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“All Men Are Created Equal?”: Insights and Implications of Intersectional Precarious Manhood

by

Cleopatre M. Thelus

Claremont Graduate University

2022

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APPROVAL OF THE REVIEW COMMITTEE

This dissertation has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Cleopatre M. Thelus as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology.

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Abstract

“All Men Are Created Equal?”: Insights and Implications of Intersectional Precarious Manhood

by

Cleopatre M. Thelus

Claremont Graduate University: 2022

Manhood that is characterized in terms of dominant culture in the United States includes strength, power, status, affluence, and occupational success (Vandello et al., 2008). However, men who are not members of dominant culture, such as Black men in the United States, often are excluded from access to characteristics of masculinity framed by dominant culture due to potential negative consequences that can result when they perform behaviors that symbolize strength and power (Bush & Bush, 2018; Katz, 1995; Staples, 1982).

Precarious Manhood Theory (PMT) is a social psychological theory that explores the social category of gender (men/manhood/masculinity) as relates to identity threat. PMT posits that manhood is rooted in the common cultural belief that boys earn their manhood through social efforts that exhibit significant power, strength, and endurance (Gilmore, 1990). However, manhood can be retracted after it is granted if a man commits a faux pas that violates socially prescribed manhood codes, such as aggression, power, and status, and must be restored through social efforts if "lost".

PMT may not express itself and be received in the same way when aspects of people's identities are made salient, particularly race and gender intersections. The current research addressed this issue in ways that previous PMT research did not, through the investigation of PMT in cross-gender and cross-racial contexts, and in America's multicultural setting. Intersectionality theory guided the present research's deeper examination of PMT. Three key

questions from Cole (2009)'s article, "Intersectionality in psychological research," "Who is included (and excluded)? What role does inequality play? Where are the similarities?," framed the current research.

The present research used experimental surveys to explore PMT with an intersectional lens. Study 1 is a replication of Weaver et al. (2010). In Weaver et al. (2010), participants completed a measure on internal and external attributions of a physical aggressor's behavior after reading a bogus police report of an altercation between two men (physical aggressor and verbal aggressor pair) or two women (physical aggressor and verbal aggressor pair). Study 1 of the present research investigated whether the original study's findings could be duplicated after 10+ years with a more diverse sample, a cross-gender context, and additional outcome variables. Weaver et al. (2010)'s overall findings revealed men participants attributed aggressive behaviors to situational factors that provoke men to engage in such behaviors to defend their gender status more than women participants. Most of Weaver et al. (2010)'s findings were not replicated in study 1 of the present research. Study 2 included and built on aspects of study 1 with the addition of race as a salient manipulation. Most of study 2's hypotheses were not supported, however, findings suggest that Black participants were more sensitive to the presented cross-racial context than white participants.

This research adds insight to PMT in regard to useful outcome variables, verbal aggressor impact, cross-gender and cross-racial contexts, a potential hyper-precarious manhood phenomena among Black men, as well as importance of historical and sociopolitical factors in the examination of PMT. Findings from this research can be used to inform policy and practice related to equity, diversity, and inclusion.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, brothers, nieces, nephews, uncles, aunts, cousins, best friends, friends, my village, my students, and every little Black girl. Thanks for all of your love, support, sacrifice, and motivation. You all are the reason I dream big and have the fuel to unapologetically chase my dreams.

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CHAPTER 1

Literature Review

Manhood that is characterized in terms of dominant culture in the United States includes strength, power, status, affluence, and occupational success (Vandello et al., 2008). However, men who are not members of dominant culture, such as Black men in the United States, often are excluded from access to characteristics of masculinity framed by dominant culture due to potential negative consequences that can result when they perform behaviors that symbolize strength and power (Bush & Bush, 2018; Katz, 1995; Staples, 1982). This can be attributed to internalized social and cultural messaging about the intersection of Blackness and masculinity as extraordinarily threatening and animalistic, even down to Black men's mere existence, that spans centuries (Hester & Gray, 2018; Orelus, 2010). These internalized social and cultural messages are often externally expressed through actions that systemically terrorize, oppress, and threaten the lives of Black men.

One potential negative consequence of the perception that Black men are threatening is the differential use of force by law enforcement. A study that explored death due to use of lethal force by law enforcement found that Black people experience fatal lethal force from law enforcement at a disproportionate rate, one that is 2.8 times higher than that of their white counterparts (DeGue et al., 2016). In addition, although Black people had disproportionate rates of death by law enforcement, they were least likely to be armed when compared to white people and Latinx people (DeGue et al., 2016). Further, on May 25, 2020, a Black man named George Perry Floyd, Jr. was arrested after a convenience store employee called law enforcement and informed them that Mr. Floyd purchased cigarettes with a counterfeit \$20 bill (Hill et al., 2021). Seventeen minutes after law enforcement arrived at the scene, Mr. Floyd was pinned beneath

three officers and lifeless. These examples underscore that the intersection of Blackness and masculinity induce limitations on how Black men can safely navigate spaces and express their masculinity because people are socialized to regard the intersection of Blackness and masculinity pejoratively. Thus, the consideration of men's multiple social category intersections, cultural, and social context is pertinent in the social psychological study of masculinity in U.S. society.

Precarious Manhood Theory (PMT) is a social psychological theory that explores the social category of gender (men/manhood/masculinity) as relates to identity threat. PMT posits that manhood is rooted in the common cultural belief that boys earn their manhood through social efforts that exhibit significant power, strength, and endurance (Gilmore, 1990). However, manhood can be retracted after it is granted if a man commits a faux pas that violates socially prescribed manhood codes, such as aggression, power, and status. PMT captures the basic components of manhood (i.e. toughness, aggression, stoicism) present in many cultures around the world, and posits that manhood is gained, is in a constant state of limbo, is at risk of being lost at any time, and if perceived as lost, must be restored through "social proofs," such as aggression and sexual prowess that reflect traditional definitions of masculinity (Bosson et al., 2009; Gilmore, 1990; Vandello et al., 2008). In contrast, womanhood is not socially precarious, and does not function with the same principles as manhood (Bosson & Vandello, 2011).

PMT's assumptions and hypotheses have been tested and have generated empirical support. Research has shown that traditional expectations and ideals about masculinity and manhood held by both men and women can lead men to be more inclined toward aggression, especially when their manhood is threatened (Bosson et al., 2009; Vandello et al., 2008).

While the tenants of PMT have received some general empirical support, most of this research was conducted within a Western context with predominantly white, university students

as research participants who completed bogus gender knowledge tests and traditionally feminine tasks or gender-neutral tasks in studies that explored the extent to which aggression may be induced due to gender threat. The lack of demographic representation in these seminal PMT studies limits the extent to which findings are representative and generalizable (Bosson et al., 2009; Bosson & Vandello, 2011; Crano et al., 2015; Jones, 2010; Vandello et al., 2008). Science conducted in such a manner has been categorized as W.E.I.R.D. (wealthy, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic cultures) and is arguably unable to be generalized confidently beyond populations that do not possess these identities (Jones, 2010). Despite this reality, W.E.I.R.D. research often is applied generally to explain people's feelings, thinking, and behaviors (Jones, 2010).

One seminal PMT study found support for the use of aggression as a function to display masculinity (Vandello et al., 2008). This was explored through the induction of a gender threat manipulation in the form of feedback scores from a (bogus) gender knowledge test. After completion of this test, participants completed a word fragment questionnaire designed to assess their cognitions about physical or relational aggression. Data from this study revealed that men completed the word fragments with significantly more physically aggressive words when under gender threat than men who were not. In contrast, women's physically aggressive word completions did not significantly differ by threat condition; however, women in the gender threat condition produced more physically aggressive words than women in the no-threat condition on average. These results suggest men's cognitive accessibility to physically aggressive thoughts may be significantly increased when they experience a gender threat, whereas women are not affected in the same way.

To further explore the relationship between gender threat and physical aggression, a PMT study with only men assigned half the participants to a stereotypically feminine hair-braiding task (gender threat condition), whereas the remaining half completed a gender-neutral rope-braiding task (no threat control condition) (Bosson et al., 2009). All participants were then given the option either to solve a puzzle or hit a punching bag after they completed their tasks. Study results revealed men in the gender threat (hair-braiding) condition chose the punching bag activity more often than men in the gender-neutral condition (rope-braiding). Results from this study suggests that men who have experienced gender threat are more likely to engage in physical aggression (i.e. hitting a punching bag) when compared to men who have not experienced gender threat.

In a review that connects masculinity, action, and aggression to theory and research, Bosson and Vandello (2011) reiterate that manhood is precarious and requires that masculinity be actively expressed. They propose that men are more likely than women to use aggression to prove their manhood to others. The review also reiterated that characterizations about manhood as precarious are held among men and women with a summary of results on measures that asked college undergraduates to explain how someone might lose manhood and someone might lose womanhood (Vandello et al., 2008). More social themes were generated to explain loss of manhood, and more physical themes were generated to explain loss of womanhood. In addition, a study that asked amateur judges to complete sentences with a fill-in-the-blank that began with “A real man...” or “A real woman...,” found that men, but not women completed the sentences for manhood with behaviors, and the sentences for womanhood with adjectives. The researchers suggested that men characterize their gender status with behaviors rather than with the essence of how men are. Another study explored whether undergraduate students would attribute a man or

woman's violent behavior to situational or internal factors after they subsequently punched a person that ridiculed them publicly and questioned their manhood or womanhood in the presence of a potential romantic partner. Participants read a mock police report about the incident and then completed outcome measures that assessed endorsement of four internal causes and four external causes of the aggressive behavior. Results revealed that men attributed the aggressive behaviors to the situational factors that provoke men to engage in such behaviors to defend their gender status more than women (Weaver et al., 2010). This suggests that men subscribe to unique prescriptions related to restoration of manhood that involve outward social behaviors, particularly aggression, significantly more than women.

PMT has further been expanded through the exploration of how a man and his actions are perceived when he engages in aggressive behavior after his manhood was threatened. An unpublished research study that was guided by PMT tenets explored the relationship between empathy for a man who experienced gender threat and subsequently engaged in sexually aggressive behaviors and the extent to which he was viewed positively, as well as the perceived acceptability of his aggression (Thelus & Omoto, 2020). The study was a 2 (no empathy, empathy) X 3 (no gender threat, low gender threat, high gender threat) between-groups factorial experiment in which study participants were randomly assigned to one of six vignettes. Results from the study revealed no differences in perceptions of the aggressor and acceptability ratings for gender threat and empathy conditions, save for participants in the no empathy condition, who rated the man's aggression as more acceptable than participants in the empathy condition when assessed about appropriate moderate consequences for the man's aggression. Study results also revealed a "sex effect," in which males agreed significantly less than female participants that the aggressor should receive a mild consequence for his behavior (sexual harassment training). In

addition, female participants viewed the aggressor more negatively, but rated the aggressor as more masculine than male participants.

Although most seminal PMT research is framed by a W.E.I.R.D. science approach, some recent PMT research considers men's multiple social category intersections, cultural, and social context, and has demonstrated the importance of these considerations (Bosson et al., 2021; Jin et al., 2021). For example, a study that explored how PMT is expressed in Chinese culture as part of the culture's script for manhood, replicated PMT studies conducted in Western contexts, and produced similar results (Jin et al., 2021). In Jin et al. (2021), 50 undergraduates (25 women, 25 men) completed a questionnaire with 20 randomized search string items that assessed the extent to which participants associated manhood with observable behaviors compared to the extent to which they associated womanhood with adjectives. Consistent with previous PMT studies conducted in a Western context, results revealed that both men and women in the study endorsed stereotypical beliefs about manhood being characterized by verbs, such as repair a car, whereas participants in the study endorsed stereotypes about womanhood being characterized by adjectives, such as kindness. On average, men in the sample held more stereotypical beliefs about manhood and womanhood than the women in the sample.

Precarious Manhood Theory in International Contexts

A follow up replication experiment conducted with 56 randomly sampled undergraduates from Sichuan Normal University (race/ethnicity unspecified) (26 men, 30 women) explored the extent to which participants would attribute the aggression of a man or woman who experienced gender threat to external or internal factors. Participants read a mock police report and answered items that assessed their external and internal attributions about the aggressor in the report (race/ethnicity of the aggressor was unspecified). Results revealed that men in the sample

attributed the man in the report's aggression to situational factors significantly more than women in the sample. In addition, men and women in the sample endorsed internal attribution items for the woman in the report's aggression significantly more than they attributed her aggression to external factors. The consistency of these results with those of PMT studies conducted in Western contexts suggest that PMT is as robust in Eastern cultural context as it is in Western cultural context. Researchers explained these results in terms of overarching Chinese cultural-script as they relate to precarious manhood, and concluded that due to the interdependent self-construal aspect of Chinese culture, Chinese people tend to engage in self-evaluation of their relationship with others with an emphasis on the standards of others.

Additional support for PMT comes from studies on Precarious Manhood Beliefs (PMB), hostile and benevolent gender ideologies (ambivalent sexism theory), human development, and gender equality indices (the Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI), which describes the extent to which disparities exist between men and women for economic opportunity, access to education, political empowerment, and health on a 0-1 scale at a national level) across 62 nations (Bosson et al., 2021). Countries with lower GGIs oftentimes are more patriarchal in structure than countries with higher GGIs. These constructs were explored with university samples in 13 regions from the following nations: Albania, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Belgium, Bosnia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Croatia, Czechia, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Lebanon, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Northern Ireland, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Ukraine, Uruguay, United States of America,

Vietnam, and Wales ($N = 33,417$), and were assessed for their systematic and quantitative properties. Researchers examined the extent to which the construct meanings of the PMB scale would produce valid and reliable data at the individual and country level, whether five multi-dimensional factors (PMB; hostility toward men (HM); benevolence toward men (BM); hostile sexism (HS); benevolent sexism (BS)) better captures the process that predicts status-relevant gender ideology, compared to processes that involve one or three factors. The following was also explored: the potential that as PMB beliefs increase, so do scores on gender ideology constructs (HM, BM, HS, BS), the extent to which country-level PMB and gender equality is associated, and the potential that countries with a lower national human development index would have higher PMB scores.

The relationships were explored with five measures (Precarious Manhood Beliefs, Ambivalent Sexism, Ambivalence Toward Men, Global Gender Gap Index, Human Development Index) and analyzed with data from samples from the 62 nations involved in the study. Confirmatory factor and multilevel analyses revealed overall support for all hypothesized relations for all nations, with exceptions including Brazil, Japan, Portugal, Uruguay, Vietnam, Indonesia, Nepal, Nigeria, Finland, Ghana, Morocco, and Suriname. Thus, these results suggest precarious manhood concepts exist and operate globally though their adoption and expression are nationally and culturally influenced in various ways.

Another study examined cross-cultural quantitative comparisons between Norway and Poland, which has a lower gender equality score (GGGI), than Norway (Bosson et al., 2021; Valved et al., 2021). Researchers considered gender equality as a key construct for the study because previous literature has shown that countries with lower GGGIs oftentimes are more patriarchal than countries with higher GGGIs. Compared to Norwegian women and men,

researchers explored whether Polish women and men would endorse more traditional prescriptive stereotypes of men, report more sexism towards women, and have higher ratings for precarious manhood. Data were collected from Polish and Norwegian undergraduates who completed an online survey composed of several scales. Results supported all predictions: Polish participants had higher ratings of traditional stereotypes about men (access to more agency and more individualistic dispositions) than Norwegian participants. These results suggest that the Polish gender belief system is more rigid and founded on traditional gender stereotypes than that of Norway, which helps to explain why Poland's agency and antifemininity edicts are more pronounced than Norway's.

A follow-up study informed by these results investigated potential differences in how Polish and Norwegian men experience masculinity threat and compared the men's reactions to women's. Participants completed the study online and were recruited from Toluna (an online panel provider). Two hundred eighty-three participants were Norwegian and three hundred eleven participants were Polish. Nonheterosexual participants were excluded from the study to control for the possibility that their perspectives on masculinity and masculinity threat may be different for heterosexual participants.

Participants in the study completed a bogus gender knowledge test and received bogus feedback expressing that the participant either had feminine gender knowledge or masculine gender knowledge. Men in the sample who received feminine gender knowledge feedback were in the masculinity threat condition, whereas men who received masculine gender knowledge feedback were in the control condition. Men, particularly Polish men, were predicted to be affected by below average scores on a bogus gender knowledge test (experience masculinity threat and engage in antifemininity mandates), whereas women were predicted to be unaffected

by the manipulation because womanhood is less precarious and thus threat to femininity should not be induced by masculine gender knowledge feedback. Participants were randomly assigned to either a masculine gender knowledge condition or feminine gender knowledge condition, and then completed a public discomfort scale that assessed the extent to which participants would feel discomfort as they imagined their gender knowledge test publicly displayed with their name. They also completed a state emotions scale, which examined the degree to which participants felt angry, happy, hostile, proud, superior, frustrated, satisfied, and mad. Last, participants completed manipulation check and demographic items.

Data analyses revealed overall support for the predictions, such that Polish men for whom masculinity threat was induced had increased negative emotions, and decreased public comfort and positive emotions; however, such patterns were not revealed for Norwegian men or women in the sample in general. Results from studies 1 and 2 suggest that men in countries that have lower gender equality may have heightened sensitivity to masculinity threat and respond more negatively to this threat than men in countries with more gender equality. Thus, cultural context plays a key role in the social construction and prescriptions of masculinity.

Further, a cross-cultural qualitative study compared the precariousness of manhood between men from the United States and Denmark, two nations that differ in social and gender equality, with Denmark being more egalitarian than the United States (DiMuccio et al., 2017). Researchers predicted that Danish and American men would differ in their perceptions of masculinity and manhood as precarious, and that Danish men would speak less precariously about masculinity than American men. Two groups of nine white, heterosexual men between 18 and 24 years, majority university students, and who are native to their country each from America and Denmark ($N = 18$), were interviewed with open-ended questions about precarious

manhood and masculinity. Data were analyzed with qualitative data analysis software (MAXQDA), a thematic analysis process and comparison of findings from each country were made. Interpretations of data were framed by literatures on gender, manhood, and masculinity, and results showed the emergence of three main themes: physicality of manhood (3 subthemes), characteristics of manhood (2 subthemes), and manhood in contrast to boyhood or womanhood (2 subthemes). American and Danish men differed on five of the seven subthemes that emerged with the three main themes. Overall, these results suggest cultural differences of manhood, such that, the egalitarian context for Danish men in this sample may have influenced them to embrace feminine characteristics and view manhood in terms of level of maturity, whereas the less egalitarian context for American men in this sample may have influenced them to perceive manhood as distance from femininity and displays of strength and aggression. In addition, the qualitative nature of this study helps to support the notion of fundamental differences between content beliefs about manhood and the ideas that structure those beliefs. In sum, variations in manhood beliefs are influenced by the intersection of sociocultural context, and acknowledgement of such factors can produce a more complete understanding of manhood.

These culturally focused PMT studies highlight the critical functions of research on social categories that are proposed and conducted in ways that value the significance of the equal consideration of multiple social categories, social context, and the implications of category intersections (Cole, 2009; DiMuccio et al., 2017; Valved et al., 2021). For example, men's gender social identity can intersect with myriad social categories as well as history, political context, and culture, all of which are equally important features of one's overall social identity (Cole, 2009). Such considerations can help explain the various ways in which men perceive themselves, factors that influence how men with certain identity intersections are viewed by

others, why men engage in various behaviors as relates to their masculinity, and how others perceive such behaviors when a man's identity intersections are considered.

The ideals men and women have for manhood and the experiences men have related to their masculinity are shaped by their culture. Thus, social psychology should consider society's role in the various ways in which people's multiple identity intersections influence their cognitions, motivations, development, and behaviors, as well as that of others (Cartwright, 1979). For example, considerable current cross-cultural PMT research considers the multidimensionality of the construct of manhood from a between-country (international) racial and cultural diversity perspective and has produced insightful contributions to PMT. However, there are countries that have robust within-country (intranational) racial and sociocultural diversity, such as the United States, which can provide valuable insight on PMT as relates to multicultural contexts like the United States, particularly because of the country's racial and sociocultural history (Orelus, 2010). Exploration of PMT from an intranational racial and sociocultural diversity perspective can further shape and expand PMT. An intersectional approach can frame research to meaningfully consider the multidimensionality of manhood within a multicultural context on individual and social levels. The application of an intersectional approach to social category research can enhance studies conducted with the intention to gain deeper knowledge on the influence people's social identities have on their feelings, thinking, and behavior (Cole, 2009; DiMuccio et al., 2017; Goff, 2008; Jin et al., 2021). Intersectionality was conceptualized by feminists and critical race theorists as an analytic approach that acknowledges the significance and implications of membership in several social categories (Cole, 2009; Collins, 2019; Cooper, 1892; Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 1981; hooks, 1992; The Combahee River Collective, 1977). Specifically, social category research, such as PMT, can be enhanced through

the integration of three main questions outlined in Cole's (2009) article on Intersectionality in psychological research. The article offers a systematic approach with which to study people with an intersectional frame by the application of three questions: Who is included (and excluded)? What role does inequality play? Where are the similarities? Overall, the explicit consideration of identity intersections should become a standardized method in research on social categories, particularly in PMT, to enhance research on social categories that include men, and improve fair decisions and interactions in educational, legal, social, and political domains.

There is considerable social psychological research on how people's social identities can influence their cognitions, motivation, and behavior (Stone & Cooper, 2001; Tyler & Blader, 2003; Wang, 2017). However, there is a dearth of social psychological research that acknowledges the combination of people's social categories as equally important, and shaped by history, social, political, and cultural systems that impact societal and individual level processes (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007; Fitoussi, 2017; Groom et al., 2005; Jin et al., 2021; Song & Lin, 2020; Zarate & Smith, 1990; Zuo et al., 2019).

