


Conflicting Motivations: Understanding How Low-Status Group Members Respond to Ingroup Discrimination Claimants

Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin
1–14
© 2018 by the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, Inc
Article reuse guidelines:
sagepub.com/journals-permissions
DOI: 10.1177/0146167218808500
journals.sagepub.com/home/pspb


Joseph D. Wellman¹ , Clara L. Wilkins^{2,3}, Ellen E. Newell⁴, and D. Kamiya Stewart⁵

Abstract

Previous research has found that among low-status individuals, both group identification (GID) and status-legitimizing beliefs (SLBs) motivate varying responses to ingroup discrimination claimants. SLBs are traditionally thought to motivate decreased support for low-status claimants, while GID is thought to motivate increased liking and support of ingroup members. The current research examines these conflicting influences on ingroup claimants among women (Studies 1a and 1b) and Latino/as (Studies 2 and 3). We find that when SLBs are strongly endorsed (Studies 1a, 1b, and 2) or primed (Study 3), GID does not predict liking or support for a claimant. Only when SLB endorsement is low and identity safety cues are absent does GID predict liking and support for a claimant. Our results suggest that when motivations conflict, SLBs seem to more strongly predict reactions to ingroup claimants.

Keywords

status-legitimizing beliefs, group identification, discrimination claim

Received July 7, 2017; revision accepted October 1, 2018

In a society where women often feel pressured to tear one another down, our saving grace lies in our willingness to lift one another up.

—Dr. Madeleine Albright

Low-status group members (e.g., women, ethnic minorities) often have divergent responses to ingroup members' discrimination claims. Dr. Albright's statement highlights the conflicting motivations that women (and other low-status group members) may experience when responding to discrimination. There is a pressure to dismiss or derogate ingroup claims in an effort to preserve the notion that the system is fair and merit-based. Conversely, there is often pressure to support ingroup members to address injustice. Calling attention to prejudice and discrimination allows others to recognize the problem and foster collective action to address the issue (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Considering these opposing reactions to ingroup claims of discrimination, it is important to understand when low-status group members will back ingroup claimants rather than tear them down.

Individuals vary in their motivations to, on one hand, support the ingroup, and to, on the other hand, maintain the

status hierarchy. Ingroup members who strongly identify with their group may be especially likely to support an ingroup member who claims discrimination (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy, & Wilkins, 2009; Wilkins, Wellman, & Schad, 2017). In contrast, individuals who strongly endorse the idea that the system is fair should be motivated to derogate claimants and deny that discrimination occurred since the claim poses a threat to their worldview (e.g., Major, Kaiser, O'Brien, & McCoy, 2007) and sense of control (McCoy, Wellman, Cosley, Saslow, & Epel, 2013). Thus, these two motivations (to protect the ingroup and to protect the self) are likely to be at odds for

¹California State University, San Bernardino, USA

²Washington University in St. Louis, MO, USA

³Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, USA

⁴Wilkes University, Wilkes-Barre, PA, USA

⁵Tulane University, New Orleans, LA, USA

Corresponding Author:

Joseph D. Wellman, Department of Psychology, California State University, San Bernardino, 5500 University Parkway, San Bernardino, CA 92407-2393, USA.

Email: jwellman@csusb.edu

low-status group members in the context of an ingroup member's discrimination claim. In this research, we examine how these conflicting motivations, identification with a low-status ingroup and endorsement of system legitimacy, interact to predict evaluations of, and support for, an ingroup discrimination claimant.

Responses to Discrimination Claims

In general, people respond negatively to discrimination claims (e.g., Garcia, Reser, Amo, Redersdorff, & Branscombe, 2005; Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Wilkins, Wellman, & Kaiser, 2013). For instance, when a Black individual claims that a failing grade is due to discrimination (rather than taking personal responsibility), they are viewed less favorably and are more likely to be seen as a complainer (even when evidence suggests discrimination is likely to have occurred; Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2003). There are, however, a variety of motivations that may affect how discrimination claimants are evaluated. While discrimination claimants are generally disliked, beliefs about social inequality and group identification (GID) shape these responses.

Across cultures, individuals consistently embrace belief systems that justify, legitimize, and stabilize the social status hierarchy (e.g., Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Marx & Engels, 1846/1970; McCoy et al., 2013; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Son Hing et al., 2011; Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014). In the United States, these status-legitimizing beliefs (SLBs) include meritocracy (e.g., the perception that status is based on merit and is earned), Protestant work ethic (e.g., the notion that hard work is rewarded), and the idea that the hierarchy is permeable (e.g., you can move from low status to high; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Hunyady, 2002), as well as other hierarchy-enhancing ideologies (e.g., social dominance orientation; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Individuals vary in the extent to which they embrace these beliefs and thus vary in the extent to which they are motivated to justify social inequality and the existing social hierarchy. SLBs have been theorized to transcend status differences, motivating individuals regardless of social status to justify the system (e.g., McCoy et al., 2013; Unzueta, Everly, & Gutiérrez, 2014).

While it may seem rational that high-status individuals would justify their privileged position because they benefit from the hierarchy, even low-status individuals are motivated to justify the system (e.g., Jost & Hunyady, 2002). One reason low-status individuals may embrace SLBs is because those beliefs offer them a sense of personal control over future outcomes. For example, low-status group members likely find solace in perceiving the system as permeable and in believing that if they work hard, they can improve their social position (see McCoy et al., 2013). Low-status individuals who strongly endorse SLBs are often particularly motivated to rationalize social inequality, thus retaining a sense of control over their future outcomes by framing their current disadvantaged position as fair (Jost & Banaji, 1994;

Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Major & O'Brien, 2005). This desire to preserve a sense of control may lead individuals to justify and actively defend against threats to the status hierarchy. Discrimination claims from low-status individuals embody one such threat to the hierarchy because they imply that the system is unfair.

SLBs do in fact moderate responses to individuals who claim discrimination. The more individuals endorse SLBs, the more likely they are to respond to discrimination claims in a way that maintains the social hierarchy (e.g., Unzueta et al., 2014; Wilkins, Wellman, Flavin, & Manrique, 2018; Wilkins et al., 2017). For example, Kaiser, Dyrenforth, and Hagiwara (2006) found that SLBs predicted greater negativity toward Black people who attributed a negative outcome to discrimination but not toward Black people who blamed the outcome on another source. Thus, the more individuals endorse SLBs, the more they derogate a low-status claimant (Kaiser et al., 2006; Schultz & Maddox, 2013; Shelton & Stewart, 2004).

The groups individuals belong to and the importance of these groups also influence how individuals perceive and respond to ingroup members who claim discrimination. The extent to which an individual's group membership is central and important to their self-concept is referred to as GID (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). The degree to which individuals identify with the group reflects an individual's commitment to obtaining positive outcomes for the group and achieving group-level goals (e.g., Garcia, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Ellemers, 2010; Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Several studies have found that highly identified individuals respond positively to ingroup members who confront discrimination against their group (Abrams et al., 2000; Branscombe et al., 1993; Kaiser et al., 2009). GID has also been found to be associated with men's positive responses to ingroup bias claimants and increased helping intentions toward them (Wilkins et al., 2017). Theoretically, these responses are due to the perception that the claim serves to maintain the group's interests. As confronting discrimination often incurs negative interpersonal consequences (Dodd, Giuliano, Boutell, & Moran, 2001; Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2003; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999), highly identified group members are likely to perceive ingroup discrimination claimants as particularly loyal to the group. Thus, to the extent to which an individual is highly identified with their group, they should be motivated to support ingroup members who claim to be victims of discrimination (e.g., Kaiser et al., 2009).

The Current Research: SLBs Versus GID

When studying responses to discrimination claims, SLBs and GID are often examined separately (e.g., Kaiser et al., 2006; Kaiser et al., 2009; Wilkins et al., 2013; Wilkins et al.,

2017), and therefore, the possible interaction between the two has not been fully explored. Among low-status group members, motivation to justify the system should lead individuals to view a claimant *less* positively because the claim suggests the system is unfair. Conversely, motivations to support the ingroup should lead to *more* positive evaluations because the claimant is acting in the group's interest. In other words, among low-status groups, SLBs and GID are likely to be in conflict when responding to another low-status individual's claim of discrimination.

