs. fulfilling) one's expectation to be preferred for the position over a female candidate. This study was designed to test three hypotheses related to the path of the model shown in Figure 5.1.

Hypothesis 1: Individuals with high-status identities have become accustomed to social interactions unfolding in a way that is beneficial to them. In accordance with the VIBE model, individuals with a high-status identity who experience a violation of an identity-based expectation will be denied some form of benefit. For instance, a white man who is applying to a university may expect to be accepted into that university because he has been accepted to most positions he has applied for in the past. If he does not gain acceptance into that university, he will probably experience low mood not only due to the rejection, but also because an expectation he had was not fulfilled. Based on this model, I predict that participants who are told that they were less qualified than the female applicant was (i.e., expectation violation condition) will experience more negative affect and less positive affect than participants who were told they were more qualified than the female applicant (i.e., expectation fulfillment condition).

Hypothesis 2: As the VIBE model outlines (See Figure 5.1), the consequence of a VIBE that denies a social benefit not only is a lower level of affect, but also outgroup derogation. An individual who experiences a VIBE that denies them a benefit is someone with a high-status identity, such as being White and male. As a consequence of a VIBE resulting in negative affect, an individual will wish to alleviate that experience and reaffirm their high-status identity and thus engage in outgroup derogation. Therefore, I expect that participants, all of whom have high-status identities, who have an expectation violated will engage in higher levels of outgroup derogation than participants who have their expectations fulfilled.

Hypothesis 3: Once individuals have engaged in outgroup derogation to recover from the negative experience of an outcome falling short of their expectations, their affect should increase. Although unaware of this, the purpose of engaging in outgroup derogation is a direct consequence of the VIBE since that experience leads to lowered affect. Given this anticipated sequence of experience, participants in this study should show the same level of affect when it is measured again after the opportunity to derogate, regardless of condition.

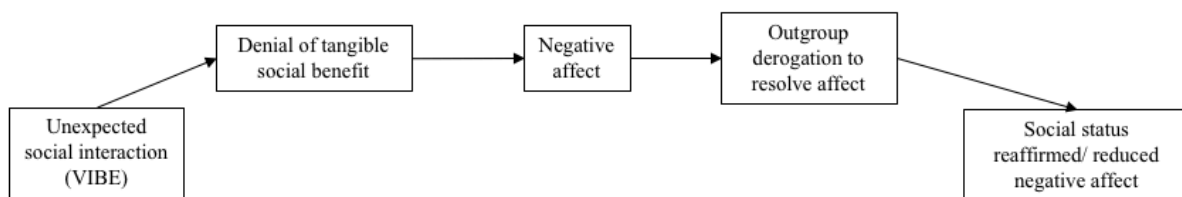


Figure 5.1 Pathway being investigated in Study 2 specific to individuals with high-status identities

CHAPTER 6

STUDY 2 METHODS

Participants

Participants were 200 males recruited from the Prolific website database who received \$2.80 students for their participation and were permanent residents of either the United Kingdom (87.5%) or the United States (12.5%). All of the recruited participants identified as White/Caucasian and ranged in age from 18 to 86 years old ($M = 32.4$, $SD = 11.88$). The majority of participants reported a sexual orientation of straight or heterosexual (82.5%).

Materials

Moderators

In order to assess whether certain individual characteristics may change the effect of the manipulation on level of outgroup derogation, participants reported their level of psychological entitlement and their social dominance orientation. I investigated whether these variables moderate the relationship between condition and level of outgroup derogation.

Social dominance orientation. Social dominance orientation (SDO) is the extent to which someone believes there should be a societal hierarchy of groups, meaning some groups are inherently better than others. SDO was measured using the 16-item SDO scale (Pratto et al., 1994). For each item, participants indicate how much they agree with the statement on a 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*) scale. Sample items include “Some groups of people

are simply inferior to other groups” and “It would be good if groups could be equal”.

Participant’s ratings were averaged so that a score of 5 represents a strong belief that there should be a societal hierarchy of groups.

Entitlement. In order to measure participant’s trait level of entitlement they completed the 9-item Psychological Entitlement Scale (Campbell et al., 2004). Participants respond to each item based on a 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*) scale and example items include “Great things should come to me” and “If I were on the Titanic, I would deserve to be on the first lifeboat!”. and whether they are cis- or trans-gender.

Social expectation manipulation

For this work I am interested in investigating whether having a social expectation violated or fulfilled will influence one’s likelihood of derogating an outgroup member. Using Prolific screeners, only participants who have previously identified as male, white, and residents of either the US or the United Kingdom were selected for participation. All participants were asked to enter information relevant for a job candidate seeking a laboratory management position. They provided their education background, past work experience, three strengths, and three weaknesses relevant to the hypothetical position. After providing the information related to the theoretical job application, participants responded to the item “Based on the information you just provided, how good of a candidate do you think you are for a laboratory management position?” on a 1 (*Extremely good*) to 7 (*Extremely bad*) scale. Then, they were exposed to either the identity-based expectation fulfillment condition or the identity-based expectation violation condition. In the fulfillment condition, participants were told “Based on the information you entered regarding your academic and work achievements along with results from the surveys you completed, we compared your responses to another potential applicant, Katherine Johnson, who

completed the same information. The evaluation found that you were **more qualified** than Katherine and that you would be hired over her.” In the violation condition, participants read “Based on the information you entered regarding your academic and work achievements along with results from the surveys you completed, we compared your responses to another potential applicant, Katherine Johnson, who completed the same information. The evaluation found that you were **less qualified** than Katherine and that she would be hired over you.” I predicted that participants in the fulfillment condition would be more likely to engage in outgroup derogation than participants in the violation condition.

