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Influence of ethnicity, perceived power of appropriator's ethnic group, and SDO on White observers' perceptions and reactions towards acts of cultural appropriation

Par

Jonathan Doherty

Département de Psychologie, Faculté des arts et sciences

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Résumé

Nous étudions le rôle de l'ethnicité de l'appropriateur sur les perceptions d'observateurs blancs envers l'acte d'appropriation, l'appropriateur et leur engagement dans la prise de décision sociale punitive. Nous explorons le rôle du pouvoir perçu par les participants de l'appropriateur et de leur orientation de dominance sociale (ODS). Des Américains blancs (N = 268) ont rempli un questionnaire préliminaire mesurant leur ODS et leur perception du pouvoir des groupes ethniques dans la société. Ils ont été assignés à l'une des trois conditions dans lesquelles ils ont lu une vignette présentant un individu Noir, Amérindien ou Blanc s'habillant en costume d'Amérindien pour l'Halloween. Les participants ont évalué si le choix du costume est approprié et leurs impressions de l'individu. Ils ont effectué une tâche de punition à la 2e personne (2PP) dans laquelle ils pouvaient punir l'individu. Les participants ont évalué si le choix du costume était une appropriation et appréciation culturelle. Nos résultats démontrent que les observateurs présentés avec l'individu Noir et Blanc percevaient l'acte comme moins approprié, plus appropriatif, moins appréciatif et percevaient l'individu comme moins chaleureux que lorsqu'ils ont lu que l'individu était Amérindien. Nous n'avons pas trouvé une influence significative de l'ethnicité de l'appropriateur sur leur choix de punir. Nos données ne soutiennent pas l'hypothèse exploratoire du rôle du pouvoir perçu sur nos mesures. Nos résultats suggèrent que l'ODS interagit avec l'ethnicité lorsque l'appropriateur est Noir et lorsqu'il est Blanc, inversant les relations trouvées pour l'ethnicité. D'autres recherches sont nécessaires pour clarifier les processus socio-psychologiques de l'appropriation culturelle.

Mots-clés : appropriation culturelle, appréciation culturelle, pouvoir, orientation de dominance sociale, relations interculturelles, relations intergroupes.

Abstract

We study the role of appropriator ethnicity on White observers' perceptions towards the i) act of appropriation, ii) the appropriator, and iii) their engagement in punitive social decision-making towards the appropriator. We explore the influence of observers' perceived power of the appropriator and their Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). White American participants (N = 268) completed a preliminary questionnaire measuring their SDO and their perception various ethnic groups have. They were randomly assigned to one of three conditions in which they read a vignette depicting a Black, Native American, or White individual dressing up for Halloween as a Native American. Participants were asked to rate the appropriateness of the costume, their impressions of the individual, followed by a 2nd Person Punishment (2PP) task wherein they could punish the individual. Participants were asked to rate to what extent the costume choice was cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation. Participants presented with the Black and White individual perceived the act as less appropriate, more appropriative, less appreciative, and perceived the individual as less warm relative to when presented with a Native American. We failed to find a significant influence of ethnicity on participants' engagement in punishment. We failed to find evidence supporting the role of perceived power of the appropriator on our measures. However, we found significant evidence that SDO interacts with ethnicity when the appropriator is Black or White, reversing relationships found for ethnicity. While this research provides interesting results, more research is required to clarify the social psychological processes of cultural appropriation.

Keywords: cultural appropriation, cultural appreciation, power, Social Dominance Orientation, intercultural relations, intergroup relations.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

SDO: Social Dominance Orientation

2PP: 2nd Person Punishment

SCT: Self-Categorization Theory

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Cultural appropriation has emerged since the beginning of the 21st century as a central issue in academic and popular discourse, with the topic emerging as a concern, among others, in the visual arts (Young, 2010), the music industry (Hall, 2010) and manifesting itself in a general increase in coverage in traditional and social media in recent years (Monroy & Moody-Ramirez, 2018). One contentious area of social life where the topic of cultural appropriation emerges frequently is ethnic costumes for Halloween (Mueller, Dirks & Picca, 2007). Generally, these examples depict instances in which a White individual dresses up in a stereotypical Indigenous costume for Halloween (Fadel, 2019; Liu, 2019; Haller, 2019). The increasing problematization of cultural appropriation in contemporary discourse speaks to the growing preoccupation of intercultural relations and the emerging and competing norms of individual and collective rights regarding the use and appropriation of cultural elements (see Coombes, 1993) within a colonialist and capitalist socio-historical context.[1] Specifically, within a context where Aboriginal peoples have been the victim of wide-spread systemic material deprivations as well as intensive discrimination by European settler colonists, the act of cultural appropriation is often perceived as a continuation of these intergroup dynamics (Ziff & Rao, 1996). Despite these growing concerns, little is empirically known regarding how White individuals perceive and react to instances of cultural appropriation within our current socio-historical context.

In the hope of providing some clarity to the topic of cultural appropriation, I propose, in this thesis, to explore the concept of cultural appropriation by assessing certain of its core

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[1] The topic of cultural appropriation is highly complex and, unlike what may be presented in the media (namely as a simple issue of individual/collective morals), is a concept which holds many contradictions which necessitate their own analysis. Namely, it would require offering a conceptualization of the very concept of culture, the categorization systems subsumed within it, the concept of authenticity tied to these social categories, the antagonisms between the importance of ethnicity as an identity marker which provides certain socio-historical meaning to those who are members of specific groups, and the over-arching commodification of culture. For my purposes, I will limit my analysis to the main factors which circulate in the prevailing narrative of cultural appropriation as to elucidate how White observers make sense of this social phenomenon via their perceptions and their behaviours. For the interested reader, I refer them to other sources which may provide a more nuanced approach to the topic at hand: Graeber (2019); Clifford (1988); Young (2010); Louis-dit-Sully (2020); Jonaitis (2006); Adams & Markus (2003).

assumptions which permeate contemporary discourse. In this chapter, I will conceptualize cultural appropriation and argue that cultural appropriation can be distinguished between its *objective* dimension (e.g., socio-historical factors), and its *rhetorical* dimension (e.g., individual and group level interpretations of acts of cultural appropriation). Primarily, I will present empirical and theoretical research which indicate that ethnicity of the appropriator can have an important influence on how an observer perceives and reacts to contexts of cultural appropriation.

I will further argue that, underlying the notion of ethnicity, a key component is the power that observers believe ethnic groups have in society. Finally, I will argue that cultural appropriation serves an ideological purpose which can be used to enhance or attenuate social hierarchy. Next, I will then present novel empirical results which tests these assumptions in chapter 2, investigating the influence of appropriator ethnicity and exploring the role of the perceived power of the appropriator's ethnic group and observers' ideological proclivities, namely their attitudes towards social hierarchy (Social Dominance Orientation), on how they perceive an act of cultural appropriation.

Furthermore, in the hopes of extending our knowledge of cultural appropriation, I propose to study cultural appropriation beyond the perception of *acts* of cultural appropriation by studying additional levels of analysis; namely, how the appropriation influences individuals' perception of the appropriator, and individuals' social decision making (with the appropriator). These assumptions and their influence on these levels of analysis will be tested in chapter 2. Finally, in chapter 3, I will further discuss my findings, the limitations, and future directions of the study presented in chapter 2.

Cultural appropriation: theoretical context

Definitions of cultural appropriation vary wildly (Fourmille, 1996; Nittle, 2019; Grasso, 2018). Rogers (2006) proposes, based on his literature review on the topic of cultural appropriation, that cultural appropriation can be categorized into four different categories. The basis of these distinctions are the different socio-historical factors which characterize different types of cultural appropriations, notably the power dynamics between the cultural groups within a context of colonialism. He proposes that cultural appropriation can be distinguished between *cultural*

exchange, *transculturation*, *cultural dominance*, and *cultural exploitation*.[2] Cultural exchange refers to an intercultural relationship between two equal groups in which reciprocal cultural exchange occurs. For example, cultural exchange would refer to an instance in which a group or individual appropriates the cultural elements associated with another group that is, socio-demographically, *equal* in relative power (such as an American chef learning about authentic pasta making techniques from an Italian pasta maker). Rogers (2006) places cultural exchange as, conceptually, an ideal category of cultural appropriation since it precludes the possibility for intergroup equality. However, as he argues, this may be difficult to establish since it is unclear on which dimension intergroup equality should be based (economically, militarily, etc.).

Transculturation, on the other hand, is a category of cultural appropriation which, unlike cultural exchange, accepts intergroup asymmetrical power relations and emphasizes the agency that both the appropriator and the appropriated groups have in the situation. In many ways, this category is a post-modern response to the contradictions of the cultural exchange category presented above. The act of appropriation is therefore seen more as an intergroup dialectical relationship in which inequalities can exist but whose outcome is not wholly determined by power relations. Notably, within this category, Rogers (2006) challenges the very concept of cultural categorization. Namely, in line with Adams & Markus (2003), transculturation emphasizes the dynamic and fluid qualities of group categorization and positions culture more as a set of patterns which groups and individuals choose or are imposed to appropriate or reject. This category would be best exemplified by instances in which various cultural elements from various origins are all put in relationships to one another and in which the power dynamics do not determine whether the act is problematic or not. An example of this would be the integration of Eastern culture within New Age spiritual practices.

In contrast, cultural dominance and cultural exploitation are categories marked by a socio-historical context framed by intergroup hierarchy involving a high-power group and a low-power

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[2] Importantly, Rogers' conceptualization distinguishes between the *consumption* and the *appropriation* of a cultural element. Consumption is defined as the simple act of using the cultural element, while appropriation is the act of making a cultural object "one's own". It is in this sense that his subcategories essentially define the ways in which a group or individual may make "one's own" the cultural objects associated with another group.

group. Cultural dominance refers to instances in which a dominant group imposes its culture on a low-power group. While cultural dominance is used to conceptualize cultural assimilation (e.g., adoption of the high-power group's culture), it can also refer to stereotypes the high-power group imposes on the low-power group. For example, cultural dominance is exemplified by Rogers (2006) as the experience of Aboriginal children—importantly, the stated goal of assimilating Aboriginal children and forcing them to adopt *White* values. As such, in this instance, the appropriation is performed by the low-power group in a way that is imposed by the high-power group. Cultural exploitation, on the other hand, refers to the commodification and exploitation of a low-power group's cultural elements by a high-power group. For example, cultural exploitation refers to the treatment of a cultural object as a resource to be shipped back home. The sale of traditional Aboriginal regalia by a White entrepreneur, for instance, exemplifies this category.

Applying these categories, however, while providing us with a way of categorizing instances of cultural appropriation, does not help conceptualize how the act is perceived. Firstly, Rogers (2006) carefully distinguishes between when an individual or group simply consumes a cultural object, and when they actively make it their own. This poses certain issues when we apply this to the real world. For example, when a White person dresses up as an Aboriginal person for Halloween, under Rogers' conceptualization, this act would constitute an act of cultural appropriation only if the appropriator had the intention of making that costume their own. However, often, claims of cultural appropriation are made in contexts where the appropriator is *consuming* the cultural object (e.g., no explicit claim is made). This is made especially salient in Rogers' distinction between cultural exchange and transculturation which, while each attempting to account for different types of cultural appropriations, he does not account for the perceptual aspect of cultural appropriation. To account for this possibility, it is necessary to expand Rogers' model of cultural appropriation to include a more *interpretative* dimension. Namely, what is specifically of importance is how the act of appropriation is perceived by the individuals and groups who perceive the act and whether they perceive the target as *making the costume their own*. This can be, theoretically, influenced by the socio-historical context, the saliency of relevant

group membership, as well as actual statements made by the appropriator which makes explicit the act as a way of making the costume their own.

