Lines in the Shifting Sand
The Implications of Being Tolerated

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Chapter 1

Synthesis

Introduction

In the first week of my new job, I came out to my colleagues. I had no reason to hide my gender identity in the Netherlands, widely considered to be especially tolerant of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer (LGBTQ+) people. I told my colleagues that I am nonbinary, meaning that I do not identify with being a man or a woman, and to refer to me with the singular pronoun "they" (e.g., "They drink their coffee black"). People seemed confused, but nobody protested. I got along adequately well with my co-workers and experienced freedom in my gender expression, but a steady stream of misgendering and omission over the next four years made it clear that my being nonbinary was not something considered normal or valued enough to be taken into others' consideration when addressing me. Still, nobody showed me any hostility or ill-will. I didn't feel fully accepted for who I was, but nor did I feel fully rejected or excluded. In short, I felt I was tolerated. As my research progressed and I learned of other peoples' experiences with being tolerated, my uneasy feelings about this complex and equivocal phenomenon were corroborated. The experiences I shared with many others are broadly in line with previous theorizing and research (Green, 2008; van Quaquebeke et al., 2007; Verkuyten et al., 2020a) which suggests that in spite of the potential to enable freedom in living one's life, tolerance can convey a lack of recognition and appreciation and have a negative impact on mental health and the social struggle for equality.

Tolerance has gained much attention in recent decades as a necessary response to increasing diversity and has been advocated in numerous national, international, and organizational settings (e.g. by UNESCO and the European Union), on the political right (Carson, 2012) as well as on the political left (Brown, 2006). Tolerance is considered a crucial ingredient for enabling the co-existence of diverse ways of life in pluralistic societies due to its potential to reduce intergroup conflict arising from deep-seated differences between groups; but stable intergroup harmony requires an acceptable arrangement for all groups in the dynamic (i.e., both

the tolerators and the tolerated), such that no group feels unfairly subjugated. Although theorizing and research has approached tolerance from the perspective of tolerating agents, focusing on the predictors of tolerance toward minority groups (Adelman et al., 2021a; Verkuyten et al., 2021), the underlying processes of tolerance (Dangubić et al., 2022; Simon & Schaefer, 2016), or tolerance's boundary conditions (Forst, 2004; Velthuis et al., 2022), the possible implications for those being tolerated has received no systematic attention (but see Bagci et al., 2020). Given the emphasis on tolerance as a way of negotiating deep-seated differences, it is critical at this juncture to evaluate the costs and benefits of being tolerated for targets.

My research is a first in-depth look at the social psychological consequences of being tolerated, in the sense of being endured in spite of others' objections. To better understand the experience and consequences of being tolerated, this research was guided by three main questions:

1. How do targets of tolerance interpret and experience being tolerated?

2. What are the implications of being tolerated on targets' well-being?

3. What are the implications of being tolerated on targets' willingness to engage in collective action?

By using a range of methods ranging from individual interviews, surveys and experiments, I have tried to provide the first broad-ranging understanding of what meanings being tolerated can hold and what the social psychological consequences of being tolerated are for minority well-being and collective action for equality. It has been theorized that being the target of tolerance can affect the well-being (e.g., the positive or negative feelings and mental health outcomes) of those on the receiving end (Verkuyten et al., 2020a): being tolerated at once enables one to live as one wishes, which can be beneficial, but tolerance also conveys that others object to one's way of life, which can be unpleasant. The freedom to live as one wishes without the threat of

repression may also enable members of minority groups to act collectively in their group's interest (e.g., by making political demands or holding a demonstration; see McAdam et al., 1999), but it may also discourage their resistance because of the purported fairness of tolerance (Brown, 2006). By focusing on well-being and collective action outcomes for the first time, my research clarifies important lingering questions about the implications of tolerance for minority targets, particularly as it compares to the experience of being recognized and fully accepted as well as the experience of being rejected and excluded.

Theoretical Introduction

The Concept of Tolerance

This dissertation focuses upon social tolerance[1] as the endurance of outgroup practices that are considered deviant or objectionable. Several aspects of this classical definition of tolerance deserve elaboration. First, in contrast to its popular, modern usage as connoting appreciation and open-mindedness towards people different from oneself, in this thesis I define tolerance in its classical sense as enduring or putting up with something without attempting to change or prevent it (Cohen, 2004; Forst, 2017; King, 2012). Second, my concern is with tolerance at the intergroup level, such as the case of ethnic groups living together in one nation, rather than at an interpersonal level such as roommates tolerating each other's domestic habits. Third, tolerance is aimed at the particular practices, norms, or beliefs of another group, such as their religious customs or their demeanor, rather than at the category of people as people. One can also tolerate the dissenting practices of people that one likes or of in-group members (Verkuyten et al., 2020b). Finally, tolerance differs from an attitude of indifference or total acceptance because it must contain an attitude of disapproval of specific beliefs and practices (as one can only tolerate things

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[1] There is a large literature on *political* tolerance, which concerns the granting of political rights to disliked ideological groups (Gibson, 2006; Sullivan & Transue, 1999). My research, by contrast, is focused on the tolerance of social and cultural practices that differ from one's own.

that one is negative about), that is based on normative or moral reasons rather than simple outgroup antipathy or dislike (Horton, 1996).

Tolerance has similarities to both rejection and full acceptance, but is distinct from each (Verkuyten et al., 2019). Rejecting something may involve attempting to negatively interfere with it. The object in question is considered intolerably wrong or bad. Fully accepting something refers to appreciating it and not holding any objections to it. As such, the term acceptance as used in this dissertation is not interchangeable with tolerance as is often the case with popular usage as well as in some of the literature on tolerance (King, 2012). Like rejection, tolerance involves a negative attitude (i.e. disapproval) towards specific minority practices, beliefs, and norms, but unlike rejection, it also involves the voluntary suppression of one's inclination to suppress minorities' expressions. On the other hand, tolerance is similar to acceptance because both entail giving others the freedom to express themselves. In other words, the difference between tolerance and acceptance is in the attitude, while the difference between tolerance and rejection is in the behavior. Tolerance can therefore be characterized as being "intermediate between wholehearted acceptance and unrestrained opposition" (Scanlon, 2003, p. 187). In addressing Research Questions 2 and 3, I compare the experience of being tolerated to that of being rejected and being accepted in order to better understand the distinctiveness of being tolerated.

Intergroup tolerance can assume many forms, and its operation and consequences can depend greatly on the intergroup context in which it occurs. Tolerance that takes place between groups of equal power or status can generally be expected to provide more of the benefits of tolerance, such as freedom and access to resources, with fewer downsides for those who are tolerated. However, very often tolerance takes place in situations where a more powerful group conditionally allows a dissenting minority to engage in certain practices, so long as the tolerated group acquiesces to the dominant position of the tolerating group. For example, a group may be allowed to practice their religion, but only in private settings. In a hierarchical arrangement, the

disadvantaged position of the targets of tolerance is entrenched because their access to the benefits of tolerance is constrained by the preferences of the tolerating group (Forst, 2017). This latter type of hierarchical intergroup tolerance is the focus of my research, due to the greater frequency and contentiousness of hierarchical relations of tolerance.

The normativity and desirability of being tolerated is also likely to play a role in the implications of being tolerated for targets. For example, in liberal democracies, it is normative to tolerate, rather than positively evaluate, people who hold opposing political opinions, i.e., to tolerate that disliked political adversaries can also express their political opinion and try to convince others. However, recognition and appreciation are considered more normative when considering members of ethnic or sexual minorities. Many minority groups may desire to be recognized and accepted without objection and devaluation from others, and in fact the struggle to achieve recognition, appreciation and acceptance is the story of many minority social movements. Historical pushes towards tolerance or rather full acceptance in particular societal contexts may determine how being tolerated is experienced by targets and what implications it has. In my research, the focus is on liberal settings where the target groups under study (trans people, ethnic minorities, and women in the Netherlands and the United States) have strived for increasing acceptance, making recognition rather than tolerance the more desirable and normative option.

Being Tolerated from a Target's Perspective

Below, I outline some general expectations about how being tolerated may impact minority targets. Specific hypotheses and findings are discussed in the empirical chapters of the dissertation.

Perceiving Tolerance

To understand the meanings and consequences of being tolerated, we must ask "How is tolerance understood and experienced by its targets?" (Research Question 1). One cannot simply assume that tolerated people regard tolerance in the same way that tolerators might perceive or intend it. Because targets of tolerance do not have access to the thought processes or intentions of tolerators (i.e., the reasons for their disapproval of particular conduct, and their tolerance nevertheless), they must rely on perceiving and interpreting the other's behaviors. As shown by Adelman et al. (2021b), tolerance is often passive and manifests in non-interference or inaction, which is inherently ambiguous to interpret. Norms of tolerance in a given environment likely only increase the difficulty of making accurate attributions for members of minority groups (Crocker & Major, 1989; Verkuyten et al., 2020a), as targets will likely be aware of negative attitudes towards them alongside norms against allowing those negative attitudes to translate into interference and even repression. The task of detecting and responding to tolerance may therefore be characterized by a strong sense of uncertainty. Uncertainty is a powerful stressor which may contribute to poorer health when it is frequently faced (Greco & Roger, 2003; Zakowski, 1995), and this could make being tolerated a taxing experience for its targets.

Well-Being Implications

The stress inherent in interpreting the uncertainty in tolerance may therefore have implications for the mental and emotional state of those being tolerated. Research Question 2 therefore concerns the possible well-being implications of being tolerated. Tolerance by definition cannot involve overt group-based rejection, discrimination, or exclusion, which are accompanied by a host of negative consequences for targets' health and well-being (Schmitt et al., 2014; Pascoe & Richman, 2009). However, the negative evaluation, which is a central element of tolerance, might carry a cost of its own. For the targets of tolerance, tolerance may

carry with it the implication that what is tolerated is in some way inferior or deviant – after all, one can only tolerate what one disapproves of. People are motivated to see their group identities in a positive light (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), so tolerance can feel condescending to targets, as several theorists have noted (e.g., van Quaquebeke et al., 2007; Verkuyten et al., 2020a). To the targets of tolerance, the reasons for disapproving of their way of life may seem misguided or driven by bias rather than reasonable objections (Green, 2008). Expressions of disapproval may come across as signs of a lack of recognition and disrespect to targets of tolerance (Nadal, 2013), at least when targets themselves do not see their conduct as objectionable. In other words, expressions of disapproval may convey to targets that they are not seen as equally valuable persons who deserve recognition and appreciation for who and what they are.

Collective Action Implications

Although tolerance may negatively impact targets' well-being and portray minority practices as objectionable and inferior to the tolerating group, expressing dissatisfaction with being tolerated is likely to be met with backlash due to the common perception of being tolerant as generous and morally good. This may discourage tolerated people to undertake collective action to resist condescending tolerance (see Research Question 3), which is an important topic for study because of the utility of collective action for less powerful groups to effect change in the status hierarchy (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Research on confronting discrimination has found that those who complain about their experiences of discrimination are often negatively evaluated by onlookers (Kaiser & Miller, 2001a), including members of one's own group (Garcia et al., 2005). The illegitimacy of prejudice and discrimination are much easier to perceive and point out than harms ensuing from tolerance, which involves restraint from negative action despite a negative attitude; after all, when one is tolerated, they are still able to live as they wish. Given that perceived injustice is critical to disadvantaged groups' efforts to advocate for themselves (Jetten et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008), it may be the case that being tolerated

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undermines struggles toward recognition, acceptance and equality. On the other hand, being tolerated may allow disadvantaged groups more scope for collective action without fear of political repression for doing so (McAdam et al., 1999). Tolerance in principle acts as a barrier against oppression and discrimination and therefore might provide minority members the opportunity to engage in actions to achieve recognition and social change, and might fuel efficacy beliefs about being able to actually address the group-related disadvantages (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Similarity to Microaggressions: Ambiguity and Backlash

Throughout the course of exploring the three aforementioned main questions, there were indications that the experience of being tolerated has several noteworthy similarities with facing microaggressions, which are brief and commonplace indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative attitudes toward members of marginalized groups (Sue, 2010). The targets of tolerance, just like the targets of microaggressions, may be made to feel "unwanted or unsafe because they are judged to be inferior" (Sue, 2010, p. 28). Although outright rejection and discrimination are incompatible with tolerance, the inherent negative attitude in tolerance can be expressed in more subtle and socially acceptable ways, i.e., through microaggressive actions or statements. For example, from the target's perspective, both tolerance and microaggressions can involve simple avoidance, the explicit expression of disapproval for another's lifestyle (Nadal, 2013), or (subtle) indications of what conduct is considered (un)acceptable or (non)normative (e.g., "You are one of the good ones").

A difference between tolerance and forms of microaggressions, however, is that for the former the underlying negative attitude of the tolerator is crucial (people only tolerate what they object to or disapprove of), whereas the actual intention or attitude of someone committing a

microaggression is not considered relevant for the victim to feel that a microaggression has taken place (Sue, 2010). Tolerant intentions are important for identifying a behavior as tolerant rather than a reflection of, for example, subtle prejudice. However, from a target's perspective, others' intentions are seldom known and are difficult to use as a basis for labeling a behavior as tolerance or a microaggression, without being explicitly informed by the other about their thoughts and feelings about the target's conduct. Since, in everyday social life people rarely explicate the underlying beliefs and attitudes behind their behavior, uncertainty about others' motives is common and, depending on the target's interpretations and attributions, the same behavior can have different meanings and implications.

My research indicated another common feature between tolerance and microaggressions: their ambiguity and the difficulty in responding to both types of treatment. In both cases, targets may find it difficult to ascertain why an event happened and what the appropriate response is. It can be confusing and cognitively taxing to decipher why the other person disapproves of their behavior and what factors prevent them from turning their disapproval into negative action (Guinote et al., 2006; Sue, 2010; Verkuyten et al, 2020a). An additional problem that targets may face is defensive reactions from others if they choose to speak up, such as gaslighting, 'splaining, or victim blaming (Johnson et al., 2021). The reasons for disapproval in tolerance must be "reasonable in a minimal sense" (Forst, 2017, paragraph 5) to qualify as true tolerance, and the socially consensual reasons for holding disapproving attitudes might foil tolerated targets' attempts to oppose this disapproval (Jetten et al., 2011).

The microaggressions research program has faced quite some criticism and pushback from critics who argue that microaggressions are poorly defined and merely subjective experiences, which limits their conceptual usefulness (Haidt, 2017; Hodson, 2021; Lilienfeld, 2017). Lilienfeld, for example, argued that individuals' general propensity for negative interpretations of events may be an extraneous factor which is responsible for the psychological harm associated

with experiencing microaggressions. Therefore, in the studies described in Chapter 3, I statistically control for trait-like negative emotionality to ascertain whether being tolerated exerts an influence over and above this general propensity. Critics also claim that the evidence for the deleterious consequences of microaggressions for targets' mental health is weak and interventions against them are inadvisable (for counterarguments, see Lui & Quezada, 2019; Spanierman et al., 2021). Similar critiques may be levied against the present research, in which I sometimes rely on targets' own accounts of their experiences of being tolerated and its (potentially negative) consequences for their lives. However, following M. T. Williams (2019, 2020), Hodson (2021), Mekawi and Todd (2021) and Collins (2002), I argue that the targets of tolerance, like the targets of microaggressions, are in the best position to describe their experiences, as they are not only the most motivated to accurately ascertain the way more powerful groups see them (Fiske, 1993; Keltner & Robinson, 1997; Kraus et al., 2012), but are also more perceptive of these types of events (West, 2019). This means, for example, that in Chapter 2, I adopt a realist epistemological stance toward trans people's accounts of their experiences with being tolerated, and in the other chapters minority members were asked to indicate how often they experienced being tolerated and to describe a specific experience that they or someone they know have had about being tolerated.

Empirical Studies

Data and methods

For my research, I made use of a wide range of methods and designs, which were administered among a variety of target minority groups. The main reason for this diversity of methods and groups is my aim to provide a first broad-ranging understanding and empirical examination of the different aspects and questions involved in the experience of being tolerated. Apart from a study by Bagci and colleagues (2020), there is to my knowledge no empirical

research on the meanings and implications of being tolerated. This makes it important to examine the topic in different ways and among various groups. Thus, this dissertation is not a systematic examination of tolerance as experienced by one group in one context or a test of one particular theoretical model; rather, it is a more exploratory work aiming to examine the breadth of understandings and implications of being tolerated. This exploration will hopefully provide an important impetus and steppingstone for future research.

I used both qualitative methods, such as interviewing and open-ended survey questions, and quantitative methods, such as surveys and experiments. One study concerned trans people, two concerned ethnic minorities in two national contexts (the Netherlands and the USA), and one concerned women in a work context dominated by men. With this variety in methods and target groups, I was able to examine the research questions from multiple angles, getting different types of insights, while also being able to conceptually replicate findings as much as possible (Crandall & Sherman, 2016). Below, I describe the methods used in each empirical chapter in greater detail and after that I describe the main findings of each chapter.

Chapter 2 addresses Research Question 1, or how targets of tolerance can experience and interpret being tolerated. This question was examined by conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews among self-identified trans and nonbinary people living in the Netherlands. The interview schedule was guided by several topics of interest, including respondents' gender identity, the meaning of tolerance, experiences of being tolerated, and the consequences of being tolerated on participants' thoughts, feelings, and actions. The interviews were transcribed and then analyzed in NVivo using thematic analysis. I aggregated relevant quotes from each interview into themes and then integrated each interview's themes into three main themes that described the meanings and interpretations of tolerance.

Chapter 3 addressed Research Question 2, regarding the implications of being tolerated for well-being, while also probing into participants' experiences of being tolerated through open-ended questions. Three studies were administered in the United States among members of ethnic minority groups and systematically compared the experience of being tolerated with that of being rejected and being fully accepted. The first study was correlational and examined the links between the frequency of being tolerated, accepted, and rejected and participants' well-being. The second study examined the same variables, but in a between-subjects experimental design wherein participants were asked to recall and describe an experience of being tolerated, accepted, or rejected. The third study was also a between-subjects experiment, but this time I used vignettes to simulate experiences of being tolerated, accepted, or rejected in a workplace setting. This study also examined a possible mediator (identity need satisfaction) between being tolerated and subsequent well-being. Each of the three studies contained questions on participants' trait-like negative emotionality which was included in the statistical models as a control variable.

Chapter 4 was another quantitative study addressing Research Question 2, this time administered among members of four ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands – people of Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean, and Surinamese backgrounds. I asked them about the extent to which their minority group is tolerated, accepted, and rejected in the Netherlands on a continuous Likert-type scale. I also asked which type of treatment (i.e., tolerance, acceptance, or rejection) best describes how their ethnic group is generally treated, thus obtaining a comparative, forced-choice measure. Participants further answered questions about their level of positive and negative affect, as well as measures of their identification with their ethnic minority and national group (i.e., Dutch). Both of the identification measures were considered as mediators between how one's group is treated and one's level of positive and negative affect.

Chapter 5 reports a between-subjects experiment in which women interacted with (unbeknownst to them) virtual men in an ostensible online working activity. The goal of this

study was to answer Research Question 3, concerning the implication of being tolerated for collective action tendencies. The participants were first informed of their teammates' attitudes toward working with women, i.e., they either accepted women and enjoyed working with them, they tolerated them even though they preferred not to work with them, or they rejected working with women. Then participants engaged in a game of Cyberball (K. D. Williams & Jarvis, 2006), where a virtual ball is passed between the players. In the acceptance and tolerance conditions, participants received the ball equally, while in the rejection condition they were excluded from the ball-passing game. Thus, the tolerance condition involved a negative attitude towards women combined with inclusive behavior, corresponding to a conceptualization of tolerance as disapproval without negative interference. After the game, participants had a chance to send their teammates a message along with which they could select a woman, man, or genderless avatar, wherein I took choosing the woman avatar as identity enactment. Participants indicated their level of trust for teammates through answering questions about vignettes and indicated their expectations about how they'll be treated in the future. With these three measures, I could probe into the interactional implications of being tolerated. Then, I had four indicators that participants would raise their voice to protest their treatment by their teammates, and finally three indicators of their willingness to engage in collective action for gender equality more broadly in society.

Summary of Main Findings

What is tolerance? It is a complex, multifaceted, and situationally variable phenomenon when examined from the point of view of those who tolerate, and arguably to an even greater extent when taking the target's perspective. To better understand the nature of being tolerated from a target's perspective, in the first empirical chapter (Chapter 2), I examined the qualitative experience of being tolerated from the perspective of trans people in the Netherlands. Although the Netherlands affords more legal protections and less hostility towards trans people than most other national contexts, the prevalent notion remains that being cisgender is the norm from which

trans people deviate (Huijnk, 2022). Trans people in the Netherlands therefore often experience being disapproved of by the mainstream, but this disapproval rarely translates into negative action. The interviewees indicated that tolerance can often be a threatening experience conveying one's disadvantaged status and a lack of understanding of one's (trans) identity. Claims of tolerance obstructed trans people from achieving equality in several ways. Firstly, trans people frequently encountered passive tolerance (cf. Adelman et al., 2021b), in which tolerators were unwilling to make efforts to treat trans targets with respect, such as by learning to use the correct pronouns or refraining from expressing disapproval of trans identity. Second, tolerance was conditional on targets' acquiescence to the unequal status quo and was thus precarious. Tolerated trans people felt uneasy asking for accommodations or confronting the microaggressions that accompanied tolerance for fear of eliciting defensive reactions. The interviewees felt misunderstood by tolerators, who they felt were either positioning being cisgender as the norm, or were assuming that all trans people wanted to pass as cisgender. Hence, tolerance did not convey recognition to the respondents, particularly to nonbinary people. Respondents also described the dilemmas of coping with being tolerated. One dilemma was deciding whether to expend the effort to educate tolerators who held misguided notions of trans identity; another was whether to express oneself authentically or avoid risk by assimilating to normative standards of gender expression. Coping with tolerance often resulted in trade-offs between different needs and was cognitively and emotionally taxing for trans targets.

The implications of being tolerated for well-being featured prominently in the interview study, so the two subsequent chapters examined these links more closely. In Chapter 3, I report the results of three studies conducted in the United States among members of ethnic minorities. In the first study, I found that perceived tolerance is correlated with decreased well-being, independently of perceived rejection. In the second study, I used a between-subjects experimental design where participants recalled either an instance of being tolerated, accepted, or rejected, and

found that recalling tolerance elicits more negative and less positive emotions than being accepted, but less negative and more positive emotions than being rejected. In the third study, I turned my attention to the mechanisms behind tolerance's influence on targets' well-being. In an experimental design using vignettes, I found that the negative emotions experienced when being tolerated as opposed to being accepted were mediated by threats to identity needs for esteem, belonging, efficacy, distinctiveness, and certainty. Being tolerated was found to be just as threatening to minority identity needs as being rejected.

Chapter 2 pointed towards the potential for tolerance to make targets feel in- or excluded, and Chapter 3 showed that identity-based needs are affected by being tolerated. In Chapter 4, I focused on targets' identification with their minority in-group and the superordinate national category shared with the tolerators as possible mechanisms linking being tolerated to well-being. The setting for this study was among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, thus functioning as a conceptual replication of the studies in Chapter 3 in a different national context. I measured perceived tolerance, acceptance, and rejection in two ways. The first was a standard continuous measure that asked to what extent the participant's ethnic group was tolerated, accepted, and rejected in the Netherlands. The second was a forced-choice measure that asked which option best describes how the participant's ethnic group was treated in the Netherlands, which enabled me to compare, respectively, the effects of perceived acceptance and rejection as opposed to tolerance. The pattern of results for the continuous measures of group treatment was similar for being accepted and being tolerated: both were associated with stronger national identification and subsequently to higher positive affect, with significant indirect paths. The positive association between being tolerated and positive affect was statistically fully accounted for by tolerance's association with national identification, indicating that it is necessary for minorities to feel included in the overarching category to experience the positive effects of tolerance. Differences emerged between acceptance and tolerance when considering the comparative

measure: being tolerated was associated with less positive affect than being accepted, through lower national identification. However, being tolerated was associated with higher well-being and national identification than being rejected.

Chapters 2 through 4 describe the experience and the feelings evoked by being tolerated, so the research in Chapter 5 addresses the next step: action (intentions). Returning to the insight from Chapter 2 that tolerance can be a threatening experience and that targets sometimes cope with this by confronting tolerators, I examined how tolerance affects social interactions with tolerators and the extent to which it stimulates confrontation tendencies. In an online experiment, I had women virtually interact with (fictitious) men who expressed acceptance, rejection, or tolerance for women's working styles. Then, participants played a game of Cyberball, where a virtual ball can be passed among the players to simulate experiences of inclusion or exclusion. Participants were included in the game in the acceptance and tolerance conditions and excluded in the rejection condition. Thus, the tolerance condition had the combination of a negative attitude towards working with women and inclusive behavior towards them. I then examined what implications tolerance has on the interactions between the tolerated and the tolerators, indexed by enactment of one's identity as a woman, trust for one's teammates, and expectations for future treatment. I also measured participants' willingness to raise their voices against their teammates, as well as their collective action tendencies beyond the experimental situation. I found, in line with Chapters 3 and 4, that the effects of being tolerated fall between those of being fully accepted, on the one hand, and being rejected, on the other, but this time for interactional implications and raising voice. However, I found mostly null results for collective action beyond the experiment, apart from a tendency for accepted women to agitate for change more than their tolerated counterparts. Although the social consequences of tolerance are not as negative as pure rejection, they can have a demobilizing effect on targets' efforts to confront negative attitudes in their surroundings. However, in comparison to full acceptance, the experience of being tolerated

seems to make people want to speak up more and raise their voice against the lack of appreciation and recognition that is being expressed.

General Discussion

Tolerance is considered to be a vital ingredient for societies' ability to harmoniously co-exist and negotiate deep-seated intergroup differences, as it enables the tolerated to live as they wish but does not require tolerators to abandon their objections (Cohen, 2004; Forst, 2017). Until now, how tolerance is experienced and perceived from the target's perspective has not received adequate research attention, despite theorizing that tolerance can have a negative impact on targets' well-being as well as their inclinations to undertake collective action towards equality (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). With this research, I have attempted to take the first crucial steps in filling this gap and I will describe several important conclusions and future directions that follow from this research.

The Nature of Being Tolerated

The qualitative data I collected indicates that from a target's perspective, the experience of being tolerated is steeped in ambiguity. The features that distinguish tolerance from acceptance, (subtle) prejudice, and indifference, such as the attitude of the would-be tolerator or their reasons for holding that attitude, are not readily perceptible by the target of the treatment. Instead, targets must interpret others' actions in order to make attributions for how they are treated. Complicating this endeavor is the tendency for tolerance to manifest as non-interference, which is usually inaction (Adelman et al., 2021b). Omissions are by nature difficult to spot and difficult to interpret. Thus, the targets of tolerance are often unsure of the true nature of what is happening when they are tolerated.

This uncertainty extends to knowing where the boundaries of tolerance lie. Tolerance always has limits, which if crossed, will result in things being considered intolerable (Cohen,

2004; Forst, 2017). However, the targets of tolerance, in the absence of explicit information, have no way of knowing where those boundaries are. As Chapter 2 shows, this can be a stressful and taxing experience which can cause targets of tolerance to avoid doing anything that may upset tolerators (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Verkuyten et al., 2020a), which effectively limits the freedom of the tolerated. The uncertain nature and precariousness of tolerance also makes it difficult to know how one should respond to it. For example, attempting to educate somebody about one's tolerated identity may result in greater understanding, but it may also backfire if that person is not open to hearing challenges to their understandings and beliefs. Confronting a lack of acceptance from others can be risky, even more so under conditions of uncertainty. The difficulties that come with the ambiguity of tolerance have parallels to the difficulties in responding to microaggressions, as others' responses may be defensive and result in hostility (Johnson et al., 2021).

The Intermediacy of Tolerance

A similar pattern of results emerged across the different studies that I conducted: the experience of being tolerated has more positive implications than that of being rejected, but more negative implications than being accepted. This was found to be the case for positive and negative well-being, identity needs, freedom of expression, interactions with tolerators, and using one's voice in protest.

Well-Being

The threat to identity needs, such as the needs for self-esteem, belonging, and self-efficacy, was present when being tolerated and when being rejected, and was partially responsible for decreased well-being among targets of both types of treatment in the United States (see also Bagci et al., 2020). Yet, tolerance seemed to be harmful to a lesser degree than pure rejection, indicated by smaller effect sizes. However, the interview study in Chapter 2 shows that tolerance

presented some unique threats to identity among trans people, including the hampering of one's ability to express oneself and be recognized by others the way one sees oneself. Being tolerated was linked to greater national identification among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, which in turn was linked to increased positive affect (Chapter 4); however, whereas acceptance was directly linked to positive affect, tolerance's positive implications were dependent upon one's sense of inclusion in the national group. This indicates that the positive consequences of tolerance may be more fragile than those of full acceptance, as tolerance is more liable to shift to intolerance than to acceptance (van Doorn, 2014; Verkuyten et al., 2019). The precariousness of tolerance is itself a likely reason for the different consequences of being tolerated and of being accepted: not knowing where the boundaries of tolerance lie can be a stressful and taxing experience which can cause targets of tolerance to avoid anything that may upset tolerators (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Verkuyten et al., 2020a).

Social Interactions and Collective Action

Being tolerated differed from both being accepted and being rejected when considering outcomes in the social realm beyond well-being. Tolerated women were more trusting and had more positive expectations of future interactions than women who were rejected by the men in their virtual team, but the pattern was reversed when comparing tolerated to accepted women (Chapter 5). When it comes to raising one's voice, being tolerated had a mobilizing effect when compared to acceptance: tolerated women raised their voice more against being behaviorally included in the team activities without being appreciated. However, when compared to being rejected, being tolerated had a demobilizing effect as theorized by Brown (2006): in spite of a lack of acceptance and negative implications for well-being, tolerance may not be resisted by targets, thus preserving tolerators' disapproving attitudes as well as any pre-existing power differentials between the tolerated and those who tolerate them. Interestingly, this pattern of results did not carry over to collective action tendencies beyond the experimental setting. Rather,

there was some evidence that women who were accepted were more inclined to agitate for societal change in relation to the position of women in general, compared to women who were tolerated. This indicates, as some theorists have noted (McAdam et al., 1999), that not having to face the opprobrium of an opposing group can stimulate mobilization among disadvantaged groups. The question of whether being tolerated has a mobilizing or demobilizing effect is a complex one whose answer will depend on multiple factors in a given situation. One such factor could be what tolerated targets compare being tolerated to, as I discuss in the next section.

The Importance of Comparative Context

Because the experience of being tolerated appears to have similarities and differences with the experiences of both rejection and acceptance, the comparative context is likely to be important in "tipping the scales" toward tolerance being a more positive or negative experience for targets. In Chapter 4, when respondents were asked to compare whether rejection, tolerance, or acceptance best characterizes their group's treatment (and thus to focus on the differences between these types of treatment), differences emerged between those who chose acceptance and those who chose tolerance, a difference which did not appear when respondents reported on their group's treatment without being asked to make a comparison. In Chapter 2, interviewees spontaneously drew comparisons with being rejected and being accepted when discussing their experiences with tolerance. When tolerance was compared with transphobic rejection, respondents stated that tolerance is preferable. Respondents would also sometimes compare themselves to other members of the trans community who faced more rejection than themselves, and expressed feeling lucky that they were spared from such treatment. However, when framing tolerance in opposition to acceptance, the shortcomings of tolerance were emphasized, particularly feelings of being (dis)respected, (un)recognized, and (de)valued.

Although this was not explicitly investigated in this dissertation, the temporal comparative context is also likely to shift one's ideas and experiences of being tolerated. Research by Lee (2021) has shown that expecting poor treatment (as would be the case for groups that have historically been rejected) had a buffering effect on negative social and psychological outcomes for people who were tolerated, while having expectations of good treatment amplified the negative consequences of tolerance. Similarly, Adelman et al. (under review, Study 5) found that being tolerated after being rejected is a much more positive experience that being tolerated after being accepted. Thus, while being tolerated is generally experienced as in between being accepted and being rejected, its exact implications may depend on what this experience is being compared to across contexts and through time.

Limitations and Future Directions

While the research presented here makes a novel and important first contribution to the study of the social psychological consequences of being tolerated, it also opens many further questions and avenues for investigation. Below are five domains which future research can usefully address: the ambiguity of tolerance; investigating the different types of tolerance; varying the source of tolerance; focusing on different target groups; and employing a longitudinal or historical lens.