Dependent Variables

Affect. Affect was measured twice in this study, once before the outgroup derogation measures and once after the outgroup derogation measures, each instance with two types of measures. First, participants responded to a set of items from the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS, Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). This version of the scale asks participants to indicate the extent to which they are experiencing specific emotions on a 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*A great deal*) scale. Example emotions participants responded to include “Delighted”, “Frustrated”, and “Bitter”. I developed a second measure of affect that was included after the PANAS items. For this measure, participants are shown a blank graph with two intersecting axes. On the x-axis are labels for affect valence (i.e., high positive, low positive, low negative, high negative) and on the y-axis are label for the level of activity they are experiencing (i.e., low energy v. high energy). Participants select the point on the graph that best indicates the extent to which their mood is very positive to very negative and low energy to high energy.

Modern Racism. Outgroup derogation was measured using McConahay’s Modern Racism Scale (MRS, 1986) which measures modern racism, a less overt form of racism than

Old-school racism (Swim et al., 1995). This scale consists of 7 items, such as “Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States” and “It is easy to understand the anger of Blacks in America”. Respondents rate each item on a Likert-type scale from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating higher levels of modern racism.

Opportunity for Outgroup Derogation. Another experimental measure was included as a means of providing participants with an opportunity to derogate an outgroup member. All participants were shown a resume for a fictional person named Alejandro Garcia asked to respond to five items including, “This person is a hard worker” and “This person benefitted from affirmative action”) on a scale from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*).

Demographic Information

In addition to the demographic information provided to me by Prolific (e.g., Race, age), other demographic variables of interest to this investigation were measured.

Sexual orientation. Participants reported their sexual orientation by selecting whether they are straight/heterosexual (1), lesbian/gay (2), bisexual (3) or asexual (4).

Household income. Participants reported their household income by indicating whether their total household income is below \$20,000, between \$20-50,000, between \$50-80,000, between \$80-100,000, or above \$100,000 per year.

Political orientation. I assessed participants’ political orientation by asking participants to rate themselves on a 7-point political scale ranging from 1 (*Extremely conservative*) to 7 (*Extremely liberal*), with the mid-point representing a moderate political orientation. A single-item measure is a common method for measuring political orientation and has good construct validity (Monroe & Plant, 2018; van Prooijen et al., 2015).

Procedure

After completing a series of surveys measuring potential moderators, participants provided resume information to ostensibly be used to determine whether they or a female candidate are more qualified for a theoretical job application. In reality, this information was not reviewed, and participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions, a condition where the respondent is told that they were more qualified than the other, female candidate, and a condition where the respondent is told that they were less qualified than the other, female candidate. After receiving the false feedback, all respondents completed an initial measure of affect, were provided an opportunity for outgroup derogation, followed by a final measure of affect. Lastly, participants provided demographic information including their age, sexual orientation, and household income.

Prior to participation, respondents read a description of the study, estimated participation length, and were informed that they may withdraw from participation at any time. After obtaining their digital consent, participants completed the entire study online using a survey designed on Qualtrics software. First, participants completed surveys assessing their levels of social dominance orientation and entitlement. Then, they were told that researchers were running this study to troubleshoot and design an automated job applicant evaluation system. The job they were theoretically applying for was for a laboratory management position and they were asked to provide information including previous work experience, education experience, 3 strengths related to the position, and 3 weaknesses related to the position. After completing this information and indicating how qualified they believed themselves to be for the position, participants saw a message that indicated whether they were more or less qualified than another candidate, Katherine Johnson. In actuality, participants were randomly assigned to one of two

conditions, they either read that they were more qualified than Katherine Johnson and would receive the position instead of her (i.e., expectation fulfillment condition), or that they were less qualified than Katherine Johnson and she would receive the position over them (i.e., expectation violation condition). After reading this false feedback, participants indicated their level of affect, the group discussion activity, the likelihood that participants would derogate an outgroup member was assessed using the MRS (McConahay, 1986). Finally, participants provided their demographic information including, sexual orientation, cis/trans-gender, household income, and political orientation.

CHAPTER 7

STUDY 2 RESULTS

First, the data were organized based on the two possible conditions participants were randomly assigned to (i.e., expectation fulfilled v. expectation violated). Data were organized using subject numbers and were kept separate from identifying information. Please see Table 7.1 below for the maximum and minimum values for moderating and dependent variables along with their corresponding means and standard deviations.

