

PUNISHING COUNTERNORMATIVE BEHAVIOR: PERCEIVED SOCIAL GROUP
MEMBERSHIP OF THE NORM VIOLATOR PREDICTS SOCIAL CONTROL

by

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B.A., University of Cincinnati, 2003
M.S., Kansas State University, 2010

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychological Sciences
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

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Abstract

To better understand factors related to greater social control of norm violators, I conducted two studies. The social group membership of the norm violator was of foremost importance to these studies and tested the general prediction that *who* violates the norm determines the perceived appropriate reaction to the norm violation. Consistent with contemporary theories of prejudice (i.e., the justification-suppression model of prejudice, the stereotype content model, and aversive racism theory) results revealed that norm violators with intellectual disabilities were given stronger (yet more paternalistic) social control reactions than Black norm violators and that Black norm violators were perceived as less competent when they violated a norm that was high (vs. low) in personal implication. Results also supported theories related to social-identity theory by demonstrating that White norm violators were generally less liked than other norm violators. The results of these studies demonstrate that social group membership influences how individuals react to norm violators and contributes to our understanding of the unfair treatment of individuals in our society.

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Punishing Counternormative Behavior: Perceived Social Group Membership of the Norm Violator Predicts Social Control

While studying in the library one afternoon, Emily heard someone speaking loudly. She could not make out exactly what the person was saying, but the voice was loud enough that it broke her train of thought. She sighed to herself and continued to study her textbook. A few minutes later, the voice interrupted her thoughts again. She looked around to see if she could tell who the voice belonged to, but the person must have been on the other side of the stacks so she continued with her work. Then the voice made a third interruption. With resolve, Emily got up from her chair to find the person who was interrupting her studying to ask if he or she would please be quiet. This was a quiet study floor after all! As she spotted the person who was rudely interrupting her studies, Emily came to a halt. It appeared that this person might have Down syndrome. At that instant, Emily's frustration became guilt. She turned around, feeling ashamed of herself, and went back to her table.

Emily's initial reaction to confront someone who was violating a social norm was based on who she thought the norm violator was. At first, she may have thought that the norm violator was a traditional college student, much like herself, and should be aware of the rules governing library behavior. However, after learning that the norm violator may have an intellectual disability, Emily's behavior changed. She no longer thought that confronting the person about the disruptive behavior was appropriate. This is one example of how reactions to counternormative behavior depend on the group membership of an individual who violates a social norm. Would Emily's behavior have changed if the person had been a member of a minority group? The objective of the current research is to discover how reactions to social norm violations vary according to the perceived social group membership of the norm violator.

The Importance and Function of Social Norms

Social norms can be defined as "rules and standards that are understood by members of a group, and that guide and/or constrain social behavior without the force of laws" (Cialdini & Trost, 1998, p. 152). Therefore, norms establish conventions for what individuals should and should not do within a shared group context. It is important to note that while norms provide behavioral expectations, the expectations do not need to be explicitly stated to be understood by

members of a group. Further, norms can range from those that are highly specific and apply to a small sub-group in a particular situation (e.g., family traditions at holidays) to those that are more broadly applicable to a wide range of individuals and situations (e.g., forming lines; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; McKirnan, 1980; Schachter, Nuttin, DeMonchaux, Maucorps, Osmer, Duijker, Rommetveit, & Israel, 1954; Verkuyten, Rood-Pijpers, Elffers, & Helsing, 1994). The proposed studies were created to better understand perceptions of individuals who violate widely agreed upon norms, such as expectations regarding littering (e.g., Chekroun & Brauer, 2002; Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990), waiting in lines (e.g., Helweg-Larsen & LoMonaco, 2008; Milgram, Liberty, Toledo, & Wackenhut, 1986; Schmitt, Dube, & Leclerc, 1992), and the volume of one's voice in public settings (e.g., on public transportation, Brauer & Chaurand, 2010; in a library or movie theater, Joly, Stapel, & Lindenberg, 2008).

Social norms fulfill an important function within a society: to create order and reduce chaos. If all members of a society follow the norms, then there is a predictable structure to events (e.g., forming a line to enter a concert prevents a stampede). Individuals are generally motivated to maintain this order and follow social norms, making behavior more predictable (i.e., the focus theory of normative behavior, Cialdini et al., 1990). Importantly, because norms create order and predictability, those who violate established norms present a threat to the existing social dynamics and are often punished for their counternormative behavior (Cialdini & Trost, 1998).

The Theory of Uniformity and Social Control

According to the theory of uniformity (Schachter, 1951), in most social groups there is pressure for group members to behave similarly and follow social norms. When someone deviates from behavioral norms, tactics will be used by group members to restore uniformity. Tactics used to punish counternormative behavior (e.g., ostracism, angry expressions) are referred to as social control. More formally, social control is defined as “any verbal or nonverbal communication by which individuals show to another person that they disapprove of his or her deviant (counternormative) behavior” (Chekroun & Brauer, 2002, p. 854). In their research examining reactions to social norm violations, Chekroun and Brauer (2002) discovered that social control can range from giving an angry look to the norm violator, to indirectly vocalizing disapproval through sighing or making a comment to another bystander, to directly confronting the norm violator through polite or impolite comments regarding his/her behavior. Other forms

of social control include social rejection by other group members (e.g., Schachter, 1951; Schachter et al., 1954) and holding negative attitudes toward the norm violator (e.g., Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Heilman & Wallen, 2010; Hutchison, Abrams, Gutierrez, & Viki, 2008; Marques, Abrams, Paez, Martinez-Taboada, 1998).

Chekroun, Brauer, and colleagues (Brauer & Chaurand, 2010; Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Chaurand & Brauer, 2008; Chekroun, 2008; Chekroun & Brauer, 2002; Chekroun & Nugier, 2011; Nugier, Chekroun, Pierre, & Niedenthal, 2009) have emphasized the importance of researching social control and have argued that, “despite the important role of negative sanctions for the perpetuation of social norms, social psychologists have shown relatively little interest in the phenomenon of social control” (Chekroun & Brauer, 2002, p. 854). Notably, aside from Chekroun and Brauer’s work, there is a paucity of psychological research specifically outlining the consequences of counternormative behavior. To date, most research on social norms has focused on how norms motivate individuals’ behaviors and has demonstrated that individuals are compelled to engage in norms that are personally relevant (e.g., Jacobson, Mortensen, Cialdini, 2010). Therefore, as a field, social psychologists are only beginning to develop an understanding of the factors that influence reactions to counternormative behavior and perceptions of those who violate norms. Accordingly, the current studies expanded upon this existing literature by examining what individuals consider to be social norm violations and the perceived appropriate sanctions for those norm violations.

Personal Implication as a Moderator of Social Control

Not all norm violations are treated equally. This is to say that different levels of social control may be elicited depending on the type of norm violation; some counternormative behaviors may trigger stronger social control reactions than others. Chekroun, Brauer, and colleagues (Brauer & Chaurand, 2010; Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Chaurand & Brauer, 2008; Chekroun, 2008; Chekroun & Brauer, 2002; Chekroun & Nugier, 2011; Nugier et al., 2009) have explored several different moderators of social control reactions (e.g., perceived deviance of the norm violation, the presence of bystanders, perceived ambiguity of the norm, emotional reactions to counternormative behavior) and have found that personal implication (an individual’s perception that counternormative behavior directly or indirectly influences him/her; Chekroun, 2008) is a key factor in exerting social control. Individuals are more likely to use social control

when they feel that the norm violation personally affects their lives (e.g., littering in the lobby of their apartment building vs. in a public park; Brauer & Chekroun, 2005). Research has supported the idea that as personal implication increases, individuals are more likely to exert social control over a norm violator in both perceived (i.e., self-report studies) and actual (i.e., observational studies) situations (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Chekroun, 2008; Chekroun & Brauer, 2002; Milgram et al., 1986). This may be due to the fact that feelings of personal implication are related to (a) perceptions of greater responsibility for taking action against counternormative behavior, (b) more hostile emotions in response to the counternormative behavior, and (c) the perception of being the legitimate person to exert social control in the situation (Chaurand & Brauer, 2008). The current studies examined social control reactions to counternormative behaviors that individuals perceived to be highly personally implicative and those that were perceived to be less personally implicative.

Group Membership as a Moderator of Social Control

An integral element of the proposed research explores how reactions to norm violations can vary depending on who committed the norm violation. Individuals may be compelled to exert social control when a member of one social group violates a norm, but not when a member of another social group violates the same norm in the same way. The justification-suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), the stereotype content model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) are potential theoretical explanations for differential social control reactions toward members of different social groups.

The justification-suppression model of prejudice (JSM, Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). This model posits that, unless there is sufficient justification to express it, genuine levels of actual prejudice are rarely expressed in contemporary societies. Suppression factors, such as egalitarian beliefs and values, decrease the likelihood that prejudice is expressed. However, when genuine prejudice can be justified by other factors, then it is more likely that prejudice will be expressed in a manner that prevents individuals from appearing prejudiced to themselves or others. By applying this model to social norm violations, prejudice toward a member of an outgroup could be justified after he/she engages in counternormative behavior. As mentioned earlier, individuals value norms and are motivated to exercise social control over those engage in counternormative behavior. Punishing norm violators is often perceived as acceptable; however,

individuals who harbor negative attitudes toward some outgroups may express their prejudices in the form of greater social control toward some norm violators (e.g., Blacks, Asians) than others (e.g., individuals with intellectual disabilities, ingroup members). In this instance, the norm violation justifies the expression of prejudice.

The stereotype content model (SCM, Fiske et al., 2002). The SCM provides a useful framework in understanding how group membership determines reactions to norm violations. According to this model, attitudes are more complex than a simple “like” or “dislike”; instead attitudes toward and stereotypes about groups depend on the perceptions of each groups’ warmth (i.e., likability) and competence (i.e., ability). Each group can be perceived as either high or low on the warmth and competence dimensions, which creates four distinct types of attitudes. Groups that are perceived to be low on both warmth and competence (e.g., poor people, welfare recipients) are those that receive contemptuous prejudice (i.e., they are generally disliked and seen as low status). Conversely groups that are perceived to be high on both warmth and competence (e.g., ingroup members, close allies) are those that receive admiration rather than animosity. Interestingly, when the stereotype content becomes mixed, groups can be perceived to be positive on one dimension and negative on the other. Groups that are perceived as high in warmth but low in competence (e.g., elderly, disabled) receive paternalistic prejudice (i.e., they are seen non-threatening but pitied and in need of help from superior groups). In contrast groups that are perceived as low in warmth but high in competence (e.g., Asians, Jews) receive envious prejudice (i.e., they are seen as hardworking and given a desirable high status). This model underlies the idea that not all stigmatized groups are perceived and treated similarly. In relation to the current research, the social category to which targets are perceived to belong (e.g., White, Asian, handicapped) and perceptions of group members could influence reactions toward them when they violate social norms.

It should be noted that the stereotype content model provided the social groups that were selected for the current studies and that Fiske and colleagues collected their data in the United States; these stereotypical views of social groups are therefore a reflection of cultural stereotypes in the United States. If this study were to be conducted outside of the United States, other social groups may need to be selected in order to better represent the stereotypes of that specific culture. For example, if this study were to be conducted in a Asian country, the broad social category “Asian” used in this study would not elicit the same stereotypical view of an individual

who is high in competence but low in warmth; rather in an Asian country, the label would be too broad and would need to more specifically represent the country or region under investigation (e.g., Japan, India) in order to fully understand how individuals would react to norm violators within that particular society. Another prime example is cultural differences that exist between Arab-Israelis and Jewish-Israelis in Israel. Nadler and colleagues (e.g., Nadler & Halabi, 2006) have researched prejudice and discrimination between these two social groups, a distinction that is specific to the Middle East. Although these cultural differences do exist, the social groups selected for the following studies are representative of those in the United States (where the studies were collected) and are based on previous research (i.e., the stereotype content model). The current studies will then examine if individuals react differently to norm violations when the norm violator is White, Black, Asian, or has an intellectual disability.

To illustrate that social group membership can influence perceptions of norm violations, Vankleef, Homan, Finekenaurer, Gundemir, and Stamkou (2011) conducted a series of studies examining perceptions of a confederate who violated a social norm. The confederate, typically a White male, was perceived to be more powerful after violating social norms. In the study, the norm violator was not sanctioned for violating norms, rather he was perceived in a positive manner as more powerful. This provides initial support to the idea that social group membership, in this case membership in a high status group, can influence perceptions of norm violations. However, members of other social groups may not be associated with positive attributes after violating social norms. Because social control may be one way in which the expression of prejudice can be justified, members of other social groups that are generally disliked (e.g., individuals who are Black or Asian) however, may not be perceived positively after engaging in counternormative behavior and may receive greater levels of social control. The current studies examined how social control reactions differed toward members of social groups that are stereotypically perceived as warm (e.g., individuals with intellectual disabilities, ingroup members) and social groups that are stereotypically perceived as less warm (e.g., Asians, Blacks) in the United States.

Perceived warmth can be used to distinguish between groups because the groups that are perceived to be higher in warmth are viewed as likable and non-threatening (Fiske et al., 2002); conversely, more negative feelings may be harbored toward groups that are perceived to be lower in warmth. While the predictions distinguish between groups that are high and low in

warmth, the stereotype content model may also predict that competence influences perceptions of norm violators. In recognition of this model, groups selected for the proposed studies were derived from the combination of warmth and competence. Therefore, these studies examined perceptions of norm violators who are perceived as high on both warmth and competence (i.e., Whites), high on warmth but low in competence (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities), low in both warmth and competence (i.e., Blacks), and low in warmth but high in competence (i.e., Asians).

In combination with the justification-suppression model of prejudice, we hypothesized that social group membership would predict differential reactions toward individuals who violate social norms. The social norm violation would provide justification for the expression of prejudice (i.e., greater social control) toward groups that are generally disliked (i.e., rated lower in warmth). However, we expected that social control would be justified only when the counternormative behavior was high in personal implication (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Chekroun, 2008; Chekroun & Brauer, 2002). When the norm being violated has little to no personal implications for the individual, it is less likely that greater social control can be justified; in the conditions involving low personal implication, therefore, it was not expected that social group membership would have an influence on social control reactions.

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identity theory provides a set of hypotheses that directly contrast with those predicted by the JSM and SCM. According to social identity theory, individuals seek to have a positive image of themselves and the social groups to which they belong. Deviant ingroup members leave an unfavorable impression on the group (i.e., the black sheep effect, Marques & Yzerbyt, 1998) and individuals are motivated to convey positive perceptions of themselves and their ingroup. In relation to social norms, if an individual notices a member of his or her own social group engaging in counternormative behavior, he or she may believe that the behavior reflects poorly not only on the norm violator, but on the group as a whole. Exerting social control over deviant group members may be one way in which the positive group identity can be protected. Research has thus far provided empirical support for the idea that individuals are more likely to exert social control of ingroup members compared to outgroup members who violate norms (Abrams et al., 2000; Chekroun, 2008; Chekroun & Nugier, 2011; Hutchison et al., 2008; Marques et al., 1998; Nugier et al., 2009). If individuals are concerned with maintaining a positive image of themselves by proxy of

their social group, then compared to outgroup members, ingroup members should receive greater social control after violating social norms.

Social identity theory offers a different set of predictions than the justification-suppression model of prejudice and the stereotype content model. The former perspective emphasizes greater social control toward ingroup members while the latter theories predict that members of some outgroups will receive greater social control. The current studies tested these competing theoretical perspectives to reach a greater understanding of how social group membership influences reactions to counternormative behavior.

Potential Explanations for Differences in Reactions to Social Norm Violations

Exerting social control toward ingroup or outgroup members involves either directly or indirectly confronting the norm violator (e.g., having a discussion, making eye contact). Individuals may consider the act of exerting control as well as the outcome of the confrontation before deciding how and if they are going to exert social control. As presented in the story about Emily confronting a norm violator in the library, exerting social control can create an uncomfortable situation, especially when the norm violator may be from a different social group. The individual may experience anxiety about the interaction (Plant, 2004; Plant & Butz, 2006; Plant & Devine, 2003), might believe that he or she will appear prejudiced by confronting the norm violator (e.g., self-efficacy expectations; Plant & Butz, 2006; Plant, Butz, & Tatakovsky, 2008), or perceive that the costs of the confrontation (e.g., language or communication barriers, violent reactions) outweigh the benefits of social control; each of these perceptions may influence the expression of social control. Additionally, individuals' level of prejudice toward the social group could influence the likelihood that they exert social control; individuals with higher levels of prejudice toward social groups were predicted to exert greater levels of social control toward members of that social group who violate social norms. In the current studies, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, perceptions of costs to benefits involved in confronting a norm violator, and prejudice toward the group were examined as factors that influence the likelihood of exerting social control toward members of various social groups. The likelihood and severity of social control was predicted to be influenced by individuals' beliefs that the situation is anxiety-provoking, that they may be perceived as prejudiced, their beliefs concerning

the costs and benefits of the confrontation, and/or their levels of prejudice toward the norm violator's group.

Social Categorization and Perceived Social Group Membership

One final consideration is that in social interactions, such as those involving confronting a social norm violator, individuals are able to perceive others' social group membership. Theories involving social categorization explain the process of determining or perceiving an individual's social group membership by using cues related to his or her appearance. Social categorization is a cognitive process whereby individuals are grouped into socially constructed categories. Categorizing individuals according to perceived group membership is one way that people can cognitively organize and make sense of their world (for review see Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). Stereotypes are one efficient and effective mechanism that can be used to assign individuals to social categories so that individuals can conserve cognitive energy (Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994). As such, stereotypes are functional tools that simplify interactions with others so that they can devote mental energies to other tasks. In their review, Macrae and Bodenhausen (2000) point out that the initial research on social categorization revealed that verbal labels indicating social group membership (e.g., Black) often activated social categories and stereotypes about group members (e.g., musical). However, the reliance on verbal labels may not be representative of actual human interactions: "the use of verbal stimulus materials is problematic, as it necessarily obscures the true information-processing puzzle that confronts perceivers when they encounter other people" (p. 101).

Therefore, it is important to examine how social categories are activated via an individual's appearance, paying special attention to his or her facial features. Allport (1954) contended that visible markings can aid in categorization. Allport provided a list of visible characteristics that differentiate social groups and aid in categorization processes; among these are skin color, facial features, dress, and mannerisms. Hence, "perceptible differences are of basic importance in distinguishing between out-group and in-group members" (p. 132). Features such as skin tone (e.g., Barssamian-Kahn & Davies, 2010; Eberhardt, Davies, Purdie-Vaughns, & Johnson, 2006; Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004; Maddox & Chase, 2004) and other phenotypic characteristics including hair, nose, and lips (i.e., racial phenotypicality bias; Maddox, 2004; Shengmin Yang & Han, 2011) have been found to influence racial group

categorization. Interestingly, research by Rule and colleagues (e.g., Rule & Ambady, 2008; Rule, Ambady, Adams, & Macrae, 2007, 2008; Rule, Ishii, Ambady, Rosen, & Hallett, 2011; Rule, Rosen, Slepian, & Ambady, 2011) has demonstrated that individuals are able to accurately categorize others into perceptually ambiguous groups, such as sexual orientation, following a brief (i.e., less than 50 millisecond) exposure to a face. Similarly, research from our own laboratory has shown that facial features can also be an indicator of whether or not an individual has an intellectual disability (McManus, 2010).

This research then demonstrates that individuals' social group memberships (e.g., ethnic or racial background, sexual orientation) can be gleaned from their physical appearance. In particular, facial features appear to be strong indicators of social group membership for perceptually obvious (e.g., Asian vs. European) social groups.

Consequences of social categorization. Categorizing individuals according to the groups that they appear to be members of seems to be a fairly automatic cognitive process. As a cognitive process, assigning individuals into social category memberships becomes one way in which individuals make sense of their social world. Social categories may allow individuals to learn about others quickly and efficiently create order in an otherwise chaotic world.

Allport (1954) described social categorization processes as natural, automatic, and inevitable. While his contention has been debated by current theorists (see Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000), there is recent support for automatic activation of categorization (e.g., Bastian, Loughnan, & Koval, 2011; Freeman, Ambady, Rule, & Johnson, 2008). In either case, activating social categories does appear to influence how individuals perceive and interact with others (for reviews see Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000; Maddox, 2004). Allport referred to the categorization process as one that operates according to the "principle of least effort", and as such provides guidance and simplifies our daily lives. Rather than considering each interaction as a unique event, categories based on our previous experiences allow us to gauge how to react efficiently in the new interaction. Allport's example of the angry dog charging down the street demonstrates that the category of "mad dog" indicates that the dog should be avoided; this example shows that categorization occurs quickly, even in novel situations, guides behavior and can be adaptive to survival.