We predict that motivation to legitimize the system (e.g., SLBs) is likely to take precedence over group interest. When individuals strongly endorse status legitimacy, a discrimination claim should be particularly concerning as it threatens one's perceptions of control. We believe that individuals' motivation to maintain a sense of control over their future outcomes (e.g., the belief that discrimination is not a barrier, and perceptions of social mobility) will reduce support of ingroup claimants, even if they are also high in GID. In general, we expect that under these circumstances individuals will be more motivated to protect the self (e.g., maintain their sense of control) rather than the group. We expect that GID will only predict positive evaluations of claimants when it does not conflict with SLBs (e.g., when SLBs are low).

Studies 1a and 1b examine the interaction between women's motivation to justify the system (e.g., SLBs) and their motivation to look out for the group (e.g., GID) in response to a woman who claims anti-female bias. Study 2 replicates and extends these findings by examining these competing motivations among Latino/as.

While in general these motivations should be in conflict among low-status group members when evaluating a claimant of discrimination, there are likely to be contextual cues that may make one motivation more or less relevant/salient. One such cue is the presence or absence of a diversity award (e.g., Brady, Kaiser, Major, & Kirby, 2015). To gender and racial minorities, diversity awards and policies appear to signal to individuals that a company is not discriminatory and that the company addresses bias. Thus, when diversity awards are present, low-status claimants may not be perceived of as needing support. In other words, a diversity award should serve as an identity safety cue for low-status individuals and thus reduce the perceived need to protect the group. This prediction is consistent with prior research which found that diversity policies decrease the perceived legitimacy of discrimination claims made by low-status group members (e.g., Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2014; Kaiser et al., 2013). As such, we expect that when a company is presented as having won a diversity award, GID will not predict support for the claimant, regardless of an individual's level of SLBs. Under these circumstances, group motivation should be less salient/relevant as it is a context in which the policy protects the group's interest so that the perceiver does not have to worry about it. Thus, we predict that GID and SLBs should only interact when identity safety cues are absent.

Finally, in Study 3, we prime SLBs to examine whether the influence of GID is eliminated when SLBs are primed. We expect that when system motivations are salient (e.g., SLBs primed), GID will not predict positive evaluations or helping intentions toward the claimant. Together, these studies examine the role SLBs play in predicting when GID will result in support for ingroup claimants among low-status group members. While some previous research has included low-status participants, the vast majority of studies on SLBs and claims of bias have focused on high-status perceivers (e.g., Whites, men). The focus of the current study on low-status group members is intended to add to the sparse literature on low-status individual's perceptions of discrimination claims.

Study 1a

Study 1a examines whether there is an interaction between GID and SLBs in predicting women's responses to ingroup members who claim discrimination. We hypothesize that when women are highly motivated to support, maintain, and legitimize the system (e.g., they strongly endorse SLBs), their motivations to support fellow ingroup members (e.g., GID) will not predict positive evaluations of an ingroup claimant. Furthermore, we predict that GID will only predict support for a claimant when SLBs are low. In addition, we examine how identity safety cues, such as mentioning a company's past awards for diversity (vs. no mention of awards), may alter perceptions of the claimant. The SLB-GID interaction should only occur when the company's prior diversity awards are not mentioned, as diversity awards signal that the group is protected and thus group motivations should not be activated (e.g., Dover et al., 2014). Therefore, we predict that SLB endorsement will not interact with GID to predict support for claimants when diversity awards are mentioned.

Method

Participants. Approximately 270 female participants were recruited through an undergraduate research participant pool at a large public university to complete an online study in exchange for course credit. We planned to collect 60 participants per cell and oversampled, anticipating individuals might fail the attention checks. After removing individuals who engaged in random clicking and one individual who was a multivariate outlier, 236 remained (race: 70.3% Latino/a, 13.6% White, 5.1% Asian, 4.2% African American, 6.8% Other; age: $M = 22.21$, $SD = 4.07$).

Procedure. Participants were recruited to participate in a study on "Reactions to Current Media," which asked them to read an article about a pending gender discrimination court case. In the article, a woman (Lucy Gibbons) claimed to have experienced gender-based discrimination by her employer, a large pharmaceutical company (Brady et al., 2015, Study 3).¹

Table 1. Correlations Among Variables: Studies 1a and 1b.

	1	2	3
Study 1a			
1. Positive evaluations			
2. Status-legitimizing beliefs	-.32		
3. Group identification	.14	-.19	
Study 1b			
1. Positive evaluations			
2. Status-legitimizing beliefs	-.34		
3. Group identification	.13	-.06	
4. Behavioral Intentions	.76	-.31	.12

Note. Bold indicates $p < .05$.

To examine the impact of identity safety cues, participants were randomly assigned to either a *Diversity Structure* condition or a *Neutral* condition. In the *Diversity Structure* condition, participants read that the company had been recognized by *Diversity Careers* magazine as a top company for female employees, thus setting up a company that had a history of valuing diverse employees. In the *Neutral* condition, participants read the same article, but there was no mention of the diversity award. Participants then reported their evaluations of the claimant.

We examined positive evaluations, rather than negative evaluations, because prior research has suggested a reluctance to derogate others when no truly negative facts have been provided (see Sears, 1983). Furthermore, we anticipated that ingroup evaluations would be positive rather than negative. Finally, participants completed measures of assessing endorsement of SLBs and GID.

Measures. All measures were assessed on a Likert-type scale anchored at 1 = "strongly disagree" to 7 = "strongly agree." Correlations between variables can be found in Table 1.

Positive evaluations of the claimant. Seven items measured the extent to which participants evaluated the claimant positively: for example, "The claimant would be good to have as a friend"; "The claimant seems to have a good personality"; and "The claimant seems like they would be good to have as a co-worker" ($\alpha = .90$, $M = 4.39$, $SD = 1.02$; range: 1.86-7.00).

SLBs. A 12-item SLB measure was adapted from Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz and Federico (1998): for example, "America is an open society where individuals of any group can achieve higher status." These items were averaged together to form the SLB composite (O'Brien & Major, 2005; $\alpha = .78$, $M = 3.34$, $SD = 0.88$; range: 1.25-5.75).

GID. Participants completed the four-item identity centrality subscale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), measuring the degree to which they identify with their gender group:

Table 2. Regression Summary: Study 1a.

	Positive evaluations of the claimant		
	B	SE	ΔR^2
Step 1			
Condition (0 = Diversity)	-.20	.13	.14
SLB (mean-centered)	-.37	.07	
GID (mean-centered)	.09	.05	
Step 2			
SLB \times GID	-.002	.06	.01
SLB \times Condition	-.24	.15	
GID \times Condition	.03	.11	
Step 3			
SLB \times GID \times Condition	-.27	.12	.02

Note. Bold indicates $p < .05$. SLB = status-legitimizing belief; GID = group identification.

"Being a women is an important reflection of who I am"; "In general, being a women is important to my self-image"; "Being a woman has very little do with how I feel about myself" (reverse coded); "Being a woman is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am" (reverse coded) ($\alpha = .75$, $M = 4.18$, $SD = 1.19$; range: 1.00-7.00).

Results

Analysis strategy. We first tested the three-way interaction between condition (Diversity Structure vs. Neutral), SLBs (continuous), and GID (continuous), using hierarchical linear regression. On Step 1, the main effects of condition (0 = Diversity Structure), SLBs (mean-centered), and GID (mean-centered) were entered. On Step 2, all two-way interactions (Condition \times SLB, Condition \times GID, SLB \times GID) were entered. On Step 3, the three-way interaction between condition, SLB, and GID was entered. We then examined the interaction between SLB and GID within each article condition. Finally, we examined the simple slopes of GID within experimental condition when SLBs were high (1 SD above the mean) and low (1 SD below the mean).

Preliminary analyses. As SLBs and GID were assessed at the end of the study, it was important to establish that they were not influenced by our experimental manipulation. Neither SLB, $t(234) = -0.08$, $p = .94$, nor GID, $t(234) = -0.17$, $p = .87$, differed by experimental condition, allowing us to use them as moderators across condition.