Finally, Rogers' model does not give us any indication how each category is ultimately *experienced* by the groups involved. His conceptualization assumes that cultural dominance and exploitation are associated with more *negative* outcomes by the low-power groups, and transculturation and cultural exchange are associated with either *neutral* or *positive* outcomes. However, how this association is established is not properly defined or explained in his model. Ultimately, this goes beyond the scope of what Rogers is trying to accomplish and is meant to serve a descriptive function in categorizing different types of cultural appropriation. It does not address how cultural appropriation is perceived, interpreted, and then explained by individuals or groups. For instance, a White individual selling traditional Aboriginal clothing is, at the objective level, an act of cultural exploitation (according to Rogers' model). But what is left out is how the act is embedded in a socio-historical context, filled with meanings and interpretations for both the appropriator and appropriated group members.

I propose a modification to Rogers' (2006) model of cultural appropriation to distinguish between *objective* and *rhetorical* dimensions of cultural appropriation. The objective dimension refers to the subcategories included in Rogers' model of cultural appropriation interested in the objective socio-historical conditions in which acts of appropriation occur. Such conditions include the *objective* context of the intergroup relation (e.g., the distribution of material and symbolic resources, the historical context, etc.) which can provide one group with certain intergroup advantages. More concretely, at the objective dimension, we can account for factors such as the group membership of the actors interacting in the context of cultural appropriation and their respective characteristics. This allows for the possibility to analyze an act of cultural appropriation as a socio-historical process in which cultural appropriations occur, detached from the interpretations that various groups may have regarding the act itself.

The rhetorical dimension refers to the meaning the act of appropriation takes on by both groups involved in the context, groups outside of the context, and the ways in which the act of appropriation is then communicated between groups and inside the group. By conceptualizing

cultural appropriation in rhetorical terms, we can approach the topic from a psychological and sociological perspective. Specifically, it allows us to study the ways in which groups and individuals perceive and react to an instance of cultural appropriation. It further provides us with a theoretical perspective which accounts for the intricacies and nuances of intergroup cultural contact (see Clifford, 1988). One way in which interpretations of cultural appropriation can be influenced, I propose, is through the meanings associated with ethnic groups and the perceived power that those groups have in society within a given socio-historical context. For example, colonizers have, historically, been associated as being of European descent, therefore under the large social category of *White*. Furthermore, historically, Whites have been largely associated with certain social and material advantages relative to other non-white groups. As such, within the context of cultural appropriation, ethnicity of the appropriator and the power of the appropriator's group, while each are *objective factors* in the social sense, can serve as catalysts for perceptions of cultural appropriation.

Additionally, another way in which the perception of cultural appropriation may be influenced is through ideology. Ideology can have important implications on the attitudes and the perceptions of various objective factors. As such, to account for the ways in which the perceptions of cultural appropriation are understood at the rhetorical dimension of cultural appropriation, ideology must be accounted for. For my purposes in this thesis, I will propose that one such ideological factor is one's attitudes towards hierarchy. Specifically, I will argue that one's individual attitudes towards hierarchy can influence an observer's perceptions of cultural appropriation. In sum, I propose that three factors could theoretically influence how an act of cultural appropriation will be interpreted: ethnicity of the appropriator, the perceived power of the appropriator's ethnic group, and attitudes towards social dominance. I will present research and theory supporting this claim in the following sections.

Influence of Ethnicity and power on perceptions of cultural appropriation

One hypothesis regarding the social psychological identification of cultural appropriation is that it is perceived and understood by observers as a cultural stereotype. In other words, a social

context will more likely be perceived and understood as cultural appropriation if the appropriator and the appropriated groups are prototypical to the shared stereotype of what constitutes an act of cultural appropriation. For example, in academic and popular discourse, cultural appropriation is largely understood along ethnic lines within a context of colonialism (see Ziff & Rao, 1997; Roots, 1996; Rogers, 2006; Clifford, 1988; Louis-dit-Sully, 2021). As such, cultural appropriation broadly constitutes instances in which Whites, generally conceptualized as colonizers, use cultural elements associated with a previously colonized group (Ziff & Rao, 1997). The assumption that cultural appropriation could be understood as a cultural stereotype was recently tested by Mosley & Biernat (2020). In their study, they presented participants (half of their sample was Black, the other half White), with a definition of cultural appropriation followed by various vignettes representing real-world social media issues related to cultural appropriation. They varied the contexts in their vignettes. For instance, some represented instances in which a White or Black actor would put on black or whiteface respectively. Other contexts used depicted the act of a White or Black author writing about Black or White individuals respectively. After reading those vignettes, participants were prompted to answer whether they found the act to be cultural appropriation, how harmful they perceived the act, and whether they felt that the appropriator was doing the action intentionally. Their results suggest that participants presented with vignettes portraying widely discussed social events depicting White on Black or Black on White instances of appropriation, across different studies and across the different vignettes, perceived White appropriators appropriating Black culture as more appropriative, more harmful, and that they were doing so with more intentionality than Black appropriators appropriating White culture. These results support the general assumption that a defining characteristic underlying the claim of cultural appropriation is that the act is perceived as predominantly problematic when performed by a White group member. Specifically, that contexts which include this characteristic (e.g., the appropriator is White) are prototypical. However, their results do not tell us what aspects of the White social category drives those perceptions.

One possible factor which we may assume makes these prototypical instances of cultural appropriation problematic is the perceived power of the appropriator. Supporting this is Gray & Wegner's (2009) moral typecasting theory, which proposes that observers categorize, in contexts

in which morality is salient, dyadic social entities as moral agents and moral patients. Moral agents are generally stereotyped as being capable of performing harm, while moral patients are stereotyped as being vulnerable. Applying this to the context of cultural appropriation, we could argue that observers presented with a typical instance of cultural appropriation involving a White person dressing up as an Aboriginal person would categorize the White person as a moral agent, and the Aboriginal person as a moral patient. This theory supports the findings of previous research in contexts of cultural appropriation where cultural appropriation is generally seen as negative, especially when the appropriator is White relative to when the appropriator is associated to a low-power group (Mosely & Biernat, 2020). This is further supported by the fact that colonialism is generally depicted as a morally salient context in which a high-power group controls (and deprives) other low-power groups' access to certain material and social resources (Ziff & Rao, 1996). In sum, beyond the objective factors, such as ethnicity and the perceived power of the appropriator, which may influence how an act of cultural appropriation is perceived, I also propose that ideological factors can also have an influence. In the next section I will explore the role of observers' attitudes towards social hierarchy as one potential ideological factor which may influence how individuals and groups interpret acts of cultural appropriation.

Ideological function of cultural appropriation

As I argued previously, my particular focus in this paper is how cultural appropriation is interpreted by different groups or individuals. As I presented above, cultural appropriation is inevitably linked to a certain socio-historical context. For our purposes, two main *objective* factors are ethnicity and the power that those social categorizations are historically associated with. However, as I mentioned previously, another aspect which may influence one's interpretation of an act of cultural appropriation is one's ideological proclivities towards hierarchy. Ultimately, this conceptualization proposes that cultural appropriation, beyond being simply a socio-historical phenomenon, is importantly interpreted within a larger socio-historical narrative and that individuals' assumptions about hierarchy will influence this interpretation of different acts of cultural appropriation. One such ideological factor, I propose, is Social Dominance Orientation (SDO).

SDO is a measure of an individual's general support for intergroup hierarchy. SDO benefits from a large amount of empirical research which associates high SDO to low approval towards social policies which reduce inequality between groups such as affirmative action (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Overall, there is a consensus in the literature that that individuals scoring higher in SDO are generally more likely to support intergroup hierarchy and oppose intergroup egalitarian measures (Ho et al., 2015). Given the link between SDO and individual political ideology (see Sidanius & Pratto, 2001), and the highly dichotomized political context in the United States between liberals and conservatives on social issues (such as the issue of cultural appropriation), it is reasonable to hypothesize that individual differences on individuals' SDO scores would be associated with different interpretations and reactions of acts of cultural appropriation. This would theoretically be accomplished by the act of *labelling* (or not) an instance of intercultural contact as either *negative* (e.g., acknowledging the social hierarchies) or *positive* (avoiding the social hierarchies). What this implies is that White individuals who are low in SDO will be more likely to perceive acts of cultural appropriation which feature a White appropriator appropriating the culture associated to an Aboriginal culture as *negative,* since they would more readily recognize the existing socio-historical inequalities between the groups involved. Meanwhile, White individuals who are higher in SDO would be more likely to the perceive the same act positively since they would minimize the power between the groups.

Supporting this hypothesis, Katzarska-Miller, Faucher, Kramer & Reysen (2020) performed a study in which participants answered a series of questionnaires representing the various conceptual categories of cultural appropriation presented by Rogers (2006). Namely, participants were asked to describe what cultural appropriation was. Participants' responses were then coded according to Rogers' model. Their results suggest that participants' political orientation (liberal/conservative) had an influence on their perceptions of cultural appropriation. Their results indicate that the more an individual identified as conservative, the more they perceived acts of cultural appropriation as cultural exchange. They further found that the more an individual identified as liberal, the more they perceived acts of cultural appropriation as cultural exploitation. This is especially significant considering the current political dichotomy between political affiliations in the United States. While I do not investigate the specific role of political

affiliation directly, these results combined with previous research about the link between SDO and political affiliation suggest that ideological differences in social hierarchy can have an influence on how White observers perceive acts of cultural appropriation.

Overview of thesis

The goal of the introduction has been to provide an appropriate amount of theoretical context and empirical evidence to contextualize the following chapter. Namely, I propose a conceptualization of cultural appropriation that distinguishes between the socio-historical dimension of cultural appropriation and individuals' and groups' interpretations of acts of cultural appropriation within larger socio-historical narratives. Crucially, I propose that ideological factors such as an observers' attitudes towards social hierarchy can influence their perception of instances of cultural appropriation. Namely, I argue that this is especially the case given the existing political context of the United States. I then provided empirical and theoretical evidence suggesting that objective socio-historical factors of ethnicity and power can influence how White individuals perceive acts of cultural appropriation. I further provide evidence that ideological factors such as White individuals' SDO may also influence how observers perceive and react to acts of cultural appropriation.

In chapter 2 I will present research testing the influence of the target's ethnicity, the perceived power associated with the target, and observers' SDO scores on White observers' perceptions towards the act of cultural appropriation, their perceptions of the appropriator, and their punitive social decision-making targeting the appropriator. I will accomplish this by presenting White American observers with social targets which will vary by ethnicity. Specifically, White observers will be presented with either a White, Black, or Native American[3] target who dressed up as a Native American for Halloween. While the White and Black targets are used as our experimental conditions, the Native American target is used as a baseline to compare across our conditions.

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[3] While I am aware of the issues with the term "Native American", it is a term that is still widely used in popular discourse among individuals who may not follow the development of the appropriate terms to use when referring to different groups of people. While talking about my manipulation, I will use the term Native American since that was the term used in the methodology. Otherwise, throughout the rest of the text, I will make use of the term Aboriginal peoples.

Given the literature provided above, namely based on the empirical research by Mosely and Biernat (2020) supporting the prototypicality hypothesis for contexts of cultural appropriation, I expect that White observers will perceive acts of appropriation and the appropriator more negatively and will engage in more punitive social decision-making when the target is White relative to our baseline. In contrast, I do not expect that Black targets will have any influence on White observers' perceptions and reactions to appropriators relative to our baseline since the Black social category does not, socio-historically, constitute a prototypical instance of an appropriator in contexts of cultural appropriation. Further, given the theoretical implications of the moral typecasting theory, I expect that higher perceived power of a target's ethnic group will be associated with more negative perceptions towards the act of appropriation, more negative perceptions of the target, and more punitive social decision making targeting the target. I expect the opposite relationships when the target's ethnic group is perceived as having less power.

