RELATIONAL MOTIVATION IN PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION: THE CASE OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

by

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ABSTRACT

Relational Motivation in Prejudice and Discrimination: The Case of Social Exclusion

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Research on rejection has focused almost exclusively on rejection at the hands of unimportant others, and generally yielded findings that rejection is met with rejection. This research was designed to test the hypothesis that rejection from important others is not so easily dismissed, and may instead be met with attempts to reconcile along lines implicated by shared reality theory (Hardin & Higgins, 1996). Under situations of interpersonal threat like rejection, people may be motivated to act in ways that preserve an important relationship, including aligning their attitudes and behavior toward the views of the rejecter. Three experiments tested this hypothesis by assessing prejudicial behavior and attitudes as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations. Following a computer-mediated ball tossing game (Williams et al., 2000)—in which participants were either included or excluded by fellow players who were ostensibly anti-gay (Experiment 1) or anti-black (Experiment 2 and 3)—participant behavior and attitudes toward homosexuals and African Americans, respectively, were assessed. Relational motivation was manipulated by telling participants that they either shared or did not share the same birthday and favorite food with their partners, and that they would interact (or not) after the game. Across all three experiments, relational motivation eliminated or reversed the standard exclusion effect. Under conditions of low relationship motivation, exclusion induced anti-tuning of relationship-relevant attitudes, replicating the common finding that rejection elicits reciprocal rejection. In

contrast, under conditions in which relational motivation was just minimally greater—i.e., when participants were connected to their partners through a shared birthday or favorite food—exclusion elicited greater social tuning both behaviorally and attitudinally. Social tuning was especially strong for low self-esteem individuals, who are known to be especially anxious about social rejection and hypervigilant in the face of interpersonal threat. This research suggests that when the relationship is even minimally important, people may attempt reconciliation with their rejecters through social tuning, even when doing so means endorsing prejudice and discrimination.

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1. MOTIVATION TO AVOID REJECTION

A man's Social Self is the recognition which he gets from his mates…No more fiendish punishment could be devised, were such a thing physically possible, than that one should be turned loose in society and remain absolutely unnoticed by all the members thereof. If no one turned round when we entered, answered when we spoke, or minded what we did, but if every person we met 'cut us dead', and acted as if we were non-existing things, a kind of rage and impotent despair would ere long well up in us, from which the cruelest bodily tortures would be a relief; for these would make us feel that, however bad might be our plight, we had not sunk to such a depth as to be unworthy of attention at all.

- W. James (1890)

Although one may harbor no specific prejudices against Blacks, if a behavior is likely to lead to social rejection, in all (or many) other domains of social experience, he or she may not choose to behave in accordance with his or her attitudes.

- W. J. McGuire (1989)

William James (1890) declared in the *Principles of Psycholog*y that receiving validation and recognition from others is particularly important to the vitality of humans. He believed that not receiving either was more damaging to a person than any possible physical harm could ever be. Indeed, the motivation to avoid interpersonal rejection and maintain contact with others may be one of the most well-documented principles in psychology (Allport, 1937; Baumeister, Brewer, Tice, & Twenge, 2007; Baumeister & Bushman, 2008; Baumeister & Sommer, 1997; Carlson, 2008; Cooley, 1902; Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Festinger, Gerard, Hymovitch, Kelley, & Raven, 1952; Freud, 1930; James, 1890; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995; McGuire, 1989; Schachter, 1959; Sherif & Sherif, 1964; Sims & Patrick, 1936; Williams, 1997).

The motivation to maintain interpersonal relationships is consistent with evolutionary theory, which suggests that humans rely on the 'group' for safety and security, as well as satiation of many of their physical and emotional needs (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Twenge, 2005; Baumeister, Dori, & Hastings, 1998; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Baumeister, Twenge, & Nuss, 2002; Bettelheim, 1969; Bowlby, 1969; 1973; Brennan & Bosson, 1998; Brennan & Shaver, 1995; Carnelley, Pietromonaco, & Jaffe, 1994; Darwin, 1859; Feeney, 2005; Freud, 1922; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Leary, 2001; Mahdi, 1986; Simpson, 1990; Simpson, Ickes, & Grich, 1999; Simpson, Rholes, & Phillips, 1996; Sullivan, 1953; Zhang, 2009). The need to belong is therefore considered by some to be as important to survival as is the need to satisfy hunger (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

William McGuire (1989) argued that humans' motivation to avoid rejection by others is so strong that people would endorse bigoted attitudes towards Blacks if it means decreasing their chances for rejection. McGuire suggested that conformity and allegiance to others is a way of decreasing the potential for rejection. There is a well documented history in social psychology of people conforming to others' errant opinions (Sherif, 1937), attitudes (Asch, 1956), and orders (Milgram, 1963) as a way of ingratiating themselves with their interaction partners. These behaviors are commonly associated with social interaction because of the scrutiny and rejection that result from noncompliance (Back, 1951; Emerson, 1954; Festinger, 1950; Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950; Festinger & Thibaut, 1951; Gerard, 1954; Hardy, 1957; Kagan, 1961; Kruglanski & Webster, 1991; Marcus, Hamlin, & Lyons Jr., 2001; Marques, Abrams, & Serodio, 2001; Miller & Anderson, 1979; Schachter, 1951). The conformity literature illustrates the lengths to which people will go to ingratiate themselves with others, but the idea that people would reconcile themselves with those who reject them—let alone come to share the repugnant

attitudes of those who reject them as a way of ingratiating themselves—has not been demonstrated to date. Given the well-documented motivation to avoid rejection, the purpose of the current dissertation experiments was to identify conditions in which people would reconcile with sources of rejection, even at the cost of endorsing prejudice and discrimination toward relationship-relevant-outgroups.

1.1 Fifty years of research and one conclusion

The dissertation research focuses on reactions to social exclusion as a function of subtle interpersonal connections with rejecters. The importance of this research is predicated on the fact that rejection occurs across the lifespan, and that responses differ depending on the interpersonal connection and frequency of rejection (Williams & Gerber, 2005). Chronic rejection elicits numerous harmful effects, including the development of a variety of psychological disorders (Argyle, 1987; Blackhart, Eckel, & Tice, 2007; Baumeister, Brewer, Tice, & Twenge, 2007; Cacioppo & Hawkley, 2003; Cacioppo, Hughes, Waite, Hawkley, & Thisted, 2006; Coyne, 1976; Lemert, 1962; McGuire & Raleigh, 1986; Townsend & McWhirter, 2005; Williams, 1997). Effects of rejection also include measurable differences in sensitivities to rejection that, in turn, predict subsequent behavior (Ayduk, Gyurak, & Luerssen, 2008; Downey & Feldman, 1996; Downey, Freitas, Michaelis, & Khouri, 1998; Feldman & Downey, 1994).

The consensus of 50 years of research is that rejection almost invariably elicits disliking and aggressive responses toward sources of rejection (e.g., Pepitone & Wilpizeski, 1960; Maner, DeWall, Baumeister, & Schaller, 2007). Given the frequency with which rejection occurs, it is not plausible that all people will rid themselves of relationships where rejection occurs. Humans have a fundamental need to belong, and given the time and effort it takes to forge new relationships each and every time rejection occurs, exchanging relationships with each rejection

is an improbable solution. Although it may be more practical to try to repair social bonds with the source of rejection—at least when one is invested in continuing the relationship—little evidence exists supporting this claim.

The consensus in the rejection literature to date that rejection is met with rejection is based almost exclusively on research where rejection occurred at the hands of unimportant others whom one could easily do without. Little if any research has examined rejection at the hands of important, long-term relationships of consequence. In the few studies that have, findings indicated that effects of rejection are felt most prominently by victims who have an established relationship with rejecters (Williams, 2001; 2007). Yet here too, research has not adequately addressed reconciliation. For example, rejection experiences predict violence in romantic relationships (Gottman, 1980). That said, correlational evidence suggests that people may go to some lengths to preserve and repair long-term relationships. For example, people have been shown to look past partner transgressions to maintain cohesion in long-term relationships (Rusbult, Verette, Whitney, Slovik, & Lipkus, 1991).

Research inspired by shared reality theory (Hardin & Higgins, 1996) provides a way to test the claim that people may reconcile themselves with sources of rejection and a framework to understand when and why reconciliation will happen. Shared reality theory postulates that interpersonal relationships are established and maintained to the extent that beliefs are perceived to be shared (Hardin & Conley, 2001; Hardin & Higgins, 1996), and implies that shared attitudes are sources of connection in thriving relationships and unshared attitudes are sources of conflict. The maintenance of shared attitudes promotes continued investment in the relationship. Congruent with this implication, research shows that experiencing a high level of motivation to get along with another person prompts the alignment of attitudes toward the perceived attitudes

of the interaction partner in a phenomenon termed "social tuning" (Sinclair, Huntsinger, Skorinko, & Hardin, 2005a; Sinclair, Lowery, Hardin, & Colangelo, 2005b). Social tuning thus provides a means by which to gauge the motivation to get along with sources of rejection.

1.2 Responses to rejection

Although the current research seeks to demonstrate that rejection may be met with reconciliation with at least minimal relationship motivation, it is important to review the responses to rejection identified in research to date. These responses provide insight into the emotional upheaval caused by a rejection experience and also why many have openly discounted affiliative responses toward sources of rejection for so long. Since there is such explicit negativity following rejection—as demonstrated in an abundance of the literature—the focus on subtle methods for seeking reconciliation has been ignored.

Based on the current understanding of coping with rejection experiences, there is good reason to avoid rejection in the first place, but attempts to avoid rejection may not always be successful. If rejection does occur, there are legitimate reasons to make amends with rejecters so as to restore epistemic needs as well as needs for belonging, which shared reality theory postulates is achieved by aligning attitudes towards the source of rejection. The immediate effects of rejection are believed to be the main reason that people respond negatively to sources of rejection and even unrelated third parties. Yet despite the conclusion in the rejection literature that rejection elicits rejection, I argue that the very consequences of rejection identified in the literature to date suggest it is more practical to act in ways that alleviate the effects as quickly as possible, especially if the person is an important figure in one's life. In the context of the current experiments, making amends may be achieved by social tuning toward presumed attitudes of rejecters one is motivated to get along with.

1.2.1 Immediate consequences of a rejection experience. The immediate effects of rejection are well documented and provide a reasonable explanation for why people respond negatively to those who reject them. All the more interesting is the fact that these negative effects occur at the hands of people who are relatively unimportant. Given the multitude of effects created by unimportant others, it seems reasonable to expect that one might be doubly motivated to offset the experience of emotional pain when rejection occurs at the hands of important others. From the perspective of shared reality theory, one course of action for handling rejection by important others would be reconciliation through shared reality as indicated by social tuning. Relationship reparation may be a practical course of action because of the frequency with which rejection occurs by both important and unimportant others.

It is impractical to shun all those who shun since people report experiences of rejection from peers of all ages (Ayduk, May, Downey, & Higgins, 2003; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Downey et al., 1998; Leary et al., 1995; Williams, 2001; Williams & Zadro, 2001), spouses and loved ones (Baumeister & Dhavale, 2001; Baumeister & Wotman, 1992; Baumeister, Wotman, & Stillwell, 1993; Downey, Feldman, & Ayduk, 2000; Murray, Griffin, Rose, & Bellavia, 2003; Murray, Holmes, & Collins, 2006; Murray, Rose, Bellavia, Holmes, & Kusche, 2002; Williams, 2001; Williams, Shore, & Grahe, 1998), and even co-workers (Masclet, 2003; Schuster, 1996; Westin, 1981; Williams, 2001; Williams & Sommer, 1997). It is also well documented that people experience rejection from religion, culture, society, and even countries (Basso, 1972; Gruter, 1986). Rejection by peers, family, and others is thus a common theme of human experience (Williams & Gerber, 2005), and therefore must be met with resolve to repair and maintain relationships to avoid being alone.

Rejection has immediate consequences for fundamental needs of belongingness, meaningful existence, perceived control, and self-esteem (Williams, 1997; Williams, 2007). These needs are threatened regardless of whether rejecters are from a likeable ingroup or a despised outgroup (Gonsakorale & Williams, 2007). More generally, research shows that people who are rejected exhibit signs of anxiety, embarrassment, and feelings of worthlessness (Baumeister & Tice, 1990; Beck, Laude, & Bohnert, 1974; Geller, Goodstein, Silver, & Sternberg, 1974). Rejection also makes people confused, lethargic, numb to pain, and unable to make good decisions (Baumeister & DeWall, 2003; Baumeister et al., 2002; DeWall, 2007; Dewall & Baumeister, 2007; Twenge, Catanese, & Baumeister, 2002; Twenge, Catanese, & Baumeister, 2003; Williams, 2001; Williams & Sommer, 1997). Researchers have even gone so far as to claim that rejection impairs intelligent thought (Baumeister et al., 2002). The residual effects of rejection are felt most prominently by victims who have an established relationship with rejecters (Williams, 2001; 2007). This illustrates that rejection by anyone can create havoc in one's life, but the emotional turmoil is greater when rejection occurs at the hands of a close other.

Beyond research suggesting that rejection hurts in a figurative sense, there is physiological evidence to suggest that rejection is a painful (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003), stressful (Zadro & Williams, 2004), and cold experience (Zhong & Leonardelli 2009) in the literal sense. One line of research indicated that brain activation following exclusion is similar to pain responses following physical injury (Eisenberger et al., 2003). For example, greater activation in the anterior cingulate cortex (ACC)—specifically in the dorsal area associated with physical pain—has been observed after rejection experiences. One other area with greater activation was the right ventral prefrontal cortex (RVPFC)—an area commonly

associated with management of distress. It is no wonder researchers would venture so far as to characterize rejection as social pain due to its inherently painful and strikingly similar outcomes to physical injury (Dickerson, 2008; MacDonald & Leary, 2005; Panksepp, 2003; Zadro & Williams, 2006).

Another line of research highlights the important role of perception following rejection and how this perception may influence reactions to rejection. This involved the role of rejection in subtle and seemingly unimportant temperature estimations and food preferences. For example, participants reported a lower temperature in a room and showed a clear preference for warm foods after rejection when asked for approximate room temperature in one experiment and preference for different types of foods in another experiment (Zhong & Leonardelli, 2009). Sensitivity to warmth and preferences for "warm" demonstrates that people may compensate for rejection implicitly and seek to regain thwarted needs by whatever means necessary.

The evidence discussed may account for pro-social responses to rejection observed in the literature, but does not account for numerous experiments demonstrating anti-social responses. There must be other factors not currently addressed in the literature that differentiate between occurrences of pro- and anti-social responses. I argue that the importance of the relationship is one such factor. Taken together, rejection experiences not only take an emotional toll but also elicit physiological responses associated with future prevention. Perhaps these responses serve as the antecedent to actions that make it possible to ingratiate oneself with rejecters or new sources of affiliation.

1.2.2 Consequences of long-term rejection. The immediate effects of rejection are well documented and profound. Encountering rejection on a continued basis deteriorates one's ability to think clearly (Twenge et al., 2002) and make intelligent decisions (Baumesiter & DeWall,

2003; Baumeister et al., 2002). Reduced sensitivity to pain and lethargy may also hamper one's ability to feel empathy for others (DeWall, 2007; Twenge et al., 2003). Impairments to both decision-making skills and the ability to "feel"—exhibit emotion—following rejection make for a potent combination. It is thus no surprise that long-term exposure to rejection has been linked to many horrific acts of violence perpetrated in the United States and other European countries (Leary, Kowalski, Smith, & Phillips, 2003; Twenge & Campbell, 2003). This is by no means a suggestion that every person who is repeatedly scrutinized or rejected will commit such acts, but experimental evidence over many years—Arnold, Homrok, Ortiz, & Stowe, 1999; Ayduk, Mischel, & Downey, 2002; Blackhart, 2006; Buckley, Winkel, & Leary, 2004; Cairns, Cairns, Neckerman, Ferguson, & Gariepy, 1989; Cairns, Cairns, Neckerman, Gest, & Gariepy, 1988; Cantrell & Prinz, 1985; Coie, Dodge, & Kupersmidt 1990; Cornell, 1999; Kupersmidt & Coie, 1990; Leary, Twenge, & Quinlivan, 2006; Maner et al., 2007; Miller-Johnson, Coie, Maumary-Gremaud, Bierman, and the Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2002; Prinstein & La Greca, 2004; Schwartz, McFadyen-Ketchum, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1998; Twenge, Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Bartels, 2007; Twenge, et al., 2001; Twenge & Campbell, 2003; Twemlow et al., 2002; Twenge, Zhang, Catanese, Dolan-Pascoe, Lyche, & Baumeister, 2007; Warburton, Williams, & Cairns, 2006; Webster, 2008; Zakriski & Coie, 1996—suggests that aggression and anti-social acts toward perpetrators of rejection and others unrelated to rejection experiences is highly probable.

This evidence may explain why people actively aggress against unimportant others immediately following rejection experiences in the lab (Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001), and perhaps more violently following long-term exposure to rejection. It does not, however, make the attempt, or even hint at the possibility of affiliative responses toward sources

of rejection. I argue that this should indeed be considered because it not practical, nor would it be socially beneficial, for a person to fight rejection with rejection on a continued basis.

1.3 Willingness to get along following rejection

Given the negative effects of rejection, when might rejection be met instead with attempts for reconciliation with rejecters?

One reason for expecting reconciliatory behavior is based on the fact that not doing so makes little sense from an evolutionary perspective. To risk being shunned or not work oneself back into the graces of others following rejection would have led to immediate death in the early years of humans given the harshness of the environment, and indeed even today in infancy and early childhood. The need to belong is thus derived on the premise that both social and physical survival are inextricably bound. Belongingness under many, if not most conditions, implies continuity in relationships because of the implications on emotional and physical well-being (Coyne, 1976; Lemert, 1962; Ragan, 2005). To rid oneself of a relationship every time a rejection experience occurs—even today in our technologically advanced society—would be impractical given the effort required to re-invest in a new relationship. It is more practical to try and work things out with others to which one has a vested interest and deems a viable relationship partner.

In recent years, Roy Baumeister and colleagues have demonstrated that under some conditions people are motivated to reconnect, or get along, with new sources of affiliation unrelated to the rejection experience (Maner et al., 2007). For example, people were more likely to evaluate new sources of affiliation as more sociable, welcoming, and friendlier following a rejection experience, thus suggesting an attempt to restore social bonds lost to the rejection experience. They do, however, continue to identify limits to pro-social behavior toward rejecters

following rejection. From our perspective, the fact that people are willing to reconnect with others unrelated to the experience supports the idea that people are at the very least interested in maintaining relationships with others.

Before reviewing evidence supporting the hypothesis that people may be motivated for reconciliation with rejecters, it is necessary to first point out some important issues. First, the explanation for the conditionality of pro- and anti-social responses to rejection centers on taking into consideration the importance of the rejection relationship. Second, many findings suggest that getting along with rejecters is possible despite the fact that many more studies suggest that rejection is met with reciprocal rejection. Third, by integrating shared reality theory into the analysis of responses to rejection, a mechanism now exists to test the claim that people can be motivated to get along with rejecters, even when getting along means endorsing bigotry. Endorsing bigotry is an important component to demonstrating a motivation to get along because it affords the possibility of demonstrating that relationship maintenance motivations may be strong enough to trump other important social motivations, including the motivation to be fair and unbiased.

1.3.1 Pro- and anti-social responses to sources of rejection. Despite the claim that situations must exist in which people are motivated to get along with rejecters, the literature continues to offer many more findings suggesting that people do not like—nor do they want to work with—those who reject them (Bourgeois & Leary, 2001; Buckley, Winkel, & Leary, 2004; Cheung, 1999; Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996; Dittes & Kelley, 1956; Faulkner, 1998; Geller et al., 1974; Insko & Wilson, 1977; Jackson & Saltzstein, 1957; Leary et al., 2003; Leary, Springer, Negel, Ansell, & Evans, 1998; Leary et al., 1995; Maner et al., 2007; Pepitone & Wilpizeski, 1960; Predmore & Williams, 1983; Snoek, 1962; Thompson & Richardson, 1983;

Twenge et al., 2001; Twenge & Campbell, 2003; Williams, Govan, Croker, Tynan, Cruickshank, & Lam, 2002; Williams & Zadro, 2001; Zhou, Zheng, Zhou, & Guo, 2009).

Some research suggests that rejecting rejecters may be especially likely among those low in self-esteem (Dittes, 1959) or among those high in public self-consciousness (Fenigstein, 1979). For example, Leary et al (1995) found that when rejected people derogated the rejecters and did not want to continue working with them, thus linking the effect to a bolstering of the self in response to rejection. On the other hand, when there is vested interest in a relationship or group, it may be more difficult to rid oneself of the relationship and may prompt continued investment despite maltreatment. For example, Bourgeois and Leary (2001) demonstrated that when chosen last by a "team captain"—implying they were not well liked—participants rated the captain negatively and believed that not being chosen was a result of not having been acquainted with the captain. This suggests that participants may have believed that the rejection experience would not have occurred had they been given the opportunity to get to know the 'captain' and demonstrates the need to consider the importance of relationships in the context of rejection.

Two recent experiments were conducted to determine whether people were receptive to rejecters or new sources of potential affiliation following a rejection experience (Maner et al., 2007). In one experiment, participants were increasingly negative toward sources of rejection and were receptive to new sources of potential affiliation. Participants evaluated original sources of rejection as less sociable, more negative, and hostile. In contrast, they viewed new interaction partners as nicer and friendlier (Maner et al., 2007). In a second experiment, participants—through a rigged assignment—always evaluated the creativity of work and assigned monetary rewards based on the evaluations. The evaluations were made on the work of either the rejecter or novel interaction partner. Participants evaluated the rejecter's work as poorer in quality and

gave a smaller reward. Participants evaluated the new interaction partner's work as higher in quality and gave a larger reward.

Although most experiments to date demonstrate that rejection is met with rejection, there are circumstances in which conformity to the opinions of the rejecting group and an increased ingroup attraction is observed as a function of the reasons for rejection (Jackson & Saltzstein, 1957). For example, people reported a heightened desire to remain in a group following rejection, but only if they were previously told that the group was highly attractive. In addition, participants conformed more to the group's incorrect judgments on a complicated version of the Asch line judgment task following rejection than acceptance. Conformity to the errant opinions of a group may serve the function of preventing future rejection (e.g., Asch, 1956) and may function as a method for ingratiating oneself with an attractive group when rejection occurs (e.g., Jackson & Saltzstein, 1957). Conformity to attitudes of attractive groups following rejection is regarded as evidence that rejectees may be motivated to regain acceptance because compliance is inherently pro-social and provides little reason for further rejection. Pro-social behavior in response to rejection also includes the finding that participants desired to remain in a group following rejection, but only when told the rejection occurred for personal reasons (Snoek, 1962). Williams and Sommer (1997) found that when rejected, females—but not males—socially compensated for the rejection and worked harder on a subsequent group-based task than an individual task.

Taken together, this research suggests that there are situations in which people are willing to reconcile with rejecters, but none directly captures why or when reconciliatory action is taken. In the first example, the attractiveness of the group mattered. In the second example, the reasons for rejection mattered. In the third example, motivation to reconcile was specific to females and

their behavior on a group oriented task. From the converging evidence provided by these experiments, there is reason to believe that people can be motivated to get along with rejecters, but the motivating factor is still subject to debate. Through the integration of shared reality theory, the motivating factor is believed to be relational motivation. In other words, the degree to which an individual perceives a rejection-relationship to be important will dictate his or her response to the rejecter.

1.3.2 Pro- and anti-social responses to new sources of affiliation. Responses to unrelated third parties are connected to the current line of research because rejection-relationship-relevant attitudes—used as a gauge of motivation to get along—implicate ostensible outgroups who serve as potential sources of affiliation. If people socially tune their relationship-relevant attitudes toward rejecters with whom they are motivated to connect—as shared reality theory implies—then social tuning may be considered a pro-social conciliatory response toward sources of rejection. In contrast, if people anti-tune their relationship-relevant attitudes away from rejecters, then this may be considered an anti-social response toward sources of rejection.

It is important to point out that just as social tuning in the current context implicates pro- and anti-social responses toward rejecters, it also implicates pro- and anti-social responses toward unrelated third parties for which the literature also presents contradictory findings. While acting pro-socially toward rejecters by socially tuning toward relationship-relevant attitudes, people are technically acting anti-socially toward unrelated third parties by endorsing discriminatory attitudes toward them. In contrast, while acting anti-socially toward rejecters by anti-tuning away from relationship-relevant attitudes, people are technically acting pro-socially toward unrelated third parties by not endorsing discriminatory attitudes toward them. Taken

together, the dissertation research captures the essence of both pro- and anti-social responses toward rejecters and new sources of affiliation unrelated to the rejection experience.

Some notable examples of anti-social behavior toward people unrelated to rejection include participants being more likely to allocate hot sauce to new interaction partners—who declared their intolerance for spicy foods—following rejection (Warburton et al., 2006). In a second line of research, participants blasted unsuspecting third parties with loud bouts of noise following a rejection experience (Twenge & Campbell, 2003). There are other examples of people projecting their distaste for rejection onto unrelated third parties (Buckley et al., 2004; DeWall, Twenge, Gitter, & Baumeister, 2009; Kirkpatrick, Waugh, Valencia, & Webster, 2002; Leary, Twenge, & Quinlivan, 2006; Twenge et al., 2007; Twenge et al., 2001; Williams, Case, & Govan, 2002). Decreases in pro-social behavior have been linked to emotional insensitivities ("numbness") following rejection, which is argued to impair people's ability to self-regulate (DeWall & Baumeister, 2007).

In contrast to the anti-social behavior exhibited toward unrelated third parties, affiliative behaviors are also prominent in the literature. In one line of research, participants were more likely to engage in behavioral mimicry with new sources of affiliation following a rejection experience, which is relatively automatic (Lakin & Chartrand, 2003; Lakin, Chartrand, & Arkin, 2008). Behavioral mimicry is believed to indicate a willingness to get along and is an optimal method for regaining thwarted needs with minimal risk for further rejection (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; LaFrance, 1979). In a second line of research, participants expressed greater interest in meeting new people via a fictional friend service, desired to work in a new group relative to alone, and evaluated new interaction partners work as higher in quality and gave larger rewards following rejection than acceptance (Maner et al., 2007).