Social categorization processes from this perspective may appear to be helpful, without negative consequences. However, this is not always the case. By its nature, categorization

divides people along pre-existing social dimensions, which are embedded within a society. Allport (1954) noted that not all categories are rational or formed by adequate evidence and can eventually lead to prejudicial feelings and discrimination. Those categories may activate stereotypes about the social group and could lead to prejudice or discrimination. Thus, aspects of an individual's appearance (e.g., skin tone) can activate social categories, trigger stereotypes, and influence perceptions of the target individual. Eberhardt and colleagues (2004; 2006) have demonstrated that faces of Black males may activate stereotypes related to danger and influence the perception that Black men are criminals. This process of associating the category "Black" with danger appears to occur in less than a second (Barsamian-Kahn & Davies, 2010) and is especially pronounced for group members with greater stereotypic features, such as darker skin (Barsamian-Kahn & Davies, 2010; Eberhardt et al., 2004, 2006; Maddox & Chase, 2004). Likewise, reactions toward a future interaction with an individual may be influenced by whether or not the individual appears to have an intellectual disability (McManus, 2010). Individuals indicated that they would experience anxiety, and would be less willing to interact with an individual who appeared to have an intellectual disability compared to an individual who did not appear to have an intellectual disability.

The negative consequences of social categorization are not limited to real social groups. Minimal group paradigms have also demonstrated the power of social categorization on intergroup relationships. Tajfel's work in particular has been influential in demonstrating that groups that were arbitrarily created in the laboratory setting (e.g., under- vs. overestimation of dots on a screen; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971) produce ingroup favoritism and bias toward outgroup members. Once social categories have been recognized, then it appears that perceptions of others are shaded by the category to which they have been assigned; "it is clear that, once individuals are divided into categories, with fairly minimal conditions met, intergroup bias ensues" (Park & Judd, 2005, p.120). Thus, although social categories may be a natural and fundamental cognitive process, this process often can lead to bias, particularly toward individuals who belong to stigmatized groups. The current studies examined how social categorization processes (i.e., perceptions of group membership) can lead to differential treatment of those who engage in counternormative behavior. According to the social categorization literature, the social group membership of the norm violator is indicated through his or her physical features and may activate stereotypes and result in prejudice or discrimination.

Overview of the Proposed Research

The overall objective of the current studies is to discover how reactions to social norm violations vary according to the perceived social group membership of the norm violator. Competing predictions were made based on (a) the justification-suppression model of prejudice and the stereotype content model versus (b) social-identity theory. Study 1 varied the norm violation (either high or low in personal implication) in addition to the social group membership of the individual who violated the social norm (i.e., White, has an intellectual disability, Black, Asian; groups determined by the stereotype content model). It was expected that the level of personal implication and social group membership would influence the severity of social control given to the norm violator and the perceptions of the norm violator. Further, this relationship was predicted to be mediated by prejudice and self-presentational concerns that often arise in interpersonal interactions (i.e., anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, perceptions of cost).

Predictions based on the justification-suppression model of prejudice and the stereotype content model were as follows:

H1a: Participants would have more negative perceptions and would exert greater social control toward norm violators who violated norms that were high in personal implication compared to norms that were low in personal implication.

H2a: Participants would have more negative perceptions and would exert greater social control toward norm violators who were perceived to be lower in warmth (i.e., Asians, Blacks) compared to those who were perceived to be higher in warmth (i.e., Whites, individuals with intellectual disabilities).

H3a: Perceived group membership would interact with personal implication to produce differences in perceptions of the norm violator and social control reactions. When the counternormative behavior involved high personal implication, participants would have more negative perceptions and exert more severe social control toward norm violators who were perceived to be lower in warmth (i.e., Asians, Blacks) compared to those who were perceived to be higher in warmth (i.e., Whites, individuals with intellectual disabilities). However, when the counternormative behavior involved low personal implication, there would be no differences in perceptions or social control across the four groups.

In contrast, the following hypotheses were presented in support of social identity theory. These predictions indicated that ingroup members would be perceived more negatively and would receive more severe social control than outgroup members.

H1b: Participants would have more negative perceptions and would exert greater social control toward norm violators who violated norms that were high in personal implication compared to norms that were low in personal implication. Because this hypothesis did not involve group membership, it was not expected to differ from the JSM and SCM prediction regarding the main effect of personal implication.

H2b: Participants would have more negative perceptions and would exert greater social control toward norm violators who were ingroup members (i.e., Whites) than outgroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Asians, Blacks)

H3b: Perceived group membership would interact with personal implication to produce differences in perceptions of the norm violator and social control reactions. When the counternormative behavior involved high personal implication, participants would have more negative perceptions and exert more severe social control toward norm violators who were ingroup members (i.e., Whites) compared to those who were outgroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Asians, Blacks). However, when the counternormative behavior involved low personal implication, there would be no differences in perceptions or social control across the four groups.

Finally, it was predicted that prejudice and self-presentational concerns would influence the relationship between social group membership and reactions to social norm violations. Specifically, the likelihood of approaching a norm violator and the severity of the social control reaction would depend on prejudice toward the social group to which the norm violator belonged, how anxious the individual felt about confronting the norm violator, the extent to which they believed they would look prejudiced in the interaction, and the potential costs of exerting social control.

H4: When individuals consider interacting with members of outgroups who have violated a social norm (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Asians, Blacks), they would exert less severe social control as the result of feeling anxious, thinking they might appear prejudiced, and perceiving that the interaction may be costly.

Study 1 used a 2 (personal implication: high vs. low) x 4 (social group membership: intellectual disability, White, Black, Asian) design to examine the effects of personal implication and social group membership on perceptions of and reactions toward social norm violations . Self-presentational concerns (i.e., self-efficacy, anxiety, and perceptions of cost) and prejudice were also measured to examine the extent to which these concerns influence the severity of social control that was exerted toward the norm violator. Before testing these hypotheses, pilot studies were conducted in order to determine the social norm violations and the consequent social control reactions.

Pilot Study 1 Method

Before testing the predictions, a pilot study was conducted to identify a set of social norms that ranged in personal implication. The results of this pilot study provided lists of social norms that are high and low in personal implication and to be used in subsequent studies. It was expected that counternormative behaviors that directly impacted the participant would be rated as having more personal suffering (i.e., high personal implication) and those that impacted others would be rated as having less personal suffering (i.e., low personal implication) (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005).

Participants

Participants for this study were 50 undergraduate students enrolled in general psychology who participated in this study in exchange for credit toward the completion of their research credit requirement. A majority of the participants were White (86%), female (68%), and in their first-year of college (82%); their average age was 18.44 ($SD = 2.97$).

Measures

Counternormative behaviors (adapted from Brauer & Chaurand, 2010). Fifty counternormative behaviors were created to describe norm violations that would be considered high on personal implication (e.g., *someone puts his or her feet up on the table you are studying at in the library*) and another fifty were created to describe similar norm violations that would be considered low on personal implication (e.g., *someone puts his or her feet up on a table in the library*). In each of the high personal implication norm violations, the norm violation involved the participant as the target of the counternormative behavior. In the low personal implication

norm violations, another person was the target of the counternormative behavior. A list of these counternormative behaviors is provided in Appendix A.

Personal implication (adapted from Brauer & Chekroun, 2005). For each of the counternormative behaviors, participants responded to how much the social norm violation personally affected them (i.e., *I would personally suffer the consequences of this behavior*) using a 1 (*I would not personally suffer at all*) to 9 (*I would personally suffer very much*) Likert-type scale.

Procedure

Participants signed up for one of two conditions of this study on an online study management system. One condition contained 50 high personal implication social norm violations and the other condition contained 50 low personal implication social norm violations. Participants were asked to read each of the 50 norm violations and then report the extent to which they felt personally affected by each of the violations. To reduce the possibility that responses were influenced by the order in which the items are presented, the items were presented to participants in a random order. Participants completed the study in about 15 minutes and were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

Pilot Study 1 Results and Discussion

Independent samples *t*-tests were used to compare the extent to which participants felt personally affected by the norm violations for each of the norms that were high on personal implication to the norms that were low on personal implication. In total, fifty *t*-tests were conducted so that each high personal implication norm violation was compared to the paired similar low personal implication norm violation. The means, standard deviation, and *t*-test results are presented in Table 1. Results revealed nine significant differences in personal implication. Participants felt more personally affected when someone tried to break into their car ($M = 8.36$, $SD = 1.32$) than into a car that was not theirs ($M = 6.76$, $SD = 2.49$), $t(48) = 2.841$, $p = .007$; when someone picked flowers from their family garden ($M = 4.68$, $SD = 2.39$) than from a garden at a park ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.66$), $t(48) = 2.268$, $p = .028$; when someone tore a page from a book he/she borrowed from them ($M = 7.40$, $SD = 1.73$) than from a book from the library ($M = 5.80$, $SD = 2.66$), $t(48) = 2.519$, $p = .015$; when someone tried to steal something from their

pocket ($M = 8.16, SD = 1.89$) than from someone else's pocket ($M = 6.40, SD = 3.03$), $t(48) = 2.476, p = .017$; when someone put his/her feet on the table in the library at which they were working ($M = 5.40, SD = 2.26$) than a table at the library at which they were not working ($M = 3.28, SD = 2.11$), $t(48) = 3.431, p = .001$; and when someone blocked their car because he/she was driving the wrong way on a one-way street ($M = 7.12, SD = 1.83$) than when he/she blocked a someone else's car ($M = 5.04, SD = 2.17$), $t(48) = 3.362, p = .001$. For each of these sets of norm violations, the participants indicated that when the norm violation involved them personally, they were more affected than when it involved other people.

Contrary to predictions, participants rated that they would be less personally affected by someone not holding a door open for them ($M = 3.76, SD = 1.61$) than for another person ($M = 5.52, SD = 2.69$), $t(48) = -2.802, p = .007$; someone not expressing thanks when they held the door open for him/her ($M = 3.80, SD = 1.97$) than when someone else held the door open for him/her ($M = 5.24, SD = 2.43$), $t(48) = -2.293, p = .026$; and someone not expressing thanks after they have done him/her a favor ($M = 4.48, SD = 2.63$) than when others have done him/her a favor ($M = 5.92, SD = 2.47$), $t(48) = -1.997, p = .052$. In each of these sets of norm violations, participants reported that they would be less affected when they were involved in the norm violation than when others were involved in the norm violation. This pattern of results is contrary to predictions about the extent to which norm violations that are high and low in personal implication personally affect individuals (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005) and interestingly each of these norm violations involved reciprocity. Participants could believe that violating reciprocity norms are harmful in general, regardless of who is the target of the counternormative behavior. Additionally, in this pilot study, a between groups design was used where participants either saw the high or low personal implication norm violations. Using a between groups design is more externally valid, given that individuals rarely encounter two individuals violating similar norm violations simultaneously. However, this design did not allow for participants to make a comparison between norms that affected them personally to norms that affected only other people. Before conducting the second pilot study in which the reactions to the counternormative behavior were assessed, smaller subsets of the norm violations were retested using a within-groups design to examine if the pattern of effects found in this pilot study would replicate.

Table 1 Independent Samples *t*-test Comparison of High and Low Personal Implication Norms in Pilot Study 1

Norm Violation	Mean	SD	<i>t</i> -test
Someone spits on the ground as you are walking by	4.56	2.57	$t(48) = -0.64, p = .51$
Someone spits on the ground as people walk by	5.04	2.54	
Someone lets a dog defecate on the sidewalk outside of your dorm or apartment building and leaves without cleaning up after it	5.16	2.54	$t(48) = -1.70, p = .09$
Someone lets a dog defecate on the sidewalk outside of the library and leaves without cleaning up after it	6.32	2.27	
Someone paints graffiti on a wall inside of your dorm or apartment building	4.76	2.96	$t(48) = -0.20, p = .84$
Someone paints graffiti on a wall at the mall	4.92	2.56	
Someone tries to break into your car	8.36	1.31	$t(48) = 2.84, p = .007$
Someone tries to break into a car	6.76	2.48	
Someone burps loudly in a restaurant where you are eating	4.12	2.45	$t(48) = -0.54, p = .58$
Someone burps loudly in a restaurant	4.48	2.22	
Someone litters in front of your house when there is a trash can nearby	5.80	2.61	$t(48) = 0.00, p = 1.00$
Someone litters on campus when there is a trash can nearby	5.80	2.45	

Someone tears off posters from a public bulletin board in your dorm or apartment building	3.36	1.80	$t(48) = -1.76, p = .08$
Someone tears off posters from a public bulletin board on campus	4.48	2.62	
Someone intentionally shoves another person right in front of you	6.20	2.33	$t(48) = -0.88, p = .38$
Someone intentionally shoves another person	6.76	2.18	
Someone yells insults at another person during a class you are attending	5.92	2.43	$t(48) = 0.85, p = .40$
Someone yells insults at another person during a class your friend is attending	5.32	2.58	
Someone picks flowers from your family's garden	4.68	2.39	$t(48) = 2.27, p = .028$
Someone picks flowers from a garden at the park	3.36	1.66	
Someone makes a drawing with a pen in the stairwell of your dorm or apartment building	3.68	2.98	$t(48) = -0.50, p = .62$
Someone makes a drawing with a pen in the stairwell of the library	4.08	2.61	
Someone walks on the sidewalk against the flow of pedestrians so that you almost run into him or her	4.12	2.26	$t(48) = -0.68, p = .50$
Someone walks on the sidewalk against the flow of pedestrians so that others almost run into him or her	4.56	2.35	

Someone tears a page out of a book they borrow from you	7.40	1.73	$t(48) = 2.52, p = .015$
Someone tears a page out of a book they borrowed from the library	5.80	2.66	
Someone violently kicks a soda machine you were going to use	3.36	2.29	$t(48) = -1.69, p = .10$
Someone violently kicks a soda machine	4.40	2.06	
Someone makes an obscene gesture towards you	5.92	2.56	$t(48) = 0.98, p = .33$
Someone makes an obscene gesture toward another person	5.24	2.33	
Someone tries to steal something from your pocket	8.16	1.88	$t(48) = 2.47, p = .017$
Someone tries to steal something from someone else's pocket	6.40	3.03	
Someone drops products on the floor of a supermarket, for the sake of amusement, while you are shopping	5.48	2.47	$t(48) = -0.95, p = .34$
Someone drops products on the floor of a supermarket, for the sake of amusement	6.16	2.58	
Someone parks in two parking spaces so that you cannot park your car	6.92	2.41	$t(48) = -0.35, p = .72$
Someone parks in two parking spaces so that other people cannot park their cars	7.16	2.37	
Someone smokes in your dorm or apartment building, although signs clearly indicate that smoking is forbidden	7.04	2.40	$t(48) = 0.76, p = .45$
Someone smokes in a building, although signs clearly indicate that smoking is forbidden	6.48	2.78	

Someone makes a motorcycle roar, creating a very loud noise while you are trying to study	4.68	2.30	$t(48) = -1.38, p = .17$
Someone makes a motorcycle roar, creating a very loud noise while people are trying to study	5.64	2.61	
Someone parks a car on the sidewalk in such a way that you are forced to step in the street in order to pass by	5.28	2.19	$t(48) = 0.00, p = 1.00$
Someone parks a car on the sidewalk in such a way that others are forced to step in the street in order to pass by	5.28	2.73	
Someone screams very loudly at 2:00 in the morning in the street while you are trying to sleep	6.16	2.49	$t(48) = 0.51, p = .87$
Someone screams very loudly at 2:00 in the morning in the street while others are trying to sleep	6.28	2.56	
Someone throws an empty plastic bottle in the bushes outside of your house	5.60	2.68	$t(48) = 0.16, p = .87$
Someone throws an empty plastic bottle in the bushes outside of the union	5.48	2.71	
Someone deposits bulky trash on your street (old shelves, big card board boxes, etc.)	5.12	2.35	$t(48) = -0.23, p = .82$
Someone deposits bulky trash on the street (old shelves, big card board boxes, etc.)	5.28	2.54	

Someone leaves the leftovers of a picnic in the grass of a public park you often visit	5.68	2.21	$t(48) = 0.40, p = .67$
Someone leaves the leftovers of a picnic in the grass of a public park	5.40	2.66	
Someone deposits a car battery in the parking lot where you usually park your car	4.28	2.74	$t(48) = -0.67, p = .50$
Someone deposits a car battery in a parking lot	4.76	2.28	
Someone opens a newspaper into your face while waiting for class to start	4.48	1.94	$t(48) = 0.00, p = 1.00$
Someone opens a newspaper into someone's face while waiting for class to start	4.48	2.38	
Someone drives too closely to the rear of your car	6.52	1.89	$t(48) = 1.91, p = .06$
Someone drives too closely to the rear of another car	5.32	2.51	
Someone leaves a store and does not hold the door open for you although you are close behind	3.76	1.61	$t(48) = -2.80, p = .007$
Someone leaves a store and does not hold the door open for another person although he or she is close behind	5.52	2.69	
Someone puts his or her feet up on the table you are studying at in the library	5.40	2.25	$t(48) = 3.43, p = .001$
Someone puts his or her feet up on a table in the library	3.28	2.11	
Someone interrupts you when you are talking	5.60	1.91	$t(48) = -0.76, p = .45$
Someone interrupts when other people are talking	6.08	2.53	

During a movie at the cinema, the people right behind you are speaking loudly over an extended period of time	7.32	1.52	$t(48) = 0.14, p = .88$
During a movie at the cinema, people are speaking loudly over an extended period of time	7.24	2.30	
Someone stops in a car at a traffic light, and does not advance when the light turns green	6.12	2.11	$t(48) = 0.61, p = .55$
Someone stops in a car at a traffic light, and does not advance when the light turns green	5.72	2.54	
Someone does not express any form of thanks when you hold the door open for him or her	3.80	1.98	$t(48) = -2.29, p = .026$
Someone does not express any form of thanks when others hold the door open for him or her	5.24	2.44	
Someone enters a one-way street and blocks your car, which is arriving from the other direction	7.12	1.83	$t(48) = 3.66, p = .001$
Someone enters a one-way street and blocks another car, which is arriving from the other direction	5.04	2.17	
Someone draws graffiti on the walls of an elevator in your apartment or dorm building	5.00	2.87	$t(48) = -0.26, p = .80$
Someone draws graffiti on the walls of an elevator in the union	5.20	2.55	

Someone does not say thank you when you have done him or her a favor	4.48	2.63	$t(48) = -1.99, p = .052$
Someone does not say thank you when another person has done him or her a favor	5.92	2.46	
Someone sits on the stairs of a public building such that you are forced to squeeze along the wall or step over him or her	5.20	2.25	$t(48) = -0.82, p = .42$
Someone sits on the stairs of a public building such that others are forced to squeeze along the wall or step over him or her	5.72	2.24	
Someone tries to cut in front of you in a line at the movie theater	5.68	2.64	$t(48) = -0.77, p = .45$
Someone tries to cut in front of other people in a line at the movie theater	6.20	2.12	
Someone drives fast and quite dangerously while you are on the same road	6.44	2.42	$t(48) = -0.06, p = .95$
Someone drives fast and quite dangerously while others are on the same road	6.48	2.60	
Someone blows his or her nose loudly while you are sitting next to him or her	3.80	2.16	$t(48) = -0.84, p = .41$
Someone blows his or her nose loudly while someone else is sitting close to him or her	4.36	2.55	
Someone uses a cell phone and speaks very loudly while you are sitting next to him or her	5.36	1.87	$t(48) = 0.13, p = .89$
Someone uses a cell phone and speaks very loudly while someone else is sitting close to him or her	5.28	2.30	

Someone urinates against a wall in the street as you are walking by	5.88	2.70	$t(48) = .32, p = .75$
Someone urinates against a wall in the street as people walk by	5.64	2.62	
Someone empties a car's ashtray on the sidewalk as you are walking by	4.12	2.62	$t(48) = -1.48, p = .15$
Someone empties a car's ashtray on the sidewalk as people walk by	5.20	2.55	
Someone sends text messages while you are trying to have a conversation with him or her	4.84	2.21	$t(48) = 0.45, p = .65$
Someone sends text messages while another person is trying to have a conversation with him or her	4.52	2.76	
Someone takes a really long time in a public restroom while you wait in a long line outside	5.64	2.38	$t(48) = 1.01, p = .32$
Someone takes a really long time in a public restroom while others wait in a long line outside	4.96	2.39	
Someone drives through a cross walk while you are crossing the street	6.16	2.36	$t(48) = -0.45, p = .65$
Someone drives through a cross walk while others are crossing the street	6.48	2.61	
Someone steps out in front of your car without checking to see if it is safe to cross the street	6.24	2.40	$t(48) = 0.21, p = .21$
Someone steps out in front of a car without checking to see if it is safe to cross the street	5.28	2.89	

Someone you are eating dinner with does not leave a tip for the server	5.24	2.37	$t(48) = -0.76, p = .45$
Someone does not leave a tip for the server	5.76	2.45	
Someone shows up late for a class you are attending and creates a distraction while finding his/her seat	4.48	2.29	$t(48) = -0.24, p = .81$
Someone shows up late for a class and creates a distraction for others while finding his/her seat	4.64	2.41	

Note: For each set of counternormative behaviors, the norm violations that are high in personal implication are listed before those that are low in personal implication.

Pilot Study 1, Method

In this pilot study, the nine counternormative behaviors that differed on high and low personal implication discussed in the preceding results section were paired with seven additional norm violations. In the first pilot study, these seven were those that participants generally indicated that the violation affected them, although there were no significant differences between the high and low personal implication conditions. These norm violations include burping in a restaurant, walking against the flow of pedestrians on the sidewalk, screaming loudly at 2:00 in the morning; opening a newspaper in front of someone's face, loudly blowing his/her nose, talking loudly on a cell phone, and sending text messages during a conversation.