Finally, in line with the proposed theoretical implications of ideological factors on the ways that acts of cultural appropriation are perceived, I expect that SDO will moderate the relationship of target ethnicity and perceived power of the target's ethnic group such that White observers with higher scores in SDO will perceive the act of cultural appropriation as less negative (and more positive), perceive the target more positively, and engage in less punitive social decision-making when the target is White (and not when the target is Black) relative to our baseline Native American condition. Inversely, I expect the opposite relationship among White observers with lower scores in SDO. The socio-historical explanations and implications of the results presented in chapter 2 will be further discussed in chapter 3.

Chapter 2 – Influence of Ethnicity, perceived power of the appropriator and SDO on Perceptions and Behaviours in Contexts of Cultural Appropriation Among White Observers

Claims of cultural appropriation have become increasingly popular on social media, in news stories, and within academic and political debate. For instance, at Halloween, issues of cultural appropriation come up in traditional and social media regarding instances in which Whites dress up as Native Americans as their Halloween costume almost on a yearly basis (Fourmille, 1996; Nittle, 2019; Grasso, 2018). While these are usually perceived negatively, some defend these instances of cultural appropriation, claiming that they are in fact acts of cultural appreciation (Haller, 2019). This emphasizes the notion that cultural appropriation as a cultural phenomenon is perceived differently by different groups and individuals and that it is a divisive issue (see Young, 2010). Ultimately, a major theme in the discourse of cultural appropriation is the perception that it represents an unjust instance of intercultural relations which needs to be prevented, discouraged, and in extreme cases, punished (Pham, 2014; "Making Sense", 2019; Ritschel, 2021; Lieber, 2019).

In the current paper, our main goals will be to investigate the role of 1) ethnicity of the appropriator, 2) perceived power associated with the appropriator's ethnic group, and 3) White observers' attitudes towards social hierarchy in contexts of cultural appropriation. We focus on these factors due to the literature suggesting their importance on individuals' attributions of contexts of cultural appropriation. We further seek to build on existing theory by studying the effects of our factors on White observers' i) perceptions of acts of cultural appropriation, ii) perceptions of the appropriator, as well as iii) engagement in punitive social decision-making towards the appropriator. We distinguish between these three levels of analysis because the existing literature has generally focused on how acts of cultural appropriation are perceived, but not how the act of appropriation influences the perception of the appropriator, or, more importantly, individuals' engagement in punitive social decision-making. Understanding the influence of acts of cultural appropriation on these two additional dimensions is a particularly

salient issue considering the existing socio-historical (and political) context in which these acts occur. Finally, we will ground our analysis within a contentious social context in which issues of cultural appropriation are no stranger: Halloween costume decisions. Research suggesting that our factors influence our levels of analysis will be presented after a brief operationalization of cultural appropriation.

Cultural appropriation: Operationalization

Ethnicity and power are the two main factors salient in contemporary conceptualizations of cultural appropriation (see Ziff & Rao, 1997; Hall, 1997; Keeshig-Tobias, 1997; Hart, 1997). Rogers (2006) conceptualizes cultural appropriation by distinguishing between four subcategories, each of which are tied to different socio-historical factors: *cultural exchange, transculturation*, *cultural dominance*, and *cultural exploitation*. While cultural exchange refers to the reciprocal exchange of culture between groups with roughly equal levels of power, transculturation presents an instance of cultural appropriation in which the distinctions between cultural groups and issues of power are not considered. If cultural exchange and transculturation are defined as unproblematic instances of cultural appropriation, cultural dominance and exploitation refer to more problematic instances. Cultural dominance characterizes instances of appropriation where a dominant group imposes its culture on a subordinate group. This type also includes the active appropriation of dominant culture by subordinate groups. Finally, cultural exploitation refers to instances of cultural appropriation which involves an intergroup power asymmetry but also include an added economic dimension in which appropriated groups' culture is treated as a commodity to be exploited.

To gap the socio-historical descriptions of different acts of cultural appropriation and the ways in which acts of appropriation are interpreted, we propose to distinguish between objective and rhetorical dimensions of cultural appropriation. The objective dimension refers to Rogers' subcategories, whereas the rhetorical dimension refers to the perceptions of cultural appropriation. This allows us to conceptually distinguish between positive and negative interpretations of cultural appropriation. Namely, positive instances of cultural appropriation generally refer to what Rogers categorizes as cultural exchange or transculturation. Often, these

instances will be, in popular parlance, discussed as *cultural appreciation*. Inversely, negative instances of cultural appropriation generally refer to the categories of cultural dominance and cultural exploitation. Academic and popular discourse generally refer to negative instances as defined by Rogers (the broad category of one group using cultural elements associated with another group) as cultural appropriation. To avoid confusion, we will here distinguish between cultural appropriation and *perceived cultural appropriation*. The distinction specifies the fact that cultural appropriation is importantly perceived and therefore, perceptions of it may vary across individuals and groups. Another aspect on which perceptions of cultural appropriation may vary is in how appropriate the act is (Hart, 1996). Ultimately, for the purposes of this paper, we constitute perceptions of acts of cultural appropriation as consisting of *perceived cultural appropriation, perceived cultural appreciation*, and *perceived appropriateness.*

A second component to our conceptualization is that the rhetorical dimension of cultural appropriation can be influenced by ideological concerns. As such, while the *objective* realities of the socio-historical context inevitably inform how one perceives an act of cultural appropriation (e.g., the groups involved in the context, or the perceived power of the groups involved), an ideological component can also influence how one perceives and interprets an act of cultural appropriation. In the following sections, research suggesting the influence of ethnicity and perceived power as well as observers' ideological proclivities on perceptions of acts of cultural appropriation will be presented. From these results, we extrapolate that these influences could also influence the perceptions of the appropriator, and observers' engagement in punitive social decision-making.

Cultural stereotypes of cultural appropriation: ethnicity and perceived power

Two main socio-historical factors which were depicted in the literature and in popular discourse are ethnicity of the appropriator and the power associated with the appropriator's ethnic group. Evidence for the influence of ethnicity on observers' perceptions and reactions to contexts of cultural appropriation is assumed by individuals' expectations established by colonial contexts of interethnic relations (Clifford, 1988). For example, past empirical research shows that observers

are more likely to perceive an instance of a White individual disparaging a Black individual as racism (or an instance between a man and a woman as sexism) than when the roles are reversed (Baron, Burgess & Kao, 1991; Sagar & Schofield, 1980; Krueger & Rothbart, 1989; Locksley, Borgida, Brekke, & Hepburn, 1980; Duncan, 1976). Similarly, in the case of cultural appropriation, Mosley and Biernat, (2020) show that when observers are asked to judge situations involving a Black or White appropriator appropriating from the other group or from their own group, participants perceived more cultural appropriation when the appropriator was White appropriating Black culture. Furthermore, their results suggest that participants perceived the act as being more harmful and that the appropriator was performing it with more intentionality when the appropriator was White than when the appropriator was Black.

These results suggest that, in line with racism and sexism, a heuristic, *prototypical* cultural stereotype of cultural appropriation exists and influences how observers, including Whites, perceive contexts of cultural appropriation. Based on these results, and the literature on the topic, factors of importance which informs this prototype of cultural appropriation are the power of the appropriator and appropriated groups in the intergroup context. Namely, the assumption underlying this prototypicality hypothesis, is that the appropriating group (Whites) is assumed to be perceived as having overall more social power in society than the appropriated group. We therefore propose to explore this factor and its influence on white observers' perceptions of the act of appropriation, on their perception of the appropriator, and on their punitive social decision-making.

While Mosley & Biernat (2020) provide evidence of this prototypicality hypothesis, we seek to expand the literature by testing whether we can confirm that this prototypicality hypothesis occurs exclusively when the appropriator is White, and whether the appropriator's ethnic group is perceived as having more power in society. We will therefore test contexts of cultural appropriation which are *non-prototypical.* Namely, contexts in which the appropriator is not part of an ethnic group that benefits from power within a context of colonialism. We will also test instances in which a member of a low-power group associated with a context of colonialism uses a cultural element associated to their own culture. Crucially, however, while the objective factors of ethnicity and perceived power of the appropriator are (theoretically) constitutive of the

prototypical basis for the stereotype of cultural appropriation, we argue that perceptions of cultural appropriation can also be influenced by ideology, particularly in a politically salient context such as the United States. As such, another factor to consider which we will explore in this paper is observers' attitudes towards social hierarchy.

Social Dominance Orientation: Cultural Appropriation & Ideology

We argue that social dominance orientation (SDO) can influence observers' perceptions and reactions to contexts of cultural appropriation. A common theme in the literature on cultural appropriation is its function as a means of maintaining or enhancing social hierarchy (Roots, 1997). SDO is a psychological construct used to measure participants' attitudes towards hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001; Ho et al., 2015). In fact, SDO has been found as a reliable measure of individuals' preference for intergroup hierarchy as well as their adoption of beliefs which legitimize or justify social stratification (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Research has also demonstrated that individuals with higher SDO scores were more likely to be against public policies which favor resource redistribution or affirmative action (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001; p.173). Further, SDO has been found to be associated with conservativism and negatively associated with liberalism (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001; Ho et al., 2015). Investigating the influence of SDO in the context of cultural appropriation is theoretically supported by the literature on cultural appropriation which positions acts of cultural appropriation as ideologically rooted in colonial practices of ethnic hierarchy (Roots, 1996; Ziff & Rao 1996; Rogers, 2006). Previous research has demonstrated that individuals' political views and their views towards political correctness have important consequences on how they experience an instance of cultural appropriation (Katzarska-Miller, Faucher, Kramer, & Reysen, 2020). Considering the highly politicized nature of cultural appropriation along the liberal-conservative continuum, as well as cultural appropriation's theorized function to legitimize and enhance social hierarchy (Ziff & Rao, 1997), observers' SDO can play an important role on observers' interpretations of contexts of cultural appropriation. In turn, this can have important ramifications on observer's perceptions of appropriators and punitive social decision-making in contexts of cultural appropriation.

We hypothesize that White observers who support social hierarchy (those who score higher on SDO) will be more likely to interpret contexts of cultural appropriation along positive lines (e.g., as cultural appreciation) and less along negative lines (e.g., perceived cultural appropriation) when the appropriator is White and perceived as high in power, and that this will extend to perceptions of the appropriator as being seen more warmly when White or perceived as having more power. Finally, we hypothesize that this will in turn be related to less punitive social decision-making choices towards the appropriator when the latter is White or perceived as having more power in society.

Overview of Current Research

The present paper has three main goals: 1) test the influence of ethnicity of the appropriator, 2) test the influence of perceived power of the appropriator, and 3) test White observers' own attitudes towards social hierarchy on their i) perceptions of the act of cultural appropriation, ii) perceptions of the appropriator, and iii) their engagement in punitive social decision-making. Together, these goals will test key assumptions of the prototypicality hypothesis as it relates to cultural appropriation, notably the influence of appropriator ethnicity and the influence of appropriator perceived power. Finally, by studying the influence of SDO, we will also be testing whether White observers' ideological proclivities towards social hierarchy influences their responses to acts of cultural appropriation. To accomplish this, we will test white observers' perceptions of cultural appropriation by presenting them a social target that is either Black, White, or Native American dressing up as a Native American for Halloween. The condition presenting a Native American dressing up as a Native American will serve as our baseline against which we can compare observers' responses when exposed to the White target and when exposed to the Black target.