The Ambiguity of Tolerance

Above I talked about how from a target's perspective, knowing how to interpret and deal with being tolerated can be very uncertain, and the same was true from a researcher's perspective. All throughout this research, I have been repeatedly confronted with the question of how to pin down the mercurial, shifting notion of being tolerated. The classical definition is clear enough – tolerance is enduring something of which you disapprove – but this concise definition is deceptively difficult to translate into survey items or experimental materials for those

experiencing tolerance. For example, what role should tolerators' presumed motivations for tolerance play in constructing research materials for studying the experience and implications of being tolerated? Many of my research materials explicitly mention situations in which one's minority group norms and practices are not appreciated but are nevertheless endured, but in everyday life targets of tolerance are usually not privy to these internal processes among tolerators, and must contend with the ambiguity of tolerance and its limits. When studying the perspective of the tolerated, it seems important to treat the ambiguous nature of being tolerated as an aspect of the concept itself and to attempt to incorporate this into the research materials. For example, a vignette or lab experiment may involve somebody avoiding, ignoring, or superficially interacting with targets in a tolerance condition. This would in effect resemble the phenomenon of aversive prejudice, wherein prejudice is expressed in a subtle, avoidant way (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986, 2004). The reasons behind the avoidant behavior may in fact be tolerant and based on disapproval of specific practices and beliefs rather than general group-based dislike, but from a target's perspective, this distinction cannot easily be made. In fact, when asking open-ended questions about being tolerated throughout this research, it was common to receive responses that described subtle prejudice and microaggressions, which are often just as harmful to well-being as overt prejudice (Jones et al., 2016). Centering the perspectives of those who are tolerated reveals more of the parallels between the experience of being tolerated and being confronted with subtle prejudice, than a standpoint which only considers tolerance from tolerators' perspective. In short, whereas the practice of tolerance can be relatively clear from the perspective of the tolerator, it seems to be much less clear from the crucial perspective of those who are tolerated.

Types of Tolerance

Tolerance is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon with a plethora of contextual variations and historical manifestations. In this thesis, the focus was on tolerance in its permission

conception, as outlined by Forst (2017) – where a powerful group conditionally allows a less powerful group to follow its chosen way of life within boundaries set by the tolerating group. Although this focus usefully addresses itself to hierarchical situations where tolerance may cause the most tension and negative impact, other forms of tolerance exist and are critical in contextualizing the consequences of being tolerated. In more egalitarian intergroup contexts, for example, tolerance may involve culturally dissimilar, disagreeing parties who mutually respect each other as moral and political equals, thus minimizing the potential for the tolerated group to feel looked down upon, as well as avoiding the unilateral use of power by the tolerating group to decide what is or is not tolerable. Empirically distinguishing between different manifestations of tolerance in hierarchical vs. egalitarian settings would enable a further analysis of how different intergroup contexts affect the lives of the tolerated and the wider society.

Sources of Tolerance

Another way that research may attempt to capture the complexity of tolerance is to vary the sources of tolerance. While my research focused on situations of intergroup tolerance between majorities and minorities in Western liberal settings, other dynamics of tolerance are plentiful and deserve attention. For example, what are the consequences of being tolerated when tolerance comes from one's family members, one's co-workers, authority figures, in-group members, or strangers in everyday life? What are the particularities of being tolerated within legal systems or institutions such as religion? The amount of influence of sources of tolerance over one's life outcomes is likely to be critical in determining the consequences of being tolerated, as is the manner in which tolerance is expressed (e.g., explicitly or implicitly), and who is expressing it. It is also worth noting that in liberal settings, which have been the focus of this research, recognition and acceptance of minority groups is often more normative than in less liberal settings in which tolerance might be the "best that one can hope for". The normativity of

full acceptance as opposed to tolerance is likely to exert an influence on how being tolerated is experienced by targets.

Targets of Tolerance

In addition to the setting where tolerance takes place and who does the tolerating, it is also important to consider how different target groups might experience being tolerated. My research examined the experiences of several target groups (women, ethnic minorities in two countries, and trans people), which enabled a broad overview and conceptual replication of the findings. Across all of these groups, the findings were broadly aligned; however, important differences may exist when considering other groups in other contexts. For example, the pattern for a group that is tolerated based on ascribed characteristics, such as their ethnicity, may differ from that of a group which is tolerated because of their ideology or conduct, such as a political minority. The goals of a group, such as whether they seek to change the status quo in public life, can also be important (Gieling et al., 2010). Additionally, the target group's history (of steady subjugation or acceptance or recent gains or losses in acceptance and recognition) can shape their group identity and may play a role in how tolerance in the present is experienced (see below). Systematic investigations of various target groups would be instrumental in understanding the dynamics of tolerance for particular groups *in situ*.

Tolerance Through Time

There were indications throughout my research that the targets of tolerance frequently compare being tolerated to being accepted or to being rejected, and that the frame of comparison can influence targets' thoughts, emotions, and behaviors with regard to tolerance. That is, when compared to being accepted, being tolerated seems insufficient, but when compared to being rejected or discriminated against, being tolerated seems a welcome change. I tested this indirectly in several ways (e.g., by comparing respondents who chose tolerance rather than acceptance or

rejection as the best descriptor of their in-group's treatment and by inquiring about the similarities and differences between tolerance and acceptance/rejection in the interviews), but a more direct and realistically situated way of studying tolerance in comparative context would be a longitudinal or historical analysis. A society's notions of what ways of life are normative or deviant change over time (Brown, 2006; Chong, 1994), and a group's collective memory is likely to influence how they regard being tolerated in the present. Groups which have historically been oppressed, such as gay people in the West, have initially sought tolerance but later demanded recognition and acceptance, with some rejecting tolerance as a goal altogether (Jakobsen & Pellegrini, 2004). Longitudinal studies would ideally cover multiple generations to enable historical trends to emerge, while also noting any significant events or changes in formalized laws of institutions, such as the introduction of anti-discrimination laws or the occurrence of high-profile hate-crimes or social movements. An experimental within-subjects study, in which targets are initially accepted or rejected and later tolerated, would also give an idea of the way in which the experience of being tolerated might operate over time (Adelman et al., under review). All of these methods would be instrumental to answering the question of whether tolerance is an "iron fist in a velvet glove" (Jackman, 1994), that is, whether it functions as a steppingstone or obstacle to full acceptance, and under which circumstances each may occur.

Policy Recommendations

Tolerance is widely discussed and recommended as a way to peacefully negotiate intergroup differences in diverse settings (Brown, 2006; Verkuyten et al., 2019), but with little understanding of the possible impacts on those who are to be tolerated. This means that an important piece of the puzzle has not been considered. With my research, some practical and evidence-informed suggestions and recommendations can be made.

Tolerance education is already a part of many educational programs in primary and secondary schools, but usually as an orientation of stimulating open-mindedness and appreciation for others' ways of life rather than in its classical and critical meaning denoting forbearance in spite of objections (see Weissberg, 2008). Full appreciation of all ways of life is unfeasible – there will always be differences that are considered unsettling and evaluated negatively, but students must learn to show self-restraint in allowing others to live the life that they want and, thus, not to translate their negative attitude into negative behavior. However, when tolerance as forbearance is discussed in educational settings, it is important to also address the targets' perspective and to acknowledge that being reluctantly endured is likely to be harmful to the tolerated group(s), as shown in my research (see also Bagci et al., 2020). Educators could consider teaching not only about the preferability of tolerance over rejection but also about the potential for harm to minorities' well-being and their ability to self-advocate. Educational programs would be usefully supplemented by including instruction on more beneficial forms of tolerance, which take place in a non-hierarchical intergroup relationship and center respect for the other as an equal and autonomous being, as recommended by Simon (2020), Klein and Zick (2013) and Velthuis and colleagues (2021). While more research is needed to specifically study the nature and impact of non-hierarchical forms of tolerance, my qualitative study strongly indicates that not all forms of tolerance are created equal: some indicate to targets that even though others do not share their norms or identities, they nevertheless will treat them as full and equal human beings and seek to treat them as they wish to be treated.

The element of disapproval in tolerance was found in my research to be a threatening experience for tolerated targets. Related to the recommendation to acknowledge the possible harm of tolerance and emphasize respect for others as equal and autonomous beings, both citizens and organizations who practice tolerance should be encouraged to reflect on and evaluate their reasons for disapproving of certain minority practices. They might ask themselves whether the

object of disapproval is (directly) harmful to themselves or other people; they may inquire as to the historical origins of their deeply held beliefs which are perceived to clash with others' ways of life; they may ask themselves whether their disapproval is based merely in the unfamiliarity or non-normativity of others' practices. The outcome of such reflection may be that tolerators' disapproval is valid and justifiable beyond their in-group, or it may result in the shifting of disapproval into curiosity or acceptance of others' practices (Verkuyten et al., 2022). Regardless, such inquiry would mitigate the negative effects on the targets of tolerance and may result in greater intergroup understanding.

There are situations where being tolerated is the best available option for minority targets and they must tolerate tolerance, but coping with being tolerated can be difficult and taxing. In settings where full acceptance is not (yet) an option, those in positions of authority over others, such as managers and supervisors, may consider what additional supports can be afforded to targets who must cope with being tolerated. For example, tolerated people may be offered counseling, a support group with people in a similar situation, or the ability to separate themselves from tolerators at their discretion when contact is not strictly necessary, such as being allowed to work from home.

As additional supports may prove useful for those who must cope with the negative implications of being tolerated, it is very important for clinicians, social workers, and others in the caring professions to be aware of the impact that tolerance may have on minority targets. First, a better understanding of the experience and potential harms of being tolerated may better equip professionals to offer appropriate supports to their clients who face tolerance in everyday life. Clinicians and social workers, for example, are routinely taught about the impacts of everyday group-based rejection on some clients (D'Andrea & Heckman, 2008; Gil, 2013), and this training would be usefully supplemented by education about the meaning and impacts of tolerance on targets' well-being and coping resources. An equally important goal for professional

practice is care providers' reflection about their own disapproving attitudes toward minority clients whom they tolerate. As is the case with clinicians displaying a lack of multicultural competence (Burkard & Knox, 2004), it is very likely that sensing tolerance rather than acceptance from one's care provider would harm the provider-client relationship and cause clients to feel a host of negative emotions such as shame or anger, thus inhibiting clients from benefitting from professional help. Applied research would be useful in developing specific recommendations for clinical and social work practice, using my initial findings on the impact of being tolerated on well-being and coping efforts.

My work has implications for the targets of tolerance themselves, as well as activists working to improve their lives. The examination of minority voice shows that tolerance, although it involves negative attitudes towards one's group, can have a mobilizing effect when compared to being accepted but can also have a demobilizing effect on raising one's voice when compared to being rejected. Although not complaining about being tolerated may superficially produce less intergroup conflict, it can also maintain power differentials between tolerators and the tolerated and (re)produce unequal recognition, which makes it important to raise awareness within tolerated groups about the possibility that tolerance becomes an obstacle to equality and full inclusion rather than a steppingstone (Jackman, 1994). Since being tolerated encourages targets to raise their voices more than being accepted does, it may be conducive to greater agitation for change if the tolerated would imagine what full acceptance would be like and how tolerance lacks the recognition and appreciation that they want.

In Chapter 2, it was found that targets of tolerance often feel a pressure to assimilate to the mainstream in order to ensure their tolerability, and that this was experienced as less harmful by those who were already closer to the mainstream in their identity and self-presentation. This correspondence between society's values and one's own identity protected well-being for these respondents, but others who were not able or willing to assimilate felt the threats of being

tolerated more strongly. There is the danger that those seen as less tolerable will be pressured to assimilate, both by society and members of their ingroup; instead, targets of tolerance who are seen as closer to the mainstream could be encouraged to show solidarity with their less normative peers, as this would alleviate part of the identity threats felt by the latter while also potentially strengthening the entire group's cohesion and their ability to live on their own terms.

Conclusion

Given the continuing interest in tolerance as a way to negotiate deep-seated intergroup differences and its profound potential impact on society as a whole, it is crucial to identify and evaluate its meanings and consequences to targets. Although there are still many nuances and caveats to understand (e.g., the impact of different forms of tolerance or different types of target groups), some general conclusions can be drawn. First, being tolerated is often highly ambiguous for targets to identify, interpret, and know how to cope with effectively. Second, being tolerated can threaten one's well-being and identity needs, notably one's sense of belonging in groups; however, while tolerance is more threatening than acceptance, it is still preferable to facing rejection. Third, being tolerated can discourage targets from agitating for greater acceptance of their group. For a wide range of tolerated groups in liberal settings, including ethnic, sexual, and gender minorities, being tolerated, in the sense of being endured despite others' disapproval, is not the most desirable arrangement.

Chapter 2

Coping with Being Tolerated: Trans Experiences

Introduction

"Conditional acceptance is not justice. This isn't what freedom looks like — having to disappear our difference. This ends up hurting all trans people because acceptance is dependent on conformity, not simply for being."

- Alok Vaid-Menon

Tolerance is becoming an increasingly common experience among trans people in liberal environments. Although being tolerated is an improvement upon the rejection, criminalization, and violence that this community often faces, it may not be a positive experience per se (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). Being tolerated is often seen as being looked down upon as less than acceptable and has been criticized for falling short of full acceptance (Dobbernack & Modood, 2013; Parekh, 2000). Amid the strong advocacy for tolerance from members of dominant groups, considering the perspective of those most impacted by it is crucial, yet the target's perspective has received scant research attention. Although some research suggests that the experience may not be entirely positive, it is unknown how trans people interpret and experience being tolerated. This qualitative study examines for the first time the meanings, experiences, and responses to being tolerated from the perspective of trans individuals in the Netherlands. "Trans" is an umbrella term used to describe people who do not identify with the gender that they were assigned at birth, and can include trans women, trans men, and nonbinary people whose gender identity transcends the binary of man-woman (Diamond et al., 2011).[2] From the perspective of

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[2] Not all people that identify with a gender different from that which they were assigned at birth identify with the label of "trans" (e.g., some nonbinary people). However, in the context of this study, we include nonbinary individuals under the umbrella term "trans".

societies structured around binary and fixed notions of gender, trans people are usually seen as violating established gender roles and are tolerated at best (Pearce, 2018; Serano, 2007). Studying trans people's experiences of tolerance in the Netherlands is particularly fruitful because of the country's (self-)conception as a haven for LGBTQ+ rights, coupled with the continued hostility toward gender and sexual minorities (Buijs et al., 2012). Although the Netherlands prides itself on its tolerance, it is also a country that values normality (van Lisdonk et al., 2018), as can be garnered from the saying "doe even normaal" ("just be normal") (Guide to Dutchness, 2010). In such a context, those considered as being outside of the norm, such as trans people, are tentatively accepted or merely tolerated. In analyzing the experiences of trans people, this paper asks, "How do trans targets of tolerance interpret and navigate being tolerated?"

Tolerance and Being Tolerated

Tolerance is defined as forbearance from negative interference in another's way of life despite one's objections to it (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). It involves putting up with practices and beliefs that one disapproves of. Although tolerance is distinct from overt prejudice and discrimination due to the lack of negative interference, it is not the same as full acceptance due to the element of disapproval. Tolerance always has limits and is conditional on its targets staying within those limits (Honohan, 2013). Tolerance is argued to be a critical enabler for living with difference as it allows tolerated minorities access to resources, safety, and freedom of self-expression, without challenging the majority group's convictions which give rise to disapproval (Verkuyten et al., 2019). Therefore, it is often considered a virtue, particularly by those who practice it.

However, from the perspective of members of some tolerated groups, tolerance may not be seen so positively (van Quaquebeke et al., 2007). Theorists have critiqued tolerance from several angles. First, tolerance implies the devaluation of the tolerated group's way of life as deviant or

even inferior relative to an established norm (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). Being tolerated may be considered by trans people as a type of microaggression (a commonplace behavior or statement which communicates a hostile or derogatory stance toward a marginalized group) because it communicates disapproval (Nadal, 2013; Pulice-Farrow et al., 2017; Sue, 2010). Even if trans people do not internalize their negative representation in social discourse, they must nevertheless cope with its presence when confronted with tolerance, and frequent exposure to being tolerated can take a toll on targets' mental health as a form of minority stress (Verkuyten et al., 2020a; Hendricks & Testa, 2012).

Second, tolerance is often practiced by a more powerful group which sets the terms under which a less powerful group would continue to be tolerated (Addis, 1997; Honohan, 2013). This can leave minorities in a precarious position which requires them to be vigilant of crossing (tacit or explicit) normative boundaries (Honohan, 2013). Transnormativity (Johnson, 2016), for example, holds trans people accountable to normative notions of trans identity, such as undergoing (or planning to undergo) medical transition and behaving in a manner congruent with one's gender (e.g. trans men being expected to behave masculinely). The conditionality of tolerance could motivate trans individuals to avoid challenging cisgender people's expectations, norms, and values in the public domain (Brown, 2006; Connell, 2010; Klein et al., 2007). Research has shown that minorities generally experience worse outcomes and more identity threat in assimilationist climates as opposed to climates that value diversity (Barreto & Ellemers, 2009; Rattan & Ambady, 2013), and research suggests that "passing" as a member of a higher-status group is associated with a decreased sense of social belonging (Newheiser & Barreto, 2014).

There is a small social psychological literature that has empirically examined some of the theoretical claims about tolerance from a target's perspective, including among LGBTQ+ populations (e.g., Bagci et al., 2020). Generally, this research has found that although tolerance

is better than rejection, it falls short of full acceptance and is related to negative mental health outcomes for targets, including threats to identity, negative affect, and symptoms of depression. Yet, although this research suggests the potential for negative experiences of tolerance, the complex experience and manifestation of being tolerated in trans people's lives is not yet well understood.

Tolerance of Trans People

Trans people are among the most stigmatized groups in Western liberal societies and are vulnerable to relatively high rates of prejudicial and violent treatment (e.g. James et al., 2016). One reason for such widespread negative treatment is (cis)genderism, which is "an ideology that reinforces the negative evaluation of gender non-conformity or an incongruence between sex and gender" (Ansara & Hegarty, 2012; Hill & Willoughby, 2005, p. 534). Within this ideology, non-cisgender people are "anomalies that require explanation and justification" (Serano, 2007, p. 57), rather than part of the normal spectrum of human variation. This notion especially marginalizes nonbinary individuals, leaving them invisible and perpetually confronted with a world that fails to accommodate for their existence (Haynes & McKenna, 2001; Matsuno & Budge, 2017). In this ideological landscape, the constructed otherness of trans individuals makes them targets for potential tolerance. Research has shown that trans people frequently experience disapproval of the way they enact their identities (Nadal et al., 2012) and may receive conditional cissexual privilege to the extent that they conform to traditional gender norms (Miller & Grollman, 2015; Pearce, 2018; Serano, 2007).

Discrimination against trans people was banned in 2019 in the Netherlands (COC, 2019) and this country generally fares better in providing legal protections to trans people than other European countries (OECD, 2020). However, trans people are still marginalized in Dutch society (TNN, 2019). A fifth of Dutch people report disapproval of non-cisgender individuals (Kuyper,

2012; see also Huijnk, 2022) and trans people are less likely to be employed and to earn as much as their cisgender counterparts despite being equally as educated (CBS, 2017). Nearly half of those seeking transition-related care report negative experiences (Principle 17, 2016) such as contending with gatekeeping and a lack of autonomy in care (Levie, 2021). There often is an expectation for LGBTQ+ people to keep their identities confined to the private sphere and refrain from attempting to destabilize, inter alia, gendered and sexual hierarchies (Buijs et al., 2012; van Lisdonk et al., 2018). Tolerance then seems to be dependent on one's ability to assimilate into the Dutch mainstream.

Coping with Being Tolerated

Trans people's experiences of tolerance may also be influenced by the coping mechanisms they engage in to manage those experiences. Coping strategies can serve to downregulate negative emotions and protect against negative events, although certain coping strategies can lead to worse rather than better outcomes (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Research on coping among trans people has found mixed results for the effects of coping, with research finding negative effects of avoidant coping and positive effects of coping through community (e.g., Budge et al., 2013; Sánchez & Vilain, 2009). Similarly, Puckett and colleagues (2020) find that negative coping strategies of detachment and internalization of stigma mediate the negative effect of rejection on depression and anxiety, although positive coping strategies such as education, advocacy, and resistance are mostly unrelated to depression and anxiety outcomes. Qualitative studies also indicate the importance and diversity of coping mechanisms for trans people in the workplace (Mizock et al., 2017).

To understand the scope for minority stress and decreased psychological well-being among tolerated trans people and the coping mechanisms they might engage in, I employed Identity Process Theory (IPT; Breakwell, 1986, 2015). Breakwell (1986) identified four needs that guide

identity construction and management: continuity, distinctiveness, self-efficacy, and self-esteem. Other needs may be important in different situations: for example, previous research on being tolerated has additionally considered the need for belonging (Bagci et al., 2020; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017), while identity research on LGBT populations has included an authenticity principle (Markowe, 1996). Threats to identity needs spur the use of coping strategies across intrapsychic, interpersonal, and intergroup levels. IPT integrates these levels and recognizes the role of social representations in identity management processes (Breakwell, 2001; Moscovici, 1988). Social representations of trans people which are predominantly negative or unaligned with trans people's self-understandings must be continually dealt with to preserve one's sense of identity. IPT also enables a finer-grained analysis of threat than research in the minority stress tradition by explicitly considering the identity principles at play in situations of tolerance. Although Bagci et al. (2020) found evidence for the identity threatening role of being tolerated, I investigate the different ways in which the tolerated themselves experience being tolerated and the strategies they develop to cope with this treatment.

Current Study

The present research sought to investigate trans people's understandings of tolerance, the types of identity threats posed by it, and how these threats are dealt with. I sought first-hand accounts of the meanings and experiences of those being tolerated through semi-structured interviews. I also attempt to elaborate on the nature of the identity threats posed by being tolerated and the mechanisms through which trans targets cope with such threats.

Method

Participants

The participants were 13 self-identified trans adults living in the Netherlands. The sample demographics are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Sample Demographics Among Interviewees

Pseudonym	Gender	Age[a]	Sexual Orientation	Ethnicity	Highest Completed Education	Living Situation	Relationship Status	Occupation
Silver	Agender	26	Demisexual	White Dutch	Bachelor's degree	Alone	Dating	Student
Jade	Nonbinary/Gender non-conforming woman	23	Lesbian	South Asian-Surinamese	Secondary school	With parents	Single	Student
Elio	Nonbinary	28	Gay	Dutch Colombian	Secondary school	With partner or friends	In a monogamous relationship	Student
Joshua	Genderqueer	22	Gay	White Dutch	Bachelor's degree	Alone	In a monogamous relationship	Student
Frank	Nonbinary	25	No label	White Dutch	Master's degree	With partner or friends	Single	Student
Kim[b]	Woman	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Sam	Transfeminine/Fag	31	Bisexual/pansexual	South Asian	Master's degree	Alone	In a monogamous relationship	Student
Micha	Agender	58	Bisexual/pansexual	White Dutch	Master's degree	Alone	Single	Employed
Loki	Nonbinary	40	Bisexual/pansexual	Eastern European	Bachelor's degree	Alone	In (a) polyamorous relationship(s)	Employed
Thomas	Trans man	22	Queer	White Dutch	Bachelor's degree	Alone	Single	Student
Kai	Transgender man	18	Bisexual/pansexual and asexual	White Dutch	Secondary school	With parents	Single	Student
Minerva	Transfem nonbinary	27	Pansexual and asexual	White Dutch	Secondary school	With parents	In (a) polyamorous relationship(s)	Student
Kelly	Female	53	No label	White non-Dutch European	Master's degree	Alone	?	Employed

Note. Gender labels and pseudonyms were chosen by participants, while other data was multiple-choice.

a. $M = 31.1$ years; $SD = 12.7$ years.

b. This participant did not provide demographics beyond her gender identity.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through trans-led organizations in the Netherlands including clinics and support groups and through snowball sampling. Between February and October 2020, participants were invited to an interview study about their experiences of social tolerance and received a gift voucher worth €25 as compensation. Interviews lasted between half an hour and two hours. They were transcribed verbatim and non-verbal gestures, such as laughing or groaning, were also noted. The audio files and transcripts were securely stored and marked by a pseudonym chosen by each participant. The interview questions concerned the following: the participant's gender identity; others' responses to the participant's gender identity; the meaning of tolerance; experiences of being tolerated; and the consequences of being tolerated on the participant's thoughts, feelings, and actions. The interview schedule can be found in Appendix A.

The research team was composed of a queer East European nonbinary person, a cisgender gay man with an ethnic minority background, an ethnically Dutch cisgender heterosexual man, and a Jewish cisgender heterosexual man. All interviews were conducted in English by the first author. Potential participants were made aware that they would be interviewed by a trans interviewer, which was considered and found to be beneficial for establishing rapport. For example, the first author's own experiences with being tolerated provided useful background knowledge in asking for clarifications and further questions and made it relatively easy to make sense of shared experiences. For the first author, this research was highly personally relevant, as a nonbinary individual who is themselves often tolerated outside of their in-group. Where the interviewees' experiences and interpretations did not match those of the first author, they remained open to hearing them and found resonances with other (binary) trans experiences that they had encountered through conversations with friends or familiarity with trans scholarship. Theoretically, tolerance can have both positive and negative implications for those who are

tolerated (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). Thus, the authors approached this research with the aim of describing and interpreting the range of possible meanings and experiences that trans people have with being tolerated.

Analytic Method

I employed thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), informed by extant theorizing about being tolerated (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). This afforded the flexibility to utilize and develop theory as well as explore aspects of being tolerated which are absent from available theorizing. I kept to the meanings that participants gave to their experiences as much as possible (Boyatzis, 1998), as my aim was to explore how participants made sense of experiences of being tolerated. I therefore also adopted a realist epistemological stance toward participants' accounts. Following Jaspal (2020), I familiarized myself with the data and coded all extracts relevant to tolerance and gender in each transcript using NVivo 12. Then, coded extracts were condensed into themes per each transcript, each substantiated by relevant quotes. These themes and related quotes were then discussed among the authors in order to challenge and avoid possible biases. We settled on the following themes: being tolerated as maintaining inequality, tolerators' misunderstandings of trans identity, and dilemmas of coping with being tolerated. After finalizing the manuscript, it was sent to each participant to verify that their thoughts and feelings were accurately represented; none of the respondents had issues with how this was done.

In the presentation of the data, material between quotation marks is a direct quote from the dataset. Explanatory material is presented within square brackets and omitted text is indicated by three dots within square brackets. The interviewees' pseudonyms and self-described gender identity are indicated in parentheses following direct quotes.

Results

Tolerance as Perpetuating Inequality

Interviewees were cognizant of the widely shared positive social representation of tolerance and noticed that tolerators usually thought that their tolerant behavior was virtuous. When comparing tolerance to rejection, the former was seen more positively, but interviewees' interpretations of tolerance per se were generally negative. Several interviewees referred to tolerance as the "bare minimum" and claims of tolerance were seen as "hypocritical" and as "this magical word […] to say how inclusive you are" without "hav[ing] to do anything" (Frank, nonbinary). In other words, tolerance was considered to masquerade as full acceptance while obstructing progress towards it. In this theme, I recount how the passivity of tolerance coupled with its precariousness resulted in participants' having to hide their true feelings and selves.

Many interviewees' encounters with tolerant treatment seemed superficially respectful, but respondents found that "when people tolerate you, they don't necessarily respect you" (Elío, nonbinary). All interviewees noticed what one respondent called "a complex of microaggressions" in tolerant interactions that hindered respondents' sense of belonging among tolerators, such as intrusive questions, staring, and a sense of distance and tension. According to Micha (agender), being tolerated was like being told, "Don't try to bridge the distance. No, because when you try to bridge the distance, that means I have to change and I'm not willing to." Tolerators themselves were often perceived as unwilling to undertake efforts to make trans people feel accepted or equal, such as avoiding misgendering them. Joshua (genderqueer) said that being misgendered "shows to me that you don't respect me or value me enough to make an effort for me." Effort was considered an indication of respect for respondents.

Tolerance was referred to as a "passive" phenomenon, or "a general let-live-ness, but that's about it" (Minerva, transfem nonbinary). For Kelly (female), "intolerance is something that's

very tangible […] tolerance is the absence of that […] it's just that things don't happen." According to Silver (agender), passive tolerance "take[s] the side of the oppressor" by not standing against intolerance. Minerva stated that "tolerance is the status quo. Tolerance is like, okay you fought for this […] but you still gotta fight for all the other things that you haven't achieved yet." This makes her "[not] feel safe in the streets" because she "won't be able to count on anyone coming to [her] help […] if something happens," which adversely impacts her mental health.

Thus, progress towards acceptance had to be demanded by trans people, but the idea of tolerance as virtuous presented difficulties for making such demands. Joshua (genderqueer) stated that "I feel like a lot of people who tolerate me expect me to be kind of grateful," but they felt that "it should be a given" to at least be tolerated. The few interviewees who chose to confront their tolerators recounted facing "huge backlash," which discouraged further attempts at redress. Elío (nonbinary) found that in the Netherlands, claims of tolerance functioned as "a defense mechanism" that "prevents critical reflection" and "shuts the whole conversation down." For similar reasons, Micha (agender) considered tolerance "anti-equity": "In an equitable society, there wouldn't be tolerance, then there will be dialogue." Minerva (transfem nonbinary) felt resigned: "You're allowed to take the train, so can't complain there, right?" Thus, critical dialogue around inequalities was considered difficult to initiate and sustain due to tolerators' microaggressions and defensiveness, which adversely impacted targets' self-efficacy.

Furthermore, there was a prevalent perception in the sample that others' tolerance was more forthcoming if one did not ask for accommodations. Minerva (transfem nonbinary) stated that "if you demand any kind of change then you're suddenly an obstruction and then I guess tolerance can be revoked," a situation which she found "depressing." Continued tolerance meant that one should "[not] dare to address the fact that we live in a gendered world that is racist, capitalist,

patriarchal, etc." as Micha (agender) said. Tolerance was therefore considered to extend from a position of privilege, which would be threatened by trans people's demands for change.

The conditionality of tolerance differentiated it from acceptance for interviewees: whereas "acceptance doesn't come with conditions" (Thomas, trans man), with tolerance "there's always like a 'but'" (Sam, transfeminine/fag). This felt to interviewees like "a very insecure place to be" (Minerva, transfem nonbinary) and caused respondents to censor themselves to ensure their safety.

"Being tolerated […] puts a pressure on me to behave a certain way for [people] to tolerate me […] I just feel anxious because I feel like it's kind of something that I could lose in the blink of an eye if I speak up too much or like express myself too much."

- Joshua (genderqueer)

Similarly, Elío (nonbinary) reported that "in spaces where I'm tolerated, I sometimes just really don't feel safe enough to really claim that space." They also described how being tolerated makes them "shrivel" and "crawl into this shell" because then "nothing [bad] can happen." For Joshua (genderqueer), Elío (nonbinary), and other interviewees, the precarious nature of tolerance gave rise to feelings of fear and anxiety that led them to censor their authentic self-expression, including their attempts to challenge tolerance and demand acceptance.

Feeling Misunderstood as a Trans Person

When interviewees were being tolerated, they rarely felt that tolerance was based upon an understanding of their identities. For example, Frank (nonbinary) described feeling "trapped" by the fact that their personality characteristics "are not gendered but they will be read that way anyway." Similarly, all nonbinary participants in the sample stated that others showed "profound misunderstanding" of their identities and used familiar concepts, such as the gender binary, to conceptualize unfamiliar ones, hence perceiving nonbinary people as "women-lite" as noted by

Loki (nonbinary). In other words, tolerators' representations of trans identity were anchored in cisgenderism and binarism and did not convey recognition of one's trans identity.

For trans participants, this anchoring among would-be tolerators manifested itself as the belief that "trans people want to be identical to cis people" (Sam, transfeminine/fag). Consequently, Sam went on, "they can't cope with trans people who are physically or behaviorally very different to how cis people of that gender behave." Thomas (trans man) also expressed discomfort with describing himself as "cis-passing" because "[his] goal is not to look cis, whatever that means." Loki (nonbinary) criticized the idea of "fully transitioning" between binary options, which they feared "forces a lot of transgender people into expressions that are not necessarily theirs, but they do it because they feel they have to pass," thus limiting the options for authentic self-expression. Loki recounted being caught between the need to be tolerated and the need to be true to themselves: "I've felt the impulse to present more masculine to make it clearer that I'm not a woman, even though the masculine gender expression did not make me comfortable." Participants reported feeling disappointed and frustrated when the tolerance of their gender was rooted in cissexist assumptions that did not resonate with their experiences. This was particularly true of nonbinary respondents.

The imperative to strive towards a "cis-passing" expression to secure tolerance conveyed that being cisgender was seen as the norm while trans people were seen as deviations from that norm. Interviewees reported feeling "lesser than" when they were the objects of tolerance and noted signs of tolerators' disapproval such as stares or negative remarks. Micha (agender), for example, felt "not taken positively as another great human being," which upsets them and negatively affects their self-esteem and identity authenticity. Participants also felt "other" or "exotic" when being tolerated. Jade (nonbinary/gender non-conforming woman) saw being positioned as "falling outside the norm" as "a way to essentially dehumanize someone." Joshua (genderqueer) viewed it similarly: "You're not as much of a human being [as] cis people. […] I

think that's also based on an idea of respecting existence only when it is the way that it should be in your eyes." Being positioned as deviant to the point of no longer being fully human made interviewees feel "unsafe", "sad and frustrated", and "unwelcome", indicating that it hurt their self-esteem and sense of belonging among tolerators.

