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Trait Contempt Predicts Tendencies to Dehumanize Others

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Trait Contempt Predicts Tendencies to Dehumanize Others

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Biography

Russell L. Steiger was born in Burbank, Illinois, September 26th, 1984. He graduated from Lemont High School. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Lewis University in 2012. He received his Master of Arts degree in Psychology from DePaul University in 2015, and his PhD in 2019.

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Abstract

Prior research pertaining to the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) has found that groups stereotyped as "cold and incompetent" (e.g., refugees, homeless people, drug addicts) are most likely to elicit both emotional state contempt and dehumanization. However, no prior studies have examined *trait* (dispositional) contempt's relationship with dehumanization towards different SCM-relevant groups. Across two studies, I examined trait contempt as a predictor of dehumanization within the context of the SCM. Trait contempt is characterized by frequent cold feelings towards others and frequently viewing others as incompetent. I therefore proposed that since contemptuous people view their social world through a "cold and incompetent lens," they may "drag down" all groups into the "cold and incompetent" category of the SCM, thus leading to tendencies to broadly dehumanize others. In keeping with this, I proposed that trait contempt dimensions (subscales) related to coldness (affective and behavioral coldness) and viewing others as incompetent (superiority) drive this relationship, and that trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization would remain robust even when accounting for stringent controls. I also proposed (Study 2) that trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization towards groups would be explained (mediated) by perceptions of group warmth and competence. Study 1 included measures of trait contempt, "blatant" dehumanization towards SCM-relevant groups (groups stereotyped as cold/incompetent, cold/competent, warm/incompetent, and warm/competent, along with "people, in general"), and several other personality and attitudinal variables which have previously been found to predict dehumanization and which also may have some conceptual overlap with trait contempt (social dominance orientation, narcissism, and psychopathy), along with political ideology. Study 2 included measures of trait contempt, blatant dehumanization towards groups, warmth and competence ratings towards groups, trait disgust,

trait resentment, trait anger, authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and political ideology. In both studies, trait contempt robustly predicted dehumanization across all target groups even when accounting for all control variables. Trait contempt's affective/behavioral coldness and superiority subscales both drove this relationship in Study 1, whereas the coldness subscales primarily drove it in Study 2. In Study 2, trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization was fully or partially mediated by perceptions of warmth and competence across all target groups, supporting the prediction that contemptuous people may dehumanize others because they "drag down" groups into the cold/incompetent category of the SCM. These findings suggest that among negatively valenced trait emotions, trait contempt appears to play a particularly strong and unique role in tendencies to dehumanize others due to its strong (and negative) association with perceptions of group warmth and competence. More broadly, these findings highlight the importance of considering trait contempt as a personality variable of interest when examining dehumanization—and perhaps other social-psychological constructs of interest.

Introduction

To feel contempt towards a person or group is to harbor cold feelings of dislike or disdain towards them, to experience a deep loss of any warmth, empathy, and respect for them, and to perceive them as unchangeably inferior (e.g., Fischer & Giner-Sorolla, 2016; Schriber, Chung, Sorenson, & Robins, 2016; Steiger & Reyna, 2017). Contempt can be socially devastating. Feeling contempt towards someone leads to a loss of desire to forgive or reconcile, and motivates socially rejecting, ostracizing, or derogating them and damaging their reputation (e.g., Fischer & Giner-Sorolla, 2016; Fischer & Roseman, 2007; Hutcherson & Gross, 2011). In marriages, expressions of contempt are the number one emotional predictor of divorce (e.g., Gottman & Levenson, 2002). Being the target of another's expression of contempt is distressful and damaging to self-esteem (Melwani & Barsade, 2011) and can instill feelings of being dehumanized (Bastian & Haslam, 2011; Rozin, Haidt, & McCauley, 2000).

Contempt is also toxic at the level of intergroup attitudes and perceptions. For persons who feel politically threatened or treated unjustly, feeling contempt towards political parties can lead to the endorsement of radical political action such as political violence (e.g., Tausch et al., 2011). Contempt may also play a role in prejudice towards some of the most stigmatized and vulnerable groups in society (e.g., Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu., 2002), as well as dehumanizing them (Esses, Veenvliet, Hodson, & Milic, 2008). However, although some research has examined the role of emotional state contempt in harmful social attitudes and perceptions such as dehumanization, significantly less attention has been given to the relationship between social attitudes and contemptuousness as a personality trait.

Trait contempt (a.k.a., dispositional contemptuousness) is a personality predisposition characterized by tendencies to experience the emotion of contempt more easily, frequently, and

intensely than the typical person (e.g., Izard, Libero, Putnam, & Haynes, 1993). Although research on trait contempt has been limited, trait contempt has been found to be consequential in a variety of contexts. Socially, contemptuous people tend to have perfectionistic expectations of others, are disagreeable (Schriber et al., 2016), and view relationships with others as secondary (Crowley, 2013). Dispositional contempt is associated with multiple antisocial personality tendencies, including Machiavellianism, narcissism, psychopathy, and sadism (Schriber et al., 2016).

Contemptuousness has been linked with consequential social attitudes, such as social dominance orientation and racism, along with low internal motivations to control prejudice (Schriber et al., 2016). Trait contempt has been linked with low compassion for targets that are perceived as low in status or power (Schriber et al., 2016). Dispositionally contemptuous people also tend to have diminished concerns about moral values, such as concerns about others being harmed (Steiger & Reyna, 2017). However, no prior studies have examined the relationship between trait contempt and the most morally and socially catastrophic attitude of all: *dehumanization*.

What is Dehumanization?

Dehumanization has been defined as denying "uniquely human attributes" of a group, viewing a group as sub-human, or likening them to animals (Bastian & Haslam, 2011, p. 296; Haslam, 2006; Hodson & Costello, 2010). Dehumanized groups may be viewed as "primitive or unsophisticated" (Kteily, Bruneau, Waytz, & Cotterill, 2015, p.22), or may be perceived as unable to experience the full range of human emotion and cognitive complexity (Haslam, 2006; Hodson & Costello, 2010). Dehumanization is linked with viewing targets as "lowered or debased, and therefore lacking status" (Bastian & Haslam, 2011, p. 296), as well as viewing a

group as "fundamentally different from and inferior to one's ingroup" (Hodson & Costello, 2010, p. 4).

Dehumanization can lead to severe social consequences, in part due to tendencies to remove dehumanized groups from moral consideration and view them as less capable of feeling emotions and pain (Hodson & Costello, 2010). For example, dehumanization may play a key role in opposition to and animosity towards immigrants and refugees (Esses, Veenvliet, Hodson, & Milic, 2008; Hodson & Costello, 2007), support for war (Jackson & Gaertner, 2010), and support of torture (Viki, Osgood, & Phillips, 2013). At the most extreme, widescale dehumanization of groups has even facilitated violence, genocide, and slavery (Hodson & Costello, 2010). Historical examples of this type of dehumanization included likening racial/ethnic minorities to apes (e.g., blacks in America), vermin (e.g., Jews in Nazi Germany; Tutsis in the Rwandan genocide), or savages (e.g., Native Americans).

There is considerable—but indirect—evidence that suggests trait contempt may facilitate tendencies towards dehumanizing others. To better understand why this may be the case, I will first outline how negative affect—including contempt—has been found to interrelate with dehumanization towards certain groups, and how contempt and dehumanization share several common outcomes. I will next outline how the functional characteristics of contempt (i.e., its elicitors, associated cognitions, and behavioral tendencies) have considerable overlap with the elicitors, associated cognitions and behavioral outcomes of dehumanization. Finally, I will propose a theoretical process—based on the Stereotype Content Model (e.g., Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Zu, 2002)—that may provide a direct explanation for why trait contempt may facilitate tendencies towards dehumanizing others.

The Role of Affect (and Specifically Contempt) in Dehumanization

Prior work has indicated that negative affect may play an important role in dehumanization, albeit empirical work on this subject has been limited in scope. Individual differences in sensitivity to disgust (i.e., trait disgust) predicts the dehumanization of immigrants (Hodson & Costello, 2007). Contempt, along with fear, have been linked with delegitimizing beliefs about groups, characterized by denying a group humanity, justifying discrimination and aggression, and likening a group to "demons, monsters, or Satans" (Bar-Tal, 2000, p.122). More directly, a study found that experienced emotional state contempt towards refugees (albeit operationalized as a scale of contempt, disgust, hatred, and resentment) not only strongly predicted the dehumanization of refugees, but also mediated the relationship between dehumanization and negative attitudes towards refugees as well as the endorsement of anti-refugee policies (Esses et al., 2008). Some research suggests that certain types of stigmatized groups (e.g., homeless people and drug addicts) are the most likely to elicit contempt and are also the most likely to be dehumanized, such that both are driven by perceptions that a group is low in warmth and low in competence (e.g., see Cuddy et al., 2008 for review).

Contempt and dehumanization have also been found to interrelate within the experiences of those who have been the target of dehumanization (e.g., Bastian & Haslam, 2011). In the eyes of the dehumanized, targets of dehumanization can feel "degraded or humiliated," which can in turn give targets the sense of having elicited contempt (as well as disgust or shame) from those who dehumanized them (Bastian & Haslam, 2011, p. 296; Rozin, Haidt, & McCauley, 2000). Similarly, feelings of shame or guilt over being dehumanized has been linked with the perception that "one is the object of contempt and disgust" (Bastian & Haslam, 2011, p. 297).

Dehumanization and trait contempt also share a number of consequential outcomes. Dehumanization has been linked with viewing a group as beneath moral concern (e.g., Kteily et

al., 2015), and trait contempt has similarly been linked with lower concerns about moral values in general, such as concerns about others being harmed (Steiger & Reyna, 2017). Both dehumanization (historically; e.g., see Haslam, 2006) and contempt (Tausch et al., 2011) have been found to be associated with endorsement of political violence. Both trait contempt (Schriber et al., 2016) and dehumanization (e.g., Costello & Hodson, 2010) have been found to be associated with preferences for ingroup dominance and beliefs about ingroup superiority (i.e., social dominance orientation).

Combined, these findings indicate that the emotional state of contempt is either directly linked with dehumanization towards certain types of groups or, more broadly, is at least deeply interrelated with it across a variety of attitudinal and behavioral outcomes. Given that trait contempt is characterized by experiencing contempt more frequently, easily, and intensely than typical (e.g., Izard et al., 1993), then it logically follows that trait contempt should be associated with dehumanization as well. Contempt's unique functional characteristics share considerable overlap with dehumanization's antecedents, associated cognitions, and behavioral motivations. If contemptuous people frequently experience increased awareness of these shared antecedents and frequently experience these shared associated cognitions and behavioral motivations, then this may in turn facilitate greater tendencies to dehumanize others to the extent that these shared characteristics influence dehumanization. However, in order to understand this overlap, it is important to first review the nature of trait emotions as personality constructs, and how trait emotions fit within the functionalist model of emotion.

The Functionalist Model of Emotion

In broad terms, the functionalist approach of emotion proposes that emotions have an evolutionary basis, and that different emotions can be understood in terms of having unique

adaptive, relational, and social functions that they serve (e.g., Frijda, Kuipers, & ter Schure, 1989; Frijda & Mesquita, 1994; Keltner & Haidt, 1999) in regulating behaviors of both the self and others (e.g., Haidt & Keltner, 2009; Weiner, 2006). Within the framework of the functionalist model of emotions, discrete emotions (e.g., anger, disgust, contempt, fear) are characterized as distinct affective processes that differ from one another in terms of their elicitors (triggering stimuli), associated cognitions (e.g., thoughts, schemas, intuitions), and behavioral tendencies (e.g., Izard et al., 1993). While there are alternative theories of emotion that do not characterize emotions as discrete (e.g., Barrett, 2006), there is a wide body of empirical work highlighting differences in the functional characteristics between emotions in terms of their elicitors, associated cognitions, and behavioral tendencies (e.g., see Haidt, 2003 for review).

Trait emotions and the functionalist view. Trait emotion instruments and constructs are largely intertwined with the functionalist view of emotion, such that they are often measured in terms of the frequency of experiencing the functional characteristics of a given discrete emotion (e.g., Izard et al., 1993; Spielberger et al., 1996). Trait emotions can be defined as individual differences characterized by the tendency to experience a given emotion more frequently, easily, and intensely than normal (e.g., Izard et al., 1993; Spielberg et al., 1996). When an individual experiences a given emotion more frequently than normal, this leads to selective perception (i.e., greater awareness or sensitivity) towards that emotion's eliciting stimuli, as well as increased tendencies towards experiencing a given emotion's associated cognitions and behavioral tendencies (e.g., Izard et al., 1993; Spielberger, 1996). As such, trait emotions represent a distinct pattern of emotion, cognition, and behavior associated with the affective, cognitive, and behavioral elements of the emotion in question (e.g., Izard et al., 1993). In the case of trait contempt, examining emotional state contempt's functional characteristics will inform what a

dispositionally contemptuous person's patterns of selective perception, affective experience, associated cognitions, and behavioral tendencies look like.

The functional characteristics of state and trait contempt. Contempt is a hostile emotion, and its affective experience may best be described as cold feelings of dislike or hatred, combined with psychological distancing (a loss of warmth, empathy, and respect) and feeling superior over the target (e.g., Schriber et al., 2016; Steiger & Reyna, 2017). Emotional state contempt tends to be elicited by violations of standards of competence, such as perceptions of a person or group's stupidity, incompetence, irresponsibility, and/or carelessness (Hutcherson & Gross, 2011), as well as by perceptions of a target having a low status, reputation, and/or social value (Fischer & Giner-Sorolla, 2016). Feeling contempt towards a target is associated with making stable negative dispositional attributions (i.e., negative character judgments) towards them, such that the target is viewed as inherently and unchangeably flawed and inferior (Fischer & Giner-Sorolla, 2016; Schriber et al., 2016; Steiger & Reyna, 2017). Contempt's behavioral tendencies have been characterized as a combination of interpersonal coldness (e.g., ostracizing, rejecting, ignoring, or otherwise treating coldly) and derogatory action tendencies (Crowley, 2013; Fischer & Giner-Sorolla, 2016; Fischer & Roseman, 2007; Haidt, 2003).

Accordingly, *trait* contempt is characterized by easily, frequently, and intensely experiencing state contempt's functional characteristics (i.e., its elicitors, affective experience, associated cognitions, and behavioral tendencies). Persons high in trait contempt frequently experience cold feelings of dislike or hatred towards others, and have tendencies to frequently psychologically distance themselves from (i.e., lose respect, empathy, and warmth towards) others (Crowley, 2013; Schriber, Chung, Sorenson, & Robins, 2016; Steiger & Reyna, 2017). Contemptuous people also tend to be quick to make negative dispositional attributions towards

others, such that they tend to view people who violate their standards as irredeemably flawed, unable to change, and not to be forgiven (Schriber et al., 2016; Steiger & Reyna, 2017). Dispositional contemptuousness is also characterized by tendencies to look down on others as inferior (e.g., incompetent and stupid) or beneath consideration (Izard et al., 1993; Schriber et al., 2016; Steiger & Reyna, 2017). Behaviorally, contemptuous people tend to frequently treat others coldly (e.g., by ostracizing, socially excluding, or giving others the "cold shoulder") and frequently derogate others either directly (Crowley, 2013) or behind their backs (Steiger & Reyna, 2017).

Trait and State Contempt Share Characteristics with Dehumanization

The functional characteristics of contempt share considerable overlap with dehumanization's elicitors, associated cognitions, and behavioral motives. Therefore, contemptuous people may be particularly likely to dehumanize others to the extent that the contemptuous person frequently perceives and experiences the common eliciting, cognitive, and behavioral motivations held between dehumanization and elicited emotional state contempt.

Contempt's conceptual overlap with dehumanization. Psychological distancing–a major characteristic of contempt—has been proposed to have a role in dehumanization (e.g., Opotow, 1990; Trope and Liberman 2003). Blatant (overt) dehumanization "involves openly held beliefs about the inherent inferiority of other groups relative to the ingroup" (Kteily et al., 2015, p. 11) and involves "extremely negative evaluations of" groups (Haslam, 2006, p. 255). These correspond with contempt's characteristic feelings of superiority over people and contempt's association with negative dispositional (i.e., inherent) attributions (Steiger & Reyna 2017).