Our first hypothesis is that White observers presented with a target depicted as White will perceive the act of cultural appropriation as more appropriative, less appreciative, and less appropriate relative to when presented with a target depicted as Native American. We further hypothesize that White observers will, when the target is depicted as White, perceive the target as less warm relative to when the target is depicted as Native American. Finally, we expect that

White observers presented with a White target will engage in more punitive social decision-making when the target is depicted as White relative to when presented with a target depicted as Native American. Across these hypotheses, we do not expect that targets depicted as Black will have any influence on White observers' perceptions of the act of appropriation, of the target, nor for their engagement in punitive social decision-making since *Black appropriators* is not a salient cultural stereotype of cultural appropriation (e.g., is non-prototypical). Therefore, they should not significantly differ from our baseline condition.

Our second hypothesis is that target's whose ethnic groups are perceived as having more power in society will be perceived as more appropriative, less appreciative, and less appropriate. Further, we also expect that targets whose ethnic group is perceived as having more power in society will also be associated with lower perceived warmth, and that White observers will engage in more punitive social decision-making. Inversely, we expect the complete opposite when the appropriator is perceived as having less power in society.

Finally, our third hypothesis will test our assumption that there exists an ideological component which influences White observers' perceptions and engagement in punitive social decision-making. Namely, we mostly expect that SDO will act as a moderator on our variables of interested. However, we do expect that SDO will itself be related with, overall, less perceptions of cultural appropriation, and more perceptions of cultural appreciation and appropriateness. Across our three levels of analysis, however, we expect significant moderations of SDO for perceptions of cultural appropriation, perceptions of the appropriator, and engagement in punitive behaviour, but only when the target is depicted as White (relative to being depicted as Native American). We do not expect significant interactions when the target is depicted as Black since we do not anticipate any perceived differences in power between the two groups and it is unclear how attitudes towards hierarchy would have an influence on contexts where the appropriator is not a dominant group.

Each outcome variable will be analyzed in its own separate model. Model 1 will test the influence of our factors on perceived cultural appropriation, model 2 on perceived cultural appreciation, and model 3 on perceived appropriateness. Together, all three models will compose our analyses

for our hypotheses related to White observers' *perceptions of the act of appropriation*. To test our hypotheses related to the *perceptions of the target,* model 4 will test the influence of our factors on perceived warmth. Finally, to test our hypotheses for *engagement in punitive social decision-making*, two models will test the influence of our factors on White observers' engagement in normative punitive social decision-making (model 5) and anti-social punitive social decision-making (model 6).

Throughout our analyses, we will also include relevant variables to control for their effects in their respective models. Variables on which our outcome variables will be tested are participants' essentialism, ingroup identification, age, income, education, and sex. For categorial variables (age, income, education, and sex) ANOVAs and t-tests will be utilized, while continuous variables (essentialism and ingroup identification) will be assess using correlational analyses. Essentialism is included in the variables of potential importance since, hypothetically, it could influence how individuals engage with culture. Namely, by seeing cultural groups as being essential properties of individuals, it is possible that individuals with higher essentialism score would be more likely to perceive instances of cultural appropriation, irrespective of ethnicity and perceived power of the target's ethnic group. We will also control for ingroup identification to control for the hypothetical tendency for ingroup favoritism. Namely, since our sample is entirely White, it is necessary to control for possible ingroup favoritism. Finally, education, age, and income are also included as variables to be controlled since they are general socio-demographic markers which could constitute important inter-individual differences in how White observers perceive and engage in punitive social decision-making. Details regarding how each of our variables were measured will be described below.

Methodology

Participants

White American participants (n = 268) from all across the United States were recruited via the MTurk platform. Non-white participants were removed from our analyses since their limited representation in our sample prevented us from making any meaningful analyses of their data.

Table 1 represents the demographic makeup of our final sample on dimensions of age, education, income, and sex. The means for our measured variables are presented in table 2. Of note, our sample is relatively young and highly educated, with 70% of our sample having achieved a university education of some kind. It is worth mentioning that this demographic portrait of our sample conforms to what Henrich, Heine & Norenzayan (2009) call a WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) sample, which can limit the generalization of our results. However, an argument can be made that, despite the shortcomings associated with not having a more representative sample of the entire population of the United States, studying claims of cultural appropriation specifically within this sample can be especially important. Notably, since cultural appropriation is generally framed as a social issue, and that it is a topic highly discussed in academic and social media discourse, it may be of interest to study how White, educated *observers* react to instances of cultural appropriation. Ultimately, with this limitation in mind, we begin our analyses.

Table 1.—   Descriptive statistics [4]

	Age				Income					Education			Sex	
	18-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Under 30k	31-40k	41-55k	56-70k	71k+	Pre-university	Under graduate	Graduate	Female	Male
Valid	108	82	43	35	58	46	56	42	66	80	110	77	121	147
Percentage (%)	40.3%	30.6%	16%	13.1%	22%	17%	21%	16%	25%	30%	41%	29%	45%	55%

Procedure

White American participants were recruited and redirected via a Limesurvey link to an online questionnaire approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Montreal. Participants were told that the task would consist in reporting their attitudes towards costume choices made by participants of a previous study on individuals' costume choices for Halloween. Unbeknownst to the participants, the information of the individual presented during the study was fictitious. After providing their informed consent to participate in our study, participants completed a preliminary questionnaire measuring their perceived essentialism of culture (Fischer & Tilyard, in press), SDO (Ho et al., 2015), ethnicity, identification to being white and a MacArthur

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[4] One participant did not report their educational level; their data is not included in analyses involving education.

social ladder scale (Adler et al., 2008) which we used to measure participants' perceptions of social power of Blacks, Native Americans, and Whites.

Participants were then presented with a vignette presenting a social target of either a Black, Native American, or White person dressing up as a Native American for Halloween. Following the presentation of the vignette, participants rated how *appropriate* they found the costume choice to be, as well as their impressions towards the target using a warmth temperature scale. Participants were then presented with a 2nd Person Punishment Game (2PP; Peysakhovich, Nowak & Rand, 2014), an economic game to measure participants' punishing social decision-making towards the target. Then, participants were asked to rate to what extent they perceived the act previously presented to them as cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation. Before finishing the study, participants completed a demographic questionnaire, assessing their age, education, sex, and yearly income. Demographic information was gathered at the end of the study to avoid making social categories associated to demographic markers salient.

Participants were finally presented with a debriefing form in which we revealed the true purpose of the study: namely that we were interested in studying individuals' perceptions of instances of cultural appropriation and that the participant shown in the vignette was fictional. Now being fully informed of the true purpose of the study, participants were asked to give their informed consent again. Participants were then presented with a code to receive their compensation (4$ USD). See the annex for a visual overview of the experimental procedure.

Materials

Social Dominance Orientation. Participants completed the shortened Social Dominance Orientation (SDO$_{7(s)}$; Ho et al., 2015) scale to assess their attitudes and preferences towards social hierarchy. The SDO$_{7(s)}$ shortened scale includes 2 pro-trait dominance items (e.g., *an ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom*), 2 con-trait dominance items (e.g., *No one group should dominate in society*), 2 pro-trait anti-egalitarianism (e.g., *Group equality should not be our primary goal*) and 2 con-trait anti-egalitarianism (e.g., *We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups*). Con-trait items for dominance and anti-egalitarianism were reverse coded and all the items were computed into a single score such that

a higher score in SDO is associated with a higher preference for hierarchy. Cronbach's alpha was of 0.93.

Essentialism. Participants completed a questionnaire borrowed from Fischer & Tilyard (in press), assessing individuals' attitudes and values regarding the importance of culture as a defining *inherent* facet of an individual's identity. The questionnaire includes one dimension and is composed of 15 items rated on a Likert-7. Reverse items were recoded, and an average score was computed with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.87. A high score in essentialism is associated with a higher attitude/value that culture is definitional on how individuals think and behave. As mentioned above, this measure will control for the potential influence effects during our analysis of our outcome variables.

Identification to ingroup. Participants completed Cameron's (2004) three-factor identification scale (Likert-7) assessing their identification to their ethnic group. In total the scale includes 12 items measuring 3 subdimensions: centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties. Items include *I have a lot in common with other people of my ethnic group*, *I feel strong ties to other people of my ethnic group*, and *I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other people of my ethnic group*. Reverse items were recoded, and an average all three sub-scales was computed to provide a score representing participants' identification to their ethnicity (Cameron, 2004) with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.84. A higher score represents a higher identification to one's ethnic group while a lower score represents a lower identification. This measure is used to control for its effects during our analysis of our outcome variables.

Table 2.— Means for SDO, essentialism and identification to ingroup

	SDO_AVG	Essentialism	Identification to ingroup (White)
M	2.59	4.24	4.45
SD	1.57	0.95	1.01
Minimum	1	1	1
Maximum	7	7	7

Perceived power of target's ethnic group. Participants completed an adapted MacArthur social power scale (Adler et al., 2008) which represents the social power of a group as a ladder in which each rung represents a social power position (Likert-10 where 1 = low social power and 10 = high social power). Participants used this scale to indicate on the ladder the position that best represented the position of Black, Native American, and White ethnic groups separately in contemporary society. A participant who perceived a group as having more social power would therefore position that group higher on the social ladder. Inversely, if they perceived a group as having less social power, they would rate them lower. Responses to this scale were used in our analysis based on the condition to which the participant was randomly assigned to in our manipulation. For example, the measure of Black/Native American/White power was used if the social target in our manipulation was depicted as Black/Native American/White respectively.

Table 3.—   Means for perceived power of ethnic groups

	Perceived power of Native Americans	Perceived power of Whites	Perceived power of Blacks
M	4.68	8.00	5.19
SD	2.44	1.62	2.18
Minimum	1	1	1
Maximum	10	10	10

Perceptions towards the act of cultural appropriation. To measure participants' perception of acts of cultural appropriation, we used three measures: perceived appropriateness, perceived cultural appropriation, and perceived cultural appreciation. Cultural appropriateness was measured to assess observers perceived the act of appropriation as being normatively appropriate. They rated a single item –*To what point do you feel that the participant P189 costume decision is appropriate?* We measured participants' perceptions of cultural appropriation and appreciation with two items: *The participant P189 culturally appropriated the group represented by the costume;* and: *The participant P189 showed cultural appreciation towards the group represented by the costume*. Both these items were rated using a likert-7 (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

Table 4.—   Means of perceptions towards the act of cutlural appropriation

	Perceived Appropriation	Perceived Appreciation	Perceived Appropriateness
M	4.03	4.58	4.58
SD	2.12	2.10	2.01
Minimum	1	1	1
Maximum	7	7	7

Warmth towards the appropriator. To assess to what extent our manipulation has impacted participants' perceived warmth of the target, we used a measurement item adapted from Cuddy, Fiske & Glick's (2007) bi-dimensional stereotype model among which, they argue, impressions of warmth have important consequences on inter-group and individual relations. This was measured using a single item—*To what point do you feel cold or warm towards the participants P189?* using a warmth likert-10 scale (1 = cold, 10 = warm).