The Importance of An Intersectional Approach in Social Category Research

People consult their social identities to determine appropriate prescriptions for their affect, behaviors, and cognitions (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007; Stone & Cooper, 2001). People also consult their social identities to distinguish themselves from outgroup members (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007). These processes are influenced by societal-level factors such as history, culture, media, and political context (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Thus, it is important to conduct research that effectively captures the nuances of people's social category intersections as well as the ways in which their identities intersect with various societal-level factors (Andreoletti et al., 2015; Browne & Misra, 2003; Cole, 2009).

In a study of social category intersections, Goff et al. (2008) conducted research on person perception and group-based harms in which they adopted an explicitly historical approach. The study investigated the possibility that people are perceived as a unique combination of their race (Black v. White) and sex (female v. male) intersections. The study's frame, hypotheses, and research design were informed by Sojourner Truth's "Aint I Woman" speech, in which she details how the intersection of her Blackness and womanness results in a form of erasure because when a person is Black they are generally conceptualized as a man, and that white ideals about femininity inform the conceptualization of woman. Other historical insights are used to inform this study's hypotheses about how people would be perceived, particularly Black women, such as Zora Neale Hurston's metaphor of Black women as the "mules of the earth," which speaks to the societal expectations of Black women and the discrimination they face due to the intersection of their Blackness and womanness (Goff et al., 2008). This intersectional historical approach led researchers to design a study that generated significant results for the following hypotheses: "intersectionality affects person perception processes, leading to gender categorization errors of Black women." Results revealed that Black women were inaccurately perceived to be the wrong gender (men) more than any other gender and race intersection. Specifically, participants more accurately guessed white women's gender compared to Black women's, and more accurately guessed Black men's gender compared to Black women's. "Blackness" and "maleness" are highly associated for Black and Female targets; "Women are perceived as unattractive proportionally to their perceived masculinity, leading Black women to be rated as less attractive than other women" (Goff et al., 2008, p. 392). The researchers also used this intersectional historical frame to interpret results, and suggested that the Black/male association to Black women may result in distinctive harms for Black women

(e.g., Black women were more likely to be misgendered than Black men, white men, and white women, and Black women were perceived as more masculine and unattractive than white women). They recommend intersectional approaches be required in the research process, to more fully understand person perception (Goff et al., 2008).

Research based solely on what might be conceived as a person's most salient or important identity may neglect important details that could produce more nuanced and complete study results and interpretation. Culture, which includes current social context and heritage, is inextricably linked to people's social identities, and thus meaningfully impacts people's thinking, feeling, and behavior (Sudarkasa, 1980). For example, Black people in America continue to embody cultural expressions that have African origins, such as "cool pose," which is defined as a masculine code that includes, gestures, mannerisms and speech employed by Black men to cope with restrictive racial and gender oppression and discrimination (Bush & Bush, 2018; Majors, 1993). However, these cultural expressions could look different for Black women relative to Black men (Crenshaw, 1991). Scholars interested in deep and meaningful investigation of manhood should acknowledge the implications of men's intersectional identities as they can give insight about the role their cultural standards play in shaping how they express their masculinity.

This also can help to explain more fully why particular masculine behaviors are employed in certain contexts. For example, some scholars have proposed that some Black boys and men sag their pants, wear backwards hats, wear braids, and tattoo their skin as ways to maintain their cultural standard for masculinity (Bush & Bush, 2018). Acknowledgement of gender and race intersections in PMT research can inform hypotheses about the ways Black men perceive themselves and are perceived by others. Specifically, PMT currently posits that men are likely to engage in public displays of aggression when they perceive their manhood threatened.

However, all men's masculine standards do not include superfluous public displays of aggression. Many Black men understand that their engagement with public displays of aggression can have fatal and life altering consequences, and hence opt not to engage in such behaviors despite possible inclinations to do so as a means to restore threatened manhood (Bosson et al., 2009; Bush & Bush, 2018, DeGue et al., 2016). Thus, an intersectional lens on PMT could inform hypotheses that seek to understand better how race and gender identities may inform what is threatening as well as influence the behaviors that men engage in to restore threatened masculinity.

Cultural Context on Blackness and Masculinity

Black men in America are tasked with navigating their self-concept in tandem with societal perceptions of who they are and how they are inclined to behave. This includes understanding the structural and institutional factors that affect likely outcomes of their actions (Cooper, 2006; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Some scholars posit that Black men's self-concept is rooted in African cultural continuity which informs African American cultural experience and imbues Black men's expressions of masculinity (Bush & Bush, 2018; McDougal, 2020). This supports Black men's masculine expressions, such as "cool pose (Majors, 1993)." Some scholars argue that what is understood as "cool pose" from a Western frame existed before interactions with dominant American culture, will continue to exist independent of dominant American culture, and is often carried out to reject dominant American culture rather than as a response to its opposition (Bush & Bush, 2018; McDougal, 2020). Socialization in an American context may cause Black men to internalize and adopt some western masculine values (Cartwright, 1979). However, Black men are socially restricted in the extent to which they can freely express western masculine characteristics, such as aggression, when compared to other groups of men,

particularly white men, and oftentimes receive excessive consequences for engagement with identical actions (Katz, 1995; Vandello, Bosson, & Cohen, 2008). Accordingly, Black men can be understood as cultural agents whose cultural environment conversely interacts with their race and gender identity intersections (McDougal, 2020).

Dominant American culture has historically interpreted cultural differences as a threat to America's imagined unity, racism, and power maintenance (McDougal, 2020). This perceived threat drives various institutions to oppress and suppress groups, such as Black men, to increase the likelihood that dominant American culture both tangible and intangible can be maintained, sustained, and perpetuated (Davis et al., 2007; McDougal, 2020). The perceived threat about groups that do not belong to dominant American culture, such as Black people, particularly Black men, has been institutionalized within the fabric of America (Kambon, 2003). This institutionalization has been manifested in the disproportionate incarceration rates of Black Americans compared to white Americans. Black Americans are currently nearly 6 times more likely to be incarcerated than white Americans (Carson, 2018). Cultural context informs how the intersections of Blackness and masculinity can predict differential perceptions for the performance of identical behaviors, particularly those of an aggressive nature. Thus, an intersectional approach paired with an explicit consideration of historical, political, and cultural context in the exploration of PMT can help to explain more fully the mechanisms that influence how people perceive aggressive behaviors in men. Specifically, exploration of the influence Black and white men's race and gender intersections have on observers' likelihood to make internal or external attributions about the man's physical aggression after a gender threat (stimuli that causes a man to experience anxiety about his manhood status), find their aggression

acceptable, perceive them positively, and determine appropriate consequences for such behavior, will broaden PMT.

The Historical and Political Context on Blackness and Masculinity

Historical and political context provides information that further explains how social identities are conceived and function at individual and societal levels (Goff et al, 2008; Helms et al., 2005). For example, the intersection of Blackness and masculinity has been conceived in the American imagination through social racism for hundreds of years, and race and gender stereotypes can be traced as far back as the seventeenth century in 1619 (Jefferson, 1788; Orelus, 2010). Specifically, in a letter titled, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson wrote: “black men are more ardent after their female: but love seems with them to be more eager desire, than a tender delicate mixture of sentiment and sensation” (Jefferson, 1788, pg. 168). Such assertions were made without empirical support and were oftentimes constructed using pseudo-science, such as Phrenology (Holmes, 2016). Despite lack of empirical support for such assertions, many stereotypical beliefs about Black men’s hypersexuality and brutishness have endured over time and continue to exist in American consciousness (Eberhardt et al., 2004; Irby, 2014; Orelus, 2010; Staples, 1982). For instance, throughout history, Black boys and men have been viewed as unable to control their sexual desires and impulses, and are believed to have a particular insatiable desire for white women (Eberhardt et al., 2004; Irby, 2014; Staples, 1982). This belief about Black men’s insatiable and bestial sexual desire for white women has been exploited throughout American history, not limited to, but particularly in the false accusations white women made in the 19th century about Black men raping them. Wells-Barnett (1991) chronicled the 19th century lynching epidemic of Black men and uncovered through her research that the majority of lynchings that took place during this period was due to false rape accusations

from white women and men about Black men. Black women and girls did not receive the same extreme protections and response for rape as white women and girls in the 19th century. In fact, according to chronicles, despite clear evidence for the rape of Black girls and women, their perpetrators walked free, especially if the perpetrators were white (Wells-Barnett, 1991).

Historical and political context can influence individual-level processes (cognitions, motivations, development, and behaviors) and contribute to the endurance and perpetuation of stereotypes.

Some stereotypes have been perpetuated by research that does not adequately acknowledge societal influence on the construction and maintenance of stereotypes (Cartwright, 1979; Helms et al., 2005; Stangor, 2009). Thus, it is important to consider historical and political context in the development of research that is centered on social categories to inform conceptualizations of the social categories, especially as it relates to Black men, to generate more complete research on PMT (Cole, 2009; Helms et al., 2005; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Vandello & Bosson, 2013).

The Intersection of Blackness and Manhood

Research that equally considers a person's identity intersections can produce a more complete understanding of topics of interest (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991; Goff et al., 2008). The proactive and explicit consideration of a man's race and gender intersections can provide additional insight research that neglects or does not equally consider these two social categories could potentially lack. For instance, a review that sought to illuminate factors that contribute to observed gaps in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) education engagement between Black and Latino boys compared to white boys, applied an intersectional approach that included race, gender, and socioeconomic status variables (Rosa, 2018). This work also incorporated historical and social context by considering the impact of colonization in the United

States and Brazil on young Black men's identity development and their instructor's pedagogical approaches.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) and consultation with other papers about the STEM field's embodiment of what can be considered traditional masculine characteristics were used to discuss the CRT tenet that racism is embedded in institutions and is perpetuated by institutions, which creates destitution and maintains oppression for minoritized communities (Curry, 2020). The above analytical approaches led the author to suggest that the development of a science identity is consistent with masculine prescriptions, thus most boys could be expected to develop science identities and excel in STEM. However, data from previous studies reveal that this expectation is not supported, specifically when the intersections of Blackness, masculinity and socioeconomic status are considered (Rosa, 2018). Thus, it was concluded that young Black men's identity intersections entail structural experiences in and outside the classroom that can result in societal, institutional, and self-exclusion from STEM, which may explain their muted connection to STEM (Rosa, 2018).

Additional research has explored the implications of Black men's identity intersections in various contexts and consequences related to how others may perceive Black men. For example, researchers analyzed New York Police Department stop-and-frisk encounters and experimentally manipulated height between 5'4 and 6'4 in photographs of Black men and white men to investigate factors that may contribute to the rate at which men were stopped by the police (Hester & Gray, 2018). Data revealed young Black men who were stereotyped as threatening were viewed as more threatening the taller they were and received over 6 times more unwarranted attention from police for stop and frisk interactions compared to white men at a height of 6'4" (Hester & Gray, 2018). Therefore, the intersection of Blackness and masculinity

caused men who were stopped-and-frisked to be perceived as more threatening than men whose masculinity intersects with whiteness, and height moderated this relationship. This study exemplifies the importance of explicit consideration of men's multiple identities, particularly race and gender intersections in the research process, because it helps to produce more complete knowledge of the topic of interest.

Further, acknowledgement of Black men's social identity intersections can provide key insight about their mental, physical, and spiritual health. A study that considered the influence of race-related factors on Black men's health help-seeking tendencies hypothesized a statistical model built on reactance theory, with racial identity, sense of control, everyday racism, masculinity norms salience, racial discrimination, and depressive symptomatology variables (Powell et al., 2016). Confirmatory factor and path analysis with tests for measurement invariance revealed an excellent fit. Specifically, everyday racism and masculinity norms salience measures were associated with more help-seeking barriers, thus it is important to acknowledge stress caused by everyday racism in the development of mental health programs and initiatives that seek to provide services for Black men, and center their identities in the development of such programs (Powell et al., 2016).

The Present Study

Precarious Manhood Theory (PMT) explains the social phenomena of manhood and how it operates in the social context (Vandello et al., 2008). However, some key elements, such as the explicit acknowledgement that men embody social identities additional to their masculinity, are not appreciated to the extent they could be, due to how PMT currently is proposed, particularly in regard to Black men in the American context. For example, people navigate various social contexts within bi-directional relationships. These bi-directional relationships combine their

social identities, all of which act on their environment, and their environments interact with their social identities (Cole, 2009). Many opportunities exist for research designed to study these internal and environmental factors influencing a person's perception of self and others. Implementation of identity intersections in the research domain can greatly improve research analytical quality and clarify research outcomes and interpretation (Cole, 2009; Goff et al., 2008). Such considerations can produce research that more accurately reflects the ways people's social identities function within greater societal context, which can enhance research studies that explore the social environment's impact on people's identity intersections and vice versa (Browne & Misra, 2003; Cole, 2009; Goff et al., 2008). Thus, an intersectional approach to PMT in the American context can enhance overall understanding of how men are perceived and navigate their masculinity in such a multicultural social context that has an extensive history of racism.

One PMT study explored whether undergraduate students would attribute a man or woman's violent behavior to situational or internal factors after they subsequently punched a person who ridiculed them publicly in a bar and questioned their manhood or womanhood in the presence of a potential romantic partner (race was not specified in the study) (Weaver et al., 2010). Participants read a mock police report about the incident and then completed outcome measures that assessed endorsement of four items on internal causes and four items on external causes of the aggressive behavior. Results revealed that men participants attributed the aggressive behaviors of men to the situational factors that provoke men to engage in such behaviors to defend their gender status more than women participants did (Weaver et al., 2010). The study's results suggests that men subscribe to unique prescriptions related to restoration of manhood that involve outward social behaviors, particularly aggression, significantly more than

women. However, the way this study was conducted does not allow the results to be readily generalized to Black men or Black women because it did not consider people's identity intersections, and how historical, political, and cultural context influenced people's perceptions of someone else's behaviors.

The present study is informed by Cole's (2009) three key questions for intersectionality in psychological research (Who is included (and excluded)? What role does inequality play? Where are the similarities?), is a replication of Weaver et al.'s (2010) study, and is designed to understand better how race and gender intersections influence people's causal attributions of aggressive behavior after a gender threat, how the aggressive person is perceived, how acceptable the aggressive behavior is believed to be, and consequences people would recommend for the aggressive behavior. The current research consists of two studies and is designed to extend the findings generated in Weaver et al.'s (2010) study by investigating the association of gender with people's attributions of and response to a man or woman's aggression related to gender threat in a U.S. context and with a sample outside of the university setting. Study 1 explores people's responses to gender and cross-gender situations as relates to PMT, whereas study 2 explores people's responses to race and cross-race situations as relates to PMT. Weaver et. al (2010) investigated the extent to which undergraduate students would attribute a man or woman's violent behavior to situational or internal factors after they subsequently punched a person that ridiculed them publicly and questioned their manhood or womanhood in the presence of a potential romantic partner. Study hypotheses included the following: 1. Men view manhood as a more precarious state than womanhood, and 2. Men comprehend aggression as a tool with which to prove and restore threatened manhood, but not threatened womanhood. Participants read a mock police report about the incident and then completed outcome measures

that assessed endorsement of four internal causes and four external causes of the aggressive behavior. Results revealed that men participants attributed the aggressive behaviors to the situational factors that provoke men to engage in such behaviors to defend their gender status more than women participants (Weaver et al., 2010). This suggests that men subscribe to unique prescriptions related to restoration of manhood that involve outward social behaviors, particularly aggression, significantly more than women.

CHAPTER 2

Study 1

Study 1 is framed by Cole's (2009) key questions and helps to unpack elements of PMT that Weaver et al. (2010) did not explore, through the consideration of cross-gender aggression after a gender threat, a sample outside the university context, and additional dependent measures that investigate aspects of observers' evaluations of gender threat beyond internal and situational factors. Thus, study 1 essentially functions as a replication and extension of the original Weaver et al. (2010) study. In addition, the current research expands Weaver et al.'s (2010) findings through exploration of the intersection of race and gender's influence on people's acceptance of a man's physical aggression after his gender has been threatened, their attributions of his behavior, perceptions of him, and consequences they deem appropriate for such behavior in a U.S. context and with a sample outside the university setting (Study 2) (see figure 1).

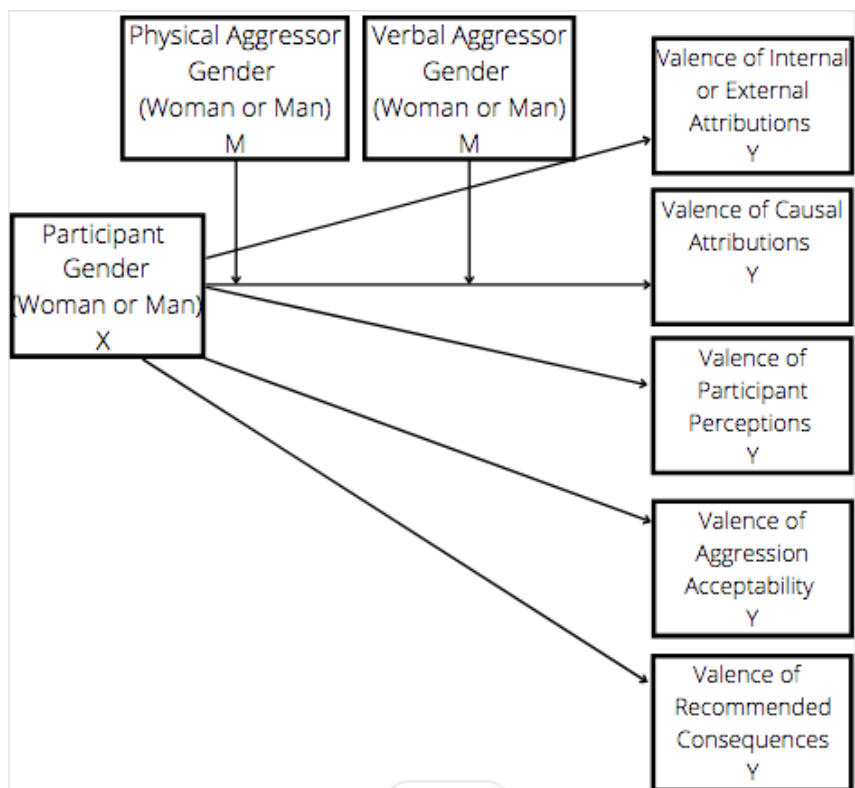


Figure 1. Model of the predicted relationship between participant gender and valence of internal attributions, valence of external attributions, valence of causal attributions, valence of participant perceptions, valence of aggression acceptability, and valence of recommended consequences moderated by physical aggressor gender and verbal aggressor gender.

Study 1 sought to replicate key findings (assessment of participants' internal or external attributions of a woman or man's physical aggression in response to provocation) from Weaver et al.'s (2010) study outside of a university context, and with a broader research sample (See Appendix A for more detail on study design). Participants took part in a 2 (participant gender: woman, man) x 2 (verbal aggressor gender: woman, man) x 2 (physical aggressor gender: woman, man) factorial experiment, with order of measures counterbalanced. Participants read and rated their reactions to a bogus police report that recounted an altercation between two men (Steve- perpetrator/physical aggressor; Nick- victim/verbal aggressor), or two women (Ashley- perpetrator/physical aggressor; Sarah-victim/verbal aggressor), or a verbally aggressive woman (Sarah) and a physically aggressive man (Steve), or a verbally aggressive man (Nick) and a physically aggressive woman (Ashley). The study was designed to test the hypotheses below:

Measure: External Attribution Scale

HYPOTHESIS 1:

External Causal Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior

- a) Gender of participants: Men will attribute aggressive behavior as more externally motivated than will women.
- b) Gender of verbal aggressor: Men's verbally aggressive behavior will be more externally attributed than women's
- c) Gender of physical aggressor: Men's physically aggressive behavior will be more externally attributed than women's
- d) Interaction of participant gender x verbal aggressor gender: compared to women, men participants will attribute a man's aggressive behavior as more externally motivated than a woman's aggressive behavior
- e) Interaction of participant gender x physical aggressor gender: compared to women, men participants will attribute a man's physically aggressive behavior as more externally motivated than a woman's aggressive behavior

- f) Interaction of verbal aggressor gender x physical aggressor gender: a man's physically aggressive behavior will be attributed as more externally motivated than a physically woman's aggressive behavior
- g) Interaction of participants' gender x verbal aggressor's gender x physical aggressor's gender: compared to women, men participants will attribute aggressive behavior as more externally caused when both aggressors are men (for both verbally and physically aggressive behavior).

Measure: Internal Attribution Scale

HYPOTHESIS 2: Same predictions as in Hypotheses 1, except that these involve predictions of **internal** causal attributions.

Internal Causal Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior

- a) Gender of participants: Women will attribute aggressive behavior as more internally motivated than will men.
- b) Gender of verbal aggressor: Women aggressor's behavior attributed more internally caused than male aggressor's
- c) Gender of physical aggressor: Women aggressor's behavior will be more internally attributed than male aggressor's behavior.
- d) Interaction of participant gender x verbal aggressor gender: compared to men, women participants will attribute a woman's aggressive behavior as more internally motivated than a man's aggressive behavior
- e) Interaction of participant gender x physical aggressor gender: compared to men, women participants will attribute a woman's aggressive behavior as more internally motivated than a man's aggressive behavior
- f) Interaction of verbal aggressor gender x physical aggressor gender: a woman's aggressive behavior will be more internally attributed than a man's aggressive behavior
- g) Interaction of participant gender x verbal aggressor gender x physical aggressor gender: compared to men participants, women participants will attribute aggressive behavior as more internally caused when both aggressors are women.