Other examples of pro-social behavior following rejection included increased attentiveness to social events from a student's diary (Gardner, Pickett, & Brewer, 2000), increased ability to differentiate between verbal and nonverbal cues (Pickett, Gardner, & Knowles, 2004; Pickett & Gardner, 2005), increased conformity to a new group's judgments on a perception task (Williams et al., 2000), decreased aggression toward new sources of affiliation (Twenge et al., 2007), requests to work with a new group of individuals (Predmore & Williams, 1983), and increased attention to smiling faces among others following interpersonal threat (DeWall et al., 2009).

There has been little consensus in the literature regarding why people respond favorably versus unfavorably to new sources of affiliation following rejection. It is argued here that the findings from the multitude of experiments showing affiliative and non-affiliative responses are a direct result of differences in context where rejection occurs. Thus far, no line of research has taken into consideration importance of the rejection-relationship. This dissertation research takes a uniquely different approach to understanding responses to rejection and I argue that relational motivation may account for the disparity in the literature regarding affiliative responses toward new sources of affiliation. Relational motivation will distinguish not only between pro- and anti-social responses toward sources of rejection, but by implication will also distinguish between pro- and anti-social responses toward new sources of affiliation, who are unrelated to the rejection experience.

1.4 Paradigm for motivating people to get along with rejecters

Social tuning along relationship-relevant attitudes was used in the dissertation experiments to capture whether people could be motivated to get along following manipulations of social rejection and relationship motivation. Although there are various paradigms used to

elicit feelings of rejection, a computer-mediated game of toss was chosen for the dissertation experiments because it affords the opportunity to elicit responses from an actual rejection experience occurring at the hands of ostensibly real interaction partners. In addition, the program provides the opportunity to convey characteristics of interaction partners to create certain impressions of them, which arguably factors into how people construe and respond to a rejection experience. Participants play a game of toss with two others and are either included or excluded depending on experimental condition. Participants are led to believe that the other characters in the game are actually fellow students participating in the game online. When asked to describe the gaming experience, people accurately perceive and appropriately describe the experience as being one of inclusion or exclusion, thus demonstrating the effectiveness of the game at producing situations of acceptance and rejection (Williams et al., 2000).

1.4.1 Ball-tossing game with prejudiced interaction partners. To demonstrate the utility of this paradigm, two previous experiments were conducted. These experiments showed that people can be motivated to get along with rejecters by attitudinally tuning toward relationship-relevant attitudes. The paradigm used in those experiments—and that will be used for the dissertation experiments—requires that a perspective be conveyed for the supposed interaction partners. The ostensible attitudes of fellow players are easily conveyed with questionnaires believed to be filled out by interaction partners, thus allowing also for the systematic manipulation of relational motivation with them. Hence, the paradigm provides a great deal of experimental control and affords the opportunity to differentiate between responses to even minimally relevant and irrelevant sources of rejection.

From the perspective of shared reality theory, people seek to achieve mutually shared understandings with others to the degree that they are motivated to establish or maintain a

relationship with them (Sinclair et al., 2005a; Sinclair et al., 2005b). People will align or tune their attitudes toward perceived attitudes of another to the degree that they are interested or otherwise obliged to maintain a relationship with their partner. In the previous experiments—and current dissertation experiments—relational motivation was minimally instantiated in some conditions by leading participants to believe that they shared a birthday or an idiosyncratic food preference with their partners (Finch & Cialdini, 1989; Miller, Downs, & Prentice, 1998; Prentice & Miller, 1992).

The utility of the computer mediated ball-tossing game in research on social interaction is that effects of rejection are ubiquitous, even when participants are told that the ball game players are fictional (Williams et al., 2002). Two previous experiments designed to test the hypothesis that relational motivation moderates reconciliation with rejecters demonstrates the effectiveness of the paradigm. Under conditions of high relationship motivation, participants exhibited a willingness to reconcile with their rejecters through social tuning of implicit relationship-relevant attitudes. The first experiment showed that women derogate themselves and the second experiment showed that whites become increasingly anti-black, but only when highly motivated to get along with sexist ball game players in one experiment and anti-black ball game players in another experiment.

1.4.2 Preliminary support in two experiments. The purpose of both preliminary experiments was to test whether the paradigm would motivate people to get along with rejecters (Noel, Cheung, & Hardin, 2009). In the first experiment, females played a game of toss under the impression that the other players were fellow students whose views toward women were at least moderately gender-traditional. Females were also led to believe that they either (a) shared self-relevant characteristics with the ball game players and would continue working with them later

in the experiment, or (b) shared nothing and would not continue working with them during the experiment. Following exclusion (or inclusion) by ostensibly gender-traditional fellow players, participants worked on an ostensibly unrelated computer sorting task. This task was actually the implicit association test (IAT)—a common measure of implicit attitudes that measures cognitive associations (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998)—designed to assess the degree to which women associate traditional sex-typed gender roles with the self.

Results indicated that women more easily associated gender-traditional attributes with the self (i.e., home, parents, children, relatives) when they were excluded than included by ostensibly gender-traditional partners, but only when they were motivated to remain connected with those partners. When unmotivated to remain connected with gender-traditional partners, women less easily associated gender-traditional attributes with the self after exclusion than inclusion. This finding demonstrates that responses to rejection are qualitatively different depending on the importance of relationships with rejecter(s) and that people may well be motivated to reconcile with rejecters through social tuning when they are at least minimally connected to them. In addition, the finding demonstrates that shared reality theory is useful in predicting when rejection will be met with rejection and when rejection will be met with reconciliation. Under conditions of low relationship motivation—conditions that characterize the vast majority of research on rejection—findings from the rejection literature were replicated. Women anti-tuned implicit self-concepts away from the gender-traditional attitudes of their fellow players more if they were excluded than included. In contrast, the minimal relationship connection induced by sharing a birthday or favorite food along with the promise of future interaction was sufficient to elicit a kind of reconciliation response. Women tuned their implicit

self-concepts toward the gender-traditional attitudes of their fellow players more if they were excluded than included.

The second experiment replicated this effect on the dimension of racism. Following the ball-tossing game with fellow players who were ostensibly racist, white participants completed an implicit association test used to assess attitudes towards African Americans. White participants more easily associated negative attributes with names of African Americans (i.e., agony, terrible, horrible, nasty) when they were excluded than included by their partners, but only when they were at least minimally connected to them. When unmotivated to remain connected with their partners, whites less easily associated negative attributes with names of African Americans after exclusion than inclusion. Here again, under conditions of low relationship motivation, results replicated the predominant finding identified in the rejection literature in which rejection is met with rejection. However, under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation, rejection was met with reconciliation, even though it required the implicit endorsement of anti-black attitudes.

The underlying theme to both preliminary experiments is that participants rejected by people holding objectionable attitudes reject the attitudes if they are unmotivated to maintain the relationship, but adopt the attitudes—even self-defaming or prejudiced attitudes—when they are motivated to maintain the relationship. Based on the idea that shared experience is what builds social bonds (i.e., Hardin & Higgins, 1996), this is an indication these people were trying to re-establish some rapport with those who treated them poorly in a simple ball-tossing game.

2. OVERVIEW OF CURRENT EXPERIMENTS

To test the hypothesis that people cope with rejection by ingratiating themselves with rejecters by aligning their attitudes with rejection-relationship-relevant attitudes, three experiments evaluated behavioral and attitudinal tuning as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations. Sharing self-relevant characteristics with others motivates liking and is the basis for important relationships (Finch & Cialdini, 1989; Miller et al., 1998; Prentice & Miller, 1992). Rejection threatens social bonds established and maintained through perceptions that beliefs and attitudes are shared. Therefore, people should be motivated to continue relationships with important others where self-relevant characteristics are shared despite having experienced rejection. Motivation to remain connected will be demonstrated by the endorsement of relationship-relevant attitudes—behaviorally and attitudinally—and lack of motivation to remain connected will be demonstrated by the reverse.

The behavioral measures used in the dissertation experiments demonstrate that a willingness to remain connected with rejecters is not confined to implicit tuning of attitudes, but also involves behaviors documented in the literature to vary as a function of rejection (e.g., Twenge et al., 2007; Williams, 2007).

In Experiment 1, the behavioral measure of how long participants interact with members of a relationship-relevant-outgroup was used to assess motivation to reconcile with rejecters. In Experiment 2, the behavioral measure of how much money participants donate to a representative organization of a relationship-relevant-outgroup was used to assess motivation to reconcile with rejecters even when there was no mention of interaction with members of a relationship-relevant-outgroup. In Experiment 3, the behavioral measure of how close participants sit to a member of a relationship-relevant-outgroup was used to assess motivation to

reconcile with rejecters to replicate both implicitly and explicitly based findings from previous experiments. It was also used to demonstrate that when prompted with physical interaction, not another ball-tossing game or a hypothetical donation, participants uphold the relationship-relevant attitudes (or not) even if the behavior is displayed publicly for the experimenter and supposed new interaction partner to see. Across all three experiments, it was hypothesized that people low in relationship motivation cope with rejection by rejecting the attitudes of the rejecters and behaviorally ingratiating themselves with the rejection-relationship-relevant-outgroup, whereas people high in relationship motivation cope with rejection by behaviorally distancing themselves from a member of the same outgroup and ingratiating themselves with rejecters.

3. EXPERIMENT 1

To examine the hypothesis that participants will exhibit motivation to remain connected with ostensibly anti-gay conservatives who have rejected them in an initial ball-tossing game, participants were asked to play a second ball-tossing game with ostensibly homosexual players and were measured on how long they interacted with them. The length of time participants chose to interact with the ostensibly homosexual ball game players was used as one of the dependent measures because it is believed to engage both implicit and explicit thought processes. This allowed for the assessment of perspective-taking aside from the implicit measures used in previous experiments. In addition, alternative measures were used to demonstrate that even under minimal conditions of relational motivation people can be motivated toward conciliatory action with anti-gay conservative game players through explicit perspective taking (i.e., index of homophobia, social dominance orientation).

For the rejection manipulation, Cyberball—an interactive ball-tossing game—was used for the purposes of including or excluding participants. Rejection was manipulated by whether or not participants were thrown the ball during the game. Rejecting participants with Cyberball has been shown to have strong effects on psychological and emotional well-being (e.g., Williams et al., 2000). To manipulate relationship motivation, self-relevant characteristics (i.e., birthday, favorite food) were utilized because past research has shown that something as trivial as sharing a birthday motivates people to get along with others (e.g., Sinclair et al., 2005a). In terms of rejection, motivating people to get along with rejecters by sharing self-relevant characteristics is believed to provide a mechanism by which we can empirically test whether people experience a heightened motivation to achieve shared reality by socially tuning toward relationship-relevant attitudes, thus challenging the conclusion of more than 50 years that rejection prompts rejection.

3.1 Method

3.1.1 Participants. Participants were recruited from the Brooklyn College subject pool in which Psychology 1.1 students receive partial course credit for their participation in psychological research. One hundred-fourteen participants (72 female, 42 male) took part in the experiment, however our interest was to determine whether heterosexual participants socially tune toward relationship-relevant anti-gay conservative attitudes behaviorally and explicitly as a function of rejection and relationship motivation. Therefore, only the 85 individuals (49 female, 36 male) who reported being heterosexual—not homosexual or bisexual—were included in data analyses. The average age of participants was 20.65 years (SD = 4.24). Of the sample purported to be heterosexual, 1 male participant was excluded from data analyses for not following directions during the second ball-tossing game.

3.1.2 Design. Optional time spent playing Cyberball with homosexuals (the relationship-relevant-outgroup), explicit attitudes implicating homosexuals (i.e., index of homophobia), socially dominant views toward lower status groups, and self-reported number of homosexual friends were assessed as a function of rejection and relationship motivation in a 2 (Rejection: inclusion, exclusion) x 2 (Relationship motivation: low, high) between-subjects factorial design.

3.1.3 Procedure and Materials. Participants were recruited for a study of "online interaction and group compatibility". Participants were told in advance that the experiment involved playing an online ball-tossing game with other participants and completing brief questionnaires regarding interests, feelings, and opinions. Upon arrival to the lab, participants were randomly assigned to one of two rejection conditions (i.e., inclusion, exclusion) and one of two relationship motivation conditions (i.e., low, high).

Each participant was seated before a computer in an individual cubical, or room within the larger laboratory room. Because multiple participants took part in the study at any one time and given that there are ten individual cubicles within the laboratory, the cover story that they and others were taking part in a study on group compatibility was enhanced. Upon written consent, participants were also given a verbal overview of the tasks that they would be asked to fulfill as a part of the experiment. Participants were told that they would fill out a brief questionnaire regarding general interests following which they would take part in an online interactive ball-tossing game with other Brooklyn College students and fill out brief questionnaires.

Manipulating relationship motivation and creating impressions of partners. Before beginning the computer game of Cyberball, participants first completed a "general questionnaire" designed to manipulate relationship motivation with those ball game players. The general questionnaire included questions about one's favorite television show, favorite movie, birth date, home state (country), favorite food, favorite music, and how many times per week they eat out (see Appendix 1 for an example of format and items used).

In a procedure adapted from Sinclair and colleagues (2005a), relationship motivation was manipulated through Cyberball partner characteristics recorded on their general questionnaires. Once participants completed the general questionnaire, the experimenter took the questionnaire and informed the participants to sit briefly while they checked on other participants. During this time, experimenters filled out general questionnaires for the supposed other players according to a pre-determined script. Depending on condition, participants either shared or did not share commonalities with their fellow players. In the high relationship motivation condition, the birth date of the participant was copied onto the questionnaire of the first ball game player and the

favorite food of the participant was copied onto the questionnaire of the second player. In the low relationship motivation condition, all responses for the supposed ball game players were completed according to a pre-determined script, making sure that no responses were the same. To account for the fact that pre-determined responses may conflict with the responses of the participant, alternative responses were made available to remedy any such occurrence. However, at no time during the experiment did the responses of participants in the low relationship motivation condition conflict with those predetermined responses for the supposed ball game players.

Once completed, the experimenter returned to the participant with the two completed general questionnaires, one with "#83" and the other with "#84" written on it. Participants were also presented with two completed questionnaires with the label "Ideology", which participants did not fill out. These also had "#83" and "#84" written on them to distinguish between whom the questionnaires belonged to. The second single-page questionnaire had questions from the right-wing authoritarianism scale (e.g., Altemeyer, 1981) and questions regarding political orientation and religiosity (see Appendix 2 for an example of format and items used). These questionnaires—presented to participants as if completed by the other players—were designed to convey that the others were moderately to extensively conservative and held anti-gay attitudes. For example, one of the statements on this questionnaire was "gays and lesbians are just as healthy and normal as anybody else" and level of agreement was rated on a -4 to +4 scale with "-4" indicating "very strongly disagree" and "+4" indicating "very strongly agree". To illustrate moderately conservative views, the response to this statement was "-2", indicating moderate disagreement and implying that gays and lesbians are not as healthy and normal as anybody else. To illustrate extensively conservative views, the response to the aforementioned statement was

"-4", indicating very strong disagreement and implying that there is no tolerance whatsoever for comparing gays and lesbians as similar in health to heterosexuals.

After presenting participants with both sets of questionnaires, participants were told that it may be of interest for the participant to know the interests of the other two students with whom they would play the online ball-tossing game. Participants were then instructed to take a few moments to look over the two sets of questionnaires before they started playing the ball-tossing game.

Just prior to the actual start of the game, to complete the second component of the relationship motivation manipulation, participants were told that they either would (high relationship motivation) or would not (low relationship motivation) interact again with the other players in another game later in the experiment.

Rejection manipulation. Once participants looked over the questionnaires, the experimenter turned on the computer monitor to display instructions for Cyberball, a computer mediated ball-tossing game adapted from Williams et al. (2000), in which participants 'click' on the name of whichever of the two players they want to throw the ball to. The names for the two supposed players, when entered into the actual ball-tossing game, were "Player 1" (left side of the screen) and "Player 3" (right side of the screen). Each of the players was represented by a white animated figure. In actuality, the two players are computer operated characters that behave according to an experimental condition (see Appendix 3 for a still image of the ball-tossing game). The name for participants was "Player 2" (center of the screen) and they were represented by a hand to imply a first person perspective during the game. Participants were instructed to play through the game and when they were finished to open the door so that the experimenter

knew they were finished. The typical number of throws used in a standard rejection experiment is 30-40 and takes approximately three minutes to complete.

Excluded participants initially receive the ball just once from each of the other players and then do not receive the ball for the duration of the game. Included participants receive the ball an equivalent amount of throws from both ball game players.

Measuring effects of rejection and relationship motivation. Responses to the experimental manipulations were assessed first by the length of time participants played a new—optional—game with different partners whose ostensible sexual orientation made them seemingly incompatible with their initial, possibly homophobic partners. Following the initial game, as a part of the cover story, participants were told by the experimenter that one of their original partners had to use the restroom and in the interest of time would they be willing to play another game with some different players before completing the final component of the first group compatibility study. If they agreed, participants were given two new questionnaires to supplement their knowledge of their new Cyberball partners. The demographic questionnaires provided were used to convey that one of the new players was sensitive to revealing his or her sexual orientation (i.e., writing "none of your business") and self identified as having "mostly" homosexual friends. By contrast, the second player revealed that he or she was homosexual and had "all" homosexual friends (see Appendix 4 for an example of format and items used). If participants disagreed, they would be allowed to skip this part of the study and move on to the demographic questionnaire which consisted of a series of questionnaires that will be discussed below. However, during the experiment no participants disagreed with playing the second ball-tossing game, so all participants took part in the second ball-tossing game.

Participants were then given instructions for the second game, which were identical to the first with one exception. Participants were instructed to play the game for as long as they wanted and when they decided they were finished they should open the door and let the experimenter know. Participants could play for a duration of up to 200 throws, which when testing prior to the experiment took on average 10 minutes. Cyberball software comes pre-equipped with timing mechanisms that allow for an accurate assessment of how long participants play the game to the nearest millisecond. The data from the ball-tossing game were exported into an Excel file and categorized according to the participant number entered into the computer prior to the start of the second ball-tossing game.

Following the early termination or full completion of the ball-tossing game, participants were given a demographic questionnaire which was a compilation of questionnaires included to identify the overall effect of our manipulations. Specifically, these questionnaires were included to indicate tuning or anti-tuning of relationship-relevant anti-gay attitudes (see Appendix 5 for an example of format and items used).

Positive and negative affect. It was of interest to determine if overall affect following the rejection experience provided an added understanding for this perspective taking. Based on our own previous findings, we examined whether affect following a rejection experience mediates the level of perspective taking, although previous research has shown almost exclusively that affect does not vary as a function of rejection manipulations, nor does it mediate prosocial or antisocial responses to rejection (Maner et al., 2007; Twenge et al., 2001; Twenge et al., 2002; 2003; Twenge et al., 2007). Driving this exploration of affect is the fact that previous findings were based on alternative methods for inducing feelings of rejection. In the experiments,

participants were told depending on experimental condition that everyone (inclusion) or no one (exclusion) chose to work with them on a subsequent task (e.g., Twenge et al., 2001).

Overall affect was measured using a 20-item scale (PANAS, Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). The PANAS is a measure of affect that is widely used and which provides markers of both positive affect (e.g., "interested") and negative affect (e.g., "distressed"). Responses to the items were made on a scale ranging from 1 to 5, with "1" being "not at all" and "5" being "extremely", to indicate how strongly participants felt each emotion directly following inclusion or exclusion during the ball-tossing game.

Despite using an alternative method for inducing feelings of rejection (i.e., Cyberball), the positive and negative affect scale (PANAS; Watson et al., 1988) was not sensitive to the rejection and relationship motivation manipulations. There were no rejection by relationship motivation interaction effects, nor were there any main effects of rejection or relationship motivation in all three experiments. Hence, there will be no further discussion of affect.

Implicit self-esteem. A measure of implicit self-esteem was included as a way of understanding if an index of social integration might moderate effects of exclusion. People tend to hold positive attitudes about things that closely reflect who they are as individuals even though they do not knowingly hold such attitudes. This includes holding much more favorable attitudes towards letters that appear in one's own name relative to letters that do not (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Nuttin, 1985, 1987). Favorable attitudes toward letters in one's name have proven effective at predicting important life decisions, explicit attitudes, and other related behaviors outside the context of rejection (Jones, Pelham, Carvallo, & Mirenberg, 2004; Pelham, Mirenberg, & Jones, 2002). The name-letter effect may account for social tuning and anti-tuning of relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes because high self-esteem individuals are guarded

and preserve integrity in the face of interpersonal threat, while low self-esteem individuals tend to be more malleable and act in ways to restore self-esteem (Bosson, Brown, Zeigler-Hill, & Swann Jr., 2003).

Implicit self-esteem was measured by having participants evaluate the twenty-six letters of the alphabet on overall likeability (Kitayama & Rarasawa, 1997). Responses to each letter of the alphabet were made on a scale of 1 to 7, with "1" indicating "I dislike it very much" and "7" indicating that "I like it very much", to rate how much participants liked each letter of the alphabet.

Index of homophobia (IOH). Given that fellow players were anti-gay, an explicit measure of homophobia was included, which was designed to determine how much (or little) discomfort people would experience in a variety of contexts with homosexuals. This questionnaire was important because it provided an opportunity to demonstrate whether participants tuned toward or away from the first dimension of attitudes held by the supposed ball game players. Social tuning toward the ostensibly anti-gay game players would be demonstrated by higher scores on the scale, which translate to mean a higher degree of homophobia. In contrast, anti-tuning from the anti-gay attitudes of the game players would be demonstrated by lower scores on the scale, which translate to mean a lower degree of homophobia and pro-gay sentiment.

Anti-gay attitudes were measured on a twenty-five-item scale (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980), including items like "if a member of my sex made a sexual advance towards me, I would feel angry." Responses to the items were made on a scale of 1 to 7, with "1" indicating "strongly disagree" and "7" indicating "strongly agree", to rate participants' level of agreement with each of the 25 statements.

Social dominance orientation (SDO). The second implication of the supplemental questionnaire labeled "Ideology" was that the supposed ball game players were moderately to extensively conservative people who were anti-gay. In the political arena of United States politics, people who identify as conservatives often associate themselves with socially dominant and less egalitarian policies (Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009). Therefore, a converging measure of political attitudes was chosen to examine the extent to which participants socially tuned toward or away from relationship-relevant conservative attitudes of the game players. This includes a converging measure of social dominance (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). This measure has been shown to be a reliable predictor of positivism toward hierarchical group relations and economic conservatism, which further promotes dominance and inequality among lower status groups. This measure was included because of its capability to predict racially motivated attitudes, which is relevant to the anti-gay sentiment held by the ball game players. Socially tuning toward the ostensibly conservative views of the game players would be demonstrated by higher scores on the measure, indicating a higher degree of social dominance. In contrast, anti-tuning from the conservative attitudes of the game players would be demonstrated by lower scores on the measure, indicating a lower degree of social dominance.

Social dominance orientation was measured on an eight-item scale (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994), including items like "some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups." Responses to the items were made on a scale of 1 to 7, with "1" indicating "very negative" and "7" indicating "very positive", to rate how negatively/positively participants construed each of the eight statements.

Demographics. Following the target measures, participants answered questions related to demographics such as year in school, major/minor in college, age, gender, religious orientation,

ethnicity, primary language, sexual orientation, security with sexuality, and how many homosexual friends they have.

The number of homosexual friends was assessed to determine if participants' responses would mirror social tuning of attitudes expected on other behavioral and explicit measures of anti-gay attitudes. Number of homosexual friends was measured by simply asking "how many friends do you have who are homosexual." Responses to the item were made on a scale of 0 to 4, with "0" indicating "none" and "4" indicating "all", to rate how many homosexual friends participants have.

Following the completion of the demographic questionnaire, participants were probed for suspicion of the methods used in the experiment. This was done by asking participants the following four questions: 1) Were all questions clear and easy to understand, 2) Did a friend or classmate tell you anything specific about this study before it began, 3) Was there anything that occurred during the course of the study that you think may have altered your responses, and 4) What do you think this research was about. Based on responses to these questions, no suspicions were deemed serious enough to compromise the integrity of the experiment. Participants were then fully debriefed and thanked for their participation.

3.2 Results

Primary analyses consisted of a series of 2 (Rejection: inclusion, exclusion) x 2 (Relationship Motivation: low, high) between-subjects analyses of variance (ANOVAs) on length of subsequent interaction with ostensibly homosexual fellow players in a second game. In addition, participants indicated their anti-gay attitudes, endorsement of socially dominant views, and number of homosexual friends.

3.2.1 Length of interaction with ostensible homosexuals. Relationship motivation moderated behavior toward a relationship-relevant-outgroup by the length of time participants played the second ball-tossing game with ostensibly homosexual players, as indicated by a significant rejection by relationship motivation interaction, $F(1, 81) = 4.70$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .05$. As shown in Figure 1, participants unmotivated to remain connected with original anti-gay game partners played longer in a subsequent game with ostensibly homosexual players after excluded ($M = 7.09$ min, $SD = 2.24$) than included ($M = 4.74$ min, $SD = 2.86$), $F(1, 81) = 7.31$, $p = .008$, but played an equivalent amount of time whether excluded ($M = 5.56$ min, $SD = 2.92$) or included ($M = 5.85$ min, $SD = 3.05$) when they were motivated to remain connected with original players in the initial game, $F < 1$, n.s.. Although high relationship motivation did not induce a significant reconciliation effect as a function of rejection, the result nevertheless demonstrates that the common finding of rejection eliciting rejection within unimportant relationships is eliminated under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation. In addition, there was a marginally significant main effect of rejection in which participants played longer in the subsequent game after exclusion ($M = 6.30$ min, $SD = 2.70$) than inclusion ($M = 5.34$ min, $SD = 2.98$) in the initial game, $F(1, 81) = 2.86$, $p = .09$, $\eta^2 = .03$, and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: $M = 5.69$ min, $SD = 2.95$; low: $M = 6.09$ min, $SD = 2.75$), $F < 1$, n.s..

