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REALLY, YOU SHOULD BE THANKING US: PATERNALISM AND INSTRUMENTAL GRATITUDE EXPECTATIONS

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REALLY, YOU SHOULD BE THANKING US: PATERNALISM AND

INSTRUMENTAL GRATITUDE EXPECTATIONS

A Dissertation Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

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INSTRUMENTAL GRATITUDE EXPECTATIONS

February 2021

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Intergroup helping is sometimes motivated by paternalistic narratives about recipients being incapable of making good choices. Five studies investigated whether paternalistic perceptions of recipients encouraged members of groups that provide help expect gratitude from recipients, and whether receiving gratitude and affirmation from recipients was rewarded when it was given. I first found preliminary evidence that paternalistic perceptions of recipients affects the way that members of a helper group respond to recipients' responses to help (Study 1). I then found that believing paternalistic narratives about recipients did increase participants' expectations that recipients should show them gratitude, and that these expectations did contribute to participants' responses to critical (vs. grateful) feedback from recipients and desire to help in the future (Studies 2a and 2b). I also found that information claiming that recipients are incapable - both presented directly in the form of a fictitious aid official's opinion (Study 3) and indirectly in the form of information about the helping relationship (Study 4) - caused participants to expect more gratitude than if they were told that recipients were highly capable of managing their own affairs. Together, these findings suggest that paternalism creates a

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sense of entitlement in intergroup helping that influences the way that relationship is

judged by members of the helper group.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDICES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When one country helps another, it may expect something in return. Typically,

when one group provides help (e.g. disaster relief, development aid) for another, it

crosses both group boundaries and a status differential. To account for these kinds of

inequities and justify them, powerful groups sometimes perpetuate paternalistic narratives

claiming their power is earned and justified because the group is the most civilized and

deserving. Helping can feed into these narratives – although providing help can be

altruistic, it can also be a show of power and benevolence. Specifically, giving help could

appear to show that the group providing the help is powerful – because it can spare the

resources – and deserving of its position – because of its benevolence. But to project this

narrative effectively, members of a helper group may expect recipients to 'play along' by

expressing gratitude when they receive help. If helpers are trying to show their

benevolence through helping, the act will be more convincing if recipients reaffirm this

story by expressing thanks than if they undermine it by offering criticism. This program

of research is motivated by two questions about how this process works, which can be

placed in a single conceptual model (Figure 1).
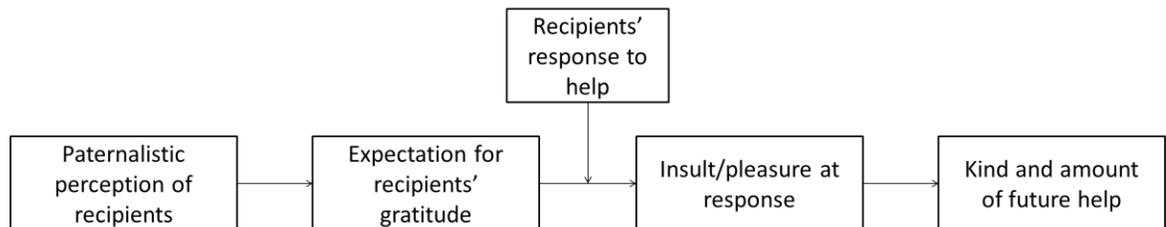
Figure 1. Conceptual model.

On one hand, I am interested in establishing whether paternalistic narratives lead members of helper groups to expect gratitude from recipients. If people from a group that is providing help to another believe recipients are inferior to them, in other words, do they believe that recipients should thank them for the assistance that they are providing? I expect so – receiving gratitude might help members of helper groups believe that they are benevolent and thus deserve their high status.

On the other hand, I am interested in whether receiving gratitude – even when it is expected – actually makes members of helper groups more willing to help recipients in the future. Typically, gratitude reinforces and sustains relationships – one might expect that receiving gratitude would accordingly encourage a greater commitment to help in the future. But if members of a helper group are mainly interested in helping as a way to demonstrate their group's power and benevolence, then the opposite might be true – receiving gratitude might provide the reward members of a helper group want, providing them with the satisfaction they want and encouraging them to withdraw.

<u>Paternalism</u>

When people think about the relationships their with others (Baldwin, 1992) or other groups (e.g. Converse & Reinhard, 2016), they rely on relational schemas that explain key features of both groups to build expectations for each. In intergroup contexts, paternalism is one such relational schema, since it is comprised of stereotypic perceptions of both groups embedded in a narrative describing how the less-powerful group ought to be controlled by constraining policies for their own good (Alexander, Levin, & Henry, 2005; Schroeder, Waytz, & Epley, 2017). Specifically, paternalistic narratives cast one group as childlike and incapable of making good decisions on its own, and thus in need

of the benevolent guidance and control of the other group (Alexander et al., 2005). These narratives are not universally present in intergroup helping relationships, but the unequal footing between helpers and recipients create fertile ground for them – especially if helper group members hold racialized stereotypes of recipients (Baker, 2015).

Despite this narrative content, paternalistic actions sometimes fail to be benevolent in practice. In historical colonial relationships, colonial powers promoted paternalistic narratives to explain their actions toward the peoples they colonized – framing colonial subjects as needing 'civilizing' (Said, 1979). These narratives belied repressive colonial rule and widespread exploitation of colonized peoples (Hobson, 2012). Contemporary economic relationships between Global North and Global South countries – often being between former colonial powers and their former colonies – continue to be characterized by a mismatch between benevolent rhetoric and self-serving treatment (Singh, 2017). These actions can take many forms – from coercive and nonreciprocal trade concessions (Singh, 2017) to development aid projects that center the desires and decision-making of the countries in the Global North above the economic needs of Global South countries' leaders (Barnett, 2011).

This discontinuity between the benevolent rhetoric and self-serving-to-exploitative actions may be by design. Paternalistic narratives might help members of powerful groups explain the inequity between themselves and recipients while not actually mandating a change in the structure of a paternalistic relationship. Although psychologists have not yet studied how motivated reasoning could sustain paternalism, we can take some hints from psychological research on structurally similar topics. Intergroup conflict and structural inequality within a national group both involve a

power-asymmetrical relationship between two groups, just as paternalistic relationships do. A history of conflict or inequality can generate needs for meaning (Rovenpor, Leidner, Kardos, & O'Brien, 2016) and emotional fulfillment through empowerment and acceptance (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel & Ullrich, 2013); simultaneously, the intergroup context during and after conflict provide a rich environment where group members can fulfill these needs by accepting particular narratives of the relationship between groups (Noor, Shnabel, Halabi, & Nadler, 2012) or endorsing particular actions like apologizing (Zaiser & Giner-Sorolla, 2013) or escalating conflict (Rovenpor et al., 2016).

Accordingly, we might consider the case of intergroup helping. One large group, like a country, can provide aid and assistance to another in much the same way that one individual can help another. While helping is a prosocial act, relationships between helpers and the recipients of help are not inherently harmonious. When helpers have a paternalistic lack of respect for recipients' decision-making capabilities (Schroeder et al., 2017), they provide precisely what they believe recipients need in non-reproducible ways – dependency-oriented help (Nadler, 2002). In contrast, helpers could also provide agency-oriented help that gives recipients the tools they need to solve problems themselves – but doing so could help recipients develop their own material capabilities further and reduce or eliminate the status differential between themselves and the helpers (Nadler, 2002). But motivated by a desire to demonstrate and justify the group's power (Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2008; Nadler, 2002), apparent benevolence (Hopkins et al. 2007; van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2011, 2012), and to mitigate guilt about inequality (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003) without risking a change in the hierarchy, helper groups do

choose paternalistic help. When helpers sometimes provide assistance to meet these needs, it could follow that they expect recipients to 'play along' – much like in the case of intergroup apologies – and respond to help gratefully.

<div align="center">Feeling Entitled to Gratitude</div>

Although there is plenty of evidence that helper groups provide the amount and kind of assistance they provide to serve group-serving ends, there has yet to be a thorough examination of what they expect in return. As mentioned above, helping can be instrumental – promoting a desirable image of the helper group and reinforcing the existence and legitimacy of the hierarchy between groups. Logically, if members if helper groups expected anything of recipients in return, they would want responses that help meet these goals. Elsewhere in the psychology of intergroup relations, there is evidence that members of high-status groups often crave displays of acceptance from members of lower-status groups to sate these same needs. In the aftermath of intergroup conflict (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008) and in the presence of sustained inequality within a society (Bergseiker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; Shnabel & Ullrich, 2013), members of groups that have perpetrated injustice against others tend to want outgroup members to forgive them and 'move on' – taking the focus away from the past while leaving the perpetrator group's status and moral character intact. Since this acceptance-seeking can be a selfish process, it is perhaps unsurprising that these expectations can be deployed in a selfish manner. The best evidence for the double-edged nature of these expectations comes from the intergroup apology literature. In cases where one group largely perpetrated violence against another, perpetrators feel some solace after providing apologies – even if they are not accepted by the group they victimized (Barlow, Thai, Wohl, White, Wright, &

<div align="center">5</div>

Hornsey, 2015). In fact, members of groups that have perpetrated injustice have been found to believe that the groups they recently victimized should accept their apologies, shifting responsibility to them to 'complete' the reconciliation process (Zaiser & Giner-Sorolla, 2013). But although these processes have been studied thoroughly in instances of intergroup conflict and sustained structural inequality, there needs to be more research showing how much these expectations occur outside of these situations.

In the context of intergroup helping, then, it would follow that members of helper groups might come to expect gratitude over other modes of acceptance. First, gratitude is schematically an appropriate response to receiving help, in the same way that acceptance is a schematic response to receiving an apology and forgiveness is a schematic response to a past transgression. In interpersonal help-giving, helpers in Western cultures can view recipients' displays of gratitude as reciprocation for their help, rather than as a spontaneous and irrelevant display of emotion (Wice, Howe, & Goyal, 2018). Gratitude fits into a helper-recipient schema effectively, particularly if helpers believe the relationship is paternalistic – if they believe it is helpers' schematically appropriate duty to provide assistance, it may be recipients' schematically appropriate duty to vocally express gratitude – in paternalistic narratives, recipients have little to give but their grateful compliance.

Second, gratitude might meet all the needs that group-serving helping attempts to meet. Since gratitude improves feelings of self-worth (Grant & Gino, 2010), gratitude can provide acceptance that helper group members want from recipients. This is important because people tend to feel best about helping others when they can see tangible positive outcomes (Aknin, Dunn, Whillans, Grant, & Norton, 2013). Gratitude also provides

reassurance about the strength of interpersonal relationships and demonstrates appreciation (Gordon, Impett, Jogan, Oveis, & Keltner, 2012) – for groups, this combination of reassurance and appreciation could help show the legitimacy of a hierarchical relationship between helpers and recipients in this case. Although gratitude is often a positive feeling and often binds together mutually beneficial relationships, the object of gratitude matters – for people without much institutional power, feeling gratitude toward an unjust system makes them unwilling to challenge it (Eibach, Wilmot, & Libby, 2015).

Finally, paternalistic perceptions of recipients could promote this expectation for gratitude. Paternalism casts recipients as passive and unable to reciprocate economic assistance (Alexander et al., 2005). Members of helper groups that believe their relationship with recipients is paternalistic may then believe that recipients have nothing but gratitude to give them. Additionally, these members helper groups may feel especially entitled to make demands about how recipients should feel, since paternalism leads helpers to provide help that strictly controls recipients' actions (Baker, 2015; Schroeder et al., 2017). In sum, I expect that paternalistic perceptions of recipients will lead members of a helper group to expect recipients to be grateful (Hypothesis #1).

<u>Feedback and Responses</u>

Even if members of helper groups didn't expect gratitude, it might be reasonable to predict that gratitude and acceptance help sustain intergroup relationships. Gratitude does have genuinely prosocial functions like sustaining relationships (Algoe, Haidt, & Gable, 2008). However, in cases where helper groups are providing poorly-situated or inadequate help, recipients' decision about how to respond may be a decision about

which risk they are most willing to take. On one hand, gratitude is a satisficing reaction –

generally, while people tend to offer gratitude while they're being helped, people who

offer help tend to expect and feel the greatest emotional lift from gratitude after they

finish helping (Converse & Fishbach, 2012). In an intergroup context, gratefully

accepting inadequate or constraining help might serve as a signal that no further help is

required and that the relationship is fine (Nadler & Halabi, 2006). Constructive criticism -

while it risks the ire of helper group members who expect gratitude, could send a

different signal – something needs to change. Although potentially threatening, this

feedback may be effective in getting recipients the kind and amount of help they actually

want as they clarify their needs.

If helpers expect recipients to show gratitude because it will help meet their need

to demonstrate their group's benevolence, and that perception is based in a lack of respect

for recipients' agency, gratitude may function differently in these relationships than in

others where gratitude is less laden with expectation. Accordingly, despite gratitude

typically boosting commitment to relationships (Algoe et al., 2008), I expect that

receiving gratitude – even when it is expected – may not actually lead members of helper

groups to want to help recipients more (Hypothesis #2).

<div align="center">The Current Research</div>

In three initial studies (Studies 1, 2a, and 2b), I examined whether receiving

gratitude – even when it is expected – actually makes members of helper groups more

willing to help recipients in the future (Hypothesis #1). In these studies, I examined

whether recipients' critical or grateful responses were more effective in encouraging

helpers to help more. More centrally to my main research questions, I also examined

whether people who endorse paternalistic beliefs about recipients were more sensitive to recipients' grateful or critical feedback as they think about how much to help in the future. Finally, I examined whether people who endorse paternalistic beliefs feel more entitled to gratitude from recipients, and whether that entitlement helps explain how paternalistic beliefs about recipients are associated with recipients' feedback in predicting future help.

In two further studies (Studies 3 and 4), I sought to establish whether paternalistic beliefs about recipients causes members of a helper group to feel entitled to gratitude from recipients, and whether that entitlement helps explain helper group members' tendency to endorse paternalistic giving practices over more empowering strategies (Hypothesis #2).

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1

In this initial, exploratory study, I looked at how members of a helper group responded to feedback from a recipient group – in this case, American online survey participants hearing about U.S. foreign aid projects in Ethiopia. I varied Ethiopians' alleged responses to this project – affirming American efforts, criticizing them, or not mentioning feedback in the materials I gave participants. I expected that participants' paternalistic beliefs about Ethiopia's relationship with the United States would predict greater sensitivity to this feedback and in turn, participants' willingness to solicit more feedback from Ethiopians in the aid process and give more material assistance to them.

Method

Participants

461 participants took part in this study through Amazon's Mechanical Turk service (MTurk). I excluded 19 participants for not being born in the U.S., 7 for not speaking English as a first language, 27 for attention, 90 for reading through reading materials impossibly fast, 11 participants for going through manipulation materials too slowly, and 12 for being multivariate outliers as assessed by leverage values using Tabachnick & Fidell's (2013) procedure. The final sample included 325 participants (185 female, M age = 40.94, SD = 13.22), excluding 29.5% of participants. I did not conduct an a priori power analysis prior to conducting this study, but a sensitivity analysis indicates that I had sufficient power to detect an effect of effect size f = .173 with a sample of this size. Demographic information about this and all studies described here is available in Table 1.

	Gender				
	Study 1	Study 2a	Study 2b	Study 3	Study 4
Male	43.2%	39.6%	40.2%	42.7%	43.9%
Female	55.9%	59.9%	58.5%	57.4%	55.8%
Nonbinary	0.9%	0.3%	1.3%	0.0%	0.2%
Other	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

	Religion				
	Study 1	Study 2a	Study 2b	Study 3	Study 4
Agnosticism	13.4%	15.7%	7.6%	9.0%	14.0%
Atheism	12.2%	10.9%	8.5%	10.7%	9.1%
Buddhism	1.5%	1.6%	1.3%	0.8%	1.0%
Catholicism	22.5%	18.9%	29.9%	22.9%	22.1%
Hinduism	0.6%	0.0%	3.1%	0.8%	0.5%
Islam	0.3%	0.5%	1.8%	0.4%	1.5%
Judaism	0.9%	1.3%	0.0%	2.9%	2.8%
Protestantism	28.3%	26.6%	20.5%	25.2%	22.8%
No religious affiliation	13.1%	16.5%	20.5%	17.4%	15.0%
Other	7.3%	8.0%	6.7%	9.7%	11.2%

	Education				
	Study 1	Study 2a	Study 2b	Study 3	Study 4
< HS	0.6%	0.3%	0.5%	0.4%	0.0%
HS/GED	5.5%	7.8%	10.7%	6.3%	8.4%
Some college	25.5%	21.9%	19.2%	21.4%	19.5%
2-year college degree	13.1%	15.2%	8.5%	13.2%	10.4%
4-year college degree	36.5%	36.1%	45.5%	39.1%	42.9%
Master's degree	13.7%	14.2%	14.7%	16.6%	15.5%
Doctoral degree	2.7%	2.9%	0.5%	1.5%	1.3%
Professional degree	2.4%	1.6%	0.5%	1.5%	2.0%
Mean age	40.85(13.12)a	39.52(12.98)a	37.91(12.84)b	40.89(13.17)b	41.98(14.03)ab
Political ideology	5.62(2.37)abc	5.63(2.32)ab	5.16(2.32)a	5.15(2.54)bc	5.43(2.40)c

Means that do not share a common subscript are significantly different, p < .05

Table 1. Demographics for all studies.