Prior work has also found that measures of blatant dehumanization were particularly effective in tapping into dehumanization towards "low status or derogated targets" (Kteily et al., 2015, p. 22), and dehumanization can lead to a target's "loss of status" including "disrespect, condescension… or being treated as hopeless and stupid" (Bastian & Haslam, 2011, p. 296). This corresponds with contempt's elicitors of perceived low status, stupidity, and incompetence, its derogatory action tendencies, psychological distancing (i.e., loss of respect) and the downward-focused nature of the emotion. Behaviorally, both contempt and dehumanization motivate social exclusion (Bastian, 2006), and social exclusion tends to make the excluded person feel dehumanized (Bastian & Haslam 2010).

The abovementioned research suggests that dehumanization shares many of contempt's associated social appraisals and cognitions (elicitors of stupidity, incompetence, and low status, plus negative dispositional attributions and inferiority/superiority judgments), affective experience (psychological distancing), and behavioral consequences (derogation, exclusion). Thus, to the extent that trait contempt leads an individual to experience these shared social appraisals, affective experience, associated cognitions, and behavioral motivations more frequently and intensely than normal, it stands to reason that trait contempt should likewise predict tendencies towards dehumanizing others to the extent dehumanization is motivated by these same processes. But is it necessarily the case that trait contempt causes tendencies towards dehumanization? Or could the reverse be true?

Causal direction. It remains an open question as to whether negative emotions lead to dehumanization, whether dehumanization elicits (causes) negative emotional responses, or whether either could be the case depending on context. In part, this is due to there being limited research on the direct relationship between dehumanization and contempt. On the one hand,

Esses and colleagues (2008) found that when participants read dehumanizing media depictions of refugees, this led to experiencing contempt towards refugees, suggesting that dehumanizing perceptions elicited contempt rather than the other way around. On the other hand, other research has found (more broadly) that negative affective responses to social stimuli can precede—and lead to—conscious articulated negative social judgments (e.g., Haidt, Koller, & Dias, 1993), so this remains an open question.

In contrast, when it comes to the relationship between *trait* emotions and dehumanization, it is unclear what mechanism could lead dehumanization to cause or facilitate trait contempt. Personality traits are far more psychologically "core" or "basic" than social attitudes or judgments (McAdams & Pas, 2006). Personality traits tend to be relatively stable across different situations and contexts, are broad, are decontextualized, and tend to have some genetic basis (e.g., McAdams & Pals, 2006). Relationships between personality traits and social attitudes, beliefs, or judgments are generally understood as an expression of an interaction between the personality trait and situational/contextual variables such as culture or experience (e.g., McAdams & Pals, 2006).

There is a wide body of literature that describes how trait emotions influence social attitudes, such as moral judgments and values (e.g., Horberg et al., 2009), prejudicial attitudes (e.g., Terizzi, Shook, & Ventis, 2010), and racism (e.g., Schriber et al., 2016). However, there does not seem to be work which proposes that social attitudes can cause or influence trait emotions. As such, if trait contempt is significantly related to dehumanization, it could reasonably be inferred either that trait contempt helps facilitate dehumanization *or* that both trait contempt and dehumanization share variance due to one or more third variables. However, it could not reasonably be inferred that dehumanization facilitates trait contempt.

Contempt and Dehumanization within the Stereotype Content Model

The Stereotype Content Model (SCM; e.g., see Cuddy et al., 2008 for review) may be informative in providing a possible underlying process that could explain a relationship between trait contempt and dehumanizing tendencies. The SCM proposes that two dimensions, warmth and competence, are central to group perception and stereotyping. The dimension of warmth (vs. coldness) has been described as *like* versus *dislike* or friend versus competitor. The dimension of competence (vs. incompetence) has been described as *respect* versus *disrespect* or as high versus low *social status/accomplishment/ability* (Fiske, Zu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999; Cuddy et al., 2008). Research pertaining to the SCM has found that groups stereotyped as cold and incompetent (e.g., homeless people, drug addicts, immigrants) are the most likely to both elicit contempt[1] (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu., 2002) and be dehumanized (Esses et al., 2008; Harris & Fiske, 2006).[2] If perceptions that a group is cold and incompetent trigger both contempt and dehumanization, then this may provide an explanation for why trait contempt may predict tendencies towards dehumanizing others.

As a personality trait, trait contempt is, in part, characterized by selective perception—or increased sensitivity—towards contempt's elicitors, which are generally characterized by perceiving incompetence in others. Trait contempt is also characterized by affective predispositions towards easily experiencing cold feelings of dislike towards others. As such, trait contempt primes a person towards feelings and perceptions that (according to SCM-related research) elicit dehumanization. More specifically, contemptuous people may be biased towards

[1] Albeit "contempt" was operationalized as a scale of contempt, disgust, hatred, and resentment.
[2] These findings were from separate studies, such that direct relationships between contempt and dehumanization towards groups have been unexamined within the context of SCM, with the exception of and refugees (Esses et al., 2008).

perceiving a wider variety of groups as cold (low warmth) and incompetent because trait contempt is characterized by frequently experiencing *cold* feelings of *dislike* towards others, along with a quickness to psychologically distance from others (i.e., lose *warmth*, *respect*, and empathy), and tendencies towards viewing others as inferior—which is primarily driven by frequently perceiving others as stupid, *low status*, and *incompetent* (e.g., Steiger & Reyna, 2017). As such, dispositionally contemptuous people could be described as being predisposed to perceive people and groups through a "cold and incompetent" lens. If coldness and incompetence elicit dehumanization of a group, then dispositional contemptuousness should predict tendencies towards dehumanizing a wide variety of groups to the extent that contemptuousness leads one to view the world through a "cold and incompetent" lens.

Put in other words, this "cold and incompetent" lens could facilitate dehumanization by leading dispositionally contemptuous people to have a "baseline" perception of others as cold and incompetent; which leads contemptuous people to "drag down" their perceptions of most types of groups into the cold and incompetent quadrant of the SCM, regardless of how the average person might perceive a given group in terms of warmth and competence. If this is the case, it could be expected that trait contempt would predict dehumanizing most or all groups that have been studied within the context of the SCM, including groups stereotyped as high warmth low competence, low warmth high competence, and perhaps even high warmth high competence.

Rationale

Across two studies, I will examine the relationship between trait contempt and dehumanization within the context of the Stereotype Content Model The overall goals of the studies will be to test whether trait contempt predicts tendencies towards dehumanizing others, as well as the extent of this relationship (i.e., the types of groups that are dehumanized). Across

these studies, I will also examine the proposed process behind this relationship—that is, whether trait contempt's relation to dehumanization is specifically driven by tendencies towards viewing most people as both cold and incompetent, thus "dragging down" most or all groups into the cold/incompetent quadrant of the Stereotype Content Model.

Statement of Hypotheses

Across the two studies, there are four major hypotheses.

Hypothesis I: Trait Contempt Broadly Predicts Dehumanization (Studies 1 and 2)

If trait contempt broadly predicts tendencies towards dehumanizing others, then the trait contempt omnibus scale (the mean of the five trait contempt subscales) should significantly predict dehumanization across all four warmth/competence quadrants of the Stereotype Content Model, as well as "people" in the general sense. This pattern of results should remain even when accounting for the variance it shares with the control variables, including other predictors of dehumanization (Study 1) and other negative trait emotions (Study 2). Seemingly innocuous high warmth and high competence (HW-HC) groups (e.g., Americans and whites) should represent the most extreme test of this relationship.

Hypothesis II: Trait Contempt Predicts Dehumanization via Dimensions Related to Coldness and Incompetence (Studies 1 and 2)

If trait contempt leads to tendencies towards dehumanizing others via viewing their social world through a "cold and incompetent lens," then trait contempt subscales related to coldness (behavioral coldness and affective coldness with psychological distancing) and incompetence (the superiority subscale) should be the strongest—or even exclusive—significant predictors of dehumanization towards groups. Furthermore, this pattern of results should be stable across

groups from all four warmth/competence quadrants of the SCM, as well as "people in general." Seemingly innocuous high warmth high competence (HW-HC) groups (e.g., Americans and Whites) should represent the most extreme test of this relationship.

Hypothesis III: Warmth and Competence Ratings will Predict Dehumanization (Study 2)

Hypothesis III predicts that warmth ratings, competence ratings, and/or their sum (warmth + competence) will significantly associate with dehumanization across all groups (*M* of all groups, in aggregate), towards people in general, and across all four quadrants of the SCM. This hypothesis was added because previous research has found that groups stereotyped as cold and incompetent (as classified in prior SCM research) were the most likely to be dehumanized (Harris & Fiske, 2006). However, the direct relationship between warmth/competence ratings and dehumanization ratings of groups has not yet been explicitly tested in prior SCM-related research. While it could be anticipated that warmth and competence ratings will predict dehumanization specifically towards low warmth and low competence (LW-LC) groups, SCM theory may also imply that it is perceptions of warmth and competence in general (regardless of group stereotypes) that predict dehumanization (e.g., high warmth and high competence groups may be significantly unlikely to be dehumanized).

Hypothesis IV: Trait Contempt's Relationship with Dehumanization will be Mediated by Perceptions of Group Warmth and Competence (Study 2)

If contemptuous people have a tendency to broadly dehumanize others because they view their social world through a "cold and incompetent" lens, then perceptions of group warmth and competence should explain (mediate) the relationship between trait contempt and dehumanization. As such, Hypothesis IV predicts that the relationship between trait contempt

and dehumanization ratings towards groups across all four quadrants of the SCM will be fully or partially mediated by perceptions of group warmth and competence. Warmth and competence ratings towards groups are expected to negatively associate with trait contempt and associate with lower levels of dehumanization. The relationship between trait contempt and dehumanization towards high warmth high competence groups should represent the most extreme test of this proposed explanation.

Study 1

Study 1 will examine the relationship between trait contempt and tendencies towards dehumanizing others while controlling for several attitude and personality variables that prior research has identified as predictors of dehumanization: social dominance orientation, psychopathy, narcissism, and political ideology.

Social Dominance Orientation

Social dominance orientation (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) is an individual difference characterized by anti-egalitarian attitudes and beliefs about group superiority. SDO is also characterized by preferences for group inequality and for social hierarchies in which some groups (i.e., ingroups) dominate other groups in society. Multiple studies have also found that SDO predicts dehumanization (e.g., Costello & Hodson, 2010) including towards outgroup nationalities (Kteily et al., 2015), immigrants (Hodson & Costello, 2007), refugees (Esses et al., 2008), and enemy war victims (Jackson & Gaertner, 2010).

Since SDO has previously been found to be associated with trait contempt (Schriber et al., 2016), it is important to control for SDO since it could potentially share some variance with trait contempt as a predictor of dehumanization. This common variance could be due to both

SDO and trait contempt involving feelings of superiority and/or inferiority judgments towards others (e.g., Steiger & Reyna, 2017), though likely driven by different motives. Trait contempt may also share some variance with SDO as a predictor of dehumanization since some have proposed contempt has adaptive roots in maintaining social status and social hierarchies (e.g., Haidt, 2003; Hutcherson & Gross, 2011).

Narcissism and Psychopathy

Both narcissism (Locke, 2009) and psychopathy (Gray, Jenkins, Heberlein & Wegner, 2011) have been found to predict dehumanization of other people in a broad/general sense, which is similar to the relationship between trait contempt and dehumanization that I propose. Additionally, both narcissism and psychopathy may have some conceptual overlap with trait contempt (discussed below). Therefore, I also controlled for both narcissism and psychopathy in Study 1, in order to ensure that any relationship between trait contempt and dehumanization is not merely being driven by variance it shares with either of these "dark" personality traits.

Narcissism. Narcissism is characterized by a grandiose sense of self, feeling superior over others, self-centeredness, diminished empathy, and attention seeking (e.g., Raskin & Terry, 1988). Narcissism has been associated with trait contempt in one study (Schriber et al., 2016). This is likely because narcissism may share some conceptual overlap with trait contempt since both involve feelings of superiority over others, as well as low empathy (via trait contempt's tendencies towards frequent psychological distancing and negative dispositional attributions). Thus, trait contempt and narcissism might share some common variance as predictors of dehumanization.

Psychopathy. Psychopathy is characterized by deficits in empathy, manipulativeness, exploitation of others, criminality, impulsivity, and irresponsibility (e.g., Levenson, Kiehl, & Fitzpatrick, 1995). In one study, trait contempt was found to associate with psychopathy (Schriber et al., 2016). This may be because trait contempt's characteristic affective coldness and tendency to quickly lose empathy and respect for others (i.e., frequent psychological distancing) may share some conceptual overlap with psychopathy's characteristic deficits in empathy.

Including psychopathy as a control will also help differentiate between the types of "coldness" associated with trait contempt versus psychopathy, since "coldness" as a construct may have multiple manifestations. While trait contempt's coldness is characterized by cold or icy feelings of dislike and social rejection towards a target, psychopathy's lack of empathy is characterized more by a callous indifference to the suffering of others and the willingness to use, harm, or exploit others for personal gain (e.g., Levenson et al., 1995). While both types of "coldness" can explain a tendency to broadly dehumanize others, they are qualitatively distinct from one another.

Political Ideology

I will control for political ideology (liberalism-conservatism) in Study 1. Although political ideology does not significantly associate with trait contempt (Steiger & Reyna, 2017), some studies have indicated that ideology is associated with dehumanization. One study found that both liberals and conservatives tend to subtly dehumanize their political opponents (Crawford et al., 2013). Another study found that conservatives, but not liberals, tended to subtly dehumanize (i.e., infrahumanize) Hispanic hurricane victims, but not white hurricane victims (DeLuca-McLean & Costano, 2009). However, more broadly, many studies have highlighted ideology's role in prejudice towards groups such as immigrants (e.g., Hodson et al., 2009). Since

prejudice shares some variance with dehumanization (e.g., Kteily et al., 2015), ideology could possibly play a similar role in dehumanization.

Study 1 Hypotheses

SCM research has found that groups stereotyped as low warmth and low competence (LW-LC) are the most likely to elicit both contempt and dehumanization (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2008). At minimum, it could be anticipated that trait contempt will predict dehumanization of groups that SCM research has identified as being stereotyped as LW-LC. However, if trait contempt broadly predicts tendencies towards dehumanizing others by perceiving many groups through a "cold and incompetent lens" (thus "dragging them down" into the LW-LC quadrant), then two specific patterns of results can be hypothesized.

Hypothesis I: Trait Contempt Broadly Predicts Dehumanization

Trait contempt will significantly predict dehumanization of groups across all four warmth/competence quadrants of the SCM, as well as "people in general." This pattern of results should remain even when accounting for the variance it shares with all control variables (SDO, narcissism, psychopathy, and political ideology). Seemingly innocuous high warmth high competence (HW-HC) groups (e.g., Americans and Whites) should represent the most extreme test of this relationship.

Hypothesis II: Trait Contempt Predicts Dehumanization via Dimensions Related to Coldness and Incompetence

Trait contempt subscales related to coldness (behavioral coldness and affective coldness with psychological distancing) and incompetence (the superiority subscale) will be the strongest—or even exclusive—significant predictors of dehumanization towards groups.

Furthermore, this pattern of results should be stable across groups from all four warmth/competence quadrants of the SCM, as well as "people in general." Seemingly innocuous high warmth high competence (HW-HC) groups (e.g., Americans and Whites) should represent the most extreme test of this relationship.

Study 1 Methods

Research Participants

I recruited 297 American participants from Amazon's M-Turk to take an online survey.[3] They were paid $0.50 to participate. Participants had M_{age} = 35.91 (*SD*=11.80), were 54.5% women, and were 83.7% white/Caucasian, 4.4% black/African American, 3.1% Latino/a, 7.5% Asian, and 1.3% "other" or mixed ethnicity.

Procedure

Participants completed measures of trait contempt, social dominance orientation, psychopathy, and narcissism. Participants also completed measures of blatant dehumanization towards a variety of different groups. Participants were randomly assigned to complete either the dehumanization or personality measures first. Within the personality measures section of the survey, participants completed the trait contempt, SDO, narcissism, and psychopathy instruments in a random order. Participants completed the blatant dehumanization measures within a single survey page, with target groups nested within blocks consisting of five to six groups (e.g., see Figure 1 for an example). Dehumanization targets were presented in a fixed order (see Appendix

[3] Original N = 345, however 48 were dropped due to failing one or both attention check items.

for the Study 1 survey). Finally, participants completed a demographics section and exited the survey.

Materials

Demographics. In the demographics section, participants reported their age, gender, income, education, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and political ideology. The political ideology variable asked "in general, how liberal or conservative are you?" and used a 7-point scale (1 = very liberal, 4 = centrist/moderate, 7 = very conservative).