Participants

Participants for this study ($N = 32$) completed the study in exchange for extra credit in their general psychology course. Participants were primarily male (59.4%), from varied racial backgrounds (34.4% White, 25% Asian, 18.8% Latino/a; 12.5% Black; 6.3% Other/Mixed Background), and had different years of higher education (25% first-year students; 18.8% sophomores, 34.4% juniors, 15.6% seniors, and 6.3% identified as graduate students). Participants' average age was 22.43 ($SD = 7.99$).

Measures and Procedure

Participants were given a list of 32 norm violations (adapted from Brauer & Chekroun, 2005); half of the norm violations were those that were high in personal implication (e.g., *someone does not express any form of thanks when you hold the door open for him or her*) and the other half were those that were low in personal implication (e.g., *someone does not express any form of thanks when others hold the door open for him or her*). The norm violation pairs used in this study are marked with an asterisk in Appendix A. For each of the norm violations, participants responded to how much the social norm violation personally affected them (adapted from Brauer & Chekroun, 2005) (i.e., *I would personally suffer the consequences of this behavior*) using a 1 (*I would not personally suffer at all*) to 9 (*I would personally suffer very much*) Likert-type scale. Participants completed the measure in less than 15 minutes, after which they were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Pilot Study 1, Results and Discussion

Paired sample *t*-tests were used to compare the differences in the extent to which participants believed the counternormative behaviors personally affected them. Participants indicated that they felt more personally affected by the norm violations in which they would be the target of the counternormative behavior ($M_s = 4.37$ to 6.84 , $SD_s = 2.74$ to 2.79) than the violation in which others would be the target of the counternormative behavior ($M_s = 3.28$ to 5.09 , $SD_s = 2.33$ to 3.12), $t_s(31) = 2.042$ to 4.66 , $ps < .05$, for all but two of the norm violations (i.e., someone does not express any form of thanks when you/others hold the door open for him or her; someone sends text messages while you/another person are/is trying to have a conversation with him or her). Table 2 lists the means, standard deviations, and *t*-test results.

For each norm violation, as predicted, the norm violations that involved the participant were rated as having greater personal implication compared to the violations that involved others (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005). Before norm violations were selected for subsequent studies, the nature of the violations was considered. Several of the norm violations involved illegal behavior, including breaking into a car, stealing something from someone's pocket, and driving the wrong way down a one-way street. The goal of these studies was to examine perceptions of norm violations and by definition, social norms provide guidance for behaviors aside from those outlined by laws (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). As a result, those three norm violations involving illegal behaviors were not included in subsequent studies. Pilot Study 2 used the eleven remaining social norm violation pairs that participants reported were significantly greater in personal implication when they directly affected them. In the second pilot study, participants' perceptions of what the appropriate reactions to counternormative behaviors that were high and low in personal implication were examined.

Table 2 *Dependent Samples t-test Comparison of High and Low Personal Implication Norms in Pilot Study 1_b*

Norm Violation	Mean	SD	<i>t</i> -test
Someone tries to break into your car	6.22	2.82	$t(31) = 4.38, p < .001$
Someone tries to break into a car	4.22	2.66	
Someone burps loudly in a restaurant where you are eating	4.41	2.56	$t(31) = 3.11, p = .004$
Someone burps loudly in a restaurant	3.28	2.33	
Someone picks flowers from your family's garden	4.62	2.80	$t(31) = 2.42, p = .022$
Someone picks flowers from a garden at the park	3.41	2.65	
Someone walks on the sidewalk against the flow of pedestrians so that you almost run into him or her	5.31	2.62	$t(31) = 3.61, p = .001$
Someone walks on the sidewalk against the flow of pedestrians so that others almost run into him or her	4.00	2.58	
Someone tears a page out of a book they borrow from you	6.44	2.43	$t(31) = 3.96, p < .001$
Someone tears a page out of a book they borrowed from the library	4.41	2.80	
Someone tries to steal something from your pocket	6.84	2.79	$t(31) = 3.68, p = .001$
Someone tries to steal something from someone else's pocket	5.09	3.12	

Someone screams very loudly at 2:00 in the morning in the street while you are trying to sleep	6.09	2.82	$t(31) = 3.40, p = .002$
Someone screams very loudly at 2:00 in the morning in the street while others are trying to sleep	4.75	3.08	
Someone opens a newspaper into your face while waiting for class to start	5.15	2.57	$t(31) = 3.21, p = .003$
Someone opens a newspaper into someone's face while waiting for class to start	3.78	2.47	
Someone leaves a store and does not hold the door open for you although you are close behind	4.69	2.59	$t(31) = 2.46, p = .020$
Someone leaves a store and does not hold the door open for another person although he or she is close behind	3.59	2.52	
Someone puts his or her feet up on the table you are studying at in the library	4.66	3.08	$t(31) = 2.25, p = .032$
Someone puts his or her feet up on a table in the library	3.53	2.85	
Someone does not express any form of thanks when you hold the door open for him or her	4.37	2.74	$t(31) = 0.17, p = .863$
Someone does not express any form of thanks when others hold the door open for him or her	4.31	2.88	

Someone enters a one-way street and blocks your car, which is arriving from the other direction	5.94	2.49	$t(31) = 4.66, p < .001$
Someone enters a one-way street and blocks another car, which is arriving from the other direction	3.56	2.28	
Someone does not say thank you when you have done him or her a favor	5.49	2.71	$t(31) = 2.04, p = .050$
Someone does not say thank you when another person has done him or her a favor	4.44	2.73	
Someone blows his or her nose loudly while you are sitting next to him or her	4.78	2.78	$t(31) = 2.91, p = .007$
Someone blows his or her nose loudly while someone else is sitting close to him or her	3.56	2.35	
Someone uses a cell phone and speaks very loudly while you are sitting next to him or her	5.50	3.00	$t(31) = 2.11, p = .043$
Someone uses a cell phone and speaks very loudly while someone else is sitting close to him or her	4.41	2.66	
Someone sends text messages while you are trying to have a conversation with him or her	5.06	3.11	$t(31) = 1.70, p = .098$
Someone sends text messages while another person is trying to have a conversation with him or her	4.34	3.05	

Note: For each set of counternormative behaviors, the norm violations that are high in personal implication are listed before those that are low in personal implication.

Pilot Study 2 Method

Once the social norms were identified, the next step was to determine the types of social control that are deemed appropriate in response to the counternormative behaviors. It was important to test the reactions to ensure that they captured the range of reactions that participants generally think are appropriate following a norm violation. It was predicted that norms that were high in personal implication would elicit stronger social control reactions compared to those that were low in personal implication. The results of this pilot study determined the norm violations and social control reactions used in all subsequent studies. In this pilot study, a between-groups design was again used to increase the external validity of the study.

Participants

Participants for this study included 40 undergraduate students enrolled in general psychology who participated in this study in exchange for credit toward the completion of their research credit requirement. A majority of the participants were White (77.5%), female (55%), and in their first-year of college (70%); the average age of the participants was 18.82 ($SD = 1.08$).

Measures

Counternormative behaviors. Eleven counternormative behaviors were selected based on the results of the first pilot study (see Appendix A for a full list of counternormative behaviors selected). Each of the norm violations were written in a manner that conveyed that the participant would be personally affected by the counternormative behavior (i.e., high personal implication condition; e.g., *someone puts his or her feet up on the table you are studying at in the library*) or that another individual would be personally affected by the counternormative behavior (i.e., low personal implication condition; e.g., *someone puts his or her feet up on a table in the library*).

Social control reactions (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005). For each of the counternormative behaviors, participants indicated the social control reaction they found to be most appropriate. Participants indicated what they perceived to be the most appropriate response to the norm violator; the responses increased in severity (1 = *nothing*; 2 = *angry look*; 3 = *loud audible sigh*; 4 = *comment made to another person*; 5 = *polite comment to the norm violator*; 6 =

comment made in an aggressive tone to the norm violator; 7 = personal insult in an aggressive tone to the norm violator). These social control reactions were generated by Brauer and Chekroun's (2005) previous research which examined individuals' reactions to social norm violations.

Procedure

Participants signed up for one of two conditions of the study using an online study management system. One condition contained the eleven high personal implication social norm violations and the other contained the eleven low personal implication social norm violations. Participants provided a response to indicate what they perceived was the appropriate level of social control for each counternormative behavior. To reduce the possibility that responses were influenced by the order in which the items are presented, the items were presented to participants in a random order. Participants completed the study in less than 15 minutes and were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

Pilot Study 2 Results and Discussion

Independent samples *t*- tests were conducted to test the differences between each of the high and low personal implication counternormative behavior pairs on severity of social control. The means, standard deviation, *t*-test results are provided in Table 3. Additionally, frequencies were calculated to examine the extent to which participants indicated that each of the social control options were appropriate for each of the counternormative behaviors (see Table 4).

The independent samples *t*-tests revealed that for three of the counternormative behaviors, participants reported that greater levels of social control were appropriate for the high personal implication norm violations compared to the low personal implication norm violations. Specifically greater social control was perceived as more appropriate when someone picked flowers from their family's flower garden ($M = 4.35, SD = 1.78$) than from a garden in a public park ($M = 1.70, SD = 1.34$), $t(38) = 5.31, p < .001$; when someone tore a page from a book he/she borrowed from them ($M = 5.50, SD = 0.83$) than from a book from the library ($M = 3.30, SD = 1.84$), $t(38) = 4.88, p < .001$; and when someone put his/her feet on the table in the library at which they were working ($M = 2.65, SD = 1.84$) than a table at the library at which they were not working ($M = 1.70, SD = 1.12$), $t(38) = 1.97, p = .057$, marginally significant. These results

were consistent with predictions that more severe social control would be perceived as appropriate for counternormative behaviors that are high on personal implication, compared to behaviors that are low on personal implication (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Chekroun, 2008; Chekroun & Brauer, 2002; Milgram et al., 1986). The results of this pilot study supported the notion that in some instances norm violators exert more severe social control when they are the target of the counternormative behavior.

Next the modal social control responses for each of the high and low personal implication counternormative behaviors were examined. Notably, when someone picked flowers from their family's flower garden, the modal response was to make a polite comment to the norm violator (40% of participants); when the flowers were picked from a garden in a public park, the modal response was to do nothing (70% of participants). When someone tore a page from a book he/she borrowed from them, the modal response was to make a comment in an aggressive tone to the norm violator (65% of participants); when the page was torn from a book from the library, the bimodal response was to either do nothing (25% of participants) or to make a polite comment to the norm violator (25% of participants). Finally, when someone put his/her feet on the table in the library at which they were working, the modal response was to do nothing (40% of participants); when someone put their feet on a table at the library at which they were not working, the modal response was also to do nothing (75% of participants).

Based on the results from these pilot studies, the subsequent studies proposed in this document used the norm violation where an individual puts his/her feet on the table the participant was working at (i.e., high personal implication condition) or on a table the participant was not working at (i.e., low personal implication condition). This norm violation was selected because it was rated significantly higher on personal implication when the participant, rather than another individual, was the target of the norm violation in both Pilot Study 1 and 1_b. Further, Pilot Study 2 demonstrated that when the norm violator put his or her feet on the table the participant was sitting at, a majority of participants indicated that a more severe form of social control was appropriate compared to when the norm violator put his or her feet up on another table. Additionally this norm violation produced varied responses in participants; because not all of the participants agreed that the strongest or weakest forms of social control were appropriate, this increased the likelihood of varied responses in Studies 1 and 2 when the norm violation was paired with social group membership. Given that this counternormative behavior elicited

stronger social control reactions in the high personal implication condition but also produced variation in responses, it was used in Studies 1 and 2.

Table 3 Independent Samples *t*-test Comparison of Social Control Reactions for High and Low Personal Implication Norms in Pilot Study 2

Norm Violation	Mean	SD	<i>t</i> -test
Someone burps loudly in a restaurant where you are eating	2.35	1.53	$t(38) = -0.20, p = .84$
Someone burps loudly in a restaurant	2.45	1.57	
Someone picks flowers from your family's garden	4.35	1.78	$t(38) = 5.31, p < .001$
Someone picks flowers from a garden at the park	1.70	1.34	
Someone walks on the sidewalk against the flow of pedestrians so that you almost run into him or her	3.10	2.07	$t(38) = 1.04, p = .31$
Someone walks on the sidewalk against the flow of pedestrians so that others almost run into him or her	2.50	1.54	
Someone tears a page out of a book they borrow from you	5.50	0.83	$t(38) = 4.88, p < .001$
Someone tears a page out of a book they borrowed from the library	3.30	1.84	
Someone screams very loudly at 2:00 in the morning in the street while you are trying to sleep	2.95	2.01	$t(38) = -1.52, p = .14$
Someone screams very loudly at 2:00 in the morning in the street while others are trying to sleep	3.90	1.94	

Someone opens a newspaper into your face while waiting for class to start	2.95	1.60	$t(38) = 1.30, p = .20$
Someone opens a newspaper into someone's face while waiting for class to start	2.30	1.56	
Someone leaves a store and does not hold the door open for you although you are close behind	1.75	1.21	$t(38) = -0.27, p = .78$
Someone leaves a store and does not hold the door open for another person although he or she is close behind	1.85	1.10	
Someone puts his or her feet up on the table you are studying at in the library	2.65	1.84	$t(38) = 1.97, p = .057$
Someone puts his or her feet up on a table in the library	1.70	1.13	
Someone does not say thank you when you have done him or her a favor	2.20	1.51	$t(38) = -0.590, p = .56$
Someone does not say thank you when another person has done him or her a favor	2.50	1.70	
Someone blows his or her nose loudly while you are sitting next to him or her	1.80	1.40	$t(38) = 0.61, p = .55$
Someone blows his or her nose loudly while someone else is sitting close to him or her	1.55	1.19	
Someone uses a cell phone and speaks very loudly while you are sitting next to him or her	2.60	1.70	$t(38) = 0.91, p = .37$
Someone uses a cell phone and speaks very loudly while someone else is sitting close to him or her	2.15	1.42	

Note: For each set of counternormative behaviors, the norm violations that are high in personal implication are listed before those that are low in personal implication.

Table 4 *Frequencies of Social Control Reactions for High and Low Personal Implication Norms in Pilot Study 2*

Norm Violation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Someone burps loudly in a restaurant where you are eating	10	2	0	7	1	0	0
Someone burps loudly in a restaurant	10	1	0	8	1	0	0
Someone picks flowers from your family's garden	2	3	0	2	8	4	1
Someone picks flowers from a garden at the park	14	3	0	1	2	0	0
Someone walks on the sidewalk against the flow of pedestrians so that you almost run into him or her	6	4	3	1	3	1	3
Someone walks on the sidewalk against the flow of pedestrians so that others almost run into him or her	5	9	1	3	0	2	0
Someone tears a page out of a book they borrow from you	0	0	1	1	5	13	0
Someone tears a page out of a book they borrowed from the library	5	4	0	4	5	2	0
Someone opens a newspaper into your face while waiting for class to start	5	4	3	4	3	1	0
Someone opens a newspaper into someone's face while waiting for class to start	10	3	0	5	2	0	0

Someone screams very loudly at 2:00 in the morning in the street while you are trying to sleep	7	3	2	5	0	1	2
Someone screams very loudly at 2:00 in the morning in the street while others are trying to sleep	4	1	2	6	1	5	1
Someone leaves a store and does not hold the door open for you although you are close behind	13	2	3	1	1	0	0
Someone leaves a store and does not hold the door open for another person although he or she is close behind	9	8	1	1	1	0	0
Someone puts his or her feet up on the table you are studying at in the library	8	5	0	1	5	1	0
Someone puts his or her feet up on a table in the library	13	3	1	3	0	0	0
Someone does not say thank you when you have done him or her a favor	11	1	3	3	2	0	0
Someone does not say thank you when another person has done him or her a favor	10	1	1	6	1	1	0
Someone blows his or her nose loudly while you are sitting next to him or her	13	3	1	2	0	1	0
Someone blows his or her nose loudly while someone else is sitting close to him or her	14	4	1	0	0	1	0

Someone uses a cell phone and speaks very loudly while you are sitting next to him or her	9	2	1	4	4	0	0
Someone uses a cell phone and speaks very loudly while someone else is sitting close to him or her	9	6	0	3	2	0	0

Note: For each set of counternormative behaviors, the norm violations that are high in personal implication are listed before those that are low in personal implication.

1 = Nothing, 2 = Give the person an angry look, 3 = Direct a loud audible sigh at the person, 4 = Make a comment to another person, 5 = Make a polite comment to the person, 6 = Make a comment in an aggressive tone to the person, 7 = Insult the person in an aggressive tone

Study 1 Method

The purpose of Study 1 was to examine if individuals who violate social norms are given differential social control, depending on their group membership. This study tested the competing hypotheses based on the justification-suppression model of prejudice (JSM) and stereotype content model (SCM) against the hypotheses based on social identity theory. The JSM and SCM predicted that greater social control would be exerted toward norm violators who belonged to social groups that are perceived to be lower in warmth (i.e., Blacks, Asians) than groups that are perceived to be higher in warmth (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Whites). Social identity theory, however predicted that greater social control would be exerted toward norm violators who are ingroup members (i.e., Whites) than outgroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Blacks, Asians). Further, it was expected that the severity of social control exerted toward the social groups would be mediated by prejudice and self-presentational concerns (i.e., anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and costs of interacting). Study 1 used a 2 (personal implication: high or low) x 4 (group membership: White, Intellectual Disability, Black, Asian) between-groups design. A between-groups design was selected because it reflects how individuals might encounter a real world situation where they witness an individual committing a norm violation. It is unlikely that individuals will witness multiple individuals simultaneously engaging in the same counternormative behavior. Therefore, the more externally valid between-groups design was used where participants read about one individual who violated a social norm.

Participants

In order to obtain a sample of participants that was more generalizable than samples available through general psychology participant pools, links to the online study were distributed through email and social networking websites. Individuals who had prior knowledge about the method or hypotheses of the study were not asked to participate in the study. Two hundred twelve participants completed this study through the Axio Survey system. However, data was only analyzed for the White participants ($N = 185$)¹. A majority of the participants were female

¹ G-Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) confirmed the ability to detect a medium- sized effect at a power of .80 with this many participants.

(79.40%) and their average age was 35.36 ($SD = 13.56$). Participants reported having varied educational backgrounds (8.90% completed high school; 22.6% were currently enrolled in college; 8.2% had a two-year college degree; 30.4% had a four-year college degree; 5.4% were currently enrolled in a graduate degree program; and 24.10% had completed a graduate degree program). In exchange for their participation, participants were entered into a drawing to win a \$30 Amazon gift card.

Measures

Norm violation vignette (based on Nugier et al., 2009). Participants read a vignette describing an individual who violated a norm that was either high or low on personal implication. Based on the results from the pilot studies, this individual violated a social norm wherein he put his feet up on a table at the library. In the low personal implication condition, the vignette described the individual putting his feet up on a table at the library. In the high personal implication condition, the participant was more personally affected by the counternormative behavior. Therefore in this condition, the vignette described the individual putting his feet up on the table he was sharing with the participant.

Additionally, a picture of this individual was provided to indicate the norm violator's membership in one of four social groups, as determined by the SCM. The individual was either from a group that is perceived to be higher in warmth (i.e., a White male or a male who has an intellectual disability), or from a group that is perceived to be lower in warmth (i.e., a Black male or an Asian male). These social groups were selected for the current studies based on the SCM, as well as social categorization research which suggests that social group membership can be ascertained from salient facial features (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2002). An example vignette with pictures is provided in Appendix B.

Social control (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005). Participants indicated what they perceived to be the most appropriate response to the norm violator's behavior. The social control responses increased in severity (1 = *nothing*; 2 = *angry look*; 3 = *loud audible sigh*; 4 = *comment made to another person*; 5 = *polite comment to the norm violator*; 6 = *comment made in an aggressive tone to the norm violator*; 7 = *personal insult in an aggressive tone to the norm violator*). These items are included in Appendix B.

Perceptions of the norm violator. To examine how participants perceived the norm violator, this study used seventeen nine-point bipolar adjective scales that have assessed target individuals' characteristics in previous research (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). Example items include *likable - not likable*; *gentle – tough*; and *trustworthy – not trustworthy*. Participants indicated the extent to which they believed the norm violator possessed the characteristics by using a nine-point scale where each adjective pair served as anchor points. Composite scores were created according to those used in previous research (Heilman et al., 2004) so that ten of the items reflected perceived competence ($\alpha = .893$) and seven items assessed perceived likability ($\alpha = .925$) (see Appendix C). Higher scores on the measures indicated greater perceived competence and likability, respectively.

Interpersonal interaction concerns. Participants responded to items about their anxiety (four items; $\alpha = .888$) (e.g., *I would feel awkward confronting this individual*; adapted from Plant et al., 2008; Plant & Devine, 2003), their self-efficacy (13 items; $\alpha = .897$) (e.g., *I'm confident that I can respond without prejudice*; adapted from Plant et al., 2008; Plant & Devine, 2003), and their perceptions of the costs of confronting the individual (8 items; $\alpha = .811$) (e.g., *I would be afraid this person might start a fight with me*). Participants indicated their responses for each of the items using a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) Likert-type scale. Higher scores corresponded to greater anxiety, self-efficacy, and perceived costs of confronting the individual respectively. These items are shown in Appendix D.