Materials and Procedure

Across all conditions, participants read a fabricated article from a newspaper describing a recent anti-malnutrition project conducted by the United States Agency for

International Development (USAID) which allegedly happened in Ethiopia – a nation where USAID has conducted food aid projects similar to the ones I described (USAID, 2017). The article described the country's continuing issues with malnutrition due to an ongoing food crisis, and described an American aid project aimed at curbing child malnutrition by increasing the region's agricultural productivity. According to the article, the U.S. has successfully collected data on Ethiopia's needs and compiled a package of agricultural supplies and nutritional supplements. In the two conditions where the Ethiopian government provided feedback, there was an additional paragraph with quotes from a fictional Ethiopian government minister. In this paragraph, the minister repeated that the U.S. made most of the essential decisions about how to provide aid for the Ethiopian government, and either credited USAID's data collection practices (Affirming condition) or expressed frustration that the Ethiopian government wasn't consulted more (Critical condition). Across all three conditions, the article explicitly mentioned that the aid project was on track to meet its goals, and in the two feedback conditions, the minister reiterated that the project was working.

Paternalistic Perceptions of the U.S.-Ethiopia Relationship (adapted from Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999).

Four separate subscales, presented together and intermixed, probed participants' perceptions of the U.S.-Ethiopia relationship. Three items probed whether participants believed the relationship between Ethiopia and the U.S. was paternalistic, $\alpha = .64$. Less centrally to my hypotheses, four items probed whether participants thought Ethiopians were unsophisticated and violent, $\alpha = .80$, three items focused on whether participants though Ethiopians was a sophisticated threat to the United States, $\alpha = .56$, and four items

focused whether participants thought Ethiopia and the United States were allies on roughly equal footing, α = .77.

Future help and meta-responses.

Six items measured whether and how participants thought the United States should change the way it helps Ethiopia. All items were coded on a scale from -4.5 (reduce dramatically) to 4.5 (increase dramatically) Factor analyses suggested that there were two subscales – four items about a potential change in amount of help (e.g. how much the U.S. funds aid projects in Ethiopia; α = .90) and two items about change in the Ethiopian government's input (e.g. whether the U.S. should solicit the Ethiopian government's opinions; α = .91). Two items probed the extent to which participants wanted to increase or decrease the amount that USAID solicited input from the Ethiopian government.

Additionally, to measure participant's beliefs about how the U.S. should help Ethiopia in different situations in the future, six separate items asked participants whether the U.S. government should intervene to help Ethiopia in the event of various, specific crises (e.g. a civil war, widespread flooding, and foreign invasion, α = .85).

To measure how collectively insulting participants thought the Ethiopian government's response was to Americans, participants completed eight items (adapted from Golec de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson, & Javawickreme, 2009, e.g. the response was "disrespectful to the U.S." or "reasonable" (R); α = .94).

I also measured several other exploratory variables (e.g. dehumanization of Ethiopians, perceived emotion felt by Americans and by Ethiopians, perceived morality, sociability, and competence of Ethiopians) which are not described here. After

completing all measures, participants completed a brief set of standard demographic questions and received compensation.

Results

To investigate the effect of recipients' feedback on participants' image of Ethiopia's dependence and responses, I ran SAS 9.4 PROC GLMs with feedback condition (Accepting, Critical, or Neither) as the only independent variable.

Paternalistic Image of Ethiopians

As I had hoped, I didn't find any evidence that participants' perceptions that Ethiopians are dependent on the U.S. varied across feedback conditions ($F(2,327) = .15$, $p = p = .865$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$ (LCI = .00, UCI = .03), see Table 2 for all between-condition means). Likewise, I found no evidence that participants' judgments that the Ethiopian government was incapable of making good decisions varied from condition to condition, $F(2,327) = .02$, $p = .977$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$ (LCI = .00, UCI = .00).

Changes to Relationship and Collective Insult

Participants thought the accepting feedback was the least insulting to the U.S. (M = 2.37 SD = 1.28) compared to a lack of feedback (M = 4.07 SD = 1.19) and critical feedback (M = 4.84 SD = 1.64), $F(2,322) = 77 4.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .35$ (LCI = .28, UCI = .41), see Figure 2.

Despite this, participants wanted to increase the amount of aid the U.S. provided the least in the acceptance condition (M = .80 SD = .95) than in the critical condition (M = 1.15 SD = 1.18) or the no-feedback condition (M = 1.19 SD = .92), $F(2,322) = 4.52$, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$ (LCI = .01, UCI = .07), see Figure 3.

Similarly, participants reported being the least willing to solicit more Ethiopian input in the aid process in the acceptance condition (M = 1.04 SD = 1.53) than in the critical condition (M = 1.96 SD = 1.71) or the no-feedback condition (M = 1.37 SD = 1.28), $F(2,327) = 10.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$ (LCI = .02, UCI = .10), see Figure 4.
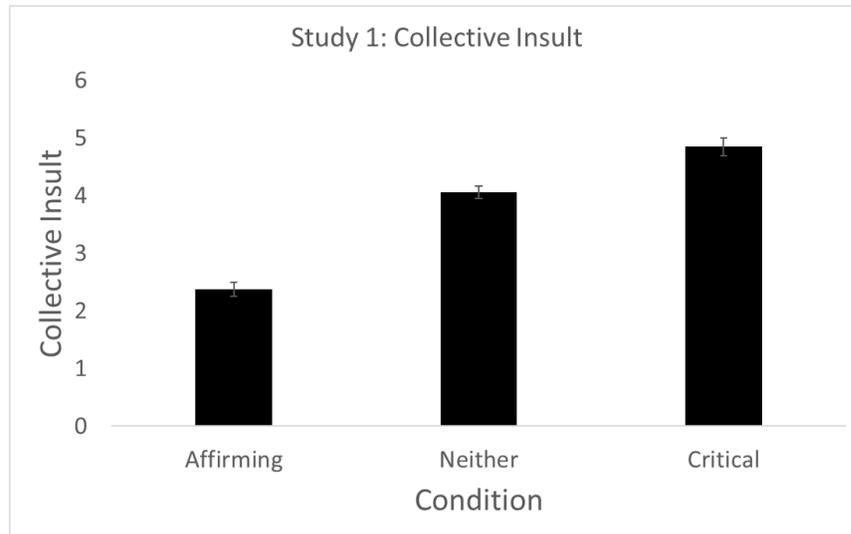
Figure 2. Study 1 – Collective insult.
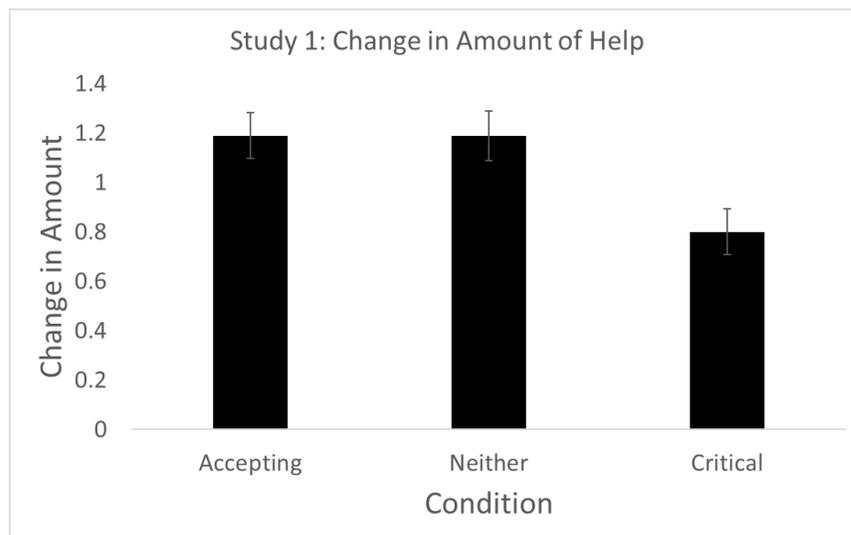
Figure 3. Study 1 – Change in amount of help.
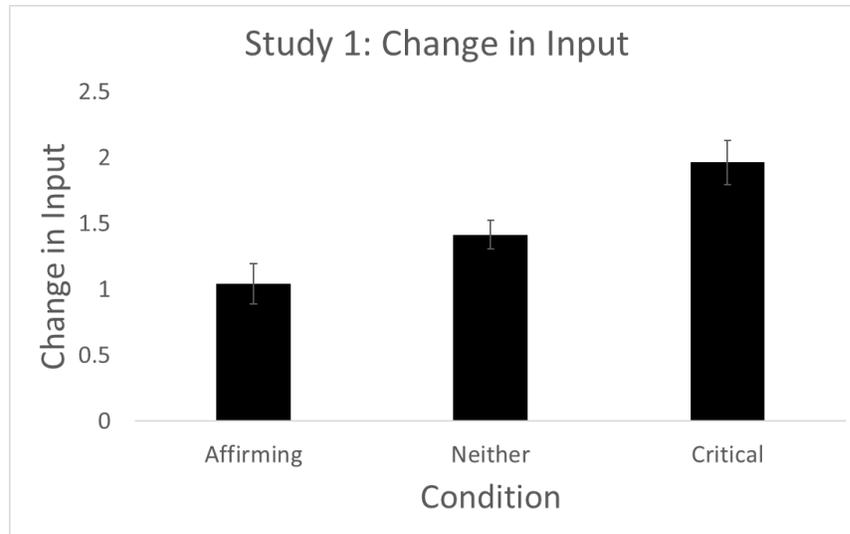
Figure 4. Study 1 – Change in input.

Path Model

In this multigroup path model, paternalistic image of Ethiopia was entered as an exogenous variable, with change in the amount of help as the outcome, as mediated by collective insult[1]. Separate models were fit for each condition: grateful, critical, and no feedback.

The model had decent fit overall, $\chi^2(3) = 14.17$, p = .003, SRMR = .07, RMSEA = .19, CFI = .88, NFI = .86 (n = 329) – though the accepting condition's fit (Accepting: SRMR = .09, GFI = .97, NFI = .42) was worse than the other conditions' (No feedback: SRMR = .06, GFI = .98, NFI = .89; Critical: SRMR = .08 GFI = .96, NFI = .89), see Figure 5.

In the accepting condition, dependent image did not significantly predict collective insult, and collective insult did not significantly predict change in input. However, for the critical and no-feedback conditions, dependent image positively predicted collective insult, which in turn negatively predicted change in input. A z-test indicated that the dependent image – collective insult path was significantly weaker between the accepting condition and the other two conditions, $\chi^2(2) = 6.73$, p = .035.

16
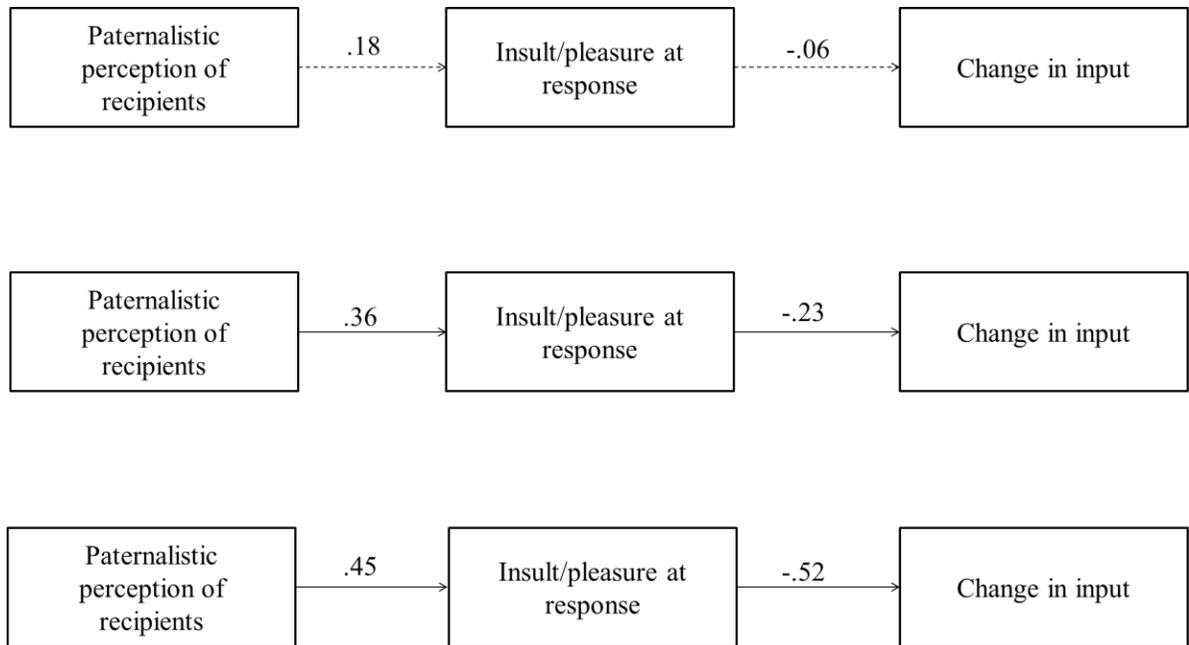
Figure 5. Study 1 - Path model (top is accepting condition, middle is no-feedback
condition, bottom is critical condition)

Discussion

From Study 1, I have initial evidence that accepting feedback doesn't necessarily
lead members of helper groups to want to help or listen to recipients more. The trend is in
the opposite direction – despite constructively critical feedback being seen as more
insulting, it was also associated with a greater increase in wanting to solicit input.
Further, this happens in spite of the relationship between having a paternalistic image of
recipients and collective insult being weakest in the accepting condition – although
paternalistic images feed into frustration less when there is accepting feedback, in other
words, it doesn't translate to a better relationship overall. This result is consistent with
accepting feedback appearing satisfying, and critical feedback showing that there is a
greater need for change. However, this study's manipulation cannot accurately be
characterized as manipulating gratitude since it is confounded with accepting vs
criticizing a lack of agency, and did not include the recipients thanking the helpers.

17

Additionally, this study did not include a measure of perceived obligation on recipients' part to show gratitude for helpers' aid. Both of these omissions left a need to more directly test my hypothesis about gratitude.

CHAPTER 3

STUDIES 2A and 2B

Having preliminary evidence that paternalistic perceptions of recipients changes the way helper group members respond to recipients' feedback, I conducted a pair of follow-up studies that tested my hypothesized mechanism: perceived obligation to be grateful. The more members of a helper group think that recipients owe them gratitude, I thought, the more insulted they would be in the face of criticism from recipients. However, since this expectation for gratitude might be focused on promoting group image, it may have led to no change because grateful feedback might serve as a cue that the helper group's job is finished and that their benevolence has been affirmed.

I also made some methodological changes in this study. First, I changed the intergroup context since I were preparing this follow-up study in the immediate aftermath of Hurricane Maria, which caused severe damage to the U.S. territory Puerto Rico – giving us a socially relevant example of group-level helping that I thought might be particularly meaningful to participants. Second, I refined my manipulation – since the acceptance condition in Study 1 wasn't specifically about gratitude, I opted to make sure that this study's manipulate reflected that construct more effectively. Finally, while I wanted to measure perceptions of group-level helping when they were most socially relevant, I also wanted to run a second study with more distance so I could more plausibly present participants with different recipient group responses. Thus, I ran the exact same study twice – once shortly after the hurricane (Study 2a), and once almost a year after it happened (Study 2b).

Participants

Study 2a. 456 participants took part in this study through Amazon's Mechanical Turk service (MTurk). I excluded 21 participants for not being born in the U.S., 11 for not speaking English as a first language, 20 for attention, 56 for reading through reading materials impossibly fast, 14 participants for going through manipulation materials too slowly, and 4 for being multivariate outliers as assessed by leverage values using Tabachnick & Fidell's (2013) procedure. The final sample included 374 participants (224 female, M age = 39.52, SD = 12.97), excluding 21.9% of participants. I did not conduct an *a priori* power analysis prior to conducting this study, but had hoped to achieve a sample size of at least 100 participants per cell. A sensitivity analysis indicates that I had sufficient power to detect an effect of effect size f = .161 with a sample of this size.