Measure: Valence of External Causal Attribution Scale

HYPOTHESIS 3: Same predictions as in Hypotheses 1 and 2

Valence of External Causal Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior

- a) Gender of participants: Men will attribute aggressive behavior as more externally motivated than will women.
- b) Gender of verbal aggressor: Men's aggressive behavior will be more externally attributed than women's
- c) Gender of physical aggressor: Men's aggressive behavior will be more externally attributed than women's
- d) Interaction of participant gender x verbal aggressor gender: compared to women, men participants will attribute a man's aggressive behavior as more externally motivated than a woman's aggressive behavior

- e) Interaction of participant gender x physical aggressor gender: compared to women, men participants will attribute a man's aggressive behavior as more externally motivated than a woman's aggressive behavior
- f) Interaction of verbal aggressor gender x physical aggressor gender: a man's aggressive behavior will be attributed as more externally motivated than a woman's aggressive behavior
- g) Interaction of participants' gender x verbal aggressor's gender x physical aggressor's gender: compared to women, men participants will attribute aggressive behavior as more externally caused when both aggressors are men.

Measure: Evaluations of Behaviors (Semantic differential) Measure

HYPOTHESIS 4: Participants' Evaluations of Physical Aggression

- a) Gender of participants: Men participants will evaluate aggressive behaviors more positively than women participants
- b) Gender of verbal aggressor: Men aggressors will be more positively evaluated than women aggressors
- c) Gender of physical aggressor: Men aggressors will be more positively evaluated than women aggressors
- d) Interaction of participant gender x verbal aggressor gender: Compared to women participants, men participants will evaluate aggressive men more positively than aggressive women
- e) Interaction of participant gender x physical aggressor gender: Compared to women participants, men participants will evaluate aggressive men more positively than aggressive women
- f) Interaction of verbal aggressor gender x physical aggressor gender: Aggressors will be more positively evaluated when they both are men
- g) Interaction of participants' gender x verbal aggressor's gender x physical aggressor's gender: Compared to women participants, men participants will perceive aggressive behavior more positively when both aggressors are men

Measure: Aggression Acceptability (Semantic Differential) Measure

HYPOTHESIS 5: Participants' Ratings of the Acceptability of Physical Aggression

- a) Gender of participants: Men participants will judge aggressive behaviors as more acceptable than women participants
- b) Gender of verbal aggressor: Participants will judge aggressive behaviors as more acceptable when the aggressor is a man
- c) Gender of physical aggressor: Participants will find aggression more acceptable than when the aggressor is a man
- d) Interaction of participant gender x verbal aggressor gender: Compared to women participants, men participants will judge aggressive behaviors as more acceptable when the aggressor is a man
- e) Interaction of participant gender x physical aggressor gender: Compared to women participants, men participants will judge aggressive behaviors as more acceptable when the aggressor is a man

- f) Interaction of verbal aggressor gender x physical aggressor gender: Participants will find aggression more acceptable when both aggressors are men
- g) Interaction of participant gender x verbal aggressor gender x physical aggressor gender: Compared to women participants, men participants will find aggression more acceptable when both aggressors are men

Measure: Recommended Consequences

HYPOTHESIS 6: Participants' Recommendations for the Consequences of Physical Aggression

- a) Gender of participants: Women participants will endorse harsher consequences for aggressive behavior than men participants
 - b) Gender of verbal aggressor: Women's aggressive behaviors will be viewed as requiring harsher consequences than men's aggressive behaviors
 - c) Gender of physical aggressor: Women's aggressive behaviors will be viewed as requiring harsher consequences than men's aggressive behaviors
 - d) Interaction of participant gender x verbal aggressor gender: Compared to men participants, women participants will view aggressive behaviors as requiring harsher consequences when the aggressor is a woman
 - e) Interaction of participant gender x physical aggressor gender: Compared to men participants, women participants will view aggressive behaviors as requiring harsher consequences when the aggressor is a woman
 - f) Interaction of verbal aggressor gender x physical aggressor gender: Participants will view aggressive behaviors as requiring harsher consequences when both aggressors are women
- Interaction of participant gender x verbal aggressor gender x physical aggressor gender: Women participants will view aggressive behaviors as requiring harsher consequences when both aggressors are women

Methods

Participants and Design

Data were collected from adults who were at least 18 years old, proficient in English, and residents of the United States. Participants were recruited through Amazon Cloud Research, an online research panel composed of people of diverse sociodemographic characteristics (international participants, parity between men and women, population that is younger than the general population, variation in marital status and household size, and household income slightly lower than that of the general population) to increase generalizability of findings. An *a priori* power analysis indicated that a medium effect size ($f = .25$, $p < .05$) for an interaction variable in a between-subjects ANOVA with 95% power requires a sample size of 210 participants (see

Bosson et al., 2009). After the data were cleaned, the final sample size was $N = 219$. See Table 1 for breakdown of demographics.

TABLE 1. Participant Demographics

Gender	Man		Woman		Not Listed	
	48.9%		50.27%		.9%	
Age in Years	18-30		31-50		51-70	
	31.2%		51.1%		16.7%	
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual		Homosexual		Queer	
	86.0%		3.6%		4.5%	
Highest Level of Education	Elementary School	High School	2-Year College	4-Year College	Graduate Degree	Other
	.5%	23.2%	14.1%	43.2%	18.6%	.5%
Socioeconomic Status	Lower-Class		Working-Class		Middle-Class	
	11.8%		32.7%		44.5%	
U.S. Regional Affiliation	Northeast	Southwest	West		Southeast	Midwest
	22.3%	10.5%	22.7%		23.3%	21.4%
Race	African-descent	Asian	European-descent	Hispanic/Latinx	Native American	Not Listed
	15.5%	7.7%	62.3%	4.5%	4.1%	5.9%

Procedure

The study was conducted online through an experimental self-report survey. The duration of the study was approximately 13 minutes (participants were given 50 minutes to complete the study). Study materials were made available through Qualtrics, and potential participants were given access to a link for the study. The link took Amazon-MTurk participants directly to the study, where they read an informed consent document. The document informed participants of the study's purpose, confidentiality, that they were expected to read a police report and answer

questions about it. Participants were then required to answer a “yes/no” item indicating whether they were 18 years of age or older. Individuals who were at least eighteen years old were asked the following series of questions: whether they have already participated in the current study, if they were comfortable completing a survey in English, if they understood what they would be asked, if they were taking part voluntarily, and if they resided in the United States. Individuals who were not at least eighteen years or not proficient in English were thanked for their interest and then redirected to a webpage informing them of their ineligibility to participate in the study, as were those who already had taken part in the study. The survey was programmed to prevent autofilling and multiple responses from the same person, by collecting IP addresses and using captcha responses.

This study had two parts. The first portion of the study involved random assignment of participants to one of four (bogus) police reports titled, “Criminal Justice Study,” that were identical save for the physical aggressor’s and verbal aggressor’s gender (gender manipulations). The police reports were adapted from Weaver et al.’s (2010) study and detailed a bogus altercation at a bar between two men, two women, or one man and one woman. See Appendix A for the full police report. Once participants reviewed the police report (the frame of the police report was not timed), they were taken to the second part of the study where they were presented with five identical measures that assessed the extent to which participants attributed the physical and verbal aggressor’s aggression to internal and external factors (Di Fazio et al., 1997; McAuley et al., 1992; Rayburn et al., 2003; Thelus & Omoto, 2020; Weaver et al., 2010). Participants received \$2 in compensation for their participation in Study 1.

Measures

External or Internal Attributions of the Physical Aggressor (Perpetrator) and Verbal Aggressor (Victim). Based on Weaver et al. (2010), eight items were used to assess participants' external and internal attributions of the perpetrator (either Steve or/Ashley, the gender of perpetrator manipulation) and victim (either Nick or/Sarah, the gender of victim manipulation): "How much of his/her behavior was due to being provoked by the man/woman?", "How much of his/her behavior was due to the crowd around him/her?", "How much of his/her behavior was due to the presence of the woman/man?", "How much of his/her behavior was due to being publicly insulted by him/her"?, "How much of his/her behavior was due to his/her own immaturity?", "How much of his/her behavior was due to the kind of person he/she is typically?", "How much of his/her behavior was due to his/her failure to think through his/her actions?", "How much of his/her behavior was due to his/her hot temper?" Participants rated the extent to which the perpetrator's physical aggression and the victim's verbal aggression was attributable to these external and internal causes on eight 7-point Likert items (1= *not at all*; 7= *a great deal*). Order of the scale was counterbalanced. This scale has a reliability of $\alpha = .70$ (Jin et al., 2021). See Appendix C, Section A for complete scale information.

Valence of External Causal Attributions of the Physical Aggressor (Perpetrator) and Verbal Aggressor (Victim). Based on Di Fazio et al. (1997), McAuley et al. (1992) and items developed by the present study's researchers, twenty-two items were used to assess participants' causation and external control dimensions of the perpetrator and victim's behavior. Items included: "The woman's/man's behavior reflects an aspect of himself/herself", "The cause of the woman's/man's behavior was something inside of him/herself", "The woman/man is fully responsible for the incident", "The woman/man had power to control over the outcome of the incident", "The woman/man could have regulated the way things developed", "Incidents like

these don't take on "a life of their own". Participants rated the extent to which the perpetrator and victim's behavior is attributable to these causation and external control dimensions on twenty-two 7-point Likert items (1= *strongly disagree*; 7= *strongly agree*). Order of scale was counterbalanced. Lower ratings on this scale indicated higher external attribution. This scale's reliability was determined after data were collected from study one were analyzed, $\alpha = .89$. See Appendix C, Section B for complete scale information.

Evaluations of Behavior of Physical Aggressor (Perpetrator) and Verbal Aggressor (Victim). Based on Rayburn et al. (2003), a semantic differential scale of 14 items was used to assess participants' perceptions of the physical aggressor and verbal aggressor. Items included: "violent/nonviolent", "forceful/gentle", "fault/faultless", "unreliable/reliable", "undependable/dependable". Participants rated their perceptions of the perpetrator and victim on 7-point semantic differential scale items. Order of the scale was counterbalanced. Higher scores on this scale indicate more positive evaluations. This scale has a reliability of $\alpha = .85$ (Rayburn et al., 2003). See Appendix C, Section C for complete scale information.

Aggression Acceptability for Physical Aggressor (Perpetrator) and Verbal Aggressor (Victim). Based on Thelus and Omoto's (2020) unpublished manuscript, participants rated nine items with the following stem referencing the police report, "*In general, what do you think about Steve/Nick/Ashley/Sarah's behavior in the police report?*" For each of the word-pairs below, please indicate which word more closely represents what you think about his behavior". Participants rated the perpetrator and victim's behavior on 7-point Likert items, with the following anchors: "good/bad", "reasonable/unreasonable", "tasteful/distasteful", "acceptable/unacceptable", "appropriate/inappropriate", "justified/unjustified", "forgivable/unforgivable", "manly/not manly", "admirable/not admirable". Order of measure

was counterbalanced. Higher scores on this scale indicate less acceptability. This unadapted scale had a reliability of $\alpha = .93$. See Appendix C, Section D for complete scale information.

Recommended Consequences for Physical Aggressor (Perpetrator) and Verbal Aggressor (Victim). As a second measure of acceptability, based on Thelus and Omoto's (2020) unpublished manuscript, participants were presented with the following statement: *"Penalties for Nick/Steve/Ashley/Sarah are being considered. Please consider each of these statements separately, and rate how much you disagree or agree with the following penalties"*: Participants answered 4 items about possible consequences for the perpetrator and the victim's aggression. Each item used a 7-point response format (1= *strongly disagree*; 7= *strongly agree*). Scale items included, "Ban from bar establishment", "Court authorized penalty of money (fine)", "Community service", "Criminal charges filed against him". Order of measure was counterbalanced. Higher scores on this scale indicate endorsement of more severe consequences. This unadapted scale had a reliability of $\alpha = .81$. See Appendix C, Section E for complete scale information.

Demographic Items. Participants answered six demographic questions before they were thanked and debriefed. As discussed. they were asked to report their gender, year of birth,, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, highest level of education, socioeconomic status, and regional affiliation.

Results

Data were prepared and cleaned for analyses. Preliminary data analyses involved examination of the data to ensure the data met the assumptions of the general linear model, such as normality of item distribution to determine whether ANOVA could be conducted. Data were deemed appropriate for ANOVA. The data's skew, outliers, kurtosis, and homogeneity of

variance were also considered to determine if any scale items should be transformed or eliminated. No scale items were transformed or eliminated. Descriptive information for the data was generated, and scale characteristics, including average scores, standard deviations, correlations, and internal consistency of composite measures were reviewed, and determined adequate. Data from this study revealed the following internal consistency values for dependent measures: external attribution scale, $\alpha = .89$, internal attribution scale, $\alpha = .89$, valence of internal or external causal attributions scale, $\alpha = .89$; evaluation of behaviors scale, $\alpha = .96$; aggression acceptability scale, $\alpha = .93$; and recommended consequences scale, $\alpha = .83$.

External Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior (H1).

A 2 (participant gender: woman, man) x 2 (physical aggressor gender: woman, man) x 2 (verbal aggressor gender: woman, man) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on external attributions of physically aggressive behavior to. Higher ratings on this scale indicate higher levels of external attribution.

Main effects. The main effect of participant gender was statistically significant, $F(1, 211) = 4.53, p = .034, \eta^2 = .02$. Women participants ($M = 5.56, SD = 2.08, N = 111$) attributed physically aggressive behavior as more externally motivated than men participants ($M = 5.14, SD = 2.06, N = 108$) (H1a).

The verbal aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 211) = 2.07, p = .152$ (H1b).

The physical aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 211) = .011, p = .92$ (H1c).

Two-way interactions. Three two-way interaction effects of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender on external attributions of physically aggressive behavior were analyzed.

The interaction of participant gender and verbal aggressor gender was not a significant factor in external attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 211) = 1.69, p = .20$ (H1d), nor was the interaction of participant gender and physical aggressor gender a significant factor in external attributions of physical aggression $F(1, 211) = 0.747, p = .39$ (H1e). Additionally, the interaction of verbal aggressor gender and physical aggressor gender was not a significant factor in external attributions of physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 211) = 2.56, p = .11$ (H1f).

Three-way interaction. The interaction of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender was not a significant factor in external attributions of physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 211) = 0.147, p = .70$ (H1g). To provide a complete picture of the data obtained in each cell of the design, see Table 2 below for three-way interaction means and standard deviations on this dependent measure.

TABLE 2. External Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior Three-way Interaction Means and Standard Deviations

	Gender of Participants			
	Man		Woman	
	Gender of Verbal Aggressor			
Gender of Physical Aggressor	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Man	5.37 (1.46) N = 24	5.06 (1.52) N = 30	5.28 (1.59) N = 33	5.65 (1.20) N = 23
Woman	5.46 (1.35) N = 29	4.66 (1.60) N = 25	5.88 (.92) N = 20	5.45 (1.69) N = 35

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

These results suggest that overall, men and women's attributions of the extent to which another's physically aggressive behavior were associated with the gender of the witness. Women viewed the behavior of the physical aggressor as significantly more externally motivated than men, as hypothesized (H1a).

Gender of the person who was verbally aggressive was not uniquely associated with a difference in the extent to which participants viewed physically aggressive behavior as externally attributed (H1b), nor was the gender of the person who was physically aggressive uniquely associated with a difference in the extent to which participants viewed a physically aggressive act (H1c). Overall, men and women in the sample had similar views about external influences on physically aggressive behaviors irrespective of the verbal aggressor's gender (H1d) or the physical aggressor's gender (H1e). Women were more prone than men to attribute physical aggression externally. The gender of the physical or verbal aggressor did not affect external attributions (H1g)

Internal Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior (H2).

A 2 (participant gender: woman, man) x 2 (physical aggressor gender: woman, man) x 2 (verbal aggressor gender: woman, man) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on internal attributions of physically aggressive behavior to explore hypotheses. Higher ratings on this scale indicate higher internal attribution. The analysis revealed the following results.

Main effects. The main effect of participant gender on internal attributions of aggressive behavior was not statistically significant, $F(1, 211) = 1.05, p = .31$ (H2a).

The verbal aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in internal attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 211) = .004, p = .95$ (H2b).

The physical aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in internal attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 211) = .075, p = .78$ (H2c).

Two-way interactions. Three two-way interaction effects of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender on internal attributions of physically aggressive behavior were analyzed.

The interaction of participant gender and verbal aggressor gender was not a significant factor in internal attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 211) = .651, p = .42$ (H2d), nor was the interaction of participant gender and physical aggressor gender a significant factor in internal attributions of physical aggression $F(1, 211) = .547, p = .46$ (H2e). Additionally, the interaction of verbal aggressor gender and physical aggressor gender was not a significant factor in internal attributions of physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 211) = 1.46, p = .23$ (H2f).

Three-way interaction. The interaction of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender was not a significant factor in internal attributions of physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 211) = 2.37, p = .13$ (H2g). To provide a complete picture of the data obtained in each cell of the design, see Table 3 below for three-way interaction means and standard deviations on this dependent measure.

TABLE 3. Internal Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior Three-way Interaction Means and Standard Deviations

	Gender of Participants			
	Man		Woman	
	Gender of Verbal Aggressor			
Gender of Physical Aggressor	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Man	5.63 (1.09) N = 24	5.45 (1.44) N = 30	5.53 (.922) N = 33	6.12 (.929) N = 23
Woman	5.65 (1.32) N = 29	5.58 (1.07) N = 25	5.81 (.941) N = 20	5.51 (1.43) N = 35

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

These results suggest that overall, men and women in the sample shared similar views about the extent to which internal factors influenced someone to be physically aggressive (H2a), and that the gender of the person who was verbally aggressive was not uniquely associated with a difference in the extent to which participants viewed physically aggressive behavior as internally attributed (H2b). Also, gender of the person who was physically aggressive was not uniquely associated with a difference in the extent to which participants viewed their behavior as internally attributed (H2c), and men and women in the sample had similar views about internal influences on physically aggressive behaviors irrespective of the verbal aggressor's gender (H2d) or the physical aggressor's gender (H2e). Additionally, gender of the person who was verbally aggressive and gender of the person who was physically aggressive was not uniquely associated with a difference in the extent to which participants viewed physically aggressive behavior as internally attributed (H2f). Furthermore, men and women in the sample had similar views about internal influences on physically aggressive behaviors even when both the verbal aggressor's gender and the physical aggressor's gender was considered simultaneously (H2g).

Valence of External Causal Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior (H3).

A 2 (participant gender: woman, man) x 2 (physical aggressor gender: woman, man) x 2 (verbal aggressor gender: woman, man) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on valence of external causal attributions of physically aggressive behavior to explore hypotheses. Lower ratings on this scale indicate lower levels of external attribution. The analysis revealed the following results.

Main effects. The main effect of participant gender on valence of external attributions of physically aggressive behavior was not statistically significant, $F(1, 195) = .036, p = .85$ (H3a).

The verbal aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in valence of external causal attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 195) = .219, p = .64$ (H3b).

The physical aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in valence of external causal attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 195) = .162, p = .69$ (H3c).

Two-way interactions. Three two-way interaction effects of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender on valence of external causal attributions of physically aggressive behavior were analyzed.

The interaction of participant gender and verbal aggressor gender was not a significant factor in valence of external causal attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 195) = .181, p = .67$ (H3d), nor was the interaction of participant gender and physical aggressor gender a significant factor in valence of external causal attributions of physical aggression $F(1, 195) = .523, p = .47$ (H3e). Additionally, the interaction of verbal aggressor gender and physical aggressor gender was not a significant factor in valence of external causal attributions of physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 195) = .345, p = .56$ (H3f) (see figure 2).

Three-way interaction. The interaction of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender was not a significant factor in valence of external causal attributions of physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 195) = .240, p = .62$ (H3g). To provide a complete picture of the data obtained in each cell of the design, see Table 4 below for three-way interaction means and standard deviations on this dependent measure.

TABLE 4. Valence of External Causal Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior Means and Standard Deviations

	Gender of Participants	
	Man	Woman

	Gender of Verbal Aggressor			
Gender of Physical Aggressor	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Man	5.05 (.89) N = 24	5.17 (.96) N = 29	5.15 (.71) N = 29	5.29 (.75) N = 21
Woman	5.10 (1.03) N = 25	5.20 (.84) N = 23	5.15 (.82) N = 20	5.02 (.95) N = 32

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

These results suggest that overall, the valence of men and women participants' ratings of external attributions of physically aggressive behaviors were not significantly different (H3a). Also, the gender of the person who was verbally aggressive was not uniquely associated with a difference in the valence of participants' ratings of the externality of physically aggressive behavior (H3b). The physical aggressor's gender, too, was not uniquely associated with differences in the valence of participants' external attributions of a physically aggressive act (H3c). Overall men and women in the sample had similar views about the valence of attributions of physically aggressive behavior irrespective of the verbal (H3d) or physical aggressor's (H3e) gender. Additionally, the verbal aggressor's gender and the physical aggressor's gender was not uniquely associated with a difference in participants' valence of attributions of physically aggressive behavior (H3f). Men and women shared similar views about the valence of external causal attributions of physically aggressive behaviors, even when verbal and physical aggressor's gender was considered simultaneously (H3g).

Participant Perceptions (Evaluations) of Physically Aggressive Behavior (H4).