Affective prejudice. To assess individuals' levels of prejudice toward each of the four social groups, an affective prejudice scale was used (e.g., *Generally speaking, I feel warm and friendly toward Black people*), $\alpha = .896$. The social group indicated in each item depended on the condition to which they were assigned so that they responded only to items about either individuals with intellectual disabilities, Whites, Blacks, or Asians. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with each of the 14 statements using a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) Likert-type scale. Higher scores on this item reflected more prejudice toward the social group about which they were responding. These items are shown in Appendix E.

Oneness measure. To assess the extent to which participants felt connected to their ingroup (i.e., other White individuals), they were asked to select from seven sets of overlapping circles (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992). In each set of circles, one circle represented the self and

other represented White people. The sets of circles varied from no overlap to complete overlap (see Appendix F).

Demographic items. Participants were also asked about their demographic characteristics. These included age, race, sex, and highest level of education completed.

Suspicion check. In order to assess the extent to which participants had any prior knowledge about the study's hypotheses, they provided free responses to three questions (e.g., *what do you think this study is about?*). These questions are provided in Appendix G.

Filler task. To decrease the likelihood that participants' reactions to the social norm violation are influenced by their responses on the affective prejudice and oneness measures, an unrelated filler measure separated these two sections of the study. In the filler task, participants were first asked questions about their favorite movies in each of seven genres (e.g., horror, comedy) and the reasons for why people watch movies in each of the genres. The filler task is provided in Appendix H.

Procedure

In order to decrease the likelihood that responding to items about affective prejudice toward a social group would influence their responses toward the norm violator, participants were told they were participating in three separate studies. After reading about and agreeing to informed consent procedures, the studies were presented to participants in the following order. The first study they were asked to complete contained the affective prejudice and one-ness scales. The second study was a filler task, unrelated to the current study objectives, and separated the prejudice measure from the social norm violation materials. In the final study, participants were instructed that the study in which they were participating was interested in how individuals respond to situations involving norm violations. Participants were assigned to one of eight conditions where they read a scenario describing an individual (belonging to one of four social groups: intellectual disability, White, Black, Asian) who engaged in counternormative behavior (either high or low in personal implication). The description of the behavior was accompanied by a picture of the individual who violated the social norm. After reading the scenario, participants were asked to indicate the type of social control they perceived to be most appropriate in this situation, their perceptions of the norm violator, and their concerns about the potential interpersonal interaction. After completing these measures, participants answered questions to

assess their suspicion about the study's objectives. On average, participants completed the study in one hour and 21 minutes. Following their completion of the measures, participants viewed a screen on which they were thanked for their participation, debriefed, and given contact information for the IRB and Principal Investigator should they have questions about the study.

Study 1 Results

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Tables 5 displays the average scores for each of the dependent and mediator variables and Table 6 displays correlations between the variables in this study. Greater social control was related to less anxiety about confronting the norm violator ($r = -.19, p = .011$) and lower perceptions that confronting the norm violator would be costly ($r = -.30, p < .001$). The perception that the norm violator was competent was related to the perception that the norm violator was likable ($r = .57, p < .001$), more feelings of warmth toward the norm violator's social group ($r = .23, p = .002$), less anxiety about confronting the norm violator ($r = -.23, p = .002$), greater self-efficacy expectations ($r = .28, p < .001$), and lower perceptions of cost ($r = -.39, p < .001$). The perception that the norm violator was likable was associated with more feelings of warmth toward the norm violator's social group ($r = .17, p = .017$), less anxiety about confronting the norm violator ($r = -.32, p < .001$), greater self-efficacy expectations ($r = .32, p < .001$), and lower perceptions of cost ($r = -.39, p < .001$).

Greater feelings of warmth toward the norm violator's social group was correlated with less anxiety about confronting the norm violator ($r = -.20, p = .008$), greater self-efficacy expectations ($r = .44, p < .001$), lower perceptions of cost ($r = -.19, p = .011$), and more feelings of oneness with Whites ($r = .16, p = .013$). Greater feelings of anxiety about confronting the norm violator was associated with less self-efficacy ($r = -.31, p < .001$) and greater perceptions of cost ($r = .67, p < .001$). Greater self-efficacy expectations was related to fewer perceptions of cost ($r = -.44, p < .001$).

Differences and Relationships between Participants' Demographic Characteristics and Measures of Interest

Dependent Measures. Participants' age and level of education was unrelated to the extent to which participants exerted social control toward the norm violator as well as

perceptions of the norm violator's competence and likability ($r_s = .01$ to $.06$, $p_s > .375$); see Table 6. Male and female participants did not differ in their social control reactions ($t(183) = 0.24$, $p = .815$) or their perceptions of the norm violator's likability ($t(183) = -1.89$, $p = .060$), but women ($M = 5.62$, $SD 1.46$) rated the norm violator as more competent than did men² ($M = 5.14$, $SD 1.41$), $t(183) = -2.21$, $p = .028$; see Table 5.

Mediator Variables. Participants' age and level of education was unrelated to affective prejudice, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost ($r_s = .01$ to $.12$, $p_s > .102$). Level of education was unrelated to oneness ($r = -.04$, $p = .573$) but older participants were less likely to identify themselves with other Whites ($r = -.17$, $p = .011$)³; see Table 6. Male and female participants did not differ in their levels of affective prejudice ($t(231) = -0.71$, $p = .477$), oneness ($t(230) = -0.94$, $p = .348$), anxiety ($t(183) = -1.18$, $p = .239$), or perceptions of cost ($t(183) = -0.41$, $p = .683$). Women ($M = 6.31$, $SD 1.36$) were higher on self-efficacy expectations than were men⁴ ($M = 5.78$, $SD 1.33$), $t(182) = -2.26$, $p = .025$; see Table 5.

Suspicion Checks

Because the participants completed all of the measures during a single session, it is possible that they associated the affective prejudice measures they completed in the first part of the study with the measures in the last part of the study where they were asked to indicate how they would react to an individual after he violated a social norm violation. To decrease the likelihood that participants' reactions to the norm violation were influenced by their earlier

² To examine if participant sex influenced the relationship between the main effects and interactions between social group membership and personal implication on perceptions of competence, sex was entered into a 2 (participant sex) x 2 (personal implication) x 4 (social group membership) between-groups ANOVA with perceptions of competence as the dependent measure. The results of this analysis revealed that sex had a significant main effect on perceptions of competence. However, the other main effects and interactions did not change as the result of sex being entered into the model. Because this variable did not have an influence on the overall model, it will not be considered in future analyses.

³ To examine if age influenced the relationship between the main effects and interactions between social group membership and personal implication on oneness, age was entered as a covariate into a 2 (personal implication) x 4 (social group) between-groups ANOVA with oneness as the dependent variable. The results of this analysis revealed that age was significantly related to oneness. However, the main effects and interaction did not change as the result of age being entered into the model as a covariate. Because this variable did not have an influence on the overall model, it will not be considered in future analyses.

⁴ To examine if participant sex influenced the relationship between the main effects and interactions between social group membership and personal implication on self-efficacy expectations, sex was entered into a 2 (participant sex) x 2 (personal implication) x 4 (social group membership) between-groups ANOVA with self-efficacy expectations as the dependent measure. The results of this analysis revealed that sex had a significant main effect on self-efficacy expectations. However, sex did not interact with any of the other independent measures. Because this variable did not have an influence on the overall model, it will not be considered in future analyses.

exposure to the affective prejudice measure, the two sections were separated by a filler task. However, participants may have still made an association between the measures; therefore, at the end of the questionnaires, we asked participants three open-ended questions to assess the extent to which they found the items they completed to be suspicious. The first question asked, “Did you know anything about the nature of the study’s hypotheses before starting this study?” and responses were coded as either a *yes* or a *no* to indicate whether or not they had any prior knowledge about the study⁵. The second and third questions asked, “What do you think this study is about?” and “Did you find anything to be suspicious about the measures you completed today?” respectively; the responses on these items were examined and coded as either a *yes* or a *no* to indicate whether or not the participants found the items they responded to be suspicious⁶. To examine if prior knowledge or suspicion influenced the dependent and mediator variables, a series of independent samples *t*-tests were conducted treating each of the following as dependent variables: social control, perceived competence of the norm violator, perceived likability of the norm violator, affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceived costs of confronting the norm violator.

For the first question, a majority of the participants indicated that they knew nothing about the study’s hypotheses before participating (95.1%). There were no differences on any of the dependent (i.e., social control, perceived competence, perceived likability) or mediator (i.e., affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, perceived costs) variables between participants who indicated whether or not they had knowledge about the study’s hypotheses ($t_s(181) = |0.17 \text{ to } 1.44|, p_s > .15$). For the second and third questions, a majority of participants indicated that they were suspicious of the items on the questionnaires (63.0%). While this may seem like an exceptionally high number of participants who were able to identify the study’s purpose, note that the coding scheme used was very liberal (i.e., participants who mentioned prejudice, racism, or the name of a social group included in the study were coded as *yes*); it is likely that the responses indicate a level of hindsight bias rather than an actual indication that they truly knew the study’s purpose. Importantly, there were no differences on any of the dependent (i.e., social control, perceived competence, perceived likability) and most

⁵ Responses that were coded *yes* included participants who said “yes” and participants who said “yes I guess so”, “vaguely”, “somewhat”, “I knew it had to do with social groupings”, and “I had an idea”.

⁶ Responses that were coded as *yes* included those that included the words prejudice, racism, race, ethnicity, or identified one of the social groups that were included in the study.

of the mediator (i.e., affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, perceived costs) variables between participants who indicated whether or not they were suspicious about the nature of the items on the questionnaire ($t_s(181) = |0.48 \text{ to } 1.69| = p_s > .09$). Participants who indicated they were suspicious more likely to report higher self-efficacy expectations ($M = 6.34, SD = 1.44$) than were those who were not suspicious ($M = 5.94, SD = 1.19$), $t(181) = 1.93, p = .055$, marginally significant⁷.

Social Control Reactions

Mean social control scores were calculated for each of the eight conditions. Data were analyzed using a 2 (personal implication) x 4 (group membership) between-groups factorial ANOVA to test the main effects and interaction between personal implication of the counternormative behavior and the group membership of the norm violator on the severity of social control (see Table 7). As predicted, there was a significant main effect for personal implication such that participants exerted greater social control when the norm violation was high in personal implication ($M = 2.60, SD = 1.90$) than when it was low in personal implication ($M = 1.71, SD = 1.45$) ($F(1, 177) = 8.62, p = .004; \eta_p^2 = .046$). Additionally, there was a significant main effect for social group membership ($F(3, 177) = 3.13, p = .027; \eta_p^2 = .050$). Post-hoc Bonferroni pairwise comparisons were calculated to examine the differences in social control reactions based on social group membership and revealed that participants only exerted greater social control toward the norm violator with an intellectual disability ($M = 2.70, SE = .27$) compared to the Black norm violator ($M = 1.55, SE = .27$), $M_{diff} = 1.15, p = .017$. However, there was not a significant interaction between social group membership and personal implication ($F(3, 177) = 0.86, p = .461; \eta_p^2 = .014$).

Percentage of social control reactions. As predicted, participants exerted greater social control toward norm violators who violated norms that were high in personal implication, compared to those that were low in implication. However, the finding that greater social control

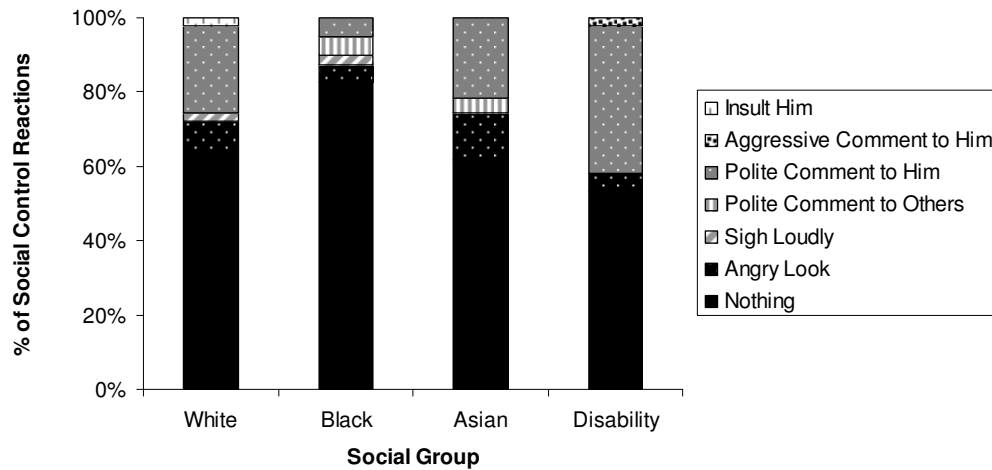
⁷ To examine if suspiciousness influenced the relationship between the main effects and interactions between social group membership and personal implication on self-efficacy expectations, suspicion was entered into a 2 (suspicion) x 2 (personal implication) x 4 (social group membership) between-groups ANOVA with self-efficacy expectations as the dependent measure. The results of this analysis revealed that suspicion had a significant main effect on self-efficacy expectations and that suspicion interacted with social group membership ($F(3, 167) = 3.17, p = .026$). This interaction appears to be driven by a puzzling difference where individuals who were more suspicious reported higher self-efficacy interacting with Whites than those who were less suspicious.

was exerted toward the individual with the intellectual disability compared to the Black individual is, at first glance, inconsistent with the predictions made the JSM and SCM which predicted that the Black norm violator would receive greater social control than the individual with an intellectual disability. Further this finding is inconsistent with the predictions made by Social Identity Theory which predicted that the White norm violator (the ingroup member) would receive the greatest social control compared to the other three groups.

To understand this result, participants' social control reactions across social group membership and personal implication were further examined (see Table 8). Across all conditions, participants were most likely to report that they would do nothing in response to the norm violator's behavior (64.86%); the next most common reaction was to make a polite comment to the norm violator (22.70%). Examining only the main effect of group membership (see Figure 1), a majority of participants reported that they would do nothing in response to the Black norm violator's behavior (82.50%); by comparison approximately half of the participants reported that that they would do nothing in response to the individual with an intellectual disabilities norm violation (53.49%). If the participants reported that they would do something in response to the individual with an intellectual disability's norm violation, it was that they would make a polite comment to him about his behavior (39.53%).

These percentages indicate that main effect is more consistent with contemporary racism theories and the stereotype content model than first assumed. First, the strongest reaction to the norm violator with an intellectual disability was to make a polite comment to him about his behavior; participants did not report that they would be aggressive in their responses or that they would insult the norm violator. A polite comment to a norm violator with an intellectual disability may be a form of paternalistic prejudice (as described in the SCM) where participants may be attempting to "help" the individual with an intellectual disability better adapt his behavior to fit the societal norms. Second, because participants are more likely to do nothing in response to the Black norm violator's behavior, this might suggest that participants want to avoid this interaction (i.e., aversive racism theory; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), perhaps as a result of feeling uncomfortable or believing that they might appear prejudiced while interacting with the Black norm violator; these concerns are addressed in the following mediator analyses.

Figure 1 *Percentage of social control reactions in response to norm violations across social groups in Study 1*



Mediator Analyses: Social Control Reactions

In order to test if prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost mediated the relationship between social group membership, personal implication, and social control reactions, a series of 2 (personal implication) x 4 (social group membership) between-groups ANOVAs were conducted where the mediator variable was entered as a covariate. Separate analyses were conducted for each of the mediators. The preceding analyses demonstrated that both personal implication and social group membership influence social control reactions; if prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectation, and perceptions of cost mediate this effect, then (a) the mediator will be significantly related to social control reactions and (b) the main effects for social group membership and personal implication will no longer be significant (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

Affective prejudice. Participants' reported levels of warmth toward Whites, Blacks, Asians, or individuals with intellectual disabilities were unrelated to social control reactions ($F(1, 176) = .246, p = .620; \eta_p^2 = .001$). Further, the main effects of social group membership and personal implication remained significant after affective prejudice was entered into the model. Affective prejudice therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership, personal implication, and social control.

Oneness. Participants' reported levels of connectedness with other Whites were unrelated to social control reactions ($F(1, 176) = .66, p = .416; \eta_p^2 = .004$). Further, the main effects of social group membership and personal implication remained significant after oneness was entered into the model. Oneness therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership, personal implication, and social control.

Anxiety. Participants' reported levels of anxiety about approaching the norm violator were related to the severity of the social control reaction they thought was appropriate for the norm violation ($F(1, 176) = 5.40, p = .021; \eta_p^2 = .030$). However, the main effects of social group membership and personal implication remained significant after anxiety was entered into the model. Anxiety therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership, personal implication, and social control.

Self-efficacy expectations. Participants' expectations regarding the extent to which they believed they could interact with the norm violator without appearing prejudiced were unrelated to social control reactions ($F(1, 175) = 0.10, p = .749; \eta_p^2 = .001$). Further, the main effects of social group membership and personal implication remained significant after self-efficacy expectations were entered into the model. Self-efficacy expectations therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership, personal implication, and social control.

Perceptions of cost. Participants' perceptions that confronting the norm violator would generate social cost were related to the severity of the social control reaction they thought was appropriate for the norm violation ($F(1, 176) = 10.16, p = .002; \eta_p^2 = .055$). However, the main effects of social group membership and personal implication remained significant after perceptions of cost were entered into the model. Perceptions of cost therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership, personal implication, and social control.

Summary of mediator analyses. Inconsistent with hypotheses, affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and social control reactions. Therefore, although participants exerted greater social control toward the norm violator with an intellectual disability compared to the norm violator who was Black and in the conditions involving high personal implication norm violations, the mediator analyses revealed these differences were not due to

prejudice toward either individuals with intellectual disabilities or Blacks, feelings of connectedness with other Whites, anxiety about approaching the norm violator, expectations about interacting with the norm violator without appearing prejudiced, or perceived costs associated with confronting the norm violator.

Perceptions of the Norm Violator

A 2 (personal implication) x 4 (group membership) between-groups factorial ANOVA was used to test the main effects and interactions between personal implication of the counternormative behavior and the group membership of the norm violator on perceived likability and competence of the norm violator. Separate ANOVAs were conducted for perceived likability and competence (see Table 7). There was a significant main effect for social group membership on perceptions of the norm violator's likability ($F(3, 177) = 8.84, p < .001; \eta_p^2 = .130$). Post-hoc Bonferroni pairwise comparisons were calculated to examine the differences in social control reactions based on social group membership and revealed that, consistent with Social Identity Theory, only the White norm violator was perceived as less likable ($M = 4.66, SE = .21$) than the norm violators who were Black ($M = 5.79, SE = .22$), Asian ($M = 5.53, SE = .19$), and had an intellectual disability ($M = 6.19, SE = .23$), $M_{diffs} = 0.86$ to $1.53, ps < .016$; there were no other differences between social groups. There was neither a significant main effect for personal implication ($F(1, 177) = 0.05, p = .828; \eta_p^2 = .000$) nor was there a significant interaction between group membership and implication ($F(3, 177) = 1.90, p = .400; \eta_p^2 = .016$).

When examining perceptions of the norm violator's competence, there were not significant main effects for personal implication ($F(1, 177) = 0.37, p = .545; \eta_p^2 = .002$) or social group membership ($F(3, 177) = 1.34, p = .262; \eta_p^2 = .022$); there also was not a significant interaction between personal implication and social group membership ($F(3, 177) = 1.09, p = .355; \eta_p^2 = .018$). Perceptions of the norm violator's competence were therefore not influenced by his social group membership or the type of social norm he violated (i.e., high or low personal implication).

Mediator Analyses: Perceptions of the Norm Violator⁸

In order to test if prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost mediated the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability of the norm violator, a series of 2 (personal implication) x 4 (social group membership) between-groups ANOVAs were conducted where the mediator variable was entered as a covariate. Separate analyses were conducted for each of the mediators. The preceding analyses demonstrated that social group membership influenced the extent to which the norm violator was likable; if prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectation, and perceptions of cost mediate this effect, then (a) the mediator will be significantly related to perceived likability and (b) the main effects for social group membership will no longer be significant.

Affective prejudice. Participants' reported levels of warmth toward Whites, Blacks, Asians, or individuals with intellectual disabilities were related to perceived likability ($F(1, 176) = 13.12, p < .001; \eta_p^2 = .069$). However, the main effect of social group membership remained significant after affective prejudice was entered into the model. Affective prejudice therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability.

Oneness. Participants' levels of reported connectedness with other Whites were unrelated to perceptions of likability ($F(1, 176) = 2.06, p = .153; \eta_p^2 = .012$). Further, the main effect of social group membership remained significant after oneness was entered into the model. Oneness therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability.

Anxiety. Participants' reported levels of anxiety about approaching the norm violator were related to the extent to which they perceived the norm violator to be likable ($F(1, 176) = 19.42, p < .001; \eta_p^2 = .099$). However, the main effect of social group membership remained significant after anxiety was entered into the model. Anxiety therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability.