Study 2b. 415 participants took part in this study through Amazon's Mechanical Turk service (MTurk). I excluded 12 participants for not being born in the U.S., 6 for not speaking English as a first language, 129 for attention, 102 for reading through reading materials impossibly fast, 13 participants for going through manipulation materials too slowly, and 13 for being multivariate outliers as assessed by leverage values using Tabachnick & Fidell's (2013) procedure. I excluded so many participants, in part, because there was an unusually high concentration of illegitimate accounts on Mechanical Turk around the time of data collection. The final sample included 224 participants (131 female, M age = 37.91, SD = 12.84), excluding 46.0% of participants. I had hoped to collect a sample of approximately the same size as in Study 2a, so this study

20

had fewer participants in it than I had planned. A sensitivity analysis indicates that I had sufficient power to detect an effect of effect size f = .209.

Demographics. There were some small demographic differences in the samples in these two studies - see Table 1 for a full account of the gender, religious, educational, age, and left/right political demographics of these samples. The gender composition was very similar between these two samples ($\chi^2(3) = 3.07$, p = .382) - study 2a had 39.6% male, 59.9% female, .6% nonbinary/other, and study 2b had 40.2% male, 58.5% female, 1.3% nonbinary/other.

Religiously, Study 2a had a lower proportion of Catholics (18.9%) had a higher proportion of Catholics than Study 2b did (29.9%). Study 2a also had a higher proportion of agnostics (15.7%) and Protestants (26.6%) than Study 2b did (7.6% agnostics, 20.5% Protestants), $\chi^2(9) = 36.20$, p < .001. I am unsure how, if at all, these differences had effects on the results on these studies.

Looking at participants' highest level of education, the two studies did have somewhat different samples ($\chi^2(7) = 16.18$, p = .023). Study 2a had a higher proportion of participants with 2-year college degrees (15.2%) and a lower proportion of participants with 4-year college degrees (36.1%) than Study 2b did (2-year: 8.5%, 4-year: 45.5%). As with religious affiliation, it is not immediately clear what effect this difference would have on the results of these studies, and the distribution of other levels of education is fairly consistent across the two samples.

The mean age of these two samples was fairly similar (t(596) = 1.48, p = .140). Participants were somewhat more politically liberal in Study 2a (from 1:

21

conservative/right to 9: liberal/left, M = 5.63, SD = 2.32) than in Study 2b (M = 5.16, SD = 2.32), t(596) = 2.38, p = .018).

<div align="center">Materials and Procedure</div>

All measures and manipulations were identical between Studies 2a and 2b. Data collection for Study 2a occurred in October-November 2017 – approximately 1 month after Hurricane Maria. Data collection for Study 2b occurred in late July 2018 – just shy of the 1-year anniversary of Hurricane Maria.

Across all conditions, participants read a brief explanation of the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Puerto Rico, as described using three news articles that highlighted the scope of the hurricane's destruction and its continued effects on the island's power supply. In the grateful and critical conditions, the participants also read a fourth, longer quote on a separate page from one of two Puerto Rican government officials from 2017. Both quotes mentioned that the U.S. government's relief efforts were large-scale and beginning to show effects. In the grateful condition, the official clearly expressed gratitude for the aid, thanking the U.S. government for assistance. In the critical condition, the official expressed frustration with the U.S. government's slow pace and insufficient reconstruction efforts. Both quotes were from prominent Puerto Rican officials (the governor of the territory and mayor of a major city), but were presented without specifically identifying information to avoid possible confounds (gender, level of elected office, etc.).

<u>Measures</u>

<u>Future help and meta-responses.</u>

<div align="center">22</div>

Scales from Study 1, adapted for Puerto Rico, were used in both studies to measure participants' desire for the U.S. government to increase or decrease the amount of disaster relief (e.g. how much the U.S. funds aid projects in Ethiopia; Study 2a α = .93, Study 2b α = .90) and the level of input the Puerto Rican government should have during the process (e.g. whether the U.S. should solicit the Ethiopian government's opinions; Study 2a α = .88, Study 2b α = .80). All items were coded on a scale from -4.5 (reduce dramatically) to 4.5 (increase dramatically). I also used the same measure of collective insult as in Study 1, adapted for this context (Study 2a α = .94, Study 2b α = .93), coded on a scale of 1 (not at all) to 9 (extremely).

Intergroup images (all adapted from (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999)).

As in Study 1, I had four separate measures of intergroup images: dependent image (Study 2a α = .77, Study 2b α = .81), ally image (Study 2a α = .85, Study 2b α = .81), enemy image (Study 2a α = .62, Study 2b α = .78), and barbarian image (Study 2a α = .90, Study 2b α = .92) – with, as in Study 1, dependent image being my measure of paternalistic perceptions of recipients.

Obligations for gratitude, order, and caretaking.

To see what expectations participants placed on the Puerto Rican people, I gave participants a variety of items asking whether they thought the people of Puerto Rico had specific obligations. Half the items were framed prescriptively (e.g. the Puerto Rican people should be grateful) and half proscriptively (e.g. the Puerto Rican people should thank us). Factor analyses suggested that these items formed three scales: obligation to be grateful (Study 2a α = .91, Study 2b α = .91), obligation to care for others (Study 2a α = .86, Study 2b α = .87), and obligation to follow orders from the U.S. government (Study

2a α = .81, Study 2a α = .82). After completing all measures, participants completed a brief set of standard demographic questions and received compensation.

Results

To investigate the effect of recipients' feedback on participants' image of Puerto Rico's dependence, obligation to be grateful, and their responses, I ran SAS 9.4 PROC GLMs with feedback condition (Accepting, Critical, or Neither) as the only independent variable.

Paternalistic Image and Gratitude Obligation

In Study 2a, feedback had no significant effect on dependent image $F(2,371) = .15$, $p = .725$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$ (LCI = .00, UCI = .01) or gratitude obligation $F(2,371) = .66$, $p = .517$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$ (LCI = .00, UCI = .02). The same was true in Study 2b; there was no significant effect of feedback on dependent image $F(2,221) = 1.21$, $p = .301$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$ (LCI = .00, UCI = .04) or gratitude obligation $F(2,221) = 1.98$, $p = .140$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$ (LCI = .00, UCI = .05).

Collective Insult and Changes to Relationship

In Study 2a, participants felt significantly less collective insult in the grateful condition (M = 3.67 SD = 1.95) than in the critical condition (M = 4.56 SD = 2.15, $t(371)$ = 4.65, $p < .001$) or the no-feedback condition (M = 4.63 SD = 2.14, $t(371)$ = -3.72, $p < .001$, $F(2,371) = 12.15$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$ (LCI = .03, UCI = .10), see Figure 6.
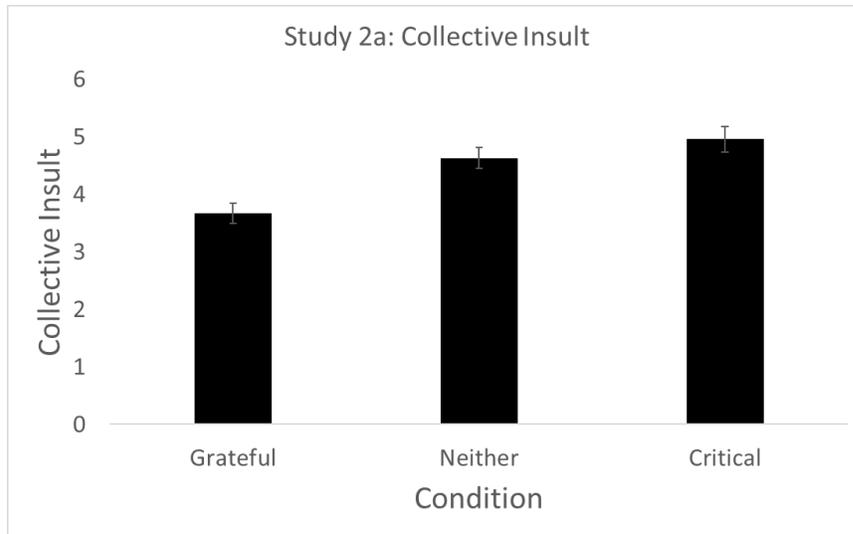
Figure 6. Study 2a – Collective insult
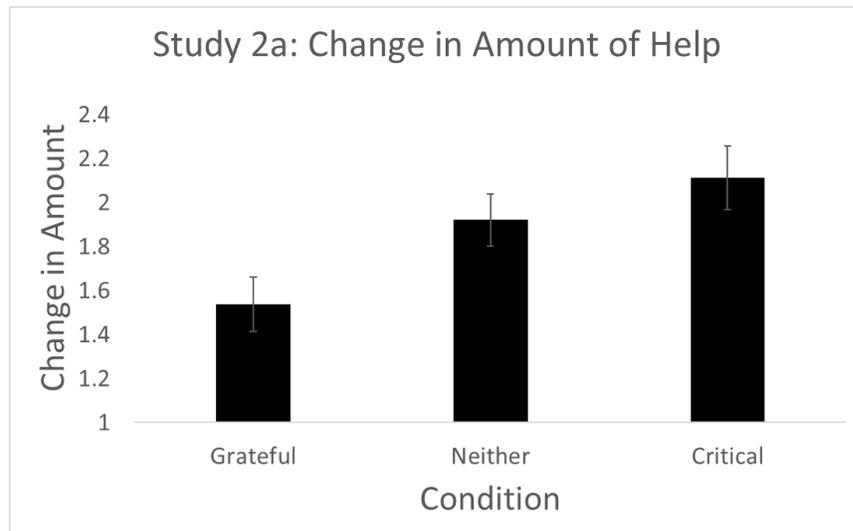
Figure 7. Study 2a – Change in amount of help

Despite this, participants also wanted to increase the amount of help the U.S. government provided Puerto Rico the least in the grateful condition (M = 1.54 SD = 1.40) – significantly less than they did in the critical condition (M = 2.11 SD = 1.50, t(371) = 3.06, p = .002) and the no-feedback condition (M = 1.92 SD = 1.40, t(371) = -2.20, p = .029, F(2,371) = 5.01, p = .007, η_p^2 = .03 (LCI = .00, UCI = .06), see Figure 7.

Change in the amount of input followed a similar pattern, with participants wanting to give Puerto Rico a smaller boost in input in the grateful condition (M = 1.35 SD = 1.51) than in the critical condition (M = 1.90 SD = 1.74, t(371) = 2.58, p = .010) and in the no-feedback condition (M = 1.84 SD = 1.59; t(371) = -2.47, p = .014; F(2,371) = 4.28, p = .015, η_p^2 = .02 (LCI = .00, UCI = .05), see Figure 8.
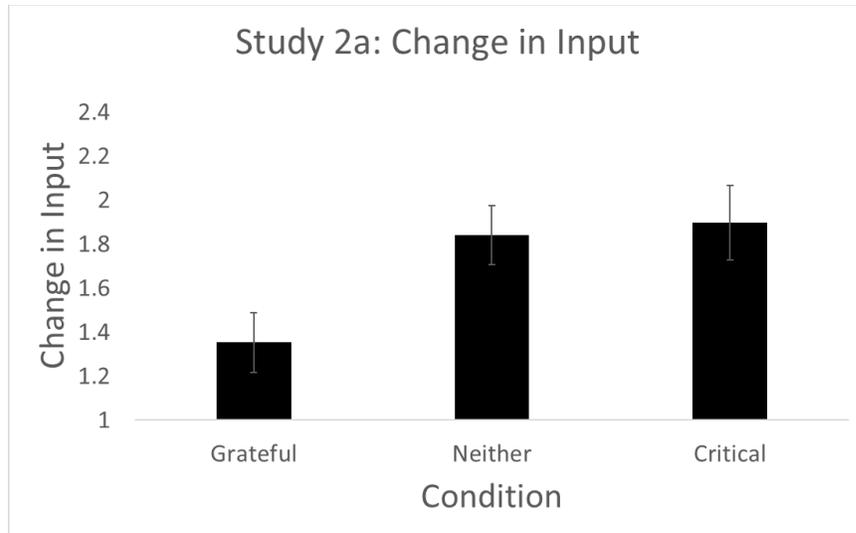
Figure 8. Study 2a – Change in input.
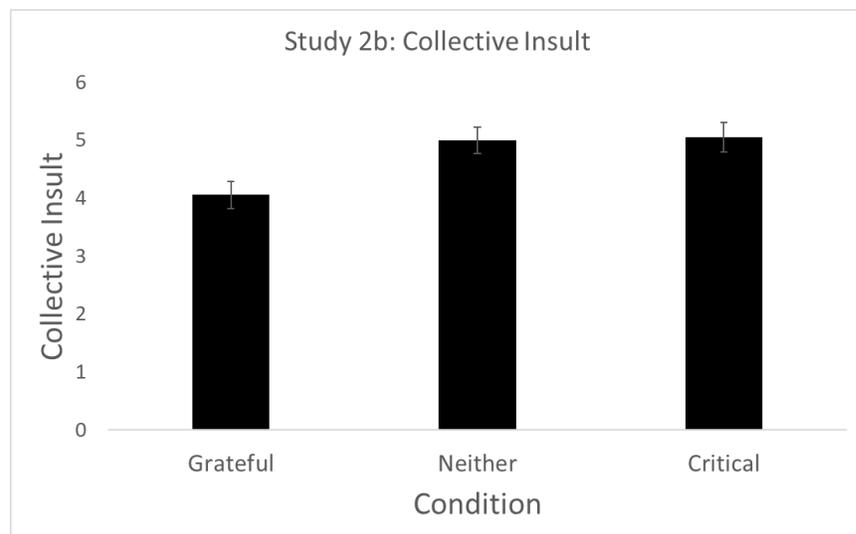
Figure 9. Study 2b - Collective insult.

In Study 2b, a similar trend emerged for collective insult – again, positive feedback (M = 4.05 SD = 2.13) netted less collective insult than criticism (M = 5.05 SD = 2.08, t(221) = 2.93, p = .004) or no feedback (M = 5.00 SD = 1.97, t(221) = -2.86, p = .005, F(2,221) = 5.69, p = .003, η_p^2 = .05 (LCI = .01, UCI = .10), see Figure 9.

However, although the descriptive patterns resembled those from Study 2a, there were no significant effects of feedback on changing the amount of help, F(2,221) = .96, p = .385, η_p^2 = .01 (LCI = .00, UCI = .03), see Figure 10, or level of input Puerto Rico would have in the future, F(2,221) = .34, p = .714, η_p^2 = .00 (LCI = .00, UCI = .02), see Figure 11.
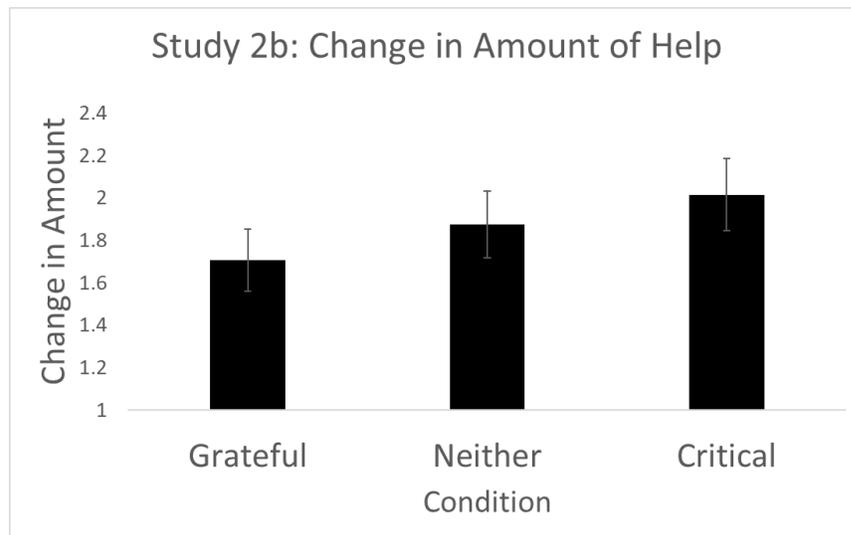
Figure 10. Study 2b - Change in amount of help.
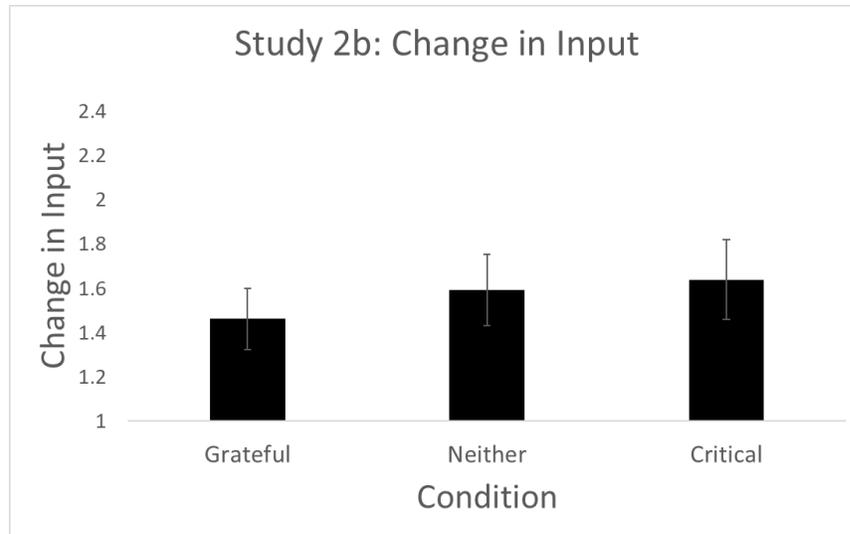
Figure 11. Study 2b - Change in input.