Study 2 Variable Descriptive Statistics

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev
Social dominance orientation	197	2.33	5.00	4.29	.589
Psychological entitlement	198	1.00	6.33	3.07	1.00
Resume Evaluation	195	1.40	4.40	2.45	.430
Modern racism scale	198	1.14	5.00	4.14	.821
PANAS- Positive subscale at Time 1	199	1.00	5.00	3.30	1.26
PANAS- Negative subscale at Time 1	198	1.33	5.00	4.41	.725
Plotted Affect at Time 1	185	1.00	4.00	2.96	.919
PANAS- Positive subscale at Time 2	199	1.00	5.00	3.73	1.00
PANAS- Negative subscale at Time 2	196	1.78	5.00	4.35	.720
Plotted Affect at Time 2	189	1.00	4.00	2.75	.822

Table 7.1: Minimum, maximum, means and standard deviation values for measured potential moderating and dependent variables

Hypothesis 1

I hypothesized that participant's level of affect would be influenced based on what condition they were in (i.e., violation vs. fulfillment condition). Specifically, I predicted that participants who had their expectations fulfilled would report more positive mood than participants who had their expectations violated. In order to test this, I first ran three independent samples t-tests to determine if there were differences in the initial measures of the PANAS and the graph affect measure. When looking at the first PANAS measure, positive affect was significantly different between participants in the two conditions, $t(197) = -8.96, p < .005$, as was negative affect, $t(196) = 4.13, p < .005$, and affect measured with the graphic method, $t(183) = 7.44, p < .005$. However, for the PANAS measures, the results of the analyses indicated an effect in the opposite direction than predicted as participants in the violation condition showed more positive affect and less negative affect than participants in the fulfillment condition (See Figure 7.1). Only the new measure using a graphic representation of affect showed an effect in the predicted direction. Participants in the violation condition ($M = 2.53, SD = .906$) indicated less positive affect than participants in the fulfillment condition ($M = 3.42, SD = .688$, see Figure 7.2).

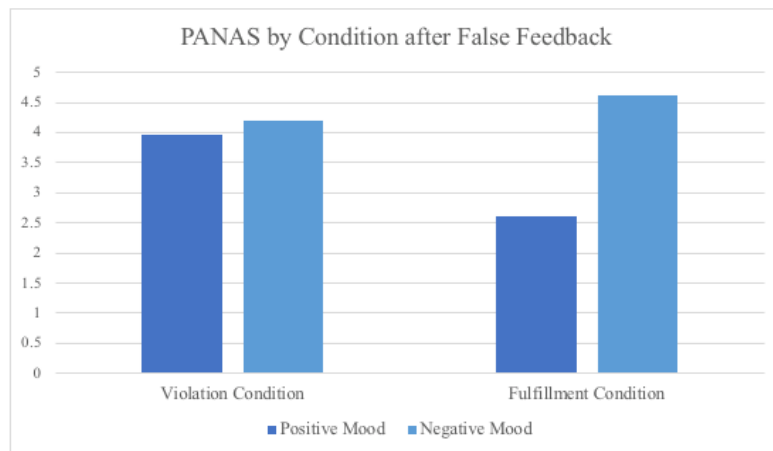


Figure 7.1 Level of affect measured by the PANAS for participants in each condition when measured initially after receiving false feedback regarding job qualification

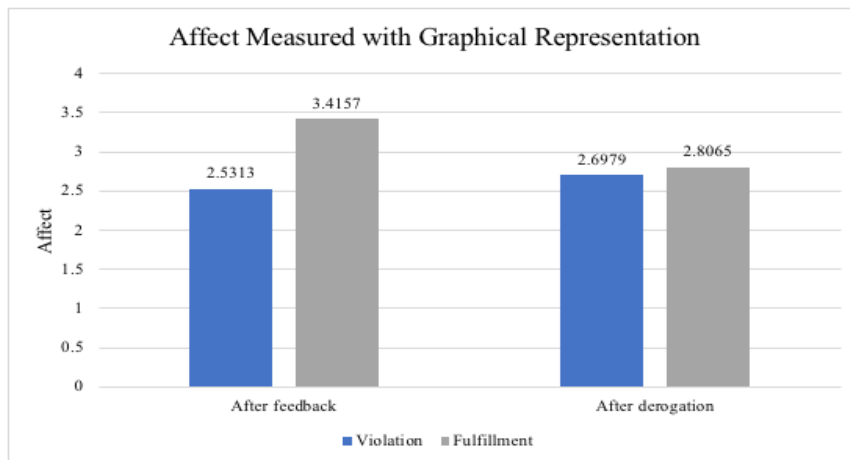


Figure 7.2 Levels of affect as measured by the new, graphic representation method

Prior to receiving the false feedback, I measured the extent to which participants felt they were good candidates for the laboratory management position based on the information they provided (e.g., previous work experience, related strengths and weaknesses). This score was reverse-scored during data analysis for ease of interpretation so that larger numbers indicating participants believe they are a good candidate ($M= 4.195$, $SD= 1.792$). Regressing this variable, condition, and the interaction term onto participants' first graphed affect score indicated an interaction between participant's perception that they are a good candidate and condition, $b = -.888$, $t(181) = -3.552$, $p < .001$. This interaction suggests that participants who felt they were good candidates for the job, experiencing a VIBE lead to lower affect than someone who had an IBE fulfilled, whereas for participants who did not feel they were good candidates there was no effect of condition on affect (See Figure 7.3). This finding supports my hypothesis that having a social expectation violated leads to negative affect as participants who felt they were good candidates for the job reported more negative affect compared to participants who indicated they were not good candidates.