Self-efficacy expectations. Participants' expectations regarding the extent to which they believed they could interact with the norm violator without appearing prejudiced were

⁸ Because perceived competence of the norm violator was not influenced by social group membership or personal implication, no mediator analyses will be conducted for this variable.

related to perceived likability of the norm violator ($F(1, 175) = 33.99, p < .001; \eta_p^2 = .163$). However, the main effect of social group membership remained significant after self-efficacy expectations were entered into the model. Self-efficacy expectations therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability.

Perceptions of cost. Participants' perceptions that confronting the norm violator would generate social cost were related to the perceived likability of the norm violator ($F(1, 176) = 32.06, p < .001; \eta_p^2 = .154$). However, the main effects of social group remained significant after perceptions of cost were entered into the model. Perceptions of cost therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability.

Summary of mediator analyses. Inconsistent with hypotheses, affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability of the norm violator. Therefore, although participants liked the White norm violator the least, the mediator analyses revealed this difference was not due to prejudice toward individuals with intellectual disabilities, Whites, Blacks, or Asians; feelings of connectedness with other Whites; anxiety about approaching the norm violator; expectations about interacting with the norm violator without appearing prejudiced; or perceived costs associated with confronting the norm violator.

Table 5 Descriptive Statistics for Dependent and Potential Mediator Variables in Study 1

	Overall			Men		Women		
	<i>alpha</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t-test</i>
Dependent Variables								
Social Control	--	2.12	1.73	2.19	1.86	2.12	1.70	$t(183) = 0.24, p = .815$
Perceived Competence	.893	5.75	1.15	5.41	1.11	5.85	1.14	$t(183) = -2.21, p = .028$
Perceived Likability	.925	5.51	1.46	5.14	1.41	5.62	1.46	$t(183) = -1.89, p = .060$
Potential Mediator Variables								
Affective Prejudice	.896	6.50	1.18	6.39	1.04	6.53	1.22	$t(231) = -0.71, p = .477$
Oneness	--	5.41	1.66	5.21	1.64	5.46	1.67	$t(230) = -0.94, p = .348$
Anxiety	.888	5.12	1.95	4.81	1.64	5.21	2.04	$t(183) = -1.18, p = .239$
Self-Efficacy Expectations	.897	6.19	1.36	5.78	1.33	6.31	1.36	$t(182) = -2.25, p = .025$
Perceptions of Cost	.811	5.03	1.36	4.95	1.23	5.05	1.40	$t(183) = -0.41, p = .683$

Note. All measures except social control and oneness were measured on a 1 to 9 Likert-type scale. Social control and oneness were each one-item measures. The *t*-tests compare the average scores of men and women.

Table 6 Correlations in Study 1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Age	--									
2. Education	.14*	--								
3. Social Control	-.03	-.04	--							
4. Perceived Competence	-.06	.02	.04	--						
5. Perceived Likability	.01	.07	-.07	.57***	--					
6. Affective Prejudice	-.08	-.04	-.05	.23**	.17**	--				
7. Anxiety	-.02	.01	-.19*	-.23**	-.32***	-.20**	--			
8. Self-Efficacy Expectations	-.12	.02	.02	.28***	.32***	.44***	-.31***	--		
9. Perceived Cost	.04	.05	-.30***	-.32***	-.39***	-.19*	.67***	-.44***	--	
10. Oneness	-.17*	-.04	.08	.05	.09	.16*	-.01	.12	-.01	--

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 7 *The Effects of Social Group Membership and Personal Implication on Social Control, Perceived Competence, and Perceived Likability in Study 1*

	<i>df</i>	<i>mean square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2
Dependent Variable: Social Control					
Social Group Membership	3	8.58	3.13	.027	.050
Personal Implication	1	23.61	8.62	.004	.046
Social Group x Implication	3	2.36	0.86	.461	.014
Error	177	2.74			
Dependent Variable: Perceived Competence					
Social Group Membership	3	1.75	1.34	.262	.022
Personal Implication	1	0.48	0.37	.545	.002
Social Group x Implication	3	1.42	1.09	.355	.018
Error	177	1.92			
Dependent Variable: Perceived Likability					
Social Group Membership	3	16.98	8.84	<.001	.130
Personal Implication	1	0.09	0.05	.828	<.001
Social Group x Implication	3	1.90	0.99	.400	.016
Error	177	1.30			

Table 8 Percentage of Social Control Reactions across Social Group Membership and Level of Personal Implication in Study 1

Social Control Reaction	Low Personal Implication				High Personal Implication			
	White	Black	Asian	ID	White	Black	Asian	ID
Do nothing	64.52	95.83	78.14	57.14	62.50	62.50	44.44	51.72
Give him an angry look	12.90	4.17	10.71	7.14	0.00	6.25	14.81	3.45
Sigh loudly and hope he hears me	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.25	6.25	0.00	0.00
Make a comment about his behavior to someone else	0.00	0.00	3.57	0.00	0.00	12.50	3.70	0.00
Make a polite comment to him about his behavior	22.58	0.00	7.14	28.57	25.00	12.50	37.04	44.83
Make a comment in an aggressive tone to him about his behavior	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Insult him in an aggressive tone	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.25	0.00	0.00	0.00

Note. ID = Intellectual Disability

Study 1 Discussion

In this first study, it was expected, and found, that greater social control toward social groups would occur when the counternormative behavior was high in personal implication because the participant would be the victim of the counternormative behavior (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Chekroun, 2008; Chekroun & Brauer, 2002; Milgram et al., 1986). As predicted, in the high personal implication conditions, individuals were more personally affected by the norm violator's behavior (i.e., his feet were on the table at which the participant was sitting) than in the low personal implication conditions (i.e., his feet were on a table at which the participant was not sitting).

Further, it was expected that the social group membership of an individual who violates a social norm would influence how others perceive and react to the counternormative behavior. Different theoretical orientations provided competing hypotheses as to which social group members would be perceived more negatively and receive greater social control reactions. The justification-suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) and the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002) predicted that norm violators who belonged to groups that were perceived to be lower in warmth (i.e., Blacks, Asians) would be perceived more negatively and receive greater social control compared to norm violators who belonged to groups that were perceived to be higher in warmth (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Whites).

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) predicted that norm violators who were ingroup members (i.e., Whites) would receive more negative reactions and greater social control compared to outgroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Blacks, Asians). This theory states that individuals want to maintain a positive image of themselves and the social groups to which they belong; therefore when another ingroup member violates a social norm, this may reflect poorly on the ingroup. By exerting greater social control, individuals may be able to restore the positive image of the group.

The results of Study 1 provided partial support for the stereotype content model as well as for social identity theory. Initially, it was predicted that greater social control would be exerted toward the Black and Asian norm violators. The finding that greater social control was exerted toward norm violators who had an intellectual disability compared to Black norm violators appears to be inconsistent with the initial predictions. However, upon further inspection

of the social control reactions, a majority of participants responded that they would do nothing in response to the norm violator's behavior but if they reported that they would react to the norm violation, it was to make a polite comment to the norm violator. A polite comment to a norm violator with an intellectual disability may be intended to be helpful, but may also reflect paternalistic prejudice (Fiske et al., 2002). In this form of prejudice, the higher status group (e.g., individuals without intellectual disabilities) assumes that the lower status group (e.g., individuals with intellectual disabilities) needs to be cared for, protected, and helped. Further, the most common reaction toward the Black norm violator was to do nothing. This finding may be explained by aversive racism theory (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) which states that Whites are often uncomfortable in situations involving interracial interactions and in order to reduce their feelings of discomfort, avoid the interactions. In this study, the White participants may have reported doing nothing in response to the Black norm violator's behavior to avoid feeling uncomfortable in such a situation.

Consistent with the predictions made by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and previous research (Abrams et al., 2000; Chekroun, 2008; Chekroun & Nugier, 2011; Hutchison et al., 2008; Marques et al., 1998; Nugier et al., 2009), the White norm violator was perceived as the least likable, compared to the norm violators who were Black, Asian, or had an intellectual disability. Social identity theory states that because individuals are motivated to belong to social groups that convey a positive image, they are more likely to punish the "black sheep" group members who leave unfavorable impressions of the group. Therefore, the ingroup member who violated a social norm may be perceived as less likable because his behavior reflects poorly not only on himself, but on the group as a whole.

Finally, it was expected that the relationship between the group membership of the norm violator and social control would be mediated by prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost. However, the data did not support these predictions. Although the norm violator with an intellectual disability received greater social control than the Black norm violator, this effect was not due to prejudice toward the norm violator's social group, perceived connectedness with other Whites, anxiety about confronting the norm violator, self-efficacy expectations, or perceptions that confronting the norm violator would be costly.

A limitation of this first study might be that a majority of the participants were female (~80%) who were reporting how they might respond to a male norm violator. It could be argued

that in general women may be less likely to confront a norm violator, albeit a male norm violator. However, after examining the data, this is less of a concern as the few reported sex differences did not influence the dependent or potential mediator variables. Further, had the methods included a norm violator who was female, this would have introduced a target who belonged to not one, but two stigmatized groups (i.e., in the stereotype content model, women are generally perceived to be higher in warmth but lower in competence). Had the target belonged to multiple stigmatized groups, it would be unclear which of the social group memberships would have produced any observed differences in social control reactions or perceptions of the norm violator and confounded the results of the study.

One point that remained unaddressed in Study 1 was that individuals in each of the situations may be aware of their racial attitudes and how their actions may be perceived by others. In interactions involving outgroup members, individuals may be concerned that their actions will appear prejudiced (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Plant et al., 2008) and may change their behavior so that they appear to be less prejudiced. It is possible then in Study 1 that participants' awareness of how their behaviors might be perceived by others would result in socially desirable responses that did not reflect their actual beliefs. Study 2 addressed this concern by placing participants under cognitive load in order to reduce self-presentational concerns.

Study 2 Introduction

Attitudes toward social groups are controlled by both automatic and controlled processes (Devine, 1989). Automatic processes often reflect cultural stereotypes about social group members and are unintentionally activated in the presence of group members. Because these processes are learned associations, they are representative of an individual's knowledge of stereotypes, not his or her actual beliefs. Conversely, controlled processes more likely reflect individuals' actual beliefs about social groups and involve the active suppression of automatic associations. Devine's research has shown that low and high prejudiced individuals have similar knowledge structures (i.e., automatic processes) concerning stereotypes about Blacks; however these individuals differ in their controlled processes. Low prejudiced Whites are more likely than high prejudiced individuals to intentionally inhibit and consciously monitor their automatic associations that are reflective of their egalitarian beliefs. When individuals are unable to enact

their controlled processes, they are more likely react in a prejudiced manner (e.g., Correll, Urland, & Ito, 2006; Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998; von Hippel, Silver, & Lynch, 2000).

Further, according to Ironic Process Theory (Wegner, 1994), expressions of prejudice may rely on both operating and monitoring processes. Intentional operating processes create the “desired state of mind”, which in this instance can be conceptualized as non-prejudiced thoughts and behaviors. For individuals with egalitarian attitudes, the operating processes seek to control stereotypes, biased thoughts, and discriminatory behaviors. The operating processes, much like Devine’s controlled process, are effortful and require cognitive effort; these processes are constantly attempting to reduce the likelihood that the individual would say or do something that might indicate prejudice. When cognitive resources are distracted or reduced (i.e., cognitive load), then the operating processes are not able to control prejudiced thoughts and individuals may be more likely to act according to the thoughts and behaviors that they are trying to control. The monitoring processes search for thoughts and behaviors that are inconsistent with the desired state of mind (i.e., being non-prejudiced). Monitoring processes then bring inconsistencies such as prejudiced thoughts or behaviors to an individuals’ awareness. If the monitoring process finds an inconsistent thought or behavior, it will alert the operating process that control needs to be restored.

Thus, when individuals are under conditions of cognitive load, they may be less likely to control their operating and controlled processes. In terms of the justification-suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), this means that the suppression factors are reduced, allowing for the greater expression of prejudice. This greater likelihood of expressed prejudice under situations of cognitive load has been shown in a number of studies. When individuals’ cognitive resources are consumed by other tasks, they are more likely to rely on stereotypes to describe racial and ethnic groups (Bodenhausen, 1990; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991), make stereotypical judgments about men and women (Bodenhausen, 1990; Macrae, Hewstone, & Griffiths, 1993), and give guilty convictions to Black defendants during mock jury situations (Kleider, Knuycky, & Cavrak, 2012). In essence, cognitive load diminishes controlled processes resulting in an increased reliance on stereotypes to aid in behavioral decisions (Correll, Urland, & Ito, 2006).

In the current study, when participants evaluated counternormative behavior under cognitive load, they may have had less time to be concerned with self-presentation and may have

perceived that more severe levels of social control were appropriate, especially for members of other social groups. When confronted with an individual who violated a social norm, they may have had less time to consider (a) whether or not they would appear prejudiced by confronting the norm violator, (b) the norm violator's potential reaction to a confrontation, and (c) any feelings of discomfort that may arise during the interaction. In Study 2, participants again evaluated counternormative behavior (either high or low in personal implication) of an individual who belonged to one of four social groups (i.e., intellectual disability, White, Black, Asian; as determined by the stereotype content model), however some participants were under cognitive load.

Predictions based on the justification-suppression model of prejudice and the stereotype content model were as follows:

H1_a: Participants would exert greater social control toward and have more negative perceptions of norm violators when they were under conditions of cognitive load than participants who were not under conditions of cognitive load.

H2_a: Participants would have more negative perceptions and would exert greater social control toward norm violators who violated norms that were high in personal implication compared to norms that were low in personal implication.

H3_a: Participants would have more negative perceptions and would exert greater social control toward norm violators who were perceived to be lower in warmth (i.e., Asians, Blacks) compared to those who were perceived to be higher in warmth (i.e., Whites, individuals with intellectual disabilities).

H4_a: Cognitive load would interact with personal implication such that when the counternormative behavior was high in personal implication and participants were under cognitive load, participants would exert greater social control and have more negative perceptions of the norm violator than when the counternormative behavior was low in personal implication and participants were not under cognitive load.

H5_a: Cognitive load would interact with social group membership such that when participants were under cognitive load, participants would have more negative perceptions and exert more severe social control toward norm violators who were perceived to be lower in warmth (i.e., Asians, Blacks) compared to those who were perceived to be higher in warmth (i.e., Whites, individuals with intellectual disabilities). When participants were not under cognitive

load, they would be able to control their automatic prejudices and there would be no differences in perceptions or social control across the four groups.

H6_a: Perceived group membership would interact with personal implication to produce differences in perceptions of the norm violator and social control reactions. When the counternormative behavior involved high personal implication, participants would have more negative perceptions and exert more severe social control toward norm violators who were perceived to be lower in warmth (i.e., Asians, Blacks) compared to those who were perceived to be higher in warmth (i.e., Whites, individuals with intellectual disabilities). However, when the counternormative behavior involved low personal implication, there would be no differences in perceptions or social control across the four groups.

H7_a: Cognitive load, personal implication, and social group membership would interact. When participants were not under conditions of cognitive load, participants would have more negative perceptions and exert more severe social control toward norm violators who were perceived to be lower in warmth (i.e., Asians, Blacks) compared to those who were perceived to be higher in warmth (i.e., Whites, individuals with intellectual disabilities) for both norm violations that were high in personal implication but not for violations that were low in personal implication. When participants were able to control their automatic processes, prejudice may only be expressed when it can be justified (i.e., when the norm violation personally affects the participant).

It was predicted that when participants were under conditions of cognitive load, participants would have more negative perceptions and exert more severe social control toward norm violators who were perceived to be lower in warmth (i.e., Asians, Blacks) compared to those who were perceived to be higher in warmth (i.e., Whites, individuals with intellectual disabilities) for both norm violations that were high and low personal implication. In this instance, participants would act more on their automatic processes and prejudice would be expressed regardless of whether or not it can be justified.

In contrast, the following hypotheses were presented in support of social identity theory. These predictions indicated that ingroup members would be perceived more negatively and would receive more severe social control than outgroup members.

H1_b: Participants would exert greater social control toward and have more negative perceptions of norm violators when they were under conditions of cognitive load than participants who were not under conditions of cognitive load.

H2_b: Participants would have more negative perceptions and would exert greater social control toward norm violators who violated norms that were high in personal implication compared to norms that were low in personal implication.

H3_b: Participants would have more negative perceptions and would exert greater social control toward norm violators who were ingroup members (i.e., Whites) than outgroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Asians, Blacks).

H4_b: Cognitive load would interact with personal implication such that when the counternormative behavior was high in personal implication and participants were under cognitive load, participants would exert greater social control and have more negative perceptions of the norm violator than when the counternormative behavior was low in personal implication and participants were not under cognitive load.

H5_b: Cognitive load would interact with social group membership such that when participants were under cognitive load, participants would have more negative perceptions and exert more severe social control toward norm violators who were ingroup members (i.e., Whites) than outgroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Asians, Blacks). When participants are not under cognitive load, they would be able to control their automatic prejudices and there would be no differences in perceptions or social control across the four groups.

H6_b: Perceived group membership would interact with personal implication to produce differences in perceptions of the norm violator and social control reactions. When the counternormative behavior involved high personal implication, participants would have more negative perceptions and exert more severe social control toward norm violators who were ingroup members (i.e., Whites) compared to those who were outgroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Asians, Blacks). However, when the counternormative behavior involved low personal implication, there would be no differences in perceptions or social control across the four groups.

H7_b: Cognitive load, personal implication, and social group membership would interact. When participants were not under conditions of cognitive load, participants would have more negative perceptions and exert more severe social control toward norm violators who were

ingroup members (i.e., Whites) compared to those who were outgroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Asians, Blacks) for both norm violations that were high in personal implication but not for violations that were low in personal implication because they would be using their controlled processes.

It was predicted that when participants were under conditions of cognitive load, participants would have more negative perceptions and exert more severe social control toward norm violators who were ingroup members (i.e., Whites) compared to those who were outgroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Asians, Blacks) for both norm violations that were high and low personal implication. In this instance, participants would act more on their automatic processes and prejudice would be expressed regardless of whether or not it could be justified.

Finally, it was predicted that prejudice and self-presentational concerns would influence the relationship between social group membership and reactions to social norm violations. Specifically, the likelihood of approaching a norm violator and the severity of the social control reaction may have depended on prejudice toward the social group to which the norm violator belonged, how anxious the individual felt about confronting the norm violator, the extent to which they believed they would look prejudiced in the interaction, and the potential costs of exerting social control. However, when individuals were under cognitive load, they may have had less time to consider their self-presentational concerns and would be more likely to react on prejudice.

H8: When individuals were considering interacting with a member of an outgroup who has violated a social norm (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Asians, Blacks), and were not under cognitive load, they may have exerted less severe social control as the result of feeling anxious, thinking they might appear prejudiced, and perceiving that the interaction may be costly. However, when individuals were under cognitive load, it was predicted that anxiety, self-efficacy, and perceptions of cost would not influence the relationship between social group membership and social control.

Study 2 used a 2 (personal implication: high vs. low) x 4 (social group membership: intellectual disability, White, Black, Asian) x 2 (cognitive resources: distracted vs. not distracted) design to examine the effects of personal implication, social group membership, and cognitive load on perceptions of and reactions toward social norm violations. Self-presentational concerns

(i.e., self-efficacy, anxiety, and perceptions of cost) and prejudice were also measured to examine the extent to which these concerns influenced the severity of social control that was exerted toward the norm violator under conditions of cognitive load.

Study 2 Method

Participants

Participants who were enrolled in general psychology courses at Kansas State University participated in this study in exchange for partial credit toward their course research requirement. Additionally, students who were enrolled in upper-level psychology courses participated in this study in exchange for extra credit in their classes. The general psychology research pool and upper-level psychology courses were utilized to recruit participants for this study because an experimenter was needed in order to induce cognitive load and monitor participants while they completed the measures (i.e., the study could not be conducted online). In total, 227 participants⁹ completed this study, of which 179 were White, a majority were female (60.3%), and had completed varied levels of their college education (45.3% first-year, 22.3% sophomore, 15.1% junior, 17.3% senior). The average age of participants was 19.93 ($SD = 1.47$).

Measures

Norm violation vignettes. The vignettes used in Study 1 depicting a social norm violation that was either high (putting his feet on the participant's table) or low (putting his feet on a table) in personal implication were used again in Study 2. The norm violator again belonged to one of four social groups (intellectual disability, White, Black, Asian). A picture of this individual accompanied the scene in which the norm violations occurred (Nugier et al., 2009); see Appendix B.

Social control and perceptions of the norm violator. The measures that were used in Study 1 to assess social control reactions and perceptions of the norm violator were used again in Study 2. Participants were asked to indicate the level of social control they thought was appropriate in the situation (1 = *nothing*; 2 = *angry look*; 3 = *loud audible sigh*; 4 = *comment made to another person*; 5 = *polite comment to the norm violator*; 6 = *comment made in an*

⁹ G-Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) confirmed the ability to detect a medium- sized effect at a power of .80 with this many participants.

aggressive tone to the norm violator; 7 = *personal insult in an aggressive tone to the norm violator*; Brauer & Chekroun, 2005); see Appendix B. Additionally, participants were also asked to give their perceptions of the individual who violated the social norms using seventeen nine-point bipolar adjective scales (e.g., *likable - not likable*; *gentle – tough*; and *trustworthy – not trustworthy*; Heilman et al., 2004); see Appendix C.