Path Models

In both multigroup path models, paternalistic image of Puerto Rico was entered as an exogenous variable, with change in the amount of help as the outcome, as serially mediated by gratitude obligation and collective insult. Separate models were fit for each condition: grateful, critical, and no feedback[2]. I also attempted running these models in the same way, omitting gratitude obligation (see Appendix A).

Study 2a.

The hypothesized model (Figure 12) had weak fit overall, even after adding an unhypothesized path between dependent image and collective insult, $\chi^2(6) = 143.23$, p < .001, SRMR = .19, RMSEA = .43, CFI = .36, NFI = .38 (n = 374), see Figure 9. The model was a better fit for the no-feedback condition (SRMR = .20, GFI = .83, NFI = .93) than it was for the other two conditions (Grateful: SRMR = .13, GFI = .93, NFI = .51; Critical: SRMR = .22 GFI = .84, NFI = .30).

In the grateful condition, dependent image positively predicted gratitude obligation, which in turn negatively predicted collective insult. Dependent image

28

positively predicted collective insult. Collective insult predicted, in this condition, a greater increase in the amount of help. In the critical condition, dependent image also positively predicted gratitude obligation. Gratitude obligation wasn't significantly related to collective insult, and in turn collective insult wasn't significantly related to change in the amount of help. In the no-feedback condition, dependent image positively predicted gratitude obligation, which in turn positively predicted collective insult and negatively predicted change in the amount of help. Dependent image also positively predicted collective insult. Additionally, I conducted a z-test through SAS's SIMTESTS argument to see whether the gratitude obligation-collective insult path significantly differed between the gratitude condition and the other two, and it did , $\chi^2(2) = 14.52$, p < .001 – being more negative than the other two.
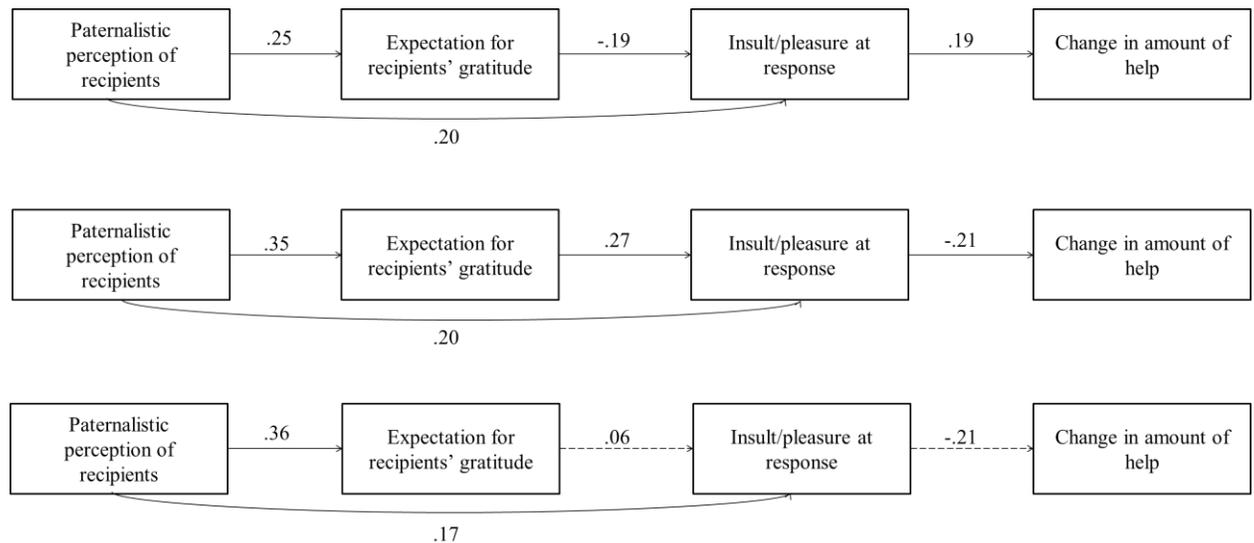
Figure 12. Study 2a - Path model.

Study 2b.

Again, the hypothesized model was a weak fit overall $\chi^2(6) = 41.88$, p < .001, SRMR = .13, RMSEA = .28, CFI = .52, NFI = .55 (n = 224) and wasn't much better or

worse across conditions (Accepting: SRMR = .17, GFI = .87, NFI = .46; Neither: SRMR

= .10, GFI = .95, NFI = .55; Critical: SRMR = .09 GFI = .96, NFI = .75), see Figure 13.

In the grateful condition, dependent image positively predicted gratitude obligation, but

gratitude obligation did not in turn predict collective insult and collective insult did not in

turn predict future helping behavior. In the critical condition, dependent image still

positively predicted gratitude obligation, but here gratitude obligation did positively

predict collective insult. However, the relationship between collective insult and change

in amount of help was not significant.

In the no-feedback condition, dependent image yet again positively predicted

gratitude obligation, but no other paths in the model were significant. I ran a Z-test to see

whether the gratitude obligation – collective insult path varied significantly between the

gratitude condition and the other two, and found that it did, $\chi^2(2) = 9.32$, p = .002 – being

weaker in the gratitude condition.
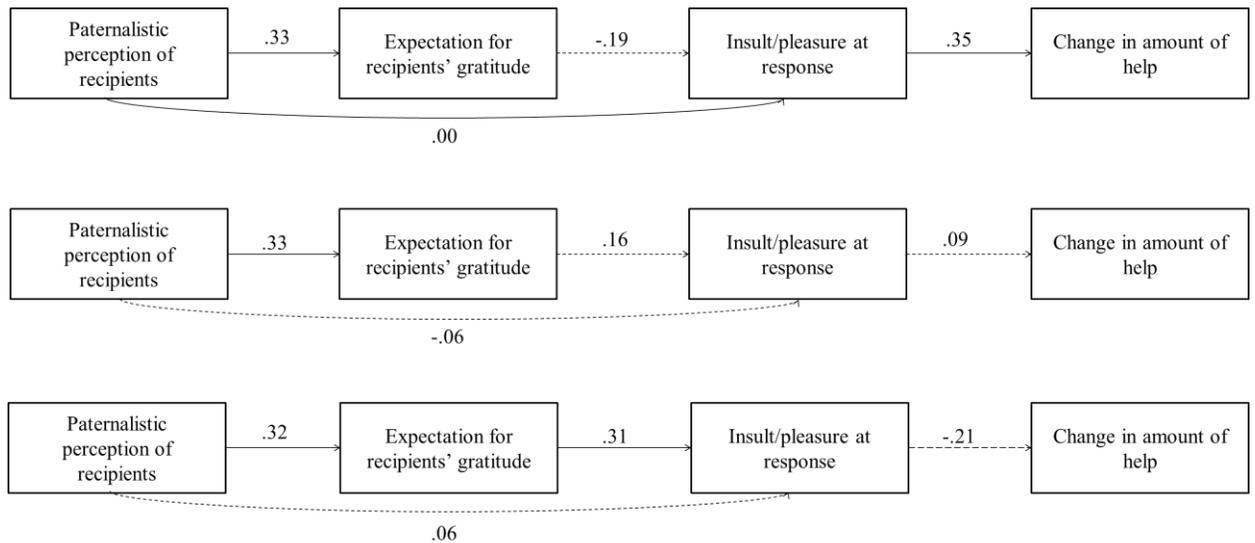
Figure 13. Study 2b - Path model.

<u>Discussion</u>

These results provide further evidence that, if anything, grateful feedback may suppress helping in at least the immediate future. Critical feedback, on the other hand, netted no less of an increase in help than no feedback. Through my path models, I can see that a paternalistic view of recipients tends to be correlated with expecting gratitude from them. Across my models, expecting gratitude was only ever related to reducing the amount of help – never increasing it – providing partial support to the hypothesis that gratitude expectations do not necessarily translate to greater help when they are sated.

Although this pattern is similar to the one I observed in Study 1, media reports about the inadequacy of the federal response to the crisis in Puerto Rico might have confounded the no-feedback condition, particularly around the time I conducted Study 2a. Additionally, Study 2b had an issue with data quality that became a power issue, which may explain some of the null results I found in that study. Finally, although Puerto Rico may be seen as foreign and distant by many Americans, it is a U.S. territory. I see no reason to believe that the intergroup processes I am describing would work differently in such contexts given Puerto Rico's physical and cultural distance from the continental United States, but it is important to acknowledge that this is not truly an instance of intergroup helping as much as it is intragroup helping.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 3

In this study, I moved onto examine a more basic question – whether perceiving a lack of agency in aid recipients – the central feature of paternalism – caused participants to expect more gratitude from aid recipients. Study 1 did not measure participants' expectations that recipients be grateful, and Studies 2a and 2b did so but did not experimentally manipulate whether participants held paternalistic perceptions of recipients. These perceptions can be difficult to manipulate directly for an existing group, so I had participants respond to a novel group that did not have a recognizable name. I expected that believing the recipients were low in agency – a paternalistic stereotype of recipients - would make participants think that recipients were more obligated to express gratitude to the U.S., and as a secondary question, whether recipients should be helped in more of paternalistic and dependency-oriented way (providing the solution to recipients' problem without helping them develop) rather than an agency-oriented way (providing recipients with the tools they needed to develop).

Method

Participants

575 participants completed this study on Amazon's Mechanical Turk. I excluded 42 participants for not speaking English as a first language and 31 participants for not being born in the U.S., 46 participants for failing a post-manipulation attention check, and 7 participants for being multivariate outliers as assessed by leverage values using Tabachnick & Fidell's (2013) procedure. The final sample included 485 participants (208 female, M age = 41.06, SD = 13.27) – excluding 15.7% of participants from the original

sample. I had conducted a power analysis prior to this study calculating that I needed 561 participants to detect an effect size f of .15 across my three groups – the final sample size was smaller than this target number due to researcher error.

Materials and Procedure

All participants read a brief and factual account of the political and economic status of Ethiopia, a country in sub-Saharan Africa, taken from the CIA World Factbook (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019). To avoid preconceived opinions about Ethiopia, I described the country as 'Nia' while telling participants that I was hiding the real name of the country for this reason, as has been done in previously-published research (Schroeder et al., 2017). In my baseline condition, this was all the background information that participants received. In my two experimental conditions, I manipulated the agency of recipients by providing participants with a purported quote from an American aid official who expressed their opinion that 'Nia' as a country was either relatively able (agency-affirming condition) or unable (agency-denying condition) of making its own decisions effectively. I hoped participants would assimilate this information into their judgments of 'Nia', adopting a paternalistic (or non-paternalistic) image of the country based on it.

Change in the amount of aid/amount of input in aid.

I used the same 5 items from Studies 1 and 2a+2b to measure whether participants thought that the U.S. should change the amount (3 items, $\alpha = .91$) and level of input (2 items, $\alpha = .81$) that Nians have in the aid process – all responses were on a scale from -4 (decrease dramatically) to 4 (increase dramatically).

Perceived agency.

As a manipulation check, 8 items ($\alpha = .90$) were loosely adapted from Schroeder

et al. (2017), all measuring participants' perceptions that Nians were capable of making good decisions for themselves (Nians often think carefully before they act. Nians don't always know what is best for them. (R)). All items were on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree).

Agency/dependency-based helping.

Six items (α = .73) were loosely adapted from Becker et al. (2018), who measured a similar outcome in a different context (refugee resettlement in Germany). I proposed two different solutions to a problem – one that involved U.S. officials making most decisions for Nians, and one that involved Nians making most relevant decisions themselves. All items were on a scale from 1 (favoring an agency-oriented options) to 9 (favoring dependency-oriented options).

Gratitude obligation, care obligation, and order obligation.

These measures were adapted for this context from those used in Studies 2a and 2b. As before, I asked several positively- and negatively-framed items probing at participants' beliefs. Ten items measured gratitude obligation (α = .75), and as distractors, six measured order obligation (α = .68), and eight measured care obligation (α = .77) – all on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree).

<div align="center">Results</div>

To investigate the effect of the aid official's statement on participants' perceptions of Nians and beliefs about what future help would be appropriate, I ran SAS 9.4 PROC GLMs with condition (Agency-Affirming, Agency-Denying, or Neither) as the only independent variable (Table 2 lists all conditional means).

	Condition		
Variable	Agency-Affirming	Baseline	Agency-Denying
Change in Amount of Help	.87(1.39)a	.59(1.67)a	.81(1.52)a
Change in Input	.95(1.47)a	.64(1.68)ab	.50(1.77)b
Perceived Agency	6.30(1.38)a	4.76(1.44)b	4.05(1.24)c
Preference for Dependency-Oriented Help	-1.64(1.40)a	-.69(1.42)b	-.32(1.51)c
Gratitude Obligation	5.19(.68)a	5.65(1.30)b	5.58(1.24)b
Care Obligation	4.98(.30)a	4.98(.31)a	5.67(1.36)b
Order Obligation	5.65(1.33)a	5.68(1.44)a	5.66(1.38)a

Table 2. Study 3 conditional means. Means with different subscripts are significantly different from each other.

Perceived agency

Our agency manipulation worked as intended, having a significant effect on perceived agency $F(2,473) = 101.60$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .30$, LLCI = .23, ULCI = .36. Participants believed that Nians had the most agency in the agency-affirming condition ($M = 6.30$, $SD = 1.38$), the least in the agency-denying condition ($M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.24$), and a value in between for the baseline condition ($M = 4.76$, $SD = 1.44$), with all three being significantly different from each other, $ts > 4.90$ $ps < .001$, $ds > .52$. However, expecting gratitude was not significantly correlated with perceived agency, whether controlling for the other expectations or not (see Appendix A).

Type of future help, change in amount of help and input in help

Overall, participants showed a preference for agency-oriented help over dependency-oriented help – the grand mean across all groups ($M = -.80$, $SD = 1.55$) was

significantly different from 0, which would indicate no preference (t(485) = -11.37, p <

.001). However, this preference for agency-oriented help was significantly different

between conditions, F(2,473) = 31.02, p < .001, η^2_p = .12, LLCI = .07, ULCI = .17. This

preference was weakest in the agency-denying condition (M = -.32, SD = 1.51) and

strongest in the agency-affirming condition (M = 1.61, SD = 1.40), with the baseline

condition in between (M = -.69, SD = 1.42). All three conditions significantly differed

from each other, ts > 2.40, ps < .020, ds > .25.

For the level of input participants thought Nians should have in the future, I found

a marginally significant effect of condition on participants' desire to give more of a voice

to Nians in the aid process (F(2,473) = 2.68, p = .070), with participants in the agency-

affirming condition (M = .90, SD = 1.23) wanting to increase input more than

participants in the agency-denying condition, (M = .68, SD = 1.46, t(295) = 2.30, p =

.022, d = .27). Neither the agency-affirming condition (t(302) = 1.59, p = .112, d = .18),

or the agency-denying condition (t(349) = .79, p = .430, d = .08) was significantly

different from the baseline (M = .61, SD = 1.53) condition. I did not find any significant

effect of condition on change in the amount of future help, F(2,473) = 1.47, p = .232.