Positive evaluations of the claimant. There was a significant three-way interaction between condition, SLBs, and GID, $F(1, 227) = 4.98$, $p = .03$, $\Delta R^2 = .02$; Model: $F(7, 227) = 6.44$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .17$. Full output is presented in Table 2: GID \times SLB interaction in the *Neutral* condition, $F(1, 101) = 3.33$, $p = .07$, $\Delta R^2 = .03$; Model: $F(3, 101) = 9.61$,

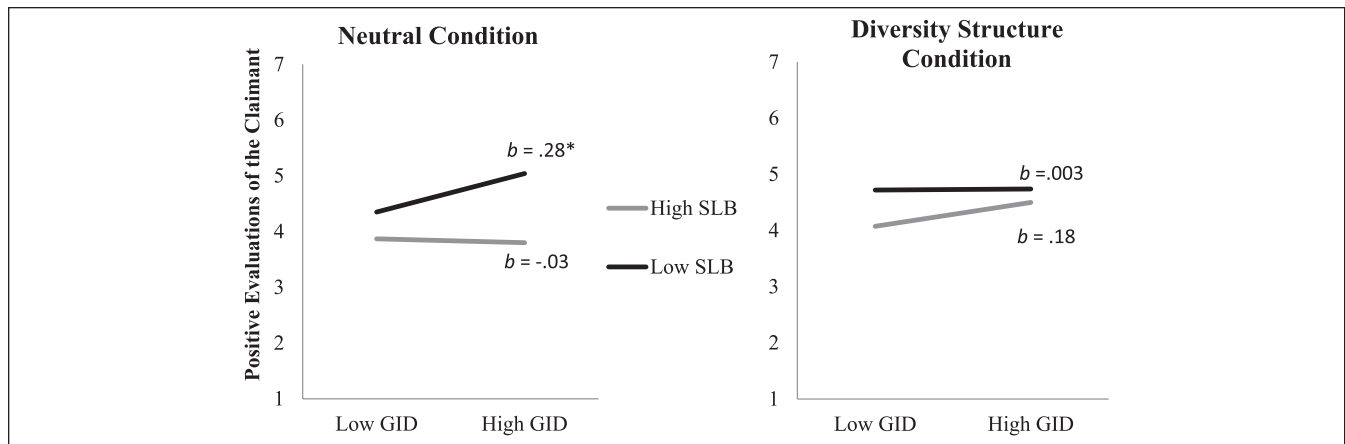


Figure 1. Positive evaluations of the claimant by GID, SLB, and condition: Study 1a.

Note. SLB = status-legitimizing belief; GID = group identification.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

$p < .001$, $R^2 = .22$, and in the *Diversity Structure* condition, $F(1, 126) = 1.70$, $p = .20$, $\Delta R^2 = .01$; Model: $F(3, 126) = 4.68$, $p = .004$, $R^2 = .08$.

For individuals low in SLB endorsement, greater GID was associated with more positive evaluations of the claimant in the *Neutral* condition, $b = .28$, $p = .02$; confidence interval (CI): [.04, .53]. There was no significant relationship between GID and evaluations of the claimant among low SLB endorsers in the *Diversity Structure* condition, $b = .003$, $p = .97$; CI: [-.19, .19]. For high SLB endorsers, GID did not significantly predict liking of the claimant in either the *Neutral* condition, $b = -.03$, $p = .79$; CI: [-.25, .19], or the *Diversity Structure* condition, $b = .18$, $p = .08$; CI: [-.02, .37] (see Figure 1).

Discussion: Study 1a

Study 1a examined the interaction between SLBs and GID in women's evaluation of ingroup members who claim sexism. Consistent with hypotheses, we found some evidence that GID and SLBs interact to predict women's evaluations of discrimination claimants. Among women who rejected SLBs ($-1 SD$), higher GID was associated with more positive evaluations of the claimant in the *Neutral* condition. However, among women who endorsed SLBs ($+1 SD$), GID was not associated with positive evaluations of the claimant in the *Neutral* condition. This suggests that GID only increases positive evaluations of claimants when SLBs are low and identity safety cues are absent. While there was a significant three-way interaction, our hypothesis was focused on the interaction between GID and SLB within the *Neutral* condition, and we did not find the predicted interaction. Thus, Study 1a provided only partial support for our hypotheses.

Study 1b

Given the tentative support for our hypotheses in Study 1a, we ran Study 1b with a larger sample of women to replicate and

extend our findings. In addition to examining positive evaluations of the claimant, we examined behavioral intentions toward the claimant. We hypothesized that similar to Study 1a, SLBs would interact with GID in the *Neutral* condition but not in the *Diversity Structure* condition. Specifically, we predicted that GID would be associated with increased positive evaluations and intentions to help in the *Neutral* condition when SLBs are low. We did not expect GID to predict participant's reactions to the claimant in any other circumstances.

Method

Participants. In Study 1b, 431 women were recruited from TurkPrime (Litman, Robinson, & Abberbock, 2016) in exchange for US\$1.50 each. We planned to collect 75 participants per cell and oversampled, anticipating individuals would fail the attention checks. After removing individuals who engaged in random clicking, 341 women remained (race: 78.5% White, 6.8% African American, 5.3% Hispanic/Latino/a, 3.2% Asian, 1.2% Native American/American Indian, 5% Other; age: $M = 45.70$, $SD = 15.45$).

Procedure. The procedure for Study 1b was the same as the previous study but also included a measure of positive behavioral intentions.

Measures. All measures were assessed on a Likert-type scale anchored at 1 = "strongly disagree" to 7 = "strongly agree." Correlations between variables can be found in Table 1.

The same measures of *positive evaluations of the claimant* ($\alpha = .96$, $M = 4.54$, $SD = 1.30$; range: 1.00-7.00), *SLBs* ($\alpha = .87$, $M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.05$; range: 1.00-7.00), and *GID* ($\alpha = .68$, $M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.29$; range: 1.00-7.00) from Study 1a were used.

Positive behavioral intentions. Five items measured the extent to which participants expressed a desire to assist

or interact with the claimant: for example, “If this person asked you for help, how likely would you be to help them?”; “How likely would you be to offer the claimant advice about their career?”; and “How likely are you to try to avoid this individual?” (reverse coded; $\alpha = .85$, $M = 4.32$, $SD = 1.41$; range: 1.00–7.00).

Results

Analysis strategy. We followed the same procedure set forth in Study 1a.

Preliminary analyses. As SLBs and GID were assessed at the end of the study, it was important to establish that they were not influenced by our experimental manipulation. Neither

SLB, $t(339) = 0.77$, $p = .45$, nor GID, $t(339) = -1.86$, $p = .07$, significantly differed by experimental condition, allowing us to use them as moderators across condition.

Positive evaluations of the claimant. We first examined the three-way interaction between condition, SLBs, and GID, $F(1, 333) = 3.62$, $p = .06$, $\Delta R^2 = .01$; Model: $F(7, 333) = 8.49$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .15$. Full output is presented in Table 3. Importantly, although the three-way interaction was not significant, the predicted GID by SLB interaction in the *Neutral* condition was significant, $F(1, 148) = 4.02$, $p = .047$, $\Delta R^2 = .02$; Model: $F(3, 148) = 12.82$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .20$. There was no significant interaction in the *Diversity Structure* condition, $F(1, 185) = .66$, $p = .42$, $\Delta R^2 = .003$; Model: $F(3, 185) = 5.75$, $p = .001$, $R^2 = .09$.

For individuals low in SLB endorsement, greater GID was associated with more positive evaluations of the claimant in the *Neutral* condition, $b = .23$, $p = .009$; CI: [.06, .40]. There was no significant relationship between GID and evaluations of the claimant among low SLB endorsers in the *Diversity Structure* condition, $b = .01$, $p = .96$; CI: [−.21, .22]. For high SLB endorsers, GID did not significantly predict liking of the claimant in either the *Neutral* condition, $b = .01$, $p = .95$; CI: [−.17, .18], or the *Diversity Structure* condition, $b = .12$, $p = .21$; CI: [−.07, .30] (see Figure 2).

Positive behavioral intentions. There was no significant three-way interaction between condition, SLBs, and GID, $F(1, 333) = 2.87$, $p = .09$, $\Delta R^2 = .01$; Model: $F(7, 333) = 7.52$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .12$. Full output is presented in Table 3. While there was no three-way interaction, as predicted, there was a significant GID by SLB interaction in the *Neutral* condition, $F(1, 148) = 8.13$, $p = .005$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$; Model: $F(3, 148) = 13.33$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .21$. There was no significant interaction in the *Diversity Structure* condition, $F(1, 185) = .02$,

Table 3. Regression Summary: Study 1b.