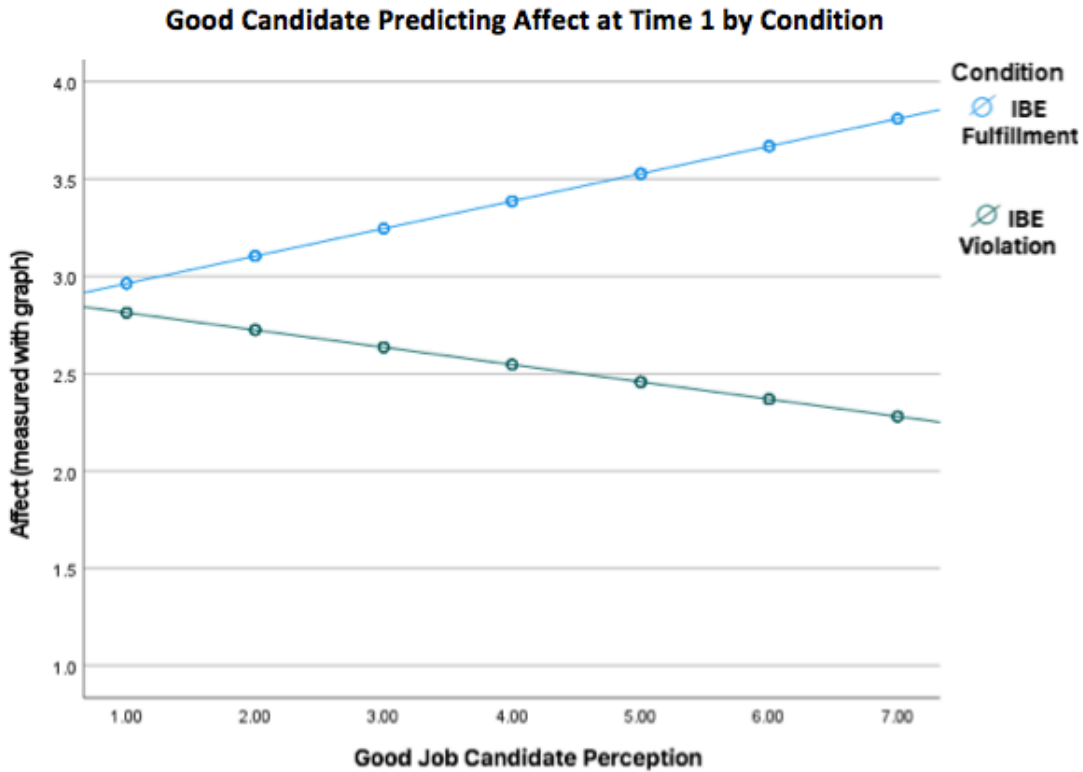


Figure 7.3 Plot of the interaction between condition and participant's perception that they were a good job candidate on affect measured at Time 1

In addition to the measure of whether participants felt they were a good candidate, I also tested potential moderating effects of the individual difference measures social dominance orientation and psychological entitlement. According to regression analyses, there was not an interaction effect of condition and social dominance orientation on mood $b = -.409$, $t(180) = -.807$, $p = .421$ nor was there an interaction effect of condition and psychological entitlement on mood $b = -.126$, $t(179) = -.447$, $p = .655$.

Hypothesis 2

I hypothesized that participants in the violation condition would be more likely to engage in outgroup derogation. This hypothesis was not supported by initial analyses. Independent

samples t-tests using both the MRS scores (McConahay, 1986), $t(196) = -1.45, p = .149$, and the resume evaluation activity, $t(193) = -.242, p = .809$, showed there was not a direct effect of condition on participant's likelihood to engage in outgroup derogation. Though not significant, the means for the MRS scores for the Fulfillment condition ($M = 4.06, SD = .919$) and the Violation condition ($M = 4.23, SD = .705$) indicated the data were trending in the predicted direction.

In order to test possible moderation effects I ran three multiple regression analyses, one testing for an interaction between condition and the extent to which participants felt they were good candidates for the job, one testing for an interaction between condition and psychological entitlement on scores for the MRS, and one testing for an interaction between condition and social dominance orientation on scores for the MRS. Regressing condition, extent to which participants believed they were a good candidate, and the interaction term onto participants' MRS score indicated there was not an interaction between participant's belief that they were a good candidate and condition, $b = -.082, t(194) = -.294, p = .769$. Regressing condition, psychological entitlement, and the interaction term onto participants' MRS score indicated there was not an interaction between participant's level of entitlement and condition, $b = .231, t(192) = .789, p = .431$. Regressing condition, social dominance orientation, and the interaction term on the MRS score indicated a there was a marginal interaction effect between participant's social dominance orientation and condition, $b = -.848, t(191) = -1.896, p = .059$ (See Figure 7.4). It seems that having an expectation violated (vs. fulfilled), has its greatest effect on the likelihood to engage in outgroup derogation for participants who are low on social dominance orientation.