Further simple effect tests revealed that although participants played for an equivalent amount of time whether motivated ($M = 5.85$ min, $SD = 3.05$) or unmotivated ($M = 4.74$ min, $SD = 2.86$) to maintain relationships with original anti-gay game partners who included them in the initial game, $F(1, 81) = 1.24$, $p = .27$, participants played for a marginally shorter period of time in the subsequent game with ostensibly homosexual players when motivated ($M = 5.56$ min, SD

= 2.92) than unmotivated (M = 7.09 min, SD = 2.24) to maintain relationships with original players who excluded them in the initial game, $F(1, 81) = 3.46$, $p = .06$.

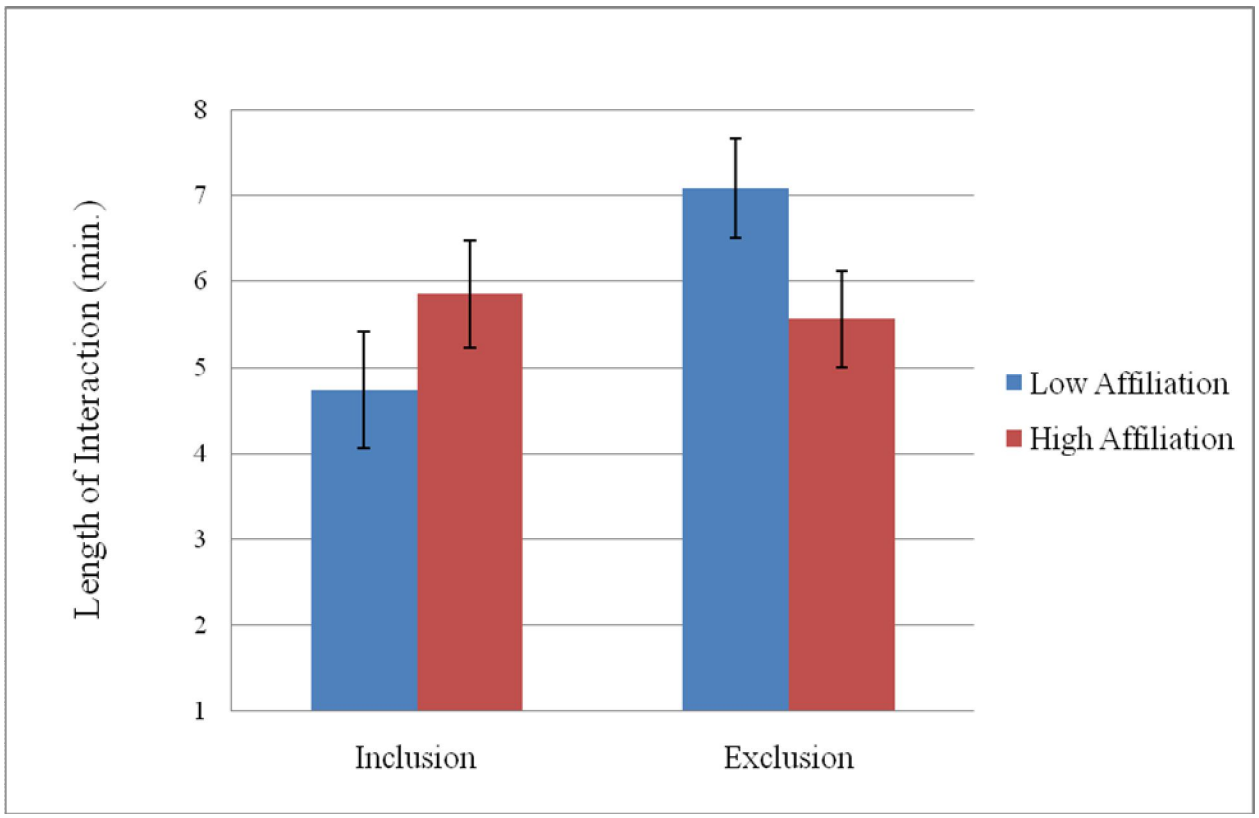


Figure 1. Length of time (minutes) playing with ostensibly homosexual players as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

3.2.2 Explicit anti-gay attitudes. Relationship motivation not only moderated behavior toward a relationship-relevant-outgroup but also attitudes toward that outgroup, as indicated by a significant rejection by relationship motivation interaction, $F(1, 81) = 8.38$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .09$. As shown in Figure 2, participants unmotivated to remain connected with original anti-gay game partners were less anti-gay after excluded (M = 3.41, SD = 1.16) than included (M = 4.45, SD = 1.16), $F(1, 81) = 6.89$, $p = .01$, but were marginally more anti-gay when excluded (M = 4.12, SD = 1.19) than included (M = 3.59, SD = 1.42) when they were motivated to remain connected with original players in the initial game, $F(1, 81) = 2.07$, $p = .15$. Here again, rejection is met with rejection under conditions in which participants are unmotivated to maintain the relationship, but

this effect is, if anything, reversed when participants are even minimally motivated to maintain the relationship. In addition, there was no main effect of rejection (exclusion: M = 3.78, SD = 1.22; inclusion: M = 3.98, SD = 1.36), and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: M = 3.88, SD = 1.31; low: M = 3.85, SD = 1.26), $Fs < 1$, n.s..

Further simple effect tests revealed that participants were increasingly anti-gay when motivated (M = 4.12, SD = 1.19) than unmotivated (M = 3.41, SD = 1.16) to maintain relationships with original anti-gay game partners who excluded them in the initial game, $F(1, 81) = 3.89$, $p = .05$. Interestingly, participants were less anti-gay when motivated (M = 3.59, SD = 1.42) than unmotivated (M = 4.45, SD = 1.16) to maintain relationships with original players who included them in the initial game, $F(1, 81) = 4.21$, $p = .04$. This finding is largely unaccounted for in the rejection literature, but it continues to pervade our findings in present and past experiments using the aforementioned manipulations.

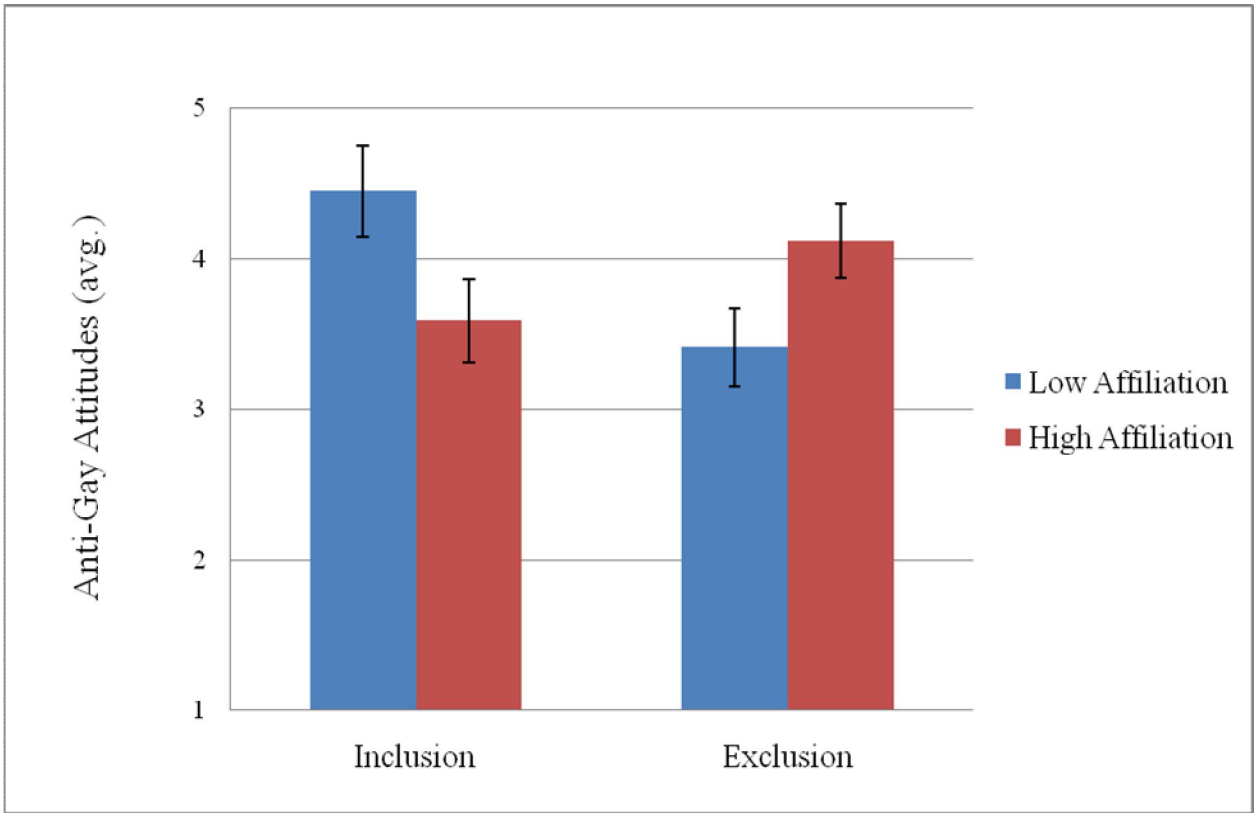


Figure 2. Anti-gay attitudes as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

3.2.3 Explicit endorsement of socially dominant views. Relationship motivation moderated the first set of explicit attitudes implicating the relationship-relevant-outgroup, but also socially dominant—conservative—views, as indicated by a marginally significant rejection by relationship motivation interaction, $F(1, 81) = 2.31$, $p = .13$, $\eta^2 = .03$. As shown in Figure 3, participants unmotivated to remain connected with original anti-gay conservative game partners endorsed socially dominant views marginally less after excluded ($M = 2.08$, $SD = 1.02$) than included ($M = 2.72$, $SD = 1.53$), $F(1, 81) = 2.37$, $p = .12$. Participants endorsed socially dominant views equivalently whether excluded ($M = 2.46$, $SD = 1.52$) or included ($M = 2.23$, $SD = 1.08$) when they were motivated to remain connected with original players in the initial game, $F < 1$, n.s.. Here again high relationship motivation does not result in a reconciliation effect with rejecters, but this does not discount the fact that even minimal relational motivation thwarts

fighting rejection by unimportant others with outright rejection. In addition, there was no main effect of rejection (exclusion: $M = 2.27$, $SD = 1.30$; inclusion: $M = 2.46$, $SD = 1.31$), and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: $M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.33$; low: $M = 2.35$, $SD = 1.28$), $Fs < 1$, n.s..

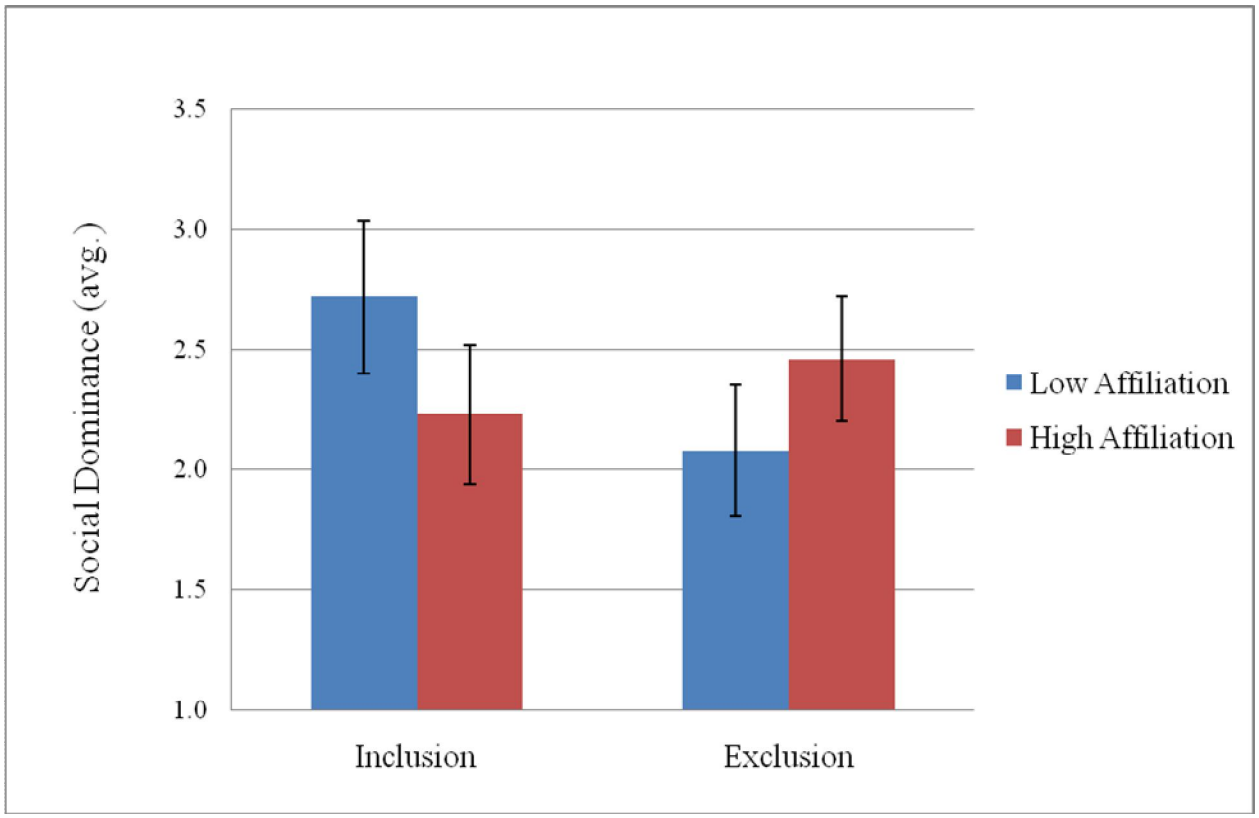


Figure 3. Social dominance as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

3.2.4 Self-reported number of homosexual friends. Relationship motivation moderated not only behavior and explicit attitudes, but also the number of homosexual friends that participants reported having, as indicated by a significant rejection by relationship motivation interaction, $F(1, 81) = 4.79$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .06$. As shown in Figure 4, participants unmotivated to remain connected with original anti-gay game partners reported having marginally more homosexual friends after excluded ($M = .96$, $SD = .56$) than included ($M = .65$, $SD = .61$), $F(1, 81) = 2.52$, $p = .11$. Participants reported having marginally fewer homosexual friends when

excluded (M = .60, SD = .50) than included (M = .90, SD = .85) when they were motivated to remain connected with original players in the initial game, $F(1, 81) = 2.63$, $p = .10$. A reconciliation effect again occurs as a function of rejection, but only under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation. This effect no longer occurs when no relationship motivation exists, thus replicating the standard rejection finding. In addition, there was no main effect of rejection (exclusion: M = .77, SD = .56; inclusion M = .78, SD = .75), and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: M = .73, SD = .69; low: M = .83, SD = .59), $Fs < 1$, n.s..

Further simple effects tests revealed that although the number of homosexual friends reported by participants was equivalent whether motivated (M = .90, SD = .85) or unmotivated (M = .65, SD = .61) to maintain relationships with original anti-gay game partners who included them in the initial game, $F(1, 81) = 1.47$, $p = .22$, participants reported having fewer homosexual friends when motivated (M = .60, SD = .50) than unmotivated (M = .96, SD = .56) to maintain relationships with original players who excluded them in the initial game, $F(1, 81) = 3.79$, $p = .05$.

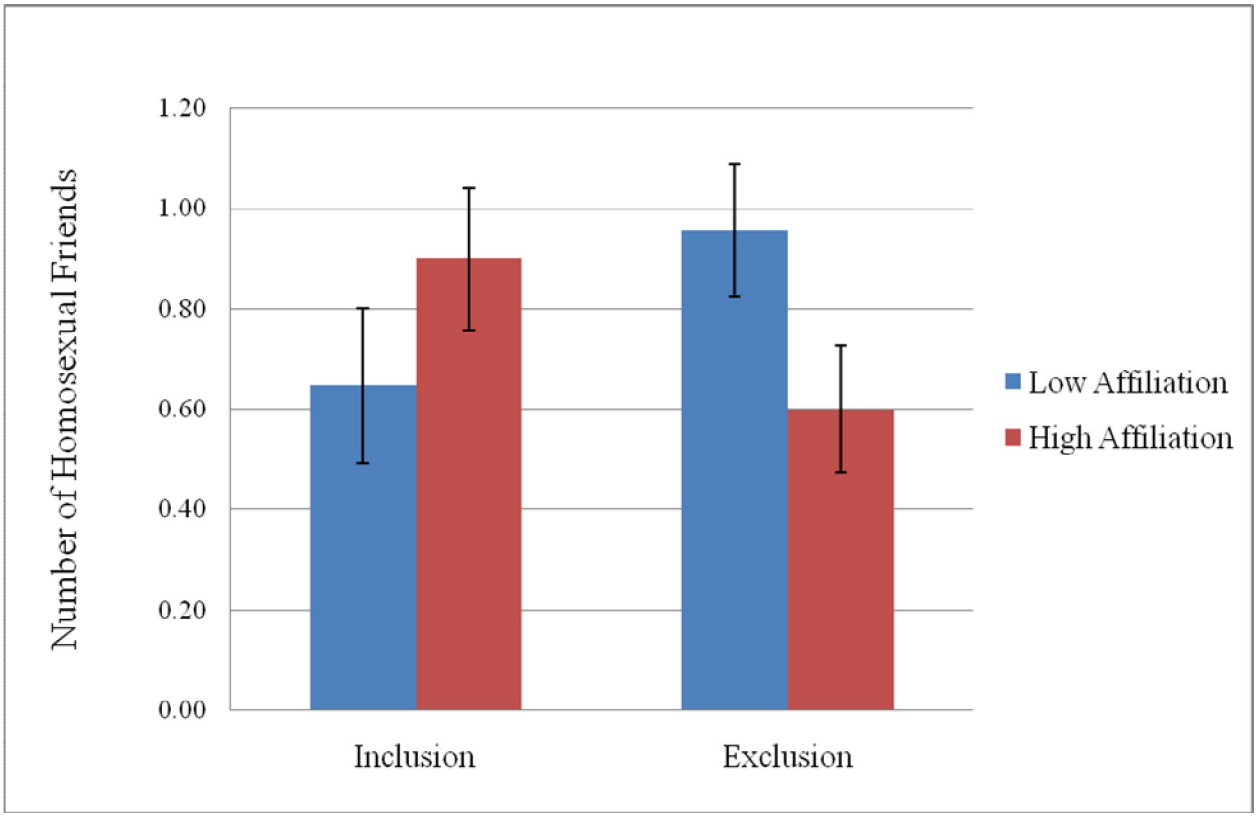


Figure 4. Number of homosexual friends reported as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

3.2.5 Moderating role of implicit self-esteem on explicit attitudes. In the current study, implicit self-esteem was assessed because of its moderating role on explicit attitudes in past research unrelated to rejection (e.g., Bosson et al., 2003), and also in research dealing with negative feedback and threats to self-image (e.g., Spalding & Hardin, 1999). It was important to test whether participants were higher or lower in implicit self-esteem following rejection and relationship motivation manipulations before proceeding to determine if self-esteem moderated social tuning effects. For this aspect of data analysis, 7 participants had missing data per the scoring algorithm for implicit self-esteem because they rated all letters of the alphabet as equally likeable. As a result, there was no variability in liking and thus no proper score for implicit self-esteem. Neither the rejection by relationship motivation interaction, nor the main effect of rejection or relationship motivation, was significant.

To assess whether implicit self-esteem moderated social tuning, explicit anti-gay attitudes were submitted to a 2 (Rejection: inclusion, exclusion) x 2 (Relationship Motivation: low, high) x 2 (Implicit Self-Esteem; low, high) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA). To determine low or high implicit self-esteem, a median split was performed (*Mdn* = 1.79, *SD* = 1.23). Participants below the median were considered low in implicit self-esteem (*N* = 37) and participants above the median were considered high in implicit self-esteem (*N* = 41).

The signature moderating effect of relationship motivation on rejection-related social tuning occurred among participants low in implicit self-esteem, but not among participants high in implicit self-esteem, as indicated by a significant three-way interaction, $F(1, 70) = 3.86$, $p = .053$, $\eta^2 = .04$. As shown in Figure 5, anti-gay attitudes varied as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations among participants low in implicit self-esteem, as indicated by a significant interaction, $F(1, 33) = 11.76$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .26$. Low self-esteem participants unmotivated to remain connected with original anti-gay game partners were less anti-gay after excluded ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 1.11$) than included ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.38$), $F(1, 33) = 4.74$, $p = .03$, but were more anti-gay when excluded ($M = 4.96$, $SD = 1.02$) than included ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 1.46$) when they were motivated to remain connected with original players in the initial game, $F(1, 33) = 7.40$, $p = .01$. Neither the main effect of rejection (exclusion: $M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.31$; inclusion: $M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.55$) or relationship motivation (high: $M = 4.08$, $SD = 1.48$; low: $M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.36$) was significant among low self-esteem participants, $Fs < 1$, n.s..

Further simple effect tests revealed that low self-esteem participants were increasingly anti-gay when motivated ($M = 4.96$, $SD = 1.02$) than unmotivated ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 1.11$) to maintain relationships with original anti-gay game partners who excluded them in the initial game, $F(1, 33) = 7.06$, $p = .01$. In contrast, low self-esteem participants were less anti-gay when

motivated (M = 3.42, SD = 1.46) than unmotivated (M = 4.80, SD = 1.38) to maintain relationships with original players who included them in the initial game, $F(1, 33) = 5.19$, p = .03.

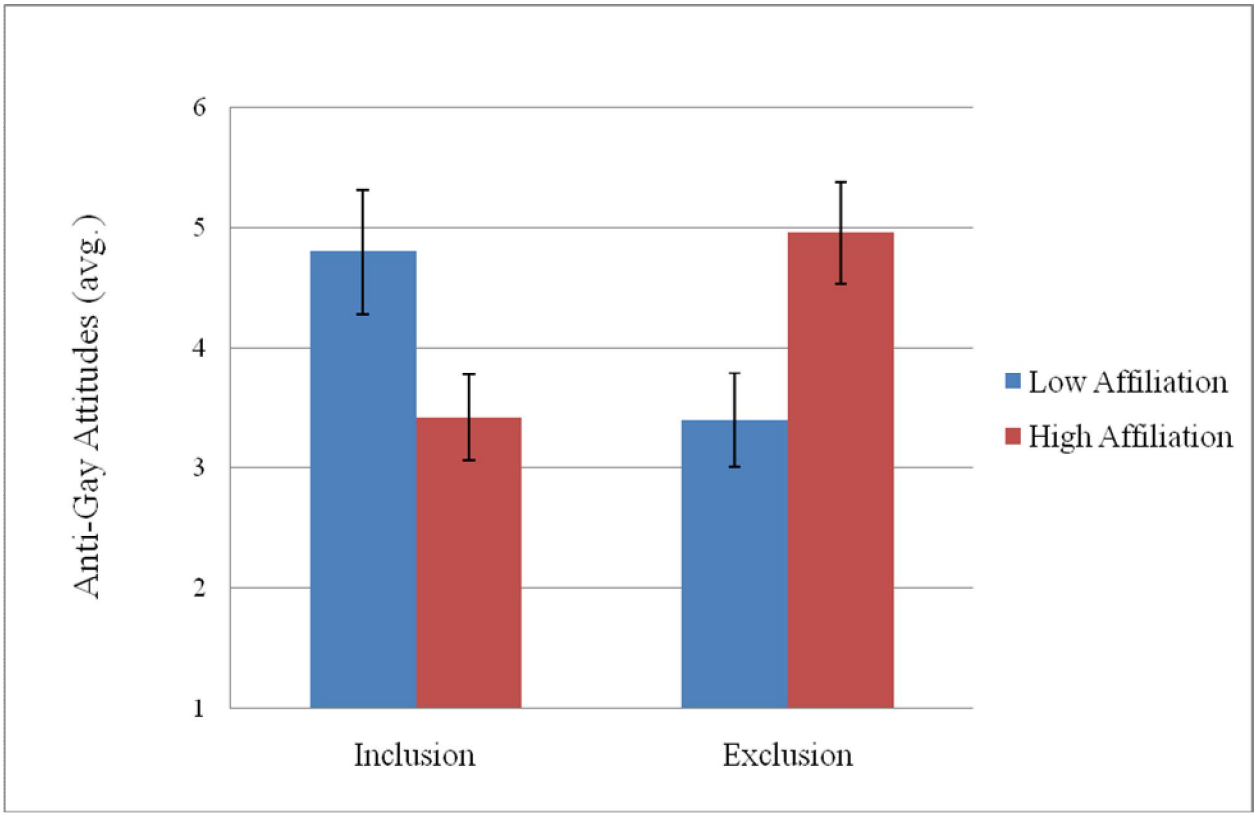


Figure 5. Anti-gay attitudes among low self-esteem individuals as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

Among participants high in implicit self-esteem, anti-gay attitudes did not vary as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations, $F < 1$, n.s.. As shown in Figure 6, relationship motivation did not moderate rejection-related social tuning among high self-esteem participants. This suggests that even minimal relationship motivation does not eliminate the trend of rejection eliciting rejection among high self-esteem participants who are known for bolstering themselves against interpersonal threats. In addition, there was a marginally significant main effect of rejection in which participants were less homophobic after exclusion (M = 3.53, SD = 1.17) than inclusion (M = 4.21, SD = 1.29), $F(1, 37) = 2.30$, p = .13, η^2 = .06,

and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: $M = 3.69$, $SD = 1.24$; low: $M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.28$), $F < 1$, n.s..