Trait contempt. Participants completed Steiger and Reyna's trait contempt scale (2017). It consists of five subscales, which assess tendencies towards frequently experiencing contempt's elicitors (superiority judgments), affective experience (cold feelings of dislike with psychological distancing), associated cognitions (negative dispositional attributions), and behavioral tendencies (derogatory action tendencies and behavioral coldness, each measured as separate subscales). All subscales used 7-point scales. Depending on the subscale, responses were made either via agreement (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) or frequency (1 = almost never, 7 = almost always). The full content of the trait contempt scale can be seen in Table 1.

The subscales had the following reliabilities: affective coldness and psychological distancing ($\alpha = .85$), behavioral coldness ($\alpha = .89$), derogatory action tendencies ($\alpha = .79$), superiority ($\alpha = .93$), and negative dispositional attributions ($\alpha = .84$). In keeping with prior studies which have utilized this trait contempt instrument (e.g., Steiger & Reyna, 2017), an omnibus trait contempt variable was computed via the means of the five subscale means ($\alpha =$

.86). This was done because each subscale did not have the same number of items. In this way, it was ensured that each subscale contributed equally to the omnibus trait contempt construct.

Social dominance orientation. Participants completed Ho and colleagues' SDO scale (2015). It was measured on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly oppose, 7 = strongly favor), and includes items such as "An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom" and "No one group should dominate in society" (reverse-coded). The items were scaled together into an SDO variable ($\alpha = .93$).

Table 1. Trait Contempt Scale (Steiger & Reyna, 2017)

Affective Experience
Affective Coldness and Psychological Distancing: *Instructions: How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?* • It doesn't take much for me to dislike someone • Others consider me a cold person • There are very few people that I strongly dislike (R) • I expect most people to disappoint me • If someone disappoints me, I am very willing to give them another chance (R) • It is easy for me to "forgive and forget" (R) • It is easy for me to lose respect for a person
Elicitors
Superiority / Inferiority Judgments: *Instructions: How often do you notice strangers or acquaintances acting or being…* • Stupid • Careless • Incompetent • Irresponsible
Associated Cognitions
Negative Dispositional Attributions: *Instructions: How often do you do the following behaviors in your day to day life?* • I assume that someone is a good person (R) • I judge others negatively • I judge others positively (R) • I make an effort to give people the benefit of the doubt (R)
Action Tendencies
Derogatory Action Tendencies: *Instructions: How often do you do the following behaviors in your day to day life?* • I avoid being critical of others (R) • I complain about people that I don't like • I feel like cursing at somebody under my breath • I feel like rolling my eyes at someone Behavioral Coldness: *Instructions: How often do you do the following behaviors in your day to day life?* • I drop people from my social circle • I give people the "cold shoulder" • I shut people out when they disappoint me

Narcissism. Participants completed 31 items from the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Hall, 1979; modified by Raskin & Terry, 1988), which utilized a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). It was comprised of six subscales assessing: authority (e.g., "people always seem to recognize my authority," $\alpha = .88$), self-sufficiency (e.g., "I always

know what I am doing," α =.71), exhibitionism (e.g., "I like to be the center of attention," α = .78), exploitativeness (e.g., "I can make anybody believe anything I want them to," α = .84), entitlement (e.g., "I will never be satisfied until I get all that I deserve," α = .74), and superiority (e.g., "I am an extraordinary person" and "I think I am a special person," α = .78).[4] I computed a narcissism omnibus variable via the mean of the six subscale means (α =.90).

Psychopathy. Participants completed a 25-item psychopathy scale by Levenson and colleagues (1995), which assesses two dimensions of psychopathy: primary and secondary psychopathy. The primary psychopathy subscale pertains to "selfish, uncaring, and manipulative" traits (p.152), and included items such as "I enjoy manipulating other people's feelings" and "In today's world, I feel justified doing anything I can get away with to succeed." The secondary psychopathy subscale pertains to tendencies towards "impulsivity and a self-defeating lifestyle" (p. 152), and included items such as "I find myself in the same kinds of trouble, time after time" and "I don't plan anything very far in advance." Both psychopathy subscales utilized a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

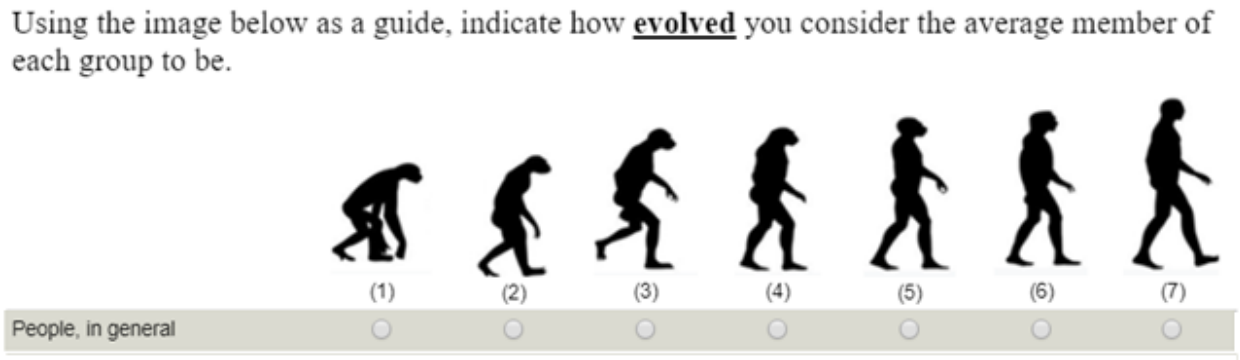
I examined whether or not it would be appropriate to calculate separate means for each subscale, and then create an omnibus psychopathy variable via the mean of the two subscales. Although the primary (α = .93) and secondary (α = .80) subscales had acceptable reliability within each subscale, the scale of the two subscales did not have acceptable internal reliability (α = .58). Therefore, I instead used the computed mean of all 25 items when examining psychopathy as an overall construct (α = .91).

[4] The NPI has a seventh "vanity" subscale (e.g., "I like to display my body"). However, I did not include it in the survey, since it did not have any clear conceptual relevance or overlap with either trait contempt or dehumanization.

Dehumanization. Participants' dehumanization towards groups were measured using the "ascent of man" blatant dehumanization scale developed by Kteily and colleagues (2015). Participants are instructed: "People can vary in how human-like they seem. Some people seem highly evolved whereas others seem no different than lower animals. Using the image below as a guide, indicate using the sliders how evolved you consider the average member of each group to be" (p. 18). As seen in Figure 1, the scale uses drawings from the classic "ascent of man" image as points on a scale. The scale starts with an ape, and each subsequent point on the scale (i.e. drawing) shows increasingly human-looking humanoids, ending with an image of fully upright homo sapiens as the final point on the scale. As such, low scores on the scale indicate greater dehumanization of the target group while higher scores on the scale indicate greater humanization of the target group.

I made two small changes to ascent of man dehumanization scale. Although the original blatant dehumanization scale used five humanoid images on a sliding 100-point scale, I instead utilized a 7-point scale by adding two additional humanoid images. This was done in order to keep the blatant dehumanization scale consistent with the other scales used in the study (i.e., all measures used 7-point scales). Additionally, whereas the original blatant dehumanization scale depicts the second most "human" figure holding a spear in its hands, I erased the spear from the image in order to ensure that participant responses would not be influenced by the presence of a tool/weapon in only one of the humanoid figures on the scale.

Figure 1. Example of blatant dehumanization measure.



The Study 1 survey included a wide variety of dehumanization targets, many of which were exploratory in nature (see the Appendix for the full list of target groups). However, only a subset of these groups—those which have previously been examined within the context of the stereotype content model (SCM)—were utilized in the present study. The following 16 groups were included in the present study, and are listed in the order in which they were presented to participants: people in general, Americans, homeless, drug addicts, undocumented immigrants, welfare recipients, the mentally handicapped/disabled, the physically handicapped/disabled, the elderly, Wall Street bankers, CEOs, billionaires, lawyers, doctors, and whites.

I combined dehumanization ratings towards the abovementioned groups into four different scales, each of which corresponded to a different warmth/competence quadrant from the SCM. This included a low warmth low competence scale (LW-LC), a high warmth low competence scale (HW-LC), a low warmth high competence scale (LW-HC), and a high warmth high competence scale (HW-HC). Decisions for which groups to include in each warmth/competence quadrant scale were based (a-priori) on results from prior SCM-related research, in which participants across multiple samples rated these groups as consistently having a specific warmth/competence quadrant stereotype.

Dehumanization towards low warmth and low competence (LW-LC) groups. Prior SCM research has identified homeless people, drug addicts, immigrants, and welfare recipients as having LW-LC stereotypes (e.g., see Cuddy et al., 2008). Dehumanization of homeless people, drug addicts, undocumented immigrants, and welfare recipients were combined into an LW-LC scale ($\alpha = .96$).

Dehumanization towards high warmth low competence (HW-LC) groups. Prior research identified the elderly, mentally disabled, and physically disabled people as having HW-LC stereotypes (e.g., see Cuddy et al., 2008). Dehumanization ratings of towards these groups were combined into a HW-LC scale ($\alpha = .92$).

Dehumanization of low warmth and high competence (LW-HC) groups. Prior literature has identified the rich, and (sometimes) professionals as having LW-HC stereotypes (e.g., see Cuddy et al., 2008). Dehumanization ratings of Wall Street bankers, CEOs, billionaires, doctors, and lawyers were combined into a LW-HC scale ($\alpha = .96$).

Dehumanization of high warmth high competence (HW-HC) groups. Prior literature has identified "cultural default" groups as having HW-HC stereotypes. In an American context, cultural default groups include whites and Americans (Cuddy et al., 2008).[5] Dehumanization of whites and Americans were combined into a HW-HC scale ($\alpha = .93$).

Study 1 Results and Analysis

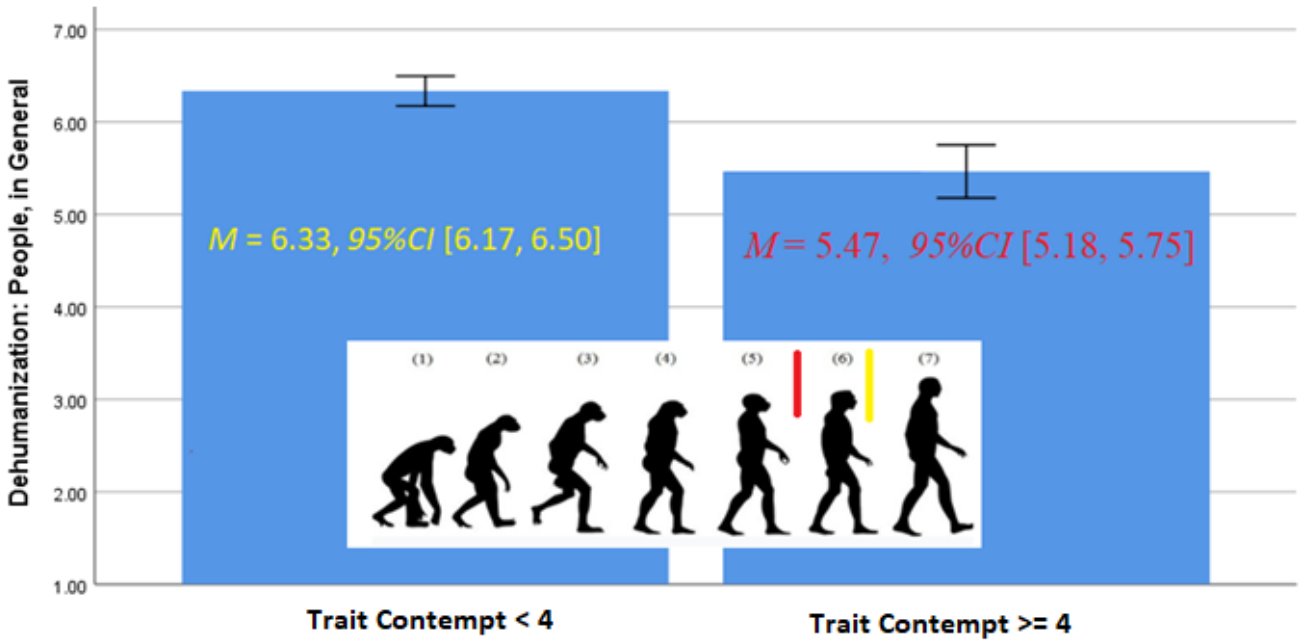
[5] Christians have also been considered a cultural default group in SCM research. However, dehumanization of Christians did not scale well with dehumanization of Americans and Whites.

Because the blatant dehumanization scale is measured such that higher scores indicate that targets are perceived as more human-like (i.e., more humanized), I will refer to it as "humanization" in results for ease of interpretation.

ANOVA

I first tested whether there was a basic difference in contemptuous versus non-contemptuous participants in the tendency to humanize people in general. To do this, I used a one-way ANOVA, comparing those who scored less than the midpoint on the omnibus trait contempt scale (n = 221) with those who scored equal to or greater than the midpoint on the scale (n = 71) on their humanization ratings towards "people, in general." Dispositionally contemptuous participants (M = 5.47, SE = .15, *95%CI* [5.18, 5.75]) humanized people significantly less than participants who were less contemptuous (M = 6.33, SE = .08, *95%CI* [6.17, 6.50]), $F(1, 290) = 27.13$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .09$. As can be seen in Figure 2, this result provides some preliminary support for the prediction that trait contempt may facilitate a tendency to dehumanize people in a generalized sense.

Figure 2. Comparing contemptuous vs. non-contemptuous participants on dehumanization of "people in general."



Correlations

See Table 2 for correlations between trait contempt, each of the trait contempt subscales, the control variables, and humanization ratings. Trait contempt significantly and negatively correlated with humanization across all target groups (people in general, LW-LC, LW-HC, HW-LC, and HW-HC). Additionally, each of the five trait contempt dimensions (subscales) significantly and negatively correlated with humanization across all target groups. In keeping with theoretical predictions, trait contempt subscales related to coldness (behavioral and affective) and incompetence (superiority) tended to be have relatively larger correlations with humanization than did the negative dispositional attributions and derogatory action tendencies subscales, albeit this was not yet statistically confirmed.

Table 2. Study 1 Correlations Between Predictor Variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Trait Contempt	1													
2. TC: BC	.83***	1												
3. TC: AC&PD	.89***	.70***	1											
4. TC: Superiority	.73***	.51***	.53***	1										
5. TC: NDA	.83***	.62***	.82***	.46***	1									
6. TC: DAT	.74***	.51***	.54***	.44***	.50***	1								
7. SDO	.35***	.32***	.29***	.28***	.34***	.17**	1							
8. Psychopathy	.57***	.50***	.49***	.35***	.52***	.42***	.48***	1						
9. Narcissism	.15*	.19**	.08	.23***	-.001	.08	.15*	.38***	1					
10. Ideology	.06	.08	-.01	.11	.05	.02	.54***	.11	.04	1				
11. H: People	-.32***	-.30***	-.27***	-.31***	-.20**	-.21**	-.19**	-.23***	-.12	-.07	1			
12. H: LW-LC	-.39***	-.39***	-.32***	-.33***	-.26***	-.27***	-.31***	-.33***	-.09	-.20**	.77***	1		
13. H: HW-LC	-.37***	-.39***	-.29***	-.33***	-.26***	-.22***	-.23***	-.36***	-.11	-.11	.74***	.88***	1	
14. H: LW-HC	-.24***	-.28***	-.19***	-.22***	-.13*	-.13*	-.08	-.14*	-.09	-.01	.77***	.67***	.66***	1
15. H: HW-HC	-.31***	-.33***	-.25***	-.28***	-.17**	-.20**	-.07	-.23***	-.14*	.01	.82***	.70***	.74***	.77***

Notes. Listwise N = 250. Abbreviations: TC = Trait contempt; BC = behavioral coldness subscale; AC&PD = affective coldness and psychological distancing subscale; NDA= negative dispositional attributions subscale; DAT = derogatory action tendencies subscale; H = humanization (lower scores indicate dehumanization). *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

Trait contempt significantly and positively correlated with SDO (moderately) and psychopathy (moderately), but not with narcissism or ideology (conservatism). SDO significantly and positively correlated with psychopathy (moderately), narcissism (very weakly), and conservatism (moderately). Psychopathy significantly and positively correlated with narcissism (moderately), but did not significantly associate with conservatism. Narcissism did not significantly associate with conservatism.