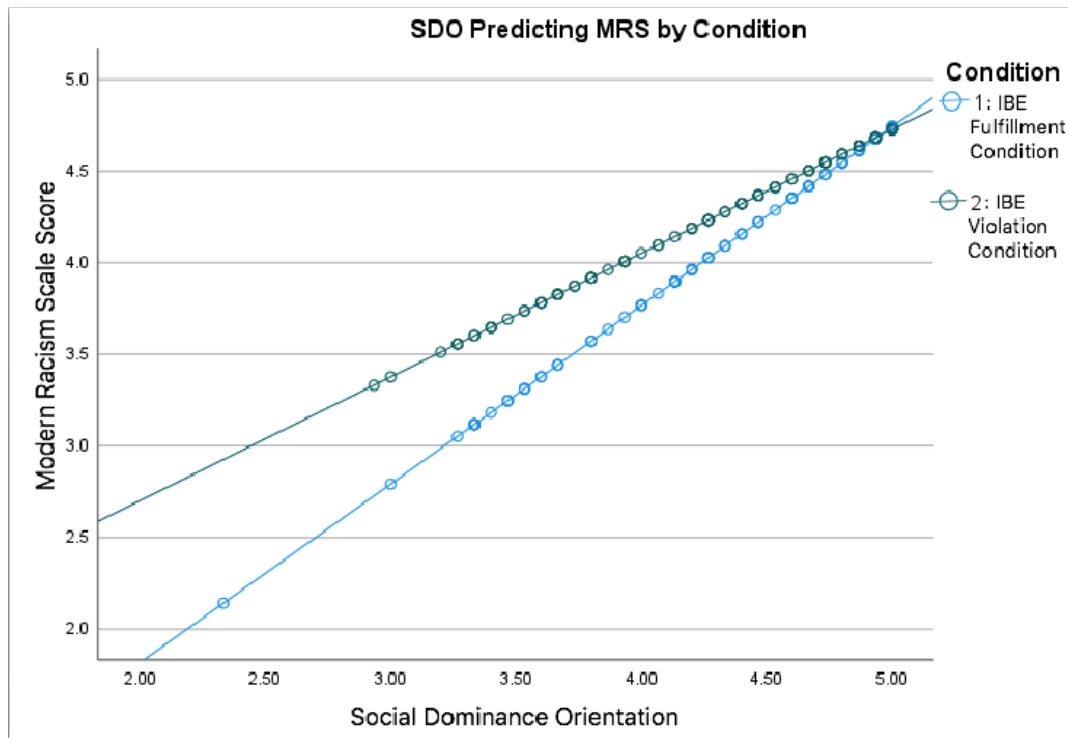


Figure 7.4. Plot of the interaction between condition and social dominance orientation on participant's modern racism scale score.

Hypothesis 3

I hypothesized that for participants who experienced a violation of an IBE, the level of affect would increase in comparison to when it was first measured as a consequence of their opportunity to derogate an outgroup member. Immediately after the VIBE, participants' level of affect should decrease since they were denied a benefit, and the opportunity to engage in outgroup derogation is a means of resolving that negative affect and thus would result in more positive affect. Since participants who had an IBE fulfilled should not have experienced the initial decrease in affect when it was first measured, they will not experience the dip subsequent recovery to their level of affect. To see if this was the case, I ran an analysis where condition, affect measured after the feedback, and the interaction term were regressed onto affect measured

after the opportunity to derogate an outgroup. This analysis did not indicate an interaction effect, $b = .415$, $t(174) = 1.509$, $p = .133$. Although non-significant, I plotted this moderation analysis in order to better understand the pattern of results (See Figure 7.5). The results of this analysis suggest that when compared to participants who had an IBE fulfilled, participants who had an IBE violated did not experience a decrease in affect that was resolved after being given the opportunity to derogate an outgroup member, contrary to my hypothesis.

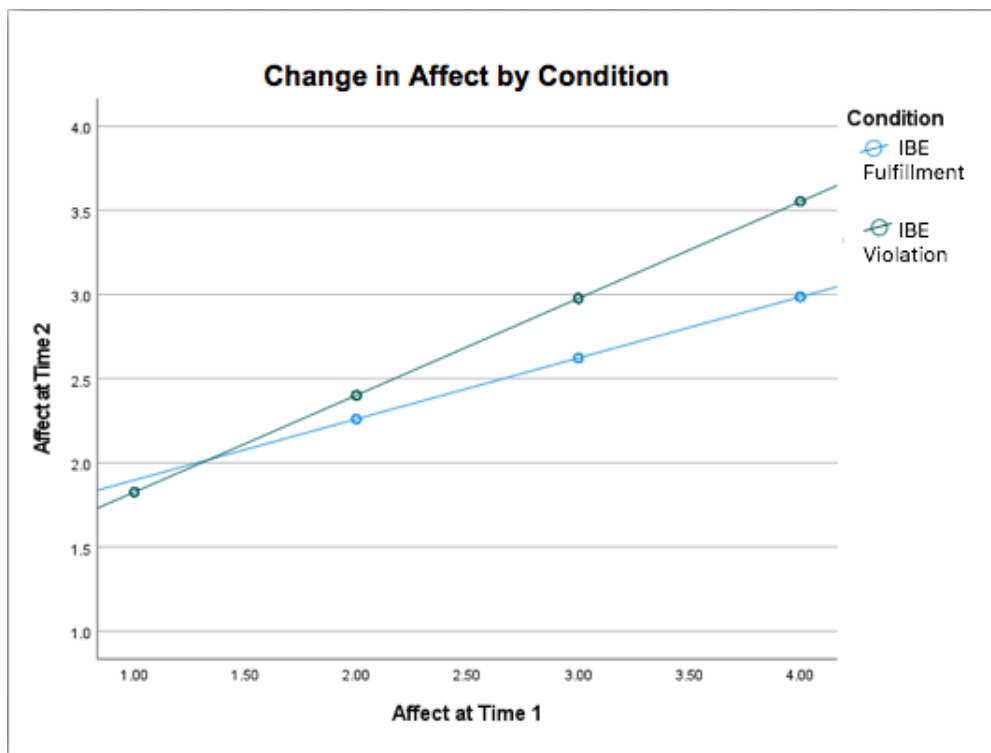


Figure 7.5 Plot depicting the non-significant regression analysis showing changes in affect