Social Decision-Making economic game. Participants completed a 2nd Person Punishment Game (2PP; Peysakhovich, Nowak & Rand, 2014) to measure their punitive social decision-making after being presented with our manipulation. Namely, we were interested in assessing whether our manipulation alone influences engagement in punitive social decision-making. Participants were told that they would be playing this game with the target depicted in our manipulation. Further, they were informed that their decision, as well as the other player's (the target) decision will have an impact on their end of study compensation. Both players start the game with 100 points and each point, participants are told, represents 1 ¢. The first phase of the task is a trust game which asks both players whether they are willing to give a portion of their money (30 points) to the other player which would subsequently be doubled. Therefore, hypothetically, if both players choose to cooperate, both players would end the study with more money. The second phase of the game asks players to choose an amount to spend to penalize the other player if i) the player cooperated or ii) the player *did not* cooperate. Namely, for each point they spend, they can deduct 5 points (to a maximum of 70 points) from the other player's total amount of points. The amount the participant chooses to penalize the other player when the target cooperated is called *anti-social punishment*. When the target did NOT cooperate, the punishment is called *normative*

punishment. For the purposes of this study, we are particularly interested in the amount participants rated when the target cooperated, since that amount indicates how much the participant is ready to penalize the other player despite the other player cooperating with them. Since we experimentally vary the ethnicity of the target, our results will allow us to assess whether cultural appropriation is important enough to punish, despite having no normative reasons (within the context of the economic game) for doing so. An example of the economic game is provided in the annexes.

Table 5.—   Perceived warmth and observers' engagement in punitive social decision-making

	Perceived Warmth	Normative Punishment	Antisocial Punishment
M	6.37	23.70	12.41
SD	2.30	27.34	22.66
Minimum	1	0	0
Maximum	10	70	70

Demographic questionnaire. Participants filled out a short demographic questionnaire which included information regarding their educational background and sex. For education, we asked participants to choose their last level of education from among premade categories. We recoded our values of education into i) pre-university group (including individuals who had a high school or technical school education), ii) undergraduate educated individuals and iii) graduate educated individuals (including individuals with graduate and post-graduate studies). We also recoded our values of categorial measure of age to represent broadly, three distinct age groups: i) millennial age group (18 – 34 years old), ii) generation X (35 – 54 years old) and iii) baby boomers (55+ years old). Finally, we measured yearly income by asking participants to report which category represented their yearly income best. Among the choices, participants could report lower than 20k, between 21k and 30k and so on by bracket of 10k until more than 201k. We recoded the values of our yearly income variable into i) low income (less than 30k), ii) middle income (31k-70k) and iii) high income (71k+). Finally, for sex, we asked participants to indicate their biological sex.

Analyses

As mentioned above, before conducting our main analyses, we performed a series of preliminary analyses to assess potential confounding variables to add in our hierarchal regression models. We performed a series of ANOVAs for categorical variables of age, education, income, and sex on our main outcome variables (see table 3). The significant effects will be included in the first block of the respective models. A correlational matrix was calculated to test the significance of relationships between our continuous variables that could potentially have an influence on our outcome variables. As shown in table 4, essentialism had a significant relationship to perceived warmth and anti-social punishment. Identification to the ethnic ingroup was significantly related to perceived cultural appreciation, appropriateness, and warmth. These variables will therefore be included as confounding variables in the first block for their respective models. We also verified the relationships of perceived power of the appropriator and observers' SDO. As shown, SDO was highly correlated with our outcome variables, and perceived power of the appropriator was only correlated with perceived cultural appropriation and punitive behaviours. Despite perceived power of the target's ethnic group not being significant, we will include it nonetheless due to theoretical concerns. By including it, we will be able to assess whether, by controlling for other confounding variables in each respective model, perceived power of the target's ethnic group significantly predicts our outcome variables (see figure 1 for the composition of our models).

Table 6.—   One-way Welch ANOVAs

	Education			Age			Income			Sex		
	df	F	η^2	df	F	η^2	df	F	η^2	df	F	η^2
Cultural appropriation	2, 169.74	13.37***	0.08	2, 163.07	0.33	0.003	4, 160.67	0.57	0.01	1, 250.07	1.01	0.004
Cultural appreciation	2, 169.68	6.28**	0.05	2, 169.14	4.02*	0.03	4, 160.23	0.83	0.01	1, 149.05	0.01	0.00
Appropriateness	2, 168.20	3.22*	0.03	2, 167.81	0.94	0.01	4, 160.12	1.41	0.02	1, 240.90	0.04	0.00
Warmth	2, 166.67	1.51	0.01	2, 169.79	1.37	0.01	4, 163.53	1.28	0.02	1, 244.48	0.01	0.00
Punishment (anti-social)	2.138.69	20.97***	0.19	2, 169.74	2.74	0.02	4, 155.66	2.16	0.03	1, 261.31	5.73*	0.02
Punishment (normative)	2, 163.41	10.32***	0.07	2, 164.88	0.42	0.003	4,157.71	0.27	0.02	1, 250.75	0.57	0.002

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 7.—   Correlation matrix

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Cultural appropriation	—										
2. Cultural appreciation	0.04	—									
3. Appropriateness	-0.29***	0.60***	—								
4. Warmth	-0.14*	0.57***	0.78***	—							
5. Anti-social punishment	0.21***	0.20**	0.15*	0.19**	—						
6. Normative punishment	0.21***	0.16*	0.08	0.18**	0.40***	—					
7. Perceived appropriator power	0.25***	0.07	-0.04	0.00	0.25***	0.13*	—				
8. Perceived power of Native Americans	0.19**	0.28***	0.25***	0.30***	0.42***	0.17**	0.53***	—			
9. SDO	0.06	0.28***	0.26***	0.25***	0.31***	0.13*	0.05	0.24***	—		
10. Essentialism	0.06	0.07	0.04	0.13*	0.20**	0.11	0.10	0.22***	0.13*	—	
11. Identification to ingroup (White)	-0.09	0.20**	0.28***	0.25***	-0.12	0.02	0.07	0.08	0.28***	0.21***	—

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

Results

We conducted hierarchical linear regression models consisting of five steps for each of our outcome variables. Models for perceived cultural appropriation, perceived cultural appreciation, and appropriateness will test our hypothesis of White observers' perception toward the act of appropriation. The model for perceived warmth towards the appropriator will be used to test our hypotheses regarding White observers' perceptions of appropriators. Finally, models of anti-social and normative punishment will be used to test our hypotheses regarding punitive social decision-making towards the appropriator.

To account for the possible confounding effects of the variables found in our preliminary analyses, relevant variables will be included in step 1 of each model. To test the influence of the target's depicted ethnicity, we dummy coded our independent variables of target ethnicity into two variables: White Target (0 = Native American, 1 = White) and Black Target (0 = Native American, 1 = Black). These variables were introduced at step 2 of each model to assess their influence on our measures, as well as to assess how the ethnicity of the appropriator explained of the total variance. Next, we included White individuals' perceived power of the target's ethnic group on

our measures, step 3 of our models. To test our hypothesis that White observers' perception of acts of appropriation, perception of targets, and their subsequent engagement in punitive social decision-making are all ideologically influenced, we included SDO and its interactions within our analyses at step 4 and step 5 respectively (see figure 1 for an overview of the models). The complete models can be found in tables 5 (perception of cultural appropriation, cultural appreciation, and appropriateness) and 6 (perceived warmth and normative/anti-social decision making). We failed to find a significant relationship of any of our variables of interest in the normative social decision-making task. Overall, all final models were significant (See table 8 and 9).

Figure 1.—   Overview of hierarchical models
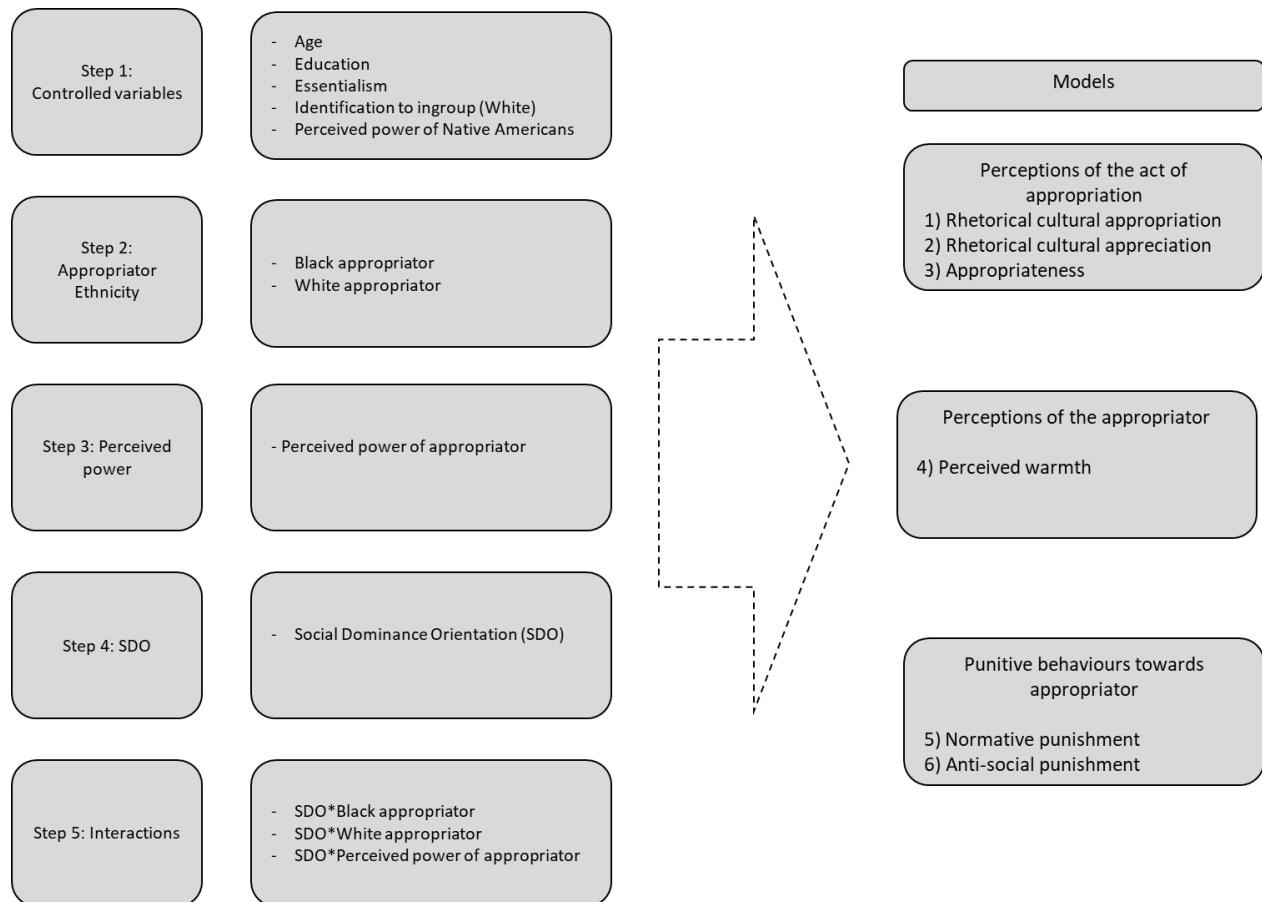
Influence of the target's ethnicity. Across our models, we found significant relationships of ethnicity of the target on perceived cultural appropriation (Model 1), perceived cultural

appreciation (Model 2), and appropriateness (Model 3) towards acts of cultural appropriation. Further, our models indicate evidence that the ethnicity of the target has an influence on the perceived warmth (Model 4) of the target, as well as on White individuals' engagement in anti-social punishment (Model 6), but only when the target is White. However, this relationship becomes non-significant in our final model. We failed to find any significant findings of ethnicity on White individuals' engagement in normative punishment (Model 5). We find significant relationships of the perceived power of the target's ethnic group only for perceived cultural appropriation (Model 1).