Interpersonal interaction concerns, affective prejudice, and oneness. To assess participants' concerns about the interpersonal interaction, they responded to the items used in Study 1 about their anxiety (e.g., *I would feel awkward confronting this individual*; adapted from Plant et al., 2008; Plant & Devine, 2003), their self-efficacy (e.g., *I'm confident that I can respond without prejudice*; adapted from Plant et al., 2008; Plant & Devine, 2003), and their perceptions of the costs of confronting the individual (e.g., *I would be afraid this person might start a fight with me*); see Appendix D. Additionally participants were asked to complete the measure of affective prejudice used in Study 1 to assess their levels of prejudice toward each of the four social groups (e.g., *Generally speaking, I feel warm and friendly toward Black people*); see Appendix E. Finally, participants' perceived connectedness with other White people was measured using the oneness measure used in Study 1 (Aron et al., 1992); see Appendix F.

Cognitive load. Cognitive load was manipulated in two ways in this experiment. First, participants who were in the cognitive load conditions completed the measures describing a social norm violation in a limited amount of time (Gilbert & Gill, 2000). Limiting the amount of time participants had to complete the measure decreased the amount of time they had to think about their responses and increased the likelihood that they responded according to their automatic processing (Gilbert & Gill, 2000). Second, participants were given a seven digit “password” at the beginning of the research session (e.g., HJ6973*, G#935zq, *y6G93w; see Appendix I) that they were asked to recall after they had completed the measures (Conway & Gawronski, in press). Conway and Gawronski (in press) demonstrated that remembering complex passwords decreased controlled processes when responding to situations involving moral dilemmas. Some researchers have asked participants to simply recall a string of eight digit numbers (e.g., Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Lalwani, 2009) however this task is often too simple for participants and does not effectively induce cognitive load. Asking participants to recall a more complex string of letters, numbers, and punctuation therefore increases the cognitive resources that participants must use to recall the password at a later time.

Participants were not permitted to write the password down to help them recall the information at a later time. Rather, participants had to silently recite their password while completing the measures. The reciting of the measure occupied at least some of the participants' cognitive resources and increased the likelihood that they were responding to the social norm violation measures using automatic processes. The experimenter monitored the sessions to ensure that participants did not write their passwords on their measures, desks, or hands. To increase participants' motivation to recite the password during the research session, participants who were able to correctly recall the password after completing the measure were entered into a drawing to win a \$30 Amazon gift card.

A majority of the participants (91.4%) in the cognitive load condition were able to correctly recall their passwords at the end of the session. The 8.6% who were unable to correctly recall their password consisted of three participants who missed one character, one participant who missed two characters, and one participant who missed three characters.

Demographic items. Participants were also asked about their demographic characteristics. These included age, race, sex, and year in school.

Suspicion check. In order to assess the extent to which participants had any prior knowledge about the study's hypotheses, they provided free responses to three questions (e.g., *what do you think this study is about?*). These questions are provided in Appendix G.

Filler task. Participants were asked questions about their movie preferences and why individuals watch movies to separate the affective prejudice and oneness measures from the measures assessing their reactions to the social norm violation (see Appendix H).

Procedure

Study 2 used a 2 (cognitive resources: distracted vs. not distracted) x 2 (personal implication: high vs. low) x 4 (group membership: intellectual disability, White, Black, Asian) between-groups design where participants were randomly assigned to one of 16 conditions. As in Study 1, participants were instructed that they were completing three separate studies. They first completed the affective prejudice and oneness measures then the filler items before completing the measures related to social norm violations.

In the conditions involving putting participants under cognitive load, they were instructed that the research team was interested in the extent to which individuals are able to remember

passwords while distracted by other tasks. The participants who were able to successfully recall their password at the end of the session were entered into a drawing for a gift certificate. The experimenter gave each participant his or her own unique password and thirty seconds to review the password. After thirty seconds, participants returned their passwords to the experimenter and completed the materials concerning social norm violations (i.e., the vignette followed by the measures of social control reactions, perceptions of the norm violator, and interpersonal interaction concerns). Participants were given five minutes to complete the materials and were instructed to silently rehearse their passwords during this time; the sessions were monitored by the experimenter and any participant who wrote his or her password down was disqualified from the drawing (no participants were disqualified). At the end of the time period, the experimenter asked participants to write their passwords down on their measures. Afterward, the participants completed the demographic and suspicion check items. Participants were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

In the conditions that did not involve cognitive load, participants were given the social norm violation materials but were not asked to rehearse a password or given a time limit. Participants in this condition completed this study in less than 30 minutes after which they were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

Study 2 Results

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Table 9 displays the descriptive statistics for the dependent and predicted mediator variables and Table 10 displays the correlations between variables in this study. Older participants were more likely to be further along in their education ($r = .84, p < .001$). Greater social control was associated with less perceived likability of the norm violator ($r = -.17, p < .024$). Greater perceived competence of the norm violator was related to greater perceived likability ($r = .41, p < .001$), greater warmth toward the norm violator's social group ($r = .29, p < .001$), less anxiety about confronting the norm violator ($r = -.16, p = .031$), greater self-efficacy expectations ($r = .28, p < .001$), and less perceived cost about confronting the norm violator ($r = -.24, p = .002$). Greater perceived likability of the norm violator was correlated with less anxiety about confronting the norm violator ($r = -.30, p < .001$) and less perceived cost in regard to confronting the norm violator ($r = -.25, p = .001$).

Greater warmth toward the norm violator's social group was associated with greater perceived connectedness with other Whites ($r = .15, p = .048$), less anxiety about approaching the norm violator ($r = -.17, p = .023$), greater self-efficacy expectations ($r = .31, p < .001$), and less perceived cost in regard to confronting the norm violator ($r = -.18, p = .017$). Greater anxiety about confronting the norm violator was associated with fewer self-efficacy expectations ($r = -.29, p < .001$) and greater perceived cost about confronting the norm violator ($r = .54, p < .001$). Greater self-efficacy expectations were associated with fewer perceived costs about confronting the norm violator ($r = -.54, p < .001$).

Differences and Relationships between Participants' Demographic Characteristics and Measures of Interest

Dependent measures. Participants' age and level of education were unrelated to the extent to which they exerted social control toward the norm violator as well as perceptions of the norm violator's competence and likability ($r_s = 1.003$ to $.061, p_s > .417$); see Table 10. Male and female participants did not differ in their social control reactions ($t(177) = 1.41, p = .161$), perceptions of the norm violator's competence ($t(170) = -1.26, p = .209$), or perceptions of the norm violator's likability ($t(174) = -1.37, p = .172$); see Table 9.

Mediator variables. Participants' age and year in school were unrelated to affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, and perceptions of cost ($r_s = 1.003$ to $.121, p_s > .105$). Age was unrelated to self-efficacy expectations ($r = -.02, p = .762$) but participants who had completed more of their undergraduate education were less warm toward the norm violator's social group ($r = -.15, p = .049$)¹⁰; see Table 10. Male and female participants did not differ in their levels of affective prejudice ($t(177) = -0.47, p = .637$), oneness ($t(177) = -1.57, p = .117$), anxiety ($t(177) = -1.54, p = .126$), self-efficacy expectations ($t(165) = 0.38, p = .707$), or perceptions of cost ($t(175) = -1.20, p = .231$); see Table 9.

¹⁰ To examine if year in school influenced the relationship between the main effects and interactions between social group membership and personal implication on affective prejudice, year in school was entered as a covariate into a 2 (cognitive load) x 2 (personal implication) x 4 (social group) between-groups ANOVA with affective prejudice as the dependent variable. The results of this analysis revealed that year in school was not significantly related to affective prejudice. Additionally, the main effects and interactions did not change as the result of age being entered into the model as a covariate. Because this variable did not have an influence on the overall model, it will not be considered in future analyses.

Suspicion Checks

The coding scheme used in Study 1 was used again to assess if participants had any prior knowledge about the study and to indicate whether or not the participants found the nature of questionnaires they responded to be suspicious. To examine if prior knowledge or suspicion influenced the dependent and mediator variables, a series of independent samples *t*-tests were conducted treating each of the following as dependent variables: social control, perceived competence of the norm violator, perceived likability of the norm violator, affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceived costs of confronting the norm violator.

For the first question, no participants indicated that they knew anything about the study's hypotheses before participating. Therefore the dependent (i.e., social control, perceived competence, perceived likability) and mediator (i.e., affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, perceived costs) variables were not influenced by participants' reported previous knowledge about the study's hypotheses. For the second and third questions, a majority of participants indicated that they were suspicious of the items on the questionnaires (57.5%). There were no differences on any of the dependent (i.e., social control, perceived competence, perceived likability) or mediator (i.e., affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, perceived costs) variables between participants who indicated whether or not they were suspicious about the nature of the items on the questionnaire ($t_s(165 \text{ to } 177) = 10.63 \text{ to } 1.49 | = p_s > .138$).

Social Control Reactions

Mean social control scores were calculated for each of the sixteen conditions. Data were analyzed using a 2 (cognitive load) x 2 (personal implication) x 4 (group membership) between-groups factorial ANOVA to test the main effects, two-way interactions, and three-way interaction between cognitive load, personal implication of the counternormative behavior, and the group membership of the norm violator on the severity of social control (see Table 11). As predicted, there was a significant main effect for cognitive load such that participants exerted greater social control in the cognitive load conditions ($M = 2.03, SD = 1.65$) than in the no cognitive load conditions ($M = 1.51, SD = 1.19$) ($F(1, 163) = 4.85, p = .029; \eta_p^2 = .029$).

However, there was not a main effect for social group membership ($F(3, 163) = 0.58, p = .630; \eta_p^2 = .011$) or personal implication ($F(1, 163) = 0.28, p = .596; \eta_p^2 = .002$).

There were no significant two-way interactions between cognitive load and group membership ($F(3, 163) = 0.41, p = .746; \eta_p^2 = .007$), cognitive load and personal implication ($F(1, 163) = 0.02, p = .874; \eta_p^2 = .000$), or social group membership and personal implication ($F(3, 163) = 0.71, p = .545; \eta_p^2 = .013$). The three-way interaction between cognitive load, social group membership, and personal implication was also not significant ($F(3, 163) = 2.22, p = .088; \eta_p^2 = .039$).

Percentage of social control reactions. Participants' social control reactions across social group membership and personal implication were further examined for the cognitive load and non-cognitive load conditions (see Table 12). Across all conditions, participants were most likely to report that they would do nothing in response to the norm violator's behavior (72.07%); the next most common reaction was to make a polite comment to the norm violator (14.53%). A greater percentage of participants in the non-cognitive load conditions were likely to report doing nothing in response to the norm violator's behavior (77.91%) than participants in the cognitive load conditions (66.67%). Participants in the cognitive load conditions, however, were more likely to report that they would make a polite comment to the norm violator (19.35%) than participants in the non-cognitive load conditions (9.30%). These percentages support the main effect reported above where stronger social control reactions occurred in the conditions involving cognitive load.

Mediator Analyses: Social Control Reactions

In order to test if prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost mediated the relationship between cognitive load, social group membership, personal implication, and social control reactions, a series of 2 (cognitive load) x 2 (personal implication) x 4 (social group membership) between-groups ANOVAs were conducted where the mediator variable was entered as a covariate. Separate analyses were conducted for each of the mediators. The preceding analyses demonstrated that cognitive load influenced social control reactions; if prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectation, and perceptions of cost mediated this effect, then (a) the mediator would be significantly related to social control reactions and (b) the

main effects for cognitive load would no longer be significant once the mediator was entered into the model (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

Affective prejudice. Participants' reported levels of warmth toward Whites, Blacks, Asians, or individuals with intellectual disabilities were unrelated to social control reactions ($F(1, 162) = 1.09, p = .297; \eta_p^2 = .007$). Further, the main effect of cognitive load remained significant after affective prejudice was entered into the model. Affective prejudice therefore did not mediate the relationship between cognitive load and social control.

Oneness. Participants' reported levels of connectedness with other Whites were unrelated to social control reactions ($F(1, 162) = 1.02, p = .315; \eta_p^2 = .006$). Further, the main effect of cognitive load remained significant after oneness was entered into the model. Oneness therefore did not mediate the relationship between cognitive load and social control.

Anxiety. Participants' anxiety about approaching the norm violator was unrelated to social control reactions ($F(1, 162) = 0.93, p = .337; \eta_p^2 = .006$). Further, the main effect of cognitive load remained significant after anxiety was entered into the model. Anxiety therefore did not mediate the relationship between cognitive load and social control.

Self-efficacy expectations. Participants' self-efficacy expectations in regard to interacting with the norm violator were unrelated to social control reactions ($F(1, 150) = 1.06, p = .305; \eta_p^2 = .007$). Further, the main effect of cognitive load remained significant after self-efficacy expectations were entered into the model. Self-efficacy expectations therefore did not mediate the relationship between cognitive load and social control.

Perceptions of cost. Participants' perceptions of cost about confronting the norm violator were unrelated to social control reactions ($F(1, 160) = 0.001, p = .976; \eta_p^2 = .000$). Further, the main effect of cognitive load remained significant after perceptions of cost were entered into the model. Perceptions of cost therefore did not mediate the relationship between cognitive load and social control.

Summary of mediator analyses. Inconsistent with hypotheses, affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost did not mediate the relationship between cognitive load and social control reactions. Therefore, although participants exerted greater social control toward the norm violator in the conditions where they were under cognitive load, the mediator analyses revealed this difference was not due to prejudice, feelings

of connectedness with other Whites, anxiety about approaching the norm violator, expectations about interacting with the norm violator without appearing prejudiced, or perceived costs associated with confronting the norm violator.

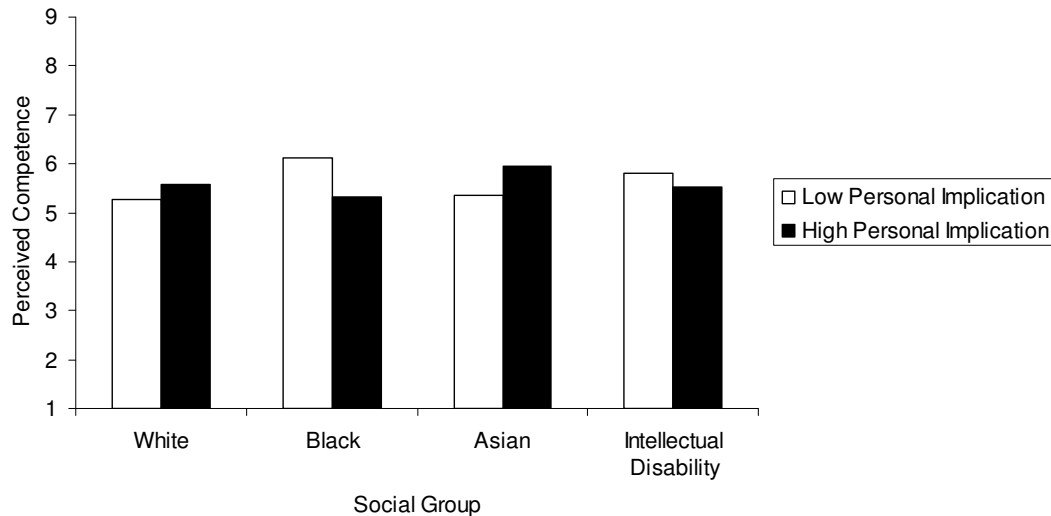
Perceptions of the Norm Violator

Data were analyzed using a 2 (cognitive load) x 2 (personal implication) x 4 (group membership) between-groups factorial ANOVA to test the main effects, two-way interactions, and three-way interaction between cognitive load, personal implication of the counternormative behavior, and the group membership of the norm violator on the perceived competence and likability of the norm violator. Separate analyses were conducted for perceived competence and perceived likability (see Table 11).

Perceived competence. As predicted, there was a marginally significant main effect for cognitive load such that participants thought the norm violator was less competent in the cognitive load conditions ($M = 5.46, SD = 1.14$) than in the no cognitive load conditions ($M = 5.80, SD = 1.23$) ($F(1, 56) = 3.50, p = .063; \eta_p^2 = .022$). However, there was not a main effect for social group membership ($F(3, 156) = 0.46, p = .713; \eta_p^2 = .009$) or personal implication ($F(1, 156) = 0.10, p = .751; \eta_p^2 = .001$).

There was a significant two-way interaction between social group membership and personal implication ($F(3, 156) = 2.96, p = .034; \eta_p^2 = .054$). Simple effect analyses were conducted to reveal that the Black norm violator was perceived as more competent when he violated a norm that was low in personal implication ($M = 6.13, SD = 1.23$) than when he violated a norm that was high in personal implication ($M = 5.33, SD = 1.01$) ($F(1, 156) = 3.74, p = .055$). There were no differences for the White ($F(1, 156) = 0.45, p > .05$), Asian ($F(1, 156) = 2.81, p > .05$), or individual with an intellectual disability ($F(1, 156) = 0.43, p > .05$); see Figure 2. These results are partially consistent with the predictions made by the stereotype content model and the justification-suppression model of prejudice because there were more negative reactions to the Black norm violator than there were to the other social groups.

Figure 2 *Interaction between social group membership and personal implication on perceived competence of the norm violator in Study 2*



There were no significant two-way interactions between cognitive load and group membership ($F(3, 156) = 0.23, p = .878; \eta_p^2 = .004$) or cognitive load and personal implication ($F(1, 156) = 0.15, p = .696; \eta_p^2 = .001$). The three-way interaction between cognitive load, social group membership, and personal implication was also not significant ($F(3, 156) = 1.68, p = .173; \eta_p^2 = .031$).

Perceived likability. There was a significant main effect for social group membership on perceptions of the norm violator’s likability ($F(3, 160) = 13.61, p < .001; \eta_p^2 = .203$). Post-hoc Bonferroni pairwise comparisons were calculated to examine the differences in social control reactions based on social group membership and revealed that, consistent with social identity theory, the White norm violator was perceived as less likable ($M = 4.50, SE = .19$) than the norm violators who were Black ($M = 5.32, SE = .19$), Asian ($M = 5.29, SE = .21$), and had a intellectual disability ($M = 6.23, SE = .19$), $M_{diffs} = 0.82$ to $1.73, ps < .035$. Conversely, the norm violator with an intellectual disability was rated as more likable than the White, Black, and Asian norm violators, $M_{diffs} = 0.91$ to $1.73, ps < .006$. There was not a significant main effect for personal implication ($F(1, 160) = 0.002, p = .963; \eta_p^2 = .000$) or cognitive load ($F(1, 160) = 2.01, p = .152; \eta_p^2 = .013$).

There were no significant two-way interactions between cognitive load and group membership ($F(3, 160) = 0.60, p = .981; \eta_p^2 = .001$), cognitive load and personal implication (F

(1, 160) = 2.00, $p = .159$; $\eta_p^2 = .012$), or group membership and implication ($F(1, 160) = 2.04$, $p = .111$; $\eta_p^2 = .037$). The three-way interaction between cognitive load, social group membership, and personal implication was also not significant ($F(3, 160) = 1.36$, $p = .257$; $\eta_p^2 = .025$).

Mediator Analyses: Perceptions of the Norm Violator's Competence

In order to test if affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost mediated the relationship between the interaction of social group membership and personal implication on the norm violator's perceived competence, a series of 2 (cognitive load) x 2 (personal implication) x 4 (social group membership) between-groups ANOVAs were conducted where the mediator variable was entered as a covariate. Separate analyses were conducted for each of the mediators. The preceding analyses demonstrated that social group membership and personal implication interacted to influence perceptions of the norm violator's competence; if prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectation, and perceptions of cost mediated this effect, then (a) the mediator would be significantly related to perceived competence and (b) the interaction between social group membership and personal implication would no longer be significant once the mediator was entered into the model.

Affective prejudice. Participants' reported levels of warmth toward Whites, Blacks, Asians, or individuals with intellectual disabilities were related to perceived competence ($F(1, 155) = 14.24$, $p < .001$; $\eta_p^2 = .084$). Additionally, the interaction between social group membership and personal implication was no longer significant after affective prejudice was entered into the model ($F(1, 155) = 2.29$, $p = .080$; $\eta_p^2 = .042$). Affective prejudice therefore mediated the relationship between social group membership, personal implication and perceived competence. Levels of affective prejudice accounted for differences in the norm violator's perceived competence predicted by the interaction between social group membership and personal implication.

Oneness. Participants' reported level of connectedness with other Whites was unrelated to perceived competence ($F(1, 155) = 0.56$, $p = .453$; $\eta_p^2 = .004$). Additionally, the interaction between social group membership and personal implication was significant after oneness was entered into the model. Oneness therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership, personal implication and perceived competence.

Anxiety. Participants' anxiety about approaching the norm violator was related (at a marginally significant level) to perceived competence ($F(1, 155) = 3.70, p = .056; \eta_p^2 = .023$). However, the interaction between social group membership and personal implication was significant after anxiety was entered into the model. Anxiety therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership, personal implication and perceived competence.

Self-efficacy expectations. Participants' self-efficacy expectations concerning interacting with the norm violator was related to perceived competence ($F(1, 144) = 12.64, p = .001; \eta_p^2 = .081$). However, the interaction between social group membership and personal implication was significant after self-efficacy expectations were entered into the model. Self-efficacy expectations therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership, personal implication and perceived competence.