Correlations between the control variables and humanization followed trends that were theoretically sensible. SDO negatively correlated with humanization of people in general as well as groups stereotyped as low competence (LW-LC, HW-LC), but not groups stereotyped as high competence (LW-HC and HW-HC). Similar to trait contempt, psychopathy significantly and

negatively correlated with humanization of all target groups. Ideology (conservatism) significantly and negatively predicted humanization of LW-LC groups, but no other groups. Narcissism significantly and negatively predicted humanization of HW-HC groups, but no other groups.

Testing Hypothesis I: Does Trait Contempt Broadly Predict Dehumanization?

The overarching research question of this dissertation is whether or not trait contempt facilitates tendencies towards dehumanizing others, and how broad the scope of this relationship is in terms of the types of groups contemptuous people dehumanize. For Hypothesis I, it is predicted that, when accounting for the influence of the control variables, trait contempt will significantly and negatively predict humanization towards groups across all four warmth/competence quadrants of the SCM, as well as towards people in general. High warmth high competence groups being the most extreme test of this proposed relationship.

Hypothesis I was tested via five multiple regressions. In each regression, one humanization variable (people in general, the LW-LC scale, LW-HC scale, HW-LC scale, or HW-HC scale) was used as the dependent variable. Trait contempt, SDO, psychopathy, narcissism, and political ideology were used as predictor variables. Hypothesis I will be confirmed if trait contempt significantly and negatively predicts humanization across all five regression models. See Table 3 for regression results. Trait contempt significantly predicted dehumanization across all five dehumanization variables. Thus, Hypothesis I was confirmed. With the exception of psychopathy as a significant predictor of dehumanization towards groups stereotyped as high warmth but low competence, none of the control variables were significant when accounting for the common variance among them.

Table 3. Study 1 Multiple Regressions: Trait Contempt and Controls as Predictors of Dehumanization

	Dependent: Dehumanization Target				
	People, in General	LW-LC	LW-HC	HW-LC	HW-HC
Predictors	β	β	β	β	β
Trait Contempt	-.28***	-.29***	-.25**	-.26***	-.30***
SDO	-.07	-.09	.003	.003	.10
Psychopathy	-.02	-.12	.02	-.21***	-.09
Narcissism	-.06	.02	-.06	.01	-.07
Political Ideology	-.01	-.12	-.003	-.08	-.02
Model R^2	.12***	.21***	.06**	.18***	.12***

Note. *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

Testing Hypothesis II: Trait Contempt Predicts Dehumanization via Dimensions Related to Coldness and Incompetence

Since trait contempt did indeed predict tendencies towards dehumanizing others, the next step was be to examine what drives this relationship. For Hypothesis II, it was predicted that trait contempt dimensions (subscales) related to coldness (behavioral coldness and affective coldness with psychological distancing) and incompetence (the superiority subscale) would be the strongest—and perhaps exclusive—significant predictors of dehumanization. Specifically, it was predicted that this pattern would be consistent across dehumanization of groups from all four

quadrants of the SCM, as well as people in general. High warmth high competence groups will be the most extreme test of this proposed relationship.

Hypothesis II was tested via five multiple regressions. One humanization variable (people in general, the LW-LC scale, LW-HC scale, HW-LC scale, or HW-HC scale) was used as the dependent variable in each regression. Each of trait contempt's subscales were used as predictor variables. However, given that the behavioral coldness and affective coldness with psychological distancing subscales both tap into "coldness" (and correlate at $r = .70$), they were averaged into a single variable so that their common "coldness" variance would not be removed or diluted in the multiple regressions. As such, the predictor variables in each regression were: the "coldness" variable, the superiority subscale, negative dispositional attributions subscale, and the derogatory action tendencies subscale. Hypothesis II will be confirmed if the coldness and superiority dimensions of trait contempt are the strongest or exclusive significant (and negative) predictors of humanization across all five humanization variables.

See Table 4 for Hypothesis II regression results. The combined "coldness" subscales variable significantly predicted dehumanization towards all five dehumanization target variables. Additionally, the superiority subscale significantly predicted dehumanization towards all target variables except for groups stereotyped as LW-HC. Thus, Hypothesis II was largely confirmed.

Table 4. Study 1 Multiple Regressions: Trait Contempt Subscales as Predictors of Dehumanization

	Dependent: Dehumanization Target				
	People, In General	LW-LC	LW-HC	HW-LC	HW-HC
Predictors	β	β	β	β	β
Coldness	-.28**	-.36***	-.31**	-.39***	-.37***
Superiority	-.18**	-.15*	-.10	-.16*	-.16*
NDA	.07	.08	.12	.05	.13
DAT	.01	-.04	.01	.04	.02
Model R^2	.36***	.17***	.08***	.19***	.14***

Note. *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

Study 1 Discussion

The results from Study 1 indicated that above and beyond the control variables, trait contempt is a robust predictor of dehumanization across all four quadrants of the stereotype content model, including the "warm and competent" groups that provided the most extreme test of this relationship. Regarding the different manifestations of "coldness" that trait contempt and psychopathy have, Study 1's results indicated that trait contempt's cold feelings of dislike and behavioral coldness may better explain tendencies to dehumanize, compared to psychopathy's lack of empathy and indifference to exploiting, using, and harming others (with the exception of HW-LC groups, in which both trait contempt and psychopathy predicted dehumanization). In other words, trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization is not simply explained by the type of empathy deficits that characterizes psychopathy. The results from Study 1 also indicated that trait contempt's dimensions pertaining to coldness (affective and behavioral coldness subscales) and incompetence (superiority subscale) were the primary drivers of this relationship. This provided preliminary support for the theoretical prediction that trait contempt may lead to

tendencies towards dehumanizing others due to contemptuous people "dragging down" most or all groups towards the "cold and incompetent" quadrant of the SCM. Study 2 will replicate the analyses of Study 1 using new controls, as well as further investigate this theoretical prediction.

Study 2

In keeping with Study 1, Study 2 replicated the tests for Hypothesis I and II. However, Study 2 differed in its control variables and introduced warmth and competence measures. This enabled me to test new hypotheses (Hypothesis III and IV) to better understand the processes by which trait contempt might lead to dehumanization. In Study 1, results indicated that trait contempt predicted tendencies towards dehumanizing groups across all four quadrants of the SCM. However, although prior research related to the SCM has named "contempt" as being associated with certain types of groups, in actuality these studies operationalized contempt as a scale of four emotions: contempt, disgust, resentment, and hatred (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002; Esses et al., 2008). Thus, it remained an open question as to whether Study 1's results were driven specifically by trait contempt, or whether trait contempt may have been acting as a proxy for dispositional tendencies towards other hostile emotions (like disgust) and/or hostile emotions in general. In order to test for this possibility, I controlled for multiple hostile trait emotions in Study 2. In keeping with the "contempt" scales used in research pertaining to the SCM, I controlled for trait disgust and trait resentment in Study 2, along with trait anger.[6] Study 2 also included SDO, authoritarianism, and ideology as control variables, and incorporated several new targets of dehumanization.

[6] A search of Google Scholar and Ebsco academic search engines for "trait hatred" and "dispositional hatred" did not reveal any prior studies which had published dispositional/trait hatred instruments. Thus, trait anger was used in its place.

Study 1's results indicated that trait contempt dimensions relating to coldness (affective and behavioral coldness subscales) and incompetence (superiority subscale) were the primary drivers of the relationship between trait contempt and dehumanization. While this provided preliminary evidence for contemptuous people "dragging down" most or all groups into the "cold/incompetent" quadrant of the SCM, thus leading to dehumanization, a more direct test of this mechanism was needed. Therefore, Study 2 included measures of how warm and competent participants perceived each of the target groups. This served two purposes. First, it allowed for a direct test of the relationship between warmth/competence ratings and dehumanization of groups (Hypothesis III). By including direct measures of perceived warmth and competence of each group, this also allowed me to test the extent to which the relationship between trait contempt and dehumanization is explained (mediated) by perceptions of groups being cold and incompetent (Hypothesis IV).

Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism is characterized by submission to authority, perceptions of a dangerous world, closely following traditions and social norms, and hostility towards groups or individuals perceived as threatening to those norms and traditions (e.g., Altemeyer, 1996). Authoritarianism has been identified as a predictor of dehumanization, such that those high in authoritarianism may dehumanize groups that violate or threaten social norms to the extent that those norms as seen as "civilized" (e.g., Esses et al., 2008; Kteily et al., 2015). Authoritarianism may have some conceptual overlap with trait contempt, such that contempt tends to be elicited by perceptions of social standards, norms, or expectations being violated (e.g., Haidt, 2003), and contemptuous people tend to have increased sensitivity to these social standards being violated (e.g., Steiger & Reyna, 2017). Thus, I added a measure of authoritarianism in Study 2.

Other Trait Emotions

Negatively valenced trait emotions tend to be moderately intercorrelated (e.g., Izard et al., 1993), and trait anger in particular has a moderate to strong correlation with trait contempt (Steiger & Reyna, 2017). Additionally, prior work has identified disgust as another emotion that may facilitate outgroup dehumanization (e.g., Buckels & Trapnell, 2013), and found that disgust sensitivity (i.e., trait disgust) predicted dehumanization of immigrants, (Hodson & Costello, 2007), indicating the importance of accounting for other trait emotions. In conjunction with the tendency for prior SCM-related research to define "contempt" as a scale of contempt, disgust, resentment, and hatred (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2008), this highlighted the importance of including measures of trait resentment, disgust, and anger to the study.

Additional Target Groups

Study 2 included some additional groups as targets of dehumanization to further test the replicability of contempt's relationship with dehumanization. This included "the middle class," since they have been identified as a HW-HC group (Cuddy et al., 2008). Study 2 also added feminists, since prior studies have found some samples stereotype feminists as low warmth and either high or low competence (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2008). "The rich" were added, as they have been stereotyped as low warmth and high competence (Cuddy et al., 2008); dehumanization towards "the rich" will replace dehumanization of CEOs and billionaires. Housewives were included as a target group since they have been stereotyped as high warmth and low competence in prior research (Cuddy et al., 2008).

Study 2 Hypotheses

In Study 2, there were four hypotheses.

Hypothesis I: Does Trait Contempt Broadly Facilitate Dehumanization?

In keeping with Study 1, it was predicted that trait contempt will significantly and negatively predict humanization of groups across all four quadrants of the SCM, as well as towards people in general. It was predicted that this relationship would remain significant even when accounting for the influence of SDO, authoritarianism, political ideology, trait disgust, trait resentment, and trait anger. In keeping with Study 1, dehumanization of high warmth high competence groups represented the most extreme test of this relationship.

Hypothesis II: Trait Contempt Predicts Dehumanization via Dimensions Related to Coldness and Incompetence

In keeping with Study 1, it was predicted that trait contempt subscales related to coldness (behavioral coldness and affective coldness with psychological distancing) and incompetence (the superiority subscale) would be the strongest—or even exclusive—significant predictors of dehumanization towards groups. Furthermore, it was predicted that this pattern of results should be stable across groups from all four warmth/competence quadrants of the SCM, as well as "people in general." In keeping with Study 1, dehumanization of high warmth high competence groups represented the most extreme test of this relationship.

Hypothesis III: Warmth and Competence Ratings will Predict Dehumanization

Previous research has found that groups stereotyped as cold and incompetent (as classified in prior SCM research) were the most likely to be dehumanized (Harris & Fiske, 2006). However, the direct relationship between warmth/competence ratings and humanization ratings of groups has not yet been explicitly tested in prior SCM-related research. While it could be anticipated that warmth and competence ratings will predict dehumanization specifically

towards low warmth and low competence (LW-LC), SCM theory may also imply that it is perceptions of warmth and competence in general (regardless of group stereotypes) that predict humanization (e.g., high warmth and high competence groups may be significantly unlikely to be dehumanized). As such, Hypothesis III predicts that warmth and competence ratings—either independently or in sum (i.e., warmth + competence)—will significantly associate with humanization across all groups (in aggregate), towards people in general, and across all four quadrants of the SCM.

Hypothesis IV: Trait Contempt's Relationship with Dehumanization will be Mediated by Perceptions of Group Warmth and Competence

The main theoretical prediction of this dissertation is that trait contempt leads to tendencies towards dehumanizing others because it predisposes contemptuous people towards viewing others through a "cold and incompetent" lens. Since groups perceived as cold and incompetent are the most likely to be dehumanized, then it should be the case that contemptuous people "drag down" most or all groups into the cold/incompetent quadrant of the SCM. This proposed explanation will be tested via the relationship between trait contempt, perceptions of group warmth and competence, and humanization ratings. It is predicted that the relationship between trait contempt and humanization ratings towards all groups will be explained (mediated) by perceptions of group warmth and competence (with warmth and competence associating negatively with trait contempt and positively with humanization). The relationship between trait contempt and dehumanization towards HW-HC groups should represent the most extreme test of this proposed explanation.

Study 2 Method

Research Participants

I recruited 319 participants from M-Turk to take an online survey.[7] Participants were paid $0.50 to participate. Participants had a M_{age} = 33.95 (*SD*= 11.71), were 59.2% female, and were 7.5% Asian, 6.3% black/African-American, 8.2% Latino/a, 73% white, 1.6% Native American, and 3.5 mixed or "other" ethnicity.

Procedure

Participants completed measures of trait contempt (Steiger & Reyna, 2017), trait disgust (Haidt, McCauley, & Rozin, 1994; modified by Olatunji, Haidt, McKay, & David, 2008), trait resentment (Watkins et al., 2003), trait anger (Spielberger, 1996), social dominance orientation (Ho et al., 2015) and authoritarian child-rearing values (e.g., ANES, 2016). Participants also completed measures of blatant dehumanization towards groups using Kteily and colleagues' "ascent of man" scale (2015), measures of perceived warmth and competence of each group, and four exploratory group perception measures.[8] Participants were randomly assigned to complete either the group perception or the emotional/attitudinal measures first. Within the emotional/attitudinal measures, participants completed the instruments in a random order. Within the group perception measures, participants completed the dehumanization, warmth, competence, and exploratory items in a random order. Finally, participants completed a demographics section.

[7] Original *N* = 462. However, 143 participants were removed for failing one or more of the six attention check items in the survey.

[8] The survey included four additional exploratory group perception items that will not be analyzed as part of this dissertation, but are included for the purposes of future publication. This includes "How much do typical members of this group contribute to society?" (1 = do not contribute at all, 7 = contribute greatly), "How much of a threat to society are typical members of this group?" (1 = not at all a threat, 7 = extreme threat), "to what extent do members of this group take resources they don't deserve?" (1 = not at all, 7 = very much), and "to what extent do typical members of this group drain society's resources?" (1 = not at all, 7 = very much).

Materials

Demographics. Participants completed the same demographics section that they did in Study 1. They reported their age, gender, race/ethnicity, religion, and political ideology via a 7-point scale (1 = very liberal, 4 = moderate/centrist, 7 = very conservative).

Trait contempt. The trait contempt scale (Steiger & Reyna, 2017) was identical to the one administered in Study 1 (see Table 1). Each subscale had the following reliabilities: affective coldness and psychological distancing ($\alpha = .77$); behavioral coldness ($\alpha = .76$); superiority ($\alpha = .90$); negative dispositional attributions ($\alpha = .79$); and derogatory action tendencies ($\alpha = .67$). In keeping with Study 1, an omnibus trait contempt variable was computed via the average of the five subscale means ($\alpha = .81$).

Trait disgust. Participants completed the disgust scale – revised (DS-R; Haidt, McCauley, & Rozin, 1994; modified by Olatunji, Haidt, McKay, & David, 2008). The scale measures three subdimensions of sensitivity to disgust: core disgust (triggered by things such as rats, flies, and bodily fluids), animal reminders (triggered by things such as body envelope injuries and reminders of death/mortality), and contamination (triggered by concerns about disease and reactions to stimuli that are harmless but have associations with contaminants).

The DS-R is administered in two sections, and items from each of the three subscales are included in both sections. The first section gives a list of disgust eliciting stimuli (e.g., "A friend offers you a piece of chocolate shaped like dog-doo" and "While you are walking through a tunnel under a railroad track, you smell urine"), along with the prompt "how disgusting would you find this?" Participants responded using a 7-point scale of (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely). The second section gives participants the prompt "please rate how strongly you agree or disagree

with the following statements," and gives various descriptions pertaining to disgust-eliciting stimuli (e.g., "I probably would not go to my favorite restaurant if I found out that the cook had a cold," and "It would bother me to see a rat run across my path in a park"). Participants responded using a 7-point scale of (1= strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

I first computed means for the DSR core (α = .77), contamination (α = .65), and animal reminder subscales (α = .80). Given that the three subscales of the DS-R are measured with an uneven number of items, I computed an omnibus trait disgust variable via the mean of the three subscale's means (α = .77), so that each subscale contributed equally to the overall trait disgust construct. This strategy has been used in prior research (e.g., Steiger & Reyna, 2017).