A 2 (participant gender: woman, man) x 2 (physical aggressor gender: woman, man) x 2 (verbal aggressor gender: woman, man) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on

participant perceptions (evaluations) of physically aggressive behavior to explore hypotheses. Higher ratings on this scale indicate more positive evaluations. The analysis revealed the following results.

Main effects. The main effect of participant gender on participant perceptions (evaluations) of physically aggressive behavior was not statistically significant, $F(1, 203) = 1.97, p = .162$ (H4a).

The verbal aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in participant perceptions (evaluations) of physical aggression, $F(1, 203) = .154, p = .70$ (H4b).

The physical aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in participant perceptions (evaluations) of physical aggression, $F(1, 203) = 1.84, p = .18$ (H4c).

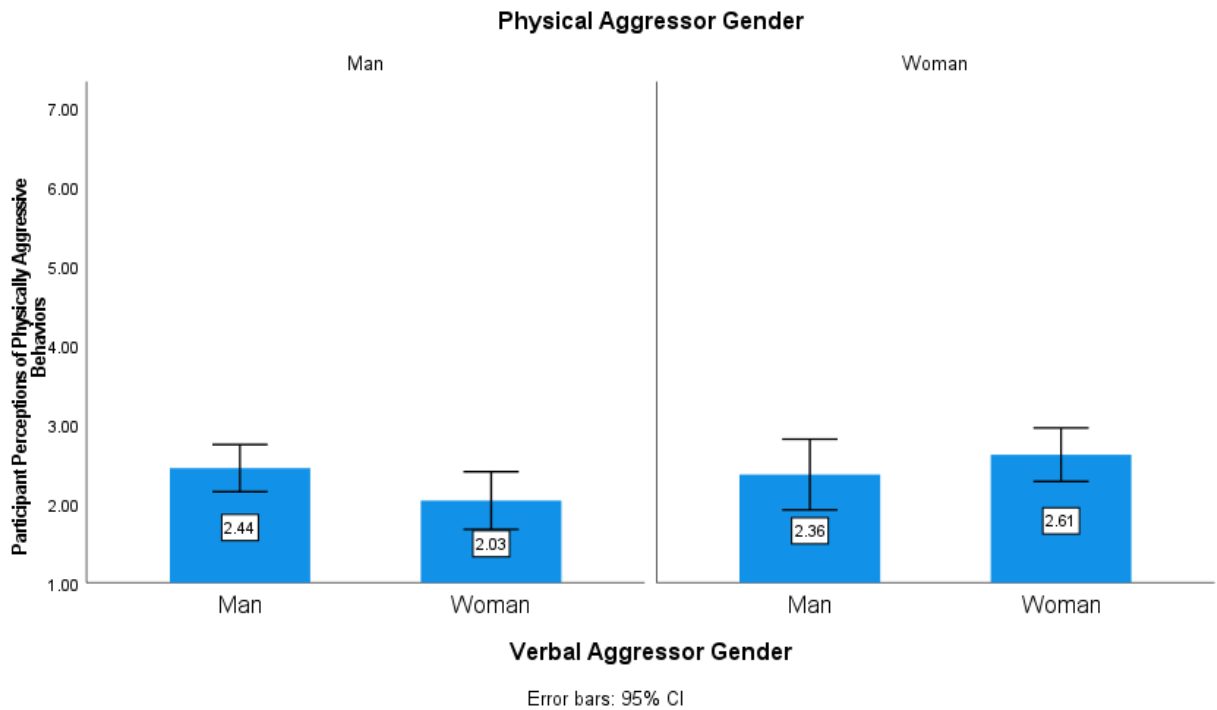
Two-way interactions. Three two-way interaction effects of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender on participant perceptions (evaluations) of physically aggressive behavior were analyzed.

The interaction of participant gender and verbal aggressor gender was not a significant factor in participant perceptions (evaluations) of physical aggression, $F(1, 203) = .076, p = .78$ (H4d), nor was the interaction of participant gender and physical aggressor gender a significant factor in participant perceptions (evaluations) of physical aggression, $F(1, 203) = .00, p = .99$ (H4e). The interaction of verbal aggressor gender and physical aggressor gender was a significant factor in participant perceptions (evaluations) of physically aggressive behavior. Simple effects analysis revealed that when the verbal aggressor and physical aggressor were both men, participants endorsed higher ratings for the physical aggressor on the participant perceptions scale ($M = 2.45, SD = 2.52, N = 56$), than when the verbal aggressor was a man and the physical aggressor was a woman ($M = 2.34, SD = 2.72, N = 48$). Also, when the verbal

aggressor and physical aggressor were both women, participants endorsed higher ratings for the physical aggressor on the participant perceptions scale ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 2.45$, $N = 59$), compared to when the verbal aggressor was a woman and the physical aggressor was a man ($M = 2.02$, $SD = 2.69$, $N = 48$), $F(1, 203) = 3.96$, $p = .048$, $\eta^2 = .019$ (H4f) (see figure 2).

Figure 2

Participant Perceptions of Physically Aggressive Behaviors



Note. A graph of results for the participant race by verbal aggressor race by physical aggressor race two-way interaction.

Three-way interaction. The interaction of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender was not a significant factor in participant perceptions (evaluations) of physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 203) = .335$, $p = .56$ (H4g). To provide a

complete picture of the data obtained in each cell of the design, see Table 5 for three-way interaction means and standard deviations on this dependent measure.

TABLE 5. Participant Perceptions (Evaluations) of Physically Aggressive Behavior Three-way Interaction Means and Standard Deviations

	Gender of Participants			
	Man		Woman	
	Gender of Verbal Aggressor			
Gender of Physical Aggressor	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Man	2.50 (.86) N = 23	2.22 (1.43) N = 26	2.40 (1.27) N = 33	1.81 (.10) N = 22
Woman	2.49 (1.64) N = 28	2.73 (1.44) N = 25	2.18 (1.40) N = 20	2.53 (1.19) N = 34

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

These results suggest that overall, perceptions about physically aggressive behavior were not significantly different (H4a). Also, the verbal aggressor's gender was not uniquely associated with perceptions of physically aggressive behavior (H4b). The physical aggressor's gender was not uniquely associated with how participants perceived the physically aggressive act (H4c), and overall, men and women in the sample had similar perceptions about physically aggressive behavior irrespective of the verbal aggressor's gender (H4d) or physical aggressor's gender (H4e). Simultaneous consideration of the verbal aggressor and physical aggressor's gender was uniquely associated with differences in perceptions of the physically aggressive act (H4f). Men and women in the sample had similar perceptions about physically aggressive behaviors, even when both the verbal aggressor's gender and the physical aggressor's gender was considered concurrently (H4g).

Aggression Acceptability of Physically Aggressive Behavior (H5).

A 2 (participant gender: woman, man) x 2 (physical aggressor gender: woman, man) x 2 (verbal aggressor gender: woman, man) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on aggression acceptability of physically aggressive behavior to explore hypotheses. Higher ratings on this scale indicate lower acceptability. The analysis revealed the following results.

Main effects. The main effect of participant gender on aggression acceptability was not statistically significant, $F(1, 209) = .258, p = .61$ (H5a).

The verbal aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in aggression acceptability of physically aggressive behaviors, $F(1, 209) = .930, p = .35$ (H5b).

The physical aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in aggression acceptability of physically aggressive behaviors, $F(1, 209) = 2.07, p = .15$ (H5c).

Two-way interactions. Three two-way interaction effects of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender on aggression acceptability of physically aggressive behaviors were analyzed.

The interaction of participant gender and verbal aggressor gender was not a significant factor in aggression acceptability of physically aggressive behaviors, $F(1, 209) = .114, p = .74$ (H5d). Additionally, there was an interaction of participant gender and physical aggressor gender, such that men participants' aggression acceptability of physically aggressive behavior differed with marginal significance based on whether the physical aggressor was a woman or a man (Physically Aggressive Man ($M = 5.62, SD = 2.59, N = 23$), Physically Aggressive Woman ($M = 5.70, SD = 2.57, N = 29$) compared to women participants (Physically Aggressive Man ($M = 6.04, SD = 2.53, N = 33$) Physically Aggressive Woman ($M = 5.45, SD = 2.62, N = 20$)), $F(1, 209) = 3.55, p = .061, \eta^2 = .017$ (H5e). The interaction of verbal aggressor gender and physical

aggressor gender was not a significant factor in aggression acceptability of physically aggressive behaviors, $F(1, 209) = .435, p = .51$ (H5f).

Three-way interaction. The interaction of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender was not a significant factor in aggression acceptability of physically aggressive behaviors, $F(1, 209) = .891, p = .35$ (H5g). To provide a complete picture of the data obtained in each cell of the design, see Table 6 for three-way interaction means and standard deviations on this dependent measure.

TABLE 6. Aggression Acceptability of Physically Aggressive Behavior Three-way Interaction Means and Standard Deviations

	Gender of Participants			
	Man		Woman	
	Gender of Verbal Aggressor			
Gender of Physical Aggressor	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Man	5.53 (1.25) N = 23	5.71 (1.61) N = 30	5.85 (.91) N = 33	6.24 (.98) N = 23
Woman	5.56 (1.58) N = 29	5.84 (1.11) N = 24	5.54 (1.22) N = 20	5.37 (1.37) N = 35

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

These results suggest that overall, participant gender did not uniquely contribute to differences in aggression acceptability (H5a), as did not verbal aggressor gender (H5b). Physical aggressor gender was not uniquely associated with the extent to which participants viewed the physically aggressive act as acceptable (H5c), and, participant gender was not significantly associated with aggression acceptability irrespective of the verbal aggressor's gender (H5d).

However, participants minimally differed in their aggression acceptability when the physical aggressor's gender was considered (H5e). Additionally, when considered concurrently, verbal aggressor gender and physical aggressor gender is not uniquely associated with differences in aggression acceptability (H5f). Lastly, men and women in the sample had similar views about aggression acceptability for the physically aggressive act, even when the verbal and physical aggressor's gender is considered simultaneously (H5g).

Recommended Consequences for Physically Aggressive Behavior (H6). A 2 (participant gender: woman, man) x 2 (physical aggressor gender: woman, man) x 2 (verbal aggressor gender: woman, man) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on recommended consequences for physically aggressive behavior to explore hypotheses. Higher ratings on this scale indicate endorsement or more severe consequences. The analysis revealed the following results.

Main effects. The main effect of participant gender on recommended consequences was not statistically significant, $F(1, 210) = .249, p = .62$ (H6a).

The verbal aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in recommended consequences for physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 210) = .868, p = .35$ (H6b).

The physical aggressor's gender was not a significant factor in attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 210) = .946, p = .33$ (H6c).

Two-way interactions. Three two-way interaction effects of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender on recommended consequences for physically aggressive behavior were analyzed.

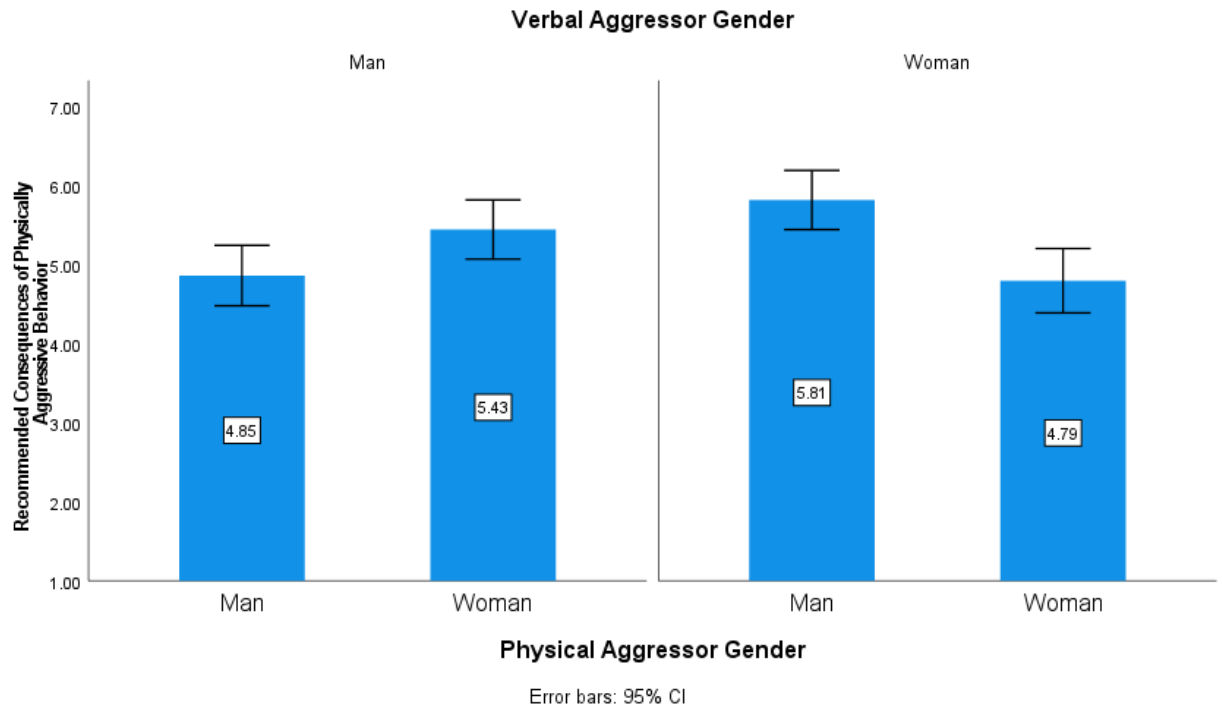
The interaction of participant gender and verbal aggressor gender was not a significant factor in recommended consequences for physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 210) = .538, p =$

.46 (H6d), nor was the interaction of participant gender and physical aggressor gender a significant factor in recommended consequences for physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 210) = .867, p = .35$ (H6e).

The interaction of verbal aggressor gender and physical aggressor gender was a marginally significant factor in recommended consequences for physically aggressive behavior, such that participants endorsed higher ratings on the recommended consequences scale when the verbal aggressor and physical aggressor were both men ($M = 4.82, SD = 2.83, N = 56$) compared to when the verbal aggressor was a man and the physical aggressor was a woman ($M = 5.44, SD = 3.01, N = 49$). Additionally, participants endorsed lower ratings on the recommended consequences scale for the physical aggressor when the verbal aggressor and physical aggressor were both women ($M = 4.81, SD = 2.72, N = 60$) compared to when the verbal aggressor was a woman and the physical aggressor was a man ($M = 5.82, SD = 2.87, N = 53$), $F(1, 210) = 17.13, p < .001, \eta^2 = .075$ (H6f) (see figure 3 below).

Figure 3

Recommended Consequences of Physically Aggressive Behavior



Note. A graph of results for the verbal aggressor gender by physical aggressor gender two-way interaction.

Three-way interaction. The interaction of participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, and physical aggressor gender was not a significant factor in recommended consequences for physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 210) = 2.81, p = .97$ (H6g). To provide a complete picture of the data obtained in each cell of the design, see Table 7 for three-way interaction means and standard deviations on this dependent measure.

TABLE 7. Recommended Consequences for Physically Aggressive Behavior Three-way Interaction Means and Standard Deviations

	Gender of Participants	
	Man	Woman
	Gender of Verbal Aggressor	

Gender of Physical Aggressor	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Man	4.62 (1.48) N = 23	5.73 (1.60) N = 30	5.02 (1.38) N = 33	5.90 (.96) N = 23
Woman	5.40 (1.47) N = 29	4.94 (1.16) N = 25	5.49 (1.06) N = 20	4.68 (1.82) N = 35

Note. Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

These results suggest that overall, participant gender did not uniquely contribute to differences in recommended consequences for the physically aggressive act (H6a), as did not verbal aggressor gender (H6b). The physical aggressor's gender also was not associated with the degree of consequence participants endorsed for the physically aggressive act (H6c). Overall, men and women in the sample had similar views about consequences that should be given for physical aggression irrespective of the verbal aggressor's gender (H6d) or physical aggressor's gender (H6e). When considered simultaneously, verbal aggressor gender and physical aggressor gender was moderately associated with differences in the degree of consequence that participants endorsed for physically aggressive behavior (H6f). Finally, men and women in the sample had similar views about the degree of consequence that should be given for the physically aggressive act when both the verbal aggressor's gender and the physical aggressor's gender was considered concurrently (H6g).

Discussion

The purpose of study 1 was to replicate and extend Weaver et al.'s (2010) study outside a college/university context, with a broader research sample, and to explore whether PMT beliefs are currently expressed as they were over 10 years ago. This study was also a test of the validity of the measures used in the Weaver et al. (2010) study, and improved the methodology used to explore PMT tenets in a public situation in which a man or woman's gender is threatened. Some

conditions involved a cross-gender context, which was a dynamic that was not included Weaver et al.'s (2010) study. This improved methodology involved the inclusion of a predictor variable of the verbal aggressor's gender and additional outcome variables. The additional outcome variables were multi-purpose in that they also served instructional purposes for future studies.

Summary of H1 results: Study participants mostly held similar views about external attributions of physically aggressive behavior, however, women notably viewed physically aggressive behavior as more externally attributed than men in the sample. These results were consistent with what was found in the Weaver et al. (2010) study for conditions that involved rating external attributions of physically aggressive behavior for women; however, the results for conditions in which men in the sample rated the physical aggression of a man were inconsistent with Weaver et al. (2010) because women participants in the current study had higher external attribution ratings of the physically aggressive man than men in the sample. These latter findings did not replicate Weaver et al.'s (2010) key finding, in which men participants had consistently higher external attribution ratings for the physically aggressive man's behavior than women participants. This inconsistent finding, which also does not support study hypotheses, in which women externally attributed physically aggressive behavior as a response to gender threat more than men may be explained by women participants' possible stronger subscription to traditional manhood ideals as outlined by PMT than men participants (Vandello et al., 2008).

Summary of H2 results: Overall, men and women in the sample held similar views about internal attributions of physically aggressive behavior. This finding was mostly consistent with Weaver et al.'s (2010) findings, save for the difference that Weaver et al.'s (2010) study suggests men participants' internal attribution ratings of a man's physically aggressive behavior would have been distinctly lower than woman participants'. These latter findings did not replicate

Weaver et al.'s (2010) key finding, in which men participants had consistently higher external attribution ratings for the physically aggressive man's behavior than women participants. These results suggest that the current study's participants were similarly sensitive to the social aspect of gender threat and gender restoration in a way that gender difference of the aggressors did not supercede the importance of the social situation and external displays of social proofs in order to recover threatened gender. Thus, no one gender's aggression was viewed as more internally motivated in this gender-threat context than another's (Bosson & Vandello, 2011).

Summary of H3 results: Overall, men and women in the sample held similar views about external causal attributions of physically aggressive behavior (lower scores indicate higher external attribution). This finding was mostly consistent with Weaver et al.'s (2010) findings, save for the difference that Weaver et al.'s (2010) study suggested men participants would have perceived a man's physically aggressive behavior as more externally attributed than women participants. Thus, these latter findings did not replicate Weaver et al.'s (2010) key finding, in which men participants had consistently higher external attribution ratings for the physically aggressive man's behavior than women participants. Similar to the possible explanation of hypothesis 2 results, the social aspect of gender threat and inclination to recover threatened gender as outlined by PMT may have been the most salient factor for participants in the current study in a way that overrode the possible effects of gender difference (Bosson & Vandello, 2011).

Summary of H4 results: Overall, men and women in the sample perceived the favorability of physically aggressive behavior similarly, save for their more favorable view of physical aggression for the gender combination of a verbally aggressive woman and a physically aggressive woman, compared to any other gender combination (higher scores indicate more

negative evaluation). This finding was inconsistent with Weaver et al. (2010) findings, such that the study suggests men participants would view men's physical aggression more favorably than women participants', particularly if the verbal aggressor and the physical aggressor were both men. These latter findings did not replicate Weaver et al.'s (2010) key finding, in which men participants had consistently higher external attribution ratings for the physically aggressive man's behavior than women participants, which suggests that men's physical aggression in a PMT context is situational, not dispositional, and can incite more forgiveness from others for such behaviors. This result may be explained by the expectation that men will be aggressive when their gender is threatened, and thus two men engaged in aggression is likely viewed less favorably than two women engaged in aggression because it may not be interpreted as an isolated event, whereas such behavior from women is less expected from a PMT perspective and could be viewed as isolated event (Vandello et al., 2008).

Summary of H5 results: Overall, men and women in the sample shared similar levels of aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior, save for a moderate indication that men in the sample viewed physically aggressive behavior as more acceptable when the physical aggressor was a man as opposed to a woman, which was consistent with Weaver et al. (2010) findings (Higher scores indicate less acceptability). However, women in the sample viewed physically aggressive behavior as more acceptable when the physical aggressor was a woman as opposed to a man, which was inconsistent with the Weaver et al. (2010) findings, and suggests that women participants would be likely to rate aggression acceptability equally regardless of the physical aggressor's gender. These latter findings did not replicate Weaver et al.'s (2010) key finding, in which men participants had consistently different ratings compared to women participants on outcome variables. The latter findings may be explained by ingroup favoritism,

and participants' identification with actors in the police report with whom they share the same gender. Thus, consultation with gender identity, and identification of an ingroup may override the impact of precarious manhood beliefs on people's reaction to aggression induced by gender threat (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007; Stone & Cooper, 2001).