To further investigate this hypothesis, I created a 3-way interaction term to see if the extent to which participants believed they were good candidates for the job interacted with condition and affect at Time 1 to predict affect at Time 2. This interaction was significant, $b = 2.203$, $t(170) = 2.207$, $p = .029$. However, it appears that this interaction effect is being driven by changes in affect occurring for participants in the IBE Fulfillment condition (See Figure 7.6). Participants in the IBE Violation condition were not showed relatively stable affect regardless of

how good of a candidate they felt they were. For those in IBE Fulfillment condition, the relationship between Affect at Time 1 and Time 2 was affected by how good of a candidate participants felt they were. When they indicated they were a not a good candidate, affect remained unchanged after the manipulation, but participants who felt they were a good candidate indicated a moderate level of affect at Time 2 regardless of their initial level of affect. This interaction does not support Hypothesis 3 which stated that participants in the IBE Violation condition should show increased affect after the manipulation.

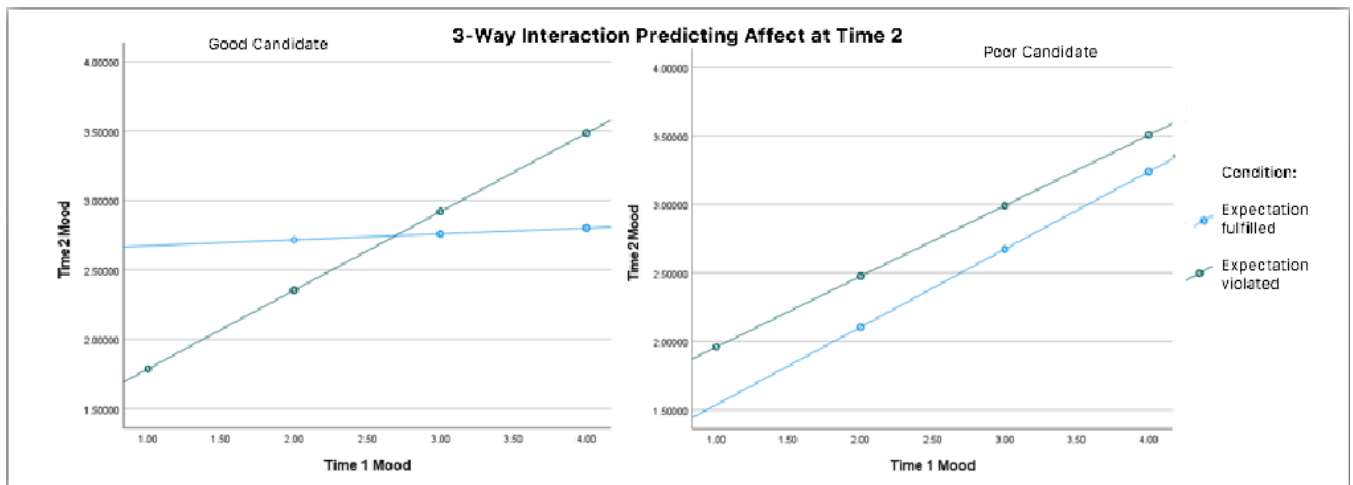


Figure 7.6 Plot for a 3-way interaction between Condition, Affect at Time 1, and how good a candidate a participant thinks they are predicting Affect at Time 2

CHAPTER 8

General Discussion

Present Studies

Based on the results from Study 1, I can conclude that people do in fact have expectations for social interactions that are related to their specific identities of gender. These expectations may not be relevant in all interactions they experience throughout their day, but when applicable, men and women have different expectations for how certain situations will unfold. Women were more likely to mention protective and danger avoidance behaviors than men were when prompted with the same social scenarios. In addition, as predicted, women were more likely to reference their gender and gender in general than men were across the nineteen social scenario prompts. However, there were some social scenarios that did not elicit the expected dichotomy of responses, and instead prompts referencing dual partner job loss and posting babysitting fliers had responses that did not differ to the same degree that they did for other prompts. In addition, counter to my hypothesis, I was not able to address issues of intersectionality in Study 1. Most likely, this is due to several factors including the participants in my data sample and the design of the social scenario prompts. The homogenous sample included only a few members of marginalized outgroups not related to gender (e.g., Black participants), which limits the available data to code and therefore derive themes. In addition, the prompts provided to participants were written specifically to highlight differences of experiences based on gender and not ethnicity, class, or other overlapping identities. It is possible that either with more general prompts (e.g.,

“How do you expect interviewers to evaluate you based on their first impressions of you?”), or prompts designed to specifically test other differences in identity-based experiences (e.g., “When out in public areas with your family, how do you expect people to react when you speak to each other in a language other than English?”), more variability in responses from participants of other marginalized identities would have been present.