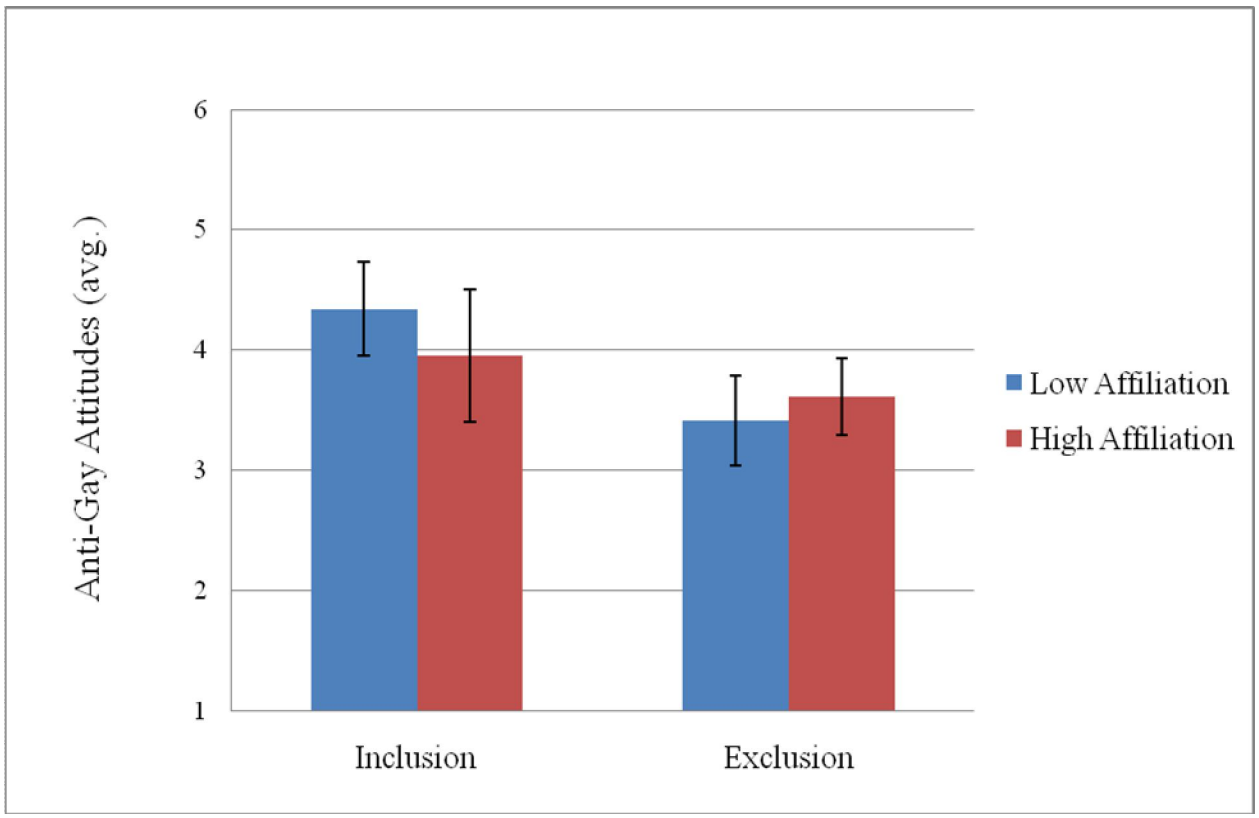


Figure 6. Anti-gay attitudes among high self-esteem individuals as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

The moderating effect of implicit self-esteem on rejection-related social tuning was not observed on length of subsequent interaction with ostensibly homosexual ball game players, social dominance orientation, and reported number of homosexual friends.

3.3 Discussion

The goal of Experiment 1 was to test whether the characteristic response to social exclusion in which rejection is met with rejection might be eliminated or even reversed under conditions in which people are at least minimally motivated to maintain a relationship with those who have rejected them. Results confirmed this hypothesis. Under conditions of low relationship motivation, participants met rejection with rejection by anti-tuning away from relationship-

relevant anti-gay attitudes—both behaviorally and explicitly—and not attempting to maintain shared reality with unimportant others who rejected them, thus replicating the effect of rejection demonstrated time and time again over the decades. However, under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation—instantiated by simply sharing a birthday or favorite food and expectation of future interaction—social rejection was no longer met with rejection but instead, if anything, heightened attempts to maintain shared reality. Relationship motivation under these conditions was indicated across a variety of dimensions of relationship-relevant social tuning, including playing a second game for a shorter period of time with ostensibly homosexual partners, through explicit endorsement of anti-gay attitudes, social dominance orientation, and by claiming fewer homosexuals as friends. Social tuning effects on anti-gay attitudes were especially strong among low self-esteem individuals whose attitudes may be more malleable because of their less secure place in the social world (e.g., Hardin & Conley, 2001; Leary, 1995).

Rejection does not always elicit negative behavior toward perpetrators of rejection as suggested by research in years past (e.g., Mettee, Taylor, & Fisher, 1971; Pepitone & Wilpizeski, 1960) and to this day (e.g., DeWall et al., 2009; Maner et al., 2007). In contrast, the importance of the relationship dictates the response to sources of rejection and relationship-relevant third parties. While showing a willingness to reconcile with rejecters with whom they were motivated to remain connected, these findings also replicate the common anti-rejecter finding—rejection elicits rejection—under conditions of low relationship motivation. Finally, these results replicate previous experiments conducted in our lab that used measures of implicit attitudes in place of the behavioral and explicit measures to assess rejection-related social tuning.

In regard to the social tuning of attitudes occurring among low but not high self-esteem participants, it is important to point out that these results should be taken with caution since the

sample size was relatively small for the three-way factorial design. However, this finding is replicated in the next two experiments, suggesting that low self-esteem participants may be especially vigilant when attending to opportunities that may prompt re-acceptance by original sources of rejection.

In line with the current findings is past research showing that when given the choice of meeting people who have criticized or praised them, participants low in self-esteem were more eager to meet the person who criticized them. In contrast, participants high in self-esteem preferred to meet the people who praised them (Swann, Stein-Seroussi, & McNulty, 1992). Findings from Experiment 1 parallel those from work by Swann and colleagues because in the current experiments low self-esteem participants were more susceptible to the attitudes of the rejecters depending on even minimal relationship motivation, thus demonstrating that criticism—in this context rejection—results in a heightened motivation to achieve shared reality by socially tuning attitudes toward rejecters with whom they are relationally motivated to remain connected. In contrast, high self-esteem participants appear less concerned with reconciliatory actions toward rejecters and are focused on the relationship-relevant-outgroup not associated with rejection. High self-esteem participants want nothing to do with rejecters and met rejection with rejection regardless of relational motivation, thus demonstrating their ability to bolster themselves against interpersonal threats and seek out alternative sources of acceptance who serve as sources of praise.

One further issue with the moderating role of implicit self-esteem is its ineffectiveness at moderating the behavioral measure, and as will be seen in forthcoming experiments, the other behavioral measures. Previous research has shown that implicit self-esteem, or implicit egotism as it is commonly called, influences important choices in people's life, such as where they

choose to live and what careers they partake in (Pelham et al., 2002). It even influences who people choose to marry (Jones et al., 2004). However, among low self-esteem participants in the current experiment, it did not influence the length of time they played a second ball-tossing game. This may reflect on something purely methodological with the current experiment, or the fact that it is difficult to achieve variability when considering the role of self-esteem on trivial and relatively indirect behavioral measures.

4. EXPERIMENT 2

Experiment 2 was designed to provide a conceptual replication of Experiment 1 using a different dimension of social tuning. This experiment provides an additional way of determining if even minimal relationship motivation can prompt heightened motivation to achieve shared reality by taking into consideration relationship-relevant attitudes that implicate African Americans as a target outgroup. This work provides further evidence to counter the more than 50 years of research suggesting that rejection by others prompts immediate disdain and dislike for sources of rejection. As in Experiment 1, we hypothesized that relational importance is the underlying factor that has been ignored in the literature to date, and that this lone factor distinguishes between the possibility of affiliative versus anti-social responses toward sources of rejection.

To test the hypothesis that participants would reconcile with ostensibly anti-black conservative rejecters when they were relationally motivated to do so, participants were asked in an ostensibly unrelated donation task to donate whatever amount of money (i.e., out of $5) they would like to an organization they were assigned to. The alternative to donating money to the organization was to place the remaining funds in a drawing in which participants were given the chance of winning a percentage (25%) of the total amount of money accumulated over the course of the experiment. The donation task was used as a dependent measure because in previous research it has been shown that people were less empathetic and less cooperative following rejection (e.g., Twenge et al., 2007). With the use of this measure, it was predicted that altruistic tendencies toward a relationship-relevant-outgroup would be duly affected by the rejection and relationship motivation manipulations. In addition, alternative measures were used to demonstrate that even minimal relationship motivation can eliminate or reverse the anti-social

response to rejection and can result in a heightened motivation to achieve shared reality through explicit perspective taking (i.e., social dominance orientation, internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice).

4.1 Method

4.1.1 Participants. Participants were recruited from the Brooklyn College subject pool in which Psychology 1.1 students receive partial course credit for their participation in psychological experiments. In the interest of identifying whether participants socially tune toward relationship-relevant anti-black conservative attitudes behaviorally and explicitly as a function of rejection and relationship motivation, 83 white participants (64 female, 19 male) took part in the experiment and were included in data analyses. The average age of participants was 20.20 years (*SD* = 2.16).

4.1.2 Design. Amount of money whites donated to a foundation representing African Americans (the relationship-relevant-outgroup), and explicit attitudes implicating African Americans (social dominance orientation, internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice) were assessed as a function of rejection and relationship motivation in a 2 (Rejection: inclusion, exclusion) x 2 (Relationship motivation: low, high) between-subjects factorial design.

4.1.3 Procedure and Materials. The procedure was identical to Experiment 1 except for adapting materials to race and racism from sexual orientation and homophobia.

Manipulating relationship motivation and creating impressions of partners. The "general questionnaire" used in this experiment differed from the one used in Experiment 1, except for the relationship motivation manipulation, which was identical. Specifically, this questionnaire included questions about birth date, home state (country), favorite food, favorite music, how

many friends participants have who are white, how many friends participants have who are black, and ethnicity (see Appendix 6 for an example of format and items used).

The questions involved in the relationship motivation manipulation were used for purposes of conveying that the other players were white and fit the stereotype of those holding anti-black attitudes (e.g., Middleton, 1976). This was done by making it appear that the players (a) were from predominantly white, conservative states (i.e., Nebraska, Tennessee), (b) like music highly associated with being white (i.e., country (dislike hip-hop), contemporary classical), (c) have "all" white friends (i.e., circle "4"), (d) have "no" black friends (i.e., circle "0"), and (e) self-identify as "white" (i.e., circle "White/Caucasian").

To determine if whites classify other whites as prejudiced and conservative when fitting the criteria above, pilot testing was conducted. Beyond the results from the experiment, this would allow one to say with relative certainty that social tuning or anti-tuning of bigoted attitudes was a result of the fictional ball game players attitudes conveyed at the beginning of the experiment. An independent sample of whites (N = 129; 67 female, 62 male) voluntarily completed a questionnaire assessing characteristics associated with varying degrees of prejudice and conservatism (see Appendix 7 for an example of format and items used). The average age of volunteers was 21.78 years (SD = 4.41).

Four target statements dealt with perceived characteristics of prejudicial whites. For the first statement, a majority of white volunteers reported that whites residing in New York are less prejudiced toward African Americans (87.6%) than those living in Tennessee (6.2%) or Nebraska (6.2%), and this difference was statistically significant, $\chi^2(2, N = 129) = 170.93$, $p <$ .001. On the second statement, a majority of white volunteers reported that whites are less prejudiced toward African Americans if they have all black friends (79.8%) than if they have no

black friends (20.2%), again statistically significant, $\chi^2(1, N = 129) = 45.96$, $p < .001$. On the third statement, a majority of white volunteers indicated that whites are less prejudiced toward African Americans if they have no white friends (63.6%) than if they have all white friends (36.4%), again statistically significant, $\chi^2(1, N = 129) = 9.50$, $p = .002$. On the fourth statement, a majority of white volunteers answered that whites are less prejudiced toward African Americans if they listen to hip-hop music (71.3%) than if they listen to country (6.2%) or classical music (22.5%), again statistically significant, $\chi^2(2, N = 129) = 88.88$, $p < .001$.

An additional four target statements related to the perceived characteristics of conservative whites were assessed by the same volunteers. On the first statement, a majority of white volunteers indicated that whites are less conservative if they reside in New York (77.5%) than if they reside in Tennessee (14.0%) or Nebraska (8.5%), and this difference was statistically significant, $\chi^2(2, N = 129) = 113.91$, $p < .001$. On the second statement, a majority of white volunteers reported that whites are less conservative if they have all black friends (70.5%) than if they have no black friends (29.5%), again statistically significant, $\chi^2(1, N = 129) = 21.78$, $p < .001$. On the third statement, a majority of white volunteers reported that whites are less conservative if they have no white friends (69.8%) than if they have all white friends (30.2%), again statistically significant, $\chi^2(1, N = 129) = 20.16$, $p < .001$. On the fourth statement, a majority of white volunteers answered that whites are less conservative if they listen to hip-hop music (70.5%) than if they listen to country (14.7%) or classical music (14.7%), again statistically significant, $\chi^2(2, N = 129) = 80.37$, $p < .001$. Taken together, the pilot testing suggested that certain responses to questions about home state, favorite music, and number of white and black friends are likely to elicit the stereotype of an anti-black conservative for the fictional game players.

After presenting participants with the previously completed questionnaires from the supposed ball game players, they were given the same instructions described in Experiment 1 suggesting that these questionnaires were being used to give them a better sense of who they were interacting with in the upcoming game of toss.

Rejection manipulation. The methods used to manipulate rejection were identical to those discussed in Experiment 1.

Measuring effects of rejection and relationship motivation. Following the ball-tossing game, the experimenter entered the room with a brown paper lunch bag in hand and told participants that due to time constraints they would proceed to work on the second part of the study before completing the last few components of the first part of the study. The brown lunch bag was filled with folded paper slips that had "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)" typed on each one of them. Participants were informed that they would now work on the donation task in which our interest was in helping behavior. Participants were instructed to grab one slip from the brown lunch bag and that they would be making a (hypothetical) donation to whichever organization they chose with money provided by the experimenter.

Participants were not aware that the entire bag of slips consisted of only one organization. To make it appear that the slips were randomized, the experimenter shook the bag in front of the participants before they reached into the bag and grabbed a slip. Once participants chose a slip, the experimenter asked participants to read the name of the organization aloud so that the experimenter could take note of it and gather the appropriate materials for the donation task.

Upon retrieving the materials, the experimenter entered the room with three (12 oz.) styrofoam cups in a stack and placed them on the table where the participant was sitting. Each of

the cups had an address label with the appropriate information typed onto the label. The first cup (top of the stack) had an address label with "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)", which was the information on the slip of paper chosen from the brown lunch bag. The second cup (middle of the stack) had an address label with "Lottery". The third cup (bottom of the stack) had an address label with "Experiment $$$", and was filled with 20 quarters (i.e., $5) for the donation task. Instructions were provided to participants to make it clear what purpose each of these cups served and what they were supposed to do with them.

The experimenter took each of the cups out of the stack of three and placed them side by side in the following order from left to right: "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)", "Lottery", and "Experiment $$$". All cups were placed on the table with the labels facing the participants. Participants were told that our interest was in determining how much money people donate to a randomly selected organization. While pointing to the cup labeled "Experiment $$$", participants were told that the money in the cup was to be used for the donation task. Participants were prompted to donate as much or as little money as they wanted to the designated organization and that their responses on this task would remain confidential. Participants were instructed to place their donation for the organization in the "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)" cup. Whatever money participants did not place in the organization cup could be placed in the "Lottery" cup and they would have a chance at winning a percentage of the money accrued in the "Lottery" cup over the course of the experiment. Twenty-five percent ($56.94; rounded to $57) of the total amount of money ($227.75) accrued in the "Lottery" cup was raffled off to an undergraduate student who participated in the experiment. Following the instructions, participants were told to proceed with the task and to open the door once they were finished.

Following the completion of the donation task, participants were provided with a demographic questionnaire identical to the one discussed in Experiment 1, with a few exceptions. Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales directly followed the social dominance orientation scale. Our interest was in determining if internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice were affected as a result of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations. In addition, it was of interest to determine if motivations to respond without prejudice moderated social tuning of relationship-relevant attitudes when donating to the pro-black organization (see Appendix 8 for an example of format and items used). As an outcome, both internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice should be influenced in the same manner as described in Experiment 1. Since relationship-relevant attitudes implicating African Americans would call into question these motivations, it is hypothesized that even minimal relational motivation would result in heightened attempts to share reality with rejecters by becoming less motivated—both internally and externally—to respond without prejudice. As a potential moderator of social tuning, motivations to respond without prejudice could provide a perspective on donations to the pro-black organization because such behavior is directly implicated in each of the statements.

Internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) and external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS). In a society striving for equality among minority and majority groups, it is argued that strong social pressures now exist for people to conceal racial attitudes for fear that they will be reprimanded socially and/or criminally (Plant & Devine, 1998). One set of motivations believed to predict whether or not people seek to conceal prejudice are those operating internally. Internal motivation refers to one's desire not to appear prejudiced because

of a personal belief that acting in such a manner is unacceptable. External motivations refer to one's desire not to appear prejudice for fear that others may disapprove.

Internal motivation to respond without prejudice was measured on a five-item scale (IMS; Plant & Devine, 1998), including items like "I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be non-prejudiced toward African Americans." External motivation to respond without prejudice was measured on a five-item scale, including items like "because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear non-prejudiced toward African Americans." Responses to the items were made on a scale of 1 to 7, with "1" indicating "strongly disagree" and "7" indicating "strongly agree", to rate participants' level of agreement with each set of five statements.

As in Experiment 1, participants were probed for suspicion of the methods used in the experiment and were fully debriefed. In order to properly determine and notify the winner of the money placed into the "Lottery" cup without compromising confidentiality, participants were asked to provide an email address on a log sheet separate from any materials used in the experiment. The winner was notified December 20, 2008 after data collection was complete and the fall semester ended.

4.2 Results

Primary analyses consisted of a series of 2 (Rejection: inclusion, exclusion) x 2 (Relationship Motivation: low, high) between-subjects analyses of variance (ANOVAs) on the donation to the NAACP. In addition, participants indicated their endorsement of socially dominant views and internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice.

4.2.1 Donation to representative organization of African Americans. The average donation made to the NAACP across conditions was 12.77 (SD = 5.66) of the 20 possible quarters that could be donated. Contrary to our predictions, relationship motivation did not

moderate behavior toward a relationship-relevant-outgroup via hypothetical donations to the NAACP, $F < 1$, n.s.. In addition, there was no main effect of rejection (exclusion: $M = 12.23$, $SD = 5.49$; inclusion: $M = 13.47$, $SD = 5.89$), and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: $M = 12.74$, $SD = 6.03$; low: $M = 12.80$, $SD = 5.39$), $Fs < 1$, n.s..

4.2.2 Explicit endorsement of socially dominant views. Although relationship motivation did not moderate behavior toward a relationship-relevant-outgroup in the context of monetary donations, relationship motivation did moderate participants endorsement of socially dominant views, as indicated by a marginally significant rejection by relationship motivation interaction, $F(1, 79) = 2.94$, $p = .09$, $\eta^2 = .04$. As shown in Figure 7, participants unmotivated to remain connected with anti-black conservative game partners endorsed socially dominant views equivalently whether excluded ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 1.11$) or included ($M = 2.57$, $SD = .95$), $F < 1$, n.s., but participants increasingly endorsed socially dominant views after excluded ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.25$) than included ($M = 2.27$, $SD = 1.16$) when they were motivated to remain connected with players in the game, $F(1, 79) = 4.25$, $p = .04$. Relationship motivation induced a significant reconciliation effect as a function of rejection. It also provides further evidence to suggest that affiliative responses toward sources of rejection are an inherent possibility when the importance of the relationship is considered. In contrast, when no relationship motivation exists, social tuning of relationship-relevant attitudes does not occur and the rejection elicits rejection effect stands, thus suggesting that there is less motivation to establish shared reality with sources of rejection. In addition, there was no main effect of rejection (exclusion: $M = 2.71$, $SD = 1.20$; inclusion: $M = 2.44$, $SD = 1.04$), $F(1, 79) = 1.37$, $p = .25$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: $M = 2.70$, $SD = 1.25$; low: $M = 2.49$, $SD = 1.03$), $F < 1$, n.s..

Further simple effect tests revealed that although participants' endorsement of socially dominant views was equivalent whether motivated (M = 2.27, SD = 1.16) or unmotivated (M = 2.57, SD = .95) to maintain relationships with anti-black conservative game partners who included them in the game, $F < 1$, n.s., participants marginally increased their endorsement of socially dominant views when motivated (M = 3.00, SD = 1.25) than unmotivated (M = 2.43, SD = 1.11) to maintain relationships with players who excluded them in the game, $F(1, 79) = 2.88$, p = .09.

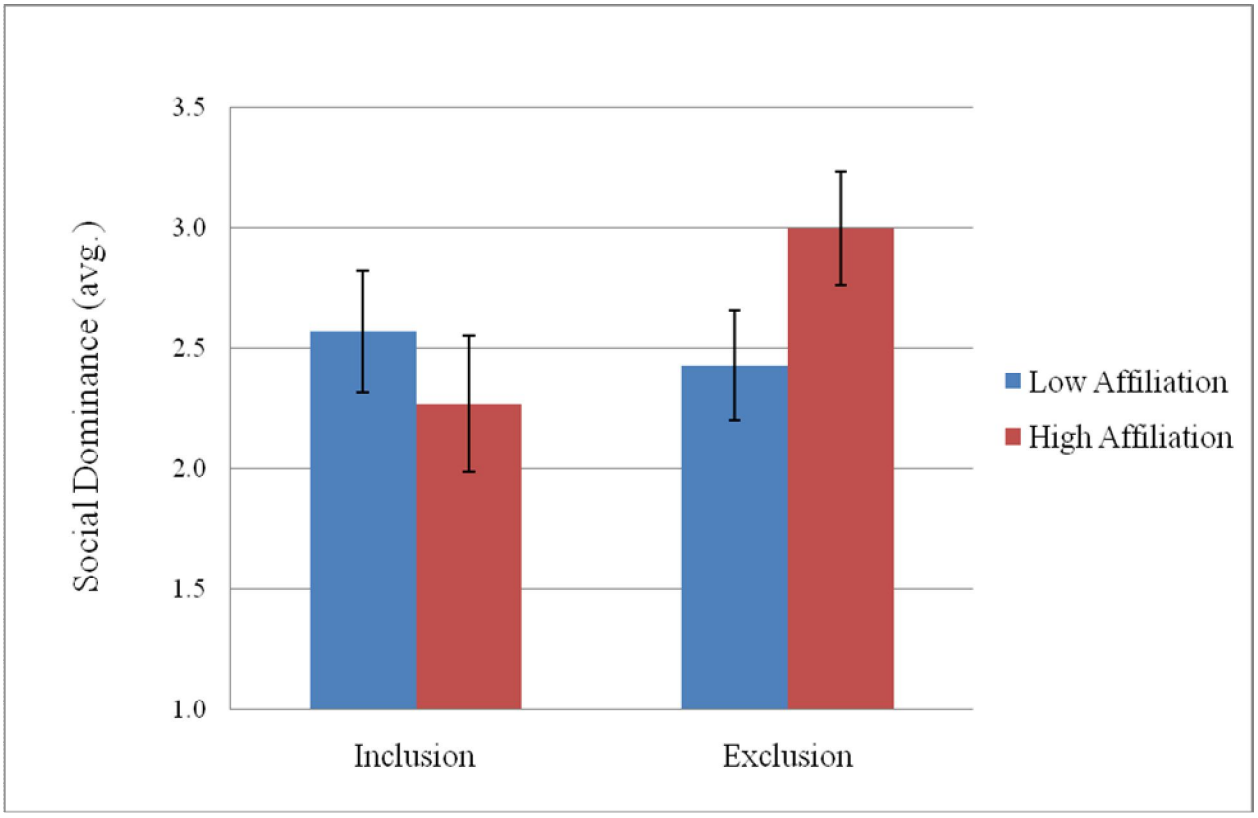


Figure 7. Social dominance as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

4.2.3 Self-reported internal motivation to respond without prejudice. Neither the rejection by relationship motivation interaction, nor the main effect of rejection or relationship motivation, was significant for internally based motivations to respond without anti-black prejudice.

4.2.4 Self-reported external motivation to respond without prejudice. Neither the rejection by relationship motivation interaction, nor the main effect of rejection or relationship motivation, was significant for externally based motivations to respond without anti-black prejudice, *Fs* < 1, n.s..

4.2.5 Moderating role of implicit self-esteem on explicit attitudes. Before proceeding to determine if self-esteem moderated social tuning effects, it is again important to test whether participants were higher or lower in implicit self-esteem following rejection and relationship motivation manipulations. For this aspect of data analysis, 8 participants had missing data per the scoring algorithm for implicit self-esteem because they rated all letters of the alphabet as equally likeable. As a result, there was no variability in liking and thus no proper score for implicit self-esteem. Neither the rejection by relationship motivation interaction, nor the main effect of rejection or relationship motivation, was significant, *Fs* < 1, n.s..

To assess whether implicit self-esteem moderated social tuning, socially dominant views were submitted to a 2 (Rejection: inclusion, exclusion) x 2 (Relationship Motivation: low, high) x 2 (Implicit Self-Esteem; low, high) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA). To determine low or high implicit self-esteem, a median split was performed (*Mdn* = 1.92, *SD* = 1.21). Participants below the median were considered low in implicit self-esteem (*N* = 38) and participants above the median were considered high in implicit self-esteem (*N* = 37).

Here again the moderating effect of relationship motivation on rejection-related social tuning occurred among participants low in implicit self-esteem, but not among participants high in implicit self-esteem, as indicated by a marginally significant three-way interaction, $F(1, 67) = 2.52$, $p = .11$, $\eta^2 = .03$. As shown in Figure 8, socially dominant views varied as function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations among low self-esteem participants, as

indicated by a significant interaction, $F(1, 34) = 4.56$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .11$. Socially dominant views among low self-esteem participants unmotivated to remain connected with anti-black conservative game partners were equivalent whether excluded ($M = 1.94$, $SD = .90$) or included ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.04$), $F(1, 34) = 1.09$, $p = .30$, but low self-esteem participants increasingly endorsed socially dominant views after excluded ($M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.31$) than included ($M = 1.93$, $SD = 1.03$) when they were motivated to remain connected with players in the game, $F(1, 34) = 5.46$, $p = .02$. Neither the main effect of rejection (exclusion: $M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.23$; inclusion: $M = 2.16$, $SD = 1.02$), or relationship motivation (high: $M = 2.61$, $SD = 1.30$; low: $M = 2.11$, $SD = .95$) was significant among low self-esteem participants, $Fs < 1$, n.s..