Perceptions towards the act of appropriation. Ethnicity of the target significantly explained 3% of the total variance of perceived cultural appropriation ($\Delta F_{(2, 263)} = 4.20$, $p = 0.02$) in model 1. While the act of appropriation was perceived as more appropriative in step 2 when the target was White ($\beta = 0.17$, $p < 0.05$) and when the target was Black ($\beta = 0.17$, $p < 0.05$), the strength of this relationship increased at step 5 (interactions with SDO). Once again, the act of appropriation was perceived as more appropriative when the target was White ($\beta = 0.49$, $p < 0.001$) and when the target was Black ($\beta = 0.47$, $p < 0.01$). Interestingly, ethnicity of the target, when White, became non-significant when perceived power of the target was included in step 3. This non-significant relationship remained until step 5 when the interactions of the target's ethnicity and perceived power of the target were added in interaction with SDO.

The second measure used to assess perceptions towards the act of appropriation was our measure of cultural appreciation. Ethnicity of the target significantly explained 10% of the total variance ($\Delta F_{(2, 260)} = 16.30$, $p < 0.001$). Once again, our model suggests that the ethnicity of the target significantly influenced White observers' perceptions of cultural appreciation; namely, the act of appropriation was perceived as *less* appreciative when the target was White ($\beta = -0.30$, $p < 0.001$) and when the target was Black ($\beta = -0.33$, $p < 0.001$). As in model 1, the influence of ethnicity of the target, when White ($\beta = -0.63$, $p < 0.001$) and when Black ($\beta = -0.59$, $p < 0.001$), increases in strength (negatively, in this case). Unlike for model 1, the relationship of the target's ethnicity remains significant throughout the model.

Ethnicity of the target significantly explained 18% of the total variance of our measure for perceived appropriateness (ΔF (2,261) = 34.98, p < 0.001). Ethnicity of the target significantly influenced White individuals' perceptions of cultural appreciation; namely, targets were perceived as *less* appropriate when White (β = -0.45, p < 0.001) and when Black (β = -0.40, p < 0.001). Again, we find another increase in the strength of the relationship of the target's ethnicity on perceived appropriateness towards the act of appropriation in the final model. The act of appropriation was perceived as *less* appropriate when the appropriator was White (β = -1.01, p < 0.001) and when the appropriator was Black (β = -0.76, p < 0.001). As for model 2 (perceived cultural appreciation), but unlike model 1 (perceived cultural appropriation), ethnicity of the target remained significant across all steps of our model.

Across our models, our results suggest the important influence of targets' depicted ethnicity on White observers' perceptions towards acts of cultural appropriation. Namely, whether the observers were presented with a target depicted as White or as Black, they perceived the act as similarly appropriative or appreciative. These results suggest that White observers do not distinguish between targets depicted as either White or Black in contexts of cultural appropriation. However, our results do suggest that, while both are perceived as less appropriate relative to when the target is depicted as Native American, White targets are perceived as less appropriate than Black targets. Ultimately, this contradicts our hypothesis, namely that the act of appropriation would be perceived as more appropriative, less appreciative, and less appropriate when the target was depicted as White (relative to our baseline condition of the target being depicted as Native American), and our secondary hypothesis that there would be no influence on perceptions towards the act of appropriation when the target was depicted as Black.

Perceptions of the target. Ethnicity of the target significantly explained 14% of the total variance of our measure for perceived appropriateness (F (3,264) = 14.81, p < 0.001). Ethnicity of the target significantly influenced White individuals' perceived warmth of the target both when the target was White (β = -0.42, p < 0.001) and when the target was Black (β = -0.34, p < 0.001). As our previous models so far, the strength of the relationship between the target's ethnicity and perceived warmth was strengthened in the final model both when the target was White (β = -0.98, p < 0.001) as well as when the target was Black (β = -0.68, p < 0.001). Finally, ethnicity of the

target, both for White targets and Black targets, remained significant across all steps. These results support our hypothesis, as well as conforming to the results found for perceptions towards the act of appropriation. Namely, White observers perceived targets who were depicted as White as less warm relative to our baseline condition. However, these results also contradict our secondary hypothesis that targets depicted as Black would be perceived equally as targets depicted as Native Americans.

Observers' engagement in anti-social punishment. Ethnicity of the target explained none of the total variance for normative punishment, and only 2% of the total variance of our measure of anti-social punishment ($\Delta F_{(2, 256)} = 3.13$, $p < 0.001$). We failed to find a significant relationship between the target's ethnicity and normative punishment towards the target for both when the target presented was White ($\beta = -0.01$, $p > 0.05$) and when the target was Black ($\beta = -0.002$, $p > 0.05$). We did find a significant relationship between the target's ethnicity and anti-social punishment, but only when the target presented was Black ($\beta = -0.16$, $p < 0.05$). This relationship became non-significant in the final model of our analysis ($\beta = 0.07$, $p > 0.05$). Our analyses failed to find a significant relationship between the target's ethnicity and the participant's engagement in anti-social punishment when entered at step 2 ($\beta = -0.07$, $p > 0.05$), and in the final model ($\beta = 0.13$, $p > 0.05$). Taken together, ethnicity of the target does not appear to have an important impact on participants' engagement in punitive behaviours, indicating that other factors may better explain White individuals' engagement in punitive behaviours in contexts where they perceive acts of cultural appropriation. These results suggest that White observers punished *less* targets if they were Black (relative to our baseline depicting a Native American), but that when the target was depicted as White, the target's ethnicity had no influence on how participants punished the target. These results contradict our hypothesis that White observers would punish the White target more than either of the other conditions.

Influence of perceived power of the target's ethnic group. Across our models, we only find significant relationships of perceived power of the target's ethnic group for perceived cultural appropriation. Perceived power of the target's ethnic group only explains 1% of the total variance for perceived cultural appropriation ($\Delta F_{(3, 257)} = 3.63$, $p < 0.01$). Perceived power of the target's ethnic group was initially found to be associated with *higher* perceptions of perceived cultural

appropriation ($\beta = 0.19$, $p > 0.05$) and this relationship was maintained when SDO was included, with no change to the strength of the relationship. However, this relation became non-significant in the final model when the interactions of SDO were included. As such, in the final model, perceived power of the target's ethnic group was found to be a non-significant predictor of perceived cultural appropriation ($\beta = 0.02$, $p > 0.05$). Interestingly, when perceived power was included, the White target predictor became non-significant. This may suggest that perceived cultural appropriation among White observers when the target is White (relative to when the target is depicted as Native American) is informed by considerations of power, but not when the target is Black (relative to when the target is depicted as Native American). As mentioned, we failed to find significant relationships of perceived power of the target's ethnic group across our other models. Taken together, these results would suggest that power has perhaps some marginal influence on perceived cultural appropriation among White observers, but this remains inconclusive in our analysis. In sum, we failed to find any significant relationship of perceived power across our other models, thus contradicting our hypothesis that perceived power of the target's ethnic group would have an influence on the perceptions towards the act of appropriation, perceptions towards the target, and White observers' engagement in punitive behaviours. The interested reader may find the non-significant results for perceived power of the target's ethnic group on our measures in table 5 and 6.

Influence of participant's SDO. Across our models, SDO was a significant main predictor for perceived cultural appreciation, perceived appropriateness, and anti-social punishment. These significant relationships became non-significant when the interaction of SDO with ethnicity and of SDO with perceived power of the target's ethnic group were included into their respective models. The interaction of SDO with the target's ethnicity was consistently a significant predictor across models, except for normative punishment. Our results failed to find consistent significant interactions of SDO and perceived power of the target's ethnic group, except in the anti-social punishment model. Results for the significant models will be presented below, and non-significant models can be found in table 5 and 6.

Perceptions towards the act of appropriation. SDO failed to contribute to the explained variance for our measure of perceived cultural appropriation ($\Delta F (1, 260) = 0.01$, $p > 0.05$). We further

failed to find a significant relationship between SDO and perceived cultural appropriation (β = 0.01, $p > 0.05$). However, when we included the interactions of SDO with the ethnicity of the target and with the perceived power of the target's ethnic group, this addition contributed only an additional 4% of the total variance explained in our measure ($\Delta F_{(3, 257)}$ = 3.63, $p < 0.01$). In our final model we found a significant interaction of SDO both with when the target was depicted as White (β = -0.43, $p < 0.01$) and when the target was depicted as Black (β = -0.36, $p < 0.01$), such that when the target was depicted as White or Black (relative to Native American), White observers perceived *less* cultural appropriation.

Figure 2.— Interaction of SDO and ethnicity on perceived cutlural appropriation while controlling for all other variables
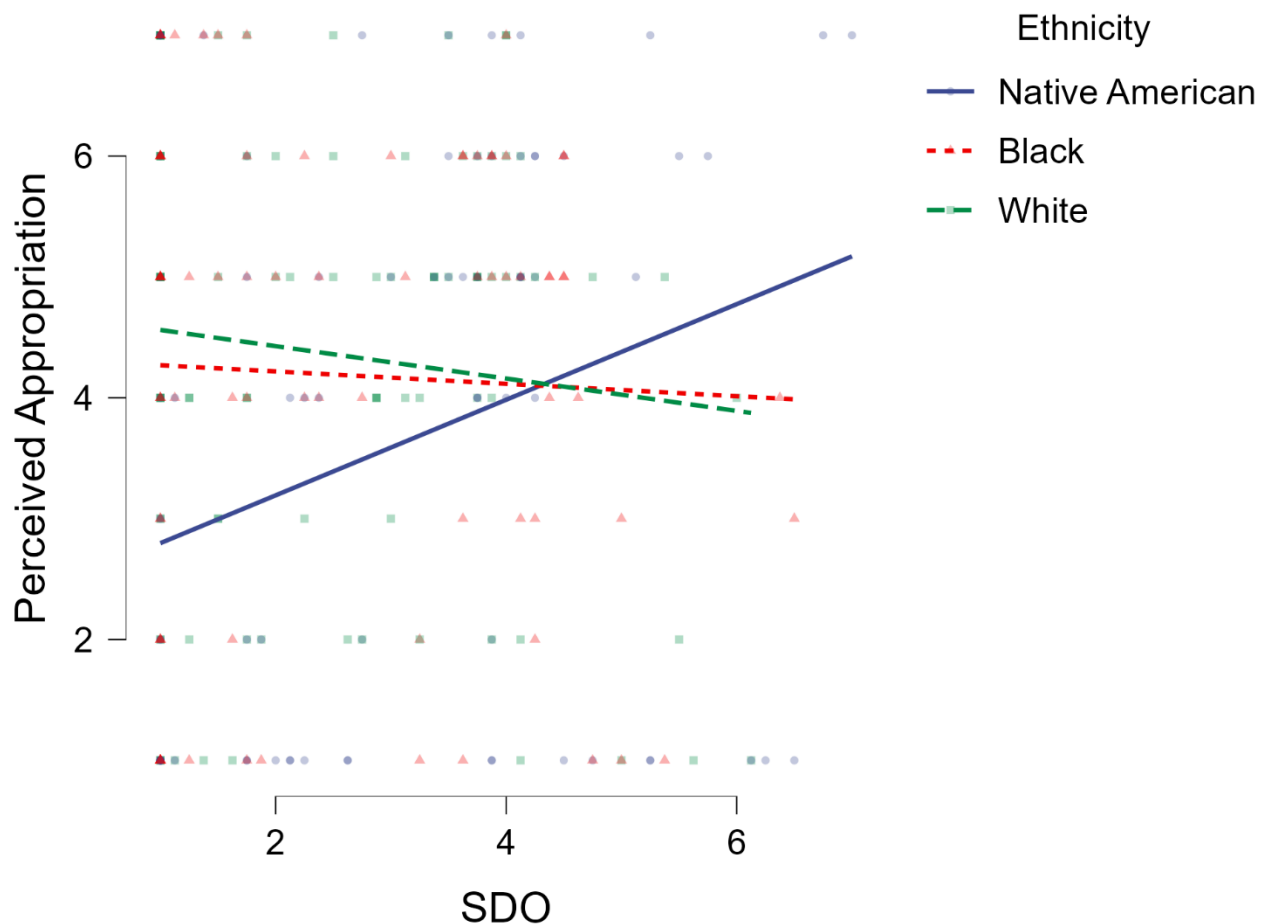
SDO contributed to explaining an additional 3% of the total variance of perceived cultural appreciation (ΔF (1, 258) = 10.64, $p < 0.001$). When added, SDO was found to be a significant predictor of perceived cultural appreciation ($\beta = 0.19$, $p < 0.001$), meaning that White observers higher in SDO perceived more cultural appreciation overall. When the interactions of SDO with the target's ethnicity and perceived power of the target was added, the final model explained an addition 4% of the total variance of the model (ΔF (3,255) = 4.39, $p < 0.001$). Additionally, SDO as a singular predictor became non-significant. However, the interactions of SDO and the target's ethnicity was a significant predictor of perceived cultural appreciation both when the target depicted was White ($\beta = -0.63$, $p < 0.001$) and when the target depicted was Black ($\beta = -0.59$, $p < 0.001$). The model failed to suggest any significant interaction of SDO and perceived power of the target's ethnic group ($\beta = 0.14$, $p > 0.05$).