Gratitude, care, and order obligations

Participants' expectations that Nians should be grateful to them differed

significantly between conditions, F(2,460) = 5.75, p = .003, η^2_p = .02, LLCI = .00, ULCI

= .06. This effect was driven by participants expecting less gratitude in the agency-

affirming condition (M = 5.19, SD = .68) than in the agency-denying (M = 5.58, SD =

1.24, t(282) = 2.74, p = .006, d = .33) and baseline (M = 5.64, SD = 1.30, t(289) = 3.25, p

= .001, d =.38) conditions.
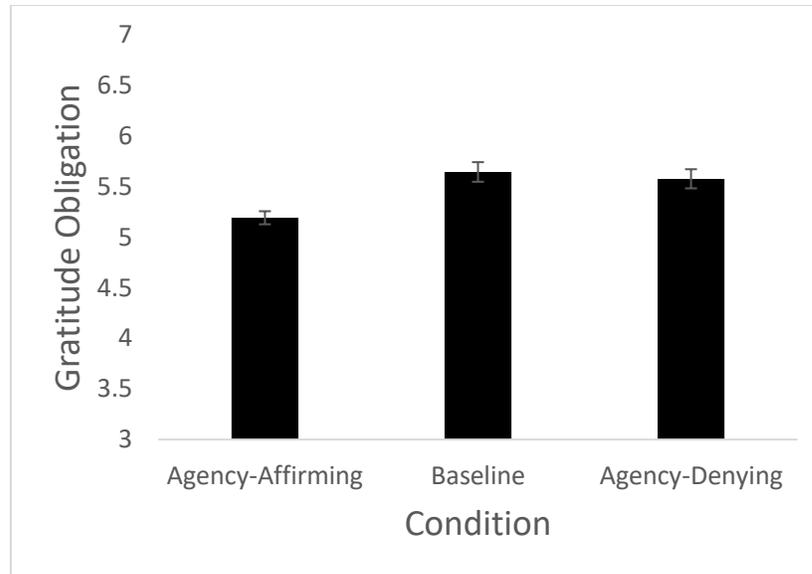
Figure 14. Study 3 - Gratitude obligation.

These results did not change when accounting for left-right political ideology, nor did political ideology moderate the relationship between condition and expecting gratitude (see Appendix A). The agency-denying condition and baseline condition did not significantly differ from each other, $t(349) = .55$, $p = .584$, $d = .06$.

For care obligation, I found a different and unhypothesized effect where participants' expectations also varied between conditions, $F(2,401) = 28.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .12$, LLCI = .07, ULCI = .18. Specifically, participants expected Nians to take care of each other more in the agency-denying condition ($M = 5.66$, $SD = 1.36$) than in either the agency-affirming ($M = 4.98$, $SD = .30$, $t(265) = 5.90$, $p < .001$, $d = .72$) or baseline ($M = 4.98$, $SD = .31$, $t(230) = 6.59$, $p < .001$, $d = .87$) conditions, with no significant difference between the agency-affirming and baseline conditions, $t(307) = 0.00$, $p = .999$, $d = .00$.

I did not find any significant effect of condition on order obligation, $F(2,473) = .03$, $p = .975$, $\eta^2_p = .00$, LLCI = .00, ULCI = .00.

<u>Discussion</u>

These results support my hypothesis that information about aid recipients' agency affects whether laypeople expect them to be grateful for the help. Affirming recipients' agency reduced participants' expectations that they be grateful compared to the baseline condition. Denying recipients' agency was no different from the baseline condition, perhaps because Western stereotypes already cast aid recipients – especially in sub-Saharan Africa – as low in agency (Baker, 2015). Additionally, in line with the cues about recipients' agency in the experimental manipulation, participants thought that paternalistic helping strategies were most appropriate when recipients were framed as being incapable of making good decisions for themselves, as compared to a lack of cues about agency or affirming recipients' agency.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 4

While the results from Study 3 supported my hypotheses, the experimental manipulation was somewhat artificial – it is rare for aid officials to publicly comment on the fitness of aid recipients. This study was a conceptual replication of Study 3 with a more externally valid manipulation, where I manipulated information about the history of the aid that the U.S. had given 'Nia' as being either highly paternalistic or not very paternalistic. I expected that a history of paternalistic dependency-oriented help (compared to a history of agency-oriented help) would lead participants to spontaneously infer that 'Nians' are incapable, as has been the case in other intergroup contexts (Schroeder et al., 2017).

As before, I expected that participants who were told that the relationship between Nia and the U.S. was highly paternalistic would perceive Nians to be less agentic, believe that Nians should be helped in more paternalistic ways in the future, and believe that Nians owed the U.S. more gratitude than participants who thought the relationship between Nia and the U.S. was less paternalistic.

Method

Participants

550 participants completed this study on Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Eight participants were deleted for responding to the survey more than once, and 65 participants voluntarily withdrew at the end of the study. I excluded 31 participants for not speaking English as a first language and 19 participants for not being born in the U.S. The final sample included 425 participants (249 female, 195 male, 1 nonbinary, mean age

= 43.03, SD = 27.25) – excluding 22.7% of participants. I did not conduct an *a priori* power analysis for this study, being unsure how large an effect the manipulation would have, but had the target of 175-200 participants per cell. According to a sensitivity analysis, the final sample gives me sufficient power to detect an effect of d = .19.

<div align="center">Materials and Procedure</div>

The procedure for this study was very similar to the procedure from Study 3, with the following changes: First, I quickly briefed participants on the difference between agency- and dependency-oriented help before they saw manipulation materials, embedded in text describing how the U.S. conducts foreign aid. Next, replacing the experimental manipulation from Study 3, I provided information claiming that the U.S. provided an unusually high proportion of its assistance to Nia in the form of agency-oriented help (agency-affirming condition) or dependency-oriented help (agency-denying condition). Unlike in Study 3, I did not directly comment on Nians' decision-making abilities in manipulation materials. Then, as before, participants completed the following measures:

<u>Change in the amount of aid/amount of input in aid.</u>

Same items as Study 3 measured whether the U.S. should change the amount (3 items, α = .80) and level of input (2 items, α = .75) that Nians have in the aid process ranging from -4 (decrease dramatically) to 4 (increase dramatically).

<u>Perceived agency.</u>

The same 8 items (α = .88) measuring perceived agency were included in Study 4 – as before, they measuring participants' perceptions that Nians were capable of making

good decisions for themselves on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree).

Agency/dependency-based helping.

Six items ($\alpha = .79$), identical to Study 3. Scale anchors from -4 (strongly favoring the agency oriented-option) to 4 (strongly favoring the dependency-oriented option).

Gratitude obligation, care obligation, and order obligation.

Ten items for gratitude, ($\alpha = .74$), six measured order obligation ($\alpha = .63$), and eight measured care obligation ($\alpha = .73$) – all identical to Study 3 and ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree).

Results

To investigate the effect of the kind of help the U.S. had previously provided Nia on participants' perceptions of Nians and beliefs about what future help would be appropriate, I ran t-tests in SAS 9.4 comparing the two conditions (Agency-Oriented Help and Dependency-Oriented Help, Table 3 lists all conditional means).

Perceived Agency

Unexpectedly, participants did not think Nians were significantly more capable and intelligent in the agency-oriented condition ($M = 5.16$, $SD = 1.31$) than in the dependency-oriented condition ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.31$), $t(443) = 1.07$, $p = .285$, $d = .10$. Additionally, there was no significant relationship between perceived agency and gratitude obligation (see Appendix A).

Type of Future Help, Change in Amount of Help and Input in Help

Unexpectedly, participants thought the U.S. should prove a greater increase in aid in the dependency-oriented condition ($M = .50$, $SD = 1.01$) than in the agency-oriented condition ($M = .22$, $SD = 1.35$, $t(437) = -2.49$, $p = .013$, $d = -.23$).

	Condition	
Variable	Agency-Oriented	Dependency-Oriented
Change in Amount of Help	.22(1.35)a	.50(1.01)b
Change in Input	.60(1.65)a	.81(1.53)a
Perceived Agency	5.16(1.31)a	5.03(1.31)a
Preference for Dependency-Oriented Help	-.67(1.62)a	-.74(1.57)a
Gratitude Obligation	5.21(.60)a	5.65(1.17)b
Care Obligation	5.02(.34)a	5.04(.37)a
Order Obligation	5.08(.46)a	5.74(1.29)b

Table 3. Study 4 conditional means. Means not sharing a subscript are significantly different from each other.

Participants generally preferred agency-oriented to dependency-oriented help (grand M = -.80, grand SD = 1.55, t(484) = -11.37, p < .001). This preference did not vary between conditions – participants were not significantly more likely to favor agency-oriented help in the agency-oriented condition (M = -.67, SD = 1.62) than in the dependency-oriented condition (M = -.74, SD = 1.57), t(443) = .45, p = .654, d = .04. Similarly, there was no significant difference in how much participants thought the U.S. should seek Nia's input in the aid process (agency-oriented condition: M = .60, SD = 1.65, dependency-oriented condition: M = .81, SD = 1.53, t(443) = -1.38, p = .170, d = -.13.

Gratitude, care, and order obligations

Participants expected gratitude from recipients more in the dependency-oriented condition (M = 5.65, SD = 1.17) than in the agency-oriented condition (M = 5.22, SD =

.60), t(414) = -4.62, p < .001, d = -.46 (Figure 15). These results did not change when accounting for left-right political ideology, and left-right political ideology did not moderate the relationship between condition and expecting gratitude (see Appendix A). Unexpectedly, participants also thought Nians were more obligated to maintain order in the dependency-oriented condition (M = 5.74, SD = 1.29) than in the agency-oriented condition (M = 5.08, SD = .46), t(400) = -6.50, p < .001, d = -.68.

There was no significant difference in how much participants thought Nians were obligated to take care of each other between the dependency-oriented (M = 5.04, SD = .37) and agency-oriented conditions M = 5.02, SD = .34, t(340) = -.28, p = .780, d = -.05.
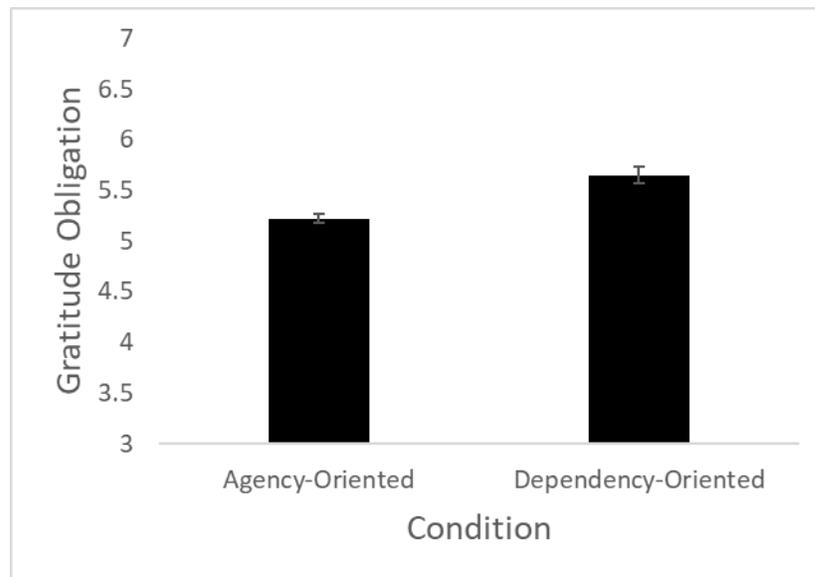
Figure 15. Study 4 - Gratitude obligation.

<u>Discussion</u>

These results provide mixed support for my hypotheses. On the one hand, as predicted, participants did expect more gratitude from recipient group members in the dependency-oriented help condition than in the agency-oriented help condition. However, since the manipulation was supposed to indirectly suggest that U.S. officials thought

43

recipients were incapable of making good decisions, it is concerning that it did not

change participants' perceptions of recipients' agency – and this lack of a significant

result casts doubt that perceived agency mediates this effect. These results suggest – but

in light of the results from the previous study, do not unequivocally show – that a history

of paternalistic help may be sufficient to lead members of helper groups to expect

gratitude, even if recipients' agency is not mentioned.

CHAPTER 6

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

From these studies, I have mixed support for my model. In Studies 3 and 4, I found that paternalistic claims that aid recipients lack agency (Study 3) and information that recipients have received paternalistic help in the past (Study 4) both increased participants' expectations for the recipients to be grateful relative to claims to the contrary.

From Studies 1, 2a and 2b, I found that receiving affirmation and gratitude do not necessarily encourage members of a helper group to provide recipients with what they want. In Study 1, where the manipulation affirmed or criticized the aid process without specifically mentioning gratitude, I found that paternalistic perceptions of recipients predicted feeling insulted by – and responding negatively to - to criticism. While affirmation was more palatable to participants, their insult/satisfaction with recipients' response was unrelated to their desire to change the relationship. In Studies 2a and 2b, participants' paternalistic perceptions of recipients were correlated with how much they expected recipients to be grateful. However, when recipients actually offered gratitude, this expectation did not translate to rewarding recipients with more help when it was met. In contrast, when recipients were critical, expecting gratitude led participants to want to increase help less in the future. So while paternalistic narratives might encourage gratitude from recipients, when members of a helper group receive affirmation and gratitude, they do not feel any enhanced obligation to help more in the future.

From Studies 3 and 4, I got partial causal support for my hypothesis that paternalistic narratives about recipients' lack of agency leads members of helper groups

to expect them to be grateful for the help they receive. Directly hearing from an expert that recipients lack agency (Study 3) made participants expect more gratitude from them, and so did implying that there is a history of paternalistic help between the helper group and the recipients (Study 4). However, the lack of effect in Study 4 of the kind of help recipients had received on participants' perceptions that recipients had agency prevents me from unequivocally saying that perceived agency is the primary reason why paternalistic narratives lead members of helper groups to expect gratitude from recipients.

I also ran some alternative models (Appendix A: Supplemental Analyses) to double-check whether gratitude obligation – specifically – helps explain meta-responses to intergroup helping, and that it is based in a paternalistic sense of superiority above outgroup members who are believed to be incapable of making good decisions. This prediction has mixed support from these results. On the one hand, the three obligations (gratitude, care, and order) tended to be highly correlated with each other - perhaps because feeling entitled to demand one set of responses will correspond with feeling entitled to demand others. Despite these correlations, controlling for the non-gratitude obligations did not weaken the correlation between paternalistic perceptions of recipients and gratitude obligation in Studies 2a and 2b. However, while the manipulations including information about recipients agency had significant effects on gratitude obligation whether controlling for the other obligations or not, my manipulation check of participants' perceptions of recipients' agency was never significantly correlated with expecting gratitude from them. On the other hand, an alternative model for Studies 2a and 2b that does not include gratitude obligation showed no evidence that the indirect relationship between paternalistic perceptions of recipients and change in the amount of

help changed from condition to condition - which shows that accounting for this expectation adds useful information. On the whole, I think expecting gratitude does help explain how paternalistic perceptions shape responses to criticism and gratitude from recipients of intergroup help, but more evidence is required to definitively state how and why.

<div align="center">Demographics</div>

The demographic composition of the five samples reported here varied somewhat from study to study (see Table 1 for a full account of the gender, religious, educational, age, and left/right political demographics of these samples). The gender composition of these samples was consistent from study to study ($\chi^2(12) = 14.08$, p = .296), ranging from 39.6% male, 59.9% female, .6% nonbinary/other in Study 2a to 43.9% male, 55.8% female, .2% nonbinary/other in Study 4.

The religious composition of these studies varied somewhat ($\chi^2(36) = 75.75$, p < .001); in particular, the number of agnostic people vacillated somewhat (as high as 15.7% agnostic in Study 2a, as low as 9.0% agnostic), as did the proportion of Catholics (as high as 29.9% in Study 2b, as low as 18.9% in Study 2a). I have no particular hypothesis about how this variation may have affected the results, but it is notable.

The distribution of participants' highest education level was also fairly consistent across the five studies ($\chi^2(28) = 36.57$, p = .129). The proportion of participants who had a 4-year college degree varied somewhat across studies (as low as 36.5% in Study 1, as high as 45.5% in Study 2b) and the proportion of participants with a 2-year college degree also varied (as low as 8.5% in Study 2b, as high as 15.2% in Study 2a).

The mean ages of these samples were somewhat different ($F(4, 1792) = 3.87$, $p =$ .004) - ranging from $M = 37.91$ in Study 2b to $M = 41.98$ in Study 4. I do not have any specific concerns about these differences affecting the results. The samples also varied somewhat in how politically liberal/conservative they were ($F(4, 1791) = 3.41$, $p = .009$) - ranging from $M = 5.16$ on a scale from 1: conservative/right to 9: liberal/left in Study 2b to $M = 5.63$ in Study 2a. As I did not find strong or consistent evidence that political ideology – at least as measured this way – moderated results in these studies (see Appendix A), I think these differences do not invalidate these results.

Limitations and Future Directions

Lay samples may not represent decision-makers' attitudes.