Summary of H6 results: Participants had the strongest endorsement of consequences for physically aggressive behavior when the verbal aggressor was a woman and the physical aggressor was a man, compared to any other gender combination, this is inconsistent with the Weaver et al. (2010) findings (higher scores indicate endorsement of more severe consequences), such that men could be viewed as justified in their physical attempt to restore their masculinity, however, this cross-gender effect suggests that there are limits on the ways people believe men are justified and entitled to restore their masculinity (Bosson et al., 2009; Vandello et al., 2008, Weaver et al., 2010). This observed effect may be related to prescriptions connected to gender identity for men and women, particularly that it is taboo for men to be physically violent with a woman (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007; Stone & Cooper, 2001). These gender social identity prescriptions may supercede PMT prescriptions for suitable response from a man to gender threat. Additionally, women and men in the sample had similar endorsement of consequences for physically aggressive behavior when the verbal and physical aggressor's gender was considered concurrently, which is inconsistent with Weaver et al. (2010), which suggests that men's endorsement of consequences for a physically aggressive man that experienced gender threat would be lesser than women's regardless of the verbal and physical aggressor's gender. Save for the aforementioned H6 findings, participants held similar views about recommended consequences for physically aggressive behavior when participant gender, verbal aggressor gender, physical aggressor gender, participant gender and verbal aggressor gender, and

participant gender and physical aggressor gender were considered simultaneously, which was generally inconsistent with Weaver et al. (2010) findings. These latter findings did not replicate Weaver et al.'s (2010) key finding, in which men participants consistently viewed the physically aggressive man's behavior as more externally motivated compared to women participants. Similar to previous findings, these similarities in response to the gender threat context between men and women participants may be explicated by the prominence of the social aspect of gender threat and inclination to recover threatened gender as outlined by PMT. The external nature of this process may have been the most salient factor for participants in the current study in a way that overrode the possible effects of gender difference (Bosson & Vandello, 2011)

Implications

Exploration of PMT outside a university/college context and in a cross-gender context produces deeper understanding of the ways in which aggression is viewed from a PMT perspective, and how manhood is socially constructed and is perceived when multiple factors are considered. Results from this study suggests that when a sample outside of the college/university context, and cross-gender situations are factors in PMT exploration, many of the differences observed in the Weaver et al. (2010) study do not replicate. Very few previous PMT studies have explored restoration of masculinity or femininity after a public gender threat with research samples outside the university/college context, and even fewer have explored restoration of masculinity or femininity after a public gender threat in a cross-gender context in which a man is physically aggressive toward a woman and a woman is physically aggressive toward a man. Verbal aggression also was uniquely explored with a PMT frame in the current study. These elements contribute to the enhancement of PMT and allow the theory to be used to explore masculinity in diverse ways.

The current study's results can also be used to inform practice in applied spaces, such as educational and legal spaces. The current study's results suggest that people's views about aggression can involve gendered biases. For example, women are generally not expected to engage in physical aggression, thus when they do engage in such behaviors, there is a possible increased likelihood that they can be viewed more negatively than men who engage in the same behaviors. Also suggested by study data, these biased negative views about women's aggressive behaviors can also influence people to endorse harsher consequences for women's aggression compared to men's. This knowledge can be used to inform trainings in the legal space, particularly for cases that involve women who are physically aggressive. Trainings in the legal space can include information about people's tendency to judge women who engage in aggressive behavior more harshly than men who engage in aggressive behavior, and the influence of social prescriptions about gender on endorsement of consequences. Jurors, judges, and lawyers can use this information to help foster increased equity in the legal space.

Similarly, equity can be fostered through the application of these findings in the educational space. For instance, disciplinary practices such as suspensions in the school space can be evaluated more deeply for fairness, and schools may consider a review/audit of their records to ensure that they are engaged in fair practice from a gender perspective, related to a key finding in this study in which men and women participants tended to view physical aggression as more acceptable when the physical aggressor had the same gender as theirs or was an ingroup member. Men overwhelmingly hold leadership positions in which they have decision-making power to apply consequences; thus awareness of the likelihood that such a gender bias can occur may be used to aid in the reduction of unfair practice influenced by this type of gender bias.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current study is a replication and extension of Weaver et al. (2010), and adds many enhancements; however, there are some study constraints. For example, the study is self-report, which creates the opportunity for participants to answer questions dishonestly. This also raises concerns for the time participants took to read the mock police report attentively and use information from the police report to complete subsequent scales. Future studies may consider attention checks and observational techniques to gain data on people's views about aggression in such a context.

CHAPTER 3

Study 2

Study 2 extends the findings generated in Study 1 through examination of the effects that race and gender intersections of participants, verbal aggressor, and physical aggressor in the bogus police report have on participants' ratings on valence of internal or external causal attributions, evaluation of behaviors, aggression acceptability, and recommended consequences for the verbal and physical aggressor, outside a university context. Participants took part in a 2 (race of participant: Black, white, a nonmanipulated factor) x 2 (race of verbal aggressor: Black, white) x 2 (race of physical aggressor: Black, white) between-participants experimental study with valence of internal or external causal attributions, evaluation of behaviors, aggression acceptability, and recommended consequences as dependent measures, in which they read and rated their reactions to a bogus police report. The study was designed to test the following hypotheses.

Measure: Valence of External Causal Attributions of the Physical Aggressor (H1)

Valence of External Causal Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior

- a. Race of participant: white participants will attribute aggressive behavior as more externally motivated than Black participants
- b. Race of verbal aggressor: white men's aggressive behavior will be more externally attributed than Black men's
- c. Race of physical aggressor: white men's aggressive behavior will be more externally attributed than Black men's
- d. Interaction of participant race x verbal aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will attribute the white verbal aggressor's behavior as more externally motivated than the Black verbal aggressor's behavior
- e. Interaction of participant race x physical aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will attribute the white physical aggressor's behavior as more externally motivated than the Black physical aggressor's behavior
- f. Interaction of verbal aggressor race x physical aggressor race: a white man's aggressive behavior will be attributed as more externally motivated than a Black man's aggressive behavior

- g. Interaction of participant race x verbal aggressor race x physical aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will attribute aggressive behavior as more externally caused when both aggressors are white men.

Measure: Evaluations of Behavior of Physical Aggressor (H2)

Participants' Evaluations of Physical Aggression

- a. Race of participant: white participants will evaluate aggressive behaviors more positively than Black participants
- b. Race of verbal aggressor: white men's aggressive behavior will be evaluated more positively than Black men's
- c. Race of physical aggressor: white men's aggressive behavior will be more positively evaluated than Black men's
- d. Interaction of participant race x verbal aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will evaluate the white verbal aggressor's behavior more positively than the Black verbal aggressor's behavior
- e. Interaction of participant race x physical aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will evaluate the white physical aggressor's behavior more positively than the Black physical aggressor's behavior
- f. Interaction of verbal aggressor race x physical aggressor race: a white man's aggressive behavior will be more positively evaluated than a Black man's aggressive behavior
- g. Interaction of participant race x verbal aggressor race x physical aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will evaluate aggressive behavior more positively when both aggressors are white men.

Measure: Aggression Acceptability for Physical Aggressor (H3)

Participants' Ratings of the Acceptability of Physical Aggression

- a. Race of participant: white participants will judge aggressive behaviors as more acceptable than Black participants
- b. Race of verbal aggressor: white men's aggressive behavior will be judged as more acceptable than Black men's
- c. Race of physical aggressor: white men's aggressive behavior will be judged as more acceptable than Black men's
- d. Interaction of participant race x verbal aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will judge the white verbal aggressor's behavior as more acceptable than the Black verbal aggressor's behavior
- e. Interaction of participant race x physical aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will judge the white physical aggressor's behavior as more acceptable than the Black physical aggressor's behavior
- f. Interaction of verbal aggressor race x physical aggressor race: a white man's aggressive behavior will be judged as more acceptable than a Black man's aggressive behavior

g. Interaction of participant race x verbal aggressor race x physical aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will find aggressive behavior more acceptable when both aggressors are white men.

Measure: Recommended Consequences for Physical Aggressor (H4)

Participants' Recommendations for the Consequences of Physical Aggression

- a. Race of participant: white participants will endorse harsher consequences for aggressive behaviors compared Black participants
- b. Race of verbal aggressor: Black men's aggressive behavior will be viewed as requiring harsher consequences than white men's aggressive behavior
- c. Race of physical aggressor: Black men's aggressive behavior will be viewed as requiring harsher consequences than white men's aggressive behavior
- d. Interaction of participant race x verbal aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will view the Black verbal aggressor's behavior as requiring harsher consequences than the white verbal aggressor's behavior
- e. Interaction of participant race x physical aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will view the Black physical aggressor's behavior as requiring harsher consequences than the white physical aggressor's behavior
- f. Interaction of verbal aggressor race x physical aggressor race: a Black man's aggressive behavior will be viewed as requiring harsher consequences than a white man's aggressive behavior
- g. Interaction of participant race x verbal aggressor race x physical aggressor race: compared to Black participants, white participants will view aggressive behavior as requiring harsher consequences when both aggressors are Black men.

Methods

Participants and design

Data were collected from adults who were at least eighteen years old, proficient in English, and residents of United States. Participants were recruited through Amazon Cloud Research, which is an online research panel composed of people of diverse sociodemographic characteristics (international participants, parity between men and women, younger than the general population, variation in marital status and household size, and household income slightly lower than that of the general population) to increase generalizability of findings. Features on

this platform that allow for targeted recruitment of racial groups were used to ensure sufficient numbers of Black and white participants and reasonable power in the research. An *a priori* power analysis indicates that a medium effect size ($f = .25$, $p < .05$) for an interaction variable in a between-subjects ANOVA with 95% power requires a sample size of 210 participants (see Bosson et al., 2009). Although this interaction prediction has not been previously tested, PMT literature reveals large effect sizes (see Bosson et al., 2009), thus it is appropriate that a medium effect size for the hypotheses of interest for this study be tested. Participants were asked to complete four scales and demographic items. The initial sample size was $N = 553$; however, when the data were cleaned to remove invalid cases and participants who did not racially identify as Black (38.1%) or white (61.9%), the final sample size was $N = 467$. See Table 8 below for participant demographic breakdown.

TABLE 8. Participant Demographic Breakdown

Gender	Man		Woman			Not Listed	
	36.6%		61.9%			1.5%	
Age in Years	18-30		31-50		51-70		71-90
	26.1%		52.7%		18.8%		2.1%
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual		Homosexual		Queer		Not Listed
	85.7%		3.6%		5.6%		5.1%
Highest Level of Education	Elementary School	Middle School	High School	2-Year College	4-Year College	Graduate Degree	Other
	.2%	.2%	29.3%	19.1%	33.8%	15.2%	1.9%

Socioeconomic Status	Lower-Class	Working-Class		Middle-Class	Upper-Class
	15%	32.5%		46.7%	5.1%
U.S. Regional Affiliation	Northeast	Southwest	West	Southeast	Midwest
	21%	10.3%	16.9%	31.7%	19.9%
Race	Black			White	
	38.1%			61.9%	

Procedure

This study was conducted online through an experimental self-report survey. The duration of the study was about 15 minutes. Study materials were made available through Qualtrics, and Amazon-MTurk participants were given access to a link for the study. The link took participants directly to the study, where they read an informed consent document. The document informed participants of the study's purpose, confidentiality, and that they were expected to read a police report and answer questions about it. The cloud research platform filtered out participants who did not meet eligibility requirements for the study: 18- years or older, no previous participation in the study, proficiency in English, comprehension of the nature of the study, voluntary participation, either racially Black or white, and residence in the United States. Individuals who did not meet study eligibility requirements were thanked for their interest and redirected to a webpage informing them of their ineligibility to participate in the study, as were those who already took part in the study. The survey was programmed to prevent autofilling and multiple responses from the same person, by collecting IP addresses and captcha responses. Participants received \$2 in compensation for their participation in the study.

This study had two parts. The first portion of the study involved random assignment of participants to one of four (bogus) police reports titled, “Criminal Justice Study,” that were identical save for the verbal and physical aggressor’s race (race manipulations). Only men were used as exemplars in the vignettes in this study as the previous study and past PMT studies found that women were not impacted by manhood tenets in the same way and other genders do not aid in the exploration of PMT questions of interest in the current study. The police reports were adapted from Weaver et al.’s (2010) study and detailed a bogus altercation at a bar between two men that involved one man teasing the other as he approached a woman. This study used pictures from the Park Aging Mind Laboratory Face Database (<http://agingmind.utdallas.edu/download-stimuli/face-database/>; Minear & Park, 2004) of either a Black man or a white man (physical aggressor- Steve) and a Black man or a white man (verbal aggressor- Nick) at the top of the report to correspond with each study condition. See Appendix B for the full police report. Once participants reviewed the police report (there was no time limit on the police report frame of the study; however, participants had a total of 50 minutes to complete the entire study), they were taken to the second part of the study where they were presented with four identical measures that assessed the extent to which participants attributed the physical and verbal aggressor’s aggression to internal and external factors, their evaluations of behaviors, aggression acceptability, and recommended consequences (Di Fazio et al., 1997; McAuley et al., 1992; Rayburn et al., 2003; Thelus & Omoto, 2020; Weaver et al., 2010). Most participants completed the study in about 13 minutes.

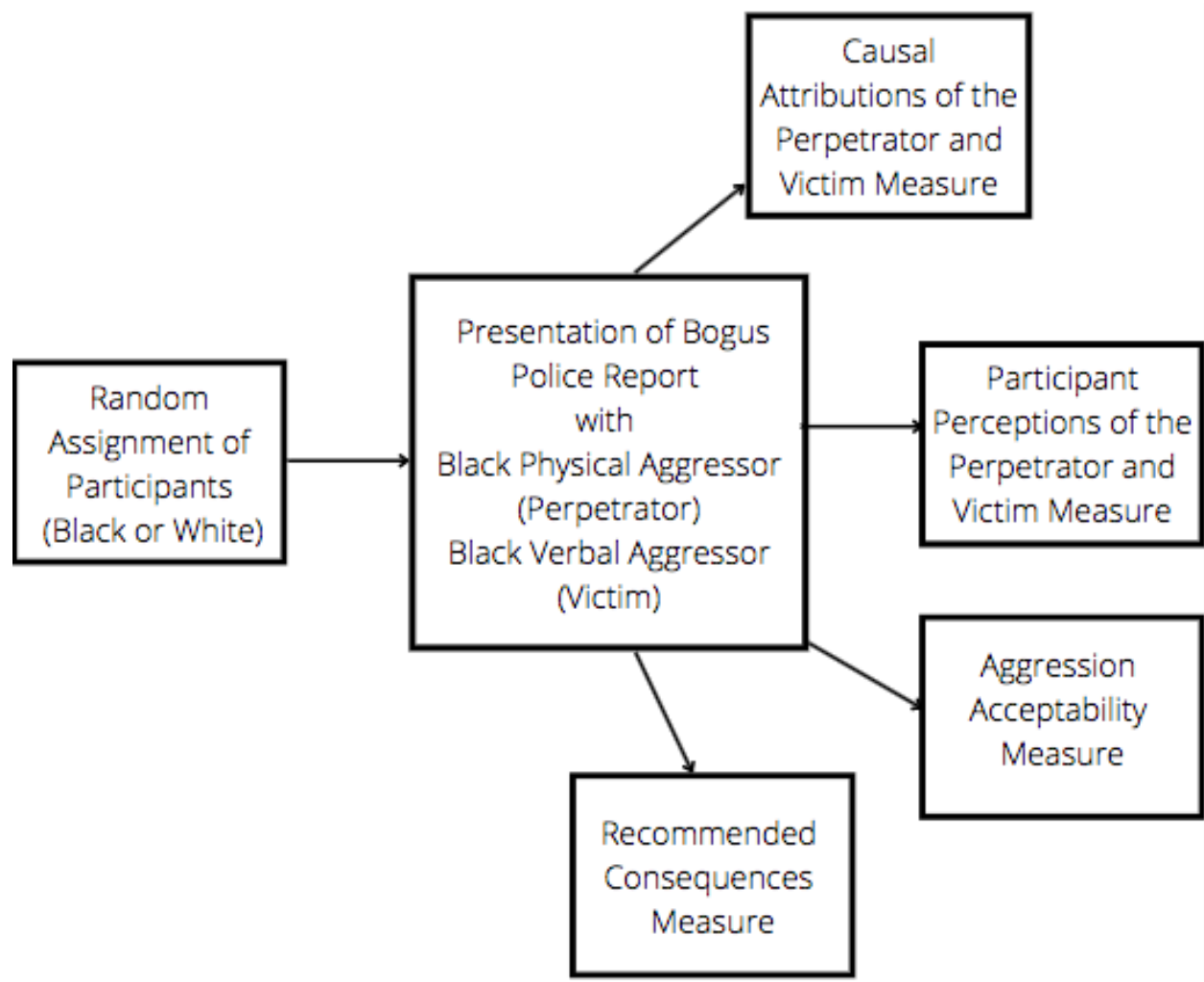


Figure 4. Model of the study design with the Black perpetrator (physical aggressor) and Black victim (verbal aggressor) condition.

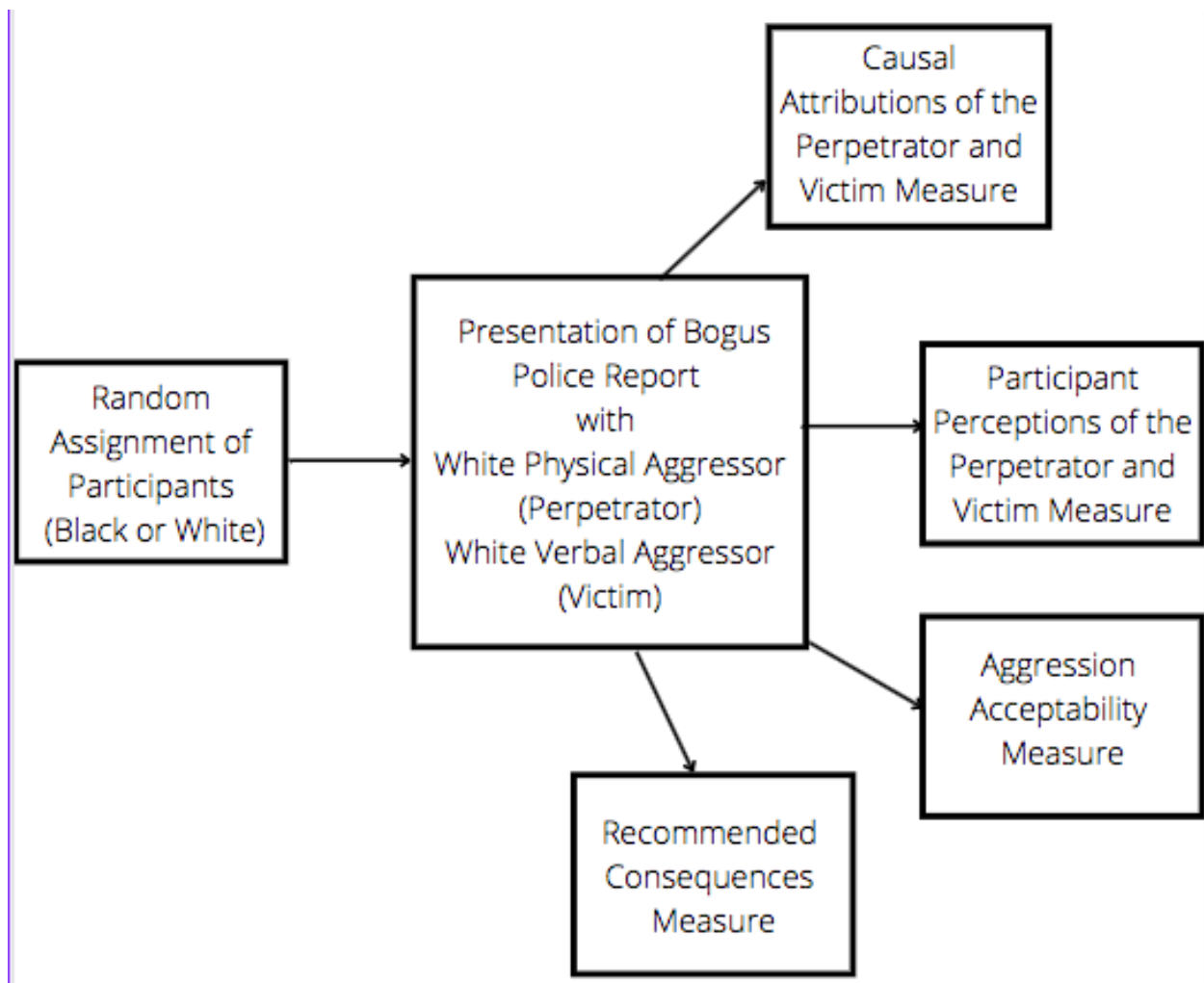


Figure 5. Model of the study design with the white perpetrator (physical aggressor) and white victim (verbal aggressor) condition.

Measures

Please note that the external attribution and internal attribution measures used in Study 1 were removed because the (valence of) causal attributions of the physical aggressor scale captured the same theoretical information of the external attribution and internal attribution measures in one measure and had better reliability than the external attribution and internal attribution measures.

Valence of External Causal Attributions of the Physical Aggressor (Perpetrator) and Verbal Aggressor (Victim). Based on Di Fazio et al. (1997), McAuley et al. (1992) and items developed by the present study's researchers, twenty-two items were used to assess participants' internal and external control dimensions of the perpetrator and victim's behavior. Items included: "The man's behavior reflects an aspect of himself", "The cause of the man's behavior was something inside of himself", "The man is fully responsible for the incident", "The man had power to control over the outcome of the incident", "The man could have regulated the way things developed", "Incidents like these don't take on 'a life of their own'". Participants rated the extent to which the perpetrator and victim's behavior is attributable to these internal and external control dimensions on twenty-two 7-point Likert items (1= *strongly disagree*; 7= *strongly agree*). Lower ratings on this scale indicate higher external attribution. Based on study one, the scale's reliability is $\alpha = .89$. See Appendix D, Section A for complete scale information.