	Positive evaluations of the claimant			Positive behavioral intentions		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	ΔR^2	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	ΔR^2
Step 1			.14			.11
Condition (0 = Diversity)	−.24	.13		−.23	.15	
SLB (mean-centered)	−.41	.06		−.40	.07	
GID (mean-centered)	.10	.05		.10	.06	
Step 2			.01			.02
SLB × GID	−.04	.04		−.10	.05	
SLB × Condition	−.12	.12		.19	.14	
GID × Condition	−.04	.10		.02	.11	
Step 3			.01			.01
SLB × GID × Condition	.16	.08		.16	.09	

Note. Bold indicates $p < .05$. SLB = status-legitimizing belief; GID = group identification.

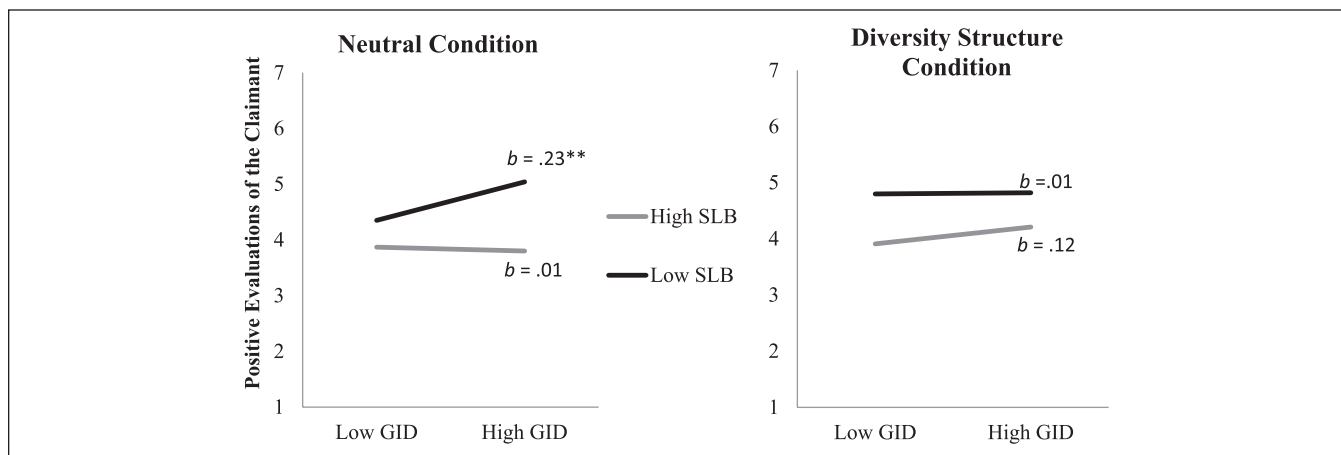


Figure 2. Positive evaluations of the claimant by GID, SLB, and condition: Study 1b.

Note. SLB = status-legitimizing belief; GID = group identification.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

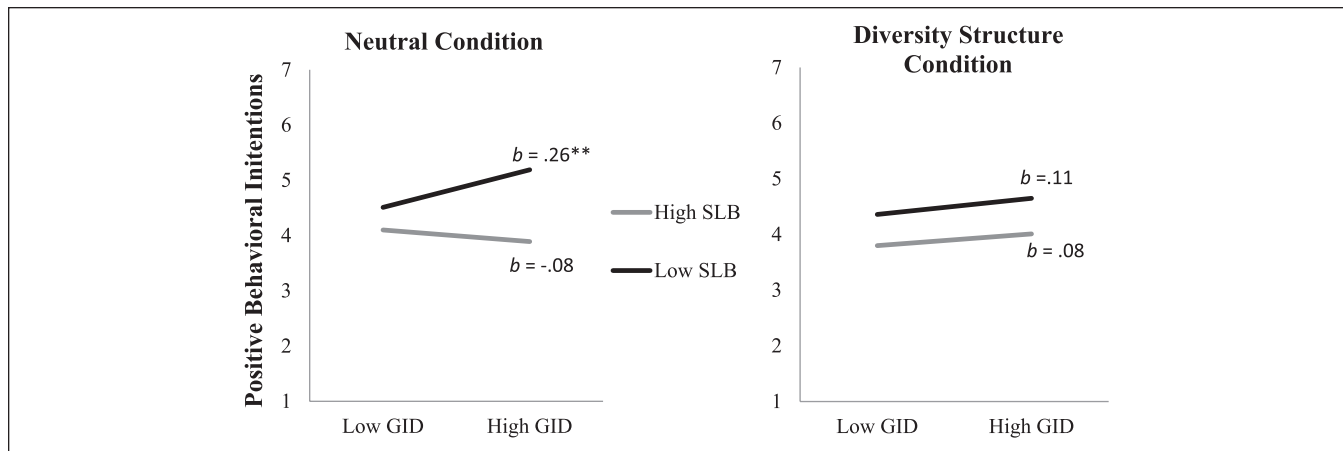


Figure 3. Positive behavioral intentions by GID, SLB, and condition: Study 1b.

Note. SLB = status-legitimizing belief; GID = group identification.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

$p = .88$, $\Delta R^2 = .000$; Model: $F(3, 185) = 3.50$, $p = .02$, $R^2 = .05$.

For low SLB endorsers, greater GID was associated with more positive behavioral intentions in the *Neutral* condition, $b = .26$, $p = .006$; CI: [.08, .45]. There was no significant relationship between GID and behavioral intentions among low SLB endorsers in the *Diversity Structure* condition, $b = .11$, $p = .38$; CI: [-.13, .34]. For high SLB endorsers, GID did not significantly predict liking of the claimant in either the *Neutral* condition, $b = -.08$, $p = .40$; CI: [-.28, .11], or the *Diversity Structure* condition, $b = .08$, $p = .41$; CI: [-.12, .28] (see Figure 3).

Discussion: Study 1b

Study 1b revealed an interaction between SLBs and GID in women's evaluation of ingroup members who claim sexism. Consistent with hypotheses, we found that GID and SLBs interact to predict women's positive evaluations of claimants and their behavioral intentions toward them. Among women who rejected SLBs ($-1 SD$), higher GID was associated with more positive evaluations of the claimant and more positive behavioral intentions when there was no mention of diversity. However, among women who endorsed SLBs ($+1 SD$), GID was not associated with positive evaluations or with behavioral intentions in the *Neutral* condition. There was no interaction between GID and SLBs when identity safety cues were present. This suggests that GID only leads to increased positive evaluations and behavioral intentions when SLBs are low and identity safety cues are absent. In other words, in situations in which the motivation to support the system are low, group motivation is likely to take precedence.

Study 2

Study 2 was designed to replicate and extend Study 1 with a different low-status target group: Latino/as. As with

women, we tested whether there was an interaction between GID and SLBs in Latino/as' responses to ingroup members' discrimination claims. We hypothesized that motivation to support/justify the status hierarchy (i.e., SLBs) would conflict with Latino/as' motivations to support ingroup members (i.e., GID) when identity safety cues were absent. We expected that, like women, Latino/as' GID would only predict positive evaluations and behavioral intentions when SLBs were low and identity safety cues were absent. Replicating our findings among Latino/as would lend support to the notion that this conflict extends to other low-status groups in addition to women.

Method

Participants. In Study 2, 260 Latino/a Americans were recruited from a large public university to participate in exchange for course credit. We planned to collect 60 participants per cell and oversampled, anticipating individuals would fail the attention checks. After removing individuals who engaged in random clicking, 241 remained (gender: 84% female; age: $M = 21.96$, $SD = 3.72$).

Procedure. The procedure for Study 2 was the same as the previous study but the claimant name was changed to "Miguel Rivera," and he claimed to have experienced racial discrimination (adapted from Brady et al., 2015, Study 3).² Participants completed measures of positive evaluations of the claimant and positive behavioral intentions toward him. Participants then reported SLB endorsement and GID.

Measures. All measures were assessed on a Likert-type scale anchored at 1 = "strongly disagree" to 7 = "strongly agree." Correlations between measures can be found in Table 4.