In the U.S. and other Western countries, lay attitudes toward international development are not clearly connected to voting behavior (Guisinger, 2009), and government officials make decisions about aid, rather than laypeople. It is possible that officials hold paternalistic attitudes and expectations, but research directly examining these officials' decision-making is necessary to draw that conclusion.

However, this research contributes to our understanding by demonstrating that paternalistic narratives are connected to expecting gratitude – albeit in laypeople. Additionally, understanding how laypeople in relatively wealthy countries judge other countries could also help inform their judgments of and actions toward immigrants from these countries, and may have stronger effects on their voting behavior if international assistance becomes a more central issue in national elections.

Mechanical Turk studies have both advantages and disadvantages.

48

All the studies described here were conducted on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), a crowdsourcing platform used by researchers in the social sciences and psychology (Levay, Freese, & Druckman, 2016; Mason & Suri, 2012). Researchers tend to use MTurk and other crowdsourcing platforms because large samples may be collected faster, and for less money, than is typical for an in-person sample (Mason & Suri, 2012). After excluding inattentive and careless respondents, research on Mechanical Turk can replicate well-established psychological effects like correlations between political positions and personality traits (Clifford, Jewell, & Waggoner, 2015) and reaction time based behavioral effects like the Stroop task (Crump, McDonnell, & Gureckis, 2013).

There is some concern about whether Mechanical Turk samples are truly representative of the general population. They are not, but at least tend to be more representative than a college undergraduate sample, the other relatively inexpensive option within psychology. Compared to traditional undergraduate samples, the MTurk workers are usually more diverse in age, location within the United States, and kinds of life experiences (Mason & Suri, 2012). This does not necessarily make it a nationally representative sample - compared to samples from the American National Election Studies, MTurk samples are younger, include fewer Black and Hispanic/Latino people and more people not self-identifying their race, are more educated, are less likely to have been married, and are more likely to be nonreligious (Levay, Freese, & Druckman, 2016). MTurk samples tend to be somewhat more politically liberal than the general population (Levay et al., 2016), and self-identified liberals on MTurk are more liberal than the general population (Clifford et al., 2015), but controlling for demographic characteristics can appear to reduce these tendencies (Levay at al., 2016). However, MTurk workers also

have a higher rate of anxiety and depression than the typical nonclinical samples (Arditte, Çek, Shaw, & Timpano, 2016), and are poorer (Levay et al., 2016) - perhaps indicating that they ought to be considered a sensitive population.

For this reason and others, the use of Mechanical Turk raises some nagging ethical questions. The system gives workers very little recourse if requesters treat them unfairly, as their legal status as independent contractors does not afford them basic workplace protections (Fort, Adda, & Cohen, 2011). MTurk workers are not forced to participate in studies or do other work on the service at a specified time, they choose how much or little to do, and the majority do not depend on MTurk income to survive (Mason & Suri, 2012). MTurk workers often choose to participate in academic research because they find it interesting and intellectually stimulating (Burhmeister, Kwan, & Gosling, 2016). Workers on Mechanical Turk tend to make an average of $3 an hour (Whitehouse, 2016), while the studies presented here paid participants an effective rate of between $1/hr and $1.60/hr. That also means that MTurk workers who participated in these studies were paid less than than the amount it would likely require to get community members to come to a lab study (a standard proposed by Mason & Suri, 2012), and less than the federal minimum wage (a standard proposed by Whitehouse, 2016). Still, it is difficult to imagine how I could have done these studies as quickly and inexpensively as I did without this resource.

These processes could be stronger when accounting for authoritarianism. It is possible that the inconsistent relationship between perceived agency and expecting gratitude in Studies 3 and 4 may be covered by a so-called 'lurking' moderator - authoritarianism. The specific rationale depends on what we mean when we say

'authoritarianism.' Broadly speaking, it might be the case that holding a patronizing view of an outgroup might make authoritarians more transactional - expecting gratitude - while non-authoritarians may be motivated to help less conditionally, even if they do not think highly of recipients. The closest variable to authoritarianism I included in these studies was self-reported left/right political ideology. In my analyses, I did not see reliable evidence that participants' left/right political leanings moderated the relationship between paternalistic perceptions of recipients (Studies 2a and 2b) or information about recipients' agency and perceptions of recipients' agency (Studies 3 and 4) and expecting gratitude from recipients (see Appendix A: Supplemental Analyses). However, there is a possibility that authoritarianism - if conceptualized and operationalized more directly - could moderate these effects.

Right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1996) casts the ingroup as superior to others, often along racial or ethnic lines. This might stoke paternalism because paternalism is racially motivated - White authoritarians have contempt for people who are not White, so intergroup helping relationships between groups where White people hold power (like the United States) and where recipients are racialized others will probably be seen as an opportunity to demonstrate power over recipients and justify inequalities - requiring more expressions of gratitude from recipients to complete this myth. Similarly, people high in social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) might also show more paternalism and accordingly expect more gratitude because of their beliefs that intergroup relations are competitive and that their ingroup should be at the top of a hierarchy. Under this framework, powerful groups would not be obligated to give anything to members of less-powerful groups. Accordingly, to people high in social

51

dominance orientation, even basic lifesaving assistance might be considered an act of extraordinary generosity deserving of praise. Finally, although not strictly a measure of authoritarianism, another measure arguably related to authoritarianism is ingroup glorification (Roccas, Klar & Liviatan, 2006) - a form of identification with the ingroup that asserts its superiority over others, and which tends to prompt people high in it to consider morally relevant relationships between their group and others in a way that puts their group in the best possible light. Similarly to the other two constructs, I would expect that people high in ingroup glorification would also only help to the extent it boosts their group's power over others and sense of superiority. But all things told, while these are possibilities I cannot discount with these data, I think it is more likely that authoritarianism would boost paternalistic perceptions of recipients wholesale, rather than making people with paternalistic perceptions of recipients more likely to expect gratitude from them.

APPENDIX A

SUPPLEMENTAL ANALYSES

Is the relationship between paternalistic perceptions of recipients and expecting gratitude

from recipients stronger for conservatives than liberals?

Committee members proposed the possibility that the relationship between paternalistic

perceptions of recipients and expecting gratitude may be stronger for people high in

authoritarianism than people low in authoritarianism. These studies did not include a

direct measure of authoritarianism, but to investigate this possibility, I ran a separate

model in each study using self-reported political ideology (from 1 – extremely

conservative to 9 – extremely liberal) as reported on a 3-item scale.

Studies 2a and 2b

I ran a SAS GLM (9.4) crossing paternalistic perceptions of recipients and self-reported

political ideology (liberal to conservative) to predicting expecting gratitude. I did not find

evidence that the effect of paternalistic perceptions on gratitude obligation varied as a

function of political ideology in either Study 2a (paternalistic perceptions x ideology

interaction: $b = .05$, $SE = .04$, $t(370) = 1.10$, $p = .272$) or Study 2b (paternalistic

perceptions x ideology interaction: $b = .01$, $SE = .05$, $t(208) = .23$, $p = .818$).

Study 3

As mentioned in Studies 2a and 2b, I also indirectly examined whether the effect of

agency-affirming/denying condition on gratitude expectation was stronger for people

high in authoritarianism than people low in authoritarianism using a mixed SAS GLM

(9.4) crossing feedback condition and self-reported political ideology (liberal to

conservative). I did not find evidence that the effect of affirming/denying agency

depended on political ideology (condition x ideology interaction: $F(2,457) = 1.54$, $p =$ .215).

Study 4

As in previous studies, I also indirectly examined whether the effect of the kind of help recipients had previously received on gratitude expectation was stronger for participants who were high in authoritarianism using a mixed SAS GLM (9.4) crossing feedback condition and self-reported political ideology (liberal to conservative). I did not find evidence that the effect of the previous kind of help depended on political ideology (condition x ideology interaction: $F(1, 364) = .66$, $p = .419$.

Does perceived agency/paternalism (and/or the manipulation) affect gratitude obligation when controlling for other obligations (care and order)?

Studies 2a and 2b

In Study 2a, gratitude obligation was moderately correlated with both care obligation ($r = .52$, $p < .001$) and order obligation ($r = .59$, $p < .001$). Care and order obligation were strongly correlated with each other ($r = .89$, $p < .001$). The same was true in Study 2b; Gratitude obligation was moderately correlated with both care obligation ($r = .57$, $p < .001$) and order obligation ($r = .67$, $p < .001$). Care and order obligation were strongly correlated with each other ($r = .90$, $p < .001$). Accordingly, it is prudent to confirm that these results were specific to gratitude obligation by statistically controlling for the other two obligations.

Whether controlling for the other obligations ($b = .33$, $SE = .04$, $t = 8.74$, $p < .001$) or not ($b = .30$, $SE = .05$, $t = 6.50$, $p < .001$), there was a positive correlation between paternalistic perceptions and gratitude obligation in Study 2a. The same was true in Study

2b; whether controlling for the other obligations (b = .28, SE = .04, t = 7.81, p < .001) or not (b = .24, SE = .05, t = 4.86, p < .001), there was a positive correlation between paternalistic perceptions and gratitude obligation.

Study 3

The three obligations (gratitude, care, and order) were strongly correlated with each other; gratitude obligation was strongly correlated with both care obligation (r = .57, p < .001) and order obligation (r = .88, p < .001). Care and order obligation were strongly correlated with each other (r = .88, p < .001).

Without controlling for the other two obligations, participants tended to expect gratitude from recipients more in the agency-denying condition than in the agency-affirming condition (b = .39, SE = .13, t = 3.00, p = .003) - but when I controlled for them by including them in the regression model, the effect was no longer statistically significant (b = .01, SE = .07, t = .08, p = .932). There was never a statistically significant relationship between perceived agency and gratitude obligation, whether controlling for the other two obligations (b = .01, SE = .02, t = .54, p = .591) or not (-.05, SE = .03, t = -1.58, p < .114).

Study 4

Gratitude obligation was strongly correlated with order obligation (r = .86, p < .001) and moderately correlated with care obligation (r = .26, p < .001). Order and care obligation were moderately correlated with each other (r = .20, p = .006). Without controlling for the other two obligations, participants tended to expect gratitude from recipients more in the agency-denying condition than in the agency-affirming condition (b = .47, SE = .10, t = 4.66, p < .001) - but when I controlled for them by including them in the regression

model, the effect was no longer statistically significant (b = .02, SE = .06, t = .41, p = .681). There was never a statistically significant relationship between perceived agency and gratitude obligation, whether controlling for the other two obligations (b = .03, SE = .02, t = 1.13, p = .261) or not (b = .04, SE = .03, t = .96, p = .336).

Is gratitude obligation necessary to explain the relationship between paternalistic perceptions of recipients and collective insult in Studies 2a and 2b?

Following the defense, I wanted to see whether gratitude obligation was necessary to explain the moderated indirect relationship from paternalistic perceptions to collective insult to reducing help in Studies 2a and 2b. Accordingly, for each study, I reran the . As before, I used PROC CALIS to run a multigroup path analysis. For these models, I removed gratitude obligation - making the path for each condition between paternalistic perceptions of recipients to collective insult to change in the amount of help. To see the effect of recipients' feedback, I ran simultaneous tests of equality similar to the ones I ran earlier, but this time they were on the path between paternalistic perceptions of recipients and collective insult. There was no evidence that the relationship between paternalistic perceptions of recipients and collective insult differed between conditions in either Study 2a ($\chi^2(2) = 1.87$, p = .393) or Study 2b ($\chi^2(2) = 1.99$, p = .370).

APPENDIX B

MEASURES AND MANIPULATIONS

<u>Study 1</u>

Introductory Text

What is USAID?

USAID is the U.S. government's international aid and development agency, which conducts projects worldwide to fight malnutrition - often caused by not getting enough food, or having a diet with too little variety. USAID often does programs that help entire countries - not just cities or individual people - and serves countries in Africa, Southeast Asia, and South America.

How does USAID fight malnutrition?

USAID provides different types of aid depending on what their workers think recipients need. For example, the countries USAID serves are often in desperate need of a variety of nutrient-rich food, supplies like seed and fertilizer, and the information and funding necessary to expand and develop existing farms. USAID has several methods of fighting malnutrition – sometimes directly providing countries with food and supplies, and sometimes providing them with money to purchase these goods themselves. To decide which method to use for a specific country, aid workers visit areas during times of emergency to collect data. These workers may already know about the people they are trying to help from their interactions with them, and they may also interview those people to best understand how to help them.

Participants were randomly assigned to read one of these three fabricated articles.

Differences between the three conditions are underlined.

Request for Agency Condition.

USAID Targets Malnutrition in Ethiopia

For decades, Ethiopia has been grappling with one of the largest malnutrition crises in Africa - and the whole world. Recently, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) committed substantial resources to a new anti-malnutrition project in Ethiopia. American planes carrying tons of supplies started arriving in Ethiopia several months ago. Now, as USAID plans its budget for next year, the agency is taking stock of the project's outcomes. So far, the project is on track to meet its goal of fighting child malnutrition through increasing agricultural productivity in the region. As a general policy, USAID relies on their own experts first and foremost - above the input of foreign governments. However, several key ministers of the Ethiopian Parliament have raised concerns that their government was not consulted enough in this process.

Most of Ethiopia's 99.4 million people live in rural areas, working as farmers. But while agriculture is Ethiopia's largest industry, the country has a continuing food crisis due to low crop yields, farms that are too small for modern techniques, and too few farms using improved seeds and fertilizers. Because of this food crisis, Ethiopia has one of the highest rates of child malnutrition in the world. In the most at-risk parts of Ethiopia,

47.1% of children suffer from stunted growth, and over 50% of infant and child deaths in Ethiopia are related to malnutrition.

To address this problem, USAID workers visited Ethiopia and collected data on the country's farms, markets, healthcare system, and infrastructure. Using this information, they determined that the best course of action was to provide the Ethiopian government with a pre-selected, mixed package similar to packages USAID has given to other countries all over the world. Most of the aid was given in the form of a bulk shipment of improved fertilizers and seeds from American companies - enough to increase agricultural yield by 25%. Additionally, the package included a large amount of emergency food aid in the form of special nutrient-rich peanut butter and other, similar supplements. Overall, the project has a goal of preventing malnutrition for 1.5 million Ethiopian children in the poorest parts of the country.

Speaking on behalf of the Ethiopian government, Iskinder Tassew, Ethiopia's Minister of Agriculture, said "This project will meet its intended goals, but not in a way that gives Ethiopia enough of a say in our own destiny. When the American aid workers visited my office, they outlined their plans and handed us a ready-made list of the things they were about to purchase. Beyond that, no one in our government – including me - was seriously consulted in any decision they made. We did not choose which areas to focus on, we did not choose what supplies we got, and we did not choose where to buy these supplies. While we will use these supplies to help as many of our people as we can, the Americans should have given us more control over the process. In the future, it would

be best if Americans listened to local officials in the countries they try to help, and take their decisions to heart."

This feedback comes at a critical moment in the relationship between the U.S. and Ethiopia, since USAID will soon compile its annual budget - re-allocating funds between its numerous projects worldwide. This project in Ethiopia, among others, could potentially receive a budget increase or decrease depending on the organization's priorities.

Affirmation About Lack of Agency Condition

USAID Targets Malnutrition in Ethiopia

For decades, Ethiopia has been grappling with one of the largest malnutrition crises in Africa - and the whole world. Recently, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) committed substantial resources to a new anti-malnutrition project in Ethiopia. American planes carrying tons of supplies started arriving in Ethiopia several months ago. Now, as USAID plans its budget for next year, the agency is taking stock of the project's outcomes. So far, the project is on track to meet its goal of fighting child malnutrition through increasing agricultural productivity in the region. As a general policy, USAID relies on its own experts first and foremost - above the input of foreign governments. However, no ministers of the Ethiopian Parliament have raised concerns that their government was not consulted enough in this process.

Most of Ethiopia's 99.4 million people live in rural areas, working as farmers. But while agriculture is Ethiopia's largest industry, the country has a continuing food crisis due to low crop yields, farms that are too small for modern techniques, and too few farms

60

using improved seeds and fertilizers. Because of this food crisis, Ethiopia has one of the highest rates of child malnutrition in the world. In the most at-risk parts of Ethiopia, 47.1% of children suffer from stunted growth, and over 50% of infant and child deaths in Ethiopia are related to malnutrition.