Figure 3.—   Interaction of SDO and ethnicity on perceived cutlural appreciation while controlling for all other variables
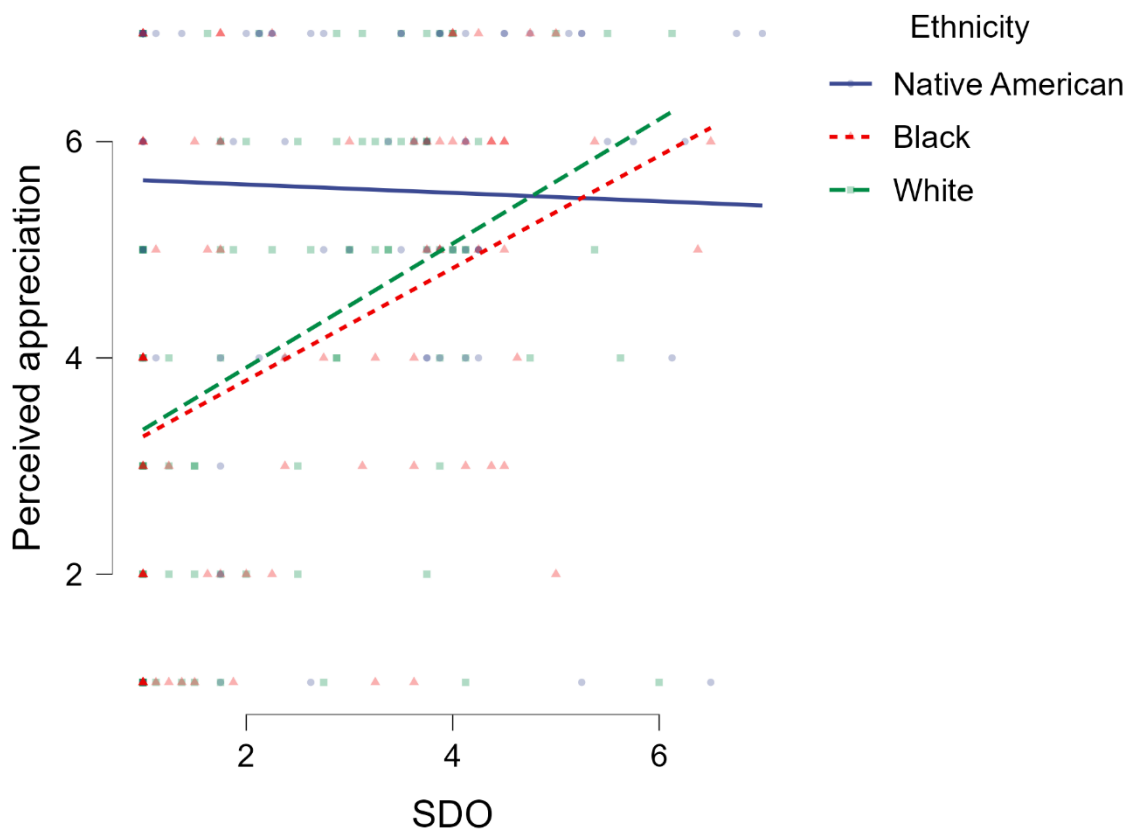
For perceived appropriateness, SDO contributed to explaining an addition 2% of the total variance of perceived appropriateness (ΔF (1,259) = 4.68, $p < 0.05$). When added SDO, was found to be a

significant predictor (β = 0.12, p < 0.05), meaning that White observers higher in SDO perceived the act of appropriation as more appropriate overall. When the interactions of SDO with the target's ethnicity and perceived power of the target was added, the final model explained an additional 8% of the total variance of the model (ΔF (3, 256) = 11.24, p < 0.001). Additionally, SDO as a singular predictor became non-significant (β = -0.22, p > 0.05). However, as for the two previous models, the interactions of SDO and the target's ethnicity was a significant predictor of perceived appropriateness towards the act of appropriation both when the target depicted was White (β = 0.62, p < 0.001) and when the target depicted was Black (β = 0.40, p < 0.001). Once again, the model failed to suggest any significant interaction of SDO and perceived power of the target's ethnic group (β = 0.02, p > 0.05).
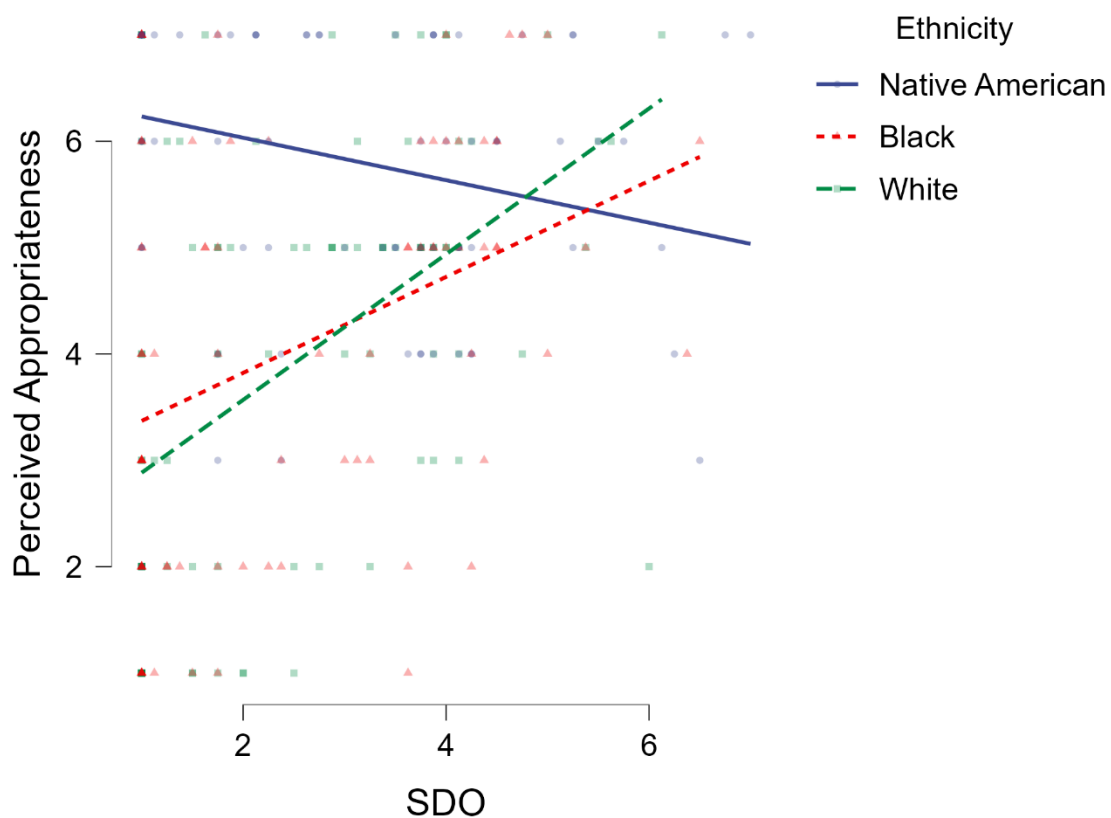
Figure 4.—   Interaction of SDO and ethnicity on perceived appropriateness while controlling for all other variables

Taken together, our results suggest that SDO moderates the relationship between the target's depicted ethnicity and participants' perceived cultural appropriation, appreciation, and appropriateness. Three main points may be made regarding the findings: 1) that SDO appears to have a moderating effect on the relationship between the target's depicted ethnicity and White observers' responses. Specifically, the moderation effect found by the interaction of SDO and ethnicity suggests that White observers higher in SDO scores, have an inverse relationship to those with lower scores, such that what a White observer with lower scores in SDO may consider as *high* in appropriation, *low* in appreciation and *low* in appropriateness, a White observer with higher scores in SDO will consider as *low* in appropriation, *high* in appreciation and *high* in appropriateness; 2) this moderation effect occurs whether the target is depicted as White or as Black and with relatively similar strength. This means that White observers do not radically change their interpretation of the act of appropriation whether the target is depicted as White or Black (when each are compared to instances in which the target is depicted as Native American); and finally, 3) the interaction of SDO and perceived power of the target's ethnic group does not have any consistent influence on how individuals perceived acts of cultural appropriation. Therefore, while point 1 confirms our hypothesis that perceptions of cultural appropriation are ideologically influenced, point 2 disconfirms our hypothesis that this would only occur when the target was depicted as White. Point 3 further disconfirms that we would find a similar influence of perceived power of the target's ethnic group on White observers' perceptions towards acts of cultural appropriation.

Perceptions of the target. SDO failed to contribute to explain any of the total variance for our model (ΔF (1, 260) = 2.32, $p > 0.05$) on observer's perceptions of the target. It further failed to significantly predict White observers' perceived warmth of the target ($\beta = 0.09$, $p > 0.05$). However, when SDO and its interaction with ethnicity and with perceived power of the target's ethnic group was included—which explained 7% of the total variance of the model (F (3,257) = 9.51, $p < 0.001$)—the interaction of SDO and ethnicity were found to be significant both when the target was depicted as White ($\beta = 0.62$, $p < 0.001$), as well as when the target was depicted as Black ($\beta = 0.39$, $p < 0.001$). Our results suggest a similar pattern of relationships for the interaction of SDO on White observers' perceptions towards the target as our findings for their perceptions

of the act of appropriation itself. Notably, just as for perceptions of the act of appropriation, the interaction of SDO and ethnicity of the target seems to operate as a moderator with an *opposite* relationship to that of the main relationship found for ethnicity. This influence holds both when the target is presented as White, as well as when depicted as Black. However, we failed to find a significant result for the interaction of SDO and observers' perceived power of the target's ethnic group. Taken together, these results support our main hypothesis that White observers would perceive targets as less warm if depicted as White. However, we again find results which suggest that Black targets are nonetheless also perceived as less warm relative to our baseline condition (see figure 9). Finally, we again fail to find support for the idea that the interaction of SDO and perceived power of the target's ethnic group has a significant influence on White observers' ratings of targets.