The same measures of *positive evaluations of the claimant* ($\alpha = .91$, $M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.04$; range: 1.86-7.00), *positive behavioral intentions* ($\alpha = .78$, $M = 4.60$, $SD = 1.15$;

Table 4. Correlations Among Variables: Study 2.

	1	2	3
1. Positive evaluations			
2. Behavioral intentions	.62		
3. Status-legitimizing beliefs	-.26	-.30	
4. Group identification	.24	.27	-.36

Note. Bold indicates $p < .05$.

Table 5. Regression Summary: Study 2.

	Positive evaluations of the claimant			Positive behavioral intentions		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	ΔR^2	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	ΔR^2
Step 1			.08			.11
Condition (0 = Diversity)	.12	.13		.11	.14	
SLB (mean-centered)	-.30	.09		-.37	.10	
GID (mean-centered)	.09	.05		.11	.06	
Step 2			.02			.007
SLB \times GID	-.06	.05		-.01	.06	
SLB \times Condition	-.02	.18		.13	.19	
GID \times Condition	.08	.10		.15	.11	
Step 3			.02			.02
SLB \times GID \times Condition	-.21	.11		-.25	.12	

Note. Bold indicates $p < .05$. SLB = status-legitimizing belief; GID = group identification.

range: 1.40-7.00), and SLB ($\alpha = .72$, $M = 3.43$, $SD = 0.78$; range: 1.33-5.92) from the previous study were used. The GID measure from Study 1 was reworded for race (e.g., "Being a member of my racial group is an important

reflection of who I am"; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) ($\alpha = .70$, $M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.24$; range: 1.00-7.00).

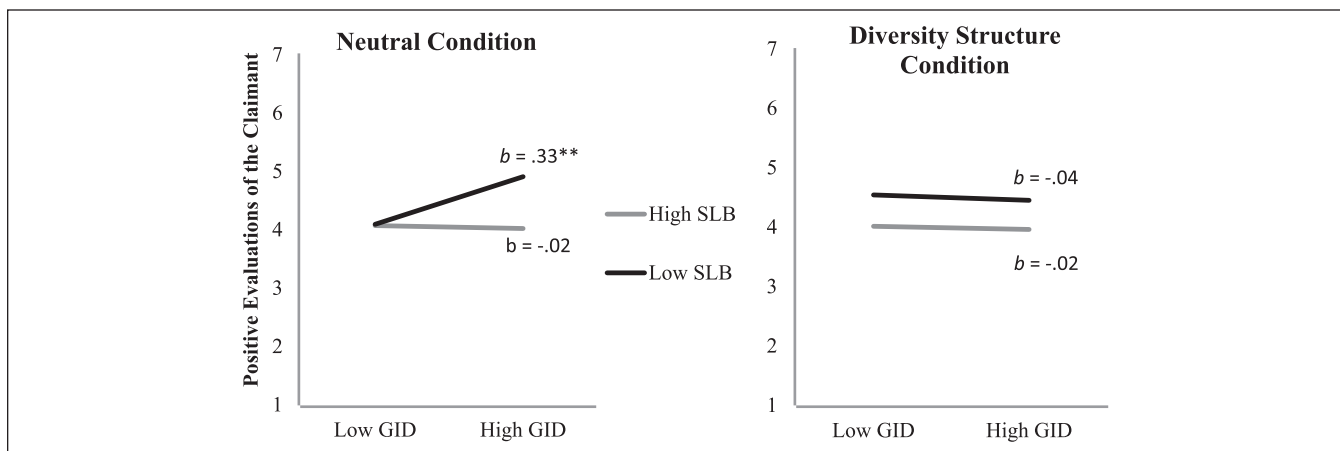
Results

Analysis strategy. We followed the same procedure set forth in Study 1.

Preliminary analyses. We first established that SLBs and GID were not affected by the manipulation: SLB: $t(239) = -0.02$, $p = .98$; CI: [-.20, .20]; GID: $t(239) = -0.22$, $p = .88$; CI: [-.29, .37].

Positive evaluations of the claimant. There was a significant three-way interaction between condition, SLBs, and GID, $F(1, 233) = 4.08$, $p = .045$, $\Delta R^2 = .02$; Model: $F(7, 233) = 4.00$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .11$, in predicting evaluations of the claimant. Full output is presented in Table 5. Consistent with hypotheses, the GID by SLB interaction in the *Neutral* condition was significant, $F(1, 110) = 4.87$, $p = .03$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$; Model: $F(3, 110) = 7.74$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .15$. There was no significant interaction in the *Diversity Structure* condition, $F(1, 123) = .59$, $p = .44$, $\Delta R^2 = .005$; Model: $F(3, 123) = 3.11$, $p = .03$, $R^2 = .07$.

When individuals were low in SLB endorsement, greater GID was associated with more positive evaluations of the claimant in the *Neutral* condition, $b = .25$, $p = .007$; CI: [.07, .43]. The association between GID and evaluations of the claimant among low SLB endorsers was not present in the *Diversity Structure* condition, $b = .02$, $p = .82$; CI: [-.15, .19]. When individuals were high in SLB endorsement, GID did not significantly predict liking for the claimant in either the *Neutral* condition, $b = -.01$, $p = .89$; CI: [-.19, .17], or the *Diversity Structure* condition, $b = .09$, $p = .37$; CI: [-.11, .28] (see Figure 4).

**Figure 4.** Positive evaluations of the claimant by GID, SLB, and condition: Study 2.

Note. SLB = status-legitimizing belief; GID = group identification.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

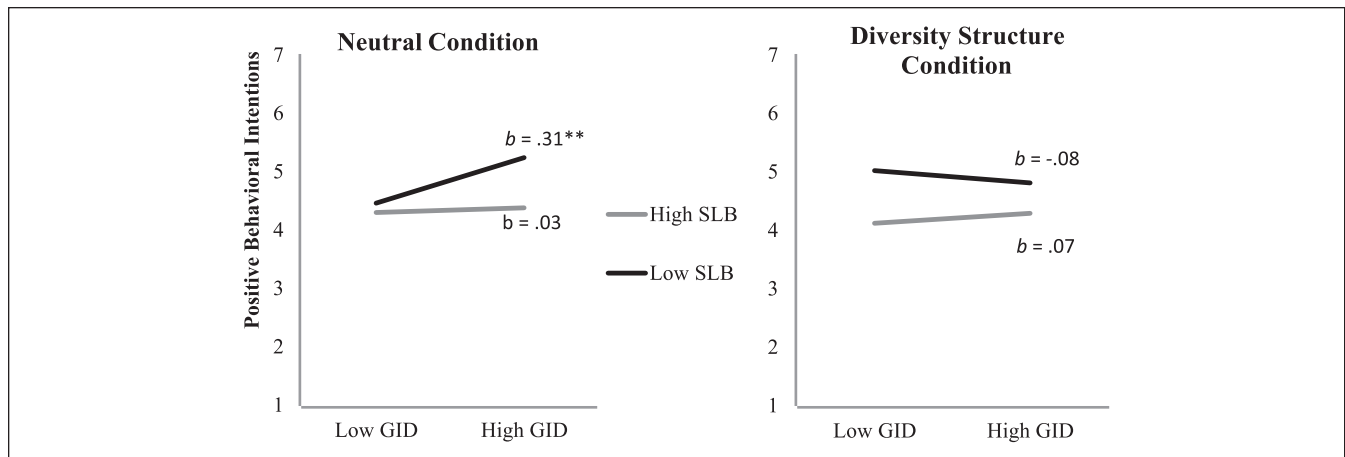


Figure 5. Positive behavioral intentions by GID, SLB, and condition: Study 2.

Note. SLB = status-legitimizing belief; GID = group identification.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Positive behavioral intentions. We found a significant three-way interaction between condition, SLBs, and GID, $F(1, 233) = 4.42, p = .04, \Delta R^2 = .02$; Model: $F(7, 233) = 5.01, p < .001, R^2 = .13$. Full output is presented in Table 5: GID \times SLB interaction in the *Neutral* condition, $F(1, 110) = 3.05, p = .08, \Delta R^2 = .02$; Model: $F(3, 110) = 8.32, p < .001, R^2 = .19$. There was no significant interaction in the *Diversity Structure* condition, $F(1, 123) = 2.23, p = .14, \Delta R^2 = .02$; Model: $F(3, 123) = 5.14, p = .002, R^2 = .09$. For consistency, we probed the three-way interaction and found the pattern of results we predicted.