Evaluations of Behavior for Physical Aggressor (Perpetrator) and Verbal Aggressor (Victim). Based on Rayburn et al. (2003), 14 items were used to assess participants' perceptions of the perpetrator and victim. Items included: "violent/nonviolent", "forceful/gentle", "fault/faultless", "unreliable/reliable", "undependable/dependable". Participants rated their perceptions of the perpetrator (Steve) and victim (Nick) on 7-point semantic differential items. This scale has a reliability of $\alpha = .85$ (Rayburn et al., 2003). Higher ratings indicate more positive evaluations. See Appendix D, Section B for complete scale information.

Aggression Acceptability for Physical Aggressor (Perpetrator) and Verbal Aggressor (Victim). Based on Thelus and Omoto's (2020) unpublished manuscript, participants rated nine items with the following stem referencing the police report, "*In general, what do you think about Steve/Nick's behavior in the police report?*" For each of the word-pairs below, please

indicate which word more closely represents what you think about his behavior”. Participants rated the perpetrator and victim’s behavior on 7-point items, with the following anchors: “good/bad”, “reasonable/unreasonable”, “tasteful/distasteful”, “acceptable/unacceptable”, “appropriate/inappropriate”, “justified/unjustified”, “forgivable/unforgivable”, “manly/not manly”, “admirable/not admirable”, Higher ratings on this scale indicate less acceptability. This unadapted scale had a reliability of $\alpha = .93$. See Appendix D, Section C for complete scale information.

Recommended Consequences for Physical Aggressor (Perpetrator) and Verbal Aggressor (Victim). As a second measure of acceptability, based on Thelus and Omoto’s (2020) unpublished manuscript, participants were presented with the following statement: “*Penalties for Nick/Steve are being considered. Please consider each of these statements separately, and rate how much you disagree or agree with the following penalties*”: Participants answered four items about possible consequences for the perpetrator and the victim’s aggression. Each item used a 7-point response format (1= *strongly disagree*; 7= *strongly agree*). Scale items included, “Ban from bar establishment,” “Court authorized penalty of money (fine),” “Community service,” “Criminal charges filed against him.” Higher ratings on this scale indicate endorsement of more severe consequences. This unadapted scale has a reliability of $\alpha = .81$. See Appendix D, Section D for complete scale information.

Demographic Items. Participants answered six demographic questions before they were thanked and debriefed. Specifically, participants were asked to report the following: gender; year of birth; race/ethnicity; sexual orientation; highest level of education; socioeconomic status; regional affiliation.

Results

Data were prepared and cleaned for analyses. Preliminary data analyses involved examination of the data to ensure the data met the assumptions of the general linear model, such as normality of item distribution to determine whether ANOVA could be conducted, and it was determined appropriate to conduct ANOVA on the data. The data's skew, outliers, kurtosis, and homogeneity of variance were also considered to determine if any scale items should be transformed or eliminated. No scale items were transformed or eliminated. Descriptive information for the data was generated, and scale characteristics, including average scores, standard deviations, correlations, and internal consistency of composite measures were reviewed, and determined adequate. Gender was entered as a covariate for analyses on each dependent measure, and it was not significant in any analyses. Data from this study revealed the following internal consistency scores for dependent measures: valence of internal or external causal attributions, $\alpha = .87$; evaluation of behaviors, $\alpha = .95$; aggression acceptability, $\alpha = .91$; and recommended consequences, $\alpha = .75$.

Valence of External Causal Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior (H1).

A 2 (participant race: Black, white) x 2 (physical aggressor race: Black, white) x 2 (verbal aggressor gender: woman, man) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on valence of external causal attributions of physically aggressive behavior to explore hypotheses. Lower ratings on this scale indicate lower external attribution. The analysis revealed the following results.

Main effects. The main effect of participant race on valence of external attributions of physically aggressive behavior was not statistically significant, $F(1, 459) = 1.70, p = .19$ (H1a).

The verbal aggressor's race was not a significant factor in valence of causal attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 459) = 1.56, p = .21$ (H1b).

The main effect of physical aggressor race on valence of causal attribution for the physical aggressor's behavior was statistically significant, $F(1, 459) = 16.16, p < .001, \eta^2 = .034$ (H1c). Participants differed in their causal attributions of the physical aggressor's behavior based on his race ($M = 4.84, SD = 1.18, N = 230$ [Black physical aggressor], $M = 5.16, SD = 1.18, N = 237$ [white physical aggressor]).

Two-way interactions. Three two-way interaction effects of participant race, verbal aggressor race, and physical aggressor race on valence of external causal attributions of physically aggressive behavior were analyzed.

The interaction of participant gender and verbal aggressor gender was not a significant factor in valence of external causal attributions of physical aggression, $F(1, 459) = 2.21, p = .14$ (H1d), nor was the interaction of participant race and physical aggressor race a significant factor in valence of external causal attributions of physical aggression $F(1, 459) = 1.26, p = .26$ (H1e). Additionally, the interaction of verbal aggressor race and physical aggressor race was not a significant factor in causal attributions for the physical aggressor, $F(1, 459) = 1.71, p = .192$ (H1f).

Three-way interaction. The interaction of physical aggressor race, verbal aggressor race, and participant race was not a significant factor in valence of causal attributions for the physical aggressor, $F(1, 459) = .411, p = .522$ (H1g). To provide a complete picture of the data obtained in each cell of the design, see Table 9 below for three-way interaction means and standard deviations.

TABLE 9. Valence of External Causal Attributions of Physically Aggressive Behavior

	Race of Participants	
	Black	White

	Race of Verbal Aggressor			
Race of Physical Aggressor	Black	White	Black	White
Black	4.82 (1.10) N = 51	4.68 (.99) N = 41	5.07 (.75) N = 64	4.81 (.72) N = 74
White	5.06 (.85) N = 39	5.23 (.75) N = 47	5.24 (.64) N = 78	5.08 (.78) N = 73

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

These results suggest that on average, participants viewed Black men's physical aggression as a response to their situational context, whereas participants viewed white men's physical aggression as a dispositional characteristic (H1c). Also, overall, participants causally attributed physically aggressive behaviors similarly, notwithstanding their own racial identity or the verbal aggressor's racial identity (H1a, H1b, H1d, H1e, H1f, H1g).

Evaluations of Behavior for the Physical Aggressor (H2)

A 2 (participant race: Black, white) x 2 (physical aggressor race: Black, white) x 2 (verbal aggressor race: Black, white) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on evaluations of behavior for the physical aggressor to explore hypotheses. Higher ratings on this scale indicate more positive evaluations. The analysis revealed the following results.

Main effects. The main effect of participant race on evaluations of physically aggressive behavior was statistically significant, $F(1, 459) = 9.31, p = .002, \eta^2 = .020$. Black participants ($M = 2.61, SD = 1.69, N = 178$) evaluated physical aggression more positively than white participants ($M = 2.31, SD = 1.33, N = 289$) (H2a).

The verbal aggressor's race was a significant factor in evaluations of physical aggression, $F(1, 459) = 4.22, p = .041, \eta^2 = .009$ (H2b). Participants differed in their evaluations

of the physical aggressor based on the verbal aggressor's race ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 1.52$, $N = 232$ [Black verbal aggressor], $M = 2.56$, $SD = 1.52$, $N = 235$ [white verbal aggressor]).

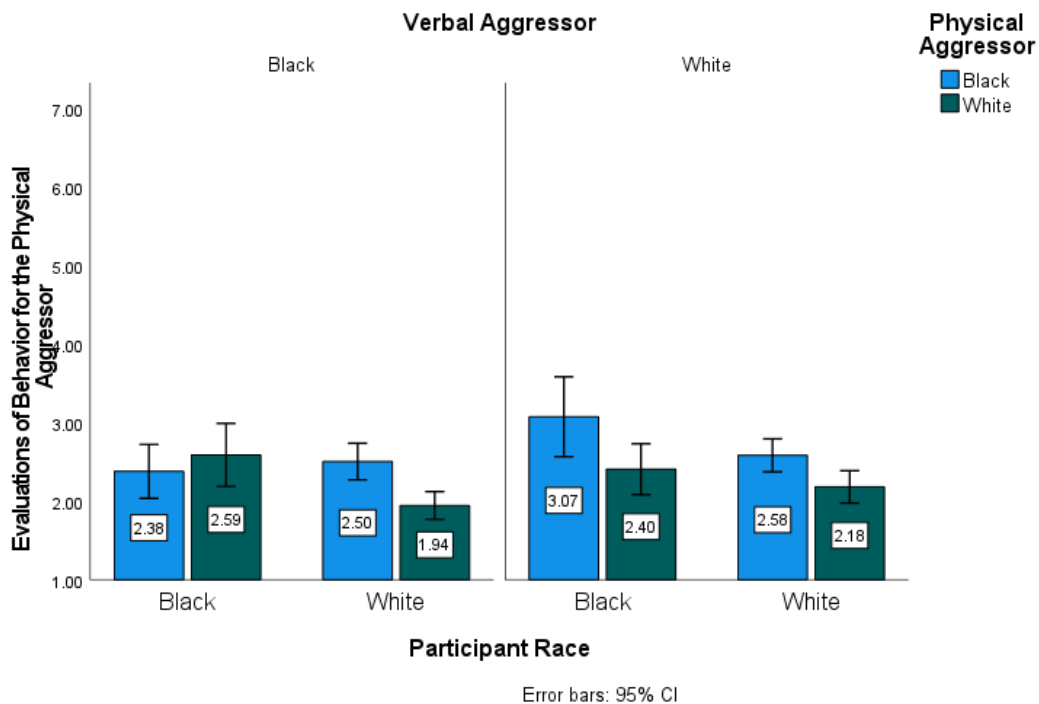
The main effect of physical aggressor race on evaluations of behavior for the physical aggressor was statistically significant, $F(1, 459) = 12.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .026$ (H2c). Participants differed in their evaluations of the physical aggressor based on the physical aggressor's race ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.52$, $N = 230$ [Black physical aggressor], $M = 2.28$, $SD = 1.52$, $N = 237$ [white physical aggressor]).

Two-way interactions. Three two-way interaction effects of participant race, verbal aggressor race, and physical aggressor race on evaluations of behavior for the physical aggressor were analyzed. The interaction of participant race and verbal aggressor race was not a significant factor in evaluations of behavior for the physical aggressor, $F(1, 459) = .236$, $p = .63$ (H2d), nor was the interaction of participant race and physical aggressor race a significant factor in evaluations of behavior for the physical aggressor, $F(1, 459) = 1.56$, $p = .21$ (H2e). Additionally, the interaction of verbal aggressor race and physical aggressor race was not a significant factor in evaluations of the physical aggressor. Participants did not differ in their evaluations of the physical aggressor's behavior based on the verbal aggressor's race and the physical aggressor's race, $F(1, 459) = 3.17$, $p = .076$ (H2f).

Three-way interaction. The interaction of physical aggressor race, verbal aggressor race, and participant race was a significant factor in evaluations of behavior for the physical aggressor: Black and white participants differed in their evaluations of the physical aggressor based on his race, and the verbal aggressor's race, $F(1, 459) = 6.57$, $p = .011$, $\eta^2 = .014$ (H2g) (See figure 6). Simple effects analyses were conducted to identify significant relationships within the three-way interaction.

Figure 6

Evaluations of Behavior for the Physical Aggressor

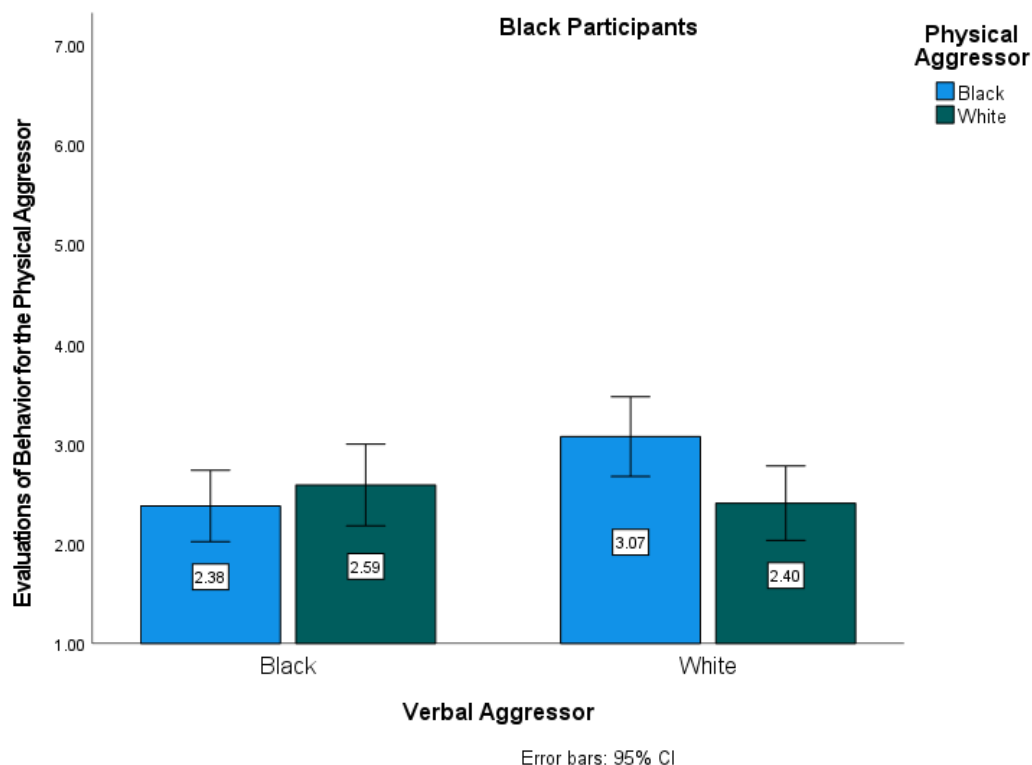


Note. A graph of results for the participant race by verbal aggressor race by physical aggressor race three-way interaction.

Among Black participants, the simple main effect of verbal aggressor race on evaluations of the physical aggressor was not statistically significant, $F(1, 174) = 1.72, p = .191$, the simple main effect of physical aggressor race on evaluations of the physical aggressor was not statistically significant, $F(1, 174) = 1.37, p = .243$, and the simple interaction effect of verbal aggressor race and physical aggressor race on evaluations of the physical aggressor was statistically significant, $F(1, 174) = 5.04, p = .026, \eta^2 = .028$ (See figure 7).

Figure 7

Evaluations of Behavior for the Physical Aggressor

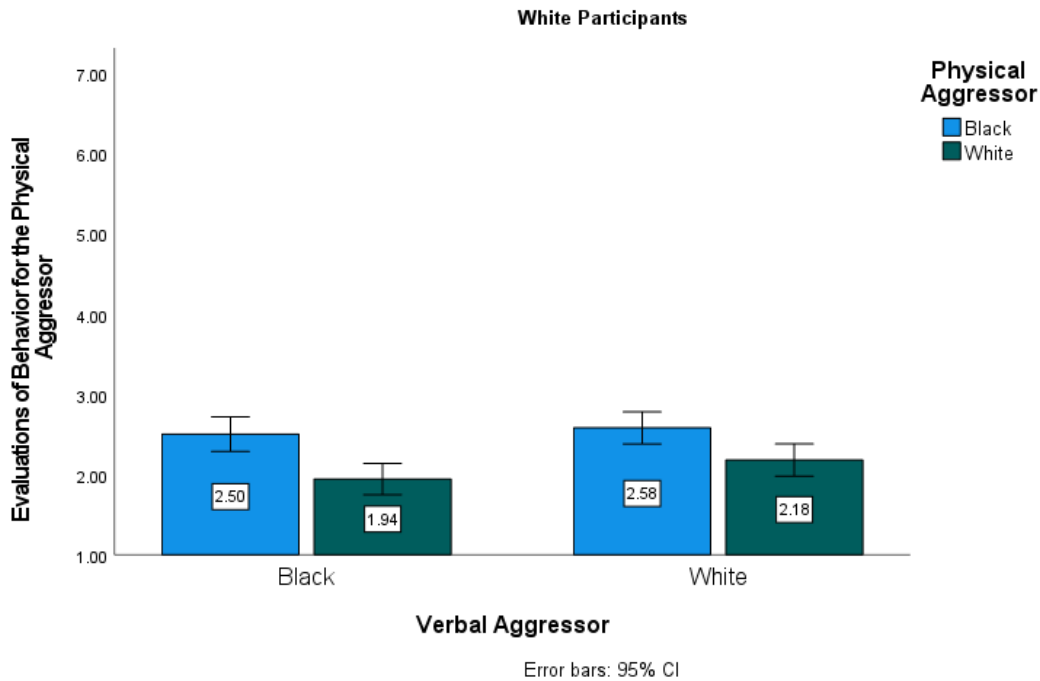


Note. A graph of results for the simple effects for Black participants on the verbal aggressor gender by physical aggressor gender two-way interaction.

Among white participants, the simple main effect of verbal aggressor race on evaluations of the physical aggressor was not statistically significant, $F(1, 285) = 2.35, p = .127$, the simple main effect of physical aggressor race on evaluations of the physical aggressor was statistically significant, $F(1, 285) = 21.65, p < .001, \eta^2 = .071$, and the simple interaction effect of verbal aggressor race and physical aggressor race on evaluations of the physical aggressor was not statistically significant, $F(1, 285) = .588, p = .44$ (See figure 8).

Figure 8

Evaluations of Behavior for the Physical Aggressor



Note. A graph of results for the simple effects for white participants on the verbal aggressor gender by physical aggressor gender two-way interaction.

Specifically, participants consistently endorsed higher ratings for Black physical aggressors compared to white physical aggressors across all conditions, save for the context in which Black participants endorsed lower ratings for the Black physical aggressor when both the physical aggressor and verbal aggressor was Black. See Table 10 below for three-way interaction means and standard deviations.

TABLE 10. Participant Perceptions (Evaluations) of Physically Aggressive Behavior

	Race of Participants	
	Black	White
	Race of Verbal Aggressor	

Race of Physical Aggressor	Black	White	Black	White
Black	2.38 (1.22) N = 51	3.07 (1.61) N = 41	2.50 (.93) N = 64	2.58 (.90) N = 74
White	2.59 (1.23) N = 39	2.40 (1.10) N = 47	1.94 (.78) N = 78	2.18 (.88) N = 73

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

Three-way interaction is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

These results suggest that on average, Black participants have less negative evaluations of physical aggression than white participants (H2a), and participants viewed the Black physical aggressor less negatively than the white physical aggressor (H2c). Additionally, on average, participants viewed the Black verbal aggressor more negatively than the white verbal aggressor (H2b). Lastly, the interaction was strongest for Black participants, which suggests they were more sensitive to the cross-racial context than white participants, as their ratings for the physically aggressive man had pronounced differences based on the verbal and physical aggressor's race (H2g).

Aggression Acceptability for the Physical Aggressor (H3)

A 2 (participant race: Black, white) x 2 (physical aggressor race: Black, white) x 2 (verbal aggressor race: Black, white) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior to explore hypotheses. Higher ratings on this scale indicate lower acceptability. The analysis revealed the following results.

Main effects. The main effect of participant race on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior was statistically significant, $F(1, 459) = 8.31, p = .004, \eta^2 = .018$ (H3a). Black participants ($M = 5.32, SD = 1.78, N = 178$) judged physical aggression as more acceptable than white participants ($M = 5.63, SD = 1.39, N = 289$).

The verbal aggressor's race was a significant factor in aggression acceptability for the physical aggressor, $F(1, 459) = 8.56, p = .004, \eta^2 = .018$ (H3b). Participants differed in their aggression acceptability of the *physical aggressor* based on the verbal aggressor's race ($M = 5.63, SD = 1.61, N = 232$ [Black verbal aggressor], $M = 5.32, SD = 1.61, N = 235$ [white verbal aggressor]).

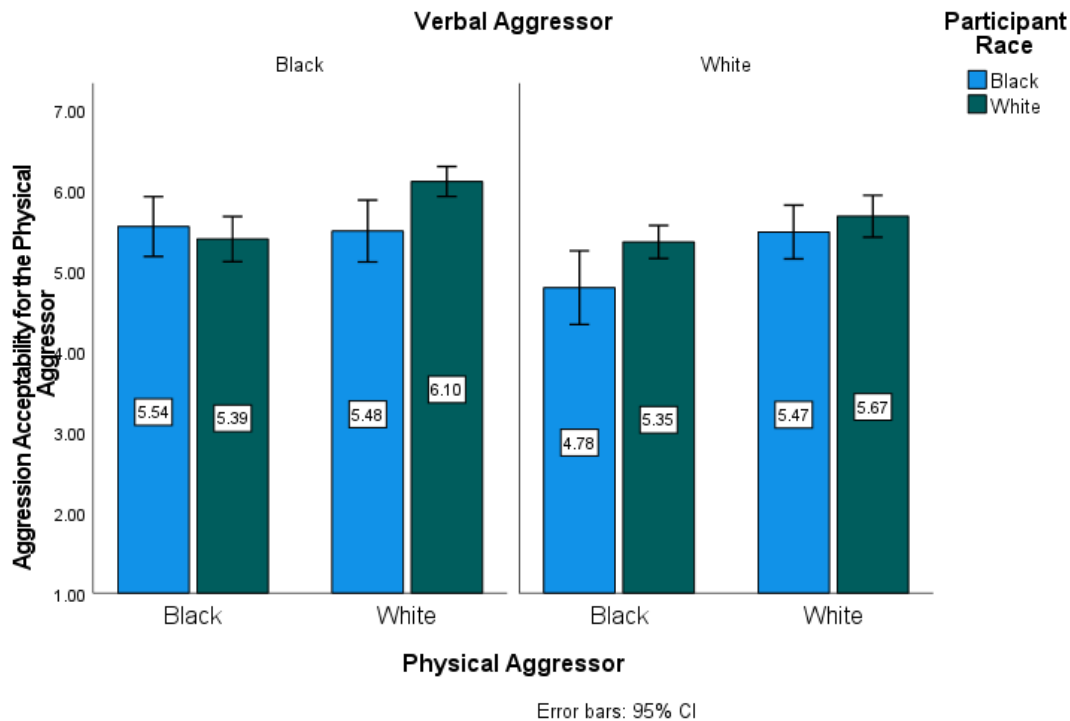
The main effect of physical aggressor race on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior was statistically significant, $F(1, 459) = 15.50, p < .001, \eta^2 = .003$ (H3c). Participants differed in their aggression acceptability of the physical aggressor based on the physical aggressor's race ($M = 5.26, SD = 1.61, N = 230$ [Black physical aggressor], $M = 5.68, SD = 1.61, N = 237$ [white physical aggressor]).