Dilemmas of Coping

The misrepresentations of trans experiences and the insidious harms of being tolerated created a number of threats to respondents' trans identities, including their sense of self-esteem, belonging, distinctiveness, and efficacy. This raised the question how to cope with these threats, present for all but two of the respondents. Each strategy mentioned here addresses a dilemma wherein attempting to satisfy one identity need can inadvertently threaten another, as all forms of coping have their limits (Breakwell, 2015). For example, as alluded to above, some respondents coped by assimilating to dominant standards of gender expression to secure their safety and belonging; however, this often came at the price of invisibility or inauthenticity. The most salient dilemma recounted by interviewees was whether to confront tolerators or withdraw from them. Each type of strategy had benefits and drawbacks, which are detailed below.

Confrontation Strategies.

Educating Others. When deciding whether to confront tolerance, interviewees acknowledged the value of educating cisgender people, for example by helping them "[get] to know more about [trans] experiences" (Frank, nonbinary) and providing them with "the right tools and a decent amount of time" (Silver, agender). However, negotiating one's boundaries was difficult, not least because of the inherent ambiguity of detecting tolerance and assessing its true extent, which was stressful, "unpredictable" (Kim, woman), and "exhausting" (Loki, nonbinary). As Sam (transfeminine/fag) said, "it's not my job [to educate others]." Conversely, Kai (transgender man) would "rather have [people] discuss stuff with [him] than like making their

minds up on their own." Frank said they would try to "plant a seed" of understanding, but that it was the other person's responsibility to nurture that seed. Participants were more likely to advocate for themselves if they perceived the tolerating person as receptive to "having their assumptions challenged" (Loki). Receptivity was a sign of "respecting someone enough to make an effort for them" (Joshua, genderqueer), but a lack of receptivity threatened respondents' self-efficacy.

Interviewees often deemed it unproductive to address tolerance-related microaggressions in brief encounters, but the stakes were raised in valued relationships. Respondents had to assess a relationship's "return on investment" as Silver (agender) put it. It could be a very painful experience when close others were merely tolerant and resistant to learning: "With family, I just kind of like bury [my feelings] […] I'm just kind of like well, we're seeing the family today so we're gonna struggle" (Joshua, genderqueer).

Protest. Some interviewees publicly opposed tolerance and were involved in protest in the form of collective action and advocacy. For example, Silver (agender) would "show up to protests" and contribute by "filling up the crowd." Micha (agender) calls upon so-called "deviants" to "aggressively fight against tolerance", proclaiming "I refuse to be tolerated." For them, "the principal thing behind the fight against tolerance is about equity and justice." Loki (nonbinary) also felt an urge to protest tolerance: "It's effort and hassle and it might not endear me to people but yeah, I feel that this is work that I need to do". In their personal life, Micha resists tolerance by queering the tolerable by intentionally violating others' assumptions and trying to "keep people uncertain" about their gender:

"I don't fit in the [gender] conception. Then [others] will try to change their conception. And then again, I don't fit. It's I'm like a shimmering image in that sense […] That's like a

strategy sort of that I use to deregulate situations […] I find a lot of joy in that because it gives me creativity".

- Micha, agender

In the public arena, Micha criticizes policies advocating tolerance rather than acceptance: "I've been cursing the tolerance discourse of COC [mainstream Dutch LGBT organization] for a long time and finally, hopefully also thanks to my always cursing them for that, they gave in and they changed their discourse." Micha perceives tolerance as not only illegitimate but also capable of being de-stabilized, which makes their active resistance possible and empowering as a source of efficacy and esteem.

Avoidance Strategies.

Avoiding Tolerators. Outside of judiciously chosen teaching moments, most respondents had little desire for contact with tolerators. When faced with tolerance, Elío (nonbinary) feels "the need to just label [tolerators] as just ignorant and stupid." Sometimes, withdrawal was mostly psychological, but at other times was enacted physically to preserve one's mental health: "[There are] people in my family that I completely cut contact with [...] I feel that it's such a drain on my mental health to even try [to make them understand]." (Loki, nonbinary).

Seeking Trans Community. Interviewees also chose to deal with the threats of being tolerated by seeking out trans communities. Micha (agender) described the world as "a corridor" between their house and their local queer community hub, and several participants referred positively to their "bubble" in which they felt safe and appreciated. Joshua (genderqueer) said that being tolerated makes them "miss [their] community" and "realize how safe [they] feel around those people in comparison to people who are tolerant but are really like not accepting". For Loki (nonbinary), this directly buffered the negative aspects of tolerance from their close

family because they "have much better support elsewhere". Securing community belonging was a way to combat the alienation that interviewees felt from the tolerant mainstream.

Isolation. When supportive environments were not available, interviewees chose to isolate themselves from threats to identity and safety. This was especially prominent for the four people of color in the sample. For example, Elío (nonbinary) tries to "disappear" in order to avoid censure, and Sam (transfeminine/fag) would "try to change the subject" because "these are issues where once you start talking, it can easily become a huge argument." For Kim (woman), being alone allowed her to be herself and nurture resilience: "I want to find my own space where I can feel and be myself and where I don't feel those kinds of negative energies."

In summary, coping effectively with being tolerated was considered a difficult task that often resulted in trade-offs between identity needs. Educating others could bolster or hurt self-efficacy depending on the other's receptivity; protest could be effective but socially costly; and isolation affected one's sense of belonging but could be the best option for minimizing threat if others' support was unavailable.

Discussion

Tolerance has generally been regarded as a progressive manner of negotiating diversity, but its desirability to trans people has not been empirically examined. My results indicate that most, but not all, trans people in our sample perceive tolerance as perpetuating their disadvantaged position, as hindering tolerators from understanding trans experiences and identities, and as posing multifaceted threats that they needed to cope with.

Experiences of Tolerance

In line with literature characterizing tolerance as inherently conditional (e.g. Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017; Verkuyten et al., 2020b), respondents perceived tolerance as something which could be suddenly taken away. As a result, they did not feel safe fully expressing their

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trans identities and had to take steps to ensure they would not elicit negative reactions. Thus, trans targets of tolerance felt not free from the possibility of domination (Honohan, 2013). Paralleling the finding by Yogeeswaran and Dasgupta (2014) that advantaged groups are more threatened by diversity when it is construed in concrete rather than abstract terms, the respondents felt that they would be tolerated in the abstract as trans people, but that making demands for concrete changes would be met unfavorably. The precariousness of tolerance discouraged efforts towards equity and dialogue, thus preserving the dominant position of cisgender people.

As is typically the case (Adelman et al., 2021), tolerance manifested itself in inaction or passivity (i.e. non-interference) and not in enabling self-actualization among the tolerated. It also was felt by respondents to be beset with forms of microaggressions. Tolerators' expressions of disapproval of trans identity were considered to convey disrespect (Nadal et al., 2012; Pulice-Farrow et al., 2017). The act of tolerating itself positioned being cisgender as the norm and being trans as a deviation from it, rather than as having equal footing (Brown, 2006; Verkuyten et al., 2020a). For respondents, respect would involve effort on tolerators' part that goes beyond non-interference, such as learning about trans experiences, using correct pronouns, and working to see trans people as full and equal human beings. Whereas respect – even without full acceptance – was acceptable to trans respondents, forbearance without respect was not, in line with other research about being tolerated (van Quaquebeke et al., 2007).

Similar to what Sue (2010) described as a "clash of realities" between targets and perpetrators of microaggressions, tolerance came across to the respondents as decidedly more negative than the charitable way in which it often is presented. First, targets were aware that tolerators had their own subjective reasons for objecting to certain expressions of trans identity, but respondents did not consider these reasons to be valid. The respondents, by and large, did not consider tolerant treatment to be virtuous but rather as the bare minimum which could only be positively viewed when directly compared to experiencing rejection.

This study supports the claim made by Alok Vaid-Menon (2018) that "often the most palatable representation of a marginalized group is uplifted because their narratives and appearances are seen as digestible by the mainstream". Respondents often felt compelled to present themselves as palatable to cisgender audiences by attempting to "pass" as cisgender, a performance which to many (especially nonbinary people) felt inauthentic and decreased their sense of societal belonging (Johnson, 2016; Newheiser & Barreto, 2014). Assimilative pressure was considered a sign of disrespect and disadvantage (Barreto & Ellemers, 2009; Sycamore, 2006), affirming the normativity of cisgender experience and the deviance of trans experience (Serano, 2007). It is not uncommon in institutional settings such as healthcare that non-conformity to normative binary conceptions of gender is met with a refusal to provide services (Levie, 2021; Vipond, 2015). Rather than demanding acquiescence to a limited range of acceptable gender presentations, individuals and institutions should acknowledge the full gamut of trans identities in order to better support this community.

Tolerance-Related Threats to Identity

Two of the 13 respondents (Kai (transgender man) and Kelly (female)) were not bothered by being tolerated. Kai found that "just trying to act as normal as possible is the best way for people to like you", which he did not find discrepant with his self-identity. Kelly, who held a prestigious job title during her transition, recounted many affirming interactions with cisgender women who demonstrated respect for her womanhood. These factors (identifying with normality and class privilege) may explain why these two respondents did not feel that being tolerated was threatening to their identities. For these respondents, the boundaries around tolerance were drawn in a way that did not constrict their personal fulfilment.

For the rest of the sample, the identity-related threats presented by tolerance were many and varied. The tolerated person's sense of belonging among tolerators was felt to be threatened,

as being tolerated implied that one was seen as deviant (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). The anchoring of trans identity as an other to cisgender identity additionally foreclosed the possibility of being recognized as a member of a distinct group with a concomitant voice in defining itself and its interests (Phillips, 2003). A common thread throughout this study was how being tolerated made it difficult to be authentic while knowing that enacting one's trans identity might be derogated or even punished. Research shows that LGBT people may strategically choose to conceal their gender or sexual identities to avoid stigmatization, for example because of concerns about safety (Fernandez & Birnholtz, 2019; Rood et al., 2017) or expectations of unsupportive responses (Sabat et al., 2014). The disapproval of tolerance therefore exacerbated the tension that is commonly felt by trans people between desiring authentic self-expression and the need to protect oneself. The scope of what is tolerable is difficult to ascertain, and faced with a de facto choice between safety and authenticity, the former is usually favored (Klein et al., 2007; Reicher & Levine, 1994; Rood et al., 2017). Authenticity, or the internal sense of being true to yourself, has also been linked to better mental health among LGB individuals (Riggle et al., 2017), and the present research highlights that authenticity is also important to study in relation to tolerance among trans and gender non-conforming populations. On a broader social level, being inhibited from authentic identity enactment can result in cultural notions of trans identity that do not correspond to trans individuals' self-conceptions and thus inhibit intergroup understanding between cisgender and trans people.

Coping with Being Tolerated

Tolerated trans people in this study exhibited a wide range of strategies to cope with the complex identity threats they faced. Consistent with previous research (e.g., Budge et al., 2018) coping efforts are not always fully effective, and attempts to cope with a threat to one identity need could inadvertently threaten another (Breakwell, 2015), as can be seen in this data. Authenticity was elusive when attempting to secure societal belonging through assimilation, and

both societal and community belonging in turn could suffer when isolating oneself to shield one's self-esteem. Attempts to cope were aimed at bolstering whatever identity need was being threatened in a given situation, with other needs becoming potential "collateral damage".

Broadly speaking, my findings on coping expanded on those of previous research, finding two patterns of responses. In the first, which we've termed confrontational coping, the people in this study engaged directly with the source of threat (for example, through educating or confronting tolerators), and the second coping pattern involved avoidance. The identification of these coping strategies through qualitative interviews expands on the findings of Puckett and colleagues (2020) to the 'grey zone' of tolerance. As some of the participants in this study noted, the ambiguity surrounding expressions of tolerance made the already difficult decisions to confront even more difficult, adding an extra dimension of nuance to the research on confrontational or approach-oriented coping. In the second strategy of avoidance, people withdrew or disengaged from the tolerating society to cope with the stressors of being tolerated (for example by withdrawing socially). Importantly, avoidance strategies are often considered maladaptive, although I hesitate to use that label. Avoiding confrontations with tolerators was considered a means of preventing threats to one's safety. Similarly, withdrawal from cisgender people and seeking trans community has benefits for trans mental health (Singh et al., 2011).

As noted by Budge and colleagues (2018), the effectiveness and consequences of different coping strategies can be situation specific. When deciding whether to confront tolerators, respondents' expectancies were important, and confrontations were unlikely when negative reactions were anticipated (Nadal, 2013; Sue, 2010). Thus, avoidance strategies were helpful when dealing with the negative implications of being tolerated. The confrontational strategies of negativism and social change, as described in IPT and social identity theory respectively (Breakwell, 1986, 2015; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), were present when the tolerance of trans people was seen as illegitimate and when respondents felt that they could have an impact, conforming

to Tajfel and Turner's (1979) predictions and much research in the social identity literature (Bettencourt et al., 2001; Ellemers, 1993). Although risky, these strategies could be empowering and at a larger scale may work towards securing equality for marginalized groups (Wright & Baray, 2012).

The results of coping strategies used by the trans people in this study also extend the findings of Mizock and colleagues (2017) on coping strategies used by trans people in the workplace. People in this study noted how they sought to disappear or self-censor to avoid negative repercussions, similar to the coping strategy identified by Mizock and colleagues of gender-presentation. Similarly, these participants used relationship strategies and confrontation to build healthier circles for their identity expression. However, these participants felt less trapped than those identified in Mizock and colleagues (2017) study. Thus, although isolation and avoidance were found in both studies, the extent to which the use of these strategies is negative or maladaptive outside of the restrictive space of a workplace is not fully clear. More research is warranted to further investigate when trans targets of tolerance resist rather than comply with being tolerated, and the consequences for trans targets of using these different coping approaches.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study makes a novel contribution to the literature on the target's perspective on tolerance and trans experiences. However, there are several limitations which provide directions for future research. First, I aimed to recruit a diverse sample, but the sample was relatively young, well-educated, and ethnically non-representative. The findings in my study may therefore not be generalizable to other populations within in trans communities. For example, the sample was relatively young and well-educated, which could have an impact on experiences and interpretations of being tolerated. With the increasing visibility and normalization of trans

identities, younger generations and the more educated may be more likely to be critical about tolerance. Future research could also benefit from an intersectional analysis investigating how people's occupancy of specific intersections of identity matters for the likelihood and experience of being tolerated. For example, in the present research, trans people of color tended to be more concerned with their safety in situations of tolerance than their white counterparts, and it is important to examine these sorts of intersections both in mainstream and LGBT spaces. Another limitation is that I focused only on the targets' perspective rather than attempting to capture both tolerators' and targets' perspectives in interaction. An interactional perspective would shed light on any misunderstandings that may occur regarding the appropriateness and motivations behind tolerance. Finally, I conducted my research in the Netherlands and the experience of being tolerated might be different for trans people in other (neo)liberal societies, and especially compared to increasingly illiberal settings such as Hungary, Poland, and Turkey. In these societies, overt negativity, harassment, and rejection of trans people are common, making tolerance critical for being able to live one's life.

Another possible direction for further research is to more closely examine the links between microaggressions and the experience of being tolerated. This data indicates that tolerance can manifest as different types of microaggressions: for example, microassaults included avoidant behavior, microinsults included intrusive questions about one's body, and microinvalidations included the denial of transphobia by tolerators. However, tolerance did not always come across as a slight, but as respectful and affirming, i.e. as microaffirmations (Pulice-Farrow et al., 2019; Rowe, 2008). This was particularly true when tolerators demonstrated a willingness to learn about trans experiences and move closer to acceptance. More research is needed to situate targets' experiences of tolerance in the broader literature on microaggressions and subtle prejudice.

Conclusion

For trans targets of tolerance, being tolerated tends to be unpleasant and is a particularly threatening experience to one's identity needs for belonging, esteem, and efficacy. Continued tolerance was felt to be conditional on acquiescence to inequalities between cisgender and trans people. Being tolerated also conveyed devaluation and misunderstanding of one's trans identity, rewarding assimilation while discouraging authentic self-presentation. Coping with such treatment is beset with risks and compromises to avoid threats to one's safety. This study has shown that from the perspective of trans people, tolerance can be considered to be oppressive rather than virtuous. Given that being tolerated can be a challenge to trans well-being, we recommend that healthcare and counseling services seek to proactively celebrate and affirm trans identity and move away from the notion of tolerance. Ensuring the visibility of trans people in key institutions would also help to promote the perception among trans people that they are included rather than merely tolerated. More broadly, these findings reinforce the importance of Pride events as a means to celebrate trans identity and advocate for trans acceptance. Developing networks of trans-led and trans-inclusive establishments and communities would be a fruitful endeavor for trans activists, community members, and those who seek to help them. Even if tolerance is an unavoidable and necessary part of life in liberal democracies, policymakers must be aware of the negative sides of the tolerance experience to better provide services to members of the trans community.

Chapter 3

Being Tolerated: Implications for Well-Being among Ethnic Minorities

Introduction

Many nations and civil organizations increasingly promote tolerance as a condition for multicultural justice and positive intergroup relations in plural societies (Verkuyten et al., 2019). It is clear that there is no space for diversity and difference without the capacity to put up with practices that one finds objectionable: "diversity and equality among people living in peace *necessarily* means that they have learned to tolerate one another" (Vogt, 1997, p. 5, original italics). Tolerance implies forbearance and putting up with something that one disagrees with, disapproves of, or is negative about (Cohen, 2004). Thus, tolerance differs from indifference and being non-judgmental because "one cannot tolerate ideas of which one approves" (Gibson, 2006, p. 22). In tolerance, one decides to endure dissenting beliefs or practices for other reasons, such as the endorsement of egalitarianism (Cohen, 2004; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). While people cannot be expected to appreciate all different practices and beliefs, especially when these clash with one's own convictions, they may be able to show forbearance and tolerate these differences.

However, tolerance implies that minority group members are allowed to engage in practices that tolerators consider misguided, offensive, or wrong. Tolerance carries "echoes of at best grudging acceptance, and at worst ill-disguised hostility" (Fitzgerald, 2000, p. 13) and involves "the marking of subjects of tolerance as inferior, deviant, or marginal vis-`a-vis those practicing tolerance" (Brown, 2006, p. 13). Furthermore, tolerance places targets in a vulnerable position wherein their freedom can be limited when more powerful others consider them no longer tolerable (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). Thus, although the act of tolerating others may be critical for managing diversity in a way that permits contradictory beliefs and values to coexist in society, the experience of being tolerated may be less positive. Tolerance might create negative psychological consequences for tolerated individuals, who typically want to be valued and respected (Bergsieker et al., 2010) rather than *merely* tolerated (Parekh, 2000).

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In this paper, I present three studies conducted in the United States that examine the implications of being tolerated on the well-being of ethnic minority group members. In doing so, I compare the implications of being tolerated with being fully accepted and being overtly rejected. This allows us to examine the claim that "tolerance involves an attitude that is intermediate between wholehearted acceptance and unrestrained opposition" (Scanlon, 2003, p. 187) from the target's perspective. Being tolerated implies that one has the opportunity to live as one wants and enjoy the psychological benefits of this, but may also harm one's well-being due to the precariousness and disapproval involved in tolerance.

Being Tolerated and Well-Being

There is a growing body of research providing evidence for a distinction between tolerance, acceptance, and rejection on the part of the tolerators (e.g., Verkuyten et al., 2020b, 2019; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). While rejection implies that one cannot live with a particular group or practice (such as the wearing of a headscarf by Muslim women), tolerance involves the feeling of "I can live with it", while acceptance moves in the direction of "It is welcome". However, there is little research into the experience of being tolerated and how this might differ from being accepted and being rejected. Furthermore, while the harmful effects of group-based rejection on targets' well-being have been well documented (Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014), there is hardly any theorizing and research on the consequences of being tolerated. However, the condescension and conditionality of tolerating minority practices are also likely to harm targets' overall well-being and this may be due to threats to minority members' social identity needs.

Tolerance is theorized to entail several negative consequences by undermining minority targets' social identity needs (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). Due to the implied devaluation of minority practices and beliefs, tolerance may feel like a condescending orientation which could

harm minorities' self-esteem and evoke negative emotions associated with rejection. Furthermore, being tolerated may threaten minority targets' sense of control, as tolerators retain the power to decide the terms under which targets may practice their way of life. Thus, the satisfaction of social identity needs such as self-esteem, belonging, and efficacy (Vignoles, 2011) may be undermined among the tolerated.

Initial evidence for the role of threatened identity needs comes from a survey study conducted among disabled, LGBTQ+, and Kurdish people in Turkey (Bagci et al., 2020). Independently of perceived rejection, it was found that higher perceived tolerance was related to threatened identity needs which, in turn, were related to lower well-being in all three minority groups. However, this study did not compare being tolerated to being fully accepted, did not allow for causal inferences due to its correlational nature, and did not account for critical individual difference factors such as one's general tendency to feel negative emotions.

Although group-based treatment can affect well-being in general, several facets of well-being might be especially affected by perceiving oneself to be tolerated on the basis of minority group membership. For instance, the disapproval of tolerance might give rise to feelings of offence, discomfort, and irritation. The conditionality of tolerance could also evoke fear, uncertainty, and vigilance, which are taxing to targets' well-being (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). More reflective dimensions of well-being can also be affected by the perceived treatment of one's minority group. For example, rejection has been shown to decrease the overall life satisfaction of African Americans (Broman, 1997; Yap et al., 2011). Tolerance conveys that one can only act freely under conditions set by tolerators more powerful than oneself. Therefore, the feeling of being merely tolerated might also be associated with lower life satisfaction.

Tolerance may also impact upon self-directed affect, such as self-esteem. Knowing that others hold objections to core parts of one's identity conveys negative public regard (Leary &

Baumeister, 2000; Schmitt et al., 2014; Sellers et al., 1998). Negative consequences for self-esteem would be especially likely for members of disadvantaged groups and for concealable stigmas (Schmitt et al., 2014). Because tolerance involves disapproval of the target's actions, targets might want to avoid negative evaluations by refraining from engaging in certain practices and conceal stigmatized self-aspects. Such attempts to avoid others' negative reactions have been shown to harm self-directed affect (Barreto et al., 2006).

Being tolerated might also have a negative impact on one's sense of control. A sense of control over one's life is considered to be a key component of well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2017), which is most clearly thwarted by experiencing pervasive rejection, as this implies that more powerful others control important outcomes in one's life. Being tolerated may also be experienced as having less control, as it is a more powerful other that decides the conditions and limits of what one is allowed to do. Thus, even though the tolerating group refrains from negatively interfering in the lives of the tolerated, tolerance does not provide the conditions for minority group members to be free from domination. A more powerful outgroup dictates and can arbitrarily change the circumstances under which one is safe from intolerance (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). Nevertheless, the bounded freedom afforded by being tolerated is considerably more enabling than rigid exclusion and rejection.

To summarize, tolerance can be related to lower well-being because it threatens several social identity needs among targets, such as self-esteem, belonging, and a sense of control. Tolerance does not involve the negative behavioral interference that characterizes rejection, but nonetheless casts targets as deviant and subordinate to more powerful others (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). Deleterious consequences can therefore be expected with regard to emotions, life satisfaction, self-esteem, and a sense of control. Thus, I expect being tolerated to have negative implications for well-being outcomes in comparison with being accepted, but less so compared to being rejected.

Overview of Studies

I conducted a survey and two experiments to test my predictions regarding the link between being tolerated and well-being. Survey participants in Study 1 answered questions about the frequency of experiences with being tolerated, as well as being rejected or being accepted. In Study 2, participants were randomly assigned to a tolerance condition (versus rejection and acceptance conditions) to examine the causal impact of recalling experiences of being tolerated on well-being. In Study 3, participants engaged with vignettes about being tolerated (compared to rejected and being accepted) to examine if this engagement triggered feelings of social identity threat that are subsequently related to lower well-being.

Across all studies, I focused on participants' psychological well-being through a range of indices, including negative but also positive emotions (which constitute separate dimensions; Diener & Emmons, 1984), life satisfaction, sense of control, and self- esteem. First, I expected that higher perceived tolerance is independently related to lower well-being (H1). Second, the experience of being tolerated is expected to have a more negative association with well-being than being accepted, but a less negative impact than being rejected (H2). Third, I expected that the negative well-being effects of being tolerated (compared to rejection and acceptance) are due to threatened social identity needs (H3).

All studies were conducted in the United States among ethnic minorities and took trait-like negative emotionality into account (Tellegen & Waller, 2008; Watson & Clark, 1984), because this predisposition might inflate the link between perceived negative group treatment and well-being (Lilienfeld, 2017). Trait-like negative emotionality can lead to increased perceptions of unfair treatment in ambiguous circumstances (such as being tolerated; Verkuyten et al., 2020a) and can therefore be a confound in research studying the relation between perceived negative treatment and well-being (Ong et al., 2013).

Study 1

In Study 1, I examined the relations between being tolerated and minority well-being, compared to being accepted and rejected. I examined five distinct components of well-being (positive affect, negative affect, self-esteem, life satisfaction, and sense of control in life) as two higher-order latent factors encapsulating positive and negative well-being, respectively.

Method

Participants

A total of 330 non-white ethnic minorities in the United States were retained for analysis.[3] Of these, 182 respondents self-identified as African American, 44 as Hispanic or Latinx, 53 as Asian American, 16 as Native American or Alaska Natives, 17 as multiethnic Americans, 2 as Arab or Middle Eastern American, and 16 reported other (non-white) ethnic backgrounds. Their ages ranged from 17 to 73 years old ($M = 37.0$; $SD = 14.4$), and 73% of the sample were women. On a 9-point scale for level of education, ranging from "no school" to "doctorate degree", the median education level was "some college". On an 8-point income scale, ranging from "under $10,000" to "$200,000 or more", the median income was between $25,000 and $49,999. On average, the sample leaned politically liberal on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 = very liberal to 7 = very conservative ($M = 3.4$; $SD = 1.9$).

Procedure

Respondents were reached through Qualtrics's online market research panels in December 2018. Respondents first reported their ethnic background, and those who identified as white or

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3 Originally, we had 420 responses. However, following the recommendations of Leiner (2019) to remove participants who completed the study unreasonably quickly, we computed a relative speed index for each participant (median completion time divided by participant's completion time) and removed responses with an index above 1.75, leaving 330 responses for analyses.

European American were filtered out, with a 20-30% response rate for non-white participants. Participants then reported their age, gender, education level, income, and political orientation. Subsequently, they answered the main survey questions described below and finally answered a suspicion probe. Unless otherwise stated, all questions and measures used 7-point Likert-type scales. Upon completion of the survey, the participants were fully debriefed and received a small financial reward. The research (three studies) was approved by the Faculty Ethics Review Board of the Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences at Utrecht University.

Measures

Perceived Tolerance, Acceptance, and Rejection. Participants answered a series of questions about the frequency of their being tolerated, rejected, and accepted, in counterbalanced order. Because I wanted to compare the three types of experiences, I used the same measure for all three by asking about experiences in different social contexts directly, rather than focusing on particular forms of rejection or tolerance (e.g., Operario & Fiske, 2001; Stronge et al., 2016). Participants indicated how often they felt tolerated, rejected, or accepted because of their ethnicity across seven social contexts: at work, at school, during leisure activities, at clubs or organizations, in their neighborhood, on social media, and overall (1 = never, 7 = always).

Each set of questions was preceded by a description of what being tolerated, rejected, or accepted meant. For being tolerated, the description read: "Situations in which people put up with your cultural beliefs or practices. For example, when you get the sense that other people have objections to the norms, practices, or way of life of your racial or ethnic group, but they nevertheless do not interfere with what you are doing. Have you ever experienced people putting up with you despite objections to the norms, practices, or way of life of your ethnic or racial group?". For rejection, the description read: "Situations in which you are treated unfairly because of the norms, practices, or way of life of your racial or ethnic group. For example, when other

people exclude you or treat you unjustly based on your race or ethnicity. Have you ever experienced unfair treatment because of your race or ethnicity?". For acceptance, the description read: "Situations in which you are welcomed and people are genuinely appreciative of the norms, practices, or way of life of your racial or ethnic group. For example, when people welcome the perspective of your ethnic or racial group and help you feel accepted. Have you ever experienced being welcomed because of your race or ethnicity?".

Well-Being.

Positive and Negative Affect. I administered a 15-item version of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson et al., 1988), which asked participants to what extent they are currently experiencing seven positive emotions (e.g., happy, comfortable, and proud) and eight negative emotions (e.g., scared, irritable, and downhearted). A confirmatory factor analysis supported a two-factor model with separate factors for positive and negative affect, $\chi^2(76) = 248.81$, $p < .001$; CFI = .93; RMSEA = .08, 90% CIs [0.07, 0.10]; SRMR = .06, over a one-factor model, $\chi^2(77) = 1{,}040.25$, $p < .001$; CFI = .63; RMSEA = .20, 90% CIs [0.18, 0.21]; SRMR = 0.15. One item ("bold") was removed due to low loading (< 0.6), and the residuals of two positive items ("happy" and "cheerful") were covaried. Both scales had good internal consistency, $\alpha_{positive} = .89$ and $\alpha_{negative} = .91$.

Life Satisfaction. I used the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), which consists of five items (e.g., "In most ways my life is close to ideal"; $\alpha = .87$).

Self-Esteem. I measured personal self-esteem with a single-item measure ("I have high self-esteem"; Robins et al., 2001) which I treated as latent by estimating its error variance and multiplying the variance of the single indicator with the unreliability of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1965).

Lack of Control. I measured participants' perceived lack of control using Lachman and Weaver's (1998) scale consisting of eight items (e.g., "I have little control over the things that happen to me"), although the three reverse-coded items were dropped due to factor loadings below 0.6. The remaining scale had good internal consistency, α = .82.

Negative Emotionality. I used eight items from the Negative Emotionality subscale of Tellegen's (1982) Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire (e.g., "Many people try to push me around"). One item ("People rarely try to take advantage of me") was dropped due to low factor loading, with the resulting scale having good internal consistency, α = .87.[4]

Higher-Order Well-Being Factors. In the interest of parsimony, I combined the well-being measures into two second-order factors: one for positive well-being, consisting of positive affect, self-esteem, and life satisfaction, and one for negative well-being, consisting of negative affect and lack of control. I freed the covariance of the positive and negative affect scales because they shared common method variance. The resulting model had an acceptable fit, $\chi^2(268) = 564.67$, $p < .001$; CFI = .93; RMSEA = .06, 90% CIs [0.05, 0.07]; SRMR = .06.[5]

Results

Distinguishing between Being Tolerated, Rejected, and Accepted

Using Mplus 8.0, I examined whether perceived rejection, tolerance, and acceptance are empirically distinguishable experiences. I used an adaptation of the multi-trait-multi-method approach by taking participants' general experiences within a particular context (e.g., at school, at work) into account. Specifically, I allowed the residuals of rejection, tolerance, and acceptance items to correlate within the same social context to account for common method variance (i.e.,

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[4] This improved the reliability, but may have decreased the validity by confounding the substantive measure with shared method variance.

[5] In all three studies, we measured ethnic and national identification as possible moderators. Across the three studies, there was no consistent moderation by either national or ethnic identification. See Appendix B for details.

residuals to items pertaining to school, work, etc.). Table 3.1 shows the fit indices of the models I tested. The one-factor model (Model 1) and the two-factor combinations (Models 2-4) did not fit the data well, while the three-factor model (Model 5) fit the data well, indicating that the three experiences are empirically distinct.

Table 3.1

Model Fit Indices for Perceived Rejection, Tolerance, and Acceptance Factors

Model	Chi-square	*df*	CFI	RMSEA [90% CIs]	SRMR	AIC
1	3802.89***	168	0.47	0.26 [0.25, 0.26]	0.22	26162.5
2	2380.81***	167	0.67	0.20 [0.19, 0.21]	0.18	24742.4
3	2175.23***	167	0.71	0.19 [0.18, 0.20]	0.22	24536.8
4	1770.25***	167	0.76	0.17 [0.16, 0.18]	0.11	24131.9
5	398.96***	165	0.97	0.07 [0.06, 0.07]	0.03	22764.6

Note: Model 1 was a one-factor model. Models 2 through 4 were two-factor models where either rejection, tolerance, or acceptance, respectively, stood alone while the items of the other two constructs were made to load on the same factor. Model 5 was a three-factor model. df = degrees of freedom; CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; CIs = confidence intervals; SRMR = standardized root mean square residual; AIC = Akaike's information criterion. *** $p < .001$.