When individuals were low in SLB endorsement, greater GID was associated with more positive behavioral intentions toward the claimant in the *Neutral* condition, $b = .30, p = .003$; CI: [.10, .50]. The association between GID and positive behavioral intentions among low SLB endorsers was not found in the *Diversity Structure* condition, $b = -.02, p = .80$; CI: [-.21, .16]. When individuals were high in SLB endorsement, GID did not predict positive behavioral intentions toward the claimant in either the *Neutral* condition, $b = .08, p = .42$; CI: [-.12, .28], or the *Diversity Structure* condition, $b = .14, p = .21$; CI: [-.08, .35] (see Figure 5).

Discussion: Study 2

In replication of Study 1, we found evidence that SLBs interact with GID in predicting Latino/as' evaluations of ingroup discrimination claimants. Only when individuals rejected SLBs was GID associated with increased liking of the claimant in the *Neutral* condition. Among Latino/as who endorsed SLBs, however, GID was unrelated to positive evaluations of the claimant. Together, this suggests that GID contributes to increased positive evaluations only when SLBs are low. Furthermore, GID was not associated with positive evaluations of the claimant when identity safety cues were present

(i.e., with the presence of a diversity award), suggesting that regardless of SLB endorsement, safety cues eliminate the role of GID. GID also predicted positive helping intentions toward the target but, as with positive evaluations, it was only when identity safety cues were absent and SLB endorsement was low.

Study 3

While Studies 1 and 2 suggest that high SLBs and identity safety cues negate the influence of GID on evaluations of ingroup claimants, it remains unclear whether SLBs truly reduce the influence of GID. In both previous studies, we used SLB endorsement to examine when GID would predict positive evaluations and helping intentions. But we did not directly manipulate individuals' SLBs to examine whether salience of SLBs influences the relationship between GID and evaluation of ingroup discrimination claimants. Thus, in Study 3, we sought to provide experimental evidence that SLBs eliminate the positive association between GID and evaluations of claimants (when identity safety cues are absent). By priming SLBs, we hoped to demonstrate experimentally that status-legitimizing motivations would take precedence over group motivations when evaluating ingroup discrimination claimants. We hypothesized that when SLBs were primed, GID would be unrelated to Latino/as' evaluations of, or helping intentions toward, ingroup discrimination claimants. We expected that when SLBs were not primed, GID would be positively associated with evaluations and helping intentions toward ingroup members.

Method

Participants. Participants were 198 Latino/a Americans recruited through an undergraduate research participant pool at a large public university in exchange for course credit. We

planned to collect 75 participants per cell and oversampled, anticipating some individuals would fail to complete the manipulation or incorrectly answer the attention checks. After removing individuals who engaged in random clicking and those who failed to complete the manipulation, 148 remained (gender: 84% female; age: $M = 21.96$, $SD = 3.72$).

Procedure. In Study 3, participants were recruited to participate in two ostensibly unrelated studies. First, they completed a study on “Cognitive Performance” which served as our manipulation of SLBs. The “Cognitive Performance” study employed an established and validated sentence unscramble task to prime SLBs (McCoy & Major, 2007; also see Laurin, Fitzsimons, & Kay, 2011, Study 4; Wellman, Liu, & Wilkins, 2016). In this task, participants were given 20 sets of five words and were instructed to make four-word sentences. They were given 5 min to complete as many of the 20 sentences as possible.

Participants were randomly assigned to either the *SLB Prime* or *Neutral Prime* condition. In the *SLB Prime* condition, participants’ unscrambled sentences highlighting SLBs (e.g., item: “effort positive prosperity leads to”; answer: “Effort leads to prosperity.”). In the *Neutral Prime* condition, participants’ unscrambled sentences unrelated to SLBs (e.g. item: “cakes she fluffy likes cats”; answer: “She likes fluffy cats.”). Participants then proceeded to the “Reactions to Current Media” study where they read the same discrimination claim article presented in the *Neutral* condition from Study 2. Only the neutral article was used in Study 3 as it was the only one that previously demonstrated the effect of GID. Participants then reported their positive evaluations of the claimant, positive behavioral intentions, and GID.

Measures. All measures were assessed on a Likert-type scale anchored at 1 = “strongly disagree” to 7 = “strongly agree.”

Measures were assessed with the same items from Study 2: *positive evaluations of the claimant* ($\alpha = .92$, $M = 4.69$, $SD = 0.91$; range: 2.50-7.00), *positive behavioral intentions* ($\alpha = .66$, $M = 4.63$, $SD = 0.97$; range: 1.60-7.00), and *GID* ($\alpha = .68$, $M = 3.91$, $SD = 1.21$; range: 1.00-7.00).

Results

Analysis strategy. We tested the two-way interaction between condition (SLB Prime vs. Neutral Prime) and GID (continuous) using hierarchical linear regression. On Step 1, the main effects of condition (0 = Neutral Prime) and GID (mean-centered) were entered. On Step 2, the two-way interaction (Prime Condition \times GID) was entered. We probed the interaction by examining the simple slopes of GID within the SLB prime condition.

Preliminary analyses. We verified that GID did not differ based on experimental condition, $t(146) = -0.25$, $p = .81$,

Table 6. Regression Summary: Study 3.

	Positive evaluations of the claimant			Positive behavioral intentions		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	ΔR^2	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	ΔR^2
Step 1			.10			.05
Condition (0 = Neutral Prime)	-.30	.16		-.12	.15	
GID (mean-centered)	.23	.07		.18	.07	
Step 2			.04			.03
GID \times Condition	-.38	.14		-.29	.14	

Note. Bold indicates $p < .05$. GID = group identification.

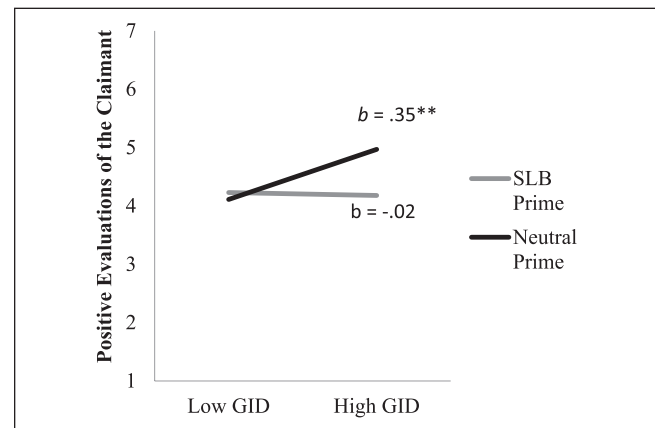


Figure 6. Positive evaluations of the claimant by GID and prime condition: Study 3.

Note. SLB = status-legitimizing belief; GID = group identification. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

allowing us to use it as a moderator of participants’ responses across condition.

Positive evaluations of the claimant. As predicted, there was a significant interaction between prime condition and GID, $F(1, 144) = 7.19$, $p = .008$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$; Model: $F(3, 144) = 8.01$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .14$. Full output is presented in Table 6. Greater GID was associated with more positive evaluations of the claimant in the *Neutral Prime* condition, $b = .35$, $p < .001$; CI: [.19, .51]. GID did not significantly predict liking for the claimant in the *SLB Prime* condition, $b = -.02$, $p = .87$; CI: [-.25, .2] (see Figure 6).

Positive behavioral intentions. As predicted, there was a significant interaction between prime condition and GID, $F(1, 144) = 4.36$, $p = .04$, $\Delta R^2 = .03$; Model: $F(3, 144) = 4.28$, $p = .006$, $R^2 = .08$. Full output is presented in Table 4. Greater GID was associated with more positive behavioral intentions in the *Neutral Prime* condition, $b = .27$, $p = .001$; CI: [.11, .43], but did not predict behavioral intentions in the *SLB Prime* condition, $b = -.02$, $p = .90$; CI: [-.24, .21] (see Figure 7).