Trait resentment. Participants completed a trait resentment scale, consisting of a subset of items from the Gratitude Resentment and Appreciation Test (GRAT-R; Watkins et al., 2003). I selected eight items from the resentment subscale to use in Study 2, based off of which items had the highest factor loadings in the original scale development paper: "for some reason I never seem to get the breaks that others get," "more bad things have happened to me in my life than I deserve," "I never seem to get the breaks other people do," "there never seems to be enough to go around and I'm always coming up short," "I really don't think that I've gotten all the good things that I deserve in life," "because of what I've gone through in my life, I really feel like the world owes me something," "I believe that I've had more than my share of bad things come my way," "I think that life has handed me a short stick," "I basically feel like life has ripped me off," and "It seems like others get a lot more benefits in life than I do" (Watkins et al., 2003, p. 434). These items were averaged into a trait resentment variable (α = .93).

Trait anger. Participants completed the trait anger subsection of Spielberger's State Trait Anger Expression Inventory (1996). It consisted of 10 statements that were each followed by the

prompt "how well does this apply to you?" (1=not at all, 7= very much). It included items such as "I have a fiery temper," "I fly off the handle easily," "I get furious when someone criticizes me," "When I get frustrated, I feel like hitting something," and "I get angry when slowed down by others." The 10 items were combined into a trait anger scale variable ($\alpha = .91$).

Social dominance orientation. Participants completed the same 13-item SDO measure that was administered in Study 1 (Ho et al., 2015). Items were averaged into an SDO scale ($\alpha = .88$)

Authoritarianism. Authoritarianism was measured via the four-item authoritarian child-rearing values scale used by the American National Election Studies (e.g., ANES, 2016) and other large-scale surveys. The child-rearing values scale measures a predisposition towards authoritarianism and it has been shown to be an effective measure to use in research on authoritarianism as an overall construct, but the measure itself is apolitical (e.g., Stenner, 2005). As such, will be less likely to dilute common variance that authoritarianism may have with SDO and political ideology.

The measure used the following instructions: "Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. For each of the next items please indicate which quality is more important for children to have." The measure then presents a bipolar scale with two values as anchors of each end, with one being an authoritarian value and the other being an independence-related value. It used a 7-point scale, with 1 representing an independence value (self-reliance, curiosity, being assertive, or independence), 4 representing "both are equally important," and 7 representing an authoritarian value (obedience, good manners, being well-behaved, or respect for elders). These items were scaled together into an authoritarianism variable ($\alpha = .78$).

Dehumanization. In keeping with Study 1, participants completed Kteily and colleagues' "ascent of man" blatant dehumanization measure (2015) towards multiple groups. Participants rated the following groups: "People, in general," Americans, whites, the middle class, homeless, drug addicts, welfare recipients, undocumented immigrants, mentally disabled/handicapped, physically disabled/handicapped, elderly, housewives, feminists, the rich, Wall Street bankers, and "you." Participants rated their dehumanization towards "people in general" first and "you" last. The remaining dehumanization targets were presented in a random order.

Warmth and competence ratings. Participants rated each target group in terms of perceived warmth and competence, adapted from measures by Fiske and colleagues (2002). This was done using two items. First, "How competent are members of this group?" (1 = not at all competent, 7 = very competent). Second, "How warm/good-natured are members of this group?" (1 = not at all warm/good-natured, 7 = very warm/good-natured). Participants rated the warmth and competence of all dehumanization target groups, rating "people, in general" first and "you" last. All other groups were presented in a random order.

Warmth, competence, and dehumanization scale groupings. For the purpose of testing Hypotheses III and IV, warmth, competence, and dehumanization ratings were each combined into four different scales with each scale representing a quadrant of the SCM (i.e., warmth scales, competence scales, and dehumanization scales for LW-LC, LW-HC, HW-LC, and HW-HC groups). In Study 1, groups were combined into these four quadrant scales on an a-priori basis based on prior research findings. In Study 2, I determined which groups should be combined together into each quadrant scale based on participants' actual warmth, competence, and dehumanization ratings towards these groups. These decisions were guided by examining

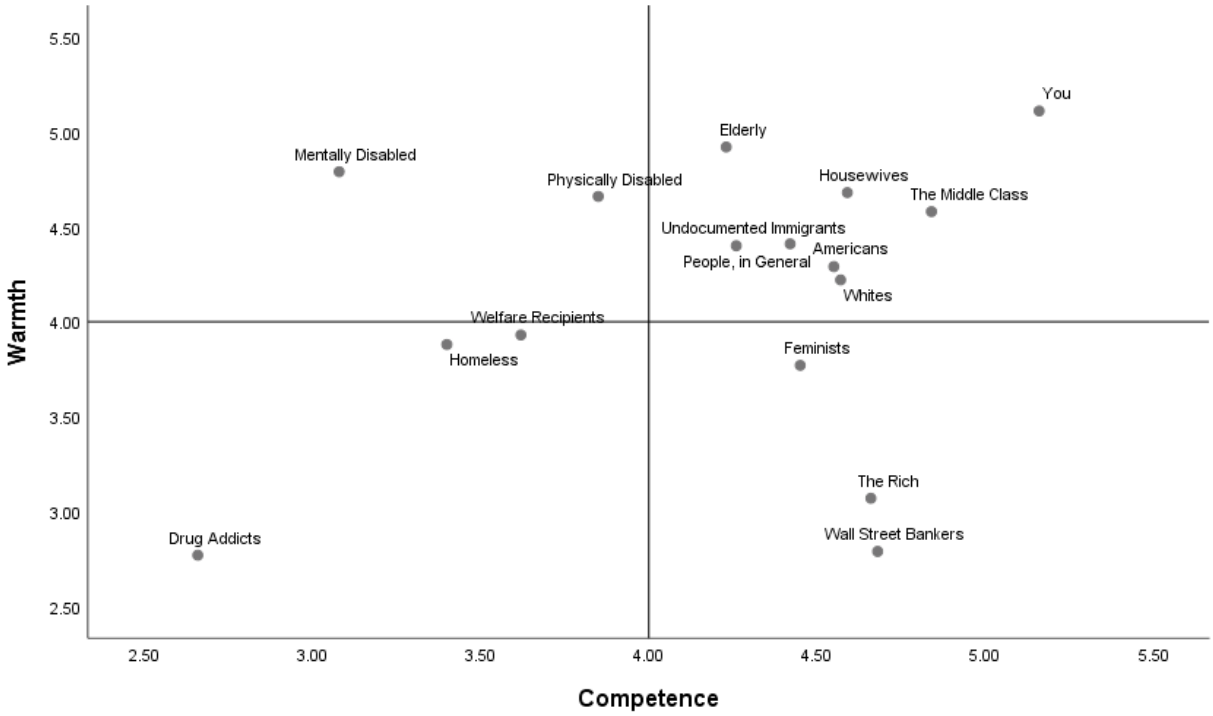
descriptive statistics and follow-up internal reliability analyses of warmth, competence, and dehumanization ratings.

I first examined descriptive statistics (means) of warmth and competence ratings, to see which groups were rated as above versus below the midpoint on each measure. As seen in Table 5 and Figure 3, results largely reflected past findings from SCM research. Mentally and physically disabled/handicapped persons were rated as above the midpoint (> 4) on warmth but below the midpoint (< 4) on competence (i.e., HW-LC). Homeless people, drug addicts, and welfare recipients were rated below the midpoint on both warmth and competence (i.e., LW-LC). Feminists, the rich, and Wall Street bankers were rated below the midpoint on warmth but above the midpoint on competence (i.e., LW-HC). Americans, whites, and the middle class were rated above the midpoint on both warmth and competence (i.e., HW-HC). However, contrary to expectations, several additional groups were also rated as above the midpoint on both warmth and competence: undocumented immigrants, housewives, and the elderly.

Table 5. Study 2 descriptive statistics for warmth and competence ratings.

	Warmth		**Competence**	
Target Group	*M*	*STD*	*M*	*STD*
People, in General	4.41	1.08	4.42	1.26
Americans	4.29	1.20	4.55	1.30
The Middle Class	4.58	1.09	4.84	1.14
Whites	4.22	1.23	4.57	1.25
Homeless	3.88	1.34	3.40	1.39
Drug Addicts	2.77	1.36	2.66	1.27
Welfare Recipients	3.93	1.29	3.62	1.36
Undocumented Immigrants	4.40	1.35	4.26	1.40
Elderly	4.92	1.26	4.23	1.33
Mentally Disabled	4.79	1.30	3.08	1.39
Physically Disabled	4.66	1.28	3.85	1.42
Housewives	4.68	1.21	4.59	1.31
Feminists	3.77	1.45	4.45	1.40
The Rich	3.07	1.49	4.66	1.56
Wall Street Bankers	2.79	1.38	4.68	1.56
You	5.11	1.22	5.16	1.28

Figure 3. Scatterplot of group mean warmth and competence ratings.



Given the results for housewives, the elderly, and undocumented immigrants deviated from past findings in SCM-related research, I next used internal reliability analyses to determine whether each of these groups were a better fit with HW-LC versus HW-HC groups regarding their warmth, competence, and dehumanization ratings. Additionally, I tested whether undocumented immigrants were a better fit with LW-LC groups, given prior SCM research had identified immigrants as having LW-LC stereotypes (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2008). I did this by first examining the reliability (α's) of the "unambiguous" groups for each SCM quadrant (e.g., whites, Americans, and the middle class were unambiguous for HW-HC). I next tested whether individually introducing housewives, the elderly, and undocumented immigrants into the scales improved or diminished the reliability for dehumanization, warmth, and competence.

Table 6. Dehumanization, warmth, and competence scale reliabilities with ambiguous groups added/removed.

	HW-HC			HW-LC			LW-LC		
Target	D α	W α	C α	D α	W α	C α	D α	W α	C α
Unambiguous Groups	.89	.85	.89	.91	.78	.76	.90	.71	.80
+ Housewives	.90	.85	.89	.87	.71	.74	-	-	-
+ Elderly	.87	.83	.86	.90	.73	.79	-	-	-
+ Immigrants	.87	.78	.81	.88	.76	.75	.92	.77	.83

Notes. D = dehumanization reliability, W = warmth reliability, C = competence reliability. Unambiguous groups: HW-HC = Americans, whites, and middle-class; HW-LC: mentally and physically disabled; LW-LC: drug addicts, homeless, and welfare recipients.

As seen in Table 6, including housewives with the unambiguous HW-HC groups (whites, Americans, and the middle-class) improved the reliability for dehumanization and did not change the alpha in either direction for warmth and competence ratings. In contrast, including housewives with the unambiguous HW-LC groups (mentally and physically disabled) diminished the reliability for dehumanization, warmth, and competence. This indicated that—in contrast to prior findings—housewives were best classified as a HW-HC group for the purposes of the present study.

Including elderly people with the unambiguous HW-HC stereotyped groups consistently diminished the reliabilities for dehumanization, warmth, and competence. Including elderly people with the unambiguous HW-LC stereotyped groups (mentally and physically disabled people) diminished the reliabilities for dehumanization (by .01) and warmth, but improved

reliabilities for competence. Given that the results were mixed, I determined that elderly were best combined with the HW-LC stereotyped groups, since this was in keeping with prior SCM-related research and because this improved reliability on at least one of the HW-LC scales (competence).

Including undocumented immigrants with either the unambiguous HW-HC or HW-LC stereotyped groups consistently diminished the reliabilities for warmth, competence, and dehumanization ratings. In contrast, including undocumented immigrants with the unambiguous LW-LC stereotyped groups (homeless people, drug addicts, and welfare recipients) consistently improved the reliabilities for warmth, competence, and dehumanization. This indicated that undocumented immigrants would best be included with the LW-LC stereotyped groups, in keeping with prior SCM research findings.

The final versions of the HW-HC group scales, consisting of ratings towards housewives, Americans, whites, and the middle class, had the following reliabilities: dehumanization (α = .89), warmth (α = .85), and competence (α = .87). The HW-LC group scales, consisting of ratings towards the elderly, mentally disabled people, and physically disabled people, had the following reliabilities: dehumanization (α = .88), warmth (α = .75), and competence (α = .81). The LW-HC group scales, consisting of ratings towards feminists, the rich and Wall Street bankers, had the following reliabilities: dehumanization (α = .81), warmth (α = .82), and competence (α = .73). The LW-LC group scales (consisting of ratings towards homeless people, drug addicts, welfare recipients, and undocumented immigrants) had the following reliabilities: dehumanization (α = .91), warmth (α = .83), and competence (α = .86).

Study 2 Results and Analysis

See Table 7 for correlations between trait contempt, the trait contempt subscales, the control variables, and humanization towards all target groups. See Table 10 (Hypothesis III section) for correlations between warmth, competence, and humanization ratings for each group. Trait contempt and all its subscales significantly and negatively correlated with humanization across all target groups. Trait contempt significantly and positively correlated with trait anger, trait resentment, and SDO, but did not significantly correlate with trait disgust, authoritarianism, or ideology.

Regarding control correlations, trait disgust positively correlated with trait anger, SDO, authoritarianism, and conservative ideology, and it weakly (and negatively) correlated with humanization of low competence groups (LW-LC and HW-LC). Trait resentment significantly and positively correlated with trait anger, SDO, and authoritarianism, and significantly negatively correlated with humanization across all target groups, but it did not significantly associate with trait disgust or ideology. Trait anger significantly and positively correlated with SDO and conservative ideology, and it significantly and negatively correlated with humanization across all target groups. SDO significantly and positively correlated with authoritarianism and conservative ideology, and significantly and negatively correlated with humanization across all target groups. Authoritarianism positively correlated with conservative ideology and negatively correlated with humanization ratings on average and towards low competence groups LW-LC, HW-LC, and HW-HC groups, but did not significantly correlate with humanization towards LW-HC groups or people in general. Ideology significantly and negatively correlated with humanization ratings on average and towards low competence groups (LW-LC and HW-LC), but did not significantly correlate with humanization ratings towards other groups.

Table 7. Study 2 correlations between predictor variables and dehumanization ratings.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. T. Contempt	1																
2. TC: AC	.85***	1															
3. TC: BC	.78***	.65***	1														
4. TC: SUP	.61***	.35***	.27***	1													
5. TC: NDA	.77***	.67***	.45***	.31***	1												
6. TC: DAT	.77***	.53***	.51***	.33***	.53***	1											
7. T. Disgust	.02	.04	.08	-.003	-.02	-.02	1										
8. T. Resentment	.50***	.49***	.50***	.21***	.32***	.34***	.08	1									
9. T. Anger	.57***	.50***	.48***	.27***	.38***	.54***	.18**	.43***	1								
10. SDO	.26***	.28***	.31***	.08	.17**	.13*	.15**	.18**	.30***	1							
11. Auth.	.04	.04	.130*	.03	-.01	-.06	.24***	.19**	.06	.32***	1						
12. Ideology	.06	.07	.16**	.03	-.004	-.04	.16**	.11	.12*	.52***	.40***	1					
13. H: Average	-.36***	-.32***	-.33***	-.22***	-.25***	-.23***	-.09	-.28***	-.27***	-.28***	-.20***	-.12*	1				
14. H: People	-.32***	-.24***	-.24***	-.23***	-.26***	-.22***	-.001	-.21***	-.20***	-.10	-.06	.02	.77***	1			
15. H: LW-LC	-.34***	-.33***	-.34***	-.19**	-.22***	-.18**	-.12*	-.28***	-.26***	-.36***	-.29***	-.22***	.93***	.63***	1		
16. H: LW-HC	-.30***	-.26***	-.24***	-.20***	-.21***	-.23***	-.01	-.24***	-.22***	-.13*	-.03	-.01	.84***	.68***	.68***	1	
17. H: HW-LC	-.31***	-.26***	-.34***	-.16**	-.21***	-.20***	-.13*	-.26***	-.27***	-.30***	-.25***	-.16**	.87***	.57***	.82***	.58***	1
18. H: HW-HC	-.31***	-.27***	-.22***	-.21***	-.25***	-.21***	-.05	-.21***	-.21***	-.18**	-.13*	-.01	.90***	.76***	.75***	.78***	.71***

Notes. Listwise N = 318. Abbreviations: TC = Trait contempt subscale; BC = behavioral coldness; AC&PD = affective coldness and psychological distancing subscale; SUP = superiority; NDA= negative dispositional attributions; DAT = derogatory action tendencies; Auth = authoritarianism; H: = humanization (lower scores indicate dehumanization). *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

Testing Hypothesis I: Does Trait Contempt Broadly Facilitate Dehumanization?