Results for Study 2 were less conclusive as not all hypotheses were supported by the analyses conducted. For Hypothesis 1, although all three mood measures showed significant differences between groups in the initial measurement, the measures related to the PANAS showed effects in the opposite direction to what was predicted. Namely, participants showed more positive affect and less negative affect in the violation condition whereas I hypothesized that this condition should show overall lower affect as a result of experiencing an expectation violation. However, this was only true among participants who thought they were poor job candidates and the hypothesized relationship was evident for participants who thought they were good candidates. This interaction effect therefore shows support for Hypothesis 1 as mood for some participants was negatively affected by condition. In addition, relevant to Hypothesis 2, there was not a direct effect of condition on level of outgroup derogation when measured using the MRS nor when measured using a resume evaluation task. Participants did not engage in more outgroup derogation when they experienced a violation of an identity-based expectation compared to participants who experienced a fulfilled expectation. There was a significant moderation effect of social dominance orientation and condition on outgroup derogation in that participants who experienced a violation of an identity-based expectation showed higher MRS scores than participants with low SDO who experienced an identity-based expectation being fulfilled. This shows at least partial support for my Hypothesis 2, that high-status individuals

may more likely to engage in outgroup derogation when they experience a VIBE than an individual whose expectation is fulfilled, at least for individuals who are low on social dominance orientation. Finally, for Hypothesis 3, two of the affect measures indicated no difference between participants as was expected, although the positive items on the PANAS did show a positive effect, the opposite direction to what I predicted. Again, this relationship is qualified by an interaction effect that showed affect at Time 2 changed from affect at Time 1 for participants in the IBE Fulfillment condition who felt they were good candidates. The pattern of this interaction effect is not what I predicted would happen to participant's level of affect during the study, but it may suggest that for participants who did not feel they were candidates this manipulation was not strong enough to influence level of affect.

It is possible that I did not find support for all hypotheses due to the nature of the how the study was conducted and characteristics of the sample. First, the original design for this study was to be an in-person investigation so that participants could actually experience a social interaction that either fulfilled or violated an identity-based expectation. Due to the COVID-19 crisis I was unable to run the study as designed and needed to adjust it so that I could collect data entirely via the internet. The new design regarding qualifications for a theoretical job position, although relevant to the high-status identity of the participants, may not have been a strong enough manipulation due to its hypothetical nature and that participants may not have been invested in the outcome of the evaluation process. It is likely that had this study either been conducted on a sample made up of individuals highly interested in qualifying for that position or if the position was not a theoretical but a real job opportunity, analyses would have revealed the predicted effect of expectation violation (v. fulfillment) on affect and outgroup derogation. Another issue may be that the sample of participants were not as sensitive to the outgroup

derogation measures because the majority of them lived in the United Kingdom when they completed the study. It is possible that the outgroups of Latinx and Black individuals would not have the same impact for residents of the United Kingdom as they would for residents of the United States, given the socio-political realities of group dynamics in the United States. If I were to run another study testing this effect, it would be an in-person study conducted with US participants that manipulated an actual expectation violation as opposed to the theoretical design of the current Study 2.

Together, these studies suggest that people do in fact have different expectations that vary based on one's identity, and that violations of these expectations impact the likelihood that someone will engage in outgroup derogation, at least for some groups of people. In Study 1, women responded differently than men to the social scenarios presented but showed similar patterns among their respective responses. Women were more likely to reference anticipating and avoiding dangerous situations (e.g., being in an Uber alone) than men, in addition to more frequently referring to the role of gender in situations in general. In Study 2, although there was not a direct effect of condition (i.e., identity-based violation v. identity-based fulfillment), there was a moderating effect of condition and social dominance orientation on the degree to which one engaged in outgroup derogation. For participants who indicated lower social dominance orientation, experiencing a VIBE, as opposed to having an identity-based expectation fulfilled, lead to higher scores on the modern racism scale. More investigation is needed to better understand the role of affect in this process as not all measures reflected the hypothesized pattern. Specifically, the PANAS did not show a more negative mood for participants in the VIBE condition that increased after being given the opportunity to derogate an. In contrast, the graphic representation of affect did show the predicted pattern of lower mood for participants

who received feedback that violated their IBE. When measured again, though, affect did not increase for these participants but stayed equally low—it was participants in the fulfillment condition who experienced a change to their affect in that it was lowered after they were given the opportunity to engage in outgroup derogation. So, either the measures for affect were not sensitive enough to capture changes to mood as a result of the manipulation, or it is not as strong a mechanism in the VIBE model as predicted. Different measures of affect along with measurements of different variables (e.g., indignation, fairness) should be assessed in future studies.

Extant Literature

The continued conflicts in inter-group behavior are surprising given that people are generally resistant to regarding their behavior as discriminatory (Becker & Swim, 2012) and are motivated to behave in an egalitarian manner. However, previous research has found that even people who are not consciously prejudiced internalize cultural stereotypes and can be influenced by them unknowingly (Devine, 1989). Contemporary forms of racial (outgroup) bias, often collectively called modern prejudice, are more subtle than old-fashioned forms of blatant racism. Aversive racists' actions are indeed related to their attitudes, which are complex and conflicting: holding conscious, explicit egalitarian (non-biased) attitudes as well as non-conscious, implicit biased attitudes (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson 2002). Aversive racists do not discriminate when actions would be recognized as racist but do discriminate when their behavior is justifiable by non-racist reasons (eg, diffusion of responsibility).