The correlations between perceived tolerance, rejection, and acceptance (Table 3.2) also indicate that these are distinct experiences. Perceived tolerance had a moderate positive correlation with perceived rejection, and a weaker positive association with perceived acceptance, $z = 3.81$, $p < .001$[6]. Thus, participants seemed to understand being tolerated in a somewhat negative light, as more similar to being rejected.

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[6] Unexpectedly, perceived rejection and acceptance were positively correlated, even after accounting for shared variance of some items. This may be due to shared method variance. Another possible reason is that minority participants were suspicious about the motives of those who appeared to be accepting (Major et al., 2016).

Table 3.2

Descriptive Statistics and Zero-Order Correlations Between Focal Variables in Study 1

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Perceived rejection	3.1	1.7	-									
2. Perceived tolerance	3.2	1.8	.52**	-								
3. Perceived acceptance	4.3	1.8	.12*	.29**	-							
4. Life satisfaction	4.2	1.5	-.08	-.34	.16**	-						
5. Self-esteem	4.8	1.9	.02	.02	.18**	.56**	-					
6. Positive affect	4.2	1.3	-.01	.05	.18**	.50**	.37**	-				
7. Negative affect	2.8	1.4	.30**	.27***	-.09†	-.25**	-.21**	-.38**	-			
8. Lack of control	3.4	1.5	.28**	.18**	-.01	-.20**	-.27**	-.13*	.40**	-		
9. Negative emotionality	3.6	1.5	.40**	.28**	-.01	-.12*	-.07	-.04	.30**	.44**	-	
10. Ethnic identification	5.3	1.7	.09†	.15**	.32**	.26**	.28**	.25**	-.058	-.040	-.02	-
11. National identification	5.1	1.8	-.04	.10†	.15**	.39**	.30**	.32**	-.12*	-.01	-.07	.31**

Note. † $p < .1$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

A one-way repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) found significant differences in the prevalence of participants' perceptions of being tolerated, rejected, and accepted, $F(1.80, 591.2) = 66.43$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$. Planned contrasts revealed that participants felt more accepted than tolerated and that the prevalence of perceived tolerance and rejection did not significantly differ (see Table 3.2 for means).

Perceived Group Treatments and Well-Being

I created a structural model in which I specified direct paths between perceived tolerance, rejection, and acceptance (accounting for common method variance) and the second-order factors of positive and negative well-being (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2, respectively). The model had an acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2(952) = 1,721.92$, $p < .001$; CFI = .93; RMSEA = .05, 90% CIs [.046, .053]; SRMR = .05. In support of H1, perceived rejection and perceived tolerance were both associated with lower well-being, while perceived acceptance was associated with higher well-being (see Table 3.3).

To test the second hypothesis, I conducted a series of Wald tests comparing the coefficients for tolerance, rejection, and acceptance on well-being. Concerning positive well-being, we found that the coefficients for tolerance and rejection did not differ, $W(1) = 0.18$, $p = .668$, whereas the coefficient for tolerance was significantly smaller than the one for acceptance, $W(1) = 6.39$, $p = .011$. The same pattern emerged for negative well-being, such that the coefficients for tolerance and rejection did not differ from each other, $W(1) = 1.01$, $p = .315$, but those for tolerance and acceptance differed significantly, $W(1) = 11.50$, $p < .001$. These findings partially support my second hypothesis: tolerance related differently to well-being than acceptance, but did not differ from rejection. I also tested whether the effects differed if I studied well-being as five separate facets rather than as two higher-order factors, and found that this analysis yielded the same pattern of results shown in Table 3.3 (see Table 3.4).
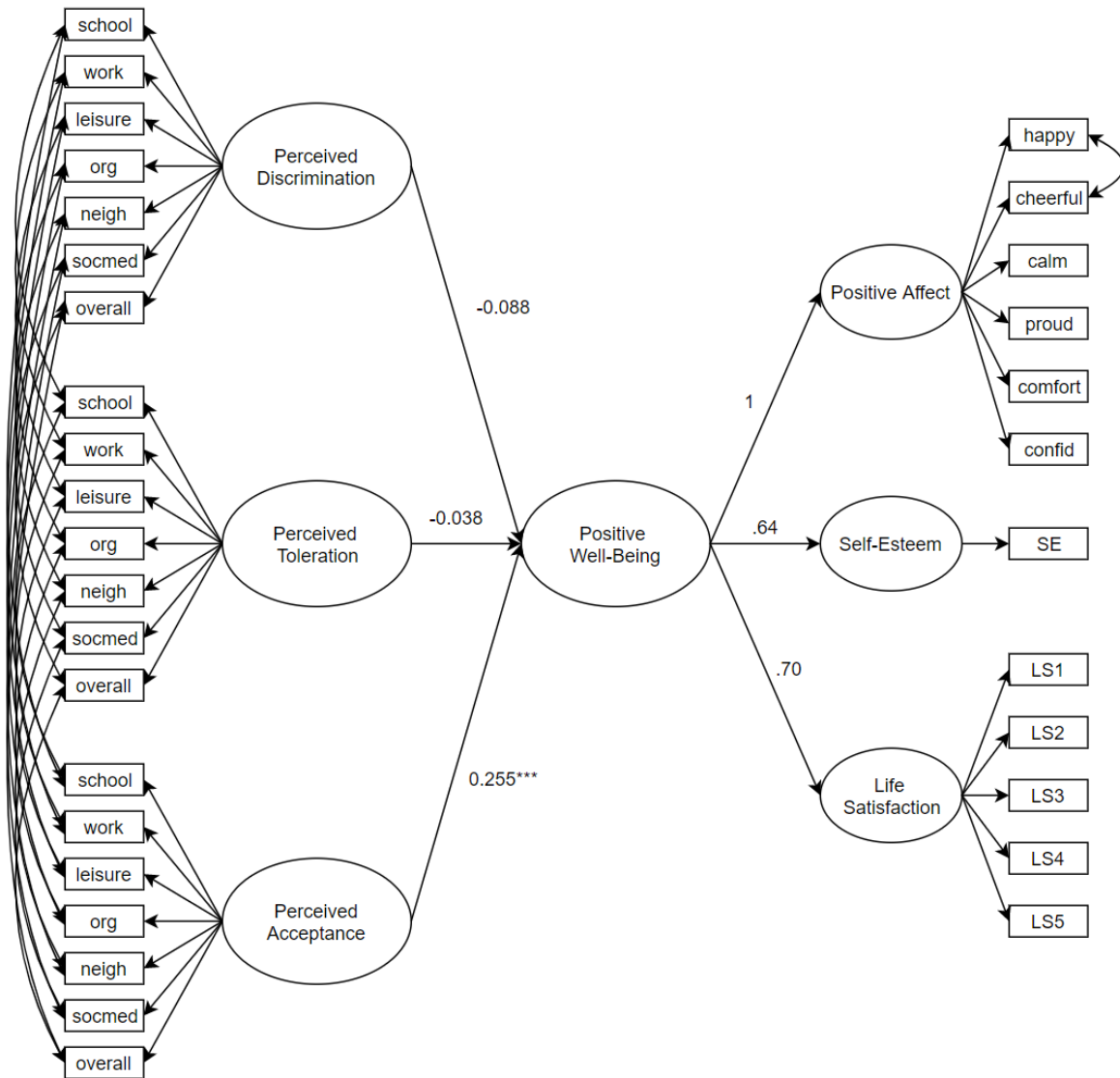
Figure 3.1. Relations of perceived group treatment to positive well-being. *Note:* *** *p* < .001; org = organizations; neigh = neighborhood; socmed = social media; comfort = comfortable; confid = confident; SE = self-esteem; LS = life satisfaction.

Controlling for Negative Emotionality and Demographics

Next, I reran the structural regression model including trait-like negative emotionality as a control variable. This attenuated the links between perceived rejection, tolerance, and acceptance with negative well-being, but did not change the association between perceived acceptance and positive well-being (see Table C1). Thus, the relations between group treatments and well-being can be partially attributed to trait-like negative emotionality, but importantly, partialling out its contribution yields a similar pattern of findings. Similarly, including demographic control
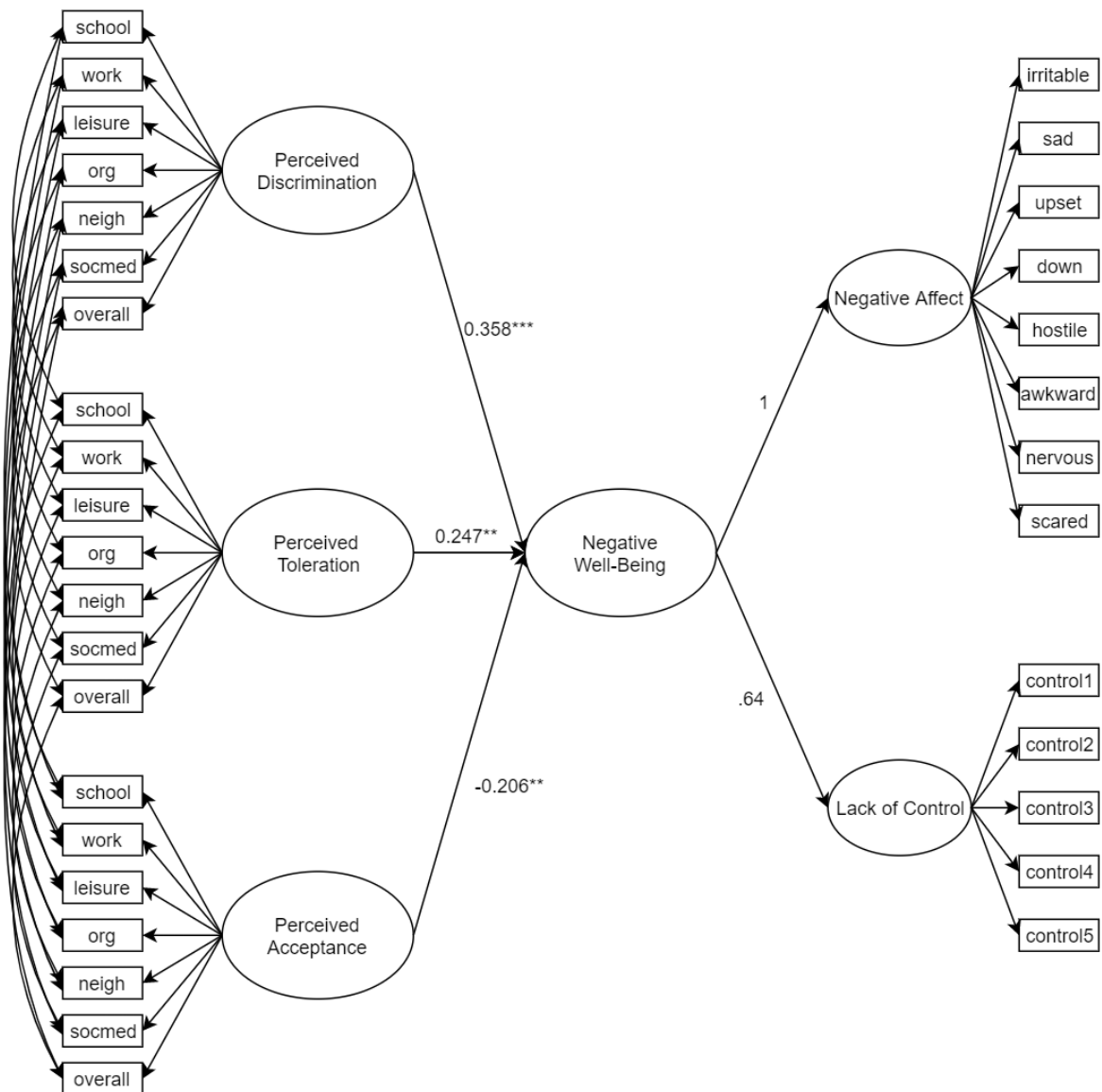
Figure 3.2. Relations of perceived group treatment to negative well-being. *Note: ** p < .01; *** p <*

.001; org = organizations ; neigh = neighborhood; socmed = social media; down = downhearted.

Table 3.3

Main Analysis Predicting Well-Being from Group Treatment with Higher Order Factors for Study 1

Outcome	Predictor	β	*SE*
Positive Well-Being	Rejection	-.09	0.08
	Tolerance	-.04	0.08
	Acceptance	.26***	0.06
Negative Well-Being	Rejection	.36***	0.08
	Tolerance	.25**	0.08
	Acceptance	-.21**	0.07

*Note. * p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; † p < .1*

variables such as gender, age, education, income, ethnicity, and political orientation reduced the strength of some coefficients, but the overall pattern of associations did not change (see Tables C2 and C3).

Discussion

Participants perceived experiences with being tolerated as distinct from both being rejected and being accepted (Bagci et al., 2020). Furthermore, and in support of my first hypothesis, perceived tolerance was independently related to lower well-being, likely due to its threat to social identity needs (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). However, although I hypothesized that perceived tolerance would be less strongly associated with lower well-being than perceived rejection, I found that perceived tolerance had the same relation to well-being that perceived rejection had. Finally, I found that accounting for individual differences in trait-like negative emotionality did not eliminate the links between the perceived group treatments and well-being.

Table 3.4

Betas and Standard Errors for Structural Regression Predicting Well-Being from Perceived Group Treatment for Study 1

Outcome	Predictor	β	*SE*
Positive Affect	Rejection	-.06	0.07
	Tolerance	.01	0.07
	Acceptance	.22***	0.06
Negative Affect	Rejection	.22**	0.07
	Tolerance	.22**	0.07
	Acceptance	-.20***	0.06
Life Satisfaction	Rejection	-.11	0.07
	Tolerance	-.04	0.07
	Acceptance	.21**	0.06
Self-Esteem	Rejection	.02	0.07
	Tolerance	-.05	0.07
	Acceptance	.21**	0.06
Lack of Control	Rejection	.30***	0.07
	Tolerance	.07	0.07
	Acceptance	-.07	0.06

Note. † $p < .1$; * $p < 05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Study 2

The cross-sectional findings of Study 1 suggest that experiences with being tolerated can be unsatisfactory to minority group members. In Study 2, I conducted an experiment in order to establish whether the perception of being tolerated affects (situational) well-being. Previous research has found that being reminded of and recalling experiences of rejection undermine well-being (see Schmitt et al., 2014) and I expected to find this to be the case also for being tolerated. I had participants recall either experiences of being rejected, being tolerated, or being accepted

and measured similar well-being outcomes as in Study 1, while also assessing the potential confounding role of trait-like negative emotionality.

Method

Participants

The participants were 315 ethnic minorities in the United States. Again, the majority self-identified as African American (185), 32 were Hispanic or Latinx (but not White/ European), 39 were Asian American, 17 were Native American or Alaska Natives, 36 were multiethnic Americans, 1 was Arab or Middle Eastern American, and 5 were from other ethnic minority backgrounds. Their ages were between 18 and 83 years old ($M = 41.2$; $SD = 16.1$) and 80% were women. The median education level was "some college" and the median income was between $25,000 and $49,999. On average, the sample was centrist in political views ($M = 3.4$; $SD = 2.0$) on a 7-point scale.

Procedure and Design

Similar to Study 1, data were collected through Qualtrics market research panels and yielded a similar response rate. After giving informed consent and reporting their demographic information, participants were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions, detailed below.

I employed a between-subjects experimental design with three conditions using an adaptation of the questions-as-treatments experimental approach (e.g., Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015; Chong et al., 2001). In each condition and as part of the experimental manipulation, participants first answered a set of questions about how often they experienced being tolerated, accepted, or rejected, depending on condition (see Study 1). Subsequently, they were asked to

describe a specific experience that they or someone they know[7] has had of being either tolerated, accepted, or rejected. Specifically, participants were asked to remember and describe one vivid example and to take a few minutes "to recall and describe the situation. What happened? Who was involved? Where did it happen?". This writing exercise (McQueen & Klein, 2006) was meant to make the experience of being tolerated, rejected, or accepted salient.

Measures

Unless otherwise stated, all questions and measures used 7-point Likert-type scales.

Well-Being.

Positive and Negative Affect. I administered the same 15-item version of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson et al., 1988) used in Study 1, with the sole difference being that I now asked participants to what extent they had felt those emotions during the experience that they had described as part of the experimental manipulation. If participants described an experience that someone else had had, they reported how they think that person would have felt at the time.

I found that positive and negative affect formed distinct scales, as a two-factor model, $\chi^2(53) = 282.30$, $p < .001$, CFI = .91, RMSEA = .12, 90% CIs [0.10, 0.13], SRMR = .06, fit the data better than a one-factor model, $\chi^2(90) = 1{,}012.46$, $p < .001$, CFI = .70, RMSEA = 0.18, 90% CIs [0.17, 0.19], SRMR = .12. Two items ("bold" and "calm") had to be dropped from the positive affect subscale due to low loadings. Modification indices suggested covarying two other items ("proud" and "confident"). The resulting scale was highly reliable, $\alpha = .93$. In the negative affect subscale, three items ("nervous", "scared", and "hostile") were dropped due to low

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[7] Of the experiences described, 73% (acceptance) to 83% (rejection; 74% for tolerance) were personal, and analysis conducted on only these responses yielded an identical pattern of findings as for the total sample.

loadings. The resulting scale had good internal consistency, $\alpha = .87$. With these modifications, the model fit improved markedly, $\chi^2(33) = 117.27$, $p < .001$, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .09, 90% CIs [0.07, 0.11], SRMR = .04.

Other Well-Being Measures. I measured life satisfaction ($\alpha = .88$), self-esteem, and sense of lack of control ($\alpha = .83$) using the same procedures I had used in Study 1. I dropped the same three items from the sense of lack of control scale as in Study 1. I also measured negative emotionality in the same way as in Study 1, this time freeing the covariances between two pairs of items to improve the model fit. The scale had good internal consistency, $\alpha = .87$.

In this study, I did not group the well-being facets into two second-order factors, as the positive and negative affect scales pertained to the particular situation which participants reported on, whereas the other measures had a more situation-independent scope. Because this would have resulted in too few indicators for each second-order factor, I kept each of the five well-being outcomes separate in the analysis.

Data Management. I originally obtained 474 responses, but I had to exclude 159 participants from the analyses. Two were removed for being under 18 years of age. Further, given the importance to the study that participants understood the manipulation and recalled the appropriate experiences, two independent coders examined responses to the manipulation check, in which participants were asked to describe an experience of being rejected, being tolerated, or being accepted. Discrepancies between coders were resolved through discussion. Eighteen responses were removed from the rejection condition: two were nonsensical, 12 preferred not to answer, one was irrelevant, and three described experiences of acceptance. Eighty responses were removed from the tolerance condition, of which three were nonsensical, 35 preferred not to answer, 26 described instances of overt rejection, 14 were irrelevant, and two described instances of full acceptance. We removed 59 responses from the acceptance condition, of which four were

nonsensical, 16 preferred not to answer, 19 described instances of overt rejection, six were irrelevant, and 14 described instances of acceptance by one's ingroup rather than an outgroup.

I ran a series of t-tests and chi-square tests to examine whether those I excluded differed from those I included in terms of their demographics. All of the t-tests concerning age, education, income, and political orientation were non-significant (all ts < 1.31, all ps > .191). There also was no significant association between ethnicity and gender and being included or excluded in the sample, $\chi^2(6) = 2.66$, $p = .85$, and $\chi^2(2) = 5.90$, $p = .052$, respectively. Furthermore, participants' demographics did not differ between the three experimental conditions.

Results

Relations Between Condition and Well-Being

Using Mplus 8.0, I tested whether well-being differed by experimental condition. I ran structural regressions with condition dummies as the independent variables (tolerance as the reference category) and the five well-being measures (positive affect, negative affect, life satisfaction, self-esteem, and perceived lack of control) as dependent variables. The results of these analyses can be found in Table 3.5, while bivariate correlations can be found in Table C4. As expected, positive affect was lower in the tolerance condition ($M = 3.3$; $SD = 1.9$) compared to the acceptance condition ($M = 5.8$; $SD = 1.2$), but higher compared to the rejection condition ($M = 2.4$; $SD = 1.6$), $F(2, 312) = 146.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .48$. The pattern for negative affect was reversed, $F(2, 312) = 124.94$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .45$, with the tolerance condition ($M = 4.1$, $SD = 1.6$) again being intermediate between acceptance ($M = 2.2$; $SD = 1.3$) and rejection ($M = 5.0$, $SD = 1.2$). Life satisfaction, $F(2, 312) = 3.30$, $p = .038$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, was higher in the tolerance condition ($M = 4.5$; $SD = 1.3$) than in the rejection condition ($M = 4.1$; $SD = 1.6$). All other contrasts were non-significant.

Table 3.5

Betas and Standard Errors for Structural Regression Predicting Well-Being from Experimental Condition in Study 2

Outcome	Predictor	β	SE
Positive Affect	Rejection	-.20***	0.05
	Acceptance	.62***	0.04
Negative Affect	Rejection	.29***	0.05
	Acceptance	-.51***	0.05
Life Satisfaction	Rejection	-.13†	0.07
	Acceptance	.01	0.07
Self-Esteem	Rejection	.00	0.08
	Acceptance	.05	0.08
Lack of Control	Rejection	.07	0.08
	Acceptance	-.03	0.08

Note. † $p < .1$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Controlling for Negative Emotionality

To test the possibility that negative emotionality inflates the link between perceived group-based treatment and well-being detriments, I first tested whether negative emotionality differed across experimental conditions, and found that it did not, $F(2, 312) = 0.04$, $p = .965$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$. I then controlled for negative emotionality when predicting the five well-being outcomes from experimental condition and found that negative emotionality was related to each of the well-being outcomes, but its inclusion into the model did not change the original pattern of results (see Table 3.6). I also reran the main analysis while controlling for age, gender, ethnicity, education, income, and political orientation, and the pattern of findings was unchanged (see Table C5).

Table 3.6

Betas and Standard Errors for Structural Regression Predicting Well-Being from Experimental Condition While Controlling for Negative Emotionality

Outcome	Predictor	β	SE
Positive Affect	Rejection	-.20***	0.05
	Acceptance	.62***	0.04
	Negative Emotionality	.09*	0.04
Negative Affect	Rejection	.29***	0.05
	Acceptance	-.51***	0.05
	Negative Emotionality	.12*	0.05
	Rejection	-.13†	0.07
Life Satisfaction	Acceptance	.01	0.07
	Negative Emotionality	-.19**	0.06
Self-Esteem	Rejection	.00	0.07
	Acceptance	.05	0.07
	Negative Emotionality	-.26***	0.06
Lack of Control	Rejection	.07	0.07
	Acceptance	-.03	0.07
	Negative Emotionality	.49***	0.05

Note. † $p < .1$; * $p < 05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Additional Analyses

I explored how common the perceptions of being rejected, tolerated, or accepted were in the sample. I ran a one-way ANOVA and found that the means of the three perceptions were significantly different, $F(2, 312) = 38.62$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .20$. Similar to Study 1, planned contrasts showed that participants in the acceptance condition reported the highest frequency of experiencing this treatment ($M = 5.2$; $SD = 1.4$; $t(312) = 8.48$, $p < .001$). The frequency of being tolerated ($M = 3.7$, $SD = 1.7$) and being rejected ($M = 3.5$, $SD = 1.5$) did not significantly differ ($t(312) = 0.92$, $p = .358$. With this in mind, I controlled for the frequency of experiencing

rejection, acceptance, or tolerance when predicting the effects of condition on well-being. This did not change the pattern of results presented in Table 3.5.

Discussion

In support of H1 and H2, I found that reflecting on experiences of being tolerated leads to situationally lower well-being than experiences involving acceptance, but higher well-being than experiences involving rejection. However, the experimental manipulation did not affect more stable well-being aspects such as self-esteem and perceived control. Similar to Study 1, I also found that trait-like negative emotionality did not change the pattern of results.

<div align="center">

Study 3

</div>

In Studies 1 and 2, I found that being tolerated is associated with lower psychological well-being. The theoretical literature on the consequences of being tolerated argues that the negative well-being implications of being tolerated are due to threats to targets' social identity needs (Verkuyten et al., 2020a), and there is initial survey evidence in support of this proposition (Bagci et al., 2020). Therefore, in the third study I aimed to experimentally test whether being tolerated (compared to being accepted and rejected) results in lowered well-being because of threatened social identity needs. Additionally, in Study 3 I used a different experimental manipulation to address a limitation of Study 2. In that study, I had to exclude many responses from the analyses, which was probably due to the definition of tolerance presented to participants not being sufficiently clear. Therefore, in Study 3 I used vignettes that more clearly illustrated experiences of facing tolerance, rejection, and acceptance, based on the theoretical literature (Verkuyten et al., 2020a).

Method

Participants

Our sample consisted of 409 participants who were members of ethnic minority groups in the United States and did not complete the procedure too quickly (Leiner, 2019). I measured the same demographic variables on the same scales as in Studies 1 and 2. The ethnic composition was as follows: 181 self-identified as African American, 103 as Asian American, 68 as Hispanic or Latino, 26 as multiethnic, 10 as Native American or Alaska Natives, 5 as Middle Eastern, 3 as Pacific Islanders, and 13 from other (non-white) ethnic backgrounds. Their ages ranged from 18 to 71 years old ($N = 407$, $M = 34.0$, $SD = 13.7$). There were 185 men, 222 women, and 2 people of other genders. The median education level was "associate's degree"; the median total annual household income was "between $25,000 and $49,999"; the median political self-placement was "somewhat liberal" ($M = 3.3$, $SD = 1.6$).

Procedure and Design

Respondents were reached through Lucid, a professional survey panel, in August 2020. The procedure was similar to the one employed for Study 2, with participants being randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions: acceptance, tolerance, or rejection. Participants read a vignette and were asked to imagine themselves in the scenario described. Each vignette began: "Imagine that you have recently started working at a new job in a company that is mostly white. The company does 'Casual Fridays', where employees can wear what they like to work. One Friday you come to work wearing a T- shirt with symbols of your ethnic group. When your boss sees you, they [...]". In the acceptance condition, the ending was: "compliment you on your T-shirt because they like diversity and express an interest in understanding the significance of the symbols". In the tolerance condition, the ending was "show disapproval of the symbols on your T-shirt because they see them as divisive, but nevertheless allow it to be worn at work

because they believe in freedom of expression". And in the rejection condition, the ending was "tell you that they dislike your T-shirt because they see it as too 'ethnic' and tell you not to wear it to work again".

To verify that the three experimental vignettes were equally convincing, I asked six questions at the end of the survey about how relatable, common, and realistic the scenario seemed to participants personally and to members of their ethnic group. The items formed two reliable scales (α_{self} = .88; α_{group} = .90) and the vignettes were similarly convincing across conditions for both self, $F(2, 406) = 2.02$, $p = .134$, and group, $F(2, 406) = 1.56$, $p = .212$.

Measures

Unless otherwise stated, all measures, scale reliabilities, and model fits are similar to those obtained for Studies 1 and 2.

Positive and Negative Affect. The main dependent variable was the 15-item PANAS which was used in Study 2. The instruction asked participants to rate how they would feel in the experimental scenario involving their boss. A two-factor model, $\chi^2(72) = 341.36$, $p < .001$; CFI = .93; RMSEA = .100, 90% CIs [0.09, 0.11]; SRMR = .06, again fit better than a one-factor model, $\chi^2(77) = 1,957.00$, $p < .001$; CFI = .45; RMSEA = .24, 90% CIs [0.24, 0.25]; SRMR = .22. The item "bold" had to be dropped from the positive affect scale due to a low loading and three pairs of items were covaried to improve fit. The positive affect scale had good internal consistency, α = .92, as did the negative affect scale, α = .91.

Threatened Social Identity Needs. I adapted the Threatened Social Identity Needs scale used by Bagci et al. (2020) to measure identity threat related to one's ethnic identity. This scale is based on Motivated Identity Construction Theory (Vignoles, 2011) and taps threats to esteem, belonging, efficacy, and certainty, each measured with two items. To this, I added two items addressing threat to distinctiveness. Each item began with the stem "As a member of my

ethnic/racial group, the above scenario would make me feel..." and ended with a description of one of the above-threatened needs. For example, "ashamed" and "negatively about myself" tapped self-esteem, and "powerless" and "unable to achieve my goals" tapped efficacy. Full item wordings are shown in Table C6. An exploratory factor analysis indicated one factor explaining 69% of the variance. A follow-up confirmatory factor analysis indicated a one-factor model fit acceptably, $\chi^2(35) = 147.01$, $p < .001$; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .09, 90% CIs [0.07, 0.10]; SRMR = .03. The resulting scale had good internal consistency, $\alpha = .95$. Following previous research, I focused on the role of the combined cluster of identity needs, which tend to work in concert, particularly among minority groups (e.g., Bagci et al., 2020; Çelebi et al., 2017; see Table C7 for correlations between subscales).

Results

I found that social identity needs were less threatened in the acceptance condition than in the tolerance condition ($\beta = .16$, $SE = .06$, $p = .006$), but that there was no significant difference between the rejection and tolerance conditions in terms of social identity threat ($\beta = .01$, $SE = .06$, $p = .926$). In turn, threatened social identity needs were associated with more negative affect ($\beta = .73$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$), but had no association with positive affect ($\beta = .01$, $SE = .06$, $p = .863$). Importantly and as expected, I found that increased threat to social identity needs mediated the link between the acceptance-tolerance contrast and increased negative affect ($\beta = -.120$, $SE = .04$, $p = .006$, 95% CIs [-0.24, -0.01]).

Negative Emotionality

I also controlled for the influence of trait negative emotionality on positive and negative affect and threatened social identity needs and found a similar pattern of results, aside from a small negative association between identity threat and positive affect (see Table C8). Similar findings were also found after controlling for demographic variables (see Table C9).

Discussion

In support of H2, I found that being tolerated results in more positive affect and less negative affect than being rejected, but less positive and more negative affect than being accepted. However, being tolerated did not differ from being rejected in terms of the threat it presented to social identity needs, and both situations were perceived as more threatening than being accepted. Moreover, I found that higher threat to social identity needs mediated the link between increased negative affect and being tolerated as opposed to being accepted.

General Discussion

Although tolerance is increasingly promoted as a way to negotiate intergroup differences and has been found to be a distinct response to disapproved-of behaviors, little is known about the implications for the well-being of tolerated minority group members. Tolerance implies forbearance with conditional permission for minority members to engage in practices of which the majority disapproves (Cohen, 2004). Being tolerated is argued to be an improvement upon being rejected, but it is not full acceptance (Verkuyten et al., 2020a). While it is considered desirable to be tolerant, it may not be desirable to be "put up with", and describing someone as tolerable has negative connotations (Brown, 2006). Following theoretical work on the implications of being tolerated and their mechanisms (Verkuyten et al., 2020a), I empirically examined the possible negative consequences of being tolerated for the well-being of members of ethnic minority groups. In Study 1, I found that being tolerated is a distinct experience from being rejected and being accepted (see also Bagci et al., 2020). Furthermore, perceiving oneself to be tolerated was associated with negative well- being, independently of perceived rejection. Thus, being tolerated and being rejected were both associated with negative well-being, whereas higher perceived acceptance was associated with lower negative well-being. Additionally, in Studies 2 and 3 I found causal evidence that the experience of being tolerated (compared to being

accepted) can situationally lower the well-being of ethnic minorities, but not as much as being rejected. This pattern of results supports the theoretical proposition (Verkuyten et al., 2020a) that being merely tolerated can be a negative experience that is intermediate between acceptance and rejection (Scanlon, 2003).

However, tolerance is likely experienced as closer to rejection than to full acceptance because it shares with rejection the negative appraisal of minority practices and identity (Brown, 2006), although the two differ in that tolerance is not accompanied by negative action. In support of this, I found in all three studies that tolerance and rejection showed similar negative associations with well-being, which was also found among three minority groups in Turkey (Bagci et al., in press). In Study 2, the effect of thinking about an experience of being tolerated was in the opposite direction from being accepted and in the same direction as being rejected, and in Study 3, tolerance and rejection both threatened social identity needs. Thus, although tolerance is distinct from both acceptance and (overt) rejection in both its interpretation by targets and in its consequences for well-being, it appears to have more subjective similarities with rejection than with acceptance. This was also reflected in participants' written responses to the tolerance prompt in Study 2, which frequently resembled experiences of subtle prejudice (Jones et al., 2016). Future research should further explore the similarities and differences between being tolerated and facing various forms of prejudice, especially its more subtle forms, in minority targets' experiences and interpretations. Intergroup interactions can be interpreted in quite different ways by different parties, so it is quite possible that acts of tolerance may be interpreted by targets as discriminatory (Demoulin et al., 2009).