Perceptions of cost. Participants' perceptions that the interaction with the norm violator would be costly was related to perceived competence ($F(1, 154) = 6.83, p = .010; \eta_p^2 = .042$). Additionally, the interaction between social group membership and personal implication was no longer significant after perceptions of cost were entered into the model ($F(1, 154) = 2.30, p = .079; \eta_p^2 = .043$). Perceptions of cost therefore mediated the relationship between social group membership, personal implication and perceived competence. In the high vs. low personal implication conditions, participants' perceptions of the norm violator's competence depended on his social group membership because of how costly they perceived the confrontation to be.

Summary of mediator analyses. Affective prejudice and perceptions of cost mediated the relationship between social group membership, personal implication, and perceived competence. Therefore when the participants had more negative feelings toward Blacks, they were more likely to perceive the Black norm violator as less competent when he violated a norm that was high in personal implication than when the norm was low in personal implication. Further, participants who perceived that confronting the Black norm violator was costly were more likely to rate him as less competent when he violated a norm that was high in personal implication than when the norm was low in personal implication. These results are consistent with prejudice theories such as the justification-suppression model of prejudice and the stereotype content model.

Inconsistent with hypotheses however, oneness, anxiety, and self-efficacy expectations did not mediate the relationship between social group membership, personal implication, and

perceived competence. Therefore, although the Black norm violator was perceived to be less competent when he violated a high personal implication norm, the mediator analyses revealed this difference was not due to feelings of connectedness with other Whites, anxiety about approaching the norm violator, and expectations about interacting with the norm violator without appearing prejudiced.

Mediator Analyses: Perceptions of the Norm Violator's Likability

In order to test if affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost mediated the relationship between social group membership and the norm violator's perceived likability, a series of 2 (cognitive load) x 2 (personal implication) x 4 (social group membership) between-groups ANOVAs were conducted where the mediator variable was entered as a covariate. Separate analyses were conducted for each of the mediators. The preceding analyses demonstrated that social group membership influenced perceptions of the norm violator's likability; if prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectation, and perceptions of cost mediated this effect, then (a) the mediator would be significantly related to perceived likability and (b) the main effect of social group membership would no longer be significant once the mediator was entered into the model.

Affective prejudice. Participants' reported levels of warmth toward Whites, Blacks, Asians, or individuals with intellectual disabilities were related to perceived likability ($F(1, 159) = 9.82, p = .002; \eta_p^2 = .058$). However, the main effect of social group membership was significant after affective prejudice was entered into the model. Affective prejudice therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability.

Oneness. Participants' reported level of connectedness with other White was related to perceived likability ($F(1, 159) = 4.055, p = .046; \eta_p^2 = .025$). However, the main effect of social group membership was significant after oneness was entered into the model. Oneness therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability.

Anxiety. Participants' anxiety about confronting the norm violator was related to perceived likability ($F(1, 159) = 17.38, p < .001; \eta_p^2 = .099$). However, the main effect of social group membership was significant after anxiety was entered into the model. Anxiety therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability.

Self-efficacy expectations. Participants' self-efficacy expectations about interacting with the norm violator were related to perceived likability ($F(1, 148) = 7.01, p = .009; \eta_p^2 = .045$). However, the main effect of social group membership was significant after self-efficacy expectations were entered into the model. Self-efficacy expectations therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability.

Perceptions of cost. Participants' perceptions that confronting the norm violator would be costly were related to perceived likability ($F(1, 158) = 13.51, p < .001; \eta_p^2 = .079$). However, the main effect of social group membership was significant after perceptions of cost were entered into the model. Perceptions of cost therefore did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability.

Summary of mediator analyses. Inconsistent with hypotheses, affective prejudice, oneness, anxiety, self-efficacy expectations, and perceptions of cost did not mediate the relationship between social group membership and perceived likability of the norm violator. Therefore, although participants reported that they liked the White norm violator the least of the four groups and liked the norm violator with an intellectual disability the most of the four groups, the mediator analyses revealed this difference was not due to prejudice, feelings of connectedness with other Whites, anxiety about approaching the norm violator, expectations about interacting with the norm violator without appearing prejudiced, or perceived costs associated with confronting the norm violator.

Table 9 Descriptive Statistics for Dependent and Potential Mediator Variables in Study 2

	Overall			Men		Women		
	<i>alpha</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t-test</i>
Dependent Variables								
Social Control	--	1.78	1.47	1.97	1.65	1.66	1.33	$t(177) = 1.41, p = .161$
Perceived Competence	.854	5.62	1.19	5.48	1.11	5.71	1.24	$t(170) = -1.26, p = .209$
Perceived Likability	.863	5.30	1.40	5.13	1.28	5.42	1.48	$t(174) = -1.37, p = .172$
Potential Mediator Variables								
Affective Prejudice	.899	6.75	1.26	6.69	1.37	6.78	1.20	$t(177) = -0.47, p = .637$
Oneness	--	6.17	1.26	5.99	1.34	6.29	1.19	$t(177) = -1.57, p = .117$
Anxiety	.868	5.00	2.05	4.71	2.01	5.19	2.07	$t(177) = -1.54, p = .126$
Self-Efficacy Expectations	.861	6.25	1.46	6.31	1.28	6.22	1.57	$t(165) = 0.38, p = .707$
Perceptions of Cost	.771	4.68	1.43	4.52	1.26	4.78	1.52	$t(175) = -1.20, p = .231$

Note. All measures except social control and oneness were measured on a 1 to 9 Likert-type scale. Social control and oneness were each one-item measures. The *t*-tests compare the average scores of men and women.

Table 10 Correlations in Study 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Age	--									
2. Year in School	.84***	--								
3. Social Control	-.04	-.03	--							
4. Perceived Competence	.02	.003	-.13	--						
5. Perceived Likability	-.06	-.05	-.17**	.41***	--					
6. Affective Prejudice	-.02	-.15*	-.09	.29***	.13	--				
7. Oneness	-.04	-.01	-.04	-.01	.10	.15*	--			
8. Anxiety	-.02	-.003	.09	-.16*	-.30***	-.17*	-.06	--		
9. Self-Efficacy Expectations	.02	.01	-.10	.28***	.06	.31***	-.10	-.29***	--	
10. Perceived Cost	-.12	-.09	.03	-.24**	-.25**	-.18*	-.07	.54***	-.54***	--

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 11 *The Effects of Cognitive Load, Social Group Membership, and Personal Implication on Social Control, Perceived Competence, and Perceived Likability in Study 2*

	<i>df</i>	<i>mean square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2
Dependent Variable: Social Control					
Cognitive Load	1	10.33	4.85	.029	.029
Social Group Membership	3	1.23	0.58	.630	.011
Personal Implication	1	0.60	0.28	.596	.002
Cognitive Load x Group Membership	3	0.87	0.41	.746	.007
Cognitive Load x Implication	1	0.05	0.02	.874	.000
Social Group x Implication	3	1.52	0.71	.545	.013
Load x Group x Implication	3	4.72	2.22	.088	.039
Error	163	2.13			
Dependent Variable: Perceived Competence					
Cognitive Load	1	4.84	3.50	.063	.022
Social Group Membership	3	0.63	0.46	.713	.009
Personal Implication	1	0.14	0.10	.751	.001
Cognitive Load x Group Membership	3	0.13	0.23	.878	.004
Cognitive Load x Implication	1	0.21	0.15	.696	.001
Social Group x Implication	3	4.10	2.96	.034	.054
Load x Group x Implication	3	2.33	1.68	.173	.031
Error	156	1.38			
Dependent Variable: Perceived Likability					
Cognitive Load	1	3.36	2.07	.152	.013
Social Group Membership	3	22.08	13.61	< .001	.203
Personal Implication	1	0.004	.002	.963	.000
Cognitive Load x Group Membership	3	0.10	0.06	.981	.001
Cognitive Load x Implication	1	3.25	2.00	.159	.012
Social Group x Implication	3	3.31	2.04	.111	.037
Load x Group x Implication	3	2.21	1.36	.257	.025
Error	160	1.62			

Table 12 Percentage of Social Control Reactions across Social Group Membership and Level of Personal Implication for Cognitive Load and Non-Cognitive Load Conditions in Study 2

Social Control Reaction	Low Personal Implication				High Personal Implication			
	White	Black	Asian	ID	White	Black	Asian	ID
Non-Cognitive Load Conditions								
Do nothing	60.00	75.00	63.64	100	83.33	72.73	100	70.00
Give him an angry look	30.00	8.33	18.18	0.00	8.33	18.18	0.00	10.00
Sigh loudly and hope he hears me	0.00	8.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Make a comment about his behavior to someone else	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Make a polite comment to him about his behavior	10.00	8.33	18.18	0.00	8.33	9.09	0.00	20.00
Make a comment in an aggressive tone to him about his behavior	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Insult him in an aggressive tone	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Cognitive Load Conditions								
Do nothing	64.29	84.62	50.00	68.75	50.00	54.55	66.67	100
Give him an angry look	7.14	0.00	16.67	0.00	30.00	9.09	0.00	0.00
Sigh loudly and hope he hears me	0.00	0.00	8.33	0.00	0.00	9.09	11.11	0.00
Make a comment about his behavior to someone else	0.00	0.00	12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Make a polite comment to him about his behavior	28.57	15.38	25.00	18.75	10.00	27.27	22.22	0.00
Make a comment in an aggressive tone to him about his behavior	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Insult him in an aggressive tone	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Note. ID = Intellectual Disability

Study 2 Discussion

In the second study, it was expected that reactions to social norm violators would be influenced by whether or not individuals' cognitive resources were distracted by other tasks. Specifically, when individuals were less likely to control their automatic (e.g., Correll et al., 2006; Monteith et al., 1998; von Hippel et al., 2000) and operating processes (Wegner, 1994), they would be less likely to control prejudiced thoughts and discriminatory behaviors. This prediction was supported; participants in the cognitive load condition exerted greater social control toward norm violators than did participants in the non-cognitive load conditions.

This study also found partial support for the justification-suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) and the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002) in that the Black norm violator was perceived as less competent when he violated a social norm that was high in personal implication. This norm violator belongs to a group that is stereotypically considered to be low in warmth and competence (according to the SCM) and participants were more likely to rate him as low in competence when his behaviors personally impacted them (i.e., when he put his feet up on the table at which they were sitting). Because he violated a social norm by intruding upon the participants' personal space, rating the norm violator as less competent may be perceived as justified. Further, the lower rating of the Black norm violator's competence in the high vs. low personal implication condition was mediated by affective prejudice and perceptions of cost. When participants reported greater affective prejudice toward the norm violator's social group, they were more likely to rate him as less competent in the high personal implication norm violation conditions. Likewise, when participants perceived that interacting with the Black norm violator would be involve greater social cost, they were more likely to rate him as less competent in the high personal implication conditions.

Finally in Study 2, consistent with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), participants rated the White norm violator as the least likable of the four social groups. According to this theory, the White norm violator's behavior poses a threat to the White participants' images of themselves and their social group. Because his behavior is a poor reflection of the group and the participants, they may rate the norm violator as less likable, as though he is a "black sheep" (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1998).

Overall, Study 2 demonstrated that when individuals' cognitive resources were consumed by other tasks, they reacted more strongly toward the norm violator's behavior. In this instance, the participants' responses might be more representative of individuals' actual behaviors in the similar situations. While participants exerted greater social control toward the norm violators when their cognitive resources were distracted, this occurred regardless of the norm violator's social group or the type of social norm that was violated. Social group membership and type of norm violation did, however, influence ratings of the participants' competence and likability. These results provide support for the justification-suppression model of prejudice, the stereotype content model, and social identity theory.

General Discussion and Conclusions

Social norms are important to creating order and predictability in a society (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Individuals therefore are motivated to follow social norms and to sanction those who violate the norms (Chekroun & Brauer; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Schachter, 1951). The major objective in these two studies was to demonstrate that the perceived social group membership of an individual who violated a norm determined how others reacted to and perceived the norm violator. In both studies, two theoretical orientations produced competing hypotheses. In one instance, norm violators who belonged to some outgroups (i.e., Blacks, Asians) were predicted to receive greater levels of social control compared to other outgroups and ingroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Whites). This prediction corresponded to the justification-suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) which states that individuals are more likely to express prejudice when it can be justified; relevant to the current studies, because the individual violated a norm, a situation was created wherein expressing prejudice (i.e., exerting social control) could be justified in a way that does not make the individual appear prejudiced because the social control can be attributed to the individual's behavior rather than his social group membership. Partial support for these predictions was found in Study 2 such that the Black norm violator was rated as less competent when he violated a high personal implication norm compared to a low personal implication norm. Interestingly in Study 1, participants reported that they be more likely to do nothing in response to the Black norm violator's behavior (compared to a norm violator with an intellectual disability). These results are consistent with aversive racism theory wherein individuals may be

motivated to avoid interracial interactions to alleviate feelings of discomfort. Together these results suggest that participants may be motivated to avoid interactions with Blacks (i.e., aversive racism) but may feel that because he violated a social norm that personally impacted them, that rating him lower in competence is justified by his negative behavior.

Further, the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002) provided the framework for the groups selected in each of the studies. In this model, stereotypes about social groups are created by perceptions of both warmth and competence. Each group is perceived to be either high or low in each dimension, creating four quadrants that describe prejudice toward social groups. In both studies, it was predicted that warmth would influence social control reactions because groups that are lower in warmth are generally perceived as threatening and less likeable (Fiske et al., 2002). Therefore two groups that are stereotypically higher in warmth (i.e., Whites and individuals with intellectual disabilities) and two groups that are stereotypically lower in warmth (i.e., Blacks, Asians) were selected. Study 1 provided partial support for these predictions; participants were more likely to exert greater social control toward the norm violator with an intellectual disability (compared to the Black norm violator). In particular, participants were more likely to report that they would make a polite comment to the norm violator with an intellectual disability. The polite comment may be a reflection of paternalistic prejudice where participants want to take care of or protect individuals with intellectual disabilities. Further in Study 2, and consistent with the stereotype content model's conceptualization that individuals with intellectual disabilities are high in warmth, participants rated the norm violator with an intellectual disability as more likable than the other norm violators.

In contrast, the predictions made by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) indicated that ingroup members (i.e., Whites) who violate social norms would receive greater social control than outgroup members (i.e., individuals with intellectual disabilities, Blacks, Asians). Social identity theory states that individuals seek to have positive images of themselves and the groups to which they belong. Therefore when another ingroup member violated a social norm, this potentially could tarnish the group's image. By exerting social control, the individual may be able to restore the positive image of the social group. Studies 1 and 2 provided partial support for these predictions as well, as participants in both studies rated the White norm violator as the least likable of the four social groups.

Importantly, observed differences in reactions to counternormative behavior may be influenced by how the perceiver feels in the situation. Therefore in both studies, it was predicted that social control would be influenced by the individuals' levels of prejudiced feelings toward the social group (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), the connectedness that individuals feel with their own ingroup (Aron et al., 1992), the amount of anxiety or discomfort they would experience by confronting the norm violator (Plant, 2004; Plant & Butz, 2006; Plant & Devine, 2003), the extent to which they would appear prejudiced when interacting with the norm violator (i.e., self-efficacy expectations; Plant & Butz, 2006; Plant et al., 2008), and the perceived costs of approaching the norm violator (e.g., language or communication barriers, violent reactions). These predictions were partially supported in Study 2 where the interaction between social group membership and personal implication was mediated by affective prejudice and perceptions of cost. Specifically, participants rated the Black norm violator as less competent when he violated a norm that was high in personal implication, and these ratings were explained by the participants' reports of higher levels of prejudice and perceived costs of confronting the norm violator.

However if individuals had less time and cognitive resources to be able to consider their feelings about approaching the norm violator, they may have been less likely to control their automatic (Devine, 1989) and operating (Wegner, 1994) processes. The second study introduced a cognitive load manipulation to measure how individuals reacted to norm violators when they were less able to consider self-presentational concerns. It was predicted that when individuals were under conditions of cognitive load, they would be more likely to act on their automatic processes and react according to their prejudices about the social group (e.g., Bodenhausen, 1990; Correll et al., 2006; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Kleider et al., 2012). In Study 2, participants exerted greater social control toward the norm violator when their cognitive resources were distracted than when their resources were not distracted. However, the cognitive load manipulation did not influence differential social control reactions toward norm violators based on their social group membership. Overall the results of these studies provided support for contemporary racism theories (i.e., the justification-suppression model of prejudice, the stereotype content model, and aversive racism theory) and social identity theory to demonstrate that the social group membership of the norm violator influences how individuals react to the norm violation and perceive the norm violator.

Importance of the Current Studies

The current studies add to the existing literature by further examining the consequences of violating social norms. Much of the research on normative behavior focuses on why and when individuals will be motivated to follow social norms (e.g., Jacobson et al., 2010) rather than examining the sanctions that are given to those who violate the norms. Sanctioning individuals who violate social norms is the primary way in which counternormative behaviors are controlled in a society, but this behavior has not been given much empirical attention (Chekroun & Brauer, 2002). Chekroun, Brauer, and colleagues have uncovered a number of factors related to the nature of the norm violation that lead to greater social control reactions; these include the perceived deviance of the norm violation, whether or not bystanders also witness the norm violation, the perceived ambiguity of the norm, emotional reactions to counternormative behavior, and the personal implication of the norm violation (Brauer & Chaurand, 2010; Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Chaurand & Brauer, 2008; Chekroun, 2008; Chekroun & Brauer, 2002; Chekroun & Nugier, 2011; Nugier et al., 2009). The current studies build on their findings by exploring how the group membership of the norm violator may influence the severity of social control. Specifically, the results of the first study demonstrate that individuals react differently to norm violations based on the norm violator's social group membership.

Additionally, the group membership of the norm violator is often perceived in social interactions (i.e., social categorization; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). When interacting with others, the social group to which they belong is often gleaned from physical characteristics such as facial features (Maddox, 2004; Maddox & Chase, 2004; McManus, 2010; Rule et al., 2011) which can activate stereotypes about group members (e.g., Bastian et al., 2011; Freeman et al., 2008) and have negative consequences such as discrimination (e.g., Eberhardt et al., 2004, 2006; Maddox & Chase, 2004; McManus, 2010; Tajfel et al., 1971). The current studies demonstrated that not only can group membership be determined through salient facial features but that perceived group membership can influence how individuals react to social norm violations.

The addition of the cognitive load manipulation in the second study also contributed to the social control literature. When under cognitive load, individuals' cognitive resources are distracted, giving fewer resources to control their automatic reactions (Devine, 1989; Wegner, 1994), increasing the likelihood that individuals' respond in a manner consistent with their actual feelings and beliefs. In Study 2, it was demonstrated that cognitive load influenced the extent to

which individuals reacted to norm violations such that participants who were given less time and cognitive resources to think about their responses exerted greater social control than those who were not given a time limit or distracting task. Although cognitive load did not interact with social group membership or personal implication, what these results may suggest is that under conditions of cognitive load, individuals' are more concerned that a norm violation has occurred and less concerned with who violated the norm or what type of norm the person violated.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although these studies are important for gaining insight into the mechanisms that lead to the unfair treatment of individuals in our society, there are some limitations that should be noted. The selection of social groups from the stereotype content model may be one concern. Notably there are other approaches that have organized the factors that contribute to perceptions of social groups. For example, Frable (1993) indicated that groups differ among dimensions of danger, visibility, responsibility, prognosis, aesthetic appearance, social interaction, physical, character, lineal basis, conspicuousness, and concealability and Jones, Farina, Hastorf, Marcus, Miller, and Scott (1984) identified dimensions of controllability, concealability, disruptiveness, aesthetic qualities of the stigma, and danger posed by the stigmatized person. While the SCM may not be the only theoretical approach that indicates how social groups are perceived to be different from one another, it does provide a parsimonious explanation for how stereotypes toward social groups are formed. Therefore, prototypical social groups from each of the four quadrants were selected and a picture of a White male, male with an intellectual disability, Black male, and Asian male were used. Notably, three of these groups represent racial or ethnic groups; however in the high warmth, low competence quadrant of the model, a racial or ethnic group is not represented. In the other quadrants, some of the other non-racial groups are not as perceptually obvious (e.g., feminists, Jewish people, people on welfare) and selecting one of these social groups would have difficult to represent pictorially. Therefore the groups selected were White, Black, Asian, and intellectual disability.

By only using these four social groups, there are other social groups that are not being examined, including individuals who belong to more than one stigmatized group and only reflect attitudes toward social groups embedded in cultures similar to the United States. Thus, the results of this study may not fully represent how individuals react to social norm violators who belong

to other, or multiple, social groups, and these specific results for these groups may not generalize cross-culturally (e.g., Nadler & Halabi, 2006). However, the selected groups are based on the research supporting the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002), wherein stereotypes are similar for several social groups. For example, there are several social groups that are perceived to be low in competence but high in warmth (e.g., individuals with intellectual disabilities, housewives, elderly people) so that they often are the recipients of paternalistic prejudice. Therefore the social control reactions for one group may generalize to members of other social groups within the same dimension of the model. Additionally, the four quadrants of the stereotype content model can be applied to other cultures. The specific groups may be different than those used in the current studies, but the perceptions of warmth and competence would produce four social groups that apply more specifically to the culture. Finally, it is less clear what may occur when the social norm violator belongs to multiple social groups that are in more than one dimension of the stereotype content model (e.g., an Asian female with an intellectual disability). Future research could include studying how these social control reactions would be exhibited toward individuals who belong to more than one stigmatized group.