This type of prejudice is referred to as implicit prejudice, an unconscious bias that has developed over time due to automatically processing negative stereotypes and prejudices espoused by one's family, colleagues, media, societal norms, etc. There has been some success

in reducing implicit prejudice for those with low explicit prejudice (e.g., Devine et al., 2012; Lueke & Gibson, 2015). Devine and colleagues (2012) found that giving participants several strategies (eg, stereotype replacement and perspective taking) to reduce or disrupt the automatic activation of stereotypes resulted in lower levels of implicit, but not explicit, prejudice after several weeks. Becker and Swim (2012) had similar findings in trying to reduce modern sexism, a form of implicit prejudice characterized by beliefs that many prejudices (eg, racism, sexism) are not currently a problem. Becker and Swim proposed that appealing to the desire of participants to not be prejudiced may be useful in reducing modern sexism. This was supported by their results, just informing male and female participants of the harmful effects of benevolent sexism resulted in a reduction of benevolent sexist views. But this strategy was not equally effective for all kinds of sexism, participants also needed to understand the *pervasiveness* of benevolent sexism's harmful effects in order to reduce general, modern sexism.

Future Directions

Attempts at reducing systematic prejudice can also result in boomerang effects that lead to increased bias among individuals. It has been suggested that prospective employees who are members of high-status groups, such as the participants in Study 2, may respond negatively to companies that promote the value of diversity. This is because they see efforts to foster diversity as coming at the expense of individuals such as themselves who may not fit into a 'diverse' category, such as being female, BIPOC, or LGBTQIA (Eibach & Keegan, 2006). In this view, racism is a "zero-sum" game so that anti-racist or anti-prejudice ideals are interpreted as a bias against the historically privileged group. Further research should investigate how this phenomenon can occur in a real-world setting as theoretical violations and expectations may not fully represent what happens in people's lived experiences. In addition, other groups should be

investigated including high status members (e.g., White women, high SES), low status members (e.g., racial minorities, unhoused individuals), and individuals with similar intersectional identities (e.g., Black LGBTQIA, women with disabilities), just to name a few. In understanding how and why prejudice continues to fuel behavior it is important to investigate how seemingly unrelated factors, or factors meant to decrease prejudice, can actually lead to increases in outgroup derogation. With a broader scientific understanding it is possible to address, and ultimately reduce, the many ways in which prejudice seeps through all facets of society and influences ours and other's behavior.

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Appendix

Social Scenario Prompts for Study 1

On the following pages you will read brief descriptions of common social situations people experience on a day-to-day basis. For each situation, please explain your expectations for the different situations given your past experiences with others.

1. On a date, after you've had a nice time and the night is ending, what would you expect your date to do when it's time to say goodbye?
2. During a group discussion, you make a point that you feel contributes significantly to the discussion. How would you expect your other group members to react to your comment?
3. You have been working at a company for about a year and your boss hasn't mentioned giving you a raise or a promotion, which you expected. You've setup a meeting with them to request at least a raise. How would you expect your boss to react?
4. In one of your classes, you feel that the instructor has been flirting with you. After a lecture, your instructor asks you to stay behind for a couple minutes to talk about something. What do you expect your instructor to do or say?
5. You and a male friend just finished having dinner together, as friends, when the waiter comes by and asks if you will be paying together or separate. What do you think your friend will say?
6. After a night out, it's time to head home and no one is sober enough to drive. You'd normally share an Uber with a friend, but no one is going in the direction of your home. What do you do?

7. You are out with some friends and you just ordered a drink. Right when the bartender hands it to you, you get a call you need to take and must step outside. What do you do before you head out to answer your phone?
8. You find out that someone you have never hung out with alone before has been telling people you sexually assaulted them. There is no way this story is possible, and you try to tell your friends that. How do you expect them to react?
9. Walking into a building, you and a woman arrive at the door at the same time and both hesitate for a moment. What do you do?
10. You are explaining to a male friend about a time you were sexually assaulted. You explain that you had been drinking with the person and went home with them. Once at their house you start kissing, and when they try to go further than that you explain how you said no but they kept putting their hands on your body. How do you expect your friend to react to the story?
11. You are out on a date with someone for the first time when the check arrives, what do you expect your date to do next?
12. A friend is asking for help to move via a group text to men and women. How do you think people will respond to your friend's request?
13. Your parents are going through a divorce and the judge has decided on how custody will be divided between them, what do you think the judge's decision will be?
14. You have been in a casual sexual relationship with someone over the past few weeks and recently found out your birth control did not work, and a baby could be on the way. How do you think your sexual partner will handle the situation?

15. People are constantly noting how quiet and shy you are, which is a true statement. How do you think this will affect your dating life?

16. There is a large Greek life on your University campus, but you've decided not to join any type of Sorority/Fraternity. How do you think this would affect your college social life?

17. Your school is starting a program to try and show the benefits of enlisting in the United States military; how do you think they would approach you about this possible career choice?

18. You are trying to earn some extra cash but need a flexible schedule. You decide to post fliers around your neighborhood offering yourself as a babysitter with your photo, number, and references. How do you think your neighbors will respond to your job posting?

19. Your partner and you live together and have both just been laid off from your current jobs due to a national financial crisis, how do you think your partner will react to this situation?