Further simple effect tests revealed that although socially dominant views among low self-esteem participants was equivalent whether motivated ($M = 1.93$, $SD = 1.03$) or unmotivated ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.04$) to maintain relationships with anti-black conservative game partners who included them in the game, $F < 1$, n.s., low self-esteem participants increasingly endorsed socially dominant views when motivated ($M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.31$) than unmotivated ($M = 1.94$, $SD = .90$) to maintain relationships with players who excluded them in the game, $F(1, 34) = 5.88$, $p = .02$.

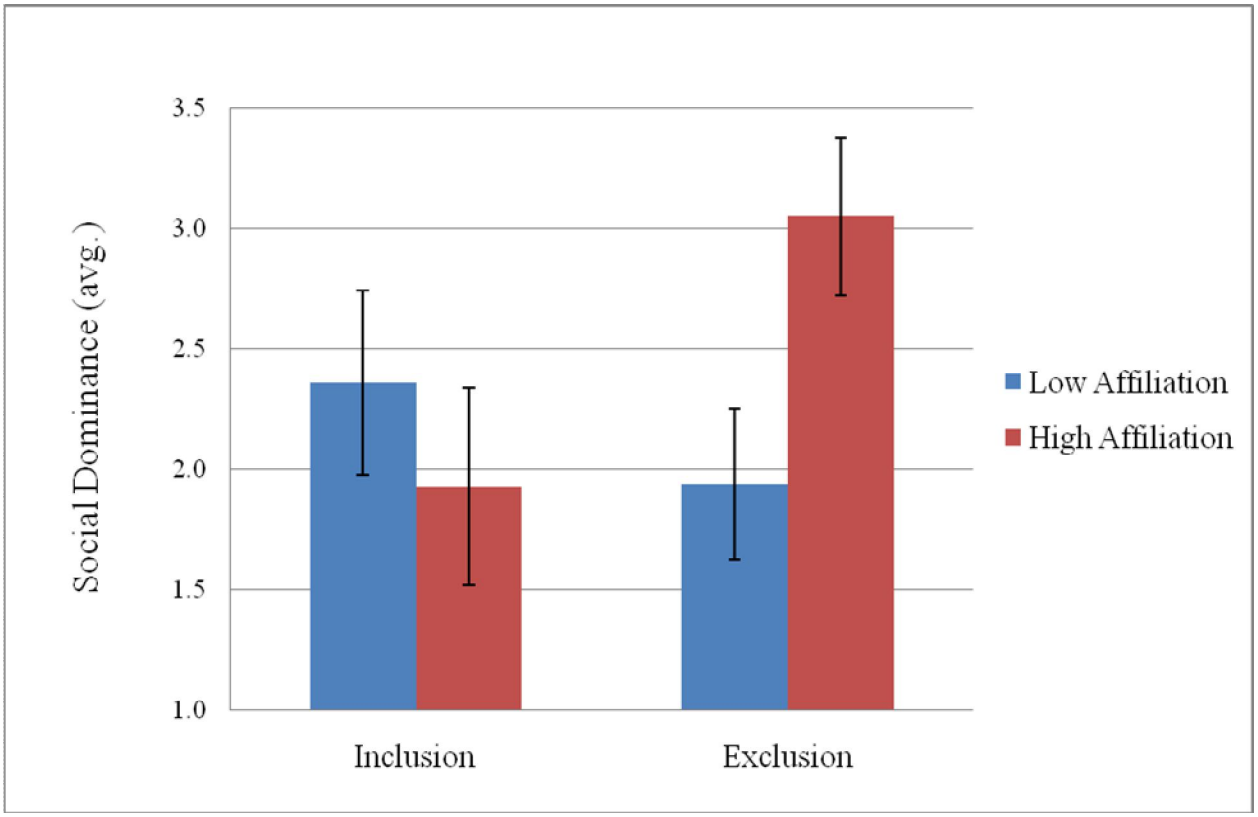


Figure 8. Social dominance among low self-esteem individuals as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

Among participants high in implicit self-esteem, socially dominant views did not vary as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations, $F < 1$, n.s.. As shown in Figure 9, relationship motivation again did not moderate rejection-related social tuning among high self-esteem participants. This provides further evidence that high self-esteem participants bolster themselves against interpersonal threats and do not seek to reconcile with sources of rejection, thus replicating the common finding in the literature that people do not like those who reject them. In addition, neither the main effect of rejection (exclusion: $M = 2.98$, $SD = 1.07$; inclusion: $M = 2.73$, $SD = .96$) or relationship motivation (high: $M = 2.85$, $SD = 1.09$; low: $M = 2.88$, $SD = .98$) was significant among high self-esteem participants, $Fs < 1$, n.s..

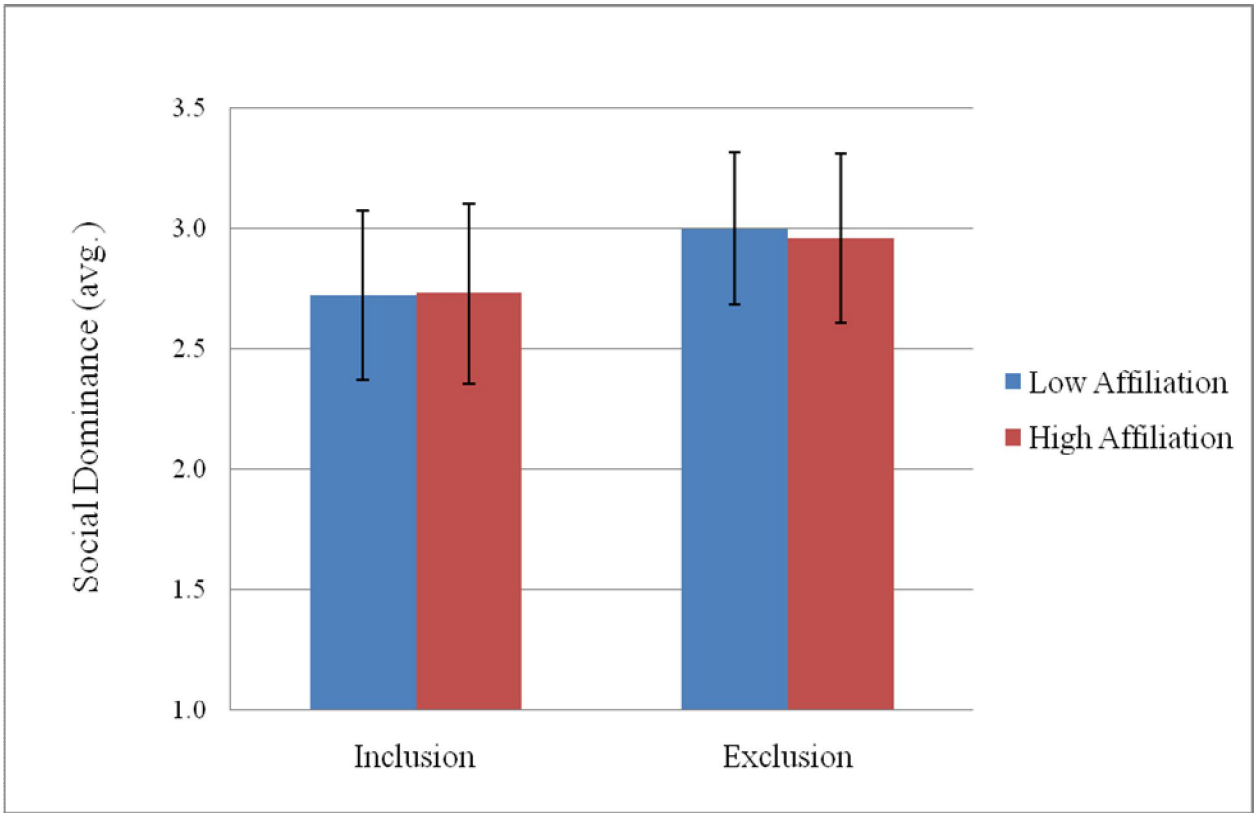


Figure 9. Social dominance among high self-esteem individuals as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

The moderating effect of implicit self-esteem on rejection-related social tuning was not observed for donations to NAACP and for internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice.

4.3 Discussion

The goal of Experiment 2 was to replicate the findings of Experiment 1 and show that under similar conditions the standard response to social exclusion can be eliminated or reversed under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation. Results of the current experiment again confirmed the hypothesis that rejection need not automatically elicit rejection for the source. Under conditions of low relationship motivation, reconciliation did not occur as a function of rejection, thus supporting the notion that rejection by unimportant others one is relationally unmotivated to remain connected with prompts an anti-social response, which in the

current context is conveyed in a lack of perspective taking. In contrast, when even minimal relationship motivation is factored into the rejection-relationship, a reconciliation effect occurs. Reconciliation is instantiated in the fact that participants attempt to maintain shared reality by socially tuning toward relationship-relevant attitudes as a function of rejection. Motivation to remain connected under these conditions was indicated by relationship-relevant social tuning, which included increased endorsement of socially dominant views. Social tuning effects on socially dominant views were especially strong among participants low in self-esteem, again demonstrating the susceptibility of these participants to others because of their insecurities resulting from interpersonal threats.

These findings again demonstrate that rejection does not always lead to—or require—rejection as a response. The factor that distinguishes between affiliative and non-affiliative responses is relationship motivation. Having an interpersonal connection with rejecters makes a difference when responding to rejection because one is naturally motivated to try and maintain relationships with others when such a connection is implied. Reciprocating through rejection is thus not deemed an adequate alternative under these conditions. When motivated to remain connected with rejecters, the option available in the current context is perspective taking, which is used to ingratiate one's self with others. In replicating affiliative responses toward rejecters, these findings also replicate the anti-rejecter finding. This finding continues to pervade the literature and is deemed the appropriate course of action for distancing one's self from the source of rejection when no relationship motivation exists.

Social tuning of relationship-relevant anti-black attitudes via donations to the NAACP and internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice were not affected by manipulations of rejection and relationship motivation, which have proven effective in three

previous experiments. One could reason that the ineffectiveness of donations to the NAACP and internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice come as a result of their inherently positive undertone, which may in effect mute the potential for social tuning of attitudes.

A "donation" is an inherently positive task and perhaps not reflective of true attitudes since participants made donations from money provided by the experimenter (i.e., $5). In support of this, previous research in the discipline of economics has shown that there are discrepancies between actual donations and hypothetical donations similar to the one used in Experiment 2. The discrepancy in actual and hypothetical donations is referred to as "hypothetical bias" (Champ & Bishop, 2001). There is essentially a difference between what people donate hypothetically and what they would actually donate of their own money. The conclusion is that donations do not, therefore, reflect what is exhibited in actual unobtrusively measured behavior or explicit attitudes. One could argue that length of interaction with ostensible homosexuals in Experiment 1 and seating distance from the belongings of an African American interaction partner in the forthcoming Experiment 3 are examples of unobtrusively measured behavior and as a result social tuning of attitudes occurs. In contrast, social tuning of attitudes did not occur with an obtrusive, inherently positive, and relatively obvious measurement of attitudes towards African Americans reflected in donations to the NAACP.

Internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice are inherently positive because the purpose of each set of questions is to examine motivations not to derogate outgroups, as opposed to the more negatively under toned anti-black attitudes assessed in the forthcoming Experiment 3. Success of internally and externally based motivations to respond without prejudice as a moderating variable in years past has been attributed to the inescapable

bombardment of negative attitudes toward outgroups from a very early age. However, under the current conditions, there were no differences as an outcome or moderating variable.

Aside from demonstrating social tuning or anti-tuning of relationship-relevant attitudes as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations, one added objective in the forthcoming experiment would be to determine if null effects persisted on measures with a positive undertone intended to assess some aspect of prejudice.

5. EXPERIMENT 3

Experiment 3 was designed to add more depth to our understanding of tuning behaviorally and explicitly toward relationship-relevant anti-black attitudes as a function of rejection and relationship motivation. The behavioral measure used in the previous experiment was not effective at discerning affiliative and anti-social responses as a function of the manipulations. This is believed due to the relatively obvious purpose of the donation measure and, furthermore, that fictitious donations do not accurately reflect one's true inclinations. By utilizing a more sensitive behavioral measure of anti-black attitudes and incorporating a clear measure of anti-black prejudice, social tuning of relationship-relevant anti-black attitudes may be more accurately determined.

To further examine the hypothesis that participants will reconcile with ostensibly anti-black conservative rejecters when they are relationally motivated to do so, participants were asked to choose a seat (i.e., 2-8) while waiting for a (new) African American interaction partner in anticipation of discussing current issues at Brooklyn College. The choice of seat was used as a dependent measure because in previous research it was found that those who scored high on an implicit association test (IAT) assessing implicit prejudice were more likely to sit further from the belongings of a supposed African American participant (Amodio & Devine, 2006). Following that logic and given that our own previous experiment demonstrated that participants tuned their attitudes toward the relationship-relevant anti-black attitudes of fellow game players when experiencing even minimal relationship motivation, participants should distance themselves from the belongings of a (new) African American interaction partner under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation. They will, however, sit closer to the belongings of an African American interaction partner when no such relationship motivation

exists. This will again demonstrate that even minimal relationship motivation can eliminate or reverse the effect whereby rejection elicits rejection.

In addition, alternative measures were used to demonstrate a motivation to reconcile with anti-black conservative game players through explicit perspective taking (i.e., anti-black attitudes, social dominance orientation). A measure of anti-black attitudes was introduced specifically for this experiment because in Experiment 2 there was no direct assessment of attitudes toward African Americans. Measures with a positive undertone were also included to further explore the possibility that social tuning toward or away from relationship-relevant attitudes can be muted, as was demonstrated behaviorally and explicitly in Experiment 2 (i.e., pro-black attitudes, internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice).

5.1 Method

5.1.1 Participants. Participants were recruited from the Brooklyn College subject pool in which Psychology 1.1 students receive partial course credit for their participation in psychological experiments. In the interest of identifying whether participants socially tune toward relationship-relevant anti-black conservative attitudes behaviorally and explicitly as a function of rejection and relationship motivation, 73 white participants (58 female, 15 male) took part in the experiment and were included in data analyses. The average age of participants was 21.01 years (SD = 3.69).

5.1.2 Design. How close participants sat next to ostensible belongings of an African American (the relationship-relevant-outgroup), explicit attitudes toward African Americans (anti-black/pro-black scale), socially dominant views toward lower status outgroups, and internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice were assessed as a function of

rejection and relationship motivation in a 2 (Rejection: inclusion, exclusion) x 2 (Relationship motivation: low, high) between-subjects factorial design.

5.1.3 Procedure and Materials. The procedure was identical to Experiment 2 except for adapting alternative materials to capture tuning of relationship-relevant anti-black attitudes.

Manipulating relationship motivation and creating impressions of partners. The methods used for manipulating relationship motivation and for conveying that the supposed ball game players were anti-black were identical to those discussed in Experiment 2. After presenting participants with the general questionnaires of the other ball game players, they were given the same instructions described in Experiment 1 and 2.

Rejection manipulation. The methods used to manipulate rejection and the instructions for the ball-tossing game were identical to those discussed in Experiment 1 and used again in Experiment 2.

Measuring effects of rejection and relationship motivation. Following the ball-tossing game, participants were instructed that in the interest of time they would be moving onto the second part of the study before completing the remainder of the first part of the study. Participants were told that the second part of the study involved taking part in a brief discussion of current issues at Brooklyn College with another student. To give them a better sense of the supposed person they would be interacting with in the second part of the study, participants were provided with a demographic questionnaire that was supposedly filled out by the new interaction partner while participating in another unrelated study. The demographic questionnaire included questions about one's ethnicity, gender, filler items related to age, first language, major in college, year in school, the pleasantness of writing tasks, and how effortful the writing tasks were for the supposed participant.

The questionnaire was filled out to convey that the new interaction partner was an African American as indicated by their name being clearly written on the questionnaire (i.e., Tyrone Washington; Amodio & Devine, 2006), despite having a line drawn over it. The fictional interaction partner's name was crossed out to make it seem that the new interaction partner did not follow instructions and wrote his name despite not needing to. Not doing so may have resulted in participants being suspicious about their not being asked to place a name on the questionnaire they completed earlier. In addition, the responses to questions regarding ethnicity and gender stated that the new interaction partner was "Black" and "male" (see Appendix 9 for an example of format and items used). Participants were instructed to take a few moments and look over the questionnaire before getting started with the discussion.

While participants looked over the questionnaire, the experimenter set up the props for the mock discussion. This involved having eight chairs lined up in a row down a hallway directly across from the "discussion room" where the supposed interaction would be taking place. A sign with "Discussion Room" printed in Times New Roman font (i.e., size 150) was placed on the door to facilitate the instructions given to the participant when brought to the row of chairs. A plain book bag was placed on the first of eight chairs with a black coat hung over the corner of it. A book with African American leaders pictured at times of protest was also placed on top of the bag slightly angled to look as if being read by the supposed interaction partner while waiting to take part in the mock discussion. The only materials that needed to be set up for each participant were the props for the supposed new African American male interaction partner. The props were hidden to ensure that participants coming in for the study did not see them and risk the validity of the experiment. However, once participants were placed into individual cubicles, the props were set up to ensure a smooth transition to the second part of the study.

Once participants looked over the questionnaire, the experimenter returned and asked the participants to follow them to the discussion room. Participants were taken to the hallway where the eight chairs were lined up in a row. At the entrance to the hallway, the experimenter turned around and told participants that "Tyrone Washington" went to the bathroom real quick and left his belongings right there—pointing to the chair with the props (i.e., coat, bag, book). Participants were instructed to take a seat in one of the chairs while waiting for him to return and that once he returned they would move into the discussion room to the right—pointing to the door with the sign "Discussion Room". Once participants chose one of the chairs next to the belongings of the supposed interaction partner (i.e., Tyrone Washington), the experimenter recorded their choice of seat (i.e., chair 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). The experimenter proceeded to wait for a few minutes and during this time walked to the door and into the hallway (outside lab) as if looking for the discussion partner. Following a brief delay, the experimenter instructed participants that since "Tyrone Washington" has not returned, that they would continue on with the last few activities for the first part of the study. No participants expressed concern or were seemingly suspicious about this aspect of the experiment. Participants were taken back to the individual cubicle they were originally placed into for the beginning of the experiment.

Upon arriving back to the room, participants were given a demographic questionnaire identical to the one given in Experiment 2, with one exception. In Experiment 2 there was no measure directly assessing attitudes towards the relationship-relevant-outgroup (i.e., Blacks) as there was in Experiment 1 (i.e., homosexuals; index of homophobia). In actuality, there was only a measure of collective socially dominant views toward oppressed lower status groups and indirect measures of prejudice in the form of internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice. Therefore, in Experiment 3 the anti-black scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) was

implemented to determine if participants would tune toward or away from the ostensibly anti-black attitudes of the ball game players (see Appendix 10 for an example of format and items used).

Anti-black / pro-black. In Experiment 1, participants were made to believe that the supposed game players were conservative and anti-gay. To measure social tuning of relationship-relevant attitudes, a behavioral measure was used (i.e., length of interaction with ostensible homosexuals) as well as target paper and pencil measures directly assessing "anti-gay" (i.e., IOH) and "conservative" (i.e., SDO) attitudes. In Experiment 2, participants were made to believe that supposed game players were from conservative states and were anti-black. In addition to the behavioral measure (i.e., donation to organization representing African Americans), paper and pencil measures were used to directly address "conservative" attitudes (i.e., SDO), and internal and external motivations toward acting prejudiced (i.e., IMS, EMS). Notice that in Experiment 2, attitudes directly related to African Americans were not assessed. Therefore, in the current experiment it was important to determine if participants socially tuned toward or away from the anti-black sentiment of supposed game players on measures related specifically to African Americans.

Katz and Hass (1988) argue that anti-black and pro-black attitudes occur simultaneously in whites. For instance, it is believed typical for a white person to hold contradictory views including the belief that African Americans are both lazy and unwilling to help themselves out of their circumstance, while at the same time perceiving their situation as one that is the result of economic and political oppression. Given the success of the rejection and relationship motivation manipulations in both present and past experiments, social tuning of relationship-relevant anti-black attitudes was expected.

For exploratory purposes, pro-black attitudes were also measured. Pro-black attitudes were measured to determine if social tuning of relationship-relevant attitudes was muted when using an indirect measure with a positive connotation. In Experiment 2, social tuning of attitudes was muted when making a hypothetical donation to a powerful representative group of African Americans, and on measures of internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice. To that end, if positively connoted measures mute social tuning of relationship-relevant attitudes, the same should occur with the pro-black attitudes scale, and again with the internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales.

Anti-black attitudes were measured on a 10-item scale (Katz & Hass, 1988), including items like "the root cause of most of the social and economic ills of Blacks is the weakness and instability of the Black family." Pro-black attitudes were measured on a 10-item scale (Katz & Hass, 1988), including items like "Black people do not have the same employment opportunities that Whites do." Responses to the items were made on a scale of 0 to 5, with "0" indicating "strongly disagree" and "5" indicating "strongly agree", to rate participants' level of agreement with each set of ten statements.

As in Experiment 1 and 2, following the completion of the demographic questionnaire, participants were probed for suspicion of the methods and were fully debriefed.

5.2 Results

Primary analyses consisted of a series of 2 (Rejection: inclusion, exclusion) x 2 (Relationship Motivation: low, high) between-subjects analyses of variance (ANOVAs) on seating distance from belongings of an ostensibly African American interaction partner. In addition, participants indicated their endorsement of anti-black attitudes, endorsement of socially

dominant views, endorsement of pro-black attitudes, and internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice.

5.2.1 Seating distance from belongings of an African American. Relationship motivation moderated behavior toward a relationship-relevant-outgroup by participants seating distance from belongings of a supposed African American interaction partner, as indicated by a significant rejection by relationship motivation interaction, $F(1, 69) = 4.02$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .05$. As shown in Figure 10, participants unmotivated to remain connected with anti-black game partners sat closer to belongings of Tyrone Washington after excluded ($M = 1.24$, $SD = .44$) than included ($M = 1.72$, $SD = .83$), $F(1, 69) = 4.79$, $p = .03$. Participants' proximal seating distance from belongings of Tyrone Washington was equivalent whether excluded ($M = 1.68$, $SD = .63$) or included ($M = 1.54$, $SD = .66$) when they were motivated to remain connected with players in the game, $F < 1$, n.s.. Under conditions in which participants are unmotivated to maintain the relationship, rejection is met with rejection, but this effect is eliminated under conditions in which there is even minimal relationship motivation, suggesting that rejection by others one is interpersonally connected with results in conciliatory action. In addition, there was no main effect of rejection (exclusion: $M = 1.50$, $SD = .60$; inclusion: $M = 1.65$, $SD = .76$), $F(1, 69) = 1.21$, $p = .28$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: $M = 1.63$, $SD = .63$; low: $M = 1.49$, $SD = .70$), $F < 1$, n.s..

Further simple effect tests revealed that although participants' proximal seating distance to belongings of Tyrone Washington was equivalent whether motivated ($M = 1.54$, $SD = .66$) or unmotivated ($M = 1.72$, $SD = .83$) to maintain relationships with anti-black game partners who included them in the game, $F < 1$, n.s., participants increasingly distanced themselves from belongings of Tyrone Washington when motivated ($M = 1.68$, $SD = .63$) than unmotivated ($M =$

1.24, *SD* = .44) to maintain relationships with players who excluded them during the game, *F*(1, 69) = 4.14, *p* = .04.

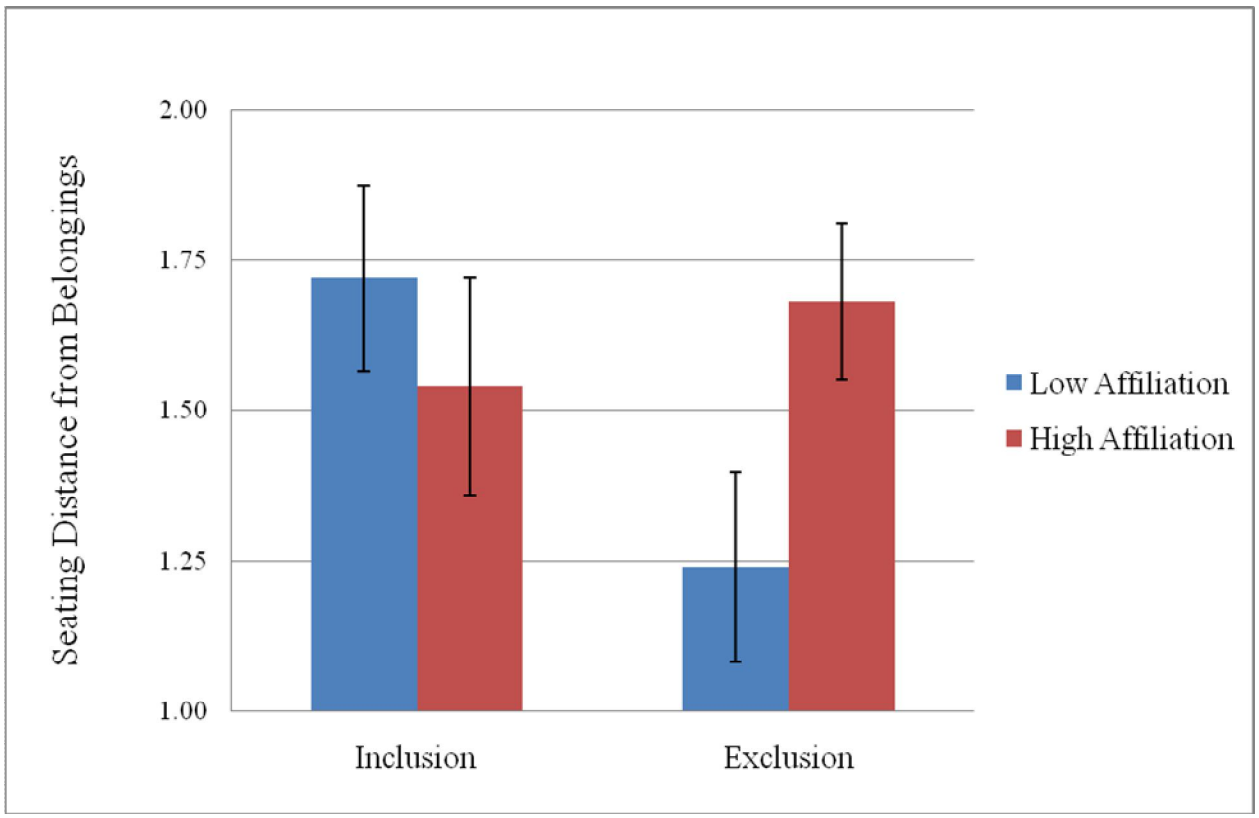


Figure 10. Seating distance from belongings (i.e., coat, bag, book) of an ostensibly new African American interaction partner as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

5.2.2 Explicit anti-black attitudes. In the current context, relationship motivation not only moderated behavior toward a relationship-relevant-outgroup, but also attitudes toward that outgroup, as indicated by a significant rejection by relationship motivation interaction, *F*(1, 69) = 4.59, *p* = .03, η^2 = .06. As shown in Figure 11, participants unmotivated to remain connected with anti-black game partners were equivalently anti-black whether excluded (*M* = 1.63, *SD* = .85) or included (*M* = 2.01, *SD* = 1.15), *F*(1, 69) = 1.20, *p* = .28, but were increasingly anti-black after excluded (*M* = 2.45, *SD* = .98) than included (*M* = 1.80, *SD* = 1.04) when they were motivated to remain connected with players in the game, *F*(1, 69) = 4.97, *p* =.02. Relationship

motivation induced a reconciliation effect as a function of rejection, thus reversing the standard effect of rejection, which includes negativity toward sources of rejection. The standard effect of rejection is replicated, but only under conditions in which rejection occurs by unimportant others for whom there is no interpersonal connection motivating people to reconcile. In addition, there was no main effect of rejection (exclusion: M = 2.12, SD = 1.00; inclusion: M = 1.92, SD = 1.09), $F < 1$, n.s., and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: M = 2.23, SD = 1.04; low: M = 1.83, SD = 1.02), $F(1, 69) = 1.55$, p =.22, $\eta^2 = .02$.