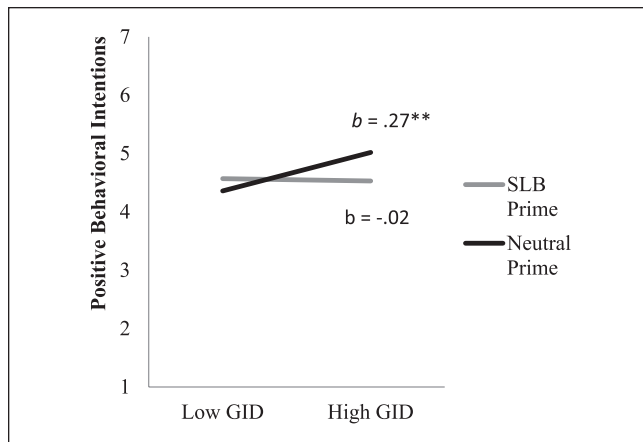


Figure 7. Positive behavioral intentions by GID and prime condition: Study 3.

Note. SLB = status-legitimizing belief; GID = group identification.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Discussion: Study 3

Study 3 provided experimental evidence that when in conflict, SLBs may take precedence over GID in shaping Latino/as' evaluations of ingroup racial discrimination claimants. As hypothesized, among Latino/as in the *SLB Prime* condition, GID did not predict evaluations or behavioral intentions toward the target. However, among Latino/as who completed the *Neutral Prime*, GID was associated with increased positive evaluations of and increased positive behavioral intentions toward the claimant. This suggests that beliefs about status legitimacy are central determinants of reactions toward low-status discrimination claimants.

General Discussion

Experiencing discrimination is often characterized as a painful and aversive experience (see Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014, for review). When an individual decides to address the discrimination by drawing attention to one's experience (e.g., making a claim), one is often met with mistrust, derogation, and further rejection (e.g., Kaiser & Miller, 2001). Often claimants will seek out support from other ingroup members, in hopes of finding a receptive audience (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Some claimants find support from ingroup members, and others may be met with apathy or even rejection (Garcia et al., 2005). While SLBs motivate individuals to reject and derogate low-status claimants (e.g., Kaiser et al., 2006), GID motivates support for ingroup claimants (Wilkins et al., 2017). The current studies illuminate how conflicting motivational (i.e., SLBs and GID) and situational cues (i.e., diversity awards) may influence ingroup responses to discrimination claimants.

For low-status group members, SLBs and GID motivate conflicting responses to ingroup discrimination claimants.

SLBs are theorized to motivate individuals to support and justify the status hierarchy in an effort to maintain a sense of control over their future outcomes (e.g., McCoy et al., 2013). This drive to protect the worldview is in direct conflict with motivation to help low-status ingroup members who claim discrimination. Discrimination claims threaten the belief that the system is merit-based and thus leads SLB endorsers to withhold support from claimants. Conversely, GID should motivate individuals to assist ingroup discrimination claimants, as the claims are in the group's interest.

We found evidence that SLBs and GID interact to influence low-status group members' responses to ingroup claimants. Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated that evaluations of ingroup claimants among both women (Studies 1a and 1b) and Latino/as (Study 2) depended on both the individual's endorsement of SLBs and GID. Our findings suggested that SLBs conflict with GID, in that only when SLBs were low did GID predict positive evaluations of the ingroup claimant. Furthermore, when SLBs were primed (Study 3), GID did not predict positive evaluations or helping intentions toward Latino/a claimants. In contrast, GID predicted evaluations of claimants when SLBs were not primed. Taken together, this suggests that beliefs about the status hierarchy will take precedence over GID when the two motivations conflict.

In general, GID and SLBs have a weak to moderate negative correlation among low-status group members within our studies. This suggests that while there are many individuals who are low and high in both GID and SLBs, generally there is a slight trend to identify more with one and less with the other. This may be because of the tendency for those who are high in GID to be more likely to perceive group-based discrimination (Major, Quinton, & Schmader, 2003), which may make it harder to maintain beliefs that the system is fair and legitimate without experiencing dissonance. Also, individuals who are low in both SLBs and GID are unlikely to experience any conflicting motivations, but rather apathy. Consequently, those who are low in both SLBs and GID may generally lack the motivation to either derogate or support ingroup discrimination claimants.

The current research also examined how the presence of diversity structures may affect reactions to ingroup discrimination claimants. Previous research has found that identity safety cues (e.g., mentioning institutional diversity structures and awards) delegitimize discrimination claims (Brady et al., 2015; Dover et al., 2014; Kirby, Kaiser, & Major, 2015). Consistent with this notion, in the current research, when the company was presented as having previously won a diversity award (i.e., identity safety cue), GID was no longer associated with positive evaluations of the claimant (Studies 1a, 1b, and 2) or with helping intentions (Studies 1b and 2), even when status legitimacy was low. This is consistent with the idea that the diversity policies are likely to signal identity safety, and thus, the motivation to protect the group should be less relevant in this context.

SLBs and GID are often examined separately (e.g., Kaiser et al., 2006; Kaiser et al., 2009) or one is examined while controlling for the effects of the other (e.g., Wilkins et al., 2017). The current research offers a more nuanced understanding of how GID may influence evaluations of ingroup discrimination claimants. This is particularly important as it helps us understand for whom and under what circumstances claimants are likely to receive support. Our research also suggests that the system-justifying messages that permeate American culture may prevent low-status individuals from more fully supporting ingroup members who claim discrimination. Examining these conflicting motivations may also be beneficial in a variety of other contexts in which group interests and status legitimacy interests are both likely to be relevant. For example, it is likely that we would see a similar interaction when exploring the likelihood that low-status individuals will engage in collective action. Our results suggest that only when SLBs are low would we expect GID to predict low-status individuals' propensity to protest.

While the current research provides new insight into low-status individuals' responses to ingroup discrimination claimants, it is not without its limitations. The current research focuses only on one overarching identity group at a time (e.g., women; Latino/as) rather than examining the possible intersection of multiple identities. While examining this intersection was beyond the scope of the current research, it may be the case that Latina women, for example, would respond differently to viewing a Latina woman experiencing sexism than they would to either a White woman or a Latino/a man. Although ultimately an empirical question, we imagine that perceived similarity to the claimant might affect GID, and thus responses. If a claimant is perceived as being similar to the social perceiver, it might increase GID in such a way that alters its relationship to SLBs. Future work could examine how intersecting group memberships and claimant similarity may affect group and system motivations.

Conclusions

Given that discrimination claims are routinely met with derogation and relatively negative reactions (e.g., Garcia et al., 2005; Kaiser & Miller, 2003; Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010), it is important to understand who is likely to provide support to claimants. Our research suggests that while GID predicts support for ingroup claimants, it only does so when SLBs are low. In essence, group motivation may only lead to supportive responses when it does not conflict with one's motivation to uphold the status hierarchy. While GID may motivate one to look out for the group, the current research suggests that when motivation to justify the system is strong, status legitimacy supersedes group interest. Thus, while Dr. Albright's quote suggests that our greatest strength is in our ability to lift up other ingroup members (despite the pressures to tear them down), our research suggests that motivations to justify

the system are likely to get in the way of our motivations to lift one another up.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: Data collection and manuscript preparation were supported by a Faculty-Student Grant from the California State University–San Bernardino (CSUSB) Office of Student Research and by a CSUSB Research Initiative for Scientific Enhancement (RISE-NIH: R25GM100829) fellowship to D. Kamiya Stewart.


Notes

1. In line with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the article was adapted so that participants' group membership (i.e., being a woman) was salient/relevant. That is, because our claimant had a female name and was claiming sexism, we expected that participants would consider their gender while reading the article and responding to the questions.
2. Similar to Study 1, the article was adapted so that participants' racial/ethnic membership (i.e., Latino/a) was salient/relevant. That is, because our claimant had a stereotypical Latino name and was claiming racial discrimination, we anticipated that participants would focus on their race while reading the article and responding to the questions.

Supplemental Material

Supplemental material is available online with this article.