Two-way interactions. Three two-way interaction effects of participant race, verbal aggressor race, and physical aggressor race on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior was analyzed. The interaction of participant race and verbal aggressor race was not a significant factor in aggression acceptability for the physical aggressor's behavior, $F(1, 459) = .508, p = .47$ (H3d). The interaction of participant race and physical aggressor race was not a significant factor in aggression acceptability for the physical aggressor's behavior, $F(1, 459) = .891, p = .35$ (H3e). The interaction of verbal aggressor race and physical aggressor race was not a significant factor in aggression acceptability for the physical aggressor's behavior, $F(1, 459) = .689, p = .41$ (H3f).

Three-way interaction. The interaction of physical aggressor race, verbal aggressor race, and participant race was a significant factor on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior, $F(1, 459) = 7.25, p = .007, \eta^2 = .016$ (H3g) (See figure 9). Simple effects analyses were conducted to identify significant relationships within the three-way interaction.

Figure 9

Aggression Acceptability for the Physical Aggressor

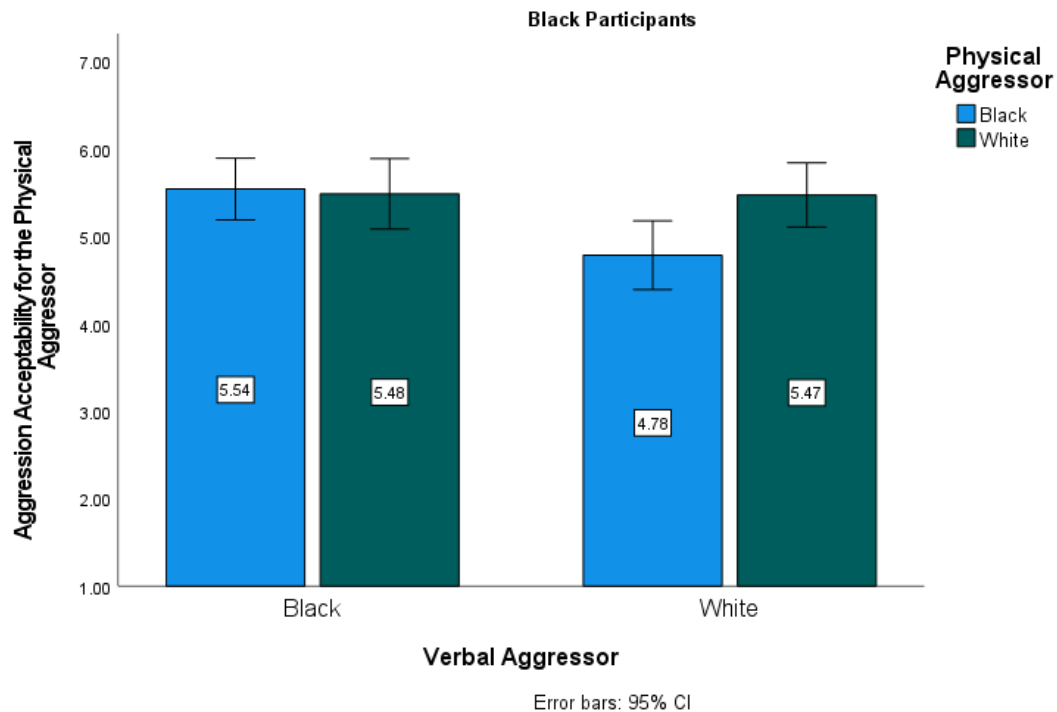


Note. A graph of results for the participant race by verbal aggressor race by physical race three-way interaction.

Among Black participants, the simple main effect of verbal aggressor race on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior was statistically significant, $F(1, 174) = 4.01, p = .047, \eta^2 = .023$, the simple main effect of physical aggressor race on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior was not statistically significant, $F(1, 174) = 2.71, p = .101$, and the simple interaction effect of verbal aggressor race and physical aggressor race on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior was marginally significant, $F(1, 174) = 3.76, p = .054, \eta^2 = .021$ (see figure 10).

Figure 10

Aggression Acceptability for the Physical Aggressor

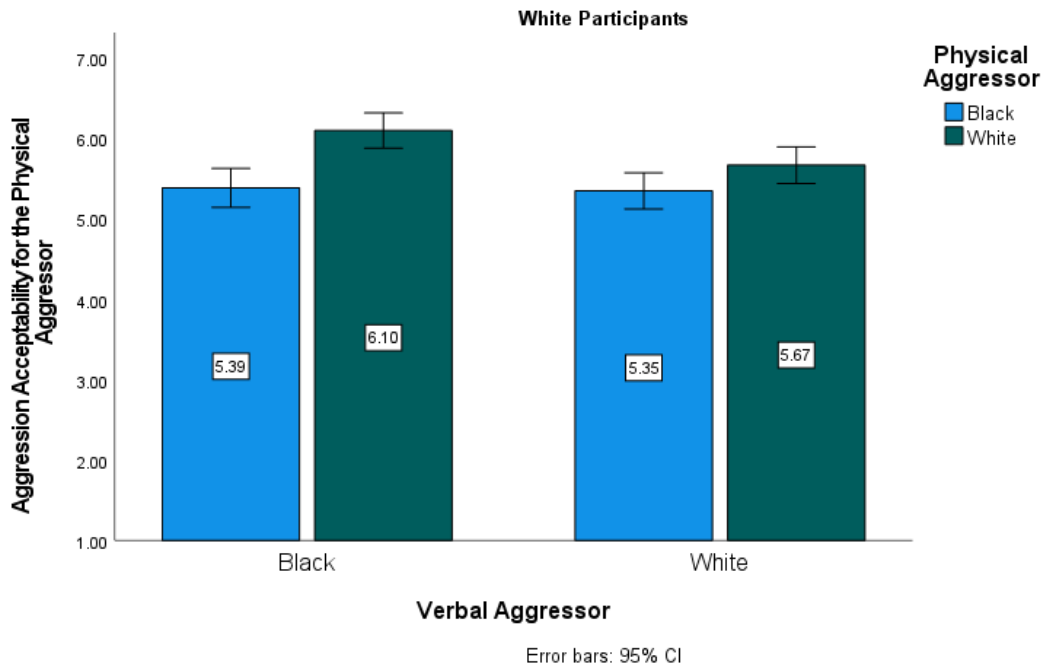


Note. A graph of results for the simple effects for Black participants on the verbal aggressor race by physical aggressor race two-way interaction.

Among white participants, the simple main effect of verbal aggressor race on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior was statistically significant, $F(1, 285) = 4.04$, $p = .045$, $\eta^2 = .014$, the simple main effect of physical aggressor race on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior was statistically significant, $F(1, 285) = 19.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .065$, and the simple interaction effect of verbal aggressor race and physical aggressor race on aggression acceptability for physically aggressive behavior was not statistically significant, $F(1, 285) = 2.87$, $p = .092$ (see figure 11).

Figure 11

Aggression Acceptability for the Physical Aggressor



Note. A graph of results of the simple effects for white participants on the verbal aggressor race by physical aggressor race two-way interaction.

Overall, participants' aggression acceptability ratings were influenced by the verbal aggressor's race and the physical aggressor's race, and results revealed that participants endorsed consistently higher ratings for white physical aggressors compared to Black physical aggressors across all conditions. However, Black participants endorsed higher ratings for the Black physical aggressor when both the physical aggressor and verbal aggressor were Black. Additionally, the verbal aggressor race and physical aggressor race interaction was most pronounced for Black participants, which suggests that Black participants were more sensitive to the cross-racial context compared to white participants. See Table 11 below for three-way interaction means and standard deviations.

TABLE 11. Aggression Acceptability of Physically Aggressive Behavior Three-way Interaction Means and Standard Deviations

	Race of Participants			
	Black		White	
	Race of Verbal Aggressor			
Race of Physical Aggressor	Black	White	Black	White
Black	5.54 (1.32) N = 51	4.78 (1.45) N = 41	5.39 (1.12) N = 64	5.35 (.88) N = 74
White	5.48 (1.18) N = 39	5.47 (1.13) N = 47	6.10 (.82) N =78	5.67 (1.11) N = 73

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

Three-way interaction is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

These results suggest that on average, Black participants found physical aggression more acceptable than white participants (H3a), and participants viewed the Black physical aggressor's behavior as more acceptable than the white physical aggressor's behavior (H3c). Additionally, on average, participants viewed the Black verbal aggressor's behavior as less acceptable than the white verbal aggressor's behavior (H3b). Finally, the interaction was strongest for Black participants, which suggests they were more sensitive to the cross-racial context than white participants, as their ratings for the physically aggressive man had pronounced differences based on the verbal and physical aggressor's race.

Recommended Consequences for the Physical Aggressor (H4)

A 2 (participant race: Black, white) x 2 (physical aggressor race: Black, white) x 2 (verbal aggressor race: Black, white) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on recommended consequences for the physical aggressor to explore hypotheses. Higher ratings on this scale indicate endorsement of more severe consequences. The analysis revealed the following results.

Main effects. The main effect of participant race on recommended consequences for the physical aggressor was statistically significant, $F(1, 459) = 9.91, p = .002, \eta^2 = .021$ (H4a). Black participants ($M = 4.81, SD = 2.14, N = 178$) endorsed less severe consequences than white participants for physical aggression ($M = 5.21, SD = 1.67, N = 289$).

The verbal aggressor's race was not a significant factor in recommended consequences for the physical aggressor, $F(1, 459) = .493, p = .483$ (H4b).

The main effect of physical aggressor race on recommended consequences for the physical aggressor was statistically significant, $F(1, 459) = 12.04, p = .001, \eta^2 = .026$ (H4c). Participants differed in their recommended consequences for the physical aggressor based on the physical aggressor's race ($M = 4.79, SD = 1.91, N = 230$ [Black physical aggressor], $M = 5.23, SD = 1.93, N = 237$ [white physical aggressor]).

Two-way interactions. Three two-way interaction effects of participant race, verbal aggressor race, and physical aggressor race on recommended consequences for the physical aggressor were analyzed. The interaction of participant race and verbal aggressor race was not a significant factor in recommended consequences for the physical aggressor, $F(1, 459) = .071, p = .79$ (H4d). The interaction of participant race and physical aggressor race was not a significant factor in recommended consequences for the physical aggressor, $F(1, 459) = .084, p = .77$ (H4e). The interaction of verbal aggressor race and physical aggressor race was not a significant factor in recommended consequences for the physical aggressor, such that, participants did not differ in their recommended consequences for the physical aggressor's behavior based on the verbal aggressor's race and the physical aggressor's race, $F(1, 459) = .382, p = .537$ (H4f).

Three-way interaction. The interaction of physical aggressor race, verbal aggressor race, and participant race was not statistically significant, $F(1, 459) = .032, p = .859$ (H4g). To provide a

complete picture of the data obtained in each cell of the design, see Table 12 below for three-way interaction means and standard deviations on this dependent measure.

TABLE 12. Recommended Consequences for Physically Aggressive Behavior Three-way Interaction Means and Standard Deviations

	Race of Participants			
	Black		White	
	Race of Verbal Aggressor			
Race of Physical Aggressor	Black	White	Black	White
Black	4.61 (1.54) N = 51	4.54 (1.41) N = 41	4.99 (1.44) N = 64	5.03 (1.25) N = 74
White	5.14 (1.32) N = 39	4.96 (1.35) N = 47	5.49 (1.26) N = 78	5.34 (1.10) N = 73

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

These results suggest that on average, Black participants endorsed less severe consequences than white participants for physical aggression (H4a), and participants had greater agreement with consequences for the physical aggressor's behavior when the physical aggressor was white compared to when the physical aggressor was Black (H4c), however, the verbal aggressor's race did not uniquely contribute to differences in agreement with consequences for the physical aggressor's behavior (H4b).

Discussion

The purpose of Study 2 was to extend the findings generated in Study 1 through examination of the effects that race and gender intersections of participants, verbal aggressor,

and physical aggressor in the bogus police report have on participants' ratings on valence of internal or external causal attributions, evaluation of behaviors, aggression acceptability, and recommended consequences for the verbal and physical aggressor, outside of a university context. This study also included relevant outcome variables used and in and informed by tests conducted in study 1.

Summary of Valence of Causal Attribution for the Physical Aggressor's Behavior results: Study participants tended to causally attribute Black men's physically aggressive response to gender threat more externally, whereas, they causally attributed white men's physically aggressive response to gender threat more internally. These findings do not support predictions, and were mostly inconsistent with what was found in previous studies that considered racial differences (Goff et al., 2008; Hester & Gray, 2018), because participants perceived white physical aggressors as more inherently violent than Black physical aggressors when race was made salient. This suggests race in a multicultural context like the United States is an important factor to consider in PMT, as it can contribute to differences in how people causally attribute the same restorative aggression after an experience with identical gender threat. Past literature suggests Black men's physical aggression would be more internally attributed than white men's aggression, thus this inconsistent finding may be founded on the absence of PMT elements, such as gender threat and gender restoration through physical violence in the Goff et al. (2008) and Hester and Gray (2018) studies. Also, PMT elements can influence people's racialized perceptions in a different way than presentation of Black and white people in a context in which they are not actively instigated and subsequently physically aggressive. Additionally, overall, participants causally attributed physically aggressive behaviors similarly, notwithstanding their own racial identity or the verbal aggressor's racial identity. These results did not support

predictions and were inconsistent with previous studies that consider perceptions of someone based on race and gender intersections, as differences in responses based on these variables were detected in past literature (Eberhardt et al., 2004; Goff et al., 2008; Hester & Gray, 2018). This could also suggest that when the observer's racial identity, the verbal aggressor's racial identity, and the physical aggressor's racial identity, were simultaneously considered from a PMT frame, these factors did not substantially contribute to variations in causal attribution.

Summary of Evaluations of Behavior for the Physical Aggressor results: On average, white participants evaluated physical aggression more negatively than Black participants and participants generally viewed the Black physical aggressor less negatively than the white physical aggressor. These results did not support predictions and are mostly inconsistent with previous literature, as historical accounts detail a number of egregious violent behaviors enacted by white people on Black people, which suggests that white people may be inclined to have less negative leanings toward violence than other groups (DeGue et al., 2016; Hill et al., 2021; Wells-Barnett, 1991). Further, past studies have shown that Black men tended to be viewed more negatively than white men, particularly when nefarious conduct was involved (Eberhardt et al., 2004; Wells-Barnett, 1991). This implies that when the physical aggressor's racial identity is considered from a PMT frame this factor substantially contributes to variations in evaluations of behavior, and less negative evaluations of Black men's physical aggression may be due to expectations of physical aggression from Black masculine bodies, whereas these expectations are not applied in the same way to white masculine bodies. However, supportive of predictions and consistent with past literature, participants viewed the Black verbal aggressor more negatively than the white verbal aggressor (Eberhardt et al., 2004; Wells-Barnett, 1991). From a PMT frame, this implies participants had less negative views of white's men's instigation of violence

compared to Black men. Connectedly, data also slightly indicated that when all racial dynamic combinations are considered, Black physical aggressors are viewed most positively when they are instigated by a white verbal aggressor. Also related, white physical aggressors are viewed most negatively when they are instigated by a white verbal aggressor. These results did not support predictions, however, they are consistent with past literature, as our and others' racial identities shape our perceptions, and enduring stereotypes about Black men conceive them as inherently physically violent, thus such behavior from Black men could be perceived as expected and less shocking, ultimately making it seem less negative (Jefferson, 1788; Orelus, 2010). Further, Black participants had the least negative views of the physical aggressor compared to all other racial dynamic combinations when the physical aggressor was Black and the verbal aggressor was white, and suggests Black participants were more sensitive to the cross-racial context than white participants. These results supported predictions, as people tend to view those with whom they share identities more positively than others (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991). In addition, Black people's engagement with violence is more socially consequential, which may explain this observed distinct sensitivity to a salient cross-racial context that involves violence (DeGue et al., 2016).

Summary of Aggression Acceptability for the Physical Aggressor results: On average, Black participants judged physical aggression as more acceptable than white participants. This result did not support study predictions, however, it may speak to a higher level of internalization among Black people about how threatened manhood in an American social context, for which there is a standard of aggression, is most effectively restored (Vandello et al., 2008). Also, participants generally viewed the Black physical aggressor's behavior as more acceptable than the white physical aggressor's behavior. This result did not support study predictions, however, it

may speak to social and internal beliefs about Black men's inherent rage/violence, thus aggressive behavior performed by a Black man is less appalling and more acceptable than if performed by a white man (Jefferson, 1788; Orelus, 2010). This is also a reiteration of the differences in impact racial factors can have on people's perceptions of physical aggression in a PMT context. Additionally, on average, participants viewed the Black verbal aggressor's behavior as less acceptable than the white verbal aggressor's behavior. This result was consistent with study predictions and was consistent with past literature in which disrespect from a Black body, particularly when it is not instigated could be viewed as absolutely unacceptable, and should be avoided because it can result in magnified consequences (DeGue et al., 2016; Hill et al., 2021). Relatedly, the finding of Black participants' notably less acceptability of physical aggression when the verbal aggressor and physical aggressor were both Black did not support study predictions. However, this finding may be explained by Black people's potentially increased sensitivity to violent contexts in which race is salient, due to the history of aggression against Black people by members of and approximate to dominant culture. This sensitivity may be particularly activated for Black people when they view a Black person enact aggression against another Black person due to their varying degrees of experience with racialized historical violence (DeGue et al., 2016; Hill et al., 2021; Wells-Barnett, 1991). These results imply that degree of acceptability for verbal aggression can vary when race is considered in a PMT context.

These results also suggest that when all racial dynamic combinations are compared, participants shared the same level of acceptance for the Black physical aggressor regardless of whether the verbal aggressor was Black or white. This result did not support predictions and is inconsistent with past literature, as it could be viewed as more egregious for a Black man to be physically violent with a white man than with another Black man (Jefferson, 1788; Wells-

Barnett, 1991). This could also suggest that when the verbal aggressor's racial identity and the physical aggressor's racial identity were considered from a PMT frame, these factors did not substantially contribute to variations in aggression acceptability. Further, white participants found the physical aggressor's behavior least acceptable compared to all other racial dynamic combinations when physical aggressor was white and the verbal aggressor was Black. This result did not support study predictions, but can be related back to increased public consciousness about racial dynamics and tensions (Hill et al., 2021). Comparatively, Black participants found the physical aggressor's behavior most acceptable compared to all other racial dynamic combinations when physical aggressor was Black and the verbal aggressor was white. This result was consistent with predictions and was consistent with literature, as people are likely to have positive sentiments toward others with whom they share identities (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007). Further, this result also implies that when the observer's racial identity, the verbal aggressor's racial identity, and the physical aggressor's racial identity, were considered from a PMT frame, these factors substantially contributed to variations in aggression acceptability.

Summary of Recommended Consequences for the Physical Aggressor results: On average, white participants had greater agreement with consequences for physical aggression than Black participants. This result supports study predictions and is reflective of historical accounts related to white people's application of harsh repercussions for behaviors they deem inappropriate (Hill et al., 2021; Wells-Barnett, 1991). Participants also had greater agreement with consequences for the physical aggressor's behavior when the physical aggressor was white compared to when the physical aggressor was Black, however, participants had similar degrees of agreement with consequences for the verbal aggressor's behavior. These results were inconsistent with study predictions, but consistent with current public consciousness about race

relations in the United States, particularly regarding physically aggressive behavior (DeGue et al., 2016; Hill et al., 2021). This is also a reiteration of the differences in impact racial factors can have on people's views of physical aggression in a PMT context. These results also suggest that when all racial dynamic combinations were compared, participants had similar degrees of agreement with consequences for the physical aggressor's behavior regardless of the physical aggressor's race and the verbal aggressor's race. Further, when all racial dynamic combinations are considered, Black and white participants had similar degrees of agreement with consequences for the physical aggressor's behavior based on the physical aggressor's race and the verbal aggressor's race. These results did not support study predictions and were inconsistent with past literature that suggests people are likely to endorse consequences differently based on their race and the race of the person engaging in physical violence (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007; DeGue et al., 2016; Eberhardt et al., 2004; Goff et al., 2008; Hester & Gray, 2018; Hill et al., 2021).

Limitations and Future Directions

Study 2 is self-report, which creates the opportunity for participants to answer questions dishonestly. This also raises concerns for the amount of time participants took to attentively read the mock police report and use information from the police report complete subsequent scales. Additionally, there may be ecological validity concerns, as the photos used in the mock police report did not show any sign of physical injury on the men who were physically assaulted. Future studies may consider observational techniques to gain data on people's views about aggression in such a context and include photos of a man with physical injury to represent the individual who was physically assaulted in the mock police report.