Further simple effect tests revealed that although participants' anti-black attitudes were equivalent whether motivated (M = 1.80, SD = 1.04) or unmotivated (M = 2.01, SD = 1.15) to maintain relationships with anti-black game partners who included them in the game, $F < 1$, n.s., participants were increasingly anti-black when motivated (M = 2.45, SD = .98) than unmotivated (M = 1.63, SD = .85) to maintain relationships with players who excluded them in the game, $F(1, 69) = 7.15$, $p = .009$.

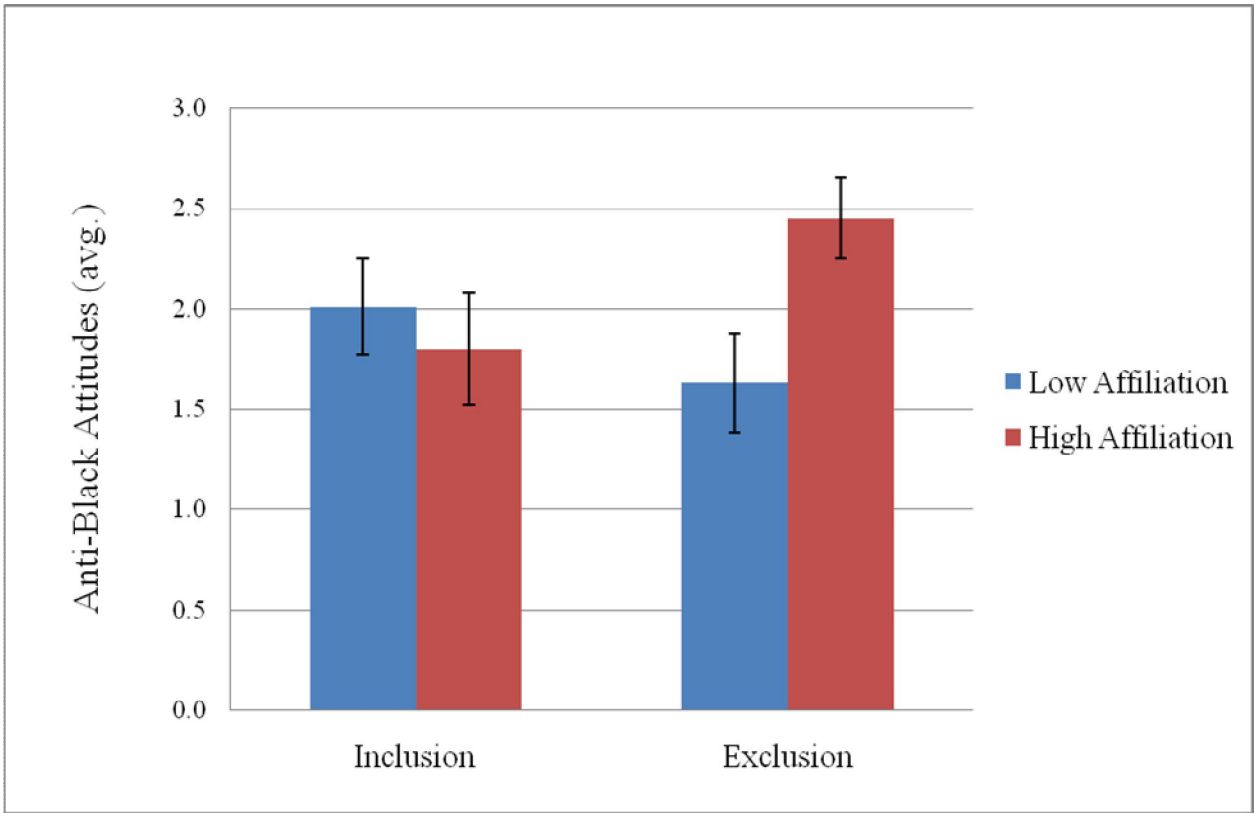


Figure 11. Anti-black attitudes as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

5.2.3 Explicit endorsement of socially dominant views. Relationship motivation moderated the first set of explicit attitudes implicating the relationship-relevant-outgroup, and here again socially dominant—conservative—views, as indicated by a marginally significant rejection by relationship motivation interaction, $F(1, 68) = 2.39$, $p = .12$, $\eta^2 = .03$. As shown in Figure 12, participants unmotivated to remain connected with anti-black conservative game partners endorsed socially dominant views equivalently whether excluded ($M = 1.73$, $SD = .83$) or included ($M = 1.94$, $SD = .87$), $F < 1$, n.s., but increasingly endorsed socially dominant views after excluded ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 1.09$) than included ($M = 2.07$, $SD = .85$) when they were motivated to remain connected with players in the game, $F(1, 68) = 3.93$, $p = .05$. Results show that even minimal relationship motivation eliminates and reverses the standard rejection effect, thus demonstrating conciliatory action as a function of rejection. Under conditions in which

participants are unmotivated to maintain the relationship, rejection is—if anything—met with rejection. In addition, there was no main effect of rejection (exclusion: $M = 2.21$, $SD = 1.06$; inclusion: $M = 2.00$, $SD = .85$), $F < 1$, n.s., and a main effect of relationship motivation in which participants increasingly endorsed socially dominant views when motivated ($M = 2.38$, $SD = 1.03$) than unmotivated ($M = 1.84$, $SD = .85$) to remain connected with players in the game, $F(1, 68) = 4.36$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .06$.

Further simple effect tests revealed that although participants endorsed socially dominant views equivalently whether motivated ($M = 2.07$, $SD = .85$) or unmotivated ($M = 1.94$, $SD = .87$) to maintain relationships with anti-black conservative game partners who included them in the game, $F < 1$, n.s., participants increasingly endorsed socially dominant views when motivated ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 1.09$) than unmotivated ($M = 1.73$, $SD = .83$) to maintain relationships with players who excluded them in the game, $F(1, 68) = 8.16$, $p = .006$.

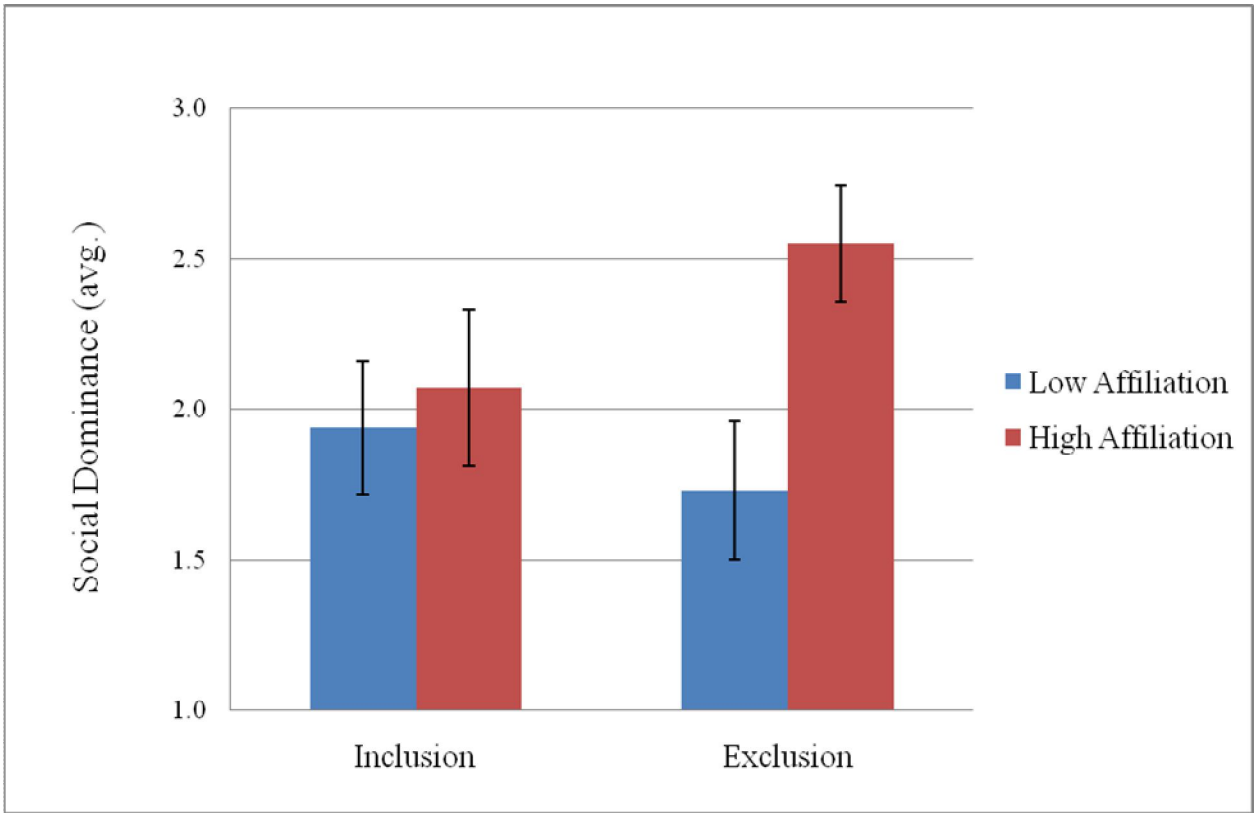


Figure 12. Social dominance as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

5.2.4 Explicit pro-black attitudes. Participants' pro-black attitudes were not affected by the rejection and relationship motivation manipulations, $F < 1$, n.s.. In addition, there was a significant main effect in which participants were increasingly pro-black when excluded (M = 2.68, SD = .90) than included (M = 2.16, SD = 1.10) by anti-black conservative game partners, $F(1, 69) = 5.69$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .08$, and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: M = 2.39, SD = .96; low: M = 2.54, SD = 1.08), $F(1, 69) = 1.03$, $p = .31$, $\eta^2 = .01$.

5.2.5 Self-reported internal motivation to respond without prejudice. Neither the rejection by relationship motivation interaction, nor the main effect of rejection or relationship motivation, was significant for internally based motivations to respond without anti-black prejudice.

5.2.6 Self-reported external motivation to respond without prejudice. Neither the rejection by relationship motivation interaction, nor the main effect of rejection or relationship

motivation, was significant for externally based motivations to respond without anti-black prejudice.

5.2.7 Moderating role of implicit self-esteem on explicit attitudes. It is again important to test whether participants were higher or lower in implicit self-esteem following rejection and relationship motivation manipulations before proceeding to determine if self-esteem moderated social tuning effects. For this aspect of data analysis, 8 participants had missing data per the scoring algorithm for implicit self-esteem because they rated all letters of the alphabet as equally likeable. As a result, there was no variability in liking and thus no proper score for implicit self-esteem. Neither the rejection by relationship motivation interaction, nor the main effect of rejection or relationship motivation, was significant.

To assess whether implicit self-esteem moderated social tuning, explicit anti-black attitudes were submitted to a 2 (Rejection: inclusion, exclusion) x 2 (Relationship Motivation: low, high) x 2 (Implicit Self-Esteem; low, high) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA). To determine low or high implicit self-esteem, a median split was performed (Mdn = 1.88, SD = 1.15). Participants below the median were considered low in implicit self-esteem (N = 32) and participants above the median were considered high in implicit self-esteem (N = 33).

Here again the moderating effect of relationship motivation on rejection-related social tuning occurred among participants low in implicit self-esteem, but not among participants high in implicit self-esteem, as indicated by a marginally significant three-way interaction, $F(1, 57) = 3.76$, $p = .057$, $\eta^2 = .05$. As shown in Figure 13, anti-black attitudes varied as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations among low self-esteem participants, as indicated by a significant interaction, $F(1, 28) = 9.19$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .23$. Low self-esteem participants unmotivated to remain connected with anti-black game partners were less anti-black

after excluded (M = 1.20, SD = .80) than included (M = 2.67, SD = .85), $F(1, 28) = 9.02$, p = .006, but low self-esteem participants anti-black attitudes were equivalent whether excluded (M = 2.20, SD = .84) or included (M = 1.69, SD = 1.03) when they were motivated to remain connected with players in the game, $F(1, 28) = 1.34$, p = .25. In addition, there was no main effect of rejection (exclusion: M = 1.87, SD = .93; inclusion: M = 2.21, SD = 1.04), $F(1, 28)$ = 2.18, p = .15, η^2 = .06, and no main effect of relationship motivation (high: M = 1.98, SD = .94; low: M = 2.14, SD = 1.08), $F < 1$, n.s..

Further simple effect tests revealed that low self-esteem participants were less anti-black when motivated (M = 1.69, SD = 1.03) than unmotivated (M = 2.67, SD = .85) to maintain relationships with anti-black game partners who included them in the game, $F(1, 28) = 5.26$, p = .02. In contrast, low self-esteem participants were marginally more anti-black when motivated (M = 2.20, SD = .84) than unmotivated (M = 1.20, SD = .80) to maintain relationships with players who excluded them in the game, $F(1, 28) = 2.95$, p = .09.

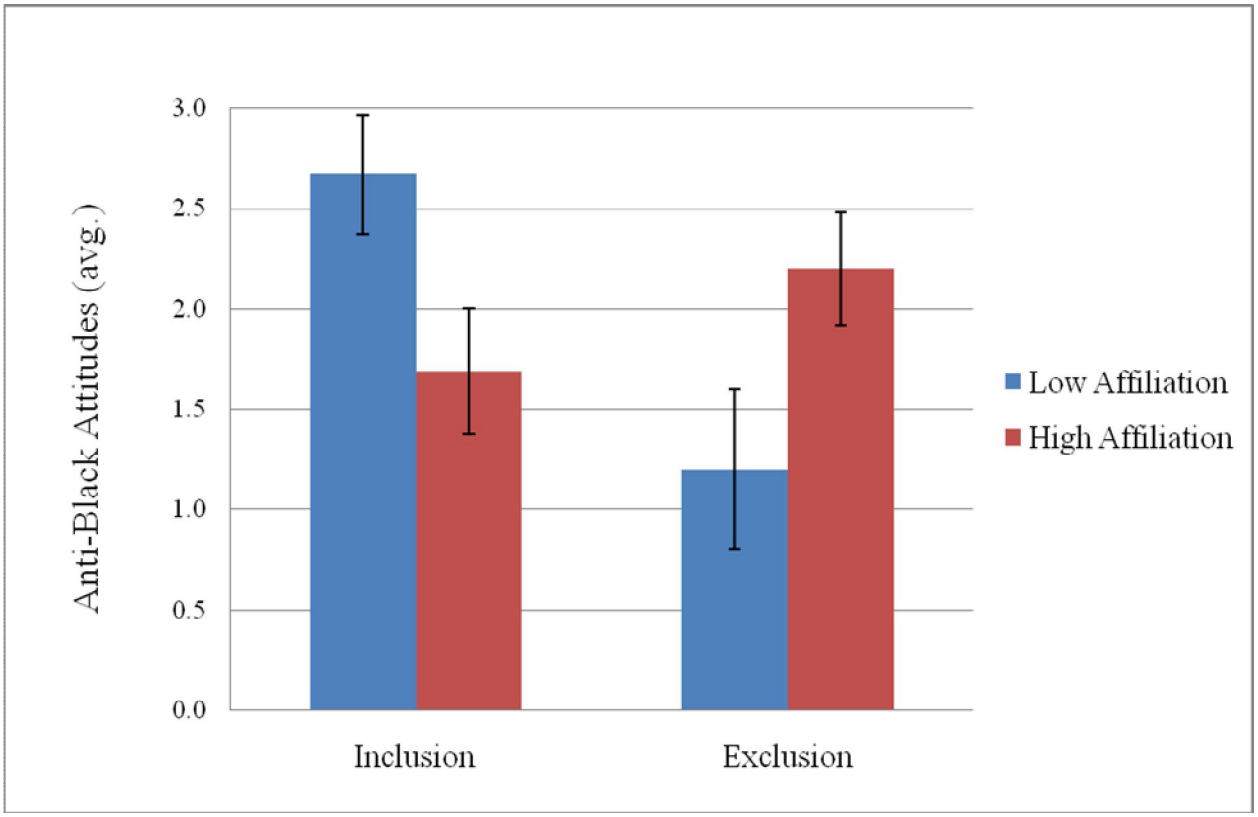


Figure 13. Anti-black attitudes among low self-esteem individuals as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

Among participants high in implicit self-esteem, anti-black attitudes did not vary as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations, $F < 1$, n.s.. As shown in Figure 14, relationship motivation again did not moderate rejection-related social tuning among high self-esteem participants. Clearly, high self-esteem participants bolster themselves against interpersonal threats and do not seek to reconcile as a function of rejection, even under conditions of minimal relationship motivation. Although high self-esteem participants do not seek to reconcile with rejecters, the result replicates the common anti-rejecter finding elicited as a consequence of rejection. There was a marginally significant main effect of rejection in which participants were increasingly anti-black after exclusion ($M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.03$) than inclusion ($M = 1.57$, $SD = 1.09$) in the game, $F(1, 29) = 3.37$, $p = .07$, $\eta^2 = .10$. There was also a marginally significant main effect of relationship motivation in which participants were increasingly anti-

black after motivated (M = 2.44, SD = 1.14) than unmotivated (M = 1.68, SD = 1.01) to remain connected with anti-black game partners, $F(1, 29) = 2.59$, $p = .11$, $\eta^2 = .07$.

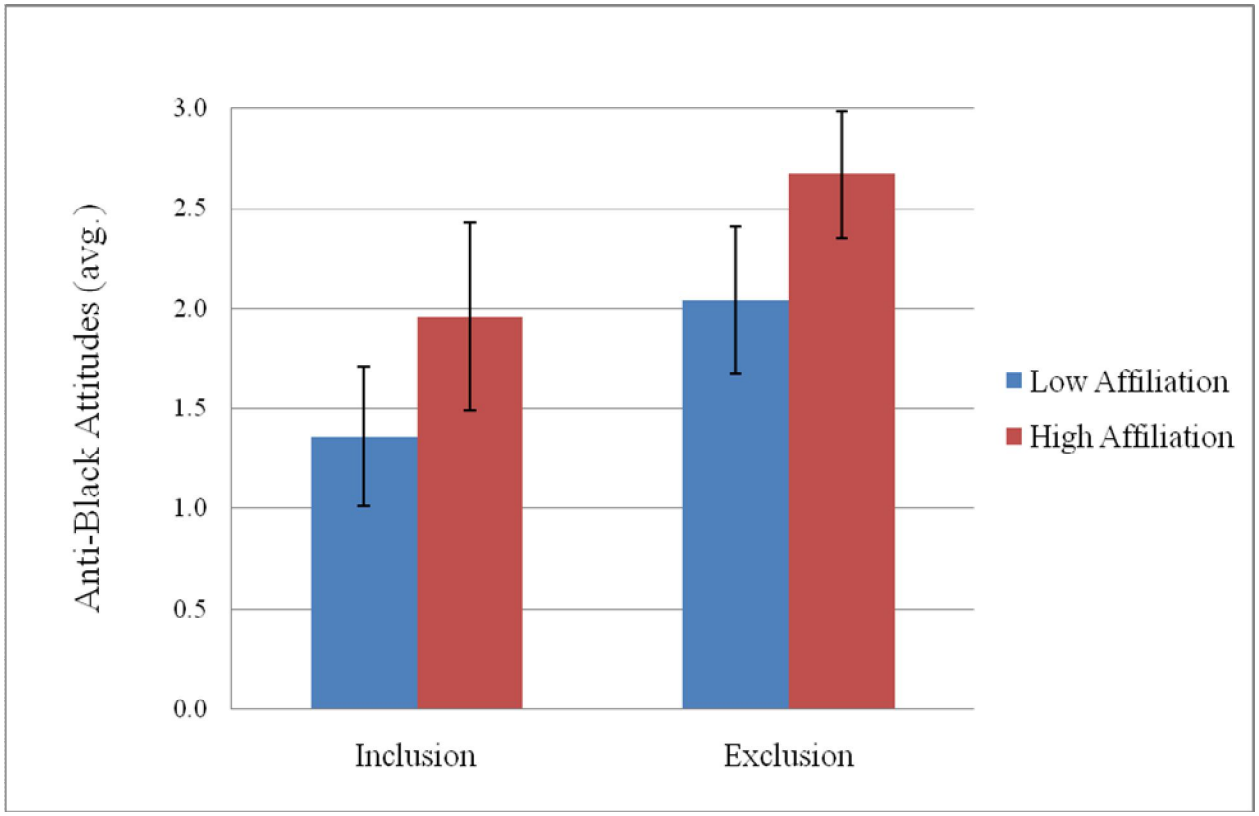


Figure 14. Anti-black attitudes among high self-esteem individuals as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations.

The moderating effect of implicit self-esteem on rejection-related social tuning was not observed for seating distance from belongings of Tyrone Washington, endorsement of socially dominant views, pro-black attitudes, and internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice.

5.3 Discussion

Experiment 3 was conducted to extend the findings of the previous experiments and test in a different context whether or not the general response to rejection can be eliminated, and in some cases reversed, under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation. Under conditions of low relationship motivation, rejection elicits rejection for unimportant others, as

demonstrated in the lack of social tuning, and in some cases anti-tuning of relationship-relevant anti-black attitudes. This supports the common finding that people do not like or want to associate with sources of rejection for whom there is little motivation to get along with. When even minimally motivated to get along with interaction partners, the common rejection elicits rejection finding is reversed and reconciliation occurs as a function of rejection. Conciliatory action is demonstrated in participants social tuning toward relationship-relevant anti-black attitudes, thus illustrating their attempt to maintain shared reality with rejecters through perspective taking. This demonstrates that affiliative responses toward sources of rejection are possible, but the level of interpersonal connectedness must be considered to distinguish between pro- and anti-social responses. Motivation to get along under these conditions was indicated by relationship-relevant social tuning behaviorally, which included sitting further from belongings of a supposed African American interaction partner. Social tuning occurred explicitly among participants including becoming increasingly anti-black and socially dominant. Social tuning effects on anti-black attitudes were especially strong among participants low in self-esteem, thus providing further evidence that low self-esteem participants are less able to bolster themselves to rejection, and are thus more malleable.

The evidence of Experiment 3 finely demonstrates that relationship motivation is the distinguishing factor for understanding responses to rejection. To date, the literature on this topic continues to offer evidence that rejection elicits anti-social and aggressive responses toward sources of rejection. In doing so, it has failed to consider the importance of the rejection-relationship. In considering relationship motivation as a mitigating factor, this research offers a new perspective for understanding responses to rejection and suggests that when even minimally motivated to get along with rejecters, the standard effect is eliminated, and in some cases

reversed as a result of participants socially tuning toward relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes. While demonstrating a new and interesting take on responses to rejection, these results replicate the common finding that rejection by unimportant others results in anti-social responses and flat out rejection of the rejecters themselves. In the current context, this is demonstrated by anti-tuning away from relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes, thus shunning the perspective of rejecters.

Similar to Experiments 1 and 2, social tuning of attitudes was especially strong among participants with low implicit self-esteem on the primary target measure of explicit attitudes. Beyond the target measure of explicit attitudes, the social tuning effects were not as strong among low than high self-esteem participants. This is attributed to the fact that low self-esteem and fragile self-worth facilitate social tuning (or anti-tuning) of relationship-relevant attitudes as a way of expressing motivation to gain reacceptance from either sources of exclusion or the outgroup implicated in relationship-relevant attitudes. To some extent, this is not a bad thing since there may be adaptive value for a person's seeking reacceptance by a group who has shunned them, or from new sources of affiliation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). In contrast, high self-esteem and a relatively secure view of self inhibits social tuning (or anti-tuning) since self-worth facilitates self-preservation in the face of interpersonal (e.g., Jones, Pelham, Mirenberg, & Hetts, 2002) and existential threat (Harmon-Jones, Simon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & McGregor, 1997).

Based on the argument above, I argue that beyond the initial motivation to forage social bonds with sources of exclusion—as was demonstrated on the target measure of explicit attitudes in Experiment 3—low self-esteem participants' goals were satisfied. If this is indeed the case, dissimilarity between low and high self-esteem individuals' tendency to attitudinally tune toward

or away from relationship-relevant attitudes should no longer remain following the initial measure of explicit attitudes. In support of this, social tuning toward or away from relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes was equivalent among low and high self-esteem participants on measures immediately following the target measure of explicit attitudes.