For Hypothesis I, it was predicted that omnibus trait contempt would significantly and negatively predict humanization of groups across all four quadrants of the SCM, as well as towards people in general and the average of ratings across all groups. Specifically, it was predicted that this relationship will remain significant even when accounting for the influence of the control variables (SDO, authoritarianism, trait disgust, trait resentment, trait anger, and political ideology), and that dehumanization of high warmth high competence groups would represent the most extreme test of this proposed relationship.

Hypothesis I was tested using a series of multiple regressions. In each regression model, one humanization variable (LW-LC groups scale, LW-HC groups scale, HW-LC groups scale, HW-HC groups scale, people in general, and the average dehumanization rating across all groups) was used as the dependent variable, while omnibus trait contempt, SDO, authoritarianism, political ideology, trait disgust, trait resentment, and trait anger were used as predictor variables. Hypothesis I will be confirmed if trait contempt remains a significant predictor of all six dehumanization variables, even when accounting for the influence of all the control variables.

See Table 8 for regression results. Regression results indicated that trait contempt significantly and negatively predicted humanization across all target groups (average across all groups, people in general, LW-LC, LW-HC, HW-LC, and HW-HC), even when accounting for the influence of other negatively valenced trait emotions, SDO, authoritarianism, and political ideology. Thus, Hypothesis I was confirmed for Study 2.

Table 8. Study 2 Multiple Regressions: Trait Contempt and Controls as Predictors of Dehumanization

	Dependent: Dehumanization Target					
	Average	People	LW-LC	LW-HC	HW-LC	HW-HC
Predictors	β	β	β	β	β	β
Trait Contempt	-.26***	-.28***	-.23***	-.21**	-.20**	-.24**
Trait Disgust	-.03	.02	-.04	.02	-.05	-.01
Trait Resentment	-.09	-.05	-.09	-.11	-.09	-.05
Trait Anger	-.03	-.02	.004	-.05	-.04	-.02
SDO	-.18**	-.04	-.22***	-.07	-.19**	-.14*
Auth	-.14*	-.07	-.19***	-.01	-.17**	-.11
Ideology	.06	.09	-.003	.05	.05	.14*
Model R^2	.20***	.11***	.24***	.11***	.20***	.13***

Note. For the dependent variable, higher scores indicate greater humanization and lower scores indicate greater dehumanization of target group. *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

Besides trait contempt, no other trait emotion significantly predicted humanization across any target group. SDO and authoritarianism significantly and negatively predicted humanization of low competence groups (LW-LC and HW-HC), and SDO also significantly and negatively predicted humanization of HW-HC groups. In contrast to Study 1, political ideology had one significant result: political conservatism was positively associated with humanization of HW-HC groups.

Testing Hypothesis II: Trait Contempt Predicts Dehumanization via Dimensions Related to Coldness and Incompetence

In keeping with Study 1, Hypothesis II predicts that trait contempt dimensions (subscales) related to coldness (behavioral coldness and affective coldness with psychological distancing) and incompetence (the superiority subscale) will be the strongest—and perhaps exclusive—significant predictors of dehumanization. Specifically, it is predicted that this pattern will be consistent across dehumanization of groups from all four quadrants of the SCM, as well as people in general. High warmth high competence groups will be the most extreme test of this proposed relationship.

In keeping with Study 1, Hypothesis II was tested via six multiple regressions. One humanization variable (average rating across all groups, people in general, the LW-LC scale, LW-HC scale, HW-LC scale, or HW-HC scale) was used as the dependent variable in each regression. Each of trait contempt's subscales were used as predictor variables, except that the behavioral coldness and affective coldness with psychological distancing subscales were averaged together to avoid diluting their common "coldness" variance in the multiple regressions. As such, the predictor variables in each regression were: the "coldness" variable, the superiority subscale, negative dispositional attributions subscale, and the derogatory action tendencies subscale. Hypothesis II will be confirmed if the coldness and superiority dimensions (subscales) of trait contempt are the strongest or exclusive significant predictors of dehumanization across all five dehumanization variables.

See Table 9 for regression results. The combined coldness subscales variable significantly and negatively predicted humanization on average (across all groups) and towards all four SCM quadrant groups, but not towards people in general. In contrast, the superiority

subscale significantly and negatively predicted humanization towards people in general, but not towards any other target group. Neither the negative dispositional attributions subscale nor the derogatory action tendencies subscale significantly predicted humanization towards any group. As such, Hypothesis II for Study 2 was partially confirmed. In keeping with predictions, trait contempt dimensions pertaining to coldness and superiority were the exclusive predictors of dehumanization. However, in contrast to Study 1, superiority only significantly predicted dehumanization towards one target group. In contrast, dimensions related to coldness followed the anticipated pattern of results, such that it broadly predicted dehumanization towards most (albeit not all) groups.

Table 9. Study 2 Regressions: Trait Contempt Subscales as Predictors of Dehumanization.

	Dependent: Humanization Target					
	Average	People	LW-LC	LW-HC	HW-LC	HW-HC
Predictors	β	β	β	β	β	β
Coldness	-.29***	-.13	-.38***	-.17*	-.31***	-.15*
Superiority	-.10	-.14*	-.08	-.10	-.05	-.11
NDA	-.04	-.12	.01	-.04	-.01	-.10
DAT	-.02	-.04	.05	-.08	-.003	-.04
Model R^2	.14***	.11***	.14***	.09***	.12***	.10***

Note. NDA = negative dispositional attributions and DAT = derogatory action tendencies subscales. *** = $p < .001$, ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$

Testing Hypothesis III: Warmth and competence ratings will predict dehumanization. Hypothesis III predicts that warmth and competence ratings will significantly associate with humanization across all groups (in aggregate), towards people in general, and towards all four SCM quadrant groups (LW-LC, LW-HC, HW-LC, HW-HC). This was tested using correlations between warmth ratings, competence ratings, an additive scale (warmth ratings + competence ratings) and humanization ratings towards the abovementioned targets. Hypothesis III will be confirmed if warmth and competence ratings (and/or their sum) significantly correlate with humanization of all targets. As seen in Table 10, humanization was significantly and positively correlated with warmth, competence, and warmth plus competence. This pattern of results was consistent across all targets. Thus, Hypothesis III was fully confirmed. These results suggest that perceptions of group warmth and competence—regardless of SCM quadrant—influences how much a given group tends to be humanized.

Table 10. Correlations between humanization, warmth, competence, and warmth + competence.

Target: Averages	1	2	3
1. Humanization	1		
2. Warmth	.25***	1	
3. Competence	.22***	.69***	1
4. Warmth + Competence	.26***	.92***	.92***

Target: People, in General	1	2	3
1. Humanization	1		
2. Warmth	.24***	1	
3. Competence	.18***	.56***	1
4. Warmth + Competence	.24***	.87***	.90***

Target: LW-LC Groups	1	2	3
1. Humanization	1		
2. Warmth	.36***	1	
3. Competence	.33***	.71***	1
4. Warmth + Competence	.37***	.92***	.93***

Target: LW-HC Groups	1	2	3
1. Humanization	1		
2. Warmth	.22***	1	
3. Competence	.31***	.51***	1
4. Warmth + Competence	.30***	.89***	.85***

Target: HW-LC Groups	1	2	3
1. Humanization	1		
2. Warmth	.24***	1	
3. Competence	.22***	.47***	1
4. Warmth + Competence	.26***	.84***	.88***

Target: HW-HC Groups	1	2	3
1. Humanization	1		
2. Warmth	.25***	1	
3. Competence	.22***	.61***	1
4. Warmth + Competence	.26***	.89***	.90***

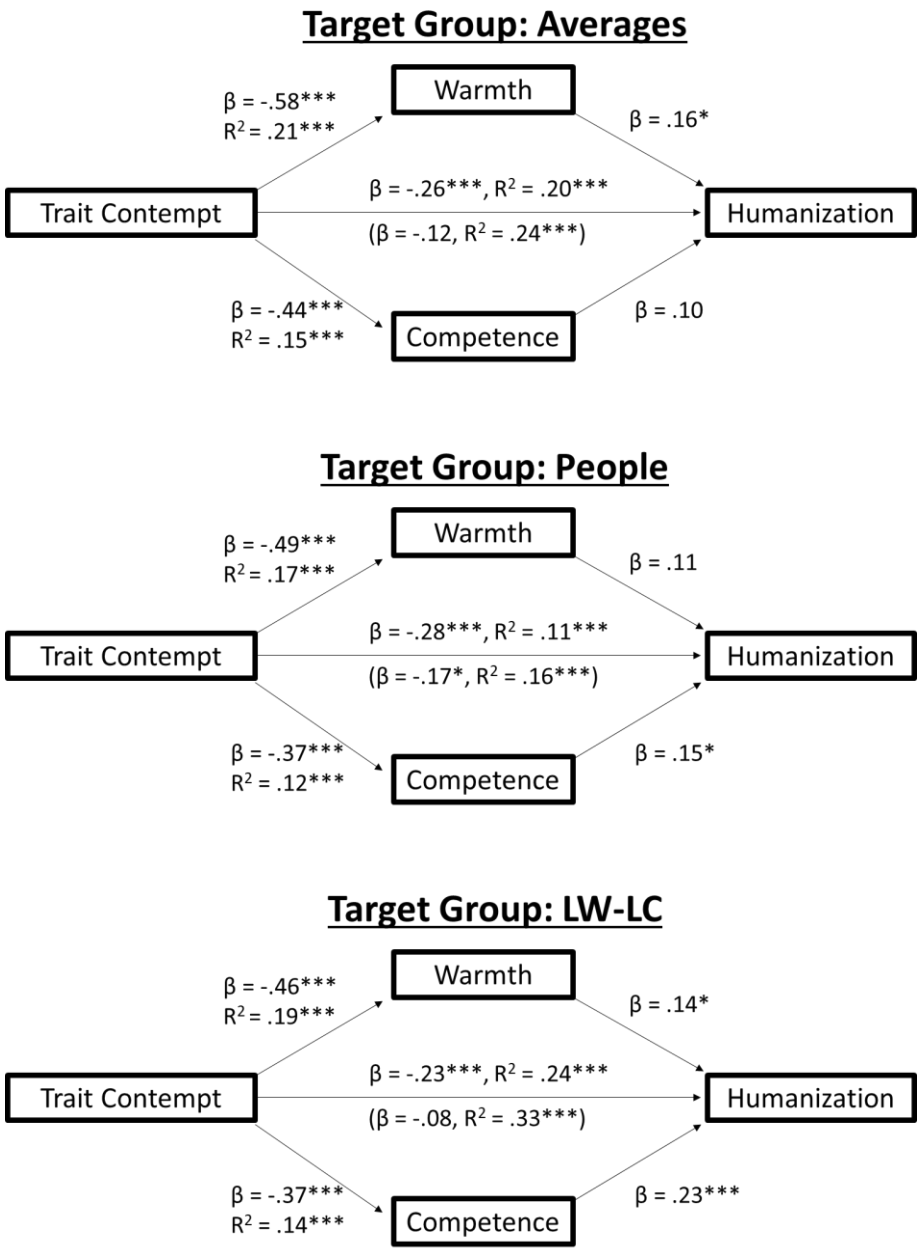
Notes. Listwise *N* for averages = 452. Listwise *N* for other targets = 446. *** = $p < .001$.

Testing Hypothesis IV: Trait Contempt's Relationship with Dehumanization will be Mediated by Perceptions of Group Warmth and Competence

For Hypothesis IV, I predicted that trait contempt facilitates dehumanization because it predisposes contemptuous people towards viewing others through a "cold and incompetent lens," thus leading them to "drag down" most or all groups into the LW-LC quadrant of the SCM, which in turn leads to dehumanization. If this holds true, then trait contempt's relationship with humanization across all targets should be mediated (either fully or partially) by perceptions of group warmth and competence.

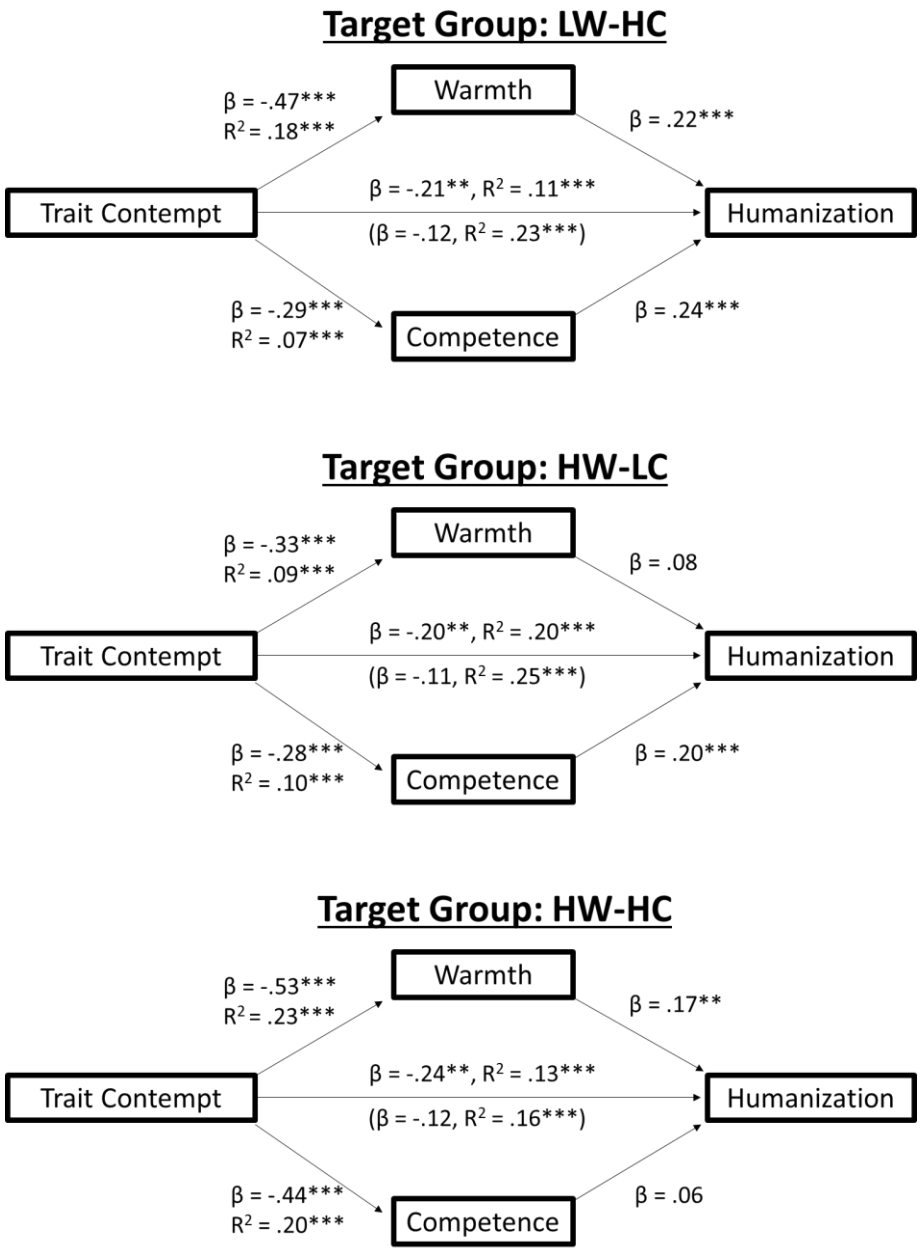
Hypothesis IV was tested via six multiple mediation models using Model IV of the PROCESS method for SPSS (e.g., see Hayes, 2013). Trait contempt was used as the independent variable (X), and one humanization variable (average across all groups, people in general, LW-LC scale, HW-LC scale, LW-HC scale, or HW-HC scale) was used as the dependent variable (Y). Warmth and competence ratings that corresponded with the humanization target being analyzed were used as mediators (e.g., for humanization of LW-LC groups, warmth and competence towards LW-LC groups were used as mediators). Hypothesis IV will be confirmed if warmth and competence ratings are found to be full or partial mediators of the relationship between trait contempt and humanization across all six dehumanization target variables. Within each model, it is expected that the mediators (warmth and competence ratings) will associate negatively with trait contempt and associate positively with humanization.

Figure 4. Multiple mediation model results.