An additional concern regarding the current studies is the use of self-report measures to examine how individuals reacted toward an individual who violated a social norm. Notably, the responses that participants provided may not fully represent how individuals react in real world situations. However it is important to note that the norm violation selected was based on previous research (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005). Additionally, the social control reactions used in the current studies were based on behavioral studies (Chekroun & Brauer, 2002) and represent individuals' reactions to actual social norm violations. The norm violation and the social control reactions were tested in pilot studies which add support to using the self-report measures. These pilot studies and Study 1 suggested that the social norm violation (i.e., putting his feet up on a table) elicited stronger social control reactions in participants when the norm violation was high in personal implication and elicited weaker social control reactions when the norm violation was low in personal implication. Despite the findings in the previous literature, in both Studies 1 and 2 a majority of participants responded that they would do nothing in response to the norm violator's behavior (64.86% and 72.07%, respectively) and the reported reactions may be reflecting floor effects rather than their actual responses to the norm violator's behavior. Future researchers may wish to test the hypotheses examined by the current studies by putting

participants in actual situations where confederates violate social norms to examine how social group membership influences social control reactions.

Additionally, if a behavioral study were to be conducted, video taping participants' reactions to the confederate's counternormative behavior would be useful for coding reactions and the reactions may also be used as materials for other future studies. One interesting future direction would be to have participants watch these videos of individuals reacting to norm violations and rate whether or not they believed individual in the video reacted appropriately to the norm violation. This method would be particularly useful when considering the extent to which individual difference factors influence how individuals interact with their social environment. Introverts, for example, may be much less likely to actually approach a norm violator than would an extrovert. Therefore, by having participants watch a video, they can rate the likelihood that they would react in a similar manner and whether or not the norm violation was appropriate.

When conducting a behavioral study, the times at which participants complete the initial measures of affective prejudice and oneness should be considered. In the current studies, although there was a filler measure separating these two measures from the norm violation vignette and participants' responses to the norm violation, a large percentage of participants indicated that they thought the study was about discrimination (63% in Study 1 and 57.5% in Study 2). Future studies should conduct the research in phases where in the first phase, participants' levels of affective prejudice toward a particular social group is assessed and in the second phase participants can be invited to a seemingly different study where they either read about the norm violation committed by a member of the same social group (i.e., a self-report study) or they witness a confederate of the same social group commit a norm violation (i.e., a behavioral study); in either of these instances, the reaction to the norm violation will be less influenced by participants' suspicion that the study is in some way measuring their levels of prejudice toward social groups.

There are some inconsistent findings between Studies 1 and 2 that should be noted. First, social control was influenced by social group membership and personal implication in Study 1 but not in Study 2; in Study 2 social control was only influenced by cognitive load. Second, the norm violator's perceived competence was unaffected by any variables in Study 1 but there was a social group membership by personal implication interaction in Study 2 (which was mediated

by affective prejudice and perceptions of cost). In Study 2, on average participants rated the norm violator as more competent, had more feelings of warmth toward the social group and perceived the confrontation to be less costly than participants in Study 1; these greater feelings of warmth and perceptions that approaching the norm violator is not costly may have influenced the perception of the norm violator's competence. Another potential reason for these inconsistencies could be the different methods used to collect data in each study. In the first study, participants completed the study online (presumably on a personal or work computer) rather than in a more controlled laboratory setting and the sample was older (i.e., the average age of participants was 35.36 in Study 1 and 19.93 in Study 2). Aside from the demand characteristics that may have been created by the laboratory setting, there are few compelling theoretical reasons for why age or setting would have produced the inconsistent findings across the two studies.

A more theoretically driven explanation for the inconsistent findings derives from the most notable difference between Studies 1 and 2- the introduction of the cognitive load manipulation in Study 2. Cognitive load did influence social control reactions in Study 2 in addition to creating a three-way interaction with group membership and personal implication that was nearing significance ($p = .088$). With a stronger cognitive load manipulation (discussed in the following paragraphs), future research may produce findings that are consistent with the findings in Study 1 wherein social group membership and personal implication interact with cognitive load to produce differences in social control reactions.

Finally, while overall these effects were significant, one concern might be that the effect sizes were relatively small ($\eta_p^2 = .029$ to $.203$). One suggestion for future research which may increase the size of the effects might be to incorporate a stronger cognitive load manipulation. Researchers suggest that there are individual differences in working memory capacity (Tuner & Engle, 1989); relevant to the current study, the working memory capacity would reflect the number of characters participants were silently rehearsing to induce cognitive load. In the current study, cognitive load was manipulated using a string of eight characters; for some individuals, eight characters may be larger than their working memory capacity and would be a difficult task, while for others eight characters may be smaller than their working memory capacity and may be an easy task. Therefore if the individual differences in working memory capacity were taken into account, each participant would be under an equivalent amount of cognitive load.

Engles and Turner (1989) developed an Operation Span (O-SPAN) task to account for individual differences in working memory capacity. In this task, participants are presented with a series of items (e.g., words, arithmetic problems) wherein some of the items are to be recalled later and some of the items are distracters. Through a series of trials, participants solve math problems while trying to remember unrelated words. In a single trial, a participant would be presented with a math problem (e.g., is $(8/2) - 1 = 1$?) followed by a word (e.g., bear). They would read aloud the math problem, their answer to the problem, and the word. After receiving a series of trials, they would be asked to write down each of the words in order. The number of words recalled at the end of the task reflects participants' working memory capacity. Initially, this task was conducted with the experimenter leading the sessions but has recently (Unsworth, Heitz, Schrock, & Engle, 2005) been converted into a computerized task. If this task were to be incorporated into the methodology of Study 2, it would be possible to assess each participants working memory capacity using the automated O-SPAN task (Unsworth et al., 2005) before giving participants a password. The number of characters in the password would reflect each participant's unique working memory capacity and ensure that each participant is under an optimal level of cognitive load. By incorporating this task into the methodology of future studies, it is possible that the cognitive load manipulation will be stronger, producing overall stronger effect sizes.

Conclusions

Examining the ways in which individuals are treated differently is important to understanding the manifestations of discrimination in contemporary societies. The current studies seek to understand how a social norm violator's social group membership may determine the type of social control that individuals use to correct the counternormative behavior. As Emily experienced in the opening story, the norm violator's social group membership may change the way that social control is exerted. This research is essential for understanding contemporary expressions of prejudice, an understanding that is crucial for reducing the unfair treatment of social groups.

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Appendix A - Social Norm Violations Used in Pilot Study 1

*used in Pilot Study 1_b

**used in Pilot Study 1_b and Pilot Study 2

High Personal Implication	Low Personal Implication
<p>1) Someone spits on the ground as you are walking by</p> <p>2) Someone lets a dog defecate on the sidewalk outside of your dorm or apartment building and leaves without cleaning up after it</p> <p>3) Someone paints graffiti on a wall inside of your dorm or apartment building</p> <p>*4) Someone tries to break into your car</p> <p>**5) Someone burps loudly in a restaurant where you are eating</p> <p>6) Someone litters in front of your house when there is a trash can nearby</p> <p>7) Someone tears off posters from a public bulletin board in your dorm or apartment building</p> <p>8) Someone intentionally shoves another person right in front of you</p> <p>9) Someone yells insults at another person during a class you are attending</p> <p>**10) Someone picks flowers from your family's garden</p> <p>11) Someone makes a drawing with a pen in the stairwell of your dorm or apartment building</p> <p>**12) Someone walks on the sidewalk against the flow of pedestrians so that you almost run into him or her</p> <p>**13) Someone tears a page out of a book they borrow from you</p> <p>14) Someone violently kicks a soda machine you were going to use</p>	<p>1) Someone spits on the ground as people walk by</p> <p>2) Someone lets a dog defecate on the sidewalk outside of the library and leaves without cleaning up after it</p> <p>3) Someone paints graffiti on a wall at the mall</p> <p>*4) Someone tries to break into a car</p> <p>**5) Someone burps loudly in a restaurant</p> <p>6) Someone litters on campus when there is a trash can nearby</p> <p>7) Someone tears off posters from a public bulletin board on campus</p> <p>8) Someone intentionally shoves another person</p> <p>9) Someone yells insults at another person during a class your friend is attending</p> <p>**10) Someone picks flowers from a garden at the park</p> <p>11) Someone makes a drawing with a pen in the stairwell of the library</p> <p>**12) Someone walks on the sidewalk against the flow of pedestrians so that others almost run into him or her</p> <p>**13) Someone tears a page out of a book they borrowed from the library</p> <p>14) Someone violently kicks a soda machine</p>

- 15) Someone makes an obscene gesture towards you
- *16) Someone tries to steal something from your pocket
- 17) Someone drops products on the floor of a supermarket, for the sake of amusement, while you are shopping
- 18) Someone parks in two parking spaces so that you cannot park your car
- 19) Someone makes a motorcycle roar, creating a very loud noise while you are trying to study
- 20) Someone smokes in your dorm or apartment building, although signs clearly indicate that smoking is forbidden
- 21) Someone parks a car on the sidewalk in such a way that you are forced to step in the street in order to pass by
- **22) Someone screams very loudly at 2:00 in the morning in the street while you are trying to sleep
- 23) Someone throws an empty plastic bottle in the bushes outside of your house
- 24) Someone deposits bulky trash on your street (old shelves, big cardboard boxes, etc.)
- 25) Someone leaves the leftovers of a picnic in the grass of a public park you often visit
- 26) Someone depositing a car battery in the parking lot where you usually park your car
- **27) Someone opens a newspaper into your face while waiting for class to start
- 28) Someone drives too closely to the rear of your car
- **29) Someone leaves a store and does not hold the door open for you although you are close behind
- **30) Someone puts his or her feet up on the table you are studying at in the library
- 31) During a movie at the cinema, the people right behind you are speaking loudly over an extended period of time
- 32) Someone stops in a car at a traffic light, and does not advance when the light turns green

- 15) Someone makes an obscene gesture toward another person
- *16) Someone tries to steal something from someone else's pocket
- 17) Someone drops products on the floor of a supermarket, for the sake of amusement
- 18) Someone parks in two parking spaces so that other people cannot park their cars
- 19) Someone makes a motorcycle roar, creating a very loud noise while people are trying to study
- 20) Someone smokes in a building, although signs clearly indicate that smoking is forbidden
- 21) Someone parks a car on the sidewalk in such a way that others are forced to step in the street in order to pass by
- **22) Someone screams very loudly at 2:00 in the morning in the street while others are trying to sleep
- 23) Someone throws an empty plastic bottle in the bushes outside of the union
- 24) Someone deposits bulky trash on the street (old shelves, big cardboard boxes, etc.)
- 25) Someone leaves the leftovers of a picnic in the grass of a public park
- 26) Someone depositing a car battery in a parking lot
- **27) Someone opens a newspaper into someone's face while waiting for class to start
- 28) Someone drives too closely to the rear of another car
- **29) Someone leaves a store and does not hold the door open for another person although he or she is close behind
- **30) Someone puts his or her feet up on a table in the library
- 31) During a movie at the cinema, people are speaking loudly over an extended period of time
- 32) Someone stops in a car at a traffic light, and does not advance when the light turns green

- *33) Someone does not express any form of thanks when you hold the door open for him or her
- *34) Someone enters a one-way street and blocks your car, which is arriving from the other direction
- 35) Someone interrupts you when you are talking
- 36) Someone draws graffiti on the walls of an elevator in your apartment or dorm building
- **37) Someone does not say thank you when you have done him or her a favor
- 38) Someone sits on the stairs of a public building such that you are forced to squeeze along the wall or step over him/her
- 39) Someone tries to cut in front of you in a line at the movie theater
- 40) Someone drives fast and quite dangerously while you are on the same road
- **41) Someone blows his or her nose loudly while you are sitting next to him or her
- **42) Someone uses a cell phone and speaks very loudly while you are sitting next to him or her
- 43) Someone urinates against a wall in the street as you are walking by
- 44) Someone empties a car's ashtray on the sidewalk as you are walking by
- *45) Someone sends text messages while you are trying to have a conversation with him or her
- 46) Someone takes a really long time in a public restroom while you wait in a long line outside
- 47) Someone drives through a cross walk while you are crossing the street
- 48) Someone steps out in front of your car without checking to see if it is safe to cross the street
- 49) Someone you are eating dinner with does not leave a tip for the server

- *33) Someone does not express any form of thanks when others hold the door open for him or her
- *34) Someone enters a one-way street and blocks another car, which is arriving from the other direction
- 35) Someone interrupts when other people are talking
- 36) Someone draws graffiti on the walls of an elevator in the union
- **37) Someone does not say thank you when another person has done him or her a favor
- 38) Someone sits on the stairs of a public building such that others are forced to squeeze along the wall or step over him or her
- 39) Someone tries to cut in front of other people in a line at the movie theater
- 40) Someone drives fast and quite dangerously while others are on the same road
- **41) Someone blows his or her nose loudly while someone else is sitting close to him or her
- **42) Someone uses a cell phone and speaks very loudly while someone else is sitting close to him or her
- 43) Someone urinates against a wall in the street as people walk by
- 44) Someone empties a car's ashtray on the sidewalk as people walk by
- *45) Someone sends text messages while another person is trying to have a conversation with him or her
- 46) Someone takes a really long time in a public restroom while others wait in a long line outside
- 47) Someone drives through a cross walk while others are crossing the street
- 48) Someone steps out in front of a car without checking to see if it is safe to cross the street
- 49) Someone does not leave a tip for the server

50) Someone shows up late for a class you are attending and creates a distraction while finding his/her seat

50) Someone shows up late for a class and creates a distraction for others while finding his/her seat

Appendix B - Social Norm Violation Vignette and Social Control Reactions for Studies 1 and 2

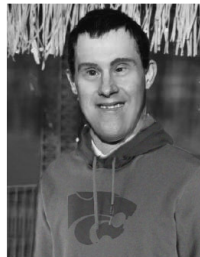
Read the example situation below and indicate what you think you would do in response.

High Personal Implication Condition

Imagine that you are studying in the library one afternoon. While you are studying, the individual pictured below approaches you and asks if he can sit at your table. You are not using the entire table so you agree to let him sit in the chair across from you. While he is studying, he puts his feet up on the table.

Low Personal Implication Condition

Imagine that you are studying in the library one afternoon. While you are studying, the individual pictured below sits down at the table next to you. While he is studying, he puts his feet up on the table.



Social Control Reactions

Which of the following responses best describes how you would react in this situation?
Select one.

- A. I would do nothing
- B. I would give him an angry look
- C. I would sigh loudly and hope he hears me
- D. I would make a comment about his behavior to someone else
- E. I would make a polite comment to him about his behavior
- F. I would make a comment in an aggressive tone to him about his behavior
- G. I would insult him in an aggressive tone

Appendix C - Items to Measure Perceptions of the Norm Violator in Studies 1 and 2

Perceived Competence

incompetent—competent

unproductive—productive

ineffective—effective

unambitious—ambitious

passive—active

indecisive—decisive

weak—strong

gentle—tough

timid—bold

unassertive—assertive

Perceived Likability

likable—not likable

abrasive—not abrasive

conniving—not conniving

manipulative—not manipulative

not trustworthy—trustworthy

selfish—not selfish

pushy—accommodating

Appendix D - Items to Measure Self-Presentational Concerns in Studies 1 and 2

Anxiety

I would feel uncomfortable when interacting with this person.

I would feel awkward interacting with this person.

When interacting with this person, I would feel relaxed.

When interacting with this person, I would feel nervous.

Self-Efficacy Expectations

I am unsure how to behave toward this individual in order to convey a non-prejudiced impression.

When interacting with this person, I would be unsure how to act in order to show him that I am not prejudice.

I am confident that I can respond without prejudice when interacting with this person.

I would be worried that stereotypes would come to my mind when interacting with this person, even if I wish they wouldn't.

I believe in some ways, interacting with this person would be more difficult than interacting with other individuals.

I am confident that stereotypes don't affect how I would interact with this person.

Even if we hadn't met before, this person would expect me to be prejudiced.

When interacting with this person, he would see me as prejudiced no matter what I did.

If I was interacting with this person, regardless of my behavior he would interpret my behavior as prejudiced.

When interacting with this person, I would know what to say in order to come across as non-prejudiced.

When interacting with this person, I would imagine that he would be watching my behavior closely for prejudice.

This person would not look for prejudice in the behavior of other individuals.

Sometimes this person might view normal behavior of other individuals as prejudiced.

Potential Costs of Confronting the Norm Violator

I would be afraid this person might start a fight with me.

I would be concerned that this person might not understand me if I talked to him.

This person might deny that they ripped a page out of the book.

This person might cause a scene if I confronted him.

I might be embarrassed if I confronted this person.

Confronting this person would be more trouble than it is worth.

This person would be angry if I confronted him.

This person would be confused if I confronted him.

Appendix E - Items to Measure Affective Prejudice in Studies 1 and

2

Generally speaking, I feel warm and friendly toward _____.

Generally speaking, thinking about _____ makes me feel annoyed.

Generally speaking, thinking about _____ makes me feel happy.

Generally speaking, thinking about _____ makes me feel angry.

Generally speaking, I like _____.

Generally speaking, thinking about _____ makes me feel disgusted.

Generally speaking, thinking about _____ makes me feel relaxed.

Generally speaking, I feel cold and distant from _____.

Generally speaking, I feel accepting of _____.

Generally speaking, thinking about _____ makes me feel bad.

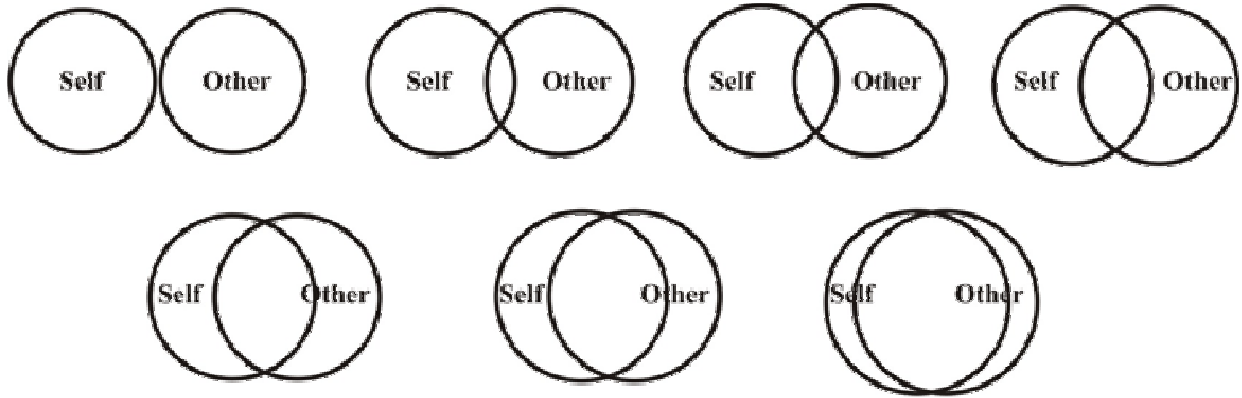
Generally speaking, thinking about _____ makes me feel positive.

Generally speaking, thinking about _____ makes me feel negative.

Generally speaking, thinking about _____ makes me feel good.

Generally speaking, I dislike _____.

Appendix F - One-ness Measure used in Studies 1 and 2



Self = You

Other = White People

Please circle the picture that best describes the extent to which you identify with White individuals.

Appendix G - Items used to Probe for Suspicion in Studies 1 and 2

Did you know anything about the nature of the study's hypotheses before starting this study?

What do you think this study is about?

Did you find anything to be suspicious about the measures you completed today?

Appendix H - Items used for Filler Task in Studies 1 and 2

What is your favorite overall movie?

How much does the average person like this movie? (please circle one number below)

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

What is your favorite comedy movie?

How much does the average person like this movie? (please circle one number below)

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

What is your favorite drama movie?

How much does the average person like this movie? (please circle one number below)

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

What is your favorite science fiction/fantasy movie?

How much does the average person like this movie? (please circle one number below)

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

What is your favorite action movie?

How much does the average person like this movie? (please circle one number below)

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

What is your favorite horror movie?

How much does the average person like this movie? (please circle one number below)

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

What is your favorite documentary movie?

How much does the average person like this movie? (please circle one number below)

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much

Why do people watch movies in general?

Why do people watch comedy movies?

Why do people watch drama movies?

Why do people watch science fiction/fantasy movies?

Why do people watch action movies?

Why do people watch horror movies?

Why do people watch documentary movies?

Appendix I - Passwords for Participants in Study 2 to Induce Cognitive Load

Hj6973*

G#935zq

*y6G93w

89f5*qp

#pC53Wz

n63#m1Q

s37PX#j

Y9y3*w6

85tn3#1d

XgQ74*m

pD8#12b

K#zr5N6

42*tg6D

Ex7J2b#

Fr26Km*

U*9gq51

38gJ#rQ

bF6n*q8

v5GH79*

Ev*41x2