Based on the null findings in Experiment 2 regarding donations to the NAACP and internal/external motivations to respond without prejudice, it was argued that the positive undertone of these measures may have subdued social tuning effects. In Experiment 3, to further examine whether the positive undertone of measures subdues social tuning effects, a pro-black attitudes measure was incorporated along with internal/external motivation to respond without prejudice scales used in Experiment 2. As predicted, attitudinal tuning of relationship-relevant attitudes was not reflected in pro-black attitudes and in internally and externally based motivations to respond without prejudice. Given the success of the rejection and relationship motivation manipulations on attitudinal tuning, it is not plausible to consider that this occurred without warrant. One potential explanation for this is that measures with a positive undertone subdue attitudinal tuning. Just as a hypothetical donation is discrepant to the actual donation given with one's own money, it is reasonable to believe that under the aforementioned conditions, questionnaires with positive merit elicit an empathetic and not true natured response from participants.

6. GENERAL DISCUSSION

Three experiments—assessing social tuning of relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes—provide empirical support that rejection not only induces affiliative responses to new interaction partners (e.g., Maner et al., 2007), but also induces a reconciliation effect with sources of rejection. Findings over the past 50 years have largely dismissed the notion that people might be willing to get along with rejecters, since it has been well established that rejection elicits outright rejection for the source. I argue that the one distinguishing factor of pro- and anti-social responses to rejection is the importance of the rejection-relationship, otherwise defined here as relationship motivation. While eliminating and in some cases reversing the standard rejection finding upon experiencing even minimal relationship motivation, the standard finding is replicated when there is no relationship motivation. This evidence aptly demonstrates and suggests that the mitigating factor for understanding responses to rejection is relationship motivation. Experiencing relationship motivation heightens attempts to share reality with interaction partners through social tuning of relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes. At the same time, when no relationship motivation exists, there is a decreased motivation to share reality with interaction partners as demonstrated through anti-tuning from relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes.

6.1 Implications of current findings

The findings from these three experiments demonstrate that people can be situationally motivated to get along with sources of rejection, but only when experiencing even minimal relationship motivation. Results corroborate the unlikelihood that people are simply able to rid themselves of all relationships where rejection occurs. To do so would assuredly be haphazard and quite foolish, thus it is only sensible that one make a continued investment in relationships

when heuristics for "liking" are facilitated in shared self-relevant characteristics. Similarities—even with sources of rejection—prompt ingroup favoritism reflected in alignment of one's attitudes with those interaction partners. These results implicate Fritz Heider's (1958) work suggesting that establishing rapport with others is mutually exclusive and dependent on perceptions that self-relevant characteristics are shared between interaction partners. This demonstrates the powerful constraints of similarity on liking for others and how similarity is socially binding under conditions of interpersonal threat.

The impetus of this work is the continued emphasis in the literature suggesting that rejection elicits contempt for sources of rejection—when early evidence suggests that people desire to remain a member when rejected by an attractive group (e.g., Jackson & Saltzstein, 1957) and even when rejected for personal reasons (e.g., Snoek, 1962). The current findings demonstrate that a fundamentally human need for belonging motivates people to act in ways that restore social bonds following rejection. Whether a person seeks to restore social bonds with a rejecting partner—or a new source of affiliation unrelated to the rejection experience—depends on whether a person experiences even a little motivation to stay invested in the rejection-relationship. Under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation, people were driven to restore thwarted needs with rejecting partners to the extent that they became prejudiced behaviorally and explicitly toward relationship-relevant-outgroups—including homosexuals and blacks. While capturing a new and counterintuitive dynamic of post-rejection affiliation, the common finding of more than 50 years is replicated when people are unmotivated to maintain relationships with rejecters. Under conditions in which there is no relationship motivation with seemingly unimportant rejecters, anti-tuning away from rejection-relationship-relevant attitudes occurs. Anti-tuning away from these attitudes thus replicates the common finding that rejection

by unimportant others is met with rejection. When sharing self-relevant characteristics with fictional characters in the ball-tossing game, it is evident that people no longer regard rejecters as unimportant, but as an unequivocally important ingroup capable of fulfilling epistemic needs (e.g., Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002).

6.1.1 Implications for current understanding of pro- and anti-social responses to rejection. Although many explanations may account for the disparity in findings of affiliative and anti-social responses following rejection, it is important to consider the methodology leading to these findings. Many of the experiments used paradigms proven effective for eliciting rejection, but revealed either no sources of rejection or sources of rejection that were no more consequential to the person than are strangers. Being rejected by unimportant others hurts people's feelings and creates social anxiety due to our aversion for rejection (e.g., Baumeister & Tice, 1990). However, desire to be nice to sources of rejection is not necessarily reasonable without a motivation to do so.

In the research demonstrating affiliative responses toward rejecters or new sources of affiliation, the rejecters were considered part of an attractive group—e.g., group members match on ability to work together—and new interaction partners were portrayed as "real" sources of affiliation—e.g., part of a friend service. In contrast, research showing anti-social responses portrayed rejecters as strangers—e.g., no information provided—and new sources of affiliation as only means to an end in the experiment—e.g., having participants allocate hot sauce in an ostensibly unrelated task. To account for this problem in the current experiments, motivation to maintain relationships with ball game players was manipulated through characteristics self-reported by participants on a preliminary questionnaire. Inducing relationship motivation to

remain connected with game players provided a method for empirically testing whether people would seek to re-establish social bonds with ball game players attitudinally.

Based on the findings from the now five experiments demonstrating a reconciliation effect under conditions of relationship motivation, there is reason to believe that the factor crucial to understanding the disparity in findings is perceived importance of the rejection-relationship. The paradigm used for these experiments allowed for the replication of previous findings, while breathing new life into the possibility that people will seek to maintain relationships with rejecters through social tuning of relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes. Social tuning occurs only under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation when they know nothing about the interaction partners other than they share self-relevant characteristics.

Aside from situations of interpersonal rejection, past research has shown that people overwhelmingly like people without any knowledge about them other than mutually shared self-reported attitudes (Byrne & Nelson, 1965; Byrne, 1969). The antithesis is also true. Research has shown that people believe that others will overwhelmingly like them without knowing anything about them other than they share attitudes (Aronson & Worchel, 1966). Therefore, it is certainly clear why the presence or absence of relationship motivation—instantiated in shared or unshared self-relevant characteristics—prompted liking or disliking as reflected in social tuning toward and away from rejection-relationship-relevant attitudes.

6.1.2 The moderating role of implicit self-esteem on explicit attitudes and not behavior. In Experiments 1-3, implicit-self esteem was measured through what has been termed the "name letter effect" (Nuttin, 1985; 1987). Implicit self-esteem is believed to operate out of conscious awareness and is reflected in self-relevant characteristics (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Implicit self-esteem is measured indirectly by collecting likeability ratings on all twenty-six letters of the

alphabet. If people show a higher preference for letters of their own name—particularly first initials of first and last name in comparison to all others—this is believed to imply a relatively high level of implicit self-esteem, and the reverse implies low levels of implicit self-esteem (Kitayama & Rarasawa, 1997). Research has shown that implicit self-esteem is a stable trait and is consistent over long periods of time (Koole, Dijksterhuis, & Knippenberg, 2001).

Past research on conformity suggests that low self-esteem participants are more susceptible to social influence because conformity is a way in which to replenish self-esteem through social standing (Aronson, 2008). Mark Leary and colleagues postulate that self-esteem is a "sociometer" and serves as a gauge of social acceptance (Leary et al., 1995). If one's level of acceptance is too low, people are motivated to behave in ways that will decrease chances for rejection and—to that end—would be reflected in higher self-esteem because of acceptance (Leary, 2005). As the need to belong was based on evolutionary pressures to remain in groups for survival (cf. Baumeister & Leary, 1995), so too is an interpersonal gauge of acceptance that is argued to monitor relations within groups to maintain harmony, prevent exclusion from the group, and ultimately death (Leary et al., 1995).

Self-esteem played a moderating role in Experiments 1-3 on target measures of anti-gay attitudes (Experiment 1), socially dominant views (Experiment 2), and anti-black attitudes (Experiment 3). The signature social tuning effect of relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes occurred among low than high self-esteem individuals in all three experiments. Social tuning of relationship-relevant attitudes occurred among low self-esteem participants, but only under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation. The opposite occurred under conditions in which there was no relationship motivation, as demonstrated in the anti-tuning of relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes.

Low self-esteem participants appear hypervigilant in making amends following rejection, whether with sources of rejection under conditions of minimal relationship motivation, or with new sources of affiliation—implicated in relationship-relevant attitudes—under conditions of no relationship motivation. A reconciliation effect occurred when low self-esteem participants tuned their attitudes toward prejudiced interaction partners following rejection, but only when motivated to get along with those interaction partners by sharing self-relevant characteristics.

When unmotivated following rejection, low self-esteem participants anti-tuned away from relationship-relevant attitudes and became more pro-outgroup. The same effect did not, however, occur on behavioral measures—length of interaction with ostensible homosexuals in a second ball-tossing game (Experiment 1), donation to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Experiment 2), seating distance from belongings of Tyrone Washington (Experiment 3)—and measures following the target measure of explicit relationship-relevant attitudes.

In regard to behavior, this was surprising because it has been well documented that implicit self-esteem plays a crucial role in making important life decisions like who a person likes and associates with (Jones, et al., 2001). It evens influences where a person chooses to live and what career path they partake in (Pelham et al., 2002). Clearly implicit self-esteem has some part in moderating behavior, but not in the current set of experiments for apparent methodological reasons. As a result of the exploratory nature of testing implicit self-esteem, the measure was filled out after the behavioral measures were completed. Perhaps the utility of implicit self-esteem would have been demonstrated behaviorally if it had been assessed directly following the ball-tossing game and prior to the behavioral measures.

Attitudinal tuning among low self-esteem participants is believed not to have occurred on

subsequent measures because target measures enabled them to act out on the rejection as expected. Low self-esteem individuals are known to be hypervigilant and seek to repair thwarted needs following interpersonal threats (e.g., Wilkowski, Robinson, & Friesen, 2009). On the other hand, high implicit self-esteem individuals are relatively unaffected by ego threats and are better equipped to bolster themselves in response to interpersonal threats (e.g., Anthony, Wood, & Holmes, 2007; Bosson et al., 2003). These differences are err apparent on the primary measure of relationship-relevant attitudes in Experiments 1-3, but dissipate immediately following this on subsequent measures—presumably having already fulfilled the need to act out.

A great deal of research portrays low self-esteem individuals as weak and fragile minded and high self-esteem individuals as well equipped for dealing with interpersonal threats. In all fairness though, it has been shown in previous research that "narcissists"—who exuberate self-confidence explicitly—but not so much implicitly—are more likely to aggress against sources of threat than are low self-esteem individuals (Bushman & Baumeister, 1998). Therefore, it is not our intent to stigmatize low self-esteem individuals as being inept and malleable when there is evidence to suggest that high self-esteem participants are just as culpable of similar behaviors in many situations.

Explicit self-esteem was not assessed in the current set of experiments, therefore the discussion here is more speculative. It is, however, important to point out that past research has shown that implicit and explicit self-esteem are unrelated—often resulting in more or less self-enhancement strategies depending on the combination of the two following "ego" threat (Bosson et al., 2003). Although speculative, perhaps low implicit self-esteem individuals were more reactive to threats because they are not equipped—on an implicit level—to bolster themselves against interpersonal threat. After all, this is the explanation for why narcissistic types aggress

against sources of threat (Bushman & Baumesiter, 1998). In the current context, it is believed that this fragility enabled receptivity to anti-gay and anti-black rejecters when motivated to get along with them by explicitly derogating outgroups. In contrast, they were more receptive to outgroups—while defiant to anti-gay and anti-black rejecters—when unmotivated to get along with them.

One of the potential shortcomings of the moderating effect of implicit self-esteem in the current line of experiments is the low number of individuals per cell. The target number of participants sought for each experiment was 60-80 because of the 2 x 2 between-subjects factorial design employed. Due to the exploratory nature of implicit self-esteem, the need for further participants was not taken into consideration in the design phase of the experiments. As a result of the moderating effect of relationship-relevant attitudes in three experiments, it is imperative that our future research take this into consideration and achieve an adequate number of participants for a 2 x 2 x 2 between-subjects factorial design (N = 120). That said, let this not distract from the strong findings across three experiments demonstrating that attitudinal tuning on target measures of explicit attitudes was specific to low self-esteem individuals.

6.1.3 Muted attitudinal tuning on measures with a positive undertone. In Experiments 2-3, attitudinal tuning did not occur on a behavioral measure and explicit measures with a positive undertone. This included the donation task that involved participants making hypothetical donations to a representative organization of African Americans (i.e., NAACP) as an indicator of altruism (Experiment 2). The explicit measures included the internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales in Experiments 2-3, and a pro-black attitudes scale in Experiment 3.

As mentioned above, hypothetical donations are inherently positive and are often not a true reflection of peoples' capacity for helping (Champ & Bishop, 2001). When designing the experiments, this was not taken into consideration because it was believed that the strength of relationship motivation as a manipulation would elicit attitudinal tuning as exhibited on the other behavioral measures in Experiments 1 and 3.

One alternative way to characterize the donation task would have been to give participants the money to keep instead of telling them they had only a chance at winning a percentage of the money placed in the experiment fund. This may have taken the "hypothetical" connotation out of the donation task and may have resulted in an accurate depiction of people's attitudes toward blacks—as reflected in their donations. To place more of an emphasis on the capacities for social tuning—as was done with more subtle methods in other measures of behavioral tuning—participants would have been more engaged in the donation process and not biased in their responses because of the implications the donation would have on the amount of money with which they leave the experiment.

In regard to the internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales, it is believed that tuning did not occur because the statements participants rate their level of agreement with are phrased positively (see Appendix 8 for example of items). For example, "I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be non-prejudiced toward African Americans"—an example of internal motivation to respond without prejudice—and "Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear non-prejudiced toward African Americans"—an example of external motivation to respond without prejudice—imply situations under which people want to act in socially acceptable ways.

The problem with the phrasing of these questions is that it appears to inhibit people from acting according to their actual position. Implied in these questions are societal and personal norms for not responding with prejudice because of the consequences for doing so. Although speculative, this may have hindered the expression of willingness to respond with prejudice that was easily conveyed—for example—on the preceding target measure of socially dominant views in Experiment 2 and anti-black attitudes in Experiment 3.

Past research has demonstrated the effectiveness of these scales on reasoning for acting without restraint toward African Americans (Plant & Devine, 1998). However, as ostensible measures of prejudice toward African Americans, these scales were not sensitive to attitudinal tuning in the context of anti-black ball game players. Attitudinal tuning did exist in the current experiments on other target attitudes, therefore the manipulations proved effective on relationship-relevant—not irrelevant—attitudes. To that end, it is difficult to insinuate that motivations to respond without prejudice were implicitly or explicitly illustrated when conveying anti-black attitudes with the "general questionnaire" provided at the beginning of the experiment. The lack of attitudinal tuning, therefore, may also have resulted from not having communicated these motivations to participants explicitly.

To further understand the lack of attitudinal tuning on the behavioral and explicit measure in Experiment 2, a pro-black attitudes scale was implemented in Experiment 3. Results showed that tuning was again muted on the pro-black scale as a function of rejection and relationship motivation manipulations. Participants were led to believe that the ball game players were anti-black and by implication would not be pro-black. Even when these attitudes were implicated explicitly—unlike motivations to respond without prejudice—the effect did not exist on a scale with a positive undertone. This further demonstrates that scales with a positive

undertone hinder expression of prejudicial attitudes because the attitudes are capturing a different dimension aside from what was conveyed during the experiment. It further implicates the problem with attitudinal tuning on attitudes that were not made apparent, nor could easily be inferred from knowing that someone is—for example—anti-black.

6.1.4 Attitudinal tuning when included in a game of toss. In the extant literature on rejection, the standard method is to manipulate rejection experience. Depending on condition, approximately half the participants are excluded and the other half of participants are included. The paradigm of choice for this line of research included utilizing an online game of toss. Participants are led to believe they are playing the game with other students participating in the experiment.

Once entered into the game—which opens up in a web browser to make it appear they are connected to the internet—participants in the exclusion condition proceed to get excluded from a game of toss after first having received the ball one time from each of the other players. When excluded, participants just sit there and see the other ostensibly real players tossing the ball only among themselves as if to taunt the participant. Participants in the inclusion condition receive the ball equally from each of the other players throughout the game.

The basis of our predictions are derived from shared reality theory (e.g., Hardin & Higgins, 1996), which postulates that in the context of motivation to get along, people feel compelled to achieve common ground through aligning their attitudes with interaction partners (Sinclair et al., 2005a). The emphasis of this work was on identifying differences in behavioral and attitudinal tuning under conditions of threat by fictional characters one was motivated (or not) to maintain relationships with. There were thus no clear predictions made for the inclusion condition. That said, in the current experiments, there were situations in which differences

existed within the inclusion condition between people who were motivated or unmotivated to remain connected with the game players.

In some circumstances, people became more anti- the relationship-relevant-outgroup when unmotivated than motivated to get along with ostensibly anti-gay or anti-black players. Affiliative social tuning hypothesis—a derivative of shared reality theory (Hardin & Higgins, 1996)—postulates that alignment of attitudes will occur under conditions of relationship motivation. Under conditions where relationship motivation is non-existent, people will most likely do nothing, or will ensure that their attitudes are divergent from the interaction partners (Sinclair et al., 2005a).

In the current experiments, the findings from the inclusion condition deviate from what is predicted by affiliative social tuning hypothesis. The findings supporting affiliative social tuning hypothesis were not collected in the context of inclusion, but it is perfectly reasonable to expect differences in attitudinal tuning when included—perhaps as an indication of reciprocal liking.

The antithesis of exclusion—which prompts feeling bad—is inclusion—which prompts feeling good. It is not inconceivable to believe that under conditions of inclusion, people feel the need to reciprocate despite not experiencing high relationship motivation. Research has shown that a person will automatically like another person if he or she is told only that the other person likes them (Kubitschek & Hallinan, 1998; Secord & Backman, 1964), or will be more responsive nonverbally if an interaction partner conveys liking through similar nuances (Gold, Ryckman, & Mosley, 1984).

Similar to situations faced in everyday social interaction, if a person interacts with someone they are not familiar with, they will be motivated to establish rapport with this person when none exists. This is essentially what the inclusion condition presents when people are

unmotivated to get along with ball game players. When participants are unmotivated to get along with the ball game players—but are thrown the ball and inevitably perceive them as likeable—they feel the need to reciprocate and demonstrate this by aligning their attitudes with the ball game players. This finding coincides with the fact that people are motivated to like those who like them, and are thus motivated to achieve shared reality through perspective taking. Liking is demonstrated through attitudinal tuning as a way of making sense of the interaction and fulfilling epistemic needs for belonging.

When included and motivated to maintain relationships with ball game players, attitudinal tuning is not as pronounced as when there is no motivation to remain connected. Although contra the predictions of affiliative social tuning hypothesis, perhaps it is not expected—in the least—that people who share self-relevant characteristics would do anything but include others in a game of toss. If these demands are met—which they are under those conditions—there is not an implicit motivation to reciprocate the kind gesture because it is generally expected that those who are similar will equally like one another to the same degree. There is, thus, no overt motivation to act in ways that would prompt further liking when the goals of the interaction were satisfied by the inclusion.

6.2 Implications of social identity theory on attitudinal tuning

Although the predictions and findings in the current experiments implicate shared reality theory (e.g., Hardin & Higgins, 1996), another theoretical perspective bears recognition in lieu of these findings. Social identity theory postulates that people see themselves and others through the lens of group membership and seek to promote the vitality of the group by acting in ways to benefit the ingroup relative to the outgroup (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This manner of thinking has been characterized by social identity theorists as

beneficial on the one hand because of the implications that thinking positively about one's associations has on self-esteem (e.g., Tajfel, 1982)—while on the other hand serving as a platform for explicit racial bias (e.g., Hewstone et al., 2002) and discrimination up to and including genocide (e.g., Hewstone & Cairns 2001).

With the use of a ball-tossing game, the current experiments employ a "minimal group" paradigm eliciting an "ingroup" dimension. The "outgroup" dimension is implicated in our conveying prejudicial attitudes of the fictional ball game players prior to the game and measuring alignment (social tuning) of those attitudes directly following it (e.g., Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971). Similar to predictions made by shared reality theory, social identity theorists have found that perceptions of similarity or mutual interests strengthen ingroup over outgroup favoritism (Brewer, 1979). As a result, under conditions of even minimal relationship motivation, one would expect heightened favoritism for the ingroup conveyed in perspective taking despite the interpersonal threat posed by rejection.

In our experiments, when motivated to maintain relationships with ball game players—i.e., similarity to other members prompting ingroup favoritism—alignment of attitudes with prejudicial players occurred despite rejection. This demonstrates that the ingroup is able to exhibit social control over members of the group even after a rejection experience, which by implication would indicate the termination of the relationship. To that end, ingroup favoritism exists after interpersonal rejection and is strongest when motivated to re-establish social bonds with those individuals. The same loyalty does not occur when motivation to remain connected is non-existent. Rather than side with interaction partners one was unmotivated to maintain relationships with and who excluded them, participants sided with the outgroup and defended

them by endorsing prejudicial attitudes less—presumably in defiance to the now considered outgroup.

In the inclusion condition, the opposite occurred. This is most likely due to the dimensions of the interaction. When included by others one was unmotivated to maintain relationships with, there was a propensity to side with the majority—attitudinal tuning toward the prejudicial views—as an apparent way of establishing rapport with others who treated them nicely in the game. Since humans are predisposed to seeing the world through group memberships—and since the success of interactions with others depends on reaching common ground—it is not impractical to consider that the need to identify and establish "shared reality" guided behavior in this context when treated nicely by other individuals who happened to be prejudiced.

In one related series of experiments used to test the boundaries of ingroup bias and its effect on outgroup discrimination, participants were assigned to groups to make it seem that they were part of an ingroup and that others were part of an outgroup (Locksley, Ortiz, & Hepburn, 1980). Bias toward the outgroup was hindered or exacerbated when participants were given feedback about the chips allocated to them individually by ingroup and outgroup members (Locksley et al., 1980). They found that participants were more discriminatory toward the outgroup when members of the ingroup were nice to them and allocated more tokens to them than the outgroup. This bias subsided when led to believe that the outgroup allocated a higher number of chips to them in comparison to their assigned ingroup. In relation to the current set of findings, people's loyalties lie with whoever treats them better. If included by prejudiced people, results show that one feels inclined to adopt similar views and become increasingly prejudiced toward a relationship-relevant-outgroup. On the other hand, if motivated to remain connected

with others who included them in a game of toss, the results suggest that a person's relational needs are satiated and feel they have "idiosyncrasy credits"—which allow them to deviate without fear of transgression (e.g., Hollander, 1958).

6.3 Future Directions

As this line of research moves forward, there are still unanswered questions. As was demonstrated with the donation measure, it appears that there are boundaries to attitudinal tuning, especially among measures with a positive undertone. Conclusions about certain measures muting social tuning are of course subject to further investigation, but the findings are consistent with the empirical claim. It would also be interesting to find alternative measures that have been used in the extant literature on rejection demonstrating that people are increasingly aggressive following rejection experiences. For instance, it would be interesting to assess how much hot-sauce is allocated to members of a relationship-relevant-outgroup following manipulations of rejection and relationship motivation with anti-gay or anti-black ball game players. Based on the findings from the length of interaction with ostensible homosexuals and seat choice from belongings of an African American male, it is predicted that the same pattern of findings would be replicated. This would provide further evidence that the standard rejection elicits rejection finding can be eliminated, and in some cases reversed, under conditions of minimal relationship motivation.

6.3.1 How long does attitudinal tuning last? One question that remains unanswered includes the length of time attitudinal tuning remains. It could be that the attitude change is short-term, and people's negative perceptions of relationship-relevant-outgroups subside once they leave the experiment. To say that attitudes return to "baseline" following the experiment

would be haphazard because attitudes are inherently malleable and depend on the social situation.

One way to test this hypothesis would be to employ the exact methods described above, but following the experiment have a member of the relationship-relevant-outgroup (confederate) drop books or pencils in the hallway and assess pro-social behavior toward that individual. This would be an indication of whether or not the attitudes elicited in the experimental situations carry over or remain. Attitudes are malleable and are situationally determined meaning that they serve social functions in social contexts and change all the time to meet epistemic needs. Once the measure of pro-social behavior was completed outside the lab, participants would then be debriefed and told the purpose of the experiment.

Based on the powerful effect that relationship motivation has on one's thinking, one would predict that relationship-relevant attitudes shape thinking even following the experiment. In the scenario just described, this would result in participants continuing to endorse the relationship-relevant attitudes further by helping a member of a relationship-relevant-outgroup much less when they drop items in the hallway outside the lab, but only under conditions in which they were motivated to remain connected with rejecters. In contrast, when unmotivated to maintain relationships with rejecters, one would predict that a person would be more willing to help a member of a relationship-relevant-outgroup following a mishap with their belongings in the hallway. This behavior would allow them to in some sense restore a sense of belonging by achieving epistemic needs from a member of a relationship-relevant-outgroup who is in need of help, similar to what was observed in conditions of low relationship motivation and exclusion in the current experiments.

6.3.2 Alternative method for inducing feelings of rejection. In all experiments conducted thus far on willingness to maintain relationships with rejecters, the same ball-tossing paradigm has been used because of the experimental control afforded and its effective use in testing motivation to remain connected with sources of rejection. At the same time, replicating this finding with alternative paradigms would be equally interesting.

One other paradigm that would be a candidate for use in future research includes the situation where participants show up in a group and talk for a brief period of time (Nezlek et al., 1997). Following the conversation, participants are asked to indicate which two people out of the group they would like to work with on subsequent tasks. Participants are then taken to individual cubicles and are provided feedback regarding other people's choices depending on the condition they are assigned to. Participants in the exclusion condition are told that no one chose to work with them and that they would continue on alone. Participants in the inclusion condition are told that everyone chose to work with them. Employing this paradigm would still allow for the manipulation of relationship motivation by having people discuss self-relevant characteristics during a brief conversation at the beginning of the experiment. We could also implant confederates in the group and instruct them to state explicitly to a particular individual that they either share or do not share the same characteristics with participants.