To address this problem, USAID workers visited Ethiopia and collected data on the country's farms, markets, healthcare system, and infrastructure. Using this information, they determined that the best course of action was to provide the Ethiopian government with a pre-selected, mixed package similar to packages USAID has given to other countries all over the world. Most of the aid was given in the form of a bulk shipment of improved fertilizers and seeds from American companies - enough to increase agricultural yield by 25%. Additionally, the package included a large amount of emergency food aid in the form of special nutrient-rich peanut butter and other, similar supplements. Overall, the project has a goal of preventing malnutrition for 1.5 million Ethiopian children in the poorest parts of the country

Speaking on behalf of the Ethiopian government, Iskinder Tassew, Ethiopia's Minister of Agriculture, said "This project will meet its intended goals, and the American information-collecting process was a success. When the American aid workers visited my office, they outlined their plans and handed us a ready-made list of the things they were about to purchase. Beyond that, the Americans took care of everything. The Americans chose which areas to focus on, what supplies we got, and where to buy these supplies. We will use these supplies to help as many of our people as we can. In the future, it

would be best if Americans continued collecting their own information and making decisions for the recipient countries based on it."

This feedback comes at a critical moment in the relationship between the U.S. and Ethiopia, since USAID will soon compile its annual budget - re-allocating funds between its numerous projects worldwide. This project in Ethiopia, among others, could potentially receive a budget increase or decrease depending on the organization's priorities.

No-Feedback Condition

USAID Targets Malnutrition in Ethiopia

For decades, Ethiopia has been grappling with one of the largest malnutrition crises in Africa - and the whole world. Recently, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) committed substantial resources to a new anti-malnutrition project in Ethiopia. American planes carrying tons of supplies started arriving in Ethiopia several months ago. Now, as USAID plans its budget for next year, the agency is taking stock of the project's outcomes. So far, the project is on track to meet its goal of fighting child malnutrition through increasing agricultural productivity in the region.

Most of Ethiopia's 99.4 million people live in rural areas, working as farmers. But while agriculture is Ethiopia's largest industry, the country has a continuing food crisis due to low crop yields, farms that are too small for modern techniques, and too few farms using improved seeds and fertilizers. Because of this food crisis, Ethiopia has one of the highest rates of child malnutrition in the world. In the most at-risk parts of Ethiopia,

47.1% of children suffer from stunted growth, and over 50% of infant and child deaths in Ethiopia are related to malnutrition.

To address this problem, USAID workers visited Ethiopia and collected data on the country's farms, markets, healthcare system, and infrastructure. Using this information, they determined that the best course of action was to provide the Ethiopian government with a pre-selected, mixed package similar to packages USAID has given to other countries all over the world. Most of the aid was given in the form of a bulk shipment of improved fertilizers and seeds from American companies - enough to increase agricultural yield by 25%. Additionally, the package included a large amount of emergency food aid in the form of special nutrient-rich peanut butter and other, similar supplements. Overall, the project has a goal of preventing malnutrition for 1.5 million Ethiopian children in the poorest parts of the country <u>and is projected to meet that goal.</u>

<u>The U.S. and Ethiopia are currently at a critical moment in their relationship</u> since USAID will soon compile its annual budget - re-allocating funds between its numerous projects worldwide. This project in Ethiopia, among others, could potentially receive a budget increase or decrease depending on the organization's priorities.

<div align="center">Items</div>

<u>Manipulation Checks</u>
What is USAID?
- a U.S. government international aid and development agency
- an American private philanthropic organization
- a food aid program administered by the United Nations
- a U.S. government program that helps people in the United States
- not sure/don't know

(participants were asked to select one answer)

How does USAID decide the kind of aid it will provide?
- sending workers to countries that are facing emergencies to gather information
- asking the United Nations what it should do, and then doing it

- submitting a planned budget to Congress, which goes to a vote
- providing the exact same package to every recipient nation

(participants were asked to select one answer)

Summary
In the next minute, please write down, as specifically and in as much detail as you can, what you have just read about. When you are done, click the "Next" button which will appear in a minute below the text box.
(participants have a text box to fill out)

Whose aid did USAID rely on when it decided which supplies were best for Ethiopia?
- entirely on its own experts
- more on its own experts
- equally between its experts and the Ethiopian government
- more on the Ethiopian government
- entirely on the Ethiopian government

(participants were asked to select one answer)

Was the Ethiopian government satisfied with...
- The amount of input they had in USAID's decisions?
- The kinds of supplies they received from USAID?
- The overall amount of aid they received?

(for each, response options are yes/no/don't know-not sure)

Efficacy
- How effective do you think USAID's efforts to fight malnutrition are in Ethiopia?
- How effective do you think USAID's efforts to fight malnutrition are in all countries?

(sliders from 'not at all effective' to 'extremely effective')

Future Help
- Should USAID change the amount of overall funding it allocates to Ethiopia?
- Should USAID change the amount of resources it uses to provide aid to Ethiopia?
- Should USAID change the amount of funding it uses to collect data in Ethiopia?
- Should USAID change how much it seeks feedback from the Ethiopian government in the aid process?
- Should USAID change how much it relies on input from the Ethiopian government in the aid process?

(sliders from 'decrease dramatically' to 'keep the same' to 'decrease dramatically)

- Should USAID change how much it prioritizes Ethiopia, relative to other foreign countries?

(slider from 'prioritize much less' to 'keep the same' to 'prioritize much more')

For each of the following situations, please rate whether you think the U.S. should intervene to help Ethiopia.

- Ethiopia and one of its neighbors have a border dispute.
- Another country invades Ethiopia.
- Another country economically exploits Ethiopia
- A major disease outbreak occurs in Ethiopia
- There is widespread flooding in Ethiopia
- Armed insurgents revolt and cause a civil war

(sliders from 'definitely not intervene' to 'neutral' to 'definitely intervene')

Justifications for/against giving Ethiopia more agency

- Do you think it is likely that the USAID administrators spend aid money more efficiently and appropriately than Ethiopian government would?
- How likely is it that USAID would purchase the right food and supplies to meet the Ethiopian government's needs?
- How likely is it that USAID would buy food and supplies that weren't useful to Ethiopian government?
- Do you think the Ethiopian government would make good decisions about which food and supplies they needed?
- Do you think the Ethiopian government would be able to make efficient use of the supplies they received?
- How likely would the Ethiopian government be to make appropriate, ethical use of the supplies they received?
- How likely is it that the Ethiopian government would make better decisions than USAID administrators?

(sliders from 'no, absolutely not' to 'yes, absolutely')

Perceived Insult

As an American, I feel that the demands of the Ethiopian government are...

- disrespectful to the U.S.
- insulting
- offensive
- demeaning to Americans

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Emotional Responses in Ethiopia

How do you think the Ethiopian people felt after receiving the aid they were given?

- Grateful
- Thankful
- Appreciative
- Angry
- Irritated
- Outraged
- Joyful
- Happy

- Elated
- Sad
- Downcast
- Miserable

(sliders from 'did not feel at all' to 'felt very strongly')

Emotions Toward Ethiopia and the U.S.

When you think about the USAID project you read about, how strongly do you feel each of the following emotions toward <u>Ethiopia?</u>
- Proud
- Successful
- Ashamed
- Embarrassed
- Guilty
- Regretful
- Angry
- Frustrated
- Wronged
- Humiliated
- Weak
- Useless

(sliders from 'did not feel at all' to 'felt very strongly')

When you think about the USAID project you read about, how strongly do you feel each of the following emotions toward <u>the U.S.?</u>
- Proud
- Successful
- Ashamed
- Embarrassed
- Guilty
- Regretful
- Angry
- Frustrated
- Wronged
- Humiliated
- Weak
- Useless

(sliders from 'did not feel at all' to 'felt very strongly')

Global Beliefs About Foreign Aid
- Should USAID change the amount of overall funding it gives to providing aid to <u>all foreign countries?</u>
- Should the federal government change the amount of funding it provides USAID?

(slider from 'decrease dramatically' to 'increase dramatically')

The U.S. considers many factors when it decides how to provide foreign aid. When USAID is making decisions about which countries to prioritize, how much do you think it should consider each of the following factors?
- the amount of help the country needs
- how loyal the country has been in the past
- whether helping the country will improve our image worldwide
- whether the country is relevant to our strategic interests
- whether the country could someday be a valuable trade partner
- whether the country's values match our own
- if the country has potential to improve
- if the country wants our help
- how much money the project will cost American taxpayers

(sliders from 'not consider at all' to 'consider very much')

Images of Ethiopians
- Ethiopians value cooperative solutions to problems and try to avoid conflict.
- Ethiopians will not exploit Americans' trust in them, but instead reciprocate and contribute their fair share.
- Ethiopians are motivated by legitimate and reasonable concerns and aspirations.
- Ethiopia has an effective and well-intentioned decision-making structure.
- In Ethiopia, people who are interested in the group's welfare, as opposed to interested in only their own personal gain, will cooperate with other countries.
- People in Ethiopia are quite naive; they mean well but need guidance and leadership from outside their country.
- Most people in Ethiopia want to have things better for their country, but they lack discipline and are not likely to work very hard.
- Those making decisions for Ethiopia are weak and inefficient.
- Ethiopians' objectives are self-centered and harmful to others.
- Ethiopians would take advantage of any efforts on other countries' part to cooperate, and they would even try to exploit them.
- Ethiopians are extremely competitive and want to dominate but will play by the rules.
- Ethiopia has a strict, well-organized authority structure for decision making.
- Ethiopians enjoy getting their way, even if it spoils things for others.
- Ethiopia takes whatever it wants from other groups.
- Ethiopians are crude, unsophisticated, and willing to cheat to get its way.
- There is no clear decision-making structure within Ethiopia, so the leaders can get away with anything they want.

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Stereotypes About Ethiopians
How much do you think Ethiopians are…
- honest
- sincere
- trustworthy

- likable
- warm
- friendly
- competent
- intelligent
- skilled

(sliders from 'not at all' to 'extremely')

Dehumanization

How much do you associate each of the following words with Americans/Ethiopians?
- Person
- Humanity
- Citizen
- Inhabitants
- Humans
- Wild
- Animal
- Beast
- Pet
- Untamed

(presented together, sliders from 'not at all' to 'totally')

How much do you associate each of the following words with Americans/Ethiopians?
- Person
- Humanity
- Citizen
- Inhabitants
- Humans
- Wild
- Animal
- Beast
- Pet
- Untamed

(presented together, sliders from 'not at all' to 'totally')

Collective Narcissism (adapted from Golec de Zavala et al., 2009)
- I wish other countries would more quickly recognize the authority of the U.S.
- The U.S. deserves special treatment.
- I will never be satisfied until the U.S. gets all it deserves.
- I insist upon the U.S. getting the respect that is due to it.
- It really makes me angry when others criticize the U.S.
- If the U.S. had less of a say in the world, the world would be a much worse place.
- I do not get upset when people do not notice achievements of the U.S. (R)
- Not many people seem to fully understand the importance of the U.S.

- The true worth of the U.S. is often misunderstood.

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

SDO (from Ho et al., 2015)
- An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.
- Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
- No one group should dominate in society.
- Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.
- Group equality should not be our primary goal.
- It is unjust to try to make groups equal.
- We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
- We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Ingroup Glorification
- The U.S. armed forces is the best army in the world.
- It is disloyal for Americans to criticize the U.S.
- One of the important things that we have to teach our children is to respect the leaders of our nation.
- Other nations can learn a lot from us.
- Relative to other nations, we are a very moral nation.
- There is generally a good reason for every rule and regulation made by national authorities.
- In today's world, the only way to know what to do is to rely on the leaders of our nation.
- The U.S. is better than other nations in all respects.

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Ingroup Attachment
- I love the United States.
- Being American is an important part of my identity.
- It is important for me to view myself as an American.
- It is important for me to contribute to my nation.
- I am strongly committed to the United States.
- It is important for me that everyone sees me as American.
- It is important for me to help my country.
- When I talk about Americans, I usually say 'we' rather than 'they'.

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Demographics
- What is your age? (text box)
- What is your gender? (male/female/nonbinary/other)
- Is English your first/native language? (yes/no)
- Were you born in the U.S.? (yes/no)

- Are any of your family members from Ethiopia, or do you have any ties to Ethiopia? (yes, please specify/no)
- What is your religious affiliation? (agnosticism/atheism/Buddhism/Catholicism/Hinduism/Islam/Judaism/Protestantism/no religious affiliation/other, please specify)
- What is the highest level of education that you have completed? (less than high school/high school or GED/some college/2-year college degree/4-year college degree/master's degree/doctoral degree/professional degree (JD, MD))
- In general, I am... (slider from 'liberal/left' to 'conservative/right')
- Regarding economic issues (e.g. taxation, public spending), I am... (slider from 'liberal/left' to 'conservative/right')
- Regarding social issues (e.g. gay rights, multiculturalism), I am... (slider from 'liberal/left' to 'conservative/right')

Studies 2a and 2b

Introductory Text

The Situation in Puerto Rico

"Hurricane Maria, which caused at least 48 deaths on the island, made landfall on the southeastern coast near Yabucoa as a Category 4 storm, with maximum sustained winds of about 154 mph (248 kph). It passed out of the territory about 12 hours later near Barceloneta in the north, still with sustained winds of about 115 mph (185 kph). The onslaught was sufficient to knock down hundreds of transmission towers and thousands of distribution poles and lines." (Fox News, 10/20/17);

"Four weeks after Hurricane Maria, packing winds of up to 155 miles an hour, knocked out power to the entire island, 80 percent of Puerto Rico still does not have electricity. Some residents have not had power for 45 days — since Hurricane Irma brushed by after Labor Day." (New York Times, 10/19/17)

"Roughly 80 percent of [Puerto Rico's] power customers remain in the dark, and another 30 percent are without water. Schools remain closed. Stoplights are not operating. And while nearly 90 percent of supermarkets have reopened, many have bare

rows of shelves empty of goods ranging from water to bananas to canned tuna… Less than half of Puerto Rico's cell phone towers are operating, and only 64 percent of bank branches have reopened, some of them with dead outdoor ATMs whose empty screens prompt a roll of eyes from people seeking to withdraw money." (Washington Post, 10/19/17)

Appended in the Grateful Condition:

One Official's Response

On a cable news program on 10/20/17, a prominent Puerto Rican official was asked to rate the federal government's disaster relief effort. Here is what this official said: "The truth of the matter is, [the federal government] has responded… And they have done so quickly, so we are very grateful for that. There is a lot of work ahead of us, this is a long haul, and we're grateful that the White House and Congress are supporting Puerto Rico. We recognize the great job that over 18,000 people have been doing over here, whether it's D.O.D or other federal offices, but we also know that in order to get through this, there needs to be a lot more."

Appended in the Critical Condition:

One Official's Response

On a cable news program on 10/20/17, a prominent Puerto Rican official was asked to rate the federal government's disaster relief effort. Here is what this official said: "It is a failing grade. People are still without electricity. We knew that was going to take a long time to happen, but the basic services are not yet there yet, and there doesn't seem to be any sign of how it is supposed to go… I'm always looking injustice in the face. Of

course the response got here, but was it enough? No! I'm not going to try to put a veneer

over people's eyes and tell them that things are the [right] way when they aren't."

Summary
In the next minute, please write down, as specifically and in as much detail as you can, what you have just read about. When you are done, click the 'next' button which will appear in a minute in the text box.
(space to write a summary of the quotes)

Manipulation Checks
Are Puerto Rican officials satisfied with…
- the speed of the government's relief efforts?
- the kinds of supplies they received from the federal government?
- the thoroughness of the government's relief efforts?
- the overall amount of relief they received?

(participants were asked to choose either 'yes', 'no', 'don't know/not sure')

Efficacy
- How effective do you think the government's emergency relief efforts are in Puerto Rico?
- In general, how effective do you think the government's emergency efforts are overall - anywhere they are made?

(sliders from 'not at all effective' to 'extremely effective')

Future Help
- Should the federal government change the overall amount of funding it allocates to emergency relief in Puerto Rico?
- Should the federal government change the amount of workers it sends to provide aid to Puerto Rico?
- Should the federal government change how much it seeks feedback from the Puerto Rican territorial government?
- Should the federal government change how much it relies on input from the Puerto Rican territorial government to make decisions?
- Should the government change how much it prioritizes Puerto Rico, relative to other places, for emergency relief?