CHAPTER 4

General Discussion and Implications

The study of PMT with an intersectional approach allows for a more nuanced understanding of masculine norms, expressions, and perceived aggressiveness that can benefit both literatures. As demonstrated in the current research, the PMT literature benefits from an intersectional approach because it allows for deeper understanding of PMT concepts and findings. Additionally, an intersectional frame on PMT research provides a framework with which PMT can be explored for various expressions of masculinity that could be expanded beyond Black and white races. Relatedly, Intersectional literature benefits from a PMT frame through the consideration of gender threat as an intersectional construct that combines with men's race and gender as well as cultural, political, and historical context, which contributes to men's lived experiences. Findings from this study suggest that race is a significant contributing factor in how men's identical physically aggressive behavior as a function of restoration of manhood can be viewed differently and believed to deserve varying consequences. As enduring stereotypes about Black men's conception as hypermasculine and this study's findings may suggest: Black men are expected to be physically aggressive, and thus are viewed more positively when they engage in such behavior, whereas such brutish behavior may not be as expected of white men, thus white men's engagement with such behavior may induce increased negative response, as it could be perceived as more shocking (Eberhardt et al., 2004; Irby, 2014; Orelus, 2010; Staples, 1982).

Study 2 findings may also suggest a paradox in PMT when race of Black and white men is made salient. Black men's masculinity can be understood as experienced and perceived as more precarious than white men's masculinity because Black men in America are not afforded the same social access to dominant culture's conceptualizations of manhood as white men. In

many instances, Black men have endured negative consequences for their real or imagined embodiment and possession of strength, power, status, affluence, and occupational success (Bush & Bush, 2018; Hill et al., 2021; Katz, 1995; Staples, 1982; Vandello et al., 2008). In some cases, Black men have opted to mute such masculine expressions in an effort to protect themselves (Bush & Bush, 2018; Crisp & Hewstone, 2007; Majors, 1993; Stone & Cooper, 2001; Sudarkasa, 1980), which could contribute to an internal experience of hyper-precarious masculinity (compared to white men) and others perceiving Black men's masculinity as hyper-precarious. Previous research has found that both men and women hold precarious manhood beliefs (Vandello et al., 2008). These beliefs can influence how people react to someone's aggression when they are aware that the aggression followed a gender-threat. Along this line of thought, should someone's masculinity be perceived as hyper-precarious (Black men), the expectation that they will engage in aggression to restore their masculinity and their perceived entitlement to do so may be higher as well. Thus, someone who is believed to embody hyper-precarious masculinity (Black men) may garner less negative reactions to their aggression, particularly in a cross-racial gender threat context with white men. Another possibility is that someone who is highly expected to respond aggressively to gender threat may not receive a balanced reaction because such behavior may be viewed as an enduring characteristic rather than a response to a threatening environment or an isolated event.

Application of Cole's (2009) intersectional approach to psychological research on PMT produces research questions, design, and methods that more appropriately examine the implications of cultural, political, and historical context on men's race and gender. For example, a research study that is interested in deeper exploration of how the combination of a man's gender and race influences the ways in which his aggressive behaviors are perceived could use

cultural, historical, and political context to inform hypotheses as well as to design study manipulations. Other social categorical variables such as class, age, and height might be considered in PMT research to provide a more nuanced understanding of how a man's level of masculinity is perceived, and range of aggressive behaviors that are perceived as acceptable or unacceptable when gender intersects with these other social categories.

Research conducted from an intersectional frame can broaden the interpretation of research outcomes, which may also broaden the extent to which research insights can be applied. For example, because intersectional research more accurately captures how people exist in the world with their identity intersections compared to traditional psychological research, the insights gained from such research can be used to more appropriately inform policy, programs, interventions, and trainings. Thus, explicit consideration of people's identity intersections and what they symbolically represent in greater societal context, can enhance how PMT research is approached, how data is analyzed, and how results are interpreted (Cole, 2009).

Appreciation of the multiple social identities that people embody, the structural advantages or disadvantages people experience, and the social, cultural, and political history that their social identities represent in PMT research can help to enrich explanations for how people perceive men's aggression when race is made salient. For instance, such an approach could be applied to the Exonerated Five and Brock Allen Turner high-profile sexual violence cases to explain contrasts between the response and consequences that ensued for these cases. The intersection of the Exonerated Five's race, gender, and class (four Black boys and one Latinx boy, mostly from low socioeconomic status), and the intersection of Brock Allen Turner's race, gender, and class (white man from high socioeconomic status), influenced how society perceived them, the narratives constructed about them, and the legal consequences they received.

The Exonerated Five were not viewed as boys, although most were children- the combined social categories of their gender, Blackness, Latinxness, and overall socioeconomic status, resulted in them being wrongly convicted, disrespected, abused, manipulated, framed, and sentenced for a crime they did not commit. Whereas Brock Allen Turner's combined social categories, of man, whiteness, and affluence, resulted in sympathy for his actions, concern for his future, and a light sentence for a crime he committed by the judge that presided over his case. These sexual violence cases also exemplify how intersectionality in PMT can be used in the legal space to promote fair practice in courtroom decisions. For example, processes such as judges and jurors' active engagement with the possibility that their expectations about people's behaviors might be influenced by stereotypes about race, gender, and class, etc., could be institutionalized during courtroom procedure. In addition, judges could be required to complete training with a specific component on intersectionality and discrimination to potentially reduce the likelihood of their perpetuation of systemic injustice. Legal policies could also be revisited to ensure that they account for people's identity intersections, to have language that more accurately reflects and considers people's lived experiences and nuances that influence how people perceive others.

The integration of Intersectionality in PMT research can also enhance policy and practice to effect social change beyond the legal space. Particularly pertinent in modern social context are the issues of police brutality and misconduct, as well as antiracism and diversity, equity and inclusion trainings. Psychological research that integrates Intersectionality and PMT can provide people who work in the police system and various industries with policy, training, and accountability that is more deeply informed, which can potentially result in less structural racism and discrimination. Policies, training, and accountability that are more deeply informed by PMT

infused with Intersectionality can be applied in similar ways to other domains such as education, social services, and online (e.g. algorithms).

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(Study 1) Appendix A- Full Police Report that was presented to Participants (Adapted from Weaver et al., 2010)

Note: Participants will see what appears to be an actual State Domestic Incident Report, describing a confrontation at a bar between two men.

Narrative of the Incident (Include Results of Investigation and Basis for Action Taken):

Officer got a call at approximately 10:45 pm from the bartender at [name removed], claiming that a fight had broken out in the bar. Suspect was being restrained. Officer arrived to find subjects separated and calm after bouncers had separated and restrained them. Compl (victim) had a black eye and split lip, and stated that the suspect had punched him/her twice in the face. Victim desired prosecution. Suspect arrested at the scene. To be processed.

Statement from the Victim (Nick/Sarah) at the Time of the Incident:

I'm standing in the bar with some friends of mine when this guy/girl shows up. We're about 10 feet away from the bar where he's/she's standing. I can see he's/she's trying to hit on this girl/guy at the bar. It's so obvious. So my buddies and I are watching this, doing kind of a running commentary. So I decide it would be funny to go up between them when he's/she's about to make his move and stand and order a drink. He/She gets all pissed off and accuses me of trying to move in on his/her action. So I just said something about how she wasn't interested in him/her anyway. And as I'm turning to walk away, he/she punched me in the face twice. I didn't even have time to react. He/She also kicked me in the stomach when I fell to the ground. I think my lip needs stitches. And I think my cheekbone may be broken too.

Statement from the Suspect (Perpetrator) (Steve/Ashley) at the Time of the Incident:

I was standing at the bar about 10:30 talking to this girl/guy I had just met. I thought she/he was pretty cute. The bar was pretty crowded at that point. I had had a couple of drinks, but it wasn't like I was so drunk I didn't know what I was doing. This guy/girl comes up to me and steps right in front of me when I was talking to the woman/man. So I said "excuse me, I'm having a conversation." He/She says, "doesn't look like it." Then he/she turns to a group of people and says loudly something like, "looks like this loser just struck out." At that point, the crowd around me started egging me on. Somebody said, "are you going to just stand there and take that from him/her?" So, I just impulsively threw a punch or two, and he/she fell to the floor.

Officer: Did you kick him on the floor?

Yeah, I might have given him a kick. It was all really fast.

(Study 2) Appendix B- Full Police Report that was presented to Participants (Adapted from Weaver et al., 2010)

Note: Participants will see what appears to be an actual State Domestic Incident Report, describing a confrontation at a bar between two men.

Narrative of the Incident (Include Results of Investigation and Basis for Action Taken):

Officer got a call at approximately 10:45 pm from the bartender at [name removed], claiming that a fight had broken out in the bar. Suspect was being restrained. Officer arrived to find subjects separated and calm after bouncers had separated and restrained them. Compl (victim) had a black eye and split lip, and stated that the suspect had punched him twice in the face. Victim desired prosecution. Suspect arrested at the scene. To be processed.

Statement from the Victim (Nick) at the Time of the Incident:

I'm standing in the bar with some friends of mine when this guy shows up. We're about 10 feet away from the bar where he's standing. I can see he's trying to hit on this girl at the bar. It's so obvious. So my buddies and I are watching this, doing kind of a running commentary. So I decide it would be funny to go up between them when he's about to make his move and stand and order a drink. He gets all pissed off and accuses me of trying to move in on his action. So I just said something about how she wasn't interested in him anyway. And as I'm turning to walk away, he punched me in the face twice. I didn't even have time to react. He also kicked me in the stomach when I fell to the ground. I think my lip needs stitches. And I think my cheekbone may be broken too.

Statement from the Suspect (Perpetrator) (Steve) at the Time of the Incident:

I was standing at the bar about 10:30 talking to this girl I had just met. I thought she was pretty cute. The bar was pretty crowded at that point. I had had a couple of drinks, but it wasn't like I was so drunk I didn't know what I was doing. This guy comes up to me and steps right in front of me when I was talking to the woman. So I said "excuse me, I'm having a conversation." He says, "doesn't look like it." Then he turns to a group of people and says loudly something like, "looks like this loser just struck out." At that point, the crowd around me started egging me on. Somebody said, "are you going to just stand there and take that from him?" So, I just impulsively threw a punch or two, and he fell to the floor.

Officer: Did you kick him on the floor?

Yeah, I might have given him a kick. It was all really fast.

(Study 1) Appendix C- Study Instruments

- A. Participant Internal or External Attributions of the Perpetrator (Physical Aggressor) and Victim (Verbal Aggressor)**
- B. Valence of External Causal Attributions of the Perpetrator (Physical Aggressor) and Victim (Verbal Aggressor)**
- C. Participant Perceptions (Evaluations) of the Perpetrator (Physical Aggressor) and Victim (Verbal Aggressor)**
- D. Aggression Acceptability for the Perpetrator (Physical Aggressor) and Victim (Verbal Aggressor)**
- E. Recommended Consequences for the Perpetrator (Physical Aggressor) and Victim (Verbal Aggressor)**
- F. Demographic Items**

Please answer the following items about Steve/Ashley:

A: PARTICIPANT INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL ATTRIBUTIONS

In general, what do you think about Steve/Ashley's; Nick/Sarah's behavior as detailed in the police report?

The response scale will be a 7-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= very much).

1. How much of his behavior was due to being provoked by the other man?
2. How much of his behavior was due to the crowd around him?
3. How much of his behavior was due to the presence of the woman?
4. How much of his behavior was due to the Nick publicly insulting him?
5. How much of his behavior was due to his own immaturity?
6. How much of his behavior was due to the kind of person he is typically?
7. How much of his behavior was due to his failure to think through his actions?
8. How much of his behavior was due to his hot temper?

B: VALENCE OF EXTERNAL CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS OF THE (PERPETRATOR/VICTIM)

In general, what do you think about Steve/Ashley's; Nick/Sarah's behavior as detailed in the police report?

The response scale will be a 7-point Likert scale (1= strongly disagree, 7= strongly agree).

1. The woman's/man's behavior reflects an aspect of him/herself.

2. The cause of the woman's/man's behavior was something inside of him/herself.
3. The woman's/ man's behavior was due to something inside of her/himself.
4. The woman's/man's behavior reflects his/her true self.
5. The woman/man is fully responsible for the incident.
6. The woman/man is an aggressive person.
7. The woman/man had control over the situation.
8. The woman/man could have avoided the incident.
9. The woman/man could have regulated her/his behavior.
10. The woman/man should be held fully accountable for the incident.
11. The outcome of this encounter was a result of (Steve/Ashley/Nick/Sarah's) personality.
12. The man/woman was psychologically disturbed.
13. The woman/man had power to control the outcome of the incident.
14. The woman/man could have regulated the way things developed.
15. The woman/man could have managed the incident.
16. The woman/man should have anticipated how things would turn out.
17. The situation was in the woman's/man's control.
18. Incidents like these don't take on "a life of their own.
19. Once it started, the confrontation was avoidable.
20. Alcohol was not a major cause of the way this incident developed.
21. Society is not responsible for much of the aggression in people's lives.
22. Provocation is not the cause of many such incidents.

**C: PARTICIPANT PERCEPTIONS (EVALUATIONS) OF THE
(PERPETRATOR/VICTIM)**

In general, what do you think about Steve/Ashley's; Nick/Sarah's behavior as detailed in the police report? For each of the word-pairs below, please indicate which word more closely represents what you think about Steve/Ashley's; Nick/Sarah's behavior.

Steve/Ashley's; Nick/Sarah's behavior is...

1. violent __: __: __: __: __: __: __ nonviolent
2. gentle __: __: __: __: __: __: __ forceful
3. maniacal __: __: __: __: __: __: __ sane
4. good natured __: __: __: __: __: __: __ vicious
5. malicious __: __: __: __: __: __: __ kind
6. blameless __: __: __: __: __: __: __ blameworthy
7. fault __: __: __: __: __: __: __ faultless
8. harmful __: __: __: __: __: __: __ harmless
9. hurtful __: __: __: __: __: __: __ innocuous
10. responsible __: __: __: __: __: __: __ irresponsible
11. careful __: __: __: __: __: __: __ reckless
12. conscientious __: __: __: __: __: __: __ careless
13. reliable __: __: __: __: __: __: __ unreliable
14. dependable __: __: __: __: __: __: __ undependable

D: AGGRESSION ACCEPTABILITY (FOR THE PERPETRATOR AND VICTIM)

In general, what do you think about Steve/Ashley's; Nick/Sarah's behavior as detailed in the police report? For each of the word-pairs below, please indicate which word more closely represents what you think about Steve/Ashley's; Nick/Sarah's behavior.

Steve/Ashley's; Nick/Sarah's behavior is...

1. "good __: __: __: __: __: __: __ bad"
2. "reasonable __: __: __: __: __: __: __ unreasonable"
3. "tasteful __: __: __: __: __: __: __ distasteful"
4. "acceptable __: __: __: __: __: __: __ unacceptable"
5. "appropriate __: __: __: __: __: __: __ inappropriate"
6. "justified __: __: __: __: __: __: __ unjustified"
7. "forgivable __: __: __: __: __: __: __ unforgivable"
8. "manly __: __: __: __: __: __: __ not manly"
9. "admirable __: __: __: __: __: __: __ not admirable"

E: RECOMMENDED CONSEQUENCES FOR (THE PERPETRATOR AND VICTIM)

Penalties for Steve/Ashley; Nick/Sarah are being considered.

Please consider each of these statements separately, and rate how much you disagree or agree with the following penalties:

(Each item will be on a 7-point scale (1= strongly disagree, 7= strongly agree). The items include):

1. Ban from bar establishment

2. Court authorized penalty of money (fine)
3. Community service
4. Criminal charges filed against him

F: DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS

1. What is your gender? (1= Man, 2= Woman, 3= Not Listed)
2. What is your age group? (1= 18-30, 2= 31-50; 3= 51-70; 4= 71-90; 5= 90+)
3. What is your race/ethnicity (1= African-descent, 2= Asian, 3= European-descent, 4= Hispanic/Latinx, 5= Native American, 6= Not Listed)
4. What is your sexual orientation? (1= Heterosexual, 2= Homosexual, 3= Queer, 4= Not Listed)
5. What is your highest level of education? (1= Elementary school, 2= Middle school, 3= High school, 4= 2-Year College Degree, 5= 4-year College Degree, 6= Graduate Degree, 7= Other)
6. What is your current socioeconomic status? (1= Lower class, 2= Working class, 3= Middle class, 4= Upper-middle class, 5= Upper Class)
7. What is your regional affiliation? (1= Northeast, 2= Southwest, 3= West, 4= Southeast, 5= Midwest).

(Study 2) Appendix D- Study Instruments

- A. Valence of External Causal Attributions of the Perpetrator (Physical Aggressor) and Victim (Verbal Aggressor)**
- B. Participant Perceptions of the Perpetrator (Physical Aggressor) and Victim (Verbal Aggressor)**
- C. Aggression Acceptability for the Perpetrator (Physical Aggressor) and Victim (Verbal Aggressor)**
- D. Recommended Consequences for the Perpetrator (Physical Aggressor) and Victim (Verbal Aggressor)**
- E. Demographic Items**



Please answer the following items about Steve and Nick:

A: CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS OF THE (PERPETRATOR/VICTIM)

In general, what do you think about Steve/Nick's behavior as detailed in the police report?

The response scale will be a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

1. The man's behavior reflects an aspect of him/herself.
2. The cause of the man's behavior was something inside of himself.
3. The man's behavior was due to something inside of himself.
4. The man's behavior reflects his true self.
5. The man is fully responsible for the incident.
6. The man is an aggressive person.
7. The man had control over the situation.
8. The man could have avoided the incident.
9. The man could have regulated her/his behavior.
10. The man should be held fully accountable for the incident.

11. The outcome of this encounter was a result of (Steve/Nick's) personality.
12. The man was psychologically disturbed.
13. The man had power to control over the outcome of the incident.
14. The man could have regulated the way things developed.
15. The man could have managed the incident.
16. The man should have anticipated how things would turn out.
17. The situation was in the man's control.
18. Incidents like these don't take on "a life of their own.
19. Once it started, the confrontation was avoidable.
20. Alcohol was not a major cause of the way this incident developed.
21. Society is not responsible for much of the aggression in people's lives.
22. Provocation is not the cause of many such incidents.

**B: PARTICIPANT PERCEPTIONS (EVALUATIONS) OF THE
(PERPETRATOR/VICTIM)**

In general, what do you think about Steve/Nick's behavior as detailed in the police report? For each of the word-pairs below, please indicate which word more closely represents what you think about Steve/Nick's behavior.

Steve/Nick's behavior is...

1. violent __: __: __: __: __: __: __ nonviolent
2. gentle __: __: __: __: __: __: __ forceful
3. maniacal __: __: __: __: __: __: __ sane
4. good natured __: __: __: __: __: __: __ vicious
5. malicious __: __: __: __: __: __: __ kind
6. blameless __: __: __: __: __: __: __ blameworthy
7. fault __: __: __: __: __: __: __ faultless
8. harmful __: __: __: __: __: __: __ harmless
9. hurtful __: __: __: __: __: __: __ innocuous
10. responsible __: __: __: __: __: __: __ irresponsible
11. careful __: __: __: __: __: __: __ reckless
12. conscientious __: __: __: __: __: __: __ careless
13. reliable __: __: __: __: __: __: __ unreliable
14. dependable __: __: __: __: __: __: __ undependable

C: AGGRESSION ACCEPTABILITY (FOR THE PERPETRATOR AND VICTIM)

In general, what do you think about Steve/Nick's behavior as detailed in the police report? For each of the word-pairs below, please indicate which word more closely represents what you think about Steve/Nick's behavior.

Steve/Nick's behavior is...

1. "good ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ bad"
2. "reasonable ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ unreasonable"
3. "tasteful ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ distasteful"
4. "acceptable ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ unacceptable"
5. "appropriate ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ inappropriate"
6. "justified ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ unjustified"
7. "forgivable ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ unforgivable"
8. "manly ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ not manly"
9. "admirable ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___: ___ not admirable"

D: RECOMMENDED CONSEQUENCES FOR (THE PERPETRATOR AND VICTIM)

Penalties for Steve/Nick are being considered.

Please consider each of these statements separately, and rate how much you disagree or agree with the following penalties:

(Each item will be on a 7-point scale (1= strongly disagree, 7= strongly agree). The items include):

1. Ban from bar establishment
2. Court authorized penalty of money (fine)
3. Community service
4. Criminal charges filed against him

E: DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS

1. What is your gender? (1= Man, 2= Woman, 3= Not Listed)
2. What is your age group? (1= 18-30, 2= 31-50; 3= 51-70; 4= 71-90; 5= 90+)
3. What is your race/ethnicity (1= African-descent, 2= Asian, 3= European-descent, 4= Hispanic/Latinx, 5= Native American, 6= Not Listed)
4. What is your sexual orientation? (1= Heterosexual, 2= Homosexual, 3= Queer, 4= Not Listed)
5. What is your highest level of education? (1= Elementary school, 2= Middle school, 3= High school, 4= 2-Year College Degree, 5= 4-year College Degree, 6= Graduate Degree, 7= Other)
6. What is your current socioeconomic status? (1= Lower class, 2= Working class, 3= Middle class, 4= Upper-middle class, 5= Upper Class)

7. What is your regional affiliation? (1= Northeast, 2= Southwest, 3= West, 4= Southeast, 5= Midwest).