Notes. The relationship between trait contempt and humanization when accounting for warmth and competence is placed below the center line and in parentheses. All analyses included the control variables as covariates. *** = p <.001, ** = p < .01, *= p <.01.

Figure 4. Multiple mediation model results (continued).



Notes. The relationship between trait contempt and humanization when accounting for warmth and competence is placed below the center line and in parentheses. All analyses included the control variables as covariates. *** = p <.001, ** = p < .01, *= p <.01.

Multiple mediation model results. See Figure 4 for the standardized regression coefficients (β's) and R^2 values for each mediation model. All mediation models included the control variables from Hypothesis I as covariates (i.e., trait disgust, trait resentment, trait anger, SDO, authoritarianism, and ideology). This was done so that regression results from Hypothesis I could be compared with the mediation results for Hypothesis IV. As such, standardized regression coefficients for trait contempt (as a predictor of humanization) and model R^2 values from the Hypothesis I regressions (see Table 8) were entered into Figure 4's charts for the direct (unmediated) relationship between trait contempt and humanization; they are entered above the center line in the mediation charts.

There are four steps to establish whether mediation is occurring (e.g., Baron & Kenny, 1986; James & Brett, 1984; Judd & Kenny, 1981). For the first step, the independent variable (trait contempt) must significantly associate with the outcome variable (humanization). Criteria for this first step were met, as trait contempt significantly and negatively predicted humanization across all six targets. For the second step, the mediators (warmth and competence ratings) must significantly associate with the independent variable (trait contempt). Criteria for this second step were met, as trait contempt significantly and negatively predicted warmth and competence ratings, with moderate to strong effect sizes, across all six models.

For the third step, the mediators (warmth and competence) must significantly predict the outcome variable (humanization) while controlling for the independent variable (trait contempt). Criteria for this third step were met, as at least one or both mediators significantly and positively predicted humanization while controlling for trait contempt across all six models. As seen in Figure 4, both warmth and competence ratings were significant predictors of humanization for the LW-LC and LW-HC group models. Warmth ratings were significant predictors of

humanization for the "average" and HW-HC models, and competence ratings were significant predictors of humanization for the "people in general" and HW-LC models.

For the fourth step, when accounting for the mediators (warmth and competence ratings), the relationship between the independent variable (trait contempt) and the outcome variable (humanization) should either be no longer significant (indicating full mediation) or should have a reduced effect size (indicating partial mediation). The criteria for this fourth step were met, as trait contempt's relationship with humanization was rendered non-significant when accounting for warmth and competence ratings (indicating full mediation) in all models except "people in general." For the "people, in general" model, trait contempt's relationship with humanization remained significant, but diminished in effect size (indicating partial mediation).

Indirect effect statistics (see Table 11) confirmed that mediation occurred across all six mediation models. The *total* indirect effect—the combined influence of warmth and competence ratings—was significant across all six mediation models. Individual indirect effects for warmth and competence ratings differed across models. For the "people in general" model, although the total indirect effect was significant, neither the individual indirect effects via warmth nor via competence were significant. Indirect effects via warmth were significant for the "average," LW-LC, LW-HC, and HW-HC models. Indirect effects via competence were significant for the LW-LC, LW-HC, and HW-LC models.

Table 11. Mediation statistics (indirect effects).

	Mediation Statistics (Bootstrapped)								
Target group	Standardized Indirect Effect: Total			Standardized Indirect Effect: Warmth			Standardized Indirect Effect: Competence		
	Effect	SE	95% CI	Effect	SE	95% CI	Effect	SE	95% CI
Averages	**-.14**	.04	[-.21, -.06]	**-.09**	.04	[-.16, -.02]	-.04	.03	[-.10, .01]
People	**-.11**	.03	[-.18, -.05]	-.05	.04	[-.14, .02]	-.06	.03	[-.13, .002]
LW-LC	**-.15**	.03	[-.21, -.09]	**-.07**	.03	[-.12, -.001]	**-.08**	.03	[-.14, -.04]
LW-HC	**-.17**	.04	[-.24, -.10]	**-.10**	.03	[-.17, -.04]	**-.07**	.03	[-.13, -.02]
HW-LC	**-.08**	.03	[-.14, -.03]	-.03	.02	[-.07, .02]	**-.06**	.02	[-.10, -.02]
HW-HC	**-.12**	.03	[-.18, -.05]	**-.09**	.04	[-.16, -.02]	-.03	.03	[-.08, .03]

Note. Significant indirect effects (as indicated by 95% CI values that do no cross 0) are in bold.

In total, the results supported Hypothesis IV. Hypothesis IV predicted that warmth and competence ratings would be significant full or partial mediators of the relationship between trait contempt and humanization across all six models, and that the mediators (warmth and competence ratings) would associate negatively with trait contempt and positively with humanization. Results across all six models matched these predictions. In all cases, warmth and/or competence ratings explained trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization. However, the degree to which perceptions of warmth versus competence mediated this relationship changed regarding the target group in question.

"Dragging Down" Groups into the LW-LC Category of the SCM

The mediation model results provide statistical evidence that trait contempt's association with dehumanization appears to primarily be driven by contemptuous tendencies towards viewing most groups as cold and incompetent, such that it leads to "dragging down" most or all groups into the "cold and incompetent" quadrant of the SCM. To provide a visualization of this, I computed means of warmth and competence ratings towards each group, with separate means computed for participants who scored < 3, < 4, > 4, and > 5 on omnibus trait contempt. I then created separate scatterplots for each group of participants, with each scatterplot showing *M* warmth and competence ratings towards all target groups.

As seen in Figure 5, higher levels of trait contempt corresponded with decreased warmth and competence ratings towards all groups, such that they did indeed follow a trend of being "dragged down" towards the cold and incompetent quadrant. However, the most contemptuous participants did not "drag down" all groups towards equally low levels of warmth and competence; there was some variation between groups. "You" (the participant themselves) and the middle class remained barely above the midpoint on warmth and competence; housewives, mentally disabled, and elderly people remained slightly above the midpoint on warmth ratings; and whites, the rich, and Wall Street bankers remained slightly above the midpoint on competence ratings. This indicated that even at the most extreme, highly contemptuous people still made some differentiation in perceptions of group warmth and competence for certain types of groups, such that they were not all perceived as low/low.

Figure 5. Group *M* warmth and competence ratings, grouped by participant trait contempt.

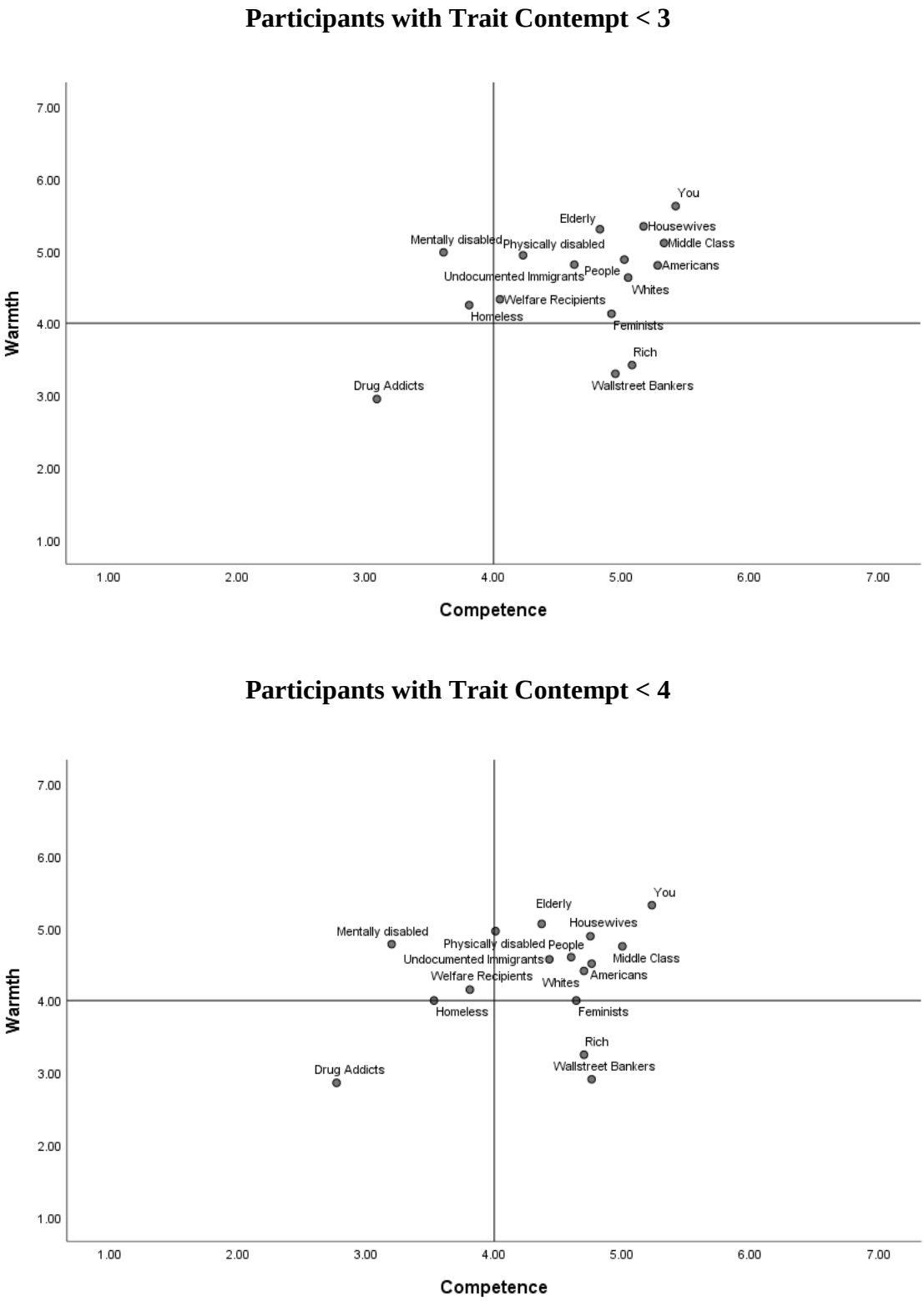
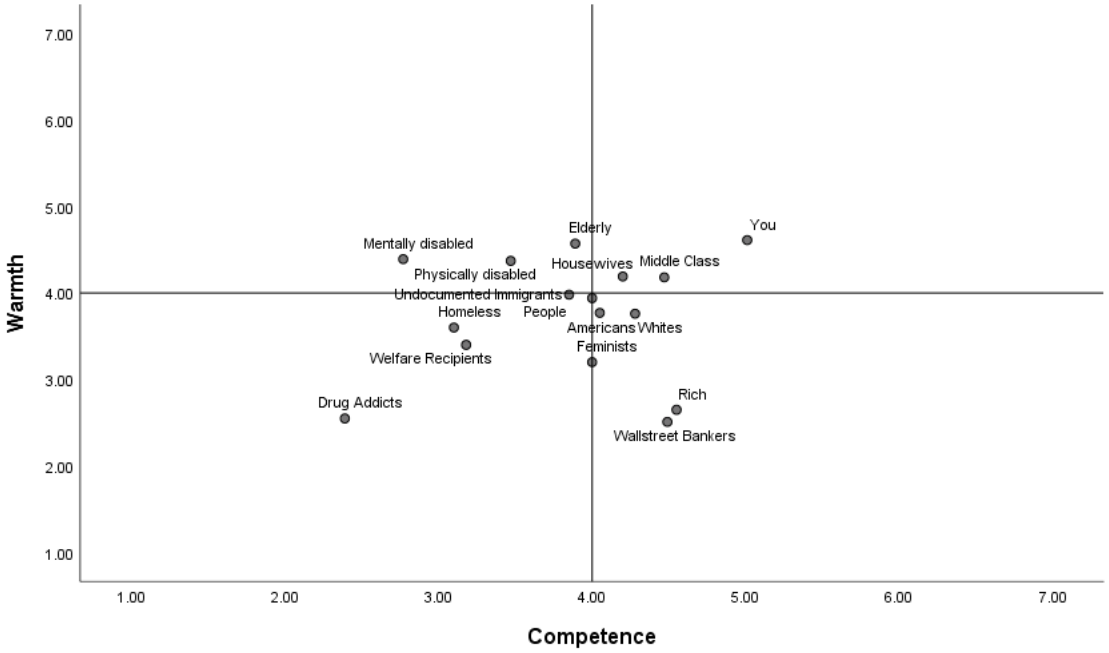
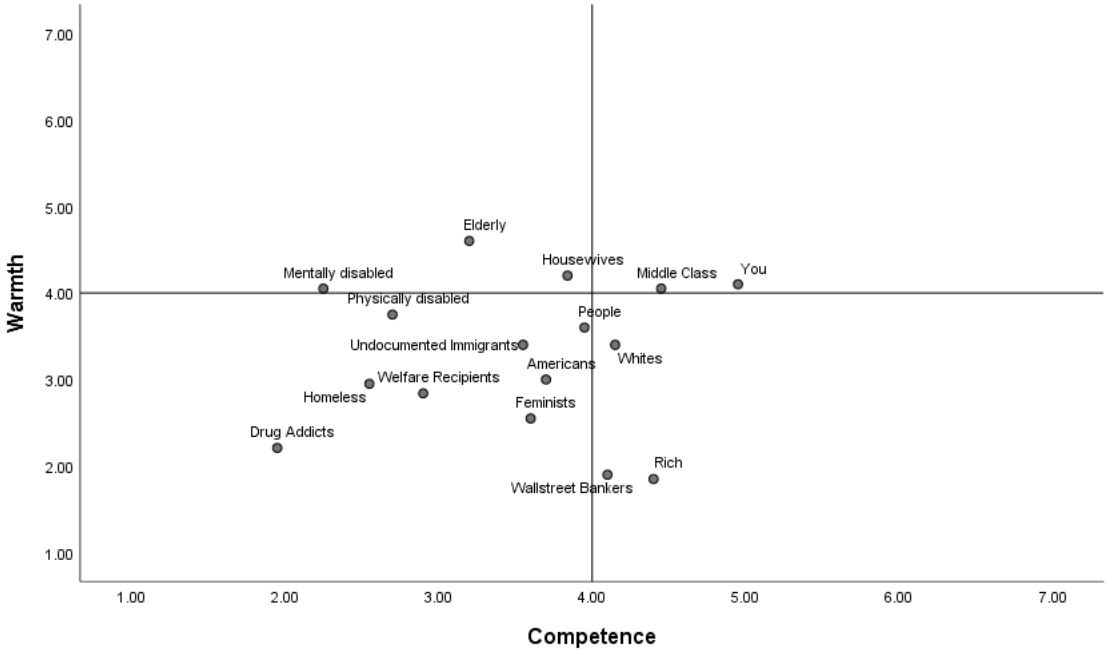


Figure 5 (continued).

Participants with Trait Contempt > 4



Participants with Trait Contempt > 5



Study 2 Discussion

Study 2's results largely replicated those of Study 1. Trait contempt remained a robust predictor of dehumanization even when accounting for stringent controls (Hypothesis I). Among the five dimensions of trait contempt, trait contempt's subscales related to coldness and superiority were uniquely associated with dehumanization—albeit the coldness dimensions appeared to play a stronger role in this relationship than did the superiority dimension. Study 2 also provided the first widescale confirmation (i.e., across multiple groups in multiple SCM quadrants) of an implied—but previously untested—association between how warm and competent a group is perceived to be and how humanized that group is perceived as (Hypothesis III). Finally, Study 2's results indicated that perceptions of group warmth and competence mediated the relationship between trait contempt and dehumanization. This provided direct support to the theoretical prediction that trait contempt broadly facilitates tendencies towards dehumanizing others by means of "dragging down" most groups into the cold/incompetent quadrant of the SCM (thus eliciting dehumanization).

Study 2's results bolstered the case that trait contempt plays a unique role among hostile trait emotions regarding group perception and attitudes. Previous work related to SCM typically operationalized "contempt" as a scale of contempt, anger, disgust, and hatred felt towards groups (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2008). As such, it raised the question of whether trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization was truly being driven by trait contempt, or whether trait contempt was merely acting as a proxy for hostile trait emotions more generally. Study 2's results clarified that trait contempt in and of itself uniquely predicts broad tendencies toward dehumanization. This was shown in results pertaining to Hypothesis I, such that trait contempt robustly predicted dehumanization towards all targets even when accounting for all control variables.