(sliders from 'decrease dramatically' to 'keep the same' to 'increase dramatically')

Collective Insult
As an American, I feel that the response of the Puerto Rican territorial government was…
- disrespectful
- insulting
- offensive
- demeaning
- reasonable (R)

- satisfying (R)
- appropriate (R)
- grateful (R)

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

<u>Images of Puerto Ricans</u>
- Puerto Ricans value cooperative solutions to problems and try to avoid conflict.
- Puerto Ricans enjoy getting their own way, even if it spoils things for others.
- In Puerto Rico, people who are interested in their own welfare, as opposed to being solely interested in their personal gain, will cooperate with others.
- Puerto Ricans' objectives are self-centered and harmful to others.
- Puerto Ricans would take advantage of any efforts on others' part to cooperate, and they would even try to exploit them.
- People in Puerto Rico are quite naive; they mean well but need guidance and leadership from outside.
- Puerto Ricans will not exploit others' trust in them, but instead reciprocate and contribute their fair share.
- Puerto Rico takes whatever it wants from other groups.
- Puerto Ricans are motivated by legitimate and reasonable concerns and aspirations.
- Most people in Puerto Rico want to have a better life, but they lack discipline and are not likely to work very hard.
- Puerto Ricans are extremely competitive and want to dominate, but will play by the rules.
- Puerto Ricans are crude, unsophisticated, and willing to cheat to get their way.
- Puerto Rico has an effective and well-intentioned decision-making structure.
- Those making decisions for Puerto Rico are weak and inefficient.
- Puerto Rico has a strict, well-organized authority structure for decision making.
- There is no clear decision-making structure within Puerto Rico, so the leaders can get away with anything they want.

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

<u>Stereotypes About Puerto Ricans</u>
How much do you think Puerto Ricans are…
- honest
- sincere
- trustworthy
- likable
- warm
- friendly
- competent
- intelligent
- skilled

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Ideal vs Actual U.S.
(same questions twice - once for how the U.S. is now, once for how it should be)

On the next pages, we will ask two very similar sets of questions - first, we will ask you what they U.S. is like right now. Second, we will ask you what you think the U.S. should ideally be like in the future.

Today, how much do you think the U.S. is currently…/In the future, how much do you think the U.S. should ideally be…
- in win-win relationships with other countries
- able to form mutually beneficial relationships with other countries
- interested in the same solutions that other countries are
- culturally sophisticated
- highly civilized
- an example for the rest of the world to follow
- in a position of strength
- a major world power
- capable of achieving whatever it sets out to achieve

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Aid Priorities
The U.S. considers many factors when it decides how to provide emergency aid. When the government is making decisions about how much aid to provide to an area affected by a disaster, how much do you think it should consider each of the following factors?
- the amount of help an area needs
- how loyal the area has been in the past
- whether the area was well-off before the disaster
- whether the area is part of the U.S.
- how much valuable resources the area has
- whether the area's values match traditional American values
- if the area has any potential to improve
- how much money the project will cost American taxpayers
- whether helping the areas is the right thing to do
- whether the area can help itself
- whether the area's culture is similar to mainstream U.S. culture

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Changing Emergency Relief Elsewhere
- Should the federal government change the amount of funding it gives to providing disaster relief throughout the U.S.?
- Should the federal government change the amount of funding it provides to Florida in the wake of Hurricane Irma?
- Should the federal government change the amount of funding it provides to Texas in the wake of Hurricane Harvey?

(sliders from decrease dramatically to keep the same to consider very much)

Obligations After Receiving Help (Gratitude, Care, and Order)
As a region receives emergency relief from the federal government, its people
SHOULD…
- feel grateful
- respect aid workers' efforts
- express their thanks
- praise the relief efforts
- recognize the hard work that is being done for them
- use the supplies they are given as efficiently as possible
- help as many people as possible
- keep officials updated about what they need
- use their infrastructure to provide assistance most effectively
- remain as orderly as possible
- obey the law
- abide by curfews and other emergency restrictions

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

As a region receives emergency relief from the federal government, its people SHOULD
NOT...
- complain about the help they are receiving
- ignore how hard relief agencies are trying
- criticize relief efforts while they are still ongoing
- forget how generous the government is being
- say bad things about America's leaders
- waste supplies that could be used to help people
- hoard supplies to give out to their friends
- forget the needs of people who were sick or impoverished before the disaster
- take more than they need
- engage in looting and other kinds of theft
- cause trouble for the authorities
- defy emergency orders by the government

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Collective Narcissism (adapted from Golec de Zavala et al., 2009)
- I wish other countries would more quickly recognize the authority of the U.S.
- The U.S. deserves special treatment.
- I will never be satisfied until the U.S. gets all it deserves.
- I insist upon the U.S. getting the respect that is due to it.
- It really makes me angry when others criticize the U.S.
- If the U.S. had less of a say in the world, the world would be a much worse place.
- I do not get upset when people do not notice achievements of the U.S. (R)
- Not many people seem to fully understand the importance of the U.S.
- The true worth of the U.S. is often misunderstood.

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Ingroup Glorification
- The U.S. armed forces is the best army in the world.
- It is disloyal for Americans to criticize the U.S.
- One of the important things that we have to teach our children is to respect the leaders of our nation.
- Other nations can learn a lot from us.
- Relative to other nations, we are a very moral nation.
- There is generally a good reason for every rule and regulation made by national authorities.
- In Today's world, the only way to know what to do is to rely on the leaders of our nation.
- The U.S. is better than other nations in all respects.

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Ingroup Attachment
- I love the United States.
- Being American is an important part of my identity.
- It is important for me to view myself as an American.
- It is important for me to contribute to my nation.
- I am strongly committed to the United States.
- It is important for me that everyone sees me as American.
- It is important for me to help my country.
- When I talk about Americans, I usually say 'we' rather than 'they'.

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Demographics
- Which of these best describes Puerto Rico? (independent country, U.S. state, U.S. territory, part of another country)
- What is your age? (text box)
- What is your gender? (male/female/nonbinary/other)
- Is English your first/native language? (yes/no)
- Were you born in the U.S.? (yes/no)
- Are you or any of your family members from Puerto Rico, or do you have any other ties to Puerto Rico? (yes, please specify/no)
- Are you or any of your family members from another part of the U.S. which has recently been affected by a natural disaster, or do you have any other ties to the same? (yes, please specify/no)
- What is your religious affiliation? (agnosticism/atheism/Buddhism/Catholicism/Hinduism/Islam/Judaism/Protestantism/no religious affiliation/other, please specify)
- What is the highest level of education that you have completed? (less than high school/high school or GED/some college/2-year college degree/4-year college degree/master's degree/doctoral degree/professional degree (JD, MD))
- In general, I am... (slider from 'liberal/left' to 'conservative/right')

- Regarding economic issues (e.g. taxation, public spending), I am... (slider from 'liberal/left' to (conservative/right')
- Regarding social issues (e.g. gay rights, multiculturalism), I am... (slider from 'liberal/left' to 'conservative/right')

Study 3

On the next page, you will read about an ongoing U.S. relief project in a country in Sub-Saharan Africa. Since you may already have opinions about this country and we don't want these opinions to affect your responses, we will call the country "Nia" and not refer to any specific individuals within its government or the U.S. government.

We will first give you some facts about Nia. Then, we will present you with information about the ongoing American relief efforts for Nia. Afterwards, we will ask you questions about your opinion on the relief efforts, and about Nia itself.

Given that we will ask you these questions, please read both the facts and the quotes carefully.

Factsheet about Nia

All facts borrowed from the CIA Factbook about the country we're calling Nia. Again, Nia is a real country that we've described under a different name here.

- Rapid population growth in Nia is putting pressure on land resources and raising vulnerability to food shortages, which serious droughts have created in recent years.
- Nia is one of the 30 most populous countries in the world.
- Over 80% of the Nian population lives in rural areas.
- About 30% of the Nian population lives below the poverty line.
- About 43% of the Nian population lives without electricity.

Agency-Denying Condition
This is a quote from an American aid official who has worked in the U.S. government's development agency (USAID) for 15 years about Nia. As above, we've given the name 'Nia' instead of the actual name of the country.
"We work with many countries. Compared to most of the countries I've worked in, [Nians] and their government tend to need much more help making good decisions than the rest. They face real challenges because of droughts that require material assistance

from other countries, and the [Nian] government needs significant assistance from the U.S. in deciding how to face these challenges. [Nia] will need help facing its malnutrition problem, and my colleagues and I are confident that [Nia] can succeed if the U.S. provides them with the resources we know they need and step in to prevent them from mismanaging their resources."

Agency-Affirming Condition
<u>This is a quote from an American aid official who has worked in the U.S. government's development agency (USAID) for 15 years about Nia. As above, we've given the name 'Nia' instead of the actual name of the country.</u>
"We work with many countries. Compared to most of the countries I've worked in, [Nians] and their government tend to need much less help making good decisions than the rest. They face real challenges because of droughts that require material assistance from other countries, but the [Nian] government has a history of making good decisions without input from the U.S. about how to face these challenges. [Nia] will need help facing its malnutrition problem, and my colleagues and I are confident that [Nia] can succeed if the U.S. provides them with the resources [Nians] know they need as they develop a plan for their future."

<u>Manipulation Checks</u>
Does the majority of the population of Nia live in cities?
Has Nia faced droughts in recent years?
Does Nia need (more/less) help than other nearby countries to make good decisions?
(for each, response options are yes/no/don't know-not sure)

<u>Summary</u>
In the next 30 seconds, please write down, as specifically and in as much detail as you can, what you have just read about on the last few pages.
When you are done, click the "Next" button which will appear in a minute below the text box.
(participants were given a text box to provide their response)

<u>Future Help</u>
- Should the U.S. government change the overall amount of funding it allocates to foreign aid to Nia?
  Should the U.S. government change the number of workers it sends to provide aid to Nia?
- Should the U.S. government change how much it seeks feedback from the Nian government?
- Should the U.S. government change how much it relies on input from the Nian government to make decisions?
- Should the U.S. government change how much it prioritizes Nia, relative to other places?
  (sliders from 'decrease dramatically' to 'keep the same' to 'increase dramatically')

Perceived Agency
- Nians always act with purpose.
- Nians plan everything they do.
- Nians sometimes lack self-restraint.
- Nians often think carefully before they act.
- Nians have excellent self-control.
- Sometimes, Nians don't have enough self-discipline to achieve their goals.
- Nians don't always know what is best for them.
- Nians sometimes behave without thinking very much first.

Response options: slider from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'

Agency/dependency-based helping
Using the information you read about Nia, please indicate what the U.S. should do next in Nia if it continues helping at its current level of commitment. For these questions, it is especially important that you read both response alternatives on either end of the scale before you indicate your response.
- Giving Nians cash to buy food on their own vs. Giving Nians food imported from the U.S. that Americans choose for them
- Helping Nian experts develop an independent modernization plan for Nian farmers. vs. Having American experts make all the decisions for a modernization plan for Nian farmers.
- Survey Nian farmers about what they need to improve their crop yield on their own. vs. Have U.S. experts determine what Nian farmers need to improve their crop yield under American guidance.
- Providing Nians with farming supplies that Americans choose for them. vs. Providing cash for Nians to purchase farming supplies that they choose.
- Assign American aid workers to oversee progress with strict oversight. vs. Train Nian workers to oversee progress independently.
- Threaten to withhold assistance if Nians do not use American experts' ideas. vs. Provide assistance and let Nians decide what to do with advice from American experts on their own.

(sliders with the two options on opposite ends)

Obligations After Receiving Help (Gratitude, Care, and Order)
As Nia receives foreign aid from the U.S., the Nian people SHOULD...
- Feel grateful
- Respect U.S. aid workers' efforts
- Express their thanks to the U.S.
- Praise the U.S. relief efforts
- Recognize the hard work that is being done for them
- Use the supplies they are given as efficiently as possible
- Help as many people as possible
- Keep U.S. officials updated about what they need
- Use their infrastructure to provide assistance most effectively
- Remain as orderly as possible

- Obey the law
- Remain peaceful

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

As Nia receives foreign aid from the U.S., the Nian people SHOULD NOT...
- Complain about the help they are receiving
- Ignore how hard the U.S. relief agencies are trying
- Criticize U.S. relief efforts while they are still ongoing
- Forget how generous the U.S. is being
- Say bad things about America's leaders
- Waste supplies that could be used to help people
- Hoard supplies to give out to their friends
- Forget the needs of people who are sick or impoverished
- Take more than what they need
- Steal supplies from their government's warehouses
- Cause trouble for the authorities
- Defy emergency orders from the government

(sliders from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree')

Demographics
- What is your age? (text box)
- What is your gender? (male/female/nonbinary/other)
- Is English your first/native language? (yes/no)
- Were you born in the U.S.? (yes/no)
- What is your religious affiliation? (agnosticism/atheism/Buddhism/Catholicism/Hinduism/Islam/Judaism/Protestantism/no religious affiliation/other, please specify)
- What is the highest level of education that you have completed? (less than high school/high school or GED/some college/2-year college degree/4-year college degree/master's degree/doctoral degree/professional degree (JD, MD))
- In general, I am... (slider from 'liberal/left' to 'conservative/right')
- Regarding economic issues (e.g. taxation, public spending), I am... (slider from 'liberal/left' to (conservative/right')
- Regarding social issues (e.g. gay rights, multiculturalism), I am... (slider from 'liberal/left' to 'conservative/right')

Study 4
All measures are identical to Study 3's – manipulations were different, see below.

Introductory Text
On the next page, you will read about an ongoing U.S. relief project in a country in Sub-Saharan Africa. Since you may already have opinions about this country and we don't want these opinions to affect your responses, we will call the country "Nia" and not refer to any specific individuals within its government or the U.S. government.

We will first give you some facts about Nia. Then, we will present you with information about the ongoing American relief efforts for Nia. Afterwards, we will ask you questions about your opinion on the relief efforts, and about Nia itself.

Given that we will ask you these questions, please read both the facts and the quotes carefully.

Factsheet about Nia

All facts below are borrowed from the CIA Factbook about the country we're calling Nia. Again, Nia is a real country that we are describing under a different name here.

Rapid population growth in Nia is putting pressure on land resources and raising vulnerability to food shortages, which serious droughts have created in recent years. Nia is one of the 30 most populous countries in the world. Over 80% of the Nian population lives in rural areas. About 30% of the Nian population lives below the poverty line. About 43% of the Nian population lives without electricity.

How Does The U.S. Help Countries Like Nia?

When providing foreign aid, many countries including the U.S. adopt a combination of two approaches: in-kind aid and direct financial aid. Here is some more information about these two approaches:

In-kind aid: U.S. administrators assess what aid recipients need and then purchase food and farming supplies for them. U.S. administrators may select types of food that are healthiest and what type of farming supplies are best suited to the soil and weather conditions. Then, they purchase the food and supplies and hand them out to aid recipients. This approach to aid has administrators make choices for the aid recipients about what they need and then provide it to them. This approach to aid is often used in situations where in the country receiving aid there is corruption, inefficient decision-making systems, or where it is simply impractical for the country to purchase supplies.

Direct financial aid: U.S. administrators let aid recipients assess what they need and then give cash directly to them. Aid recipients can use the money for anything they want. For example, they could purchase the food that they deem is best for themselves and/or purchase farming supplies from local vendors. They would make their own decisions about what food to purchase and how and where to tend their farms, based on local experts' recommendations about which foods are healthiest and which farming supplies are best suited to the soil and weather conditions. They could also choose to use the money for other purposes. This approach to aid gives aid recipients the freedom to make their own choices about what they need.

Manipulation Check

Please select whether each statement applies to in-kind aid or to direct financial aid. (for all, can select either in-kind aid or direct financial aid)

Provides cash directly to aid recipients.

U.S. aid administrators decide which supplies (food, medicine, etc.) aid recipients receive.

Lets aid recipients decide which supplies they need for themselves.

In-kind Aid Condition

Nia, Relative to Other Countries, Receives More In-Kind Aid

In the case of Nia, the U.S. has chosen to provide an aid package that is 90% in-kind aid and 10% direct financial aid. Compared to most other countries, Nia receives more in-kind aid and less direct financial aid. This means that compared to other countries, the U.S. makes more decisions on Nia's behalf.

Direct Financial Aid Condition

Nia, Relative to Other Countries, Receives More Direct Financial Aid

In the case of Nia, the U.S. has chosen to provide an aid package that is 10% in-kind aid and 90% direct financial aid. Compared to most other countries, Nia receives less in-kind aid and more direct financial aid. This means that compared to other countries, Nia makes more decisions itself.

Manipulation Checks

- According to what you just read...
- Does the majority of the population of Nia live in cities?
- Has Nia faced droughts in recent years?
- Does Nia receive more (in-kind aid/direct financial aid) from the U.S. than similar countries?

(participants were asked to choose either 'yes', 'no', 'don't know/not sure')

[1] Since the collective insult scale was framed in terms of recipients' responses, and the 'neither' condition did not include a response, I re-ran this model excluding the 'neither' condition and continued to find that recipients' responses had effects on collective insult and willingness to solicit more input.

[2] I examined whether manipulating recipients' responses directly led participants to change their views of recipients (testing whether experimental condition had an effect on paternalistic perceptions of recipients). There was no significant effect of condition on this variable.

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