The alteration to the methods would include implicating the rejecters as people they share or do not share self-relevant characteristics with, and telling participants that they would or would not have the chance to interact with these partners again following the completion of other experimental tasks. Based on the effectiveness of the ball-tossing game, one would predict that using an alternative method with less control would be more difficult to carry out. Nonetheless, it is believed that this alternative method would prove to be just as effective in replicating the

findings observed in our experiments with implicit, explicit, and behavioral tuning of relationship-relevant anti-outgroup attitudes.

6.3.3 Role of implicit and explicit self-esteem on attitudinal tuning. In the current experiments, it was shown on target measures of explicit attitudes that implicit self-esteem moderated the effect. Attitudinal tuning and anti-tuning was specific to low self-esteem participants, however the number of participants was quite low given the exploratory nature of implicit self-esteem at the outset of the experiments. In subsequent experiments, it would be interesting to not only increase the number of participants to achieve reliable power for the effects, but also to assess the moderating role of both implicit and explicit self-esteem.

Different combinations of implicit and explicit self-esteem are believed responsible for varied responses to interpersonal threats (Bosson et al., 2003). For instance, people who are low in implicit self-esteem, but high in explicit self-esteem, tend to be more unrealistically optimistic and engage in more self-enhancement strategies to make up for weaker self-concept (Bosson et al., 2003). Based on the findings of the current experiment, one would expect that implicit and explicit self-esteem may vary as a function of relationship motivation following rejection and would also predict subsequent social tuning or anti-tuning of relationship-relevant attitudes with rejecters.

6.4 A different approach and one uniquely different conclusion

The evidence from three experiments suggests that to fully understand how people respond to sources of rejection, one must consider how important the relationship is to the rejectee. For 50 years the consensus in the literature has been that rejection by others elicits aggressive and other uniquely anti-social responses directed toward sources of rejection. In a majority of experiments to date, the conventional method included rejecting people via

rejecters—fictional or real—while at the same time conveying little about them in the way of characteristics. This method resulted in people believing that relatively unimportant others—they could easily do without—were responsible for rejecting them. This is believed to be the main reason for the largely one-sided finding in the literature over the years suggesting that people do not like sources of rejection.

The findings to date have expanded our knowledge on just how aversive the effects of rejection are regardless of a rejecter's identity. Rejection is so aversive that its effects are felt by simply having people imagine a rejection experience (Leary et al., 1998), or giving negative feedback about one's ability to forage and maintain social bonds (Twenge et al., 2001). Beyond the fact that rejection is a negative experience, our dispute is with the conclusion that rejection automatically leads to distaste for sources of rejection. It seems ill founded to believe that disliking rejecters is plausible in all circumstances given that a majority of rejections occur at the hands of important people such as friends and spouses (e.g., Baumeister & Dhavale, 2001). It is not reasonable that a person should find a new friend or spouse following each rejection experience. Rather, a person would be better suited to stay invested in the relationship and minimize chances that rejection will occur again at the hands of those close others.

The task at hand was to put forward a paradigm by integrating current theory that allowed us to test the empirical claim that people can and are willing to reconcile themselves with rejecters. Shared reality theory postulates that relationships are fostered and maintained to the extent that beliefs and attitudes are perceived to be shared (Hardin & Higgins, 1996). By sharing self-relevant characteristics such as a birthday, people are believed to experience a heightened motivation to "share reality" and remain connected with others (Sinclair et al., 2005a). We predicted that this motivation would persist even in the face of interpersonal threat and people

would demonstrate a willingness to maintain relationships with others through social tuning. Achieving shared reality is believed to occur by aligning one's attitudes toward relationship-relevant attitudes with others whom they are motivated to remain connected (Sinclair et al., 2005a; Sinclair et al., 2005b). In the case of the current experiments, establishing common ground with sources of rejection through relationship-relevant attitudes meant endorsing prejudice. There was a cost to one's integrity by reconciling with rejecters in that to do so they were required to act in a prejudiced and biased manner.

Evidence from these experiments suggests that when experiencing even minimal relationship motivation to maintain relationships with sources of rejection, people will work vigilantly to get back into their good graces. This is indicated by their behavior and self-reported attitudes. People endorsed relationship-relevant attitudes and acted unreasonably toward relationship-relevant-outgroups to the extent that they were motivated to remain connected with rejecters. This is taken as evidence that the motivation to maintain a relationship is so pervasive that people will endorse prejudice and discrimination if it means having the opportunity to restore epistemic needs for belonging by these individuals. When unmotivated to maintain relationships with rejecters, people sided with the relationship-relevant-outgroup by endorsing prejudicial behaviors and attitudes toward that outgroup less. In defiance to the unimportant rejecters, people diverge from their attitudes and take a different approach to achieving epistemic needs thwarted by the rejection experience. If rejection occurs at the hands of important others, the costs of walking away from the relationship far surpass the benefits. In contrast, if rejection occurs at the hand of unimportant others, there is relatively little common ground on which the relationship is based. It is easier to rid oneself of a rejection-relationship with little investment for another of equal investment that is not based on a rejection experience.

These findings not only contribute a new and intriguing perspective for how people respond to rejecters, but replicate the finding suggesting that rejection elicits disdain and rejection for the source. What matters is how important the relationship is to the person experiencing rejection. To date, importance of relationships has not been considered as consequential to differentiating between responses to rejection. What has been considered more important is how people respond to the experience of rejection itself. As is demonstrated with this line of research, reactions to rejection are circumstantial and largely dependent on a person's view of the rejecting partner.

Rejecting partners are able to maintain social control over behavior and attitudes of rejectee's to the extent that the relationship is grounded in mutually shared self-relevant characteristics. On a larger scale, these findings implicate the vulnerability of many to others they deem as important in their lives. In addition to providing a unique perspective for understanding phenomena such as "identification with the aggressor" (e.g., Bettelheim, 1943) and "false consciousness" (e.g., Jost & Banaji, 1994), these findings also demonstrate that people are able to reconcile themselves with rejecters, which up to this point in time has been considered an afterthought due to the improbable and impractical nature of such behavior.

APPENDIX 1

E.g., General Questionnaire

1. What is your favorite TV show?

2. What is your favorite movie?

3. What is your birth date (only month and day) (e.g., 1/02)?

4. What is your home state (country)?

5. What is your favorite type of food (e.g., American, German, Mexican, Russian, etc.)?

6. What is your favorite type of music (e.g., alternative, classical, hip-hop, rap, rock, etc.)?

7. How many times per week do you go out to eat?

APPENDIX 2

E.g., Ideology

1. What best describes where you stand on politics in general?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Liberal						Very Conservative

2. What do you believe best describes your affiliation with political parties?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strong Democrat						Strong Republican

3. What best describes where you stand on religion in general?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all Religious						Very Religious

4. How often do you attend religious services?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Often

5. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and normal as anybody else.

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
Very Strongly Disagree				Neutral				Very Strongly Agree

6. The established authorities generally turn out to be right about things, while the radicals and protestors are generally just “loud mouths” showing off their ignorance.

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
Very Strongly Disagree				Neutral				Very Strongly Agree

7. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways that are ruining us.

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
Very Strongly Disagree				Neutral				Very Strongly Agree

8. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
Very Strongly Disagree				Neutral				Very Strongly Agree

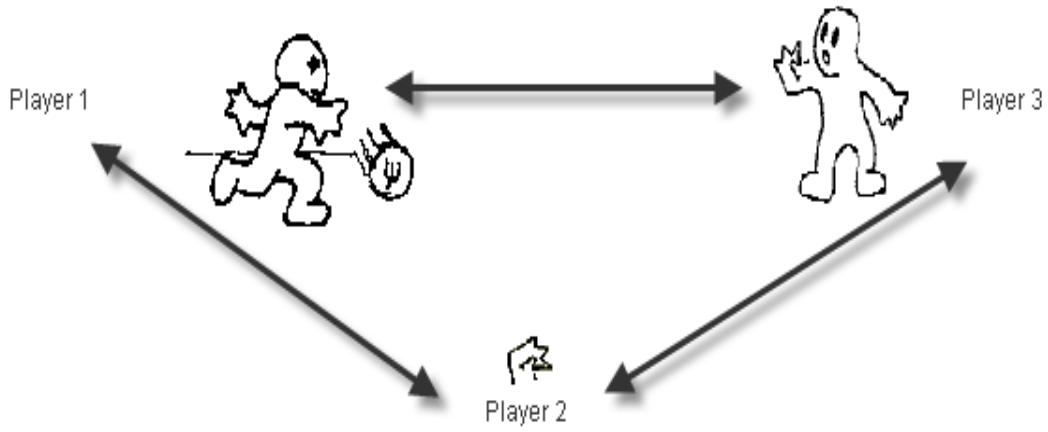
9. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.

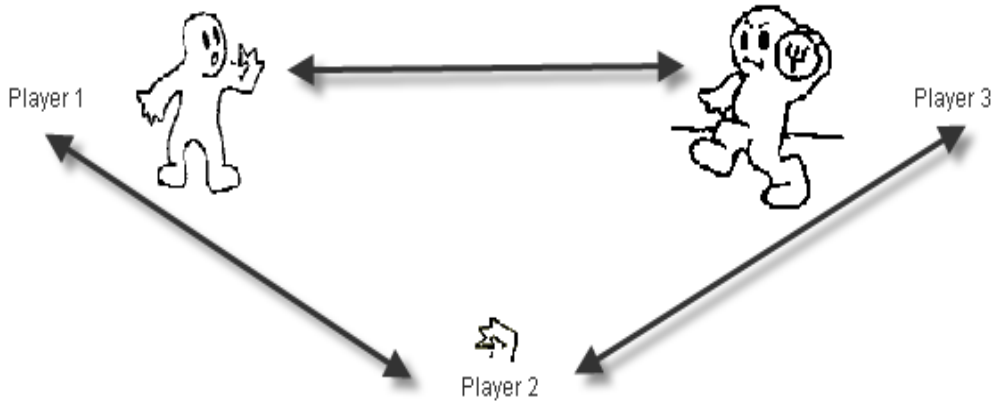
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
Very Strongly Disagree				Neutral				Very Strongly Agree

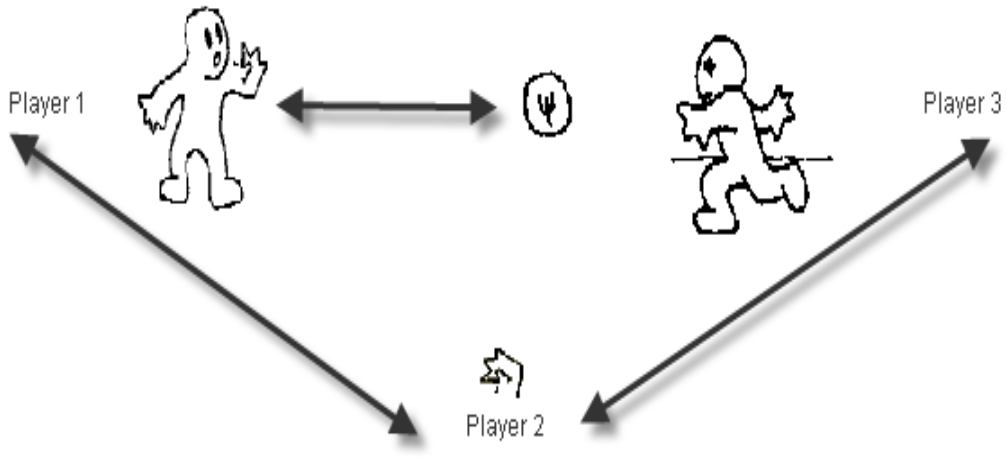
10. The “old-fashioned ways” and “old-fashioned values” still show the best way to live.

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
Very Strongly Disagree				Neutral				Very Strongly Agree

APPENDIX 3






Player 1
Player 3
Player 2

APPENDIX 4

E.g., Demographic Questionnaire

1. Your year in school: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

2. Your major at Brooklyn College is: Declared Undecided

3. Your age is _____ years old.

4. Your gender is: Female Male

5. The sexual orientation you most closely identify with is:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Homosexual						Heterosexual

6. How secure are you with your sexuality?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Secure						Very Secure

7. How many friends do you have who are homosexual?

0	1	2	3	4
None	Some	Many	Most	All

8. How are you affiliated with the person you were asked to write about?

a. Friend
b. Relative
c. Acquaintance
d. Significant Other
e. Co-worker

9. How close are you to the person you are discussing in this study?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very Close

10. Do you feel that the person you have been discussing with us is justified in how they feel about homosexuals (PLEASE BE HONEST)?

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

APPENDIX 5

E.g., General Questionnaire

E.g., Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS Scale)

INSTRUCTIONS: Below is a list of emotions. Based on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being 'very little or not at all', and 5 being 'extremely', circle the number corresponding to how strongly you feel the emotion at this moment.

EXAMPLE:	1	2	3	4	5
	Not at all		Somewhat		Extremely

1. Interested	1	2	3	4	5
2. Distressed	1	2	3	4	5
3. Excited	1	2	3	4	5
4. Upset	1	2	3	4	5
5. Strong	1	2	3	4	5
6. Guilty	1	2	3	4	5
7. Scared	1	2	3	4	5
8. Hostile	1	2	3	4	5
9. Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
10. Proud	1	2	3	4	5
11. Irritable	1	2	3	4	5
12. Alert	1	2	3	4	5
13. Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
14. Inspired	1	2	3	4	5
15. Nervous	1	2	3	4	5
16. Determined	1	2	3	4	5
17. Attentive	1	2	3	4	5

18. Jittery	1	2	3	4	5
19. Active	1	2	3	4	5
20. Afraid	1	2	3	4	5

E.g., Implicit Self-Esteem

Alphabet Letter Evaluation

INSTRUCTIONS: Below are the 26 letters of the alphabet. Based on a scale from 1 to 7, with 1 indicating that 'I dislike it very much', and 7 indicating that 'I like it very much', place the number corresponding to how much you like the letter in the spot to the right of the letter. There are no right or wrong answers, so please be as honest and accurate as possible.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
I dislike it very much — I like it very much

1. A	_____	14. N	_____
2. B	_____	15. O	_____
3. C	_____	16. P	_____
4. D	_____	17. Q	_____
5. E	_____	18. R	_____
6. F	_____	19. S	_____
7. G	_____	20. T	_____
8. H	_____	21. U	_____
9. I	_____	22. V	_____
10. J	_____	23. W	_____
11. K	_____	24. X	_____
12. L	_____	25. Y	_____
13. M	_____	26. Z	_____

E.g., Index of Homophobia

INSTRUCTIONS: This questionnaire is designed to measure the way you feel about working or associating with homosexuals. This is not a test, so there are no wrong answers. Please answer each item as honestly and accurately as possible.

1. I would feel comfortable working closely with a gay man.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

2. I would enjoy attending social functions at which gay / homosexual people were present.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

3. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my neighbor was gay / homosexual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

4. If a member of my sex made a sexual advance towards me, I would feel angry.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

5. I would feel comfortable knowing I was attractive to members of my gender.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

6. I would feel uncomfortable being seen in a gay bar.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

7. I would feel uncomfortable if a member of my sex made an advance towards me.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

8. I would be comfortable if I found myself attracted to a member of my sex.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

9. I would feel disappointed if I learned that my child was gay / homosexual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

10. I would feel nervous being in a group of gays / homosexuals.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

11. I would feel comfortable knowing that my clergy person was gay / homosexual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

12. I would be upset if I learned that my sibling was gay / homosexual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

13. I would feel that I had failed as a parent if I learned that my child was gay / homosexual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

14. If I saw two men holding hands in public, I would feel disgusted.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

15. If a member of my gender made an advance towards me, I would be offended.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

16. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my daughter's teacher was a lesbian.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

17. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my spouse or partner was attracted to a member of his/her gender.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

18. I would feel at ease talking with a gay / homosexual at a party.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

19. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my boss was gay / homosexual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

20. It would not bother me to walk through a predominantly gay section of town.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

21. It would disturb me to find out that my doctor was gay / homosexual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

22. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my best friend of my gender was gay / homosexual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

23. If a member of my gender made an advance towards me, I would feel flattered.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

24. I would feel uncomfortable knowing that my son's teacher was gay / homosexual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

25. I would feel comfortable working closely with a lesbian.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

E.g., Social Dominance Orientation

INSTRUCTIONS: Below are statements expressing opinions related to social equality issues. Circle the number on the scale that best captures your reaction to each statement. There is no right or wrong answer to each of the questions, so please be as honest and accurate as possible.

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative						Very Positive

2. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative						Very Positive

3. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative						Very Positive

4. Inferior groups should stay in their place.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative						Very Positive

5. Group equality should be our ideal.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative						Very Positive

6. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative						Very Positive

7. Increased social equality.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative						Very Positive

8. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative						Very Positive

INSTRUCTIONS: Please take the next few moments and fill out the questions that are asked below. Please answer these questions as honestly and accurately as possible.

1. Your year in school: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

2. Your major/minor in college is: _____

3. Your age is _____ years old.

4. Your gender is: Female Male

5. Your religious orientation is: _____

6. The ethnicity that you most closely identify with is:

Asian Black Caucasian Hispanic Other: _____

7. Your first language is _____

8. The sexual orientation you most closely identify with is:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Homosexual						Heterosexual

9. How secure are you with your sexuality?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Secure						Very Secure

10. How many friends do you have who are homosexual?

0	1	2	3	4
None	Some	Many	Most	All

APPENDIX 6

E.g., General Questionnaire

1. What is your birth date (only month and day) (e.g., 1/02)?

2. What is your home state (country)?

3. What is your favorite type of food (e.g., Russian, German, American, Mexican, etc.)?

4. What is your favorite type of music (e.g., alternative, classical, hip-hop, rap, rock, etc.)?

5. How many friends do you have who are White/European American?

0	1	2	3	4
None	Some	Many	Most	All

6. How many friends do you have who are Black/African American?

0	1	2	3	4
None	Some	Many	Most	All

7. The ethnicity that you most closely identify with is:

White/Caucasian
Black/African American
Asian/Pacific Islander
American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut
Hispanic
Other: _____

APPENDIX 7

E.g., Pilot Questionnaire Testing Anti-Black and Conservative Stereotype

INSTRUCTIONS: There is no right or wrong answer for each statement since these are based on your opinions. Please be as honest and accurate as possible when answering the following statements.

1. Whites are **less** prejudiced toward African Americans in which state:

   A. New York
   B. Tennessee
   C. Nebraska

2. Whites are **less** prejudiced toward African Americans if they have:

   A. NO Black friends
   B. ALL Black Friends

3. Whites are **less** prejudiced toward African Americans if they have:

   A. NO White friends
   B. ALL White Friends

4. Whites are **less** prejudiced toward African Americans if they listen to:

   A. Hip-Hop music
   B. Country music
   C. Classical music

5. Whites are **less** conservative in which state:

   A. New York
   B. Tennessee
   C. Nebraska

6. Whites are **less** conservative if they have:

   A. NO Black friends
   B. ALL Black Friends

7. Whites are **less** conservative if they have:

   A. NO White friends
   B. ALL White Friends

8. Whites are **less** conservative if they listen to:

A. Hip-Hop music
B. Country music
C. Classical music

Age: _____

Gender: Female Male

APPENDIX 8

E.g., Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice (IMS, EMS)

1. Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear non-prejudiced toward African Americans.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

2. I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be non-prejudiced toward African Americans.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

3. According to my personal values, using stereotypes about African Americans is OK.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

4. Being non-prejudiced toward African Americans is important to my self-concept.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

5. If I acted prejudiced toward African Americans, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

6. I try to hide any negative thoughts about African Americans in order to avoid negative reactions from others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

7. I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways toward African Americans because it is personally important to me.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

8. I attempt to appear non-prejudiced toward African Americans in order to avoid disapproval from others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

9. Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about African Americans is wrong.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

10. I try to act non-prejudiced toward African Americans because of pressure from others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

INSTRUCTIONS: Please take the next few moments and fill out the questions that are asked below. Please answer these questions as honestly and accurately as possible.

1. Your year in school: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

2. Your major/minor in college is: _____

3. Your age is _____ years old.

4. Your gender is: Female Male

5. The ethnicity that you most closely identify with is:

Asian Black Caucasian Hispanic Other: _____

6. Your first language is _____

APPENDIX 9

E.g., Demographic Questionnaire

1. The ethnicity that you most closely identify with is:

2. Your gender is: Female Male

3. Your age is _____ years old.

4. Your first language is _____

5. Your major in college is: Decided Undecided

6. Your year in school: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

7. How pleasant were the writing tasks to you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at All						Very Much

8. How effortful were the writing tasks to you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at All						Very Much

APPENDIX 10

E.g., Anti-Black Scale

INSTRUCTIONS: This questionnaire is designed to measure the way you feel about African Americans. This is not a test, so there are no wrong answers. Please circle the appropriate response.

1. The root cause of most of the social and economic ills of Blacks is the weakness and instability of the Black family.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

2. Although there are exceptions, Black urban neighborhoods don't seem to have strong community organization or leadership.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

3. On the whole, Black people don't stress education and training.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

4. Many Black teenagers don't respect themselves or anyone else.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

5. Blacks don't seem to use opportunities to own and operate little shops and businesses.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

6. Very few Black people are just looking for a free ride.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

7. Black children would do better in school if their parents had better attitudes about learning.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

8. Blacks should take the jobs that are available and then work their way up to better jobs.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

9. One of the biggest problems for a lot of Blacks is their lack of self respect.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

10. Most Blacks have the drive and determination to get ahead.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

E.g., Pro-Black Scale

INSTRUCTIONS: This questionnaire is designed to measure the way you feel about African Americans. This is not a test, so there are no wrong answers. Please circle the appropriate response.

1. Black people do not have the same employment opportunities that Whites do.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

2. It's surprising that Black people do as well as they do, considering all the obstacles they face.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

3. Too many Blacks still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their skin color.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

4. Most big corporations in America are really interested in treating their Black and White employees equally.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

5. Most Blacks are no longer discriminated against.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

6. Blacks have more to offer than they have been allowed to show.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

7. The typical urban ghetto public school is not as good as it should be to provide equal opportunities for Blacks.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

8. This country would be better off if it were more willing to assimilate the good things in Black culture.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

9. Sometimes Black job seekers should be given special consideration in hiring.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

10. Many Whites show a real lack of understanding of the problems that Blacks face.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Steven P. Noel was born and raised in Monroe, Michigan. Having grown up in a predominantly working class community, getting a higher education—let alone a Ph.D.—was nothing he had ever imagined as a possibility.

Following high school, he attended the University of Toledo for his undergraduate studies. He failed out the first semester with flying colors—all "F's". After a brief detour that involved getting into management with one of the big pharmacies, he decided the best thing for him to do—and the most feasible way to achieve the success he had always craved—was to return to school.

While continuing to work full-time, he decided to enter a community college not knowing for sure whether his past failure was due to lack of motivation or ability. After two successful years at the community college, he returned to the University where he had failed so miserably and maintained a 3.98 GPA overall for his undergraduate education. Although returning and conquering the courses that had once led to failure, those failures could never truly be erased, which prevented him from achieving "Summa Cum Laude" stature at graduation. With those past failures added in, he graduated "Cum Laude".

Upon returning to the University of Toledo, he was not completely sure what avenue to pursue in psychology, so he decided to discuss his options with a faculty member. The faculty member on campus that particular day was Andrew Geers—a social psychologist. After a lengthy conversation, he was offered an opportunity to join the lab as a research assistant. This resulted in a two year tenure as a research assistant involved in many areas of social psychological research, which proved beneficial and ultimately led to his keen interest in

interpersonal rejection. This work in particular resulted in co-authorship on two posters presented at the annual conference for the Society of Personality and Social Psychology.

While working as a research assistant, he joined the honors program and was co-advised by both Andrew Geers (University of Toledo) and Alexander Czopp (now at Western Washington University) in the Social Cognition Lab. His honors thesis was on optimism and attenuation to threatening information following ego-threat. He is forever indebted to Andrew Geers for paving the way to his attending graduate school. Without Andrew Geers' guidance and knowledge as an experimental social psychologist, none of this would have been possible.

While applying to graduate schools and continually receiving the "thanks, but no thanks" responses due to GRE scores and past digressions, he kept hope. An opportunity came about that ultimately led to his deciding to pursue his Ph.D. in Psychology. After a grueling application process for graduate school, he decided that he would accept an offer from the Graduate Center, City University of New York and relocate to New York City for his graduate training. He declared from the outset of his graduate work that he would finish his Ph.D. in four years, but due to his impatience decided to finish it in three instead.

He is doubly indebted to Curtis Hardin and Rick Cheung who were instrumental in shaping his thinking as a psychologist. Without the guidance of Curtis Hardin and his support in helping Steven make his goals become a reality, this achievement would not have been reached. Steven does not know where he would be without the endless support of a good friend like Rick Cheung—who helped Steven see that the end was always closer than farther away.

The ultimate thanks go to Francesca Vitale, who has been instrumental in Steven's success these past 7 years. Throughout his education, Francesca has stood by him despite all the sacrifices that come along with pursuing a doctoral degree and the 80-hour work weeks. She

believed in his ability and comforted him when he had doubts about everything. There were many days that he felt as though the task was too daunting and that he could not make it, but her encouragement made this all possible. Rest assured, Steven does not know where he would be without the gift of her love the past 7 years of his life.

Education

Ph.D. in Cognition, Brain, & Behavior from the Graduate Center, City University of New York, New York, NY and Brooklyn College, City University of New York, Brooklyn, NY. Dissertation advisor: Dr. Curtis Hardin (2010).

M.Phil. in Psychology from the Graduate Center, City University of New York, New York, NY. Master's thesis advisor: Dr. Curtis Hardin (2009).

M.A. in Experimental Psychology from Brooklyn College, City University of New York, Brooklyn, NY. Master's thesis advisor: Dr. Elisabeth Brauner (2009).

B.A. (Cum Laude, Honors) in Psychology from the University of Toledo, Toledo, OH. Undergraduate honors thesis advisor: Dr. Andrew Geers (2006).