The robustness of trait contempt's unique relationship with perceptions of group warmth and competence (relative to other trait emotions) was also indirectly shown in results pertaining to Hypothesis IV. The multiple mediation models included all control variables as covariates. As such, trait contempt's moderate to strong negative associations with both warmth and competence ratings across all models (e.g., see Figure 4) took into account all variance shared between trait contempt, disgust, resentment, and anger as predictors of warmth and competence. This further highlighted the unique role that trait contempt plays regarding the relationship between trait emotions and dehumanization within the mechanisms (warmth and competence) of the stereotype content model.

General Discussion

Across two studies, this dissertation examined the role that trait contempt plays in tendencies to dehumanize others. Previous research pertaining to the SCM found that both emotional state contempt and dehumanization tend to be elicited from groups stereotyped as "cold and incompetent" (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2008). Because contemptuous people tend to frequently have cold feelings towards others and frequently view others as incompetent (e.g., Steiger & Reyna, 2017), I proposed that contemptuous people may be likely to "drag down" most or all groups into the "cold and incompetent" quadrant of the SCM, thus leading to tendencies towards broadly dehumanizing others.

Given this proposed theoretical framework, I predicted that trait contempt would be a robust predictor of dehumanization even when accounting for stringent controls—not only towards groups stereotyped as LW-LC, but towards groups from the other three quadrants of the SCM as well (Hypothesis I). I also predicted that trait contempt dimensions pertaining to coldness (affective and behavioral coldness subscales) and incompetence (superiority subscale)

would be the primary or exclusive drivers of this relationship (Hypothesis II). Since prior SCM-related research had only shown that *groups* stereotyped as cold and incompetent (as identified in separate research) are the most likely to be dehumanized, I also tested to confirm that perceptions of group warmth and competence were directly associated with humanization (Hypothesis III). Finally, I predicted that trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization could be explained (mediated) by perceptions of group warmth and competence, such that contemptuous tendencies to view most or all groups as cold and incompetent can explain this relationship (Hypothesis IV). Across both studies, results confirmed all four hypotheses.

Trait Contempt Robustly Predicts Tendencies towards Dehumanization (Hypothesis I)

Although prior research indicated that emotional *state* contempt and dehumanization were specifically elicited by groups stereotyped as LW-LC, I predicted that *trait* contempt would be a robust predictor of dehumanization across groups from all four warmth/competence quadrants of the SCM, as well as towards people in general. Across both studies, results confirmed that trait contempt broadly and robustly predicted tendencies towards dehumanizing all target groups, even when accounting for the influence of stringent controls.

In Study 1, trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization remained significant and consistent across all target groups even while controlling for other personality and attitudinal variables that had potential conceptual overlap with trait contempt and had been found to predict dehumanization in prior studies (SDO, psychopathy, narcissism, and ideology). Study 1's results indicated that trait contempt's broad and robust relationship with dehumanization could not be explained by a general tendency towards having antisocial personality traits or attitudes involving coldness (psychopathy) or superiority (SDO, narcissism).

Given that prior SCM research had operationalized "contempt" as a scale of contempt, disgust, resentment, and hatred, it was essential to test whether trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization was actually being driven by trait contempt, or whether it was being driven by tendencies towards negative or hostile trait affect in a more general sense. In Study 2, trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization remained significant and consistent across all target groups even while controlling for other hostile trait emotions (trait disgust, resentment, and anger) as well as other controls (SDO, authoritarianism, and ideology). Study 2's results indicated that trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization could not be explained by a tendency towards hostile trait emotions more generally.

Combined, results across both studies indicated a strong and consistent relationship between trait contempt and dehumanization exists that cannot be explained by plausible third variables. Results across both studies also indicated that trait contempt's association with dehumanization did not markedly differ between any of the target groups, including seemingly innocuous HW-HC groups. This indicated that trait contempt's association with dehumanization was most likely being driven by a general process or mechanism, as opposed to emotional state contempt's association with dehumanization that is specific to LW-LC groups. Results pertaining to Hypothesis II and IV indicated that contemptuous tendencies to view most people and groups as cold and incompetent was at the heart of this general process or mechanism.

Trait Contempt, Coldness, and Incompetence (Hypothesis II and IV)

Across both studies, results pertaining to Hypothesis II indicated that dimensions of trait contempt specifically pertaining to coldness (the affective coldness and behavioral coldness subscales) and viewing others as incompetent (the superiority subscale) were the only significant predictors of dehumanization across target groups. Trait contempt's dimensions pertaining to

negative dispositional attributions and derogatory action tendencies did not significantly predict dehumanization of any groups while controlling for the common variance among the dimensions. However, results also indicated that the coldness and superiority dimensions were not equal in their relation to dehumanization. In both studies, trait contempt dimensions related to coldness were most consistently significantly related to dehumanization, compared to the superiority dimension, and had relatively larger effect sizes. This could be indicative that the affective component of trait contempt (coldness) plays a stronger role in prompting tendencies to dehumanize others, compared to the more cognitive/evaluative component of trait contempt (superiority).

Hypothesis II's results provided preliminary support for the broader theoretical prediction that trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization is driven by tendencies towards viewing most people and groups as cold and incompetent. However, Study 2's inclusion of warmth and competence ratings towards groups allowed for a more direct test. Results pertaining to Hypothesis IV indicated that trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization was mediated by perceptions of group warmth and competence across all targets. Specifically, across all groups analyzed, trait contempt's negative relations with warmth and/or competence ratings explained trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization. This provided direct support for the overall theoretical prediction that trait contempt broadly facilitates tendencies towards dehumanizing others due to contemptuous tendencies towards "dragging down" most or all groups into the LW-LC quadrant of the SCM.

Similar to results pertaining to Hypothesis II, mediation model results from Hypothesis IV indicated that perceptions of group warmth and competence did not equally account for trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization across the different target groups. Although some

combination of warmth and/or competence ratings consistently mediated trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization across all target groups, the individual contributions of warmth versus competence ratings as mediators (via indirect effects) differed depending on the target being analyzed. The most notable finding in this regard was that models with low warmth (LW-LC and LW-HC) groups were the only models in which both warmth and competence ratings individually mediated trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization.

In summary, results pertaining Hypothesis II and IV consistently indicated that variables involving warmth and competence—both in the form of the trait contempt's coldness and superiority subscales and direct warmth and competence ratings towards groups—were central to understanding and explaining trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization towards different target groups. Furthermore, in broad terms the results indicated that warmth and/or competence variables are crucial to explaining this relationship. These results also clearly supported the theoretical prediction trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization is driven by tendencies towards "dragging down" groups into the cold and incompetent category of the SCM.

"Dragging down" groups. While results clearly indicated that contemptuous people do indeed have tendencies to dehumanize everyone and "drag down" most groups into the cold and incompetent category, it is not necessarily the case that highly contemptuous people do so with equivalently low ratings of humanization, warmth, and competence towards each group. There were some minor variations depending upon the target group. Consistent across both studies, omnibus trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization (Hypothesis I) towards low warmth but high competence (LW-HC) groups were relatively weaker compared to dehumanization

towards other groups—albeit it was not tested whether these differences in effect size were statistically significant.

Similarly, the scatterplots of warmth and competence ratings towards groups as separated by levels of participant contemptuousness (Figure 5) indicated that the most highly contemptuous participants "dragged down" *most* groups below the midpoint on warmth and competence, but they did not "drag down" *all* groups below the midpoint. Some groups remained slightly above the midpoint on warmth (housewives, elderly, and mentally disabled), competence (LW-HC; the rich, Wall Street bankers, and whites), or both ("You," the middle class).

Combined, these results indicate that highly contemptuous people have an overall trend towards perceiving most groups as lower in humanization, warmth, and competence (relative to less contemptuous people). As such, it could be said that highly contemptuous people have lower "baseline" perceptions of group humanization, warmth, and competence. This lower "baseline" could also be observed in participants' ratings towards themselves ("you"), such that as participants became more contemptuous, they rated themselves as less warm. However, results also indicated that although highly contemptuous people make *less* distinction between the four warmth/competence quadrants of the SCM when it comes to perceptions of humanization, warmth, and competence (as evidenced by the majority of groups being placed in the low/low quadrant), there was still some differentiation between groups.

Perceptions of Group Warmth and Competence Inform Humanization (Hypothesis III)

Previous SCM-related research had found that *groups* stereotyped as LW-LC (as identified in separate SCM studies) are the most likely to be dehumanized (Esses et al., 2008; Harris & Fiske, 2006). However, no prior studies had yet explicitly tested whether a direct

association exists between dehumanization and perceptions of group warmth and competence. Results pertaining to Hypothesis III indicated that there is indeed a significant and positive direct association between humanization of a group and perceptions of group warmth and competence. This association was consistent across groups from all four warmth/competence quadrants of the SCM, for people in general, and for the average of ratings across all groups. This provides a contribution to the SCM literature in and of itself, as it indicates a broad and generalized association between humanization and perceptions of group warmth and competence within the SCM model.

Limitations and Future Directions

A major contribution of this dissertation was that it was the first to examine the direct relationship between warmth and competence ratings with dehumanization towards groups across all four warmth/competence quadrants of the SCM. However, due to survey space concerns, warmth and competence ratings were each measured via a single item, as opposed to typical SCM research, which uses four items per dimension (e.g., see Fiske et al., 2002). This could explain why some groups did not align with prior SCM findings in terms of their warmth and competence ratings (i.e., housewives, elderly, and undocumented immigrants were each above the midpoint on both their warmth and competence ratings). Future research could benefit from incorporating more nuanced ratings of warmth and competence, in keeping with prior SCM research.

Limitations and future directions: Dehumanization. The present studies examined *blatant* dehumanization—likening groups to "lower" animals—as the outcome variable. Blatant dehumanization was an ideal construct and measure for the purposes of the present studies. In terms of outcomes, blatant dehumanization is likely the most dangerous and consequential form

of dehumanization. Methodologically, blatant dehumanization is a particularly simple, straightforward, and face-valid measure of dehumanizing attitudes towards groups. However, researchers have identified other types of dehumanization (e.g., infrahumanization and mechanistic humanization), characterized by more subtly denying outgroups as having the full human range of cognitive and emotional complexity (e.g., for review, see Kteily et al., 2015). As such, it remains an open question as to whether trait contempt would robustly and consistently predict these other types of dehumanization towards most SCM-relevant groups.

Relatedly, one possible limitation of the blatant dehumanization measure is that it implicitly is rooted in devaluing non-human animals by likening "lesser" groups to them. For participants who extend moral consideration to animals and recognize their emotional/cognitive complexity, this measure may have been problematic for them to answer. For example, if people think animals deserve full moral consideration, then likening groups to animals might have less consequences. If this is the case, then future measures of this underlying attitude could be developed that are less explicitly "human-centric." More broadly, if the goal of dehumanization research is to understand why some groups are denied full agency, rights, and emotional/cognitive complexity, and if this is conceptualized and measured by likening these groups to animals, then it is important for us to understand why many people deny full—or any—moral consideration to animals.

Limitations and future directions: Trait emotions. In the Study 2 correlations, trait contempt, resentment, and anger were moderately to strongly intercorrelated and correlated to dehumanization in a similar fashion (i.e., were significant across all target groups). However, trait disgust did not significantly associate with trait contempt or trait resentment, only weakly correlated with trait anger, and it only correlated with dehumanization of low-competence groups

(LW-LC and HW-LC). While the present studies' results demonstrated (via regressions) that something unique to trait contempt explained these relationships with dehumanization, trait disgust's different pattern of correlational results was noteworthy. This may have been due to the specific trait disgust measure used. The majority of items in the Disgust Scale – Revised (Haidt et al., 1994; modified by Olatunji, et al., 2008) are characterized by aversion to *physical* contaminants, compared to the trait contempt, resentment, and anger scales which pertained more to *social* stimuli. While trait disgust is often defined in this way, it is conceivable that a different measure of trait disgust (that is more socially-oriented) may have led to a pattern of results, perhaps more similar to those of trait contempt, resentment, and anger.

SCM-related literature describes different emotions being related to different quadrants of the SCM—admiration for HW-HC groups, envy for LW-HC groups, pity for HW-LC groups, and contempt (along with disgust, hatred, and resentment) for LW-LC groups (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2008). Only a limited number of trait emotion instruments could be included in the present studies due to survey size constraints. However, future studies could potentially examine the relationship between trait envy and pity with dehumanization (in addition to trait contempt) towards groups from each warmth and competence quadrant of the SCM. Additionally, future research along these lines could incorporate measures of state emotions (e.g., contempt, envy, pity, and admiration felt towards targets) in addition to trait emotion measures. This could be informative regarding how trait emotions influence the experience of state emotions towards different groups in a SCM context. Given the present studies' results indicate that trait and state emotions may not totally correspond with one another in a SCM context (i.e., trait contempt predicted dehumanization of *all* targets, not just LW-LC groups as the literature on SCM and state contempt suggests).

Limitations and future directions: Coldness versus incompetence. Results pertaining to Hypothesis II and IV confirmed that trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization is driven by contemptuous tendencies towards viewing most others as cold and incompetent (i.e., coldness and superiority subscales) and that perceptions of groups as low in warmth and competence were central to explaining this relationship. However, although there were differences in the pattern of results between target groups (in terms of the relative contribution or significance of warmth versus competence-related variables), a clear and consistent theoretical narrative did not emerge when comparing these results between Hypotheses (i.e., warmth and competence-related trait contempt subscales versus direct ratings) or between studies. That is to say, a clear conclusion could not be drawn about the *individual* roles of warmth ratings and coldness subscales versus competence ratings and the superiority subscale regarding any specific target group (e.g., HW-LC groups) due to variability in the pattern of results between hypotheses (i.e., subscales versus direct ratings) and between studies.

While contemptuous tendencies towards coldness were clearly a stronger and more consistent contributor to trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization (relative to tendencies to view others as incompetent, i.e. superiority) across both studies, perceptions of group warmth versus competence as mediators to trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization did not have a clear "frontrunner" that more consistently or strongly explained the relationship relative to the other. Future research could further explore the nuanced relationship between warmth and competence-related variables and their role in trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization. This could perhaps be explored by examining warmth and competence ratings as mediators of the relationship between the coldness and superiority subscales with dehumanization (rather than using omnibus trait contempt). This type of analysis could show whether or not the coldness

subscale's relationship with dehumanization is exclusively mediated by warmth ratings (in keeping with their shared "coldness" aspect), whether the superiority subscales relationship with dehumanization is exclusively mediated by competence ratings (in keeping with their shared "incompetence" aspect), or whether both warmth and competence ratings still variably play a role in mediating each depending on the target groups (in keeping with current results).

Limitations and future directions: Prejudice versus dehumanization. Another limitation of the present studies is that SCM research pertaining to emotion towards groups (e.g., contempt towards LW-LC groups) predominately focuses on prejudice, not dehumanization. Given that the present studies did not measure or control for prejudice towards each target group, it could potentially be the case that dehumanization may have acted as a proxy measure for prejudice, and that the true relationship of interest is between trait contempt and prejudice. However, given that prior research on blatant dehumanization found that dehumanization towards groups is not simply explained by controlling for prejudice (Kteily et al., 2015), this limitation should not cast the present studies' findings into doubt. However, future studies on trait contempt's relationship with dehumanization could benefit from controlling for prejudice (i.e., feeling thermometers) towards groups.

Conclusion

Dehumanization is an extremely toxic and destructive social attitude. At the most extreme, it can even facilitate intergroup violence and justify war or genocide. As such, understanding which social-psychological phenomena contribute to dehumanization is an important area of research. Results from this dissertation identified that contemptuousness as a personality trait consistently predicts dehumanization towards a wide variety of groups, and that this relationship is distinct from other toxic or antisocial personality traits (psychopathy and

narcissism), prejudicial intergroup ideologies (SDO and authoritarianism), and other hostile trait emotions (trait disgust, anger, and resentment). As such, it is clear that trait contempt is a unique explanatory variable that merits further attention in research on dehumanization.

Finally, trait contempt's robust relationship with dehumanization contributes to, and is in keeping with, a small but growing body of literature that highlights the importance of trait contempt as a consequential and toxic personality trait of interest across multiple domains. Similar to how trait contempt broadly predicts dehumanization, other recent studies have found that trait contempt predicts racism (Schriber et al., 2016) and acts as a demoralizing agent, such that it predicts diminished concern about most moral values (Steiger & Reyna, 2017). This indicates that trait contempt's relevance to attitudes and values that are of interest to social psychology may be quite broad. As such, future research on trait contempt's association with other social psychological constructs of interest may prove fruitful.

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