To address the possibility that the link between negative group-based treatment and well-being might be inflated by not taking personality traits into account (Lilienfeld, 2017; Ong et al., 2013), I measured and controlled for participants' trait-like negative emotionality. Negative emotionality was correlated with perceived rejection and perceived tolerance in Study 1, but

including it in the statistical analyses did not eliminate the links between group treatment and well-being in the three studies. Thus, in the present research, minority group members were negatively impacted by perceiving themselves to be treated negatively regardless of trait-like tendencies to feel frequent negative emotions. Furthermore, the same pattern of findings was found while controlling statistically for demographic variables such as gender, ethnicity, age, education, and political orientation. This indicates that negative emotionality and various demographic variables did not fully account for the finding that more frequent experiences of being tolerated and being rejected were associated with lower well-being. Thus, the negative experiences of minority group members do not simply reflect an underlying predisposition to see the world in a negative way (M. T. Williams, 2020).

The current research makes a novel contribution to the psychological literature on the target's perspective by focusing on tolerance experiences and how these relate to psychological well-being. However, a few limitations should be acknowledged. First, I have examined the well-being implications of being tolerated among ethnic minorities (most of them African American) in the US context. This means that these findings cannot be generalized to other minority groups (ethnic or otherwise) and other national contexts. Although some of the findings are similar to what was found in Turkey (Bagci et al., 2020), there can be relevant group and country differences. For example, the prevalent "melting pot" discourse in the United States might be less celebratory of tolerating intergroup differences compared to, say, the Netherlands, where tolerance is considered a self-defining national virtue.

Second, I had to exclude a large number of responses in the tolerance condition of Study 2. When responding to the prompt, many participants reported experiences of rejection, both subtle and blatant. One reason is that rejection and tolerance share the negative evaluation of others, but differ in whether this translates in negative behavior. While the negative behavior makes rejection relatively easy to detect, detection of tolerance is more complex (Verkuyten et

al., 2020a). Tolerance implies holding objections to others' practices but not negatively interfering with their behavior, and this might be difficult to recognize and evaluate because it manifests in inaction. Qualitative research is needed to map out the various meanings that being tolerated might have, what cues help targets decide whether others are acting out of mere tolerance, and what consequences this has for targets' well-being and behavior. Nonetheless, in Study 3 I was able to overcome this limitation by using vignettes and were able to conceptually replicate the relationship between tolerance and well-being from Study 2.

Further research is needed that systematically examines or experimentally varies[8] the meanings of tolerance and tests the relations between different conceptions of tolerance and targets' well-being. There are conceptualizations of tolerance where the reasons for overriding the objection to specific behaviors or values of the tolerated group are based in respect or esteem for those being tolerated (Cohen, 2004; Forst, 2017). These understandings of tolerance may be more similar to full acceptance and may therefore be more likely to be associated with positive well-being.

Third, in Studies 1 and 2, the identity of the tolerator was unknown. I chose to use this method to cast a wide net of the many scenarios in which someone might experience being tolerated. However, that also means that I was unable to differentiate between tolerance experienced from specific individuals, particular groups, society as a whole, or even from fellow ingroup members. Further, I was also not able to consider the circumstances and situations in which tolerance occurred. And although I included participants from many ethnic minority backgrounds, I was unable to statistically differentiate between responses from these different backgrounds, which may affect the experiences of tolerance. Future research should examine the question of whether the importance of being tolerated for one's well-being depends on who the

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8 I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

tolerator is, the circumstances under which tolerance occurs, and the specific background of the tolerated.

Conclusion

Despite these limitations, the current research is one of the very first that investigates the possible predicament of being tolerated and its mechanisms for both positive and negative well-being. These results show that being tolerated can be harmful to minorities. It is somewhat better for minority well-being than being rejected outright, but is significantly worse than full acceptance. Tolerance is considered to be necessary for living with diversity and important for minority members' ability to express and maintain their cultural and religious ways of life (see Verkuyten et al., 2019); however, tolerance can be experienced as condescending, conditional, and identity-threatening and therefore should be carefully considered by policymakers in light of its potential to harm those who are tolerated.

Chapter 4

Being Tolerated and Minority Well-Being: The Role

of Group Identifications

Introduction

"Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible."

- UNESCO, Declaration of Principles on Tolerance

"Go where you are celebrated, not where you are tolerated."

- Slogan of a gay bar in Utrecht

Tolerance implies enduring and permitting what one finds objectionable. It is argued to be a critical principle and necessary condition for living with cultural diversity (Gibson, 2006; Forst, 2013; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). Tolerance is promulgated by international organizations (UNESCO, the European Union), religious and civic associations, schools and other educational institutions, community leaders, and across a left-right political field (see Brown, 2006). For example, the European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation (2013) stated that "tolerance has a vital role in enabling successful coexistence of diverse groups within a single national society" (p.1). However, this enthusiasm has not been matched by research into how minorities respond to being tolerated.[9] Do tolerated minorities feel included in the national group? How does being tolerated relate to their well-being? If intergroup tolerance is indeed the way forward, it is crucial to show that it is beneficial or at least not harmful to those being tolerated.

Being tolerated offers the space to live the life that one wants but might also be offensive and inescapably patronizing and therefore an inadequate substitute for genuine acceptance

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[9] There is a large literature on the nature and correlates of political tolerance, which involves the granting of political rights to disliked groups (Gibson, 2006; Sullivan & Transue, 1999). In the present research I am concerned with social tolerance, which differs from political tolerance (Erisen & Kentmen-Cin, 2016) in centering on out-groups' social and cultural practices, and more importantly I focus on the experience of being tolerated which has not been studied in the political tolerance literature.

(Parekh, 2000; Taylor, 1994; Wemyss, 2006). Although many people consider it desirable to be tolerant, they often do not find it desirable to be "put up with", and describing someone as tolerated or tolerable has negative connotations (Honohan, 2013). While there is a large literature on the psychological implications of being rejected (e.g., Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014), there has been no exploration of what it means to be tolerated. This omission is unfortunate from a theoretical point of view and also limits our ability to create and evaluate appropriate policies of tolerance that are widely promoted. The present research, conducted among ethnic minority members in the Netherlands, examines whether being tolerated is distinct from being rejected and from being accepted. Specifically, I examine how being tolerated, accepted, and rejected relate to well-being and whether these relationships can be explained by identification with one's ethnic group and the national community.

Being Tolerated, Rejected, and Accepted

Tolerance is theorized to contain elements of both rejection and acceptance, without being reducible to either (Verkuyten et al., 2019). Tolerance shares with rejection the element of dislike and disapproval of minority beliefs and practices, though it does not lead to attempts at interference. On the other hand, tolerance is similar to acceptance because both entail giving others the opportunity and freedom to express themselves. Thus, tolerance can be defined as being "*intermediate* [emphasis added] between wholehearted acceptance and unrestrained opposition" (Scanlon, 2003, p. 187). However, these suppositions have not yet been empirically tested from the target's perspective. Below I outline some similarities and differences between being tolerated, rejected, and accepted and argue that tolerance is distinct from rejection and acceptance.

Being Tolerated and Being Rejected

Tolerance safeguards against overt suppression and provides minorities with the conditions for a livable life. Although it is not necessarily a form of welcoming, tolerance leaves open the possibility that a person or group can be part of a shared community with the tolerators, whereas rejection is a clear signal that one is not equal and not wanted. As long as those in a position to be tolerant are able to overcome their objections, minorities may enjoy some freedom from interference and repression.

Notwithstanding these differences, being rejected and being tolerated are both characterized by negativity. Whereas rejection is theorized to result from antipathy towards an entire group, tolerance typically results from the disapproval of specific beliefs and practices (Verkuyten et al., 2019). However, the targets of tolerance may consider the objections to their practices as objections to the group as a whole (Horton, 1996; Klein et al., 2007). Thus, the disapproval inherent in tolerance may feel similar to facing outright rejection. Additionally, the tolerated may feel threatened by the conditional nature of tolerance – when the majority group's boundaries are crossed, the heretofore tolerated group might find itself facing repression (Fletcher, 1996).

Being Tolerated and Being Accepted

Tolerance is commonly conceived of as a virtue by both laypeople in liberal societies ("Why is Amsterdam so tolerant?", 2007) and by scholars (Walzer, 1997). Tolerance has positive connotations of refraining from judging others and respecting their freedom of expression and thus has much in common with acceptance. The latter can be conceptualized as approving of and valuing the target group's identity as well as the beliefs and practices that undergird it. As such, acceptance is similar to outgroup respect (Huo & Binning, 2008), multiculturalist recognition (Wolsko et al., 2006), and inclusion (Adams & van de Vijver, 2017; Jansen et al., 2014), which

have been shown to have beneficial consequences for minority groups such as boosted self-esteem (Verkuyten, 2009) and work satisfaction (Jansen et al., 2016). Due to this overlap between acceptance and tolerance, minority groups may perceive being tolerated in the same positive light as being accepted.

However, tolerance and acceptance differ in important ways. Tolerance normally takes place in the context of unequal power relations and marks out tolerated minorities as deviant or inferior by dominant standards (Brown, 2006; Taylor, 1992). Tolerance that takes the form of mere non- interference can veil a refusal to address structural inequalities and leaves the tolerated minority vulnerable to dominance (Galeotti, 2015; Honohan, 2013). However, these societal implications may be difficult to discern in everyday instances of tolerance, and the targets of tolerance may not make the distinction between being accepted and merely being tolerated. In sum, the foregoing discussions lead to the expectation that perceived tolerance is an empirically distinct construct from perceived rejection and acceptance (H1).

Tolerance, Group Identification and Well-Being

Similar to being the target of rejection, being tolerated might have implications for group identifications and well-being (Jetten et al., 2012; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Schmitt et al., 2014). Being tolerated is likely to result in mixed feelings. Minorities may feel contentment or relief about being given the opportunity to express their identity, or feel disappointed or angry about merely being tolerated. I suggest that these feelings are at least partly explained by the ways in which tolerance affects identification with one's minority group and with the overarching or national group.

Minority Group Identification

According to the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999), being rejected by the majority group stimulates attachment to the minority in-group as a way to cope with

rejection. This model has received support across many groups including African Americans (Branscombe et al., 1999), Latinx students in the United States (Cronin et al., 2012), and ethnic minorities in Europe (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009), and has been tested longitudinally (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2012; Stronge et al., 2016) and experimentally (Jetten et al., 2001).

As argued above, being tolerated has similarities to being rejected due to the implication that one's group-defining beliefs and practices are disapproved of. Tolerance also comes from a position of power and may reinforce a sense of subordination in the tolerated group (Brown, 2006; Wemyss, 2006). Thus, to the extent that being tolerated functions similarly to being rejected, it could encourage minorities to turn inward to their communities and increase their in-group identification. Another reason why being tolerated may increase ethnic identification is because it allows targets to engage in in-group-defining behaviors, which can bolster a sense of group belonging (Klein et al., 2007). For example, seeing a Muslim woman wearing her hijab in public may stimulate a sense of pride among other Muslims and encourage them to also take part in Muslim cultural practices.

National Identification

Being tolerated can also be associated with how minorities relate to the national community. One may expect that minorities can easily identify with nations that profess to be tolerant, such as the Netherlands (Plaut et al., 2009; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). In a series of laboratory studies, Prislin and colleagues (Prislin & Filson, 2009; Shaffer & Prislin, 2011) found that participants displayed more group loyalty after successfully advocating for tolerance for differing viewpoints. Thus, being tolerated can make that minorities identify more strongly with the national community. However and similarly to perceived rejection, if minorities interpret being tolerated as an indication of their inferior and vulnerable position, they are likely to distance themselves from the national group. This is suggested in the rejection-

disidentification model (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009), which posits that rejection by the majority decreases national identification among immigrants in Finland. Similar results were found in France (Badea et al., 2011) and the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). In summary, the majority's treatment shapes whether identifying with the national group is a viable option for minorities: rejection tips the balance toward alignment with the minority group, while acceptance stimulates alignment with the overarching group. How tolerance is interpreted by targets can therefore determine its relation to national identification.

Tolerance contains elements of acceptance and rejection, which manifest as inclusion and exclusion respectively. From my theoretical analysis regarding the similarities and differences between tolerance, rejection and acceptance and their possible relations with group identifications and well-being, I reason that being tolerated is intermediate between being rejected and being accepted. More specifically, I expect that rejection and acceptance have opposite associations with group identifications and well-being, and that tolerance falls between the two in terms of the valence and magnitude of coefficients (H2). Moreover, because studies on the relation between rejection and well-being have found that this relation is mediated by group identification (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999), I expect that tolerance relates to well-being through its associations with ethnic identification and with national identification (H3).

The Current Study

The aim of the current research is to test for the first time whether the perception of being a target of tolerance relates to well-being, and whether such a relationship can be explained by identification with one's ethnic and national group. My measures of well-being concern participants' general level of positive and negative affect. I measured these separately because positive and negative affect are often weakly correlated and make independent contributions to subjective well-being (Diener, 1994; Diener & Emmons, 1984). I opted for affective rather than

more cognitive measures (e.g., life satisfaction) because of the former's greater immediacy and stronger relation to intergroup attitudes (e.g., Smith & Ortiz, 2002).

I focused on participants' perceptions of group-based tolerance, rejection, and acceptance, rather than their personal experiences. This is because I am concerned with the social relations between groups, and also because this is more in line with the societal debate about tolerance of ethnic minority groups (Verkuyten, 2013). Additionally, group-based perceptions of rejection have been shown to affect well-being over and above perceptions of personal rejection (Stevens & Thijs, 2018).

Further, I measured perceived tolerance, acceptance, and rejection both continuously and categorically. The continuous measures were single items rated on Likert-type scales. The use of rather simple and straightforward questions reduces the problem of meaning and interpretation inherent in more complex measures and has been shown to have adequate validity and reliability in measuring perceived rejection (Noh et al., 1999; Stronge et al., 2016), and also in measuring constructs such as group identification (Postmes et al., 2013), personal self-esteem (Robins et al., 2001), happiness (Abdel-Khalek, 2006), and generalized trust (Lundmark et al., 2016). The categorical measure was a forced choice item, which was intended to encourage respondents to think comparatively about how their in-group is treated. My reasoning was that the differences between being tolerated and being accepted or rejected might be more salient when explicitly compared. I expect perceived tolerance to be empirically different from, but either positively or negatively related to perceived rejection and perceived acceptance (H1). Further, I expect perceived tolerance to be intermediate between acceptance and rejection in its relations to group identifications and well-being in terms of the valence and magnitude of coefficients (H2), and that the relation between tolerance and well-being is mediated by group identifications (H3).

I also expect to replicate prior research on the rejection-identification and rejection-disidentification models in relation to perceived rejection.

Cross-national research has shown that countries differ in the level of tolerance and this is likely to affect the experiences of those that are being tolerated (e.g., Van der Noll et al., 2018; Weldon, 2006). I studied individual experiences in the Netherlands, which is an interesting context to examine what it means to be tolerated because the country has a long history of tolerance dating from the Reformation. Non-discrimination and tolerance are also considered a key aspect of the national identity (Lechner, 2008; Van de Vijver et al., 2008). More recently, immigration and the presence of Muslim minorities has sparked intense debates about the limits of tolerance in an increasingly secular society (e.g., Verkuyten, 2013). The Netherlands' score on the Multicultural Policy Index has shown a marked drop between 2000 and 2010, indicating a retreat from multiculturalism in favor of less ambitious strategies of managing diversity (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013).

I sampled from the four largest ethnic minority groups – of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean backgrounds – who together constitute about 1.3 million people, or 7.6% of the population (Statistics Netherlands, 2018). Turks and Moroccans are mainly Muslim and have a history of labor migration. The Surinamese tend to be Christians or Hindus and come from Suriname, and Antilleans are from the Caribbean Islands; both were formerly colonized by the Dutch. These four groups are visibly different from the majority in terms of religion, cultural practices and/or skin color, which mark them as potential subjects of tolerance. In terms of education, employment and housing, their position is worse than that of the ethnic Dutch, with the Turks and Moroccans being the worst off and being the least accepted and most rejected (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016; Netherlands Institute for Social Research, 2014).

Although the groups differ in various ways, I did not systematically investigate ethnic group differences for two main reasons. First, my focus is on general processes underlying responses to being tolerated rather than differences between groups. Although there can be mean group differences in, for example, the perception of group rejection and tolerance, this does not have to imply that the associations between the constructs differ. Second, the sample size with the related statistical power does not allow for a systematic ethnic group comparison, and non-representative samples make it difficult to interpret possible group differences. However, I explored whether the mediation model is similar for the Muslim groups that have a history of labor migration (Turks and Moroccans) compared to the other two formerly colonized groups (Surinamese and Antilleans).

Method

Participants and Procedure

A total of 518 ethnic minority participants in the Netherlands took part. Of these, 111 had a Turkish background, 65 Moroccan, 240 Surinamese, and 102 Antillean. Only data from participants belonging to one of these four groups was used. There were 258 first-generation immigrants and 260 second-generation immigrants. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 86 years old (M = 44.7, SD = 14.3). Women formed 64% of the sample, and 47% held a bachelor's degree or higher.

Respondents were reached with the help of a survey company in March 2018. They received a personalized link to the study via e-mail and were sent two reminders during the study period. The response rate was 39% which is similar to other research in the Netherlands (Stoop,

2005). The survey was in Dutch. Participants were debriefed about the study aims and hypotheses upon completion.[10]

Measures

Participants answered demographic questions about their ethnic background, age, gender, and education. In the remainder of the survey, the wording of items was matched to the participant's ethnicity: Turkish participants were asked about their Turkish identity, and so on. Unless stated otherwise, all responses were given on 7-point Likert-type scales (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree).

Perceived Tolerance, Acceptance, and Rejection

Continuous Measures. First, following previous research that used straightforward and single items to measure perceived rejection (Noh et al., 1999; Stronge et al., 2016), participants were asked "To what extent do you think that [Turks/Moroccans/Surinamese/Antilleans] are [discriminated against/accepted/tolerated] in the Netherlands?". Similar to rejection and acceptance, tolerance can mean different things and direct questions allow participants to respond in terms of their own understandings and experiences. Responses to each item were given on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 = not at all; 6 = very much).

Forced Choice Measure. Next, as an ipsative measure I used a forced choice format (Baron, 1996) in which participants were asked "In your opinion, which of the following best describes how [Turks/Moroccans/Surinamese/Antilleans] are treated in the Netherlands?". The three options were: "[Turks/Moroccans/Surinamese/Antilleans] are discriminated against: they are

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10 Participants were randomly assigned to one of five versions of the questionnaire, which contained different sets of questions related to the present study and several unrelated ones. Four of the versions of the questionnaire were originally intended to form an experimental study within the present research, measuring the same outcomes as the survey. However, the experimental manipulation failed and those participants' responses were combined with the survey responses. Controlling for condition did not change the pattern of results presented here.

often treated negatively and do not have the same opportunities as others"; "[Turks/Moroccans/Surinamese/Antilleans] are tolerated: they are not appreciated, but they do get the same opportunities as others"; and "[Turks/Moroccans/Surinamese/Antilleans] are accepted: they are respected and get the same opportunities as others". In formulating the item for perceived tolerance, I sought to emphasize the contrast with both acceptance (in that tolerated subjects are not appreciated) and rejection (in that they nevertheless are treated fairly), basing my definitions on conceptualizations by Brown (2006) and Verkuyten and Yogeeswaran (2017).

After data collection, I checked whether participants who had chosen tolerance (or rejection or acceptance) as the best description of their in-group's treatment on the forced choice measure also had the highest score on the continuous measure of perceived tolerance (or rejection or acceptance). The means, frequencies, and results of planned contrasts are presented in Table 4.1. The results confirmed that the forced choice measure aligns with the continuous measure and additionally show that being tolerated is a relatively common perception in this sample.

Table 4.1

Means and Frequencies of Continuous and Forced Choice Measures of Tolerance, Rejection, and Acceptance

Group Treatment	Forced choice	Perceived tolerance	Perceived rejection	Perceived acceptance
Tolerance	39.8%	4.1[a]	3.3[b]	3.6[c]
Rejection	24.7%	3.5[a]	4.1[b]	3.2[c]
Acceptance	35.5%	4.4[a]	2.4[b]	4.6[c]

Note: Different subscripts across rows indicate significant differences ($p < .05$) obtained in repeated-measures analyses.

Ethnic Identification

I combined two commonly used items (Ashmore et al., 2004) on ethnic identification ("I feel [Turkish/Moroccan/Surinamese/Antillean]" and "I identify with [Turks/Moroccans/Surinamese/Antilleans]") with four items adapted from Vignoles et al., (2006) to measure the satisfaction of identity.[11] Each item had the stem "My [Turkish/Moroccan/Surinamese/Antillean] background gives me…". The endings were: "a feeling of pride" (self-esteem), "a feeling of being capable and competent" (efficacy), "a feeling that I belong somewhere" (belonging), and "a feeling of continuity with the past" (continuity). These six items were subjected to an exploratory factor analysis, which indicated that they loaded onto a single factor which explained 71% of the variance. The loadings ranged from .77 to .90. The scale had high internal consistency, α = .92. I combined these items into an index of ethnic identification.

Next, I tested the fit of the one-factor ethnic identification scale in a confirmatory factor analysis, wherein I took a non-significant chi-square, a CFI value above 0.95, an RMSEA value below 0.8, and a SRMR value below 0.8 as indicators of an acceptable fit to the data, in accordance with Kline's (2016) recommendations.

I found that when the ethnic identification scale was included in a structural model the fit was inadequate (see Model 1 in top panel of Table 4.2). Modification indices suggested freeing the covariance between the first two items described above, which made theoretical sense (Model 2). This improved the fit, but it remained unacceptable. Modification indices further suggested freeing the covariance between the self-esteem and efficacy items, which also made theoretical

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11 It can be argued that the items measuring identification and identity motive satisfaction should be treated separately (Vignoles et al., 2006). However, the two constructs were not separable in a factor analysis. Re-running the main analyses with the two commonly used ethnic identification items yielded similar results to those presented below, with the main difference being that the two-item scale was no longer associated with positive affect.

sense. This resulted in an acceptable fit (Model 3) and this model was retained for the main structural analyses in which latent variables were used.

National Identification

I combined four commonly used items (Ashmore et al., 2004) to measure national belonging and involvement in the national community ("I feel Dutch", "I identify with the Dutch", "I feel involved in Dutch society", and "I feel at home in Dutch society"). Exploratory factor analysis indicated that all four items loaded onto a single factor which explained 66% of the variance. The loadings ranged from .79 to .83, and the scale had high internal consistency, α = .83. I combined the four items into an index of national identification and tested its fit to the data using confirmatory factor analysis with the same fit criteria used for the ethnic identification scale (Kline, 2016). I found that the four-item national identification scale's fit to the data was unacceptable (see Model 1 bottom panel of Table 4.2). Modification indices suggested freeing the covariance between the first two items described above (Model 2), which made theoretical sense. This resulted in an acceptable fit and I used this final measure in the main analyses.[12]

Affective Well-Being

Participants answered two items on a 5-point scale to indicate how often they generally experience positive emotions such as pleasure and satisfaction, and negative emotions such as sadness and fear. I used single items, as this method has given reliable and valid results in previous research on, for example, personal self-esteem and happiness (Abdel-Khalek, 2006; Robins et al., 2001). The two items were moderately negatively correlated, $r = -0.27$, $p < .001$, so I treated them as separate outcome variables.

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[12] We also ran a CFA model which included the items for both the national and ethnic identity scales. The results indicated that these are indeed distinct constructs, with all items loading uniquely on their expected factors.

Table 4.2

Model Comparisons for Ethnic and National Identification Scales (N = 518)

Construct	Model	Chi-square	CFI	RMSEA [90% CIs]	SRMR	Δ Chi-square
Ethnic Identification	1	418.74***	0.84	0.30 [0.27, 0.32]	0.09	308.88***
	2	109.86***	0.96	0.16 [0.13, 0.18]	0.03	84.70***
	3	25.16**	0.99	0.07 [0.04, 0.10]	0.02	-
National Identification	1	134.28***	0.85	0.36 [0.31, 0.41]	0.09	132.75***
	2	1.53	0.999	0.03 [0.00, 0.13]	0.01	-

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

Results

Distinguishing Between Being Tolerated, Rejected, and Accepted

As expected (H1), the zero-order correlations (Table 4.3) indicate that perceived tolerance, rejection, and acceptance are distinct constructs, sharing about 23% of the variance. Perceived tolerance had a weak negative correlation with perceived rejection, and a moderate positive correlation with perceived acceptance. The pattern of correlations indicates that participants understood being tolerance as more similar to being accepted than to being rejected. Furthermore, I found that the prevalence of these perceptions differed (see Table 4.2). A one-way repeated-measures ANOVA showed significant differences between the average levels of perceived tolerance, acceptance, and rejection, $F(2, 1034) = 75.16$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .13$. Planned contrasts revealed that participants considered their ethnic groups to be significantly more tolerated than accepted, and more accepted than rejected.

Table 4.3.

Descriptive Statistics and Zero-Order Correlations Between Focal Variables (N = 518)

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Perceived Rejection	Perceived Acceptance	Perceived Tolerance	Ethnic Identification	National Identification	Positive Affect
Perceived Rejection	3.17	1.21						
Perceived Acceptance	3.86	1.14	-0.46***					
Perceived Tolerance	4.02	1.14	-0.11*	0.48***				
Ethnic Identification	4.38	1.52	0.26***	-0.13**	-0.08†			
National Identification	5.54	1.14	-0.25***	0.35***	0.30***	-0.13**		
Positive Affect	3.90	0.81	-0.01	0.24***	0.21***	0.09*	0.38***	
Negative Affect	2.64	0.86	0.19***	-0.17***	-0.06	0.01	0.15**	-0.27***

Note: † $p < .1$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Note: The means and standard deviations for the positive ethnic identity and national inclusion variables come from the constructed (i.e. not latent) scales.

Relations Between Ingroup Treatment, Group Identifications, and Well-Being

Using maximum likelihood estimation in the lavaan package in R (version 3.5.2), I tested structural models of the hypothesized paths from perceived rejection, tolerance, and acceptance through group identifications (H2) to positive and negative affect (H3; see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). I modelled direct paths from these social perceptions to the latent constructs of ethnic identification and national identification. Then I modelled direct paths from ethnic identification and national identification to well-being, and finally I modelled direct paths from perceived rejection, tolerance, and acceptance to well-being. Thus, I tested both the direct paths from social perceptions to well-being, as well as two indirect pathways, through ethnic and national identification. I also bootstrapped with 2,000 resamples at 95% bias-corrected adjusted confidence intervals to test for mediation.

Group Identifications

Continuous Measures. The extent of perceived tolerance was not significantly related to ethnic identification in the structural model, although the zero-order correlation indicated a trend towards weaker ethnic identification. By contrast, perceiving one's group to be tolerated was associated with stronger national identification ($\beta = .19$, $SE = 0.05$, $p = .003$). The path from perceived acceptance to national identification was significantly positive ($\beta = .20$, $SE = 0.06$, $p = .005$). I compared the size of the coefficients using Fisher's r-to-z transformation and found a significant difference between the coefficients for tolerance and rejection ($z = 4.2$, $p < .001$). The difference between the coefficients for tolerance and acceptance was not significant ($z = -0.19$, $p = .849$). Thus, there was partial support for Hypothesis 2.
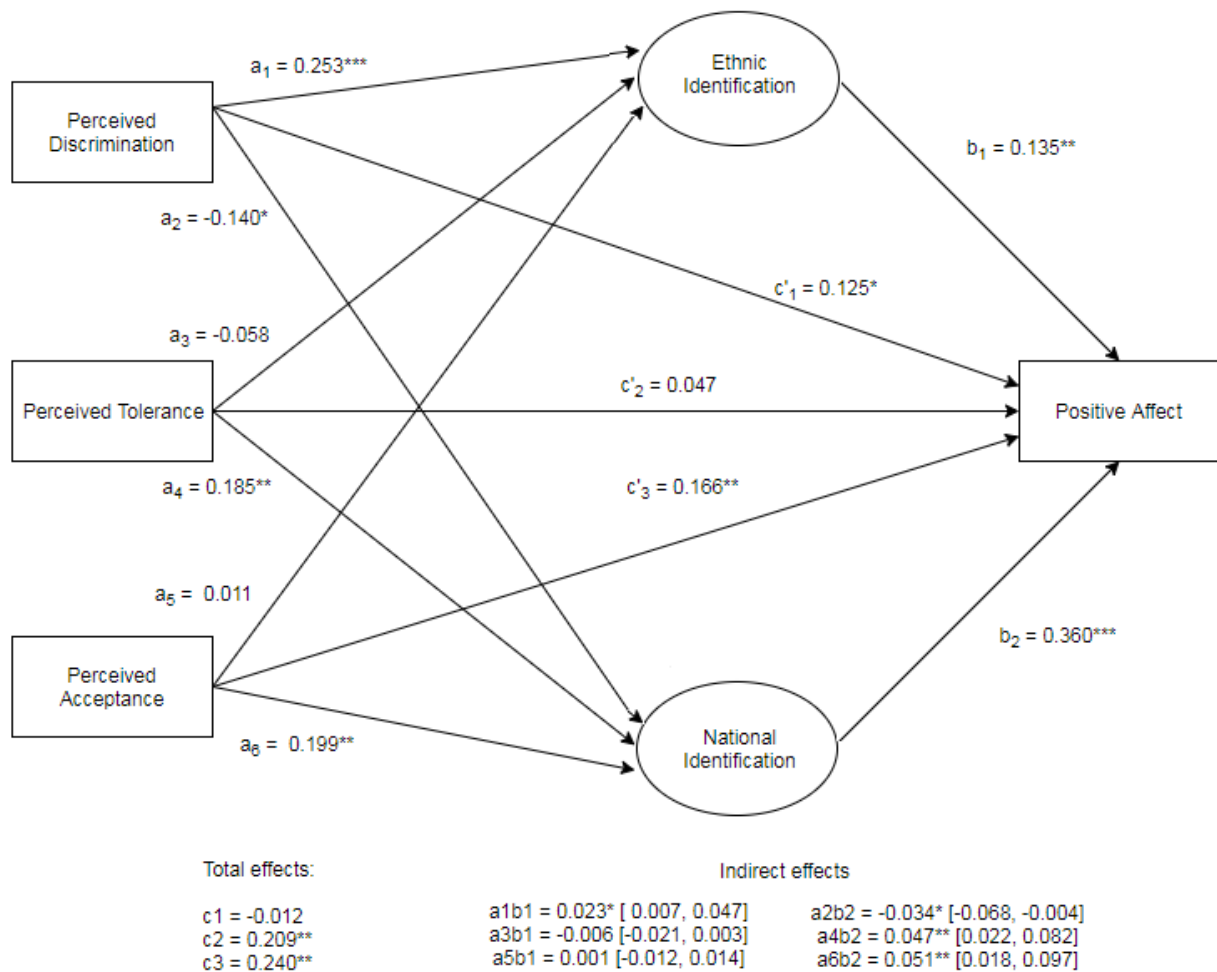
Figure 4.1. Structural equation model predicting positive affect from the single-item measures of perceived rejection, tolerance, and acceptance.