ORCID iD

Joseph D. Wellman  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7234-4369>

References

- Abrams, D., Marques, J. M., Bown, N., & Henson, M. (2000). Pro-norm and anti-norm deviance within and between groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78*, 906-912. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.78.5.906
- Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K. D., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin, 130*, 80-114. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.130.1.80
- Brady, L. M., Kaiser, C. R., Major, B., & Kirby, T. A. (2015). It's fair for us: Diversity structures cause women to legitimize discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 57*, 100-110. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2014.11.010
- Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77*, 135-149. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.77.1.135

- Branscombe, N. R., Wann, D. L., Noel, J. G., & Coleman, J. (1993). In-group or out-group extremity: Importance of the threatened social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *19*, 381-388. doi:10.1177/0146167293194003
- Czopp, A. M., & Monteith, M. J. (2003). Confronting prejudice (literally): Reactions to confrontations of racial and gender bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *29*, 532-544. doi:10.1177/0146167202250923
- Dodd, E. H., Giuliano, T. A., Boutell, J. M., & Moran, B. E. (2001). Respected or rejected: Perceptions of women who confront sexist remarks. *Sex Roles*, *45*, 567-577. doi:10.1023/A:1014866915741
- Dover, T. L., Major, B., & Kaiser, C. R. (2014). Diversity initiatives, status, and system-justifying beliefs: When and how diversity efforts de-legitimize discrimination claims. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *17*, 485-493. doi:10.1177/1368430213502560
- Garcia, D. M., Reser, A. H., Amo, R. B., Redersdorff, S., & Branscombe, N. R. (2005). Perceivers' responses to in-group and out-group members who blame a negative outcome on discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *31*, 769-780. doi:10.1177/0146167204271584
- Garcia, D. M., Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., & Ellemers, N. (2010). Women's reactions to ingroup members who protest discriminatory treatment: The importance of beliefs about inequality and response appropriateness. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *40*, 733-745. doi:10.1002/ejsp.644
- Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *33*, 1-27. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.1994.tb01008.x
- Jost, J. T., Banaji, M. R., & Nosek, B. A. (2004). A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. *Political Psychology*, *25*, 881-919. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00402.x
- Jost, J. T., & Hunyady, O. (2002). The psychology of system justification and the palliative function of ideology. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *13*, 111-153. doi:10.1080/10463280240000046
- Kaiser, C. R., Dyrenforth, P. S., & Hagiwara, N. (2006). Why are attributions to discrimination interpersonally costly? A test of system- and group-justifying motivations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *32*, 1523-1536. doi:10.1177/0146167206291475
- Kaiser, C. R., Hagiwara, N., Malahy, L. W., & Wilkins, C. L. (2009). Group identification moderates attitudes toward ingroup members who confront discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *45*, 770-777. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2009.04.027
- Kaiser, C. R., Major, B., Jurcevic, I., Dover, T. L., Brady, L. M., & Shapiro, J. R. (2013). Presumed fair: Ironic effects of organizational diversity structures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *104*, 504-519. doi:10.1037/a0030838
- Kaiser, C. R., & Miller, C. T. (2001). Stop complaining! The social costs of making attributions to discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *27*, 254-263. doi:10.1177/0146167201272010
- Kaiser, C. R., & Miller, C. T. (2003). Derogating the victim: The interpersonal consequences of blaming events on discrimination. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *6*, 227-237. doi:10.1177/13684302030063001
- Kaiser, C. R., & Wilkins, C. L. (2010). Group identification and prejudice: Theoretical and empirical advances and implications. *Journal of Social Issues*, *66*, 461-476. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01656.x
- Kirby, T. A., Kaiser, C. R., & Major, B. (2015). Insidious procedures: Diversity awards legitimize unfair organizational practices. *Social Justice Research*, *28*, 169-186. doi:10.1007/s11211-015-0240-z
- Kluegel, J. R., & Smith, E. R. (1986). *Beliefs about inequality: Americans' views of what is and what ought to be*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Laurin, K., Fitzsimons, G. M., & Kay, A. C. (2011). Social disadvantage and the self-regulatory function of justice beliefs. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *100*, 149-171. doi:10.1037/a0021343
- Levin, S., Sidanius, J., Rabinowitz, J. L., & Federico, C. (1998). Ethnic identity, legitimizing ideologies, and social status: A matter of ideological asymmetry. *Political Psychology*, *19*, 373-404. doi:10.1111/0162-895X.00109
- Litman, L., Robinson, J., & Abberbock, T. (2017). TurkPrime.com: A versatile crowdsourcing data acquisition platform for the behavioral sciences. *Behavior research methods*, *49*(2), 433-442.
- Lowery, B. S., Unzueta, M. M., Knowles, E. D., & Goff, P. A. (2006). Concern for the in-group and opposition to affirmative action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *90*, 961-974. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.90.6.961
- Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *18*, 302-318. doi:10.1177/0146167292183006
- Major, B., Kaiser, C. R., O'Brien, L. T., & McCoy, S. K. (2007). Perceived discrimination as worldview threat or worldview confirmation: Implications for self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*, 1068-1086. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.6.1068
- Major, B., & O'Brien, L. T. (2005). The social psychology of stigma. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *56*, 393-421. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.56.091103.070137
- Major, B., Quinton, W. J., & Schmader, T. (2003). Attributions to discrimination and self-esteem: Impact of group identification and situational ambiguity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *39*, 220-231. doi:10.1016/S0022-1031(02)00547-4
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1970). *The German ideology* (C. J. Arthur, Ed.). New York, NY: International Publishers. (Original work published 1846)
- McCoy, S. K., & Major, B. (2007). Priming meritocracy and the psychological justification of inequality. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *43*, 341-351. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.56.091103.070137
- McCoy, S. K., Wellman, J. D., Cosley, B., Saslow, L., & Epel, E. (2013). Is the belief in meritocracy palliative for members of low-status groups? Evidence for a benefit for self-esteem and physical health via perceived control. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *43*, 307-318. doi:10.1002/ejsp.1959
- O'Brien, L. T., & Major, B. (2005). System-justifying beliefs and psychological well-being: The roles of group status and identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *31*, 1718-1729. doi:10.1177/0146167205278261

- Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Postmes, T., & Garcia, A. (2014). The consequences of perceived discrimination for psychological well-being: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin, 140*, 921-948. doi:10.1037/a0035754
- Schultz, J. R., & Maddox, K. B. (2013). Shooting the messenger to spite the message? Exploring reactions to claims of racial bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 39*, 346-358. doi:10.1177/0146167212475223
- Sears, D. O. (1983). The person-positivity bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 44*, 233-250. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.44.2.233
- Shelton, J. N., & Stewart, R. E. (2004). Confronting perpetrators of prejudice: The inhibitory effects of social costs. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 28*, 215-223. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.2004.00138.x
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139175043
- Son Hing, L. S., Bobocel, D. R., Zanna, M. P., Garcia, D. M., Gee, S. S., & Oraziotti, K. (2011). The merit of meritocracy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 101*, 433-450. doi:10.1037/a0024618
- Swim, J. K., & Hyers, L. L. (1999). Excuse me—What did you just say? Women's public and private responses to sexist remarks. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 35*, 68-88. doi:10.1006/jesp.1998.1370
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall Publishers.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Unzueta, M. M., Everly, B. A., & Gutiérrez, A. S. (2014). Social dominance orientation moderates reactions to Black and White discrimination claimants. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 54*, 81-88. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2014.04.005
- Wellman, J. D., Liu, X., & Wilkins, C. L. (2016). Priming status-legitimizing beliefs: Examining the impact on perceived anti-White bias, zero-sum beliefs, and support for affirmative action among White people. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 55*, 426-437. doi:10.1111/bjso.12133
- Wilkins, C. L., & Kaiser, C. R. (2014). Racial progress as threat to the status hierarchy: Implications for perceptions of anti-White bias. *Psychological Science, 25*, 439-446. doi:10.1177/0956797613508412
- Wilkins, C. L., Wellman, J. D., Flavin, E. L., & Manrique, J. A. (2018). When men perceive anti-male bias: Status-legitimizing beliefs increase discrimination against women. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 19*, 282-290. doi:10.1037/men0000097
- Wilkins, C. L., Wellman, J. D., & Kaiser, C. R. (2013). Status legitimizing beliefs predict positivity toward Whites who claim anti-White bias. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 49*, 1114-1119. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2013.05.017
- Wilkins, C. L., Wellman, J. D., & Schad, K. D. (2017). Reactions to anti-male sexism claims: The moderating roles of status-legitimizing belief endorsement and group identification. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 20*, 173-185. doi:10.1177/1368430215595109