Forced Choice. I created dummy codes for tolerance, rejection, and acceptance and made tolerance the reference group. Compared to tolerance, choosing rejection as the best description of the in-group's treatment was associated with greater ethnic identification ($\beta = .11$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .028$). This suggests that tolerance gives less impetus to use one's ethnic group as a resource for improving one's well-being, compared to being overtly rejected. By contrast, tolerance rather than acceptance was associated with stronger identification with the ethnic group. In this sense, being tolerated was indeed intermediate between rejection and acceptance in terms of ethnic
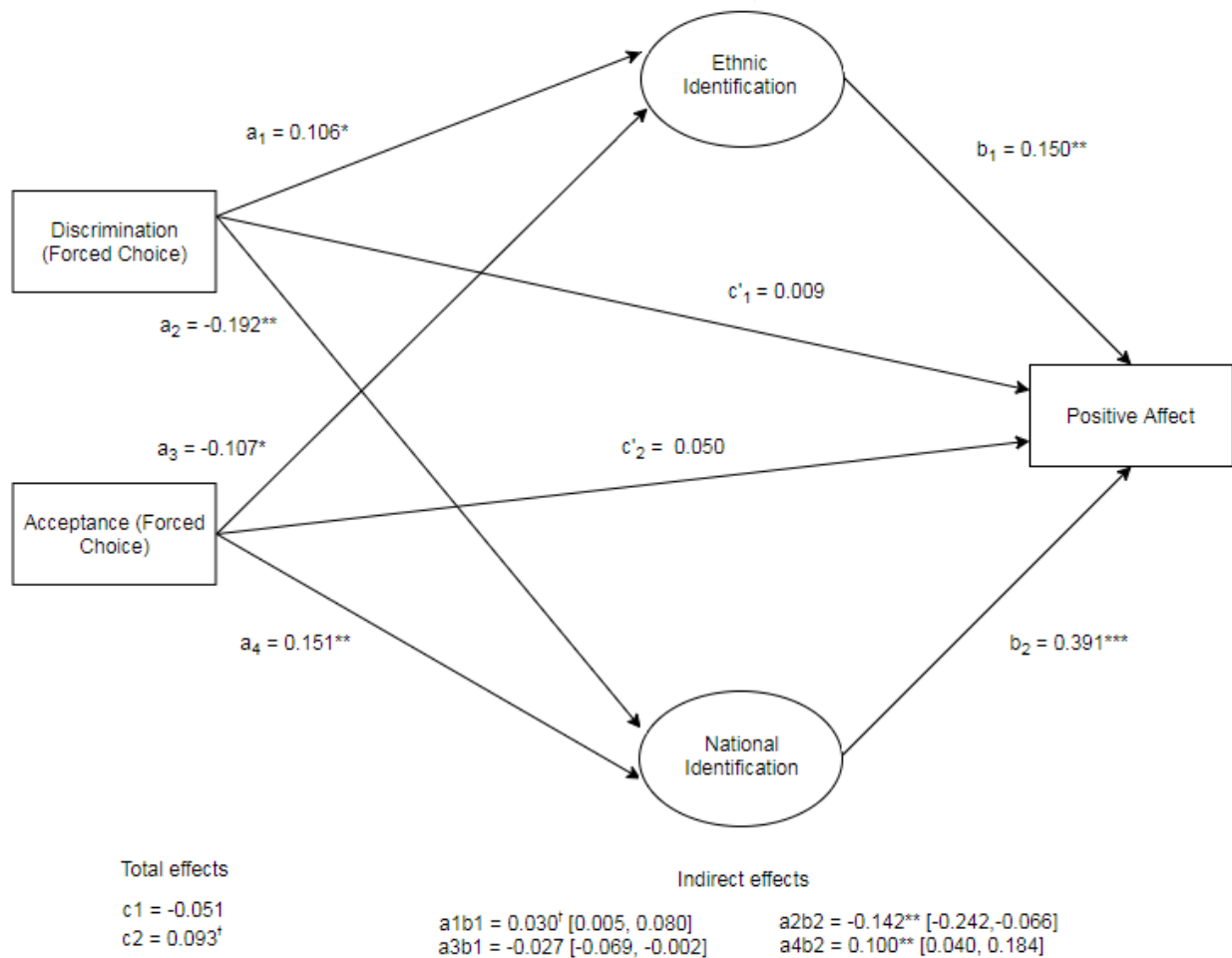
Figure 4.2. Structural equation model predicting positive affect from the forced choice measure of perceived rejection, tolerance, and acceptance.

identification (H2). Rejection rather than tolerance was associated with weaker national identification ($\beta = -.19$, $SE = 0.12$, $p = .001$), while acceptance was associated with stronger national identification than tolerance ($\beta = .15$, $SE = 0.10$, $p = .004$). In other words, tolerance was intermediate between rejection and acceptance in terms of identification with the national group, in support of Hypothesis 2.

Affective Well-Being

Continuous Measures. Perceived tolerance had a positive total effect on positive affect

(β = .21, *SE* = 0.04, *p* < .001). However, this path was rendered non-significant once the path through national identification was included in the model (β = .05, *SE* = 0.04, *p* = .378). The indirect path was significant and positive (β = .05, *SE* = 0.02, *p* = .002, 95% CIs [.05, .07]). I therefore found support for Hypothesis 3: tolerance was related to positive affect through national identification. This pattern was also found for perceived acceptance, β = .05, *SE* = 0.02, *p* = .013, 95% CIs [.02, .10]. The pattern for perceived rejection was consistent with the rejection-identification and rejection-disidentification models. Rejection had a positive association with ethnic identification and a negative association with national identification, both of which had a positive association with affective well-being. The indirect path through national identification was significantly negative (β = -.03, *SE* = 0.02, *p* = .047, 95% CIs [-.07, .00]). Additionally, the direct and indirect paths from perceived rejection to positive affect (through ethnic identification) were positive (direct effect: β = .13, *SE* = 0.04, *p* = .019; indirect effect: β = .02, *SE* = 0.01, *p* = .023, 95% CIs [.01, .05]), but this may be because this model also includes perceived acceptance, whose negative relation to rejection may suppress the otherwise negative relation between rejection and positive affect. Negative affect was unrelated to perceived tolerance, but perceived rejection and acceptance had positive and negative associations with negative affect, respectively.

I found partial support for Hypothesis 2 when I compared the sizes of the coefficients for perceived tolerance, acceptance, and rejection. The total effect from tolerance to positive affect was significantly different from rejection (*z* = 2.87, *p* = .004) but not from acceptance (*z* = -0.42, *p* = .675). The indirect paths through national identification did not differ significantly from each other (all *z*s < 1.09, all *p*s > .276).

Forced Choice. Acceptance was associated with marginally higher positive affect comparedto tolerance. Compared to being rejected, being tolerated was indirectly associated with more positive affect, through national identification (β = -.14, *SE* = 0.04, *p* = .001, 95%

CIs [-.23, -.06]). Conversely, being tolerated was indirectly associated with less positive affect, through national identification, compared to being accepted (β = .10, *SE* = 0.04, *p* = .005, 95% CIs [.04, .18]). I also found that being accepted was associated with less negative affect than being tolerated (β = -.16, *SE* = 0.09, *p* = .001). With these results, I found support for Hypotheses 2 and 3: the relation between being tolerated and well-being was mediated by national identification, and was intermediate between acceptance and rejection.

Robustness Checks

I conducted several robustness checks on the main results. First, I tested alternative mediational models where perceived group treatments mediated between group identifications and affective well-being. If these models fit better than my hypothesized models, it would indicate that perceptions of group treatment depend on how strongly one identifies with a group rather than vice versa.[13] In each case, the overall fit of the alternative models was worse than the models I constructed based on theory, and in most cases the fit of the alternative model was unsatisfactory (all χ^2s > 271.59; all *p*s < .001; all CFIs < .95; all RMSEAs > 0.09; all SRMRs > 0.07).

Second, for each of the structural regression analyses I ran multi-group models comparing Turks and Moroccans (Muslim minorities) to Surinamese and Antilleans (formerly colonized minorities).[14] In each case, the fit of the constrained model was not significantly worse than the unconstrained model (all $\Delta\chi^2$s < 10.93; all *p*s > .356). This indicates that the associations between perceived group treatments, group identifications, and well-being were similar for the two categories of ethnic minority participants.

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13 These results should be interpreted with caution because the direction of causality cannot be determined using correlational data (Thoemmes, 2015).

14 Due to sample size limitations, I could not run separate models for each of the four ethnic groups.

Third, given the overrepresentation of highly educated participants, women, and participantsfrom former Dutch colonies (Surinamese and Antilleans), I ran separate structural regression analyses where I controlled for education (continuously), gender and ethnicity (categorically) on all paths in the models. I also controlled for age (as a continuous measure) and generational status (first- or second-generation). Including these control variables did not change the main pattern of results.

Fourth, considering the negative correlation between ethnic and national identification, it might be the case that there is a suppression effect whereby the associations between the two variables and well-being are artificially lowered. Therefore, I fixed the covariance between ethnic and national identification to 0 and found that this did not change the pattern of results for either of the two outcomes.

Fifth, because several of the constructs were measured with single items, I applied a correction for possible measurement error by making these variables latent and estimating their errors based on the reliabilities of similar multi-item scales in the literature (see Appendix D for the details of this procedure). The use of these corrections yielded the same findings as reportedwhich indicates that the findings were not the result of measurement error.

Discussion

Despite the widespread promotion of tolerance as a way of negotiating intergroup differences, the nature and consequences of being tolerated for minority targets are not well understood. This is important to clarify because tolerance can potentially include or exclude minorities and thus help or harm their well-being. Therefore I set out to examine whether members of ethnic minority groups perceive being tolerated as distinct from being rejected and being accepted, and whether being tolerated is associated with minorities' sense of group belonging and well-being. I sought to answer these questions with structural equation modelling

using a sample of ethnic minority participants in the Netherlands, a context in which the desirability of tolerance of ethnic minorities is increasingly debated (Verkuyten, 2013).

I found evidence that members of minority groups perceive tolerance as distinct from rejection and acceptance and that it is common to perceive one's in-group as being tolerated. Participants saw being tolerated as different from being rejected, but saw tolerance as being more similar to acceptance. Being tolerated was also related to national identification and well-being in a similar way to being accepted. This is in line with theorizing about tolerance which claims that tolerance offers minorities the possibility to live the life that they want (Walzer, 1997). Thus, ethnic minority individuals appear to make a meaningful distinction between being tolerated on the one hand and being rejected and being accepted on the other, and they perceive being tolerated more in a positive light, as similar to being accepted.

Being tolerated was related to stronger national identification. This replicates experimental research showing that when minorities successfully advocate for greater tolerance in a particular situation, they identify more strongly with the superordinate group (Prislin & Filson, 2009; Shaffer & Prislin, 2009). I extended these findings by focusing on more general perceptions of group- based tolerance among members of real-world groups. Furthermore, I found that perceived tolerance was associated with higher well-being, and as predicted, this relationship was mediated by increased national identification. Thus, tolerance seems to provide an opportunity for ethnic minorities to feel included in the host society and thereby seems to function similarly to perceived acceptance. However, when respondents explicitly compared tolerance to acceptance, differences emerged in the relations to group identifications and well-being. Respondents who indicated that acceptance, and not tolerance, best described their in-group's treatment reported significantly stronger national identification, more positive affect, and less negative affect. Future experimental research is needed to clarify whether noting the differences between tolerance and full acceptance results in lower well-being. For the time

being, these findings suggest that one should exercise caution in recommending tolerance at the expense of full acceptance, because being tolerated might be a poor substitute for the many benefits of being accepted. Tolerance implies disapproval of what one believes and practices and is considered inescapably patronizing. Therefore, it may be an inadequate substitute for the appreciation and respect that minority members need and deserve (Parekh, 2000; Taylor, 1992). For instance, the Netherlands' and Quebec's tolerance of religion in the private sphere coupled with bans on wearing headscarves in public may discourage Muslim minorities from feeling included within the nation.

These results support the notion that tolerance is intermediate between rejection and acceptance (Scanlon, 2003). The participants made a clear distinction between being rejected and being tolerated, which was also reflected in the associations with group identification and well-being.[15] Rejection was related to higher ethnic and lower national identification, but the pattern for tolerance was reversed. I also found evidence that being tolerated is "a welcome improvement on being the object of intolerance" (Horton, 1996, p. 35): compared to rejection, perceived tolerance was associated with more positive affect. However, tolerance does not seem to encourage drawing on one's minority group membership as a coping resource, whereas rejection does. Tolerating minority practices is argued to stimulate the expression of one's minority identity (Verkuyten et al., 2019), but these results suggest that this is not necessarily the case. Discovering when and why being tolerated affects minority identity expression and also identity-based collective action for social change (van Zomeren et al., 2008) is an important goal for future research.

I only found significant associations concerning being tolerated, group identification, and

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[15] However, tolerance and acceptance were more closely related on the forced choice measure, which likely reflects similarities in the lay meanings of these forms of treatment. It is important for future research to investigate the extent of overlap between tolerance and acceptance and rejection in lay understandings of the terms.

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well-being when considering positive, but not negative affect. This demonstrates that positive and negative emotions are not merely inverses of each other (Diener, 1994) which is also indicated by their low intercorrelation. Previous research has also found that ethnic identification is more strongly related to positive well-being outcomes than negative ones (Smith & Silva, 2011). It may be that one cannot help but feel negative emotions when perceiving one's in-group to be rejected. Ethnic group identification may restore positive feelings of self-esteem and connection (Jetten et al., 2001), but this compensation does not necessarily mean that the rejection hurts any less. Other factors, such as one's individual resilience, may come into play in protecting against negative emotions in a way that associating with social groups does not.

Limitations and Future Directions

Several limitations of this study offer suggestions for future research. First, I relied on cross-sectional data, which limits the conclusions that can be made about the directions of influence. Future experimental and longitudinal work should investigate whether tolerance causes changes in-group belonging and well-being.

Second, many of my instruments were single-item measures. Single items are attractive options in long surveys and have been used effectively to measure perceived rejection (Noh et al., 1999; Stronge et al., 2016), self-esteem (Robins et al., 2001), happiness (Abdel-Khalek, 2006), group identification (Postmes et al., 2013), and generalized trust (Lundmark et al., 2016). Further, my findings for perceived rejection replicated what has been found with multiple-item measures in testing the rejection-identification and rejection-disidentification models. However, the use of single items is less detailed and reliable than multiple-item measures. Developing a more extensive measure of perceived tolerance would be useful, particularly in terms of how minorities themselves understand and interpret the experience of being tolerated.

Third, it is useful to focus not only on perceptions of one's minority group being tolerated

but also experiences of personal tolerance. It might be a more negative experience to be merely tolerated personally than as a group member. Meta-analyses have found different consequences of personal and group perceptions between contexts and for specific groups (Schmitt et al., 2014).

Future research should also investigate whether being tolerated functions similarly outside of the Netherlands, which has a specific history with tolerance and is currently undergoing a retreat from multiculturalism (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013). Western European citizens' tolerance of ethnic minorities is lower in societies where the dominant culture is more institutionalized (Weldon, 2006), whereas acceptance of visible minority religious symbols is higher in societies with higher societal religiosity (Helbling, 2014; Van der Noll et al., 2018). These findings demonstrate that cross-national differences matter for the degree of tolerance in a society and these differences may be relevant for the degree and meaning of being tolerated. The institutionalization and public endorsement of civil liberties and democratic values, the degree of religiosity/secularism, citizenship criteria (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014), and existing migration and integration policies (Bourhis et al., 1997), might all be relevant for the experience of being tolerated.

Furthermore, future research could examine whether being tolerated has similar meanings for other minority groups, such as refugees and LGBTQ+ groups. Lastly, a large proportion of the participants were relatively highly educated and were able to answer the survey in Dutch. This may indicate that they are more integrated into Dutch society and might experience more tolerance or understand it differently from a less integrated sample. Future studies should test this possibility.

Conclusion

This study focused on the important issue of the implications of being tolerated, an issue that rarely receives attention despite the prominent place of tolerance in contemporary political

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and policy discourse (Brown, 2006). It has been argued that tolerance is intermediate between rejection and acceptance (Scanlon, 2003) and the current research is among the first that has empirically corroborated this claim from a targets' perspective. Although much is known about the social psychological implications of being rejected (Schmitt et al., 2014) and there are some studies on feeling accepted (Ryan et al., 2010), there is hardly any research on being tolerated. This is unfortunate because tolerance is increasingly promoted as a viable approach to diversity, but its relations to inclusion and exclusion have not been adequately investigated.

This study highlights both the promise of tolerance as well as its possible pitfalls. Tolerance has the potential to improve targets' well-being, but only to the extent that it allows space for the tolerated group to be part of the overarching category. For its targets, tolerance is certainly an improvement compared to facing rejection, but full acceptance is better still. A pressing question is whether tolerance is a steppingstone or an obstacle to full acceptance and respect for minority practices. In this study, those who felt tolerated felt more included in the national group, but it remains to be seen whether this inclusion is genuine. Due to its positive connotations and similarity to acceptance, tolerance can be cast as an act of good will, which can cause minorities' demands for full acceptance and inclusion to seem unreasonable. It is important to find out when and why tolerance is the way forward or rather a diversion from equality.

Chapter 5

Can't Complain: An Experimental Test of the Interpersonal and Collective Consequences of Being Tolerated

Introduction

Tolerance as forbearance implies that although one disapproves of an activity, practice or belief, that disapproving attitude is not translated into interference or repressive action (Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017). The particular configuration of negative attitude and positive behavior sets tolerance apart from both full acceptance (which entails a positive attitude and positive action) and rejection (which entails a negative attitude and negative action). Tolerance of diversity is widely regarded as a relevant and important means of reconciling different norms and ways of life because it can protect minorities from censorship, disruption and repression (Verkuyten et al., 2019). From the target's perspective, tolerance is likely to be an improvement compared to rejection and discrimination, but it is also likely to leave much to be desired when compared to full acceptance. Thus, being tolerated might be experienced as better than outright rejection but worse than full acceptance.

In contrast to rejection and discrimination, with tolerance there is no exclusionary behavior and negative interference in others' way of life. However, tolerance also signals to others that their beliefs, practices, and values are undesirable. Tolerance involves "the marking of subjects of tolerance as inferior, deviant, or marginal, or undesirable by virtue of being tolerated" (Brown, 2006, p. 13). This differs from full acceptance in which the other's identity is affirmed and appreciated (Verkuyten et al., 2020b). Several studies attest to the intermediate position of being tolerated between being rejected and being accepted. In Chapter 4, for example, I found that among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, tolerance was related to more positive affect than rejection and less positive affect than acceptance, mediated by identification with the national group. Bagci et al. (2020) found among ethnic minorities, sexual minorities, and disabled people in Turkey that both perceived rejection and tolerance (independent of each other) predicted lower well-being by threatening social identity needs. In Chapter 3, I conceptually replicated this pattern by using indices of positive and negative well-being among

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ethnic minorities in the United States and found evidence that these effects are mediated through threats to social identity needs for self-esteem, belonging, efficacy, certainty, and distinctiveness (Vignoles, 2011). Together, these studies indicate that while being tolerated is an improvement upon being rejected, it has the potential to harm the tolerated and threaten their social standing because of the negative attitude that is involved. What remains unknown, however, is whether being tolerated influences targets' interactions with the people who tolerate them, and in particular targets' inclination to confront tolerance in favor of obtaining full acceptance. Previous work has largely relied on correlational surveys which make inferences about causality impossible (e.g. Bagci et al., 2020) or has used minimal groups in a team-work context and focused on a limited understanding of minority voice and collective action tendencies (Adelman et al., under review). In the current study, I expand on this latter research by utilizing their modified version of the Cyberball paradigm (K. D. Williams & Jarvis, 2006) among a real-life group of participants (women) and by focusing on the effects of being tolerated on three sets of outcomes to provide a more thorough understanding of the consequences of tolerance: one's (future) interactions with the tolerating group; one's inclination to confront the situational tolerators; and the heretofore unexplored area of one's inclination to join collective actions to improve the societal standing of one's group.

Interactional Implications

Interactions between members of different groups are often beset with uncertainties and difficulties. For example, concerns about being the target of rejection are cognitively and emotionally taxing for members of marginalized groups (e.g., Murphy et al., 2013; Shelton et al., 2005), and being rejected has social costs such as withdrawal from further social interaction (Molden et al., 2009), but can also lead to confrontation (van Zomeren et al, 2008).

Conversely, (organizational) research indicates that the endorsement and acceptance of diversity is predictive of more positive interactions between members of different groups,

indexed, for example, by inclusive behavior, treating others with respect, frequent interactions with outgroupers, and resolving disagreements and conflicts (e.g., Linnehan et al., 2006; Linnehan et al., 2003) Greater psychological engagement in the organization among members of minority groups is another positive result of diversity acceptance (Plaut et al., 2009).

In contrast to the experience of being rejected or being fully accepted, it is unknown what implications the experience of being tolerated might have for intergroup interactions. However, these implications can be expected to be in between those of being rejected and of being fully accepted, as previous research on being tolerated has found (Adelman et al., under review; Lee, 2021; see Chapters 2 and 3). The reason is that tolerance is similar to rejection in its negative attitude but different in its positive behavior, and similar to acceptance in its positive behavior but different in its negative attitude. In this chapter, I focus on the effects of being tolerated on identity enactment, expectations for future treatment, and social trust, as well as outcomes related to raising one's voice for better situational treatment and collective action beyond the current situation. By studying these outcomes, I try to shed light on the ways in which tolerance can affect social dynamics between tolerators and the tolerated, in addition to the previous chapters that focused more on well-being.

Identity Enactment

Identity enactment, or identity performance, refers to "the purposeful expression (or suppression) of behaviors relevant to those norms conventionally associated with a salient social identity" (Klein et al., 2007, p. 30). The ability to express one's identity can be a luxury for members of marginalized groups. When a powerful outgroup has the ability to punish certain in-group defining practices, members of that group tend to avoid public expressions of those practices (Klein et al., 2007; Reicher et al., 1998, Study 3). For example, women who expected a misogynistic reaction from an evaluator presented themselves in less traditionally feminine ways (Kaiser & Miller, 2001b). This is akin to pursuing an individual mobility strategy

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in the language of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Wright et al., 1990). Tolerance implies that the outgroup disapproves of certain practices, but without negatively interfering in their enactment. Therefore, I expected that tolerated individuals would enact their identities to a greater extent than those who are rejected by their interaction partners. But the fact of being tolerated implies that in some way, one's identity is devalued and marked as undesirable. Thus, I expected that being fully accepted, which implies no such stigma, encourages people to express their identities more than when facing tolerance.

Expectations of Future Treatment

Expectations of future treatment refer to how people anticipate they will be treated by members of the outgroup in the future. The expectations that people have of how they will be treated can have a significant impact on their well-being and behavior in intergroup interactions (Shelton et al., 2005). Anticipating exclusion is a painful experience (K. D. Williams, 2001) and the expectation of being rejected can lead to withdrawal from further social interaction (Molden et al., 2009), particularly from those who are exclusionary (Maner et al., 2007; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). Expecting to encounter rejection can also engender increased outgroup hostility, heightened anxiety, and affect task performance in minority group members (Shelton et al., 2005). Conversely, the positive other-directed focus of full acceptance may induce more positive expectations for future situational treatment and stronger approach tendencies (Vorauer et al., 2009). Hence, I expected that being tolerated leads to more positive future expectations in similar situations than being rejected, as tolerance involves inclusive behavior despite disapproval. Additionally, I expected that being tolerated leads to worse future situational expectations than being accepted, as tolerance lacks the positive orientation towards the other.

Trust

I have the same line of reasoning with regard to interpersonal trust within the context of the experimental setting. Trust involves the "intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behavior of another" (Rousseau et al., 1998, p. 395). The question of trust comes into play particularly when one lacks the power to guarantee positive outcomes for oneself, hence the feelings of vulnerability and the attempts to evaluate whether the other will act with concern for one's welfare (Kramer & Carnevale, 2001). Positive expectancies for the other's behavior are in turn shaped by the relationship's history up until that point (Boon & Holmes, 1991), the other's acknowledgement of one's needs and worth (Rempel et al., 1985), as well as one's beliefs that the other likes them (Deutsch, 1973). Thus, I expected the lowest level of interpersonal trust when people are rejected by their teammates, as they experience both negative treatment and exposure to negative attitudes, and the highest level of trust among those who are accepted and are treated and seen positively. More importantly, I expected intermediate levels of trust for being tolerated because of the positive behavior combined with a negative attitude.

Raising Voice

The ability to use one's voice to denounce dissatisfaction is an important marker of genuine inclusion in a group, and one that merits further attention in relation to being tolerated. Verkuyten and colleagues (2020a) have theorized that although being tolerated can be an unpleasant experience which implies inequality and devaluation, it might also have a demobilizing effect on the tolerated by reducing the tendency to speak up (Brown, 2006). In line with this, I found in Chapter 2 that tolerated trans people often avoid confronting tolerators' disapproving attitudes because they fear a negative reaction. Further, Adelman and colleagues (under review) found experimental evidence that the experience of being tolerated has negative

psychological implications but that despite these implications the experience did not lead to a higher willingness to raise one's voice compared to full acceptance.

While tolerance typically implies a hierarchical relationship wherein one group sets the terms under which another group will be tolerated (Honohan, 2013), there are significant barriers to relations of tolerance being perceived as offensive, demeaning or illegitimate, with possible implications for raising one's voice (Jetten et al., 2011). Firstly, rather than entailing negativity towards a group as a whole, tolerance mainly refers to negativity about specific outgroup traits, practices and beliefs (Verkuyten et al., 2020b). Thus, tolerance often lacks the indiscriminate negativity and generality of group-based antipathy. Secondly, the fact that tolerance is not accompanied by repressive action means that any harms felt by targets will not be obvious to onlookers. Tolerating others might be considered a generous and praiseworthy act which makes confronting tolerators socially costly, as the tolerated expect dismissive (e.g., "You're overreacting") and defensive (e.g., "How dare you") reactions (see Chapter 2; Kaiser & Miller, 2001a). Therefore, I expected that, compared to being rejected, being tolerated makes it less likely that people raise their voice about the negative evaluation by others within the situational, experimental context in which they find themselves. Additionally, I expected that being tolerated makes it more likely that people raise their voice within this context compared to being fully accepted, in which there is less reason to speak up.

Collective Action

Collective action is more likely when group members perceive that broader social changes are possible (van Zomeren et al., 2008), and research shows that this is dependent on expectations that others will support the actions one takes for the group as a whole (Spears et al., 2002). For example, filing a complaint of discrimination is a form of collective action that will be more successful in improving the social status of the group if the action is supported by others. Being tolerated implies that one's conduct is marked as deviant or undesirable but

without facing actual exclusion and negative treatment. This means that it is likely that being tolerated, compared to being rejected, goes together with lower expectations for support from others and thus lower collective action tendencies (Jetten et al., 2011). Thus, whereas being rejected might lead to collective action, this is less likely when one is tolerated. I test this prediction by examining participant's tendency to take actions for improving the social standing of their group beyond the situational, experimental context in which they find themselves.

The Present Research

In this research I used a modified version of the Cyberball paradigm (Adelman et al., under review) and focused on women in a team-working context with men. Participants took part in a team activity where they were ostensibly the only woman interacting with three men who expressed either a positive attitude towards working together with women (acceptance condition) or a negative attitude (tolerance and rejection condition). During the Cyberball game, participants in the acceptance and tolerance conditions were fully included in the game, whereas in the rejection condition participants were excluded. In this way, I captured the duality of tolerance, consisting of a negative attitude which does not translate into negative action.

I predicted that the experience of being tolerated will be intermediate between being accepted and being rejected with respect to the three sets of dependent variables: interactional implications (identity enactment, expectations future treatment, trust), raising one's voice against one's teammates in the working (experimental) context, and taking collective action beyond this situational context. Specifically, I expected that the experience of being tolerated will lead to more identity enactment, more positive future expectations, and more trust compared to being rejected, but less so compared to being accepted, with the pattern reversed for raising voice and collective action.

Method

Participants

An a priori power analysis indicated that a total sample of 252 responses was necessary, assuming a medium effect size with 95% power and an alpha of 0.05 across three experimental groups. I expected a portion of responses to be invalid due to failures on attention checks, so in order to ensure an adequate sample size for each condition I aimed to recruit around 150 participants per condition. Using Cloud Research, we recruited a sample of 444 women. I removed the responses of 13 people who failed the attention check for the Cyberball game, 49 people who failed the memory check of their teammates' gender and the men's attitudes towards working with women, 15 people who guessed the hypotheses, 7 who had technical issues resulting in invalid responses, and one person who gave a contradictory answer to a key dependent variable (choosing two options, one of which was "neither"). This left a final sample of 363 responses.

The median age group of the sample was 26-35 years old. The sample included 260 White women, 43 Black women, 14 Latinas, 23 Asian women, 1 Native American woman, 1 Middle Eastern woman, 20 women of multiple ethnicities and 1 woman who preferred not to answer.

Procedure and Design

Following the paradigm developed by K. D. Williams and colleagues (2000) and as adapted by Adelman and colleagues (under review), the study was introduced as an investigation into how men and women, who were presented as on average having predominantly task- or person-oriented working styles, respectively, work together in online teams. Participants were told they would be matched with other people and participate in a virtual meet-and-greet and complete several group tasks. However, the "teammates" were programs created by the researchers as part of the experimental manipulation. The details of the experimental procedure are shown in Appendix E.

Participants were randomly assigned to an acceptance, tolerance, or rejection condition, indicated by the expressed preferences of their teammates together with the full inclusion or exclusion in the Cyberball game. At the start of the experiment, participants were introduced to three teammates, all of whom were men. Embedded among the given information was each teammate's preference regarding working with people of a different gender. In the acceptance condition, the three teammates said they like working with men and women because each provides a valuable working style; in the tolerance condition, teammates said they don't really like working with women because they focus too much on making others happy rather than getting tasks done, but they nonetheless put up with them as teammates; and in the rejection condition, teammates said they don't really like working with women because they are not as good workers as men, so they avoid working with them whenever they can.

After being exposed to their teammates' expressions of accepting, tolerating, or rejecting attitudes toward women workers, participants played a game of Cyberball (K. D. Williams & Jarvis, 2006), where the three teammates' behavior varied by condition. In the acceptance and tolerance conditions, participants received the ball as frequently as the other players, whereas in the rejection condition they did not receive the ball at all after the initial pass. I probed participants' attention to the game by asking them whether they received the ball frequently, equally, occasionally, rarely, or never. Participants in the acceptance and tolerance conditions were excluded from the statistical analyses if they answered "never" or "rarely", while participants in the rejection condition were excluded if they answered "occasionally", "equally", or "frequently".

Thus, to summarize, participants in the acceptance condition interacted with men who said that they enjoyed working with women and who fully included them in the Cyberball game; participants in the rejection condition interacted with men who said that they didn't want to work with women and fully excluded them in the Cyberball game; and participants in the

tolerance condition interacted with men who said that although they disapprove of women's people rather than task orientation, they nonetheless would work with them and then fully included them in the Cyberball game. These combinations created the experimental manipulation in the study.

A manipulation check was presented near the end of the questions, composed of two items ($r = .93$) which were combined into a score. The first item asked participants how they felt during the study on a scale from 1 [I felt completely left out and not appreciated by my team members] to 11 [I felt completely accepted and appreciated by my team members] with the midpoint labelled with "I felt like I was just tolerated and not really appreciated". The second item asked for participants' impression of their team members during the group activities and was answered on a similar scale, ranging from 1 [My team members completely shut me out and didn't appreciate me at all] through 6 [My team members were stuck with me and didn't really appreciate me] to 11 [My team members fully welcomed and appreciated me]. Further, at the end of the study, I asked participants to rate how lengthy, worthwhile, valuable, tiring, clear, confusing, and engaging they found the study [1 = Not at all ; 7= Very much], how strongly they identify as women (two-item 7-point Likert scale; $r = .67$; $M = 5.8$; $SD = 1.2$), and how strongly person- or task-oriented they considered themselves relative to most men ($M = 3.9$; $SD = 1.6$). Finally, I probed for suspicion regarding the hypotheses and debriefed the participants.

Materials

Interactional Implications

Identity Enactment. After playing the game, participants were asked to write a message to their teammates, and to select either a woman avatar, a man avatar, a blank avatar, or one of two colored shape avatars to accompany their message. Choosing the woman avatar was taken

as an indication of enacting one's identity as a woman, while choosing any other avatar was taken as a lack of identity enactment as a woman.

Trust. Participants were presented with three scenarios assessing the extent to which they would trust their teammates in difficult situations in the workplace, adapted from prisoner's dilemma scenarios (e.g., Kuhlman & Marshello, 1975; see Appendix E for full scenarios). For example, one scenario involved deciding whether to tell one's supervisor about a paperwork shortcut that resulted in the failure of a project. If neither person tells, then no negative consequences will follow for either team member; if one person tells, the other person will get fired; and if both tell, then both people's pay will be reduced. Responses were given on a five-point Likert-type scale where 1 indicated less trust and 5 indicated more trust. In the analyses, I treated the three responses as a formative scale. A factor analysis indicated one factor explaining 46% of the variance (all loadings above .56). For the averaged scale (with the second item reverse-scored), the mean was 3.5 and the standard deviation was 1.0.

Expectations for Future Treatment. Participants were asked to imagine that they would work with their teammates on a future project, and that they, as a woman, want to make a suggestion to the group reflecting their concerns. They responded to four questions (see Appendix E) on a seven-point Likert-type scale, where higher scores indicated more optimistic expectations. The questions asked how much participants thought their team members would listen to their suggestion with an open mind, value their suggestion, incorporate their suggestion into the project, and ask their suggestion in future projects. I combined the four items into one factor, which explained 90% of the variance (all loadings above .94) and conducted analyses on the factor scores. For the averaged scale, the mean was 3.3 and the standard deviation was 1.8.

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Future Team Exercise. I asked participants to recommend an exercise for future teams to complete. The first option was "A social exercise to increase cohesion and the wellbeing of all team members"; the second option was "A workflow exercise to increase the efficiency of task completion"; and the final option was "Other: (Please specify)". Choosing a social exercise was taken as an attempt to promote equality among team members. Two coders classified the nine "other" responses into those that raised their voice against their teammates and those that didn't.

Recommendation to Exclude Teammates. Participants were asked whether, based on their experiences, they would recommend that some or all of their teammates be excluded from participation in future teams. Reponses were given on a scale consisting of four options: "Definitely not", "Maybe not", "Maybe yes", and "Definitely yes". Higher scores were coded to indicate a stronger recommendation to exclude one's teammates.

Screening Teammates. Participants were also asked whether they would sign a petition to implement a screening process for potentially problematic teammates. They were presented with four options: "Yes, there is a problem and this will fix it", "Yes, there is a problem, but I prefer other solutions", "No, there is no problem", and "No, I prefer not to participate, for other reasons".

Willingness to Participate in a Focus Group. Participants were told that the researchers planned to set up a focus group of people who shared participants' experience in the study to develop the research further. I asked participants if they were willing to be contacted to participate in such a focus group. The two response options were "Yes" and "No".

Collective Action

Collective Action Intentions. Six items assessed the likelihood that participants would engage in activities aimed at promoting gender equality if they would actually have to work

together with their teammates in real-life. The questions were introduced thus: "One way that many companies think about workplace engagement is in workers' decisions to collaborate with other workers to improve their working conditions and the work environment. For some workers and work-environments these collaborations are good for the culture and business, but for other workers and work-environments these actions and collaborations distract people from doing work and create disunity. Here we will present you with a number of different actions you might be asked to join in on, and we would like to know how likely you would be to engage in these activities to work towards gender equality in your workplace. Suppose that you were coworkers in real life with your teammates from this study. What is the likelihood that you would engage in the following activities aimed at working toward gender equality at your workplace?". The activities were the following: Meeting with your supervisor to discuss actions to take; meeting with HR to discuss improvements; sharing posts on social media; distributing fliers at the workplace; contacting an outside organization; and adding a supporting comment to an internal statement. Responses were given on a seven-point Likert-type scale with higher scores indicating stronger intentions. I conducted the analyses on two factors based on this measure. The first, concerning intentions to contact internal authorities, was composed of the first two items, $r = .72$, and the second, concerning intentions to agitate within the workplace oneself, was composed of the last four items, $\alpha = .80$. A confirmatory factor analysis supported this two-factor structure reasonably well, $\chi^2(8) = 39.75$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.96; RMSEA = 0.11, 90% CIs [0.07, 0.14]; SRMR = 0.04.

Support for Gender Equality Organizations. Participants were presented with a choice of two bogus gender equality organizations to indicate their interest in. The first was allegedly aimed at stopping the bullying of women at work, while the second was aimed at raising awareness of the value of women workers (see Appendix E for full details). Thus, these two

organizations represented severe and mild cases of injustices towards women. Participants could select one or both organizations, or tick a box indicating no interest in either organization.

Results

Because the experience of being tolerated was the main focus, the tolerance condition was the reference category in the planned contrast analyses. Specifically, a first contrast compares the tolerance condition to the rejection condition, while the second contrast compares the tolerance condition to the acceptance condition.

Preliminary Results

Randomization Checks

One-way ANOVAs testing experimental condition differences on age group ($M = 2.7$, $SD = 1.3$) and gender identification ($M = 5.8$, $SD = 1.2$) were non-significant, Fs$(2, 360) < 0.89$, ps $> .413$. A chi-square test testing for condition differences in ethnicity was also non-significant, $\chi^2(14) = 15.07$, $p = .373$. Furthermore, a one-way ANOVA showed no significant differences in participants' self-assessed task- or people-orientation, $F(2, 360) = 0.65$, $p = .521$.[16]

I also ran one-way ANOVAs testing possible condition differences how participants experienced the study (as lengthy, worthwhile, valuable, tiring, clear, confusing, and engaging). There was a significant difference only in the extent to which participants found the study tiring, $F(2, 239.9) = 3.41$, $p = .035$. Participants in the acceptance condition ($M = 2.6$; $SD = 1.5$) found the study less tiring than those in the rejection condition ($M = 3.2$; $SD = 1.8$; $t(235.35) = -2.59$,

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16 As part of the manipulation, we told our participants that women tend to be people-oriented workers, which may be at odds with a participant's own idea of their task- vs people-orientation. To test the possibility that more task-oriented women would be more suspicious of the experimental manipulation, we ran a binary logistic regression. It showed that self-assessed task- or people-orientation had no effect on whether a participant was excluded or included on the basis of the suspicion probe. Small cell sizes precluded a full moderation analysis.

$p = .010$.) The tolerance condition ($M = 2.9$, $SD = 1.9$) did not differ from the other two. All other F-tests were non-significant (all Fs < 0.55, all ps > .576).

Manipulation Check

A one-way ANOVA showed significant condition differences on the manipulation check, $F(2, 361) = 372.15$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .67$. The planned comparisons showed that those in the acceptance condition ($M = 8.9$; $SD = 1.7$) felt more included than those in the tolerance condition, who scored around the midpoint of the 11-point scale ($M = 6.8$; $SD = 2.0$; $t(235) = 8.81$, $p < .001$), and who in turn felt more included than those in the rejection condition, who scored on the rejection side of the scale ($M = 2.3$; $SD = 2.1$; $t(251) = 17.64$, $p < .001$). The experimental manipulation therefore succeeded in eliciting differences in feelings of being included, tolerated, and excluded.[17]

Main results

Table 5.1 presents a summary of the study's main results.

Interactional Implications

Identity Enactment. When utilizing all five options of the avatar choice variable, 20% of the expected cell counts were below 5. I therefore created a binary variable which recorded whether participants chose the woman avatar or not. A chi-square test of independence showed that there was a significant effect of condition on avatar choice, $\chi^2(2) = 7.84$, $p = .020$. The percentage of participants choosing the woman avatar was 80% in the acceptance condition, 70% in the tolerance condition, and 64% in the rejection condition. Planned contrasts with binary logistic regression showed, contrary to expectations, that those in the tolerance condition

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[17] Future research should use separate manipulation check items for each type of treatment.

Table 5.1

Summary of Main Results for Chapter 5

Dependent Variable	Contrast	
	Tolerance vs. Rejection	Tolerance vs. Acceptance
Interactional Implications		
Identity Enactment	*ns*	- †
Trust	+ **	- *
Expectations of Future Treatment	+ ***	- ***
Raising Voice		
Future Team Exercise[a]	- **	*ns*
Recommendation to Exclude Teammates	- ***	+ ***
Screening Teammates [b]	- **	+ ***
Willingness to Participate in a Focus Group	*ns*	*ns*
Collective Action Intentions		
Intention to Contact Internal Authorities	*ns*	*ns*
Intention to Agitate Within the Workplace	*ns*	- **
Support for Gender Equality Organizations	*ns*	*ns*

Note. † $p < .1$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

+ indicates that the mean was higher in the tolerance condition than in the other condition in the contrast, while – means that the mean was lower in the tolerance condition.

a. Higher scores on this measure signify a greater tendency to choose the social exercise which is taken as an indication of raising one's voice.

b. This indicates the overall pattern. See Table 5.3 for the results of specific contrasts between opinions on screening out potentially problematic teammates.

were equally as likely to choose the woman avatar as participants in the rejection condition, $B = 0.26$, $SE = 0.27$, $W(1) = 0.96$, $p = .328$. Those in the tolerance condition were 0.57 times as likely to choose the woman avatar as those in the acceptance condition, $B = -0.57$, $SE = 0.31$, $W(1) = 3.43$, $p = .064$.

Expectations of Future Treatment. A one-way ANOVA showed significant condition differences on expectations of future treatment, $F(2, 237.3) = 198.67$, $p < .001$. As expected, planned contrasts showed that those in the tolerance condition ($M = -0.2$; $SD = 0.8$) expected better treatment than those in the rejection condition ($M = -0.7$; $SD = 0.7$; $t(239.12) = 6.19$, $p < .001$), while those in the tolerance condition expected worse future treatment than those in the acceptance condition ($M = 1.0$; $SD = 0.7$), $t(233.32) = -11.88$, $p < .001$.

Trust. One-way ANOVAs showed significant condition differences on the tendency to trust one's teammates, $F(2, 360) = 15.74$, $p < .001$. As expected, planned contrasts showed that those in the tolerance condition ($M = 0.0$; $SD = 1.0$) trusted their teammates more than those in the rejection condition ($M = -0.3$; $SD = 1.0$; $t(360) = 3.08$, $p = .002$), but that they trusted their teammates less than those in the acceptance condition ($M = 0.4$; $SD = 0.9$; $t(360) = -2.60$, $p = .010$). [18]

Raising Voice

Future Team Exercise. A chi-square test of independence showed significant condition effects on future exercise choice, $\chi^2(2) = 12.64$, $p = .002$. The percentage of participants choosing a social exercise was 41% in the acceptance condition, 42% in the tolerance condition, and 61% in the rejection condition. Planned contrasts with binary logistic regression analysis showed that those in the tolerance condition were less likely to choose a social exercise than

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[18] In this analysis, the dependent variable was a latent factor. The same is true of the two collective action intention variables.

participants in the rejection condition, $B = -0.77$, $SE = 0.26$, $W(1) = 9.02$, $p = .003$. The odds of choosing a social exercise for the tolerance condition were 0.46 times the odds of choosing a social exercise in the rejection condition. Those in the tolerance condition were equally as likely to choose a social exercise as participants in the acceptance condition, $B = 0.04$, $SE = 0.27$, $W(1) = 0.03$, $p = .869$.

Recommendation to Exclude Teammates. A one-way ANOVA showed significant condition differences on recommendations to exclude one's teammates, Welch's $F(2, 238.5) = 91.41$, $p < .001$. As expected, those in the tolerance condition ($M = 1.8$; $SD = 0.9$) were less in favor of excluding their teammates than those in the rejection condition ($M = 2.9$; $SD = 1.1$; $t(246.81) = -8.8$, $p < .001$). Additionally, those in the tolerance condition were more in favor of excluding their teammates than those in the acceptance condition ($M = 1.3$; $SD = 0.7$; $t(229.70) = 4.31$, $p < .001$).

Screening Teammates. A chi-square test of independence showed that there was a significant effect of condition on participants' opinions on the suitability of screening out problematic potential teammates, $\chi^2(6) = 100.73$, $p < .001$. The percentages of participants who chose each opinion per condition are shown in Table 5.2. Planned contrasts were obtained with a multinomial logistic regression (see Table 5.3). Tolerated participants were less likely than rejected participants to perceive a problem with their teammates which they believed would be solved by excluding them or through other solutions. Additionally, tolerated participants were more likely to think that excluding problematic teammates was a good solution accepted participants.

Willingness to Participate in a Focus Group. A chi-square test of independence showed that there was no significant effect of experimental condition on willingness to participate in a further focus group, $\chi^2(2) = 0.33$, $p = .85$. Approximately 80% of participants in every condition were willing to participate.

Table 5.2

Opinion Percentages by Condition

	Condition		
Opinion	Acceptance	Tolerance	Rejection
No, there is no problem	75%	35%	15%
No, I prefer not to participate, for other reasons	9%	15%	11%
Yes, there is a problem, but I prefer other solutions	5%	25%	28%
Yes, there is a problem and this will fix it	12%	25%	47%

Collective Action Intentions

Intention to Contact Internal Authorities. A one-way ANOVA showed no condition differences in intentions to contact internal authorities, $F(2, 360) = 0.23$, $p = .796$.

Intention to Agitate Within the Workplace. A one-way ANOVA showed significant condition differences in intentions to agitate towards one's teammates in the context of a real workplace, $F(2, 360) = 4.21$, $p = .016$. Planned contrasts revealed that, surprisingly, those in the tolerance condition ($M = -0.2$; $SD = 0.9$) had weaker intentions to agitate in their workplace than those in the acceptance condition ($M = 0.2$; $SD = 1.0$; $t(360) = -2.83$, $p = .005$). The tolerance condition did not differ from the rejection condition ($M = -0.1$; $SD = 1.1$).

Table 5.3

Planned Contrast Parameter Estimates for Opinion on Excluding Problematic Teammates

Opinion		B	SE	Wald statistic	df	p	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
								Lower Bound	Upper Bound
No, I prefer not to participate, for other reasons	Intercept	-0.84	0.28	9.36	1	.002	-	-	-
	Contrast 1[a]	-1.28	0.43	8.70	1	.003	0.28	0.12	0.65
	Contrast 2[b]	0.53	0.45	1.43	1	.231	1.71	0.71	4.09
Yes, there is a problem, but I prefer other solutions	Intercept	-0.35	0.23	2.23	1	.135	-	-	-
	Contrast 1	-2.46	0.52	22.65	1	.000	0.09	0.03	0.24
	Contrast 2	0.96	0.37	6.78	1	.009	2.62	1.27	5.39
Yes, there is a problem and this will fix it	Intercept	-0.35	0.23	2.23	1	.135	-	-	-
	Contrast 1	-1.50	0.38	15.71	1	.000	0.22	0.11	0.47
	Contrast 2	1.48	0.35	17.67	1	.000	4.41	2.21	8.80

Note. The reference category is "No, there is no problem".

a. Contrast 1 compares the acceptance condition to the tolerance condition.

b. Contrast 2 compares the rejection condition to the tolerance condition.

Support for Gender Equality Organizations. In contrast to what was expected, a chi-square test of independence showed that there was no significant effect of condition on willingness to support external organizations promoting gender equality, $\chi^2(6) = 3.09$, $p = .798$. The severe option was chosen by 4% of participants and the mild option was chosen by 21% of participants. Both organizations were supported by 16% of participants, while 59% chose to support neither.

Discussion

Using a modified Cyberball paradigm in a virtual team-working context, I experimentally tested the implications of the experience of being tolerated for interactions between group members and minorities' inclination to raise their voice and act collectively to improve their social standing. As hypothesized, I found that being tolerated generally resulted in more positive interactional implications (indexed by expectations for future treatment and trust for outgroup teammates) than being rejected, but more negative implications than being fully accepted. Being tolerated resulted in a reduced inclination to raise one's voice against one's teammates compared to being rejected, but a stronger inclination to raise one's voice compared to being accepted. In terms of collective action tendencies, I mainly found no differences between the three experimental conditions, apart from the unexpected finding that willingness to agitate in the workplace was stronger in the acceptance condition than in the tolerance condition. This might be explained by people expecting less opposition to collective action from more accepting coworkers than from coworkers who are merely tolerant. Even if one's immediate environment is supportive of women workers, there may be a lack of gender equality in the wider working context.

The pattern of findings is in line with the research presented in the preceding chapters and with previous research showing that being tolerated can have negative implications for how

minorities feel compared to being accepted and can have positive implications compared to being rejected (Adelman, et al., under review; Bagci et al., 2020). However, I extended this research to interactions between tolerators and the tolerated. Being tolerated conveys that one's traits, beliefs or practices are not valued and appreciated, which appears to negatively impact co-worker trust and future interaction expectations. Importantly, these effects were found in spite of tolerated people being behaviorally included in team activities. Thus, even in the absence of exclusionary behavior, the negative attitude implied in tolerance has an unfavorable impact on intergroup interactions, in line with previous research on diversity attitudes (Linnehan et al., 2003, 2006). However, being tolerated had more positive implications than the exclusionary behavior displayed in the rejection condition, which indicates that not only expressed attitudes but also actual behavior is important for future social interactions.

Tolerated targets were more likely to raise their voices than those in the acceptance condition because the negative attitude of tolerance constitutes a grievance. This indicates that being behaviorally included without being valued can lead people to complain and want to act. This suggests a politicizing rather than depoliticizing effect of being tolerated compared to being accepted, whereby people not only want to be included but also appreciated. However, being tolerated resulted in a lower tendency to raise one's voice compared to the rejection condition. Although tolerated participants faced the same negative attitude as rejected participants, they did not feel as inclined to protest this treatment, suggesting that when compared to rejection, tolerance can have a demobilizing effect on the quest for acceptance. This may be because rejection involves not only devaluation but also behavioral exclusion. Further, although I found experimental condition differences in the tendency to raise one's voice against teammates, I generally found null results for collective action. This pattern of findings is not in line with the theoretical argument that tolerance can have a depoliticizing effect in reducing minority member's willingness to undertake collective action and improve

the social standing of their minority group (Brown, 2006; Verkuyten et al., 2020a). It is possible that the manipulation, which was centered around the immediate team-working environment, was insufficiently strong to generalize to participants' wider perceptions and behavioral tendencies with regard to collective action for gender equality.

Limitations and Future Directions

Several limitations of the present research should be noted as directions for further research. The Cyberball paradigm has proven robust and useful in investigating the effects of in- and exclusion (Hartgerink et al., 2015), but the next step would be attempting to replicate these results in an in-person experiment using confederates, or in a setting in which tolerance might naturally take place. The outcome measures could then also be expanded beyond online interaction with virtual others.

The paradigm could also be extended by adding a fourth condition in which participants experience attitudinal inclusion combined with behavioral exclusion (in other words, a 2x2 design). Doing so would enable researchers to isolate the unique consequences of being tolerated and investigate whether tolerance is reducible to the additive effects of being disapproved of and being behaviorally included, or whether an interaction is responsible for this study's results.

It would also be desirable to investigate what mechanisms underlie the differences in impact between experiences of being tolerated, rejected, and accepted. For example, the extent to which one's being tolerated is seen as normative or legitimate may be an important mediator between treatment and subsequent action (or lack thereof). In the context of US-based women in a working environment, acceptance rather than tolerance may be seen as normative and desirable; in a different context, such as one involving free-riders in a working environment,

tolerance may be the treatment one hopes for, which may result in tolerated targets' disinclination to protest such treatment.

Identifying possible moderators would also be fruitful in adding more nuance to the study of tolerance effects. For example, the degree of diversity in a (workplace) setting may affect targets' responses to being tolerated, as organizational researchers have discovered in terms of well-being (Jaiswal & Dyaram, 2020). Another salient moderator could be the presence or absence of support for diversity among authority figures. Both of these factors may affect expectations of support among the tolerated. Future research might also benefit from distinguishing between instrumental and non-instrumental forms of voice (Platow et al., 2006) by manipulating whether or not participants believe that their voice would have an impact on tangible outcomes. The way in which tolerance is expressed, i.e. in explicit communication or more implicitly, is another useful distinction for the future of the field. Of course, individual differences, such as self-confidence or in-group identification, can also moderate the experimental effects of tolerance.

Conclusion

I found that compared to the experiences of being rejected or accepted, being tolerated has intermediate effects on interactions with outgroup members. Tolerance is widely considered to be critical to managing meaningful differences because it avoids the pitfalls that hostility brings. However, tolerance can leave much to be desired: it entails more negative consequences for intergroup interactions than the full acceptance of differences, and while it can stimulate more protest against others' disapproval than being accepted, it hinders people from raising their voices compared to being rejected in spite of both tolerance and rejection involving a negative attitude. It is currently unclear whether this pattern would hold for other kinds of tolerated groups, such as those with dissenting political or religious beliefs or ascribed characteristics such as ethnicity or sexuality, and future research should clarify the effects of

what exactly is being tolerated. In the case of women who were tolerated by men for their working style, I found that while tolerance was not the worst means of negotiating difference, it was also far from the best.

Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Introductie

Tolerantie wordt algemeen beschouwd als een cruciaal aspect van het naast elkaar bestaan van verschillende manieren van leven in pluralistische samenlevingen. Tolerantie maakt het mogelijk om conflicten tussen groepen te verminderen die het gevolg zijn van diepgewortelde verschillen tussen groepen. Tolerantie wordt dan ook bepleit door tal van nationale, internationale en organisatorische instellingen (bijvoorbeeld door UNESCO en de Europese Unie), en door zowel politiek rechts (Carson, 2012) als politiek links (Brown, 2006). Theorievorming en onderzoek naar tolerantie heeft zich met name gericht op het perspectief van hen die tolerant zijn, terwijl de mogelijke implicaties voor degenen die worden getolereerd geen systematische aandacht heeft gekregen (maar zie Bagci et al., 2020). Gezien de nadruk op tolerantie als een manier om op een vreedzame wijze met diepgewortelde verschillen om te gaan, is het belangrijk om ook de mogelijk positieve en negatieve kanten van het getolereerd worden in ogenschouw te nemen. Mijn onderzoek is een eerste diepgaande blik op de sociaal psychologische gevolgen van getolereerd worden, in de zin van gedoogd en geduld worden.

Dit proefschrift richt zich op sociale tolerantie als het verdragen van praktijken van minderheden die als afwijkend of zelfs verwerpelijk worden beschouwd. In dit proefschrift benader ik tolerantie dus in de klassieke zin van het verdragen of dulden van iets of iemand zonder te proberen om datgene wat men afkeurt te veranderen of te voorkomen (Cohen, 2004; Forst, 2017; Koning, 2012). Het gaat mij om tolerantie op intergroepsniveau, zoals in het geval van etnische en religieuze groepen of mensen met een verschillende seksuele oriëntatie die in één land samenleven. Tolerantie heeft overeenkomsten met zowel verwerping als volledige acceptatie, maar verschilt van beide (Verkuyten et al., 2019). Iets verwerpen kan een actieve poging in houden om er negatief mee om te gaan en zo mogelijk te onderdrukken. Net als verwerping bevat tolerantie een negatief oordeel (d.w.z. afkeuring) van specifieke praktijken, overtuigingen en normen van minderheden, maar in tegenstelling tot verwerping houdt het ook

de vrijwillige onderdrukking in van iemands neiging om de uitingen van minderheden te onderdrukken. Iets volledig accepteren betekent het positief waarderen en er geen bezwaar tegen hebben. Tolerantie is vergelijkbaar met acceptatie omdat beide inhouden dat je anderen de vrijheid geeft om zich te uiten. Met andere woorden, het verschil tussen tolerantie en acceptatie zit in de houding, terwijl het verschil tussen tolerantie en afwijzing in het gedrag zit. Tolerantie kan daarom worden gekenmerkt als liggend tussen "oprechte acceptatie en ongebreidelde oppositie" (Scanlon, 2003, p. 187).

Om de ervaringen met en gevolgen van getolereerd worden beter te begrijpen, heb ik drie hoofdvragen gesteld:

1. Hoe interpreteren minderheden tolerantie en hoe ervaren ze het om getolereerd te worden?

2. Wat zijn de implicaties van getolereerd worden op het welzijn van minderheden?

3. Wat zijn de implicaties van getolereerd worden op de bereidheid om je stem te verheffen en deel te nemen aan collectieve actie?

Het eerste doel van mijn onderzoek is om te begrijpen hoe tolerantie wordt gezien en ervaren door degenen die getolereerd worden. Men kan niet zomaar aannemen dat getolereerde mensen tolerantie op dezelfde manier interpreteren en beoordelen als degene die duldgedrag vertonen. Omdat mensen geen directe toegang hebben tot het denken of de bedoelingen van degene die tolerant zijn (d.w.z. de redenen voor de afkeuring van bepaald gedrag, maar het niettemin dulden), moeten ze afgaan op het waarnemen en interpreteren van andermans gedrag. Tolerantie is echter vaak passief en manifesteert zich in niet-inmenging, wat inherent moeilijk is om te duiden (Adelman e.a., 2021b).

Ten tweede, is het signaleren van en reageren op tolerantie niet eenvoudig en kan ook samengaan met een gevoel van onzekerheid. De onzekerheid kan het getolereerd worden tot

een belastende ervaring maken voor minderheden en daarmee bijdragen aan een slechtere mentale gezondheid: het kan negatieve emotionele gevolgen hebben voor degenen die getolereerd worden (Greco & Roger, 2003; Zakowski , 1995). De tweede onderzoeksvraag gaat daarom over de mogelijke implicaties voor het welzijn van ervaringen met getolereerd worden. Tolerantie omvat per definitie geen openlijke groeps-gebaseerde verwerping, discriminatie of uitsluiting die gepaard gaan met tal van negatieve gevolgen voor de gezondheid en het welzijn van mensen (Schmitt et al., 2014; Pascoe & Richman, 2009). De negatieve evaluatie, die een centraal aspect is van duldgedrag, kan echter zijn eigen specifieke gevolgen hebben. Voor degenen die getolereerd worden kan tolerantie de implicatie hebben dat datgene wat wordt geduld op de een of andere manier afkeurenswaardig, inferieur of afwijkend is. Mensen zijn gemotiveerd om zichzelf en hun groepsidentiteit in een positief daglicht te zien (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) en geduld worden kan worden ervaren als afwijzend, neerbuigend en paternalistisch. Sommige uitingen van tolerantie (bijv. vermijding of blijken van afkeuring) kunnen mogelijk ook worden ervaren als vormen van subtiele vooroordelen of micro-agressies (Sue, 2010).

Ten derde kan het uiten van onvrede over het alleen maar geduld worden op weerstand stuiten vanwege de algemene idee dat tolerantie prijzenswaardig en moreel goed is. Dit kan getolereerde mensen ontmoedigen om gezamenlijk actie te ondernemen om weerstand te bieden tegen de afkeuring en ondergeschiktheid die in duldgedrag vervat zit (onderzoeksvraag 3). Dit is een belangrijk onderwerp voor onderzoek omdat collectieve actie een middel is voor mindermachtige groepen om verandering in de statusverhoudingen en maatschappelijke posities te bewerkstelligen (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Onderzoek naar discriminatie heeft uitgewezen dat minderheden die hun ervaringen met discriminatie delen, vaak negatief worden beoordeeld door buitenstaanders (Kaiser & Miller, 2001a), inclusief door leden van de eigen minderheidsgroep (Garcia et al., 2005). De onwettigheid en negatieve sociale gevolgen van

discriminatie zijn echter veel gemakkelijker waar te nemen en aan te wijzen dan mogelijk negatieve gevolgen die voortvloeien uit getolereerd worden. Aangezien waargenomen onrechtvaardigheid van belang is voor de pogingen van achtergestelde groepen om voor zichzelf op te komen (Jetten et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008), kan het zo zijn dat getolereerd worden de strijd voor erkenning, acceptatie en gelijkheid ondermijnt. Het is wellicht niet eenvoudig om gezamenlijk in actie te komen tegen duldgedrag: immers, wanneer men getolereerd wordt kan men nog steeds leven zoals men zelf wilt, zij het op voorwaarden van anderen. Aan de andere kant kan tolerantie minderheidsgroepen meer ruimte geven voor collectieve actie, zonder angst voor politieke en maatschappelijke repercussie (McAdam et al., 1999). Tolerantie vormt in principe een barrière tegen onderdrukking en discriminatie en kan daarom leden van minderheden de mogelijkheid bieden om deel te nemen aan acties om erkenning en sociale verandering te bepleiten en te bewerkstelligen.

Methode

Voor mijn onderzoek heb ik gebruik gemaakt van een scala aan methoden en technieken die ik heb gebruik om onderzoek te doen bij een verscheidenheid aan minderheidsgroepen. De bedoeling hiervan is om een eerste en relatief breed empirisch begrip te verkrijgen van de ervaringen met en gevolgen van getolereerd worden. Hoofdstuk 2 richt zich op de eerste onderzoeksvraag en beschrijft een kwalitatief interviewonderzoek onder transgenders in Nederland. Hoofdstukken 3 en 4 beantwoorden de tweede onderzoeksvraag door middel van kwantitatieve onderzoeken onder etnische minderheden in respectievelijk de Verenigde Staten en Nederland. Hoofdstuk 5 richt zich op onderzoeksvraag 3 en doet verslag van een online Cyberball-experiment (Williams & Jarvis, 2006) dat werd uitgevoerd onder vrouwen in een teamactiviteit met mannen. Met deze vier empirische hoofdstukken heb ik de subjectieve ervaringen van getolereerd worden onderzocht met daarbij de mogelijke gevolgen voor het

subjectief welzijn en de mogelijke sociale implicaties in de vorm van je stem laten horen en collectieve actie.

Belangrijkste resultaten

De ervaring met tolerantie

Vanuit het perspectief van minderheden is de ervaring van getolereerd worden gekenmerkt door ambiguïteit. Verdraagzaamheid impliceert dulden en deze vorm van inactiviteit moet worden geïnterpreteerd om te begrijpen hoe en waarom men zo wordt tegemoet getreden (Adelman et al., 2021b). Vormen van niet-handelen zijn net als weglatingen moeilijk te herkennen en moeilijk te interpreteren. Dus minderheden zijn vaak niet zeker van de ware aard van wat er gebeurt als ze worden getolereerd. Deze onzekerheid strekt zich ook uit tot de vraag waar de grenzen van tolerantie liggen. Tolerantie kent altijd grenzen, die, als ze worden overschreden, ertoe leiden dat dingen als onverdraaglijk worden beschouwd (Cohen, 2004; Forst, 2017). Bij gebrek aan expliciete informatie is het voor de betrokkenen echter lang niet altijd duidelijk waar die grenzen liggen. Zoals hoofdstuk 2 laat zien, kan dit een belastende ervaring zijn die ertoe kan leiden dat minderheden proberen om vragen te stellen bij de opstelling van degenen die duldgedrag vertonen (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Verkuyten et al., 2020a). Dit betekent dat de vrijheid van de getolereerde wordt beperkt. Deze onzekerheid maakt het bovendien moeilijk om te weten hoe men moet reageren op het getolereerd worden; bijvoorbeeld door degene die duldgedrag vertoont proberen aan te spreken of juist liever afstand van die persoon te nemen.

De tussenpositie van tolerantie: subjectief welzijn en collectieve actie

Een vergelijkbaar patroon van resultaten komt naar voren in de verschillende onderzoeken die ik heb uitgevoerd: de ervaring van getolereerd worden heeft meer positieve implicaties dan die van expliciet afgewezen worden, maar meer negatieve implicaties dan

volledig geaccepteerd worden. Dit blijkt het geval te zijn voor meerdere uitkomstmaten, waaronder positief en negatief welzijn, identiteitsbehoeften, vrijheid van meningsuiting, interacties met degene die duldgedrag vertonen en bij protest.

Subjectief welzijn. In hoofdstuk 3 wordt duidelijk dat de ervaring van getolereerd worden, net als de ervaring van expliciet afgewezen worden, negatieve implicaties heeft voor identiteitsbehoeften, zoals de behoefte aan eigenwaarde, erbij willen horen en een gevoel van effectiviteit, en vervolgens ook van verminderd welzijn. Toch lijkt de ervaring met duldgedrag mindere negatief te zijn dan expliciete afwijzing, wat blijkt uit kleinere effectgroottes. Het interviewonderzoek in hoofdstuk 2 laat evenwel zien dat tolerantie een aantal eigen bedreigingen voor de identiteit van transgenders kent, waaronder het belemmeren van iemands vermogen om zichzelf uit te drukken en door anderen herkend te worden zoals men zichzelf ziet.

Getolereerd worden hangt ook samen met een sterkere nationale identificatie onder etnische minderheden in Nederland, wat op zijn beurt verband houdt met meer positieve zelfgevoelens (hoofdstuk 4). Waar de ervaring van volledige acceptatie rechtstreeks verband houdt met positieve gevoelens, blijken de positieve implicaties van tolerantie afhankelijk van iemands gevoel van inclusie in de nationale gemeenschap. Dit geeft aan dat de positieve gevolgen van tolerantie kwetsbaarder en onzekerder kunnen zijn dan die van volledige acceptatie, ook omdat tolerantie makkelijker lijkt te verschuiven naar intolerantie dan naar volledige acceptatie (van Doorn, 2014; Verkuyten et al., 2019). De onzekerheid van tolerantie is op zichzelf een reden voor de verschillende gevolgen van getolereerd en geaccepteerd worden: niet weten waar de grenzen van tolerantie liggen, kan een belastende ervaring zijn.

Interacties en collectieve actie. Ook in het sociale domein blijkt de ervaring van getolereerd worden te verschillen van zowel volledig acceptatie en expliciet afwijzing. Vrouwen die door mammen getolereerd worden in een virtuele werkomgeving, hebben meer

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vertrouwen in, en meer positieve verwachtingen omtrent, toekomstige interacties dan vrouwen die worden afgewezen, maar het patroon is omgekeerd in vergelijking met vrouwen die volledig geaccepteerd worden (Hoofdstuk 5).

Voor het laten horen van je stem, heeft getolereerd worden een mobiliserend effect in vergelijking met volledige acceptatie: getolereerde vrouwen verheffen hun stem meer tegen het alleen geduld worden in de virtuele teamactiviteiten. In vergelijking met expliciete afwijzing, had geduld worden evenwel een demobiliserend effect, zoals voorgesteld door Brown (2006). Ondanks een gebrek aan positieve waardering en de negatieve implicaties voor het welzijn blijkt het moeilijk om je stem te verheffen tegen het getolereerd worden door mannelijke teamleden. Hierdoor blijft de afkeuring in hun duldgedrag bestaan, alsmede de eventueel bestaande machtsverschillen. Interessant is dat dit patroon van resultaten niet wordt gevonden voor de neiging om tot collectieve actie over te gaan buiten de virtuele teamsetting. Integendeel, er is eerder enige aanwijzing dat vrouwen die volledig geaccepteerd worden meer geneigd zijn om te ageren voor maatschappelijke verandering in relatie tot de positie van vrouwen in het algemeen, dan vrouwen die worden getolereerd. Dit geeft aan, zoals sommige theoretici hebben opgemerkt (McAdam et al., 1999), dat juist de ervaring van acceptatie en inclusie, mobilisatie onder achtergestelde groepen kan stimuleren. De vraag of getolereerd worden een mobiliserend of demobiliserend effect heeft, is niet eenvoudig te beantwoorden en het antwoord zal waarschijnlijk afhangen van meerdere factoren in een bepaalde situatie. Eén factor van betekenis kan de vergelijkingscontext zijn. Wanneer tolerantie wordt vergeleken met expliciete afwijzing, geven minderheden de voorkeur aan tolerantie, maar in vergelijking met volledige acceptatie worden de tekortkomingen van duldgedrag benadrukt. Er is duidelijk meer onderzoek nodig naar de sociale gevolgen van tolerantie en hoe deze verband houden met de ervaringen en toekomstverwachtingen van mensen uit verschillende minderheidsgroeperingen.

Conclusie

Gezien de aanhoudende belangstelling voor tolerantie als een manier om met diepgewortelde verschillen tussen groepen om te gaan en de betekenis van tolerantie voor de samenleving als geheel, is het van belang om ook de ervaringen, betekenissen en gevolgen van degenen die geduld worden te identificeren en te evalueren. Hoewel er nog veel kanttekeningen te maken zijn en veel achtergronden, condities en nuances te begrijpen zijn (bijvoorbeeld de impact van verschillende vormen en situaties van tolerantie, of de reacties van verschillende minderheidsgroepen en van individuele leden van deze groepen), kunnen enkele algemene conclusies worden getrokken. Ten eerste is getolereerd worden vaak een dubbelzinnige ervaring die lastig is om te identificeren, te interpreteren, en effectief mee om te gaan. Ten tweede kan de ervaring van getolereerd worden negatieve implicaties hebben voor identiteitsbehoeften en subjectief welzijn, met name het gevoel van ergens bij te horen. Maar hoewel tolerantie negatiever uitpakt dan volledige acceptatie, is het te verkiezen boven expliciete afwijzing. Ten derde kan getolereerd worden er toe leiden dat men minder snel onwelgevallige zaken aan de orde zal stellen en zich zal inspannen voor een grotere acceptatie en waardering van de eigen minderheidsgroep. In een liberale context en voor een breed scala van getolereerde groepen, waaronder etnische, seksuele en gender minderheden, is geduld worden met de daarbij horende negatieve beoordeling, niet de meest wenselijke regeling.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Interview Schedule about Trans People's Experiences with Being Tolerated

1. To start with, tell me about your gender identity. How do you currently understand your gender and what has your journey been like to arrive there?

     - How do you express your gender identity in everyday life?

2. How have (cisgender) people responded to you (being trans)?

3. What meanings does the word "tolerance" have for you?

     - Can you think of examples relevant to your own life?

     - How is being tolerated similar or different from being discriminated against? From being accepted?

4. Some people say that they tolerate trans people, in the sense that they disapprove of certain things that trans people may do, but they would not try to interfere in trans people's lives. Is this something you have come across?

     - (Explore discrepancies between theory and experience from question 3.)

     - Can you describe a concrete situation where you came across an attitude of tolerance?

     - What sorts of things in people's demeanor indicated to you that they tolerated you?

     - What do you think about being tolerated?

5. I'd like to ask what your feelings are about being tolerated. How does being tolerated make you feel about yourself?

     - Next, how does being tolerated make you feel about the other?

- (mention cis(het) people or other parts of LGBT umbrella)

6. How do you respond in a situation where you notice that somebody was tolerating you?

- Does being tolerated affect your willingness or comfort in expressing yourself?

- Does it affect whether you speak out about trans rights?

7. We are almost at the end of the interview. Is there anything that you feel is important to add that we have not covered?

8. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix B

Testing for Moderation by Ethnic and National Identification in Chapter 3

In addition to the other reported measures in Chapter 3, I also examined the moderating role of ethnic and national identification on the relation between being rejected, tolerated, and accepted on positive and negative well-being. Below is the theoretical reason for including this along with findings relating to these that are an extension on the main manuscript.

Group Identification

According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) the extent to which a social identity is central to a person's sense of self can modulate one's reactions to in-group relevant phenomena such as perceiving one's social group to be devalued and dependent (Ellemers et al., 2002). For high identifiers, a threat to the in-group is a threat to the self, which can manifest as lowered self-esteem, anxiety, and depression. Low identifiers, on the other hand, can more easily brush off negative treatment of their in-group and thus shield their personal self-esteem (McCoy & Major, 2003). I propose to extend this reasoning about the sensitizing role of group identification to the perception of being tolerated (e.g., McCoy & Major, 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001). Those who identify strongly with the tolerated in-group might feel the negative effects of being tolerated more strongly.

Additionally, I propose that identification with the national group which is shared with the tolerators may have a similar sensitizing role. Group-based treatment such as rejection or tolerance conveys not only a judgment about the target's minority in-group, but also a judgment about whether that group should be included in the superordinate national category. For those who consider the national category to be an important aspect of the self, cues that convey inclusion or exclusion into this category should have a stronger negative impact on well-being

than those who consider the national category less important to their sense of self (Huynh et al., 2014).

Hypothesis: The relations between the perceived group treatments and well-being will be stronger for higher, compared to lower, ethnic identifiers and national identifiers.

Study 1

Method

I measured participants' identification with their ethnic group and with America by using two sets of similar items drawn from previous work (Postmes et al., 2013; Phinney & Ong, 2007), such as "I identify with [my ethnic or racial group/America]" and "I have a strong sense of belonging to [my ethnic or racial group/America]". Each scale consisted of 4 items. A one-factor model had a poor fit to the data, $\chi^2(20) = 1037.99$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.55; RMSEA = 0.39, 90% CIs [0.37, 0.41]; SRMR = 0.24, but a two-factor model showed an acceptable fit, $\chi^2(19) = 91.10$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.97; RMSEA = 0.11, 90% CIs [0.09, 0.13]; SRMR = 0.03. Therefore, I created separate latent scales. Both had high internal consistency, $\alpha = .92$ and .93 for ethnic and national identification, respectively.

Results

I tested the possibility that higher ethnic and national identifiers are more sensitive to how they perceive their group to be treated, amplifying any relations of group treatment to well-being. I ran a series of moderation analyses in which the latent factors of ethnic or national identification moderated the links between group treatment and the two higher-order well-being factors. There were no significant interactions between perceived group treatment and ethnic identification (all Bs < 0.04, all $ps > .302$) or national identification (all Bs < 0.04, all $ps > .148$).

Because ethnic and national identification were both directly related to higher positive affect, life satisfaction, and self-esteem, I also used them as controls in the main analysis. When

I did this, only the associations between acceptance and life satisfaction and self-esteem decreased in size but the overall pattern of results shown in Table 3.3 remained the same.

I again examined whether high ethnic and national identifiers are more sensitive to group treatment with regard to each of the five well-being facets. Because this meant running a large number of analyses, I applied a Bonferroni correction which lowered the alpha criterion to just under 0.002. None of the interaction terms were significant at this level for ethnic identification (all Bs < 0.08, all ps > .106) or national identification (all Bs < 0.05, all ps > .095).

Study 2

Once again, I tested whether the links between perceived group treatment and well-being are stronger for higher ethnic identifiers and higher national identifiers.

Method

With the same measures as in Study 1 and before the experimental manipulation, I assessed participants' ethnic and national identification. A one-factor model had a poor fit to the data, $\chi^2(20) = 1181.46$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.54; RMSEA = 0.43, 90% CIs [0.41, 0.45]; SRMR = 0.25, but a two-factor model showed an acceptable fit, $\chi^2(19) = 58.84$, $p < .001$; CFI = 0.98; RMSEA = 0.08, 90% CIs [0.06, 0.11]; SRMR = 0.02. Therefore, I created separate latent scales. The measure of ethnic identification was highly reliable ($\alpha = .95$), as was the measure of national identification ($\alpha = .94$).

Results

I tested the possibility that higher ethnic or national identifiers would be more sensitive to any effects of group treatment on well-being. I therefore regressed each well-being outcome onto group treatment, the latent factors for ethnic and national identification, and their (latent) interactions. Both ethnic, $\beta = .20$, $p < .001$, and national identification, $\beta = .29$, $p < .001$, were related to higher self-esteem. Further, national identification was related to higher positive affect, $\beta = .176$, $p = .004$, and to higher life satisfaction, $\beta = .36$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, the

pattern of findings shown in Table 3.5 did not change when taking both ethnic and national identifications into account. Only one interaction term reached statistical significance ($B = -0.29$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .048$). In the rejection condition relative to the tolerance condition, the positive main effect of high ethnic identification on self-esteem is attenuated. All other interaction terms for ethnic and national identification were non-significant.

Study 3

In the third study, I examined the roles of ethnic and national identification as predictors of positive and negative affect and threatened social identity needs, and as moderators of the effects of condition on the dependent variables and the mediator.

I found that national identification had a main effect on positive affect, $B = 0.33$, $SE = 0.09$, $p < .001$, but no other main effects or interactions involving national identification reached statistical significance. Ethnic identification also had a main effect on positive affect, $B = 0.17$, $SE = 0.08$, $p = .035$, as well as an interaction with each condition: in the acceptance condition, compared to the tolerance condition, high ethnic identifiers experienced an even greater boost to positive affect compared to low ethnic identifiers, $B = 0.23$, $SE = 0.12$, $p = .048$; in the rejection condition, relative to the tolerance condition, high ethnic identifiers experienced a greater reduction in positive affect than low ethnic identifiers, $B = -0.36$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .007$. All other main effects and interactions were non-significant.

Appendix C

Additional Tables for Chapter 3

Table C1

Main Analysis Predicting Well-Being from Group Treatment with Higher Order Factors

While Controlling for Negative Emotionality in Study 1

Outcome	Predictor	β	*SE*
Positive Well-Being	Rejection	-.04	0.08
	Tolerance	-.02	0.08
	Acceptance	.24***	0.06
	Negative Emotionality	-.13†	0.07
Negative Well-Being	Rejection	.19*	0.08
	Tolerance	.15†	0.08
	Acceptance	-.13†	0.07
	Negative Emotionality	.51***	0.07

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; † $p < .1$.

Table C2

Main Analysis of Study 1 with Higher Order Well-Being Outcomes While Controlling for Demographic Variables

Outcome	Positive Well-Being		Negative Well-Being	
Predictor	β	*SE*	β	*SE*
Perceived Rejection	-.07	0.07	.39***	0.08
Perceived Tolerance	-.04	0.08	.21*	0.08
Perceived Acceptance	.26***	0.06	-.22**	0.07
Age	.09	0.06	-.11	0.07
Gender	-.04	0.06	-.01	0.07
Education Level	.08	0.07	-.15*	0.08
Income	.11	0.07	$-.14^{\dagger}$	0.08
Political Orientation	.28***	0.06	-.08	0.08
Ethnicity				
Asian American	-.10	0.06	-.08	0.07
Latinx	-.05	0.07	.05	0.07
Other Ethnicity	$-.12^{\dagger}$	0.06	.06	0.07

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; † $p < .1$. The sample size was 330 for all analyses except those involving political orientation, where the sample was 258 due to missing values. In analyses involving ethnicity, the reference group is African Americans. In analyses involving gender, the reference group is men.

Table C3

Main Analysis of Study 1 with Five Well-Being Outcomes While Controlling for Demographic Variables

Predictors	Outcome Variables									
	Positive Affect		Negative Affect		Life Satisfaction		Self-Esteem		Lack of Control	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Perceived Rejection	-.05	0.07	.23***	0.06	-.11†	0.07	.04	0.07	.32***	0.07
Perceived Tolerance	.00	0.07	.21**	0.07	-.04	0.07	-.03	0.07	.04	0.07
Perceived Acceptance	.22***	0.06	-.20***	0.06	.19**	0.06	.18**	0.06	-.06	0.06
Age	.11†	0.06	-.08	0.06	.01	0.06	.13*	0.06	-.06	0.06
Gender	-.02	0.06	.03	0.05	-.02	0.06	-.07	0.06	-.07	0.06
Education Level	.05	0.07	-.11†	0.06	.04	0.07	.10	0.07	-.09	0.07
Income	.03	0.07	-.07	0.06	.16*	0.06	.01	0.07	-.15*	0.07
Political Orientation	.25***	0.06	-.11†	0.06	.24***	0.06	.14*	0.06	.05	0.06
Ethnicity										
Asian American	-.07	0.06	-.06	0.06	-.04	0.06	-.14*	0.06	-.04	0.06
Latinx	.05	0.06	.05	0.06	-.06	0.06	-.09	0.06	.01	0.06
Other Ethnicity	-.06	0.06	.03	0.06	-.12*	0.06	-.08	0.06	.05	0.06

Note. $* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001; † p < .1$. The sample size was 330 for all analyses except those involving political orientation, where the sample was 258 due to missing values. In analyses involving ethnicity, the reference group is African Americans. In analyses involving gender, the reference group is men.

Table C4

Correlations Between Focal Variables in Study 2 Split by Condition

Condition	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Rejection (N = 138)									
1. Ethnic identification	5.7	1.6	-						
2. National identification	5.5	1.7	.30***	-					
3. Positive affect	2.4	1.6	.07	.17*	-				
4. Negative affect	5.0	1.2	.02	.04	-.29**	-			
5. Life satisfaction	4.1	1.6	.13	.29**	.36***	-.20*	-		
6. Self-esteem	5.3	1.7	.13	.34***	.20*	-.01	.49***	-	
7. Lack of control	3.5	1.5	-.03	-.07	.16†	.13	-.06	-.22*	-
8. Negative emotionality	3.5	1.5	-.08	-.12	.05	.09	-.17*	-.26**	.42***
Tolerance (N = 78)									
1. Ethnic identification	5.5	1.7	-						
2. National identification	5.3	1.7	.35**	-					
3. Positive affect	3.3	1.9	.08	.11	-				
4. Negative affect	4.1	1.6	.18	.04	-.27*	-			
5. Life satisfaction	4.5	1.3	.27*	.37**	.34**	.03	-		
6. Self-esteem	5.3	1.5	.40**	.36**	.17	.05	.53**	-	
7. Lack of control	3.2	1.5	-.27*	-.17	.12	.15	-.11	-.27*	-
8. Negative emotionality	3.5	1.4	-.06	-.15	.33**	.11	-.17	-.07	.26*
Acceptance (N = 99)									
1. Ethnic identification	6.1	1.4	-						
2. National identification	5.8	1.5	.41**	-					
3. Positive affect	5.8	1.2	.14	.32**	-				
4. Negative affect	2.2	1.3	-.08	-.08	-.32**	-			
5. Life satisfaction	4.6	1.7	.18	.38**	.34**	-.02	-		
6. Self-esteem	5.4	1.5	.43**	.34**	.46**	-.11	.52**	-	
7. Lack of control	3.2	1.6	-.11	-.18†	-.17†	.41**	-.28**	-.40**	-
8. Negative emotionality	3.5	1.6	-.14	.09	-.03	.25*	-.24*	-.21*	.48**

Note. * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .01; *** *p* < .001; † *p* < .1.

Table C5

Main Analysis of Study 2 Controlling for Demographic Variables

Predictors	Outcome variables									
	Positive Affect		Negative Affect		Life Satisfaction		Self-Esteem		Lack of Control	
	β	*SE*	β	*SE*	β	*SE*	β	*SE*	β	*SE*
Discrimination vs Tolerance	-0.18***	0.05	0.33***	0.06	-0.16	0.07	0.00	0.08	0.13†	0.08
Acceptance vs Tolerance	0.64***	0.04	-0.48***	0.05	0.02	0.07	0.06	0.08	0.03	0.08
Age	0.04	0.04	-0.03	0.05	0.13*	0.06	0.20**	0.06	-0.19**	0.06
Gender	-0.07†	0.04	-0.03	0.05	-0.12*	0.06	-0.04	0.06	-0.16*	0.06
Education Level	0.04	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.12†	0.07	0.07	0.07	-0.01	0.07
Income	-0.08†	0.05	-0.03	0.05	0.10	0.07	0.03	0.07	-0.02	0.07
Political Orientation	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.05	0.14*	0.06	0.08	0.06	-0.04	0.06
Ethnicity										
African American	-0.01	0.04	0.11*	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.16*	0.06	-0.06	0.06

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; † $p < .1$.
In analyses involving ethnicity, the reference group is non-African Americans. In analyses involving gender, the reference group is men.

Table C6

Item Wordings for Threatened Social Identity Needs Scale

Identity Need	Item 1 Wording	Item 2 Wording
Esteem	... negatively about myself.	... ashamed.
Belonging	…a sense of isolation and loneliness.	... unable to connect to other people.
Efficacy	... unable to achieve my goals.	... powerless.
Certainty	... uncertain about myself.	... unclear about who I am.
Distinctiveness	... unremarkable.	... like I was not special or different from others.

Note. Each of the ten items began with the stem "As a member of my ethnic/racial group, the above scenario would make me feel..." and ended with the wordings shown in this table.

Table C7

Correlations Between Threatened Social Identity Needs Subscales

Threatened Social Identity Need	M	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Esteem	2.8	1.8	-			
2. Belonging	3.4	1.9	.75***	-		
3. Efficacy	3.1	1.8	.80***	.82***	-	
4. Certainty	2.8	1.8	.82***	.74***	.78***	-
5. Distinctiveness	3.3	1.8	.74***	.71***	.75***	.70***

Note. *** $p < .001$; The scales were created by averaging the items within each and running bivariate correlations.

Table C8

Structural Regressions on Dependent Variables and Mediator While Controlling for Negative Emotionality in Study 3

Predictors	Outcome Variables					
	Positive Affect		Negative Affect		Threatened Social Identity Needs	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Threatened Social Identity Needs	-.12*	0.06	.67***	0.04	-	-
Acceptance vs. Tolerance	.32***	0.05	-.17***	0.04	-.13*	0.05
Rejection vs. Tolerance	-.22***	0.06	.12**	0.04	.03	0.05
Negative Emotionality	.26***	0.06	.12**	0.05	.50***	0.05

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

Table C9

Structural Regressions on Dependent Variables and Mediator While Controlling for Demographics in Study 3

Predictors	Outcome Variables					
	Positive Affect		Negative Affect		Threatened Social Identity Needs	
	β	*SE*	β	*SE*	β	*SE*
Threatened Social Identity Needs	-.03	0.05	.73***	0.04	-	-
Acceptance vs. Tolerance	.30***	0.05	-.17***	0.04	-.17**	0.06
Rejection vs. Tolerance	-.22***	0.06	.12*	0.05	.01	0.06
Age	-.04	0.05	-.08*	0.04	-.07	0.05
Gender	.11*	0.05	-.01	0.04	.00	0.05
Education Level	.05	0.06	.09*	0.04	.08	0.06
Income	-.15**	0.05	.00	0.04	-.13*	0.06
Political Orientation	.18***	0.05	-.03	0.04	.19**	0.06
Ethnicity						
Asian American	-.11*	0.05	.03	0.04	.10†	0.06
Latinx	-.06	0.05	-.03	0.04	-.02	0.05
Multiethnic	-.07	0.04	-.01	0.03	-.01	0.05
Other Ethnicity	-.08	0.05	.02	0.05	.06	0.04

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; In analyses involving ethnicity, the reference group is African Americans; In analyses involving gender, the reference group is men.

Appendix D

Single-Item Measurement Error Correction for Chapter 4

Because several of the focal variables were measured with single items, I applied a correction for measurement error by making these variables latent and specifying their error variance in the structural model (see Kline, 2016). The formula I used was:

$$\text{var}(e) = (1 - r_z) \times \text{var}(z) \tag{1}$$

where var(e) is the variance of the latent variable, r_z is the reliability of scales in the literature, and var(z) is the variance of the single indicator, obtained from the descriptive statistics.

To estimate the latent error variances for perceived discrimination, perceived, acceptance, and perceived tolerance, I relied on previous studies measuring perceived discrimination. Specifically, I averaged the Cronbach's alphas of the Everyday Discrimination Scale from Kessler et al. (1999), Finch et al., (2000), and Mossakowski (2003). This yielded an average alpha of 0.85.

The variance of the single indicator for perceived discrimination in this study was 1.46. When this value and the reliability of previous scales was inserted into the equation, I obtained:

$$\text{var}(e) = (1 - 0.85) \times 1.46$$

$$= 0.15 \times 1.46$$

$$= 0.219 \tag{2}$$

The variance of the single indicator for perceived tolerance in our study was 1.30. When this value and the reliability of previous scales was inserted into the equation, I obtained:

$$\text{var}(e) = (1 - 0.85) \times 1.30$$

$$= 0.15 \times 1.30$$

$$= 0.195 \tag{3}$$

The variance of the single indicator for perceived acceptance in this study was 1.30. When this value and the reliability of previous scales was inserted into the equation, I obtained:

$$\text{var(e)} = (1 - 0.85) \times 1.30$$

$$= 0.15 \times 1.30$$

$$= 0.195 \tag{4}$$

To estimate the latent error variances for the forced choice measure, I made use of the same reliabilities. For the forced choice dummy variable for perceived discrimination, the variance was 0.186. When this value and the reliability of previous scales was inserted into the equation, I obtained:

$$\text{var(e)} = (1 - 0.85) \times 0.186$$

$$= 0.15 \times 0.186$$

$$= 0.028 \tag{5}$$

For the forced choice dummy variable for perceived tolerance, the variance was 0.240. When this value and the reliability of previous scales was inserted into the equation, I obtained:

$$\text{var(e)} = (1 - 0.85) \times 0.240$$

$$= 0.15 \times 0.240$$

$$= 0.036 \tag{6}$$

For the forced choice dummy variable for perceived acceptance, the variance was 0.229. When this value and the reliability of previous scales was inserted into the equation, I obtained:

$$\text{var}(e) = (1 - 0.85) \times 0.229$$

$$= 0.15 \times 0.229$$

$$= 0.034 \qquad\qquad (7)$$

Next, to estimate the latent error variances for positive affect, I averaged the Cronbach's alphas of the positive affect subscales of the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) from Crawford and Henry (2004), the International PANAS-Short Form (I-PANAS-SF) from Thompson (2007) and the Modified Differential Emotions Scale (mDES) from Fredrickson, Tugade, Waugh, and Larkin (2003). This yielded an average alpha of 0.79.

The variance of the single indicator for positive affect in this study was 0.66. When this value and the reliability of previous scales was inserted into the equation, I obtained:

$$\text{var}(e) = (1 - 0.79) \times 0.66$$

$$= 0.21 \times 0.66$$

$$= 0.139 \qquad\qquad (8)$$

To estimate the latent error variances for negative affect, I used the averaged Cronbach's alphas of the negative affect subscales of the PANAS, I-PANAS-SF, and mDES from the same studies as for positive affect. This yielded an average alpha of 0.76.

The variance of the single indicator for negative affect in this study was 0.75. When this value and the reliability of previous scales was inserted into the equation, I obtained:

$$\text{var}(e) = (1 - 0.75) \times 0.75$$

$$= 0.25 \times 0.75$$

$$= 0.188 \qquad\qquad (9)$$

I ran the structural equation models in which the single item measures were made latent and specified the error variances. The pattern of results was not changed by applying this correction.

Appendix E

Materials Used in Chapter 5

The material presented to the participants is shown below. Three dots within square brackets indicates a screen transition in the online experiment.

Preamble

Welcome to this study on digital teamwork.

In this study, we are interested in how people work together in online spaces. We want to know more about how work groups function as teams at a distance, i.e. digitally.

[…]

Over the course of this study, you will be assigned your work partners, engage in a meet-and-greet exercise, and then you will complete a few group tasks together. After, we will ask you about the experience. This study takes about 15 minutes. Please respond as quickly as you can to ensure that your teammates do not have to wait for you.

If you take too long to respond, you will be allowed to complete the study, but your teammates will proceed without you and will be replaced by virtual players. Please make sure that you have a reliable Internet connection while you are doing the study, so that there are no connection problems with the rest of your group.

[…]

We will next try to connect you with your teammates for the study, so please be patient. If we cannot find any teammates for you, you will be paired with virtual teammates.

[…]

Please wait. This process may take up to 30 seconds…

[…]

Research indicates that the success of workgroups, especially in online and virtual communities, depends a lot on how well workplace styles mesh, especially in terms of whether team-members are **men** or **women**.

Women are usually more **people**-**oriented,** and are more focuesd on the social needs of groups, while **men** are usually more **task-oriented** and are more focused on completing the task regardless of the group's social needs.

Many people have strong opinions about working with people who are similar or different from them in terms of **gender** and **working style**.

On the following page, we will show you three different common approaches that people have, and ask you which of the three best represents your approach.

[…]

Which one of the following best represents how you think about people who differ from you in terms of gender and working style?

Please press the number using your keyboard to indicate which one of these options best corresponds to your own feelings.

[…]

Comics for Cover Story

Which one of the following best represents how you think about people who differ from you in terms of gender and working style? Please press the number using your keyboard to indicate which one of these options best corresponds to your own feelings.

Experimental Manipulation

Teammate Introduction Example

Acceptance.

Tolerance

Name: Dave

Age: 18-25 years

Years Employed: 1-3 years
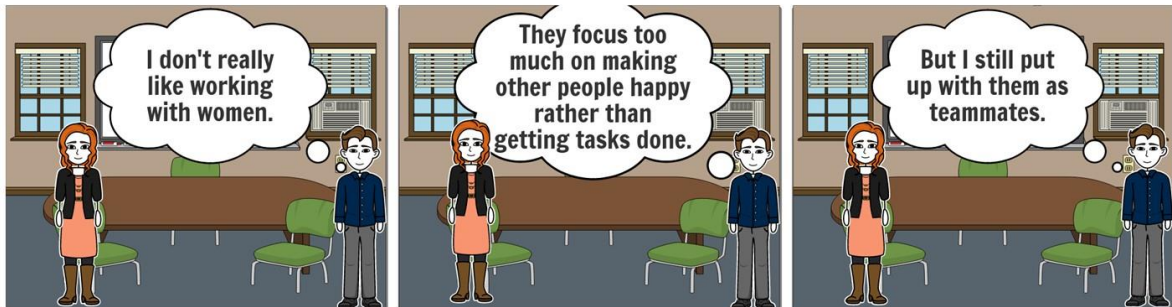
Team preference:

Rejection.

Name: Dave

Age: 18-25 years

Years Employed: 1-3 years

Team preference:

NB: Participants were shown three teammate introductions one after the other.

Cyberball Game Preamble

Now you will do a team-building exercise in which you will be asked to imagine playing a ball game with your teammates.

The game is very simple. When the ball is tossed to you, simply CLICK on the player you want to throw the ball to.

What is important is not your ball tossing performance, but that you MENTALLY visualize the entire experience. Imagine what the others look like. What sort of people are they? Where are you playing? Is it warm and sunny or cold and rainy? Create in your mind a complete mental picture of what might be going on if you were playing this game in real life.

Please try to imagine what it would be like to be in the same place playing this game together while you do.

Okay, ready to begin? Please click "continue" to start the game.

[…]

Cyberball Game Sample Screenshot
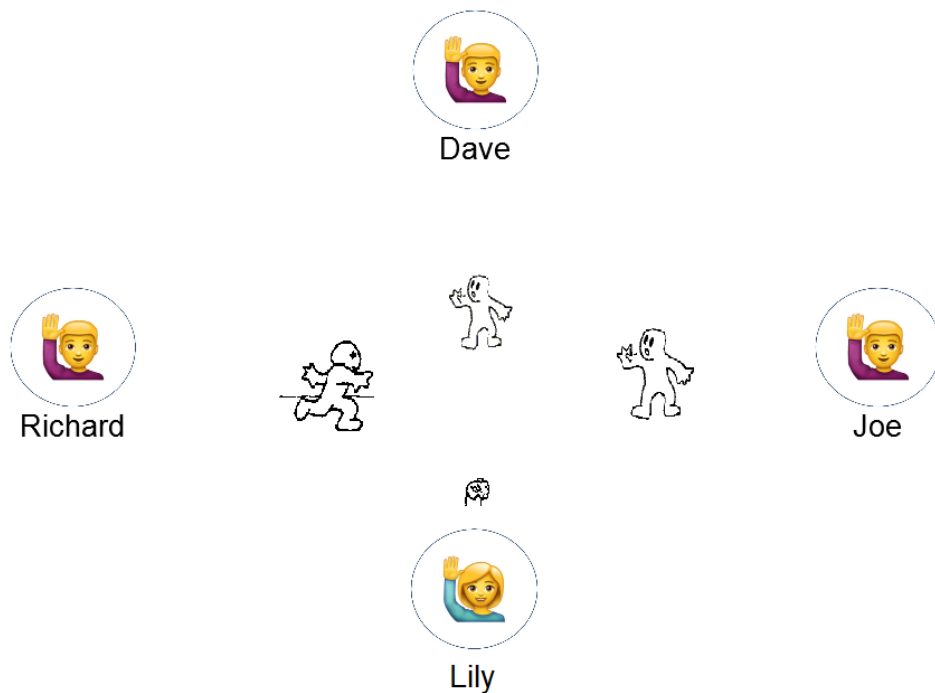
Avatars Accompanying Message to Teammates

🙋‍♀️ 🙋‍♂️ ⚪ 🟨 ⭐
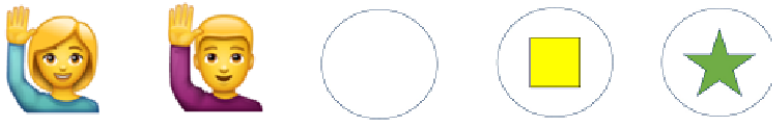
Trust Vignettes

Scenario 1

The two of you are working in a manufacturing company that makes aircraft parts. You are both put on a project to provide a major order of aircraft parts to a large airliner company. Over the course of the project you each take a few shortcuts in your paperwork.

All of a sudden, right before delivery, the project falls through and your supervisor wants to interview both of you about how the project went to see if she can discover any mistakes in your performance.

You two are not able to talk to each other but you know that if neither of you says anything about the paperwork shortcuts, then nothing will happen to you. If both of you tell about the shortcuts, then both of you will see your pay scale reduced. However, if one of you but not the other tells the supervisor about the shortcuts, then the one who tells will keep their job and pay, and the other will be fired.

Without being able to talk to your colleague, what would you do?

["1 (Definitely tell the supervisor about the shortcut)", "2", "3", "4", "5 (Definitely not tell the supervisor about the shortcut)"]

Scenario 2

Both of you are working in an advertising company and together you put together a successful advertising campaign that leads a major clothing manufacturer to become a long-term company client.

Your supervisor is thrilled and invites both you into his office separately to talk about your process, and you know that there may be raises, bonuses, or even promotions emerging from that meeting.

However, you are not sure how you should explain who did the more impressive work.

You are not able to talk to your colleague to know what they will say. If you both say that the work was equally performed, then both of you will receive a promotion.

If both of you say that you did most of the work, then neither will receive a promotion. And if one of you says they did more of the work and the other says it was equal, the one who says they did more will receive the promotion.

Without being able to talk to your colleague, what would you do?

["1 (Definitely say that both of you contributed equally)", "2", "3", "4", "5 (Definitely say that you did most of the work)"]

Scenario 3

Both of you have been assigned with the task of managing a taskforce of 15 workers to prepare a complex computer program.

One of the members of the team is your best friend, and he has been going through a very difficult time and has not been fully completing his tasks. Your supervisor has called the managers to come to her office to discuss the progress of the project.

You would like to protect your friend, since you know that losing his job would be the worst thing for him at this point.

You don't have a chance to speak to your fellow manager before you both go into the meeting.

You know that if neither of you mentions the slow progress of your friend, his job will be fine. If both of you point out that he has been slow, the supervisor will probably get worried and call your friend in, and while he won't be fired, he will have his position and pay reduced.

However, if only one of you mention that he has been slow, the supervisor will just ask you to fire him.

Without the chance to speak to your fellow manager, what would you do?

["1 (Definitely tell the supervisor about your friend's slow progress)", "2", "3", "4", "5 (Definitely not tell the supervisor about your friend's slow progress)"]

Future Expectations

You and the other members of your work-team are assigned to a group project that will require creativity in how to fulfill the task and co-ordination to combine a number of different smaller components of the larger project.

Now imagine that you, as a woman, want to suggest an approach to the group project that reflects your concerns.

1. How much do you think your team members would listen to your suggestion with an open mind?

2. How much do you think your team members would value your suggestion?

3. How much do you think that your team members would incorporate your suggestion into the project?

4. How much do you think that your team members would ask you your suggestions in future projects?

Collective Action Measure

As part of our partnerships with the Digital Equality Project and CyberSafe, we would like to offer you the opportunity to support their ongoing campaigns on women and online work.

("[CyberSafe] - Stop the online bullying of women at work!", "[Digital Equality Project] - Raising awareness of the value of women workers", "I do not wish to support either organization")

NB: Respondents could check multiple boxes.

Acknowledgements