Figure 5.—   Interaction of SDO and ethnicity on perceived warmth while controlling for all other variables
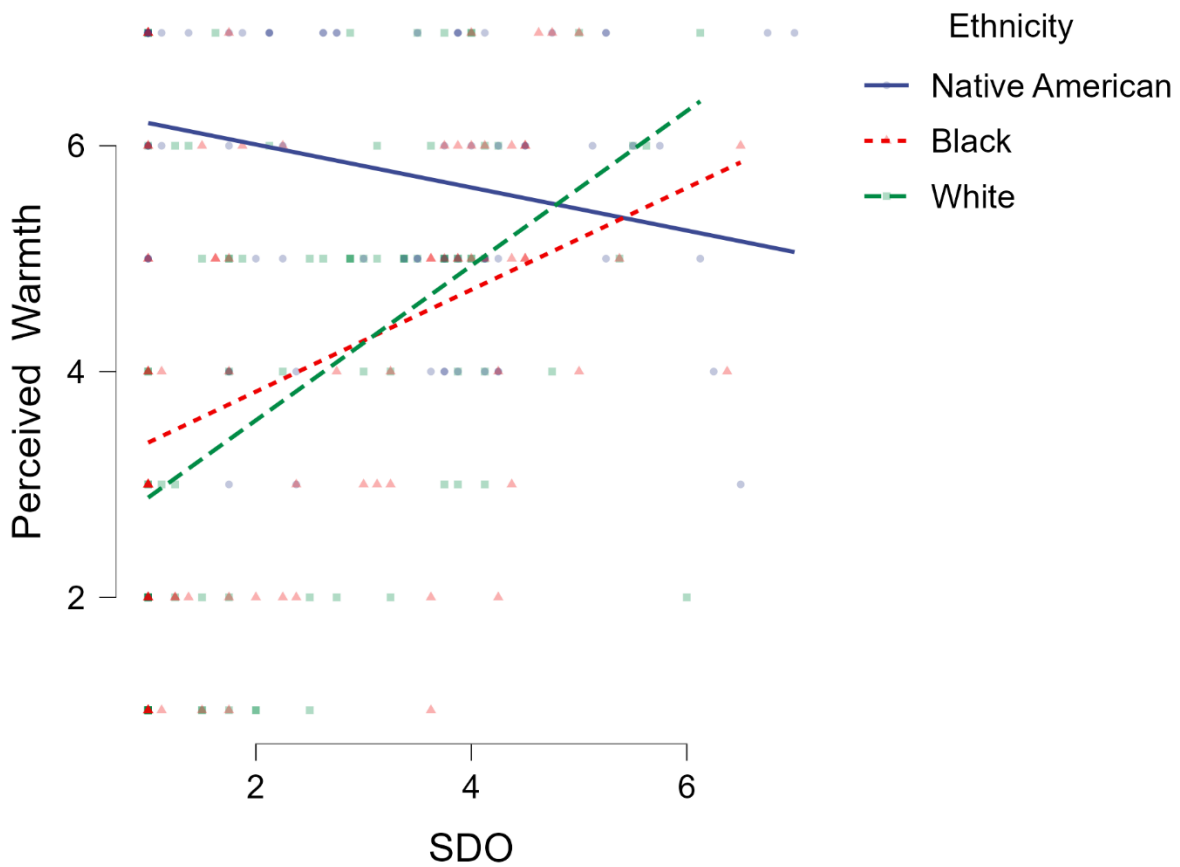
Anti-social punishment. SDO contributed to explaining an additional 2% of the total variance for our measure of anti-social punishment (ΔF (1, 256) = 1.46, $p > 0.05$) and SDO was found to be associated with higher anti-social punishment ($\beta = 0.17$, $p > 0.05$). However, SDO became non-significant ($\beta = 0.05$, $p > 0.05$) when the interactions of SDO and target's ethnicity and the interaction of SDO and perceived power of the target's ethnic groups were included in the model. When the interactions were added, their addition contributed to an additional 3% of the total variance explained (ΔF (3,253) = 0.50, $p > 0.05$). Interestingly, the significance of the interaction of SDO and ethnicity was found when the target was depicted as Black ($\beta = -0.26$, $p < 0.05$) but not when the target was depicted as White ($\beta = -0.20$, $p > 0.05$). Furthermore, we found a significant interaction of SDO and perceived power of the appropriator ($\beta = 0.38$, $p < 0.05$). This suggests that White observers higher in SDO will punish less if the target is depicted as Black but punish the target more if they perceive the target's ethnic group has having more power. These results, therefore, disconfirm all our hypotheses regarding the influence of SDO and perceived power of the target's ethnic group.

Figure 6.— Interaction of SDO and ethnicity on engagement in antisocial decision-making while controlling for all other variables
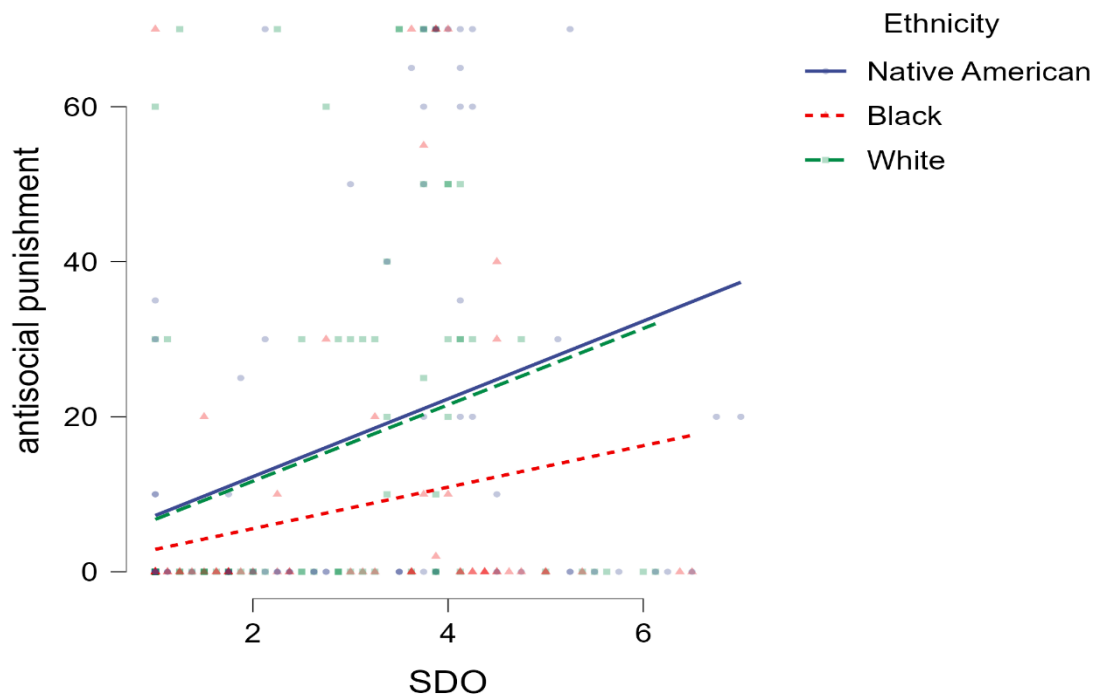
Table 8.— Results for perceptions of the act of appropriation (models 1-3)

	Perceptions of the act of appropriation											
	Cultural appropriation				Cultural appreciation				Appropriateness			
Contributing factors	R²	ΔR²	β	F	R²	ΔR²	β	F	R²	ΔR²	β	F
Step 1: Controlled variables	0.10	0.10***		13.83***	0.14	0.14***		10.46***	0.16	0.16***		16.18***
Age							0.15**					
Education			0.25***				-0.10				-0.15*	
Essentialism												
Ingroup identification							0.16**				0.27***	
Sex												
Perceived power of Native Americans			0.13*				0.29***				0.27***	
Step 2: Manipulation	0.12	0.03*		9.18***	0.23	0.10***		13.22***	0.33	0.18***		26.18***
Age							0.15**					
Education			0.25***				-0.10				-0.14**	
Essentialism												
Ingroup identification							0.15**				0.25***	
Sex												
Perceived power of Native Americans			0.13*				0.28***				0.26***	
Black appropriator			0.17*				-0.33***				-0.40***	
White appropriator			0.17*				-0.30***				-0.45***	
Step 3: Perceived power	0.13	0.01		7.98***	0.23	0.001		11.32***	0.33	0		21.77***
Age							0.15**					
Education			0.24***				-0.10				-0.14**	
Essentialism												
Ingroup identification							0.15**				0.26***	
Sex												
Perceived power of Native Americans			0.06				0.26***				0.26***	
Black appropriator			0.15*				-0.33***				-0.40***	
White appropriator			0.09				-0.32***				-0.44***	
Perceived appropriator power			0.19**				0.04				0.02	
Step 4: SDO	0.13	0		6.63***	0.27	0.03***		11.60***	0.35	0.02*		19.59***
Age							0.17**					
Education			0.24***				-0.12*				-0.15**	
Essentialism												
Ingroup identification							0.10				0.22***	
Sex												
Perceived power of Native Americans			0.06				0.22**				0.22***	
Black appropriator			0.15*				-0.32***				-0.39***	
White appropriator			0.09				-0.31***				-0.44***	
Perceived appropriator power			0.19**				0.06				-0.001	
SDO			0.01				0.19***				0.12*	
Step 5: Interactions	0.17	0.04*		5.76***	0.30	0.04**		9.97***	0.42	0.08***		18.71***
Age							0.15**					
Education			0.22***				-0.13*				-0.15**	
Essentialism												
Ingroup identification							0.11				0.22***	
Sex												
Perceived power of Native Americans			0.09				0.15*				0.18**	
Black appropriator			0.47***				-0.59***				-0.76***	

Contributing factors			
White appropriator	0.49**	-0.63***	-1.01***
Perceived appropriator power	0.02	0.02	0.05
SDO	0.13	-0.13	-0.22
SDO*Black appropriator	-0.36**	0.30*	0.40***
SDO*White appropriator	-0.43**	0.34*	0.62***
SDO*appropriator power	0.19	0.14	0.02

[1]* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 9.— Perception of the appropriator and punitive behaviours (models 4-6)

	Perceptions of the appropriator and punitive behaviours towards the appropriator											
	Warmth				Normative punishment				Antisocial punishment			
Contributing factors	R²	ΔR²	β	F	R²	ΔR²	β	F	R²	ΔR²	β	F
Step 1: Controlled variables	0.14	0.14***		14.81***	0.08	0.08***		11.64***	0.25	0.25***		21.92***
Age												
Education							0.24***				0.23***	
Essentialism			0.02								0.07	
Ingroup identification			0.23***									
Sex											0.11*	
Perceived power of Native Americans			0.28***				0.11				0.35***	
Step 2: Manipulation	0.29	0.14***		21.17***	0.08	0		5.78***	0.27	0.02*		15.90***
Age												
Education							0.24***				0.23***	
Essentialism			0.04								0.08	
Ingroup identification			0.21***									
Sex											0.10	
Perceived power of Native Americans			0.27***				0.11				0.34***	
Black appropriator			-0.34***				-0.002				-0.16*	
White appropriator			-0.42***				-0.01				-0.07	
Step 3: Perceived power	0.29	0.00***		17.60***	0.08	0.001		4.67***	0.27	0.00		13.58***
Age												
Education							0.24***				0.23***	
Essentialism			0.04								0.08	
Ingroup identification			0.21***									
Sex											0.10	
Perceived power of Native Americans			0.28***				0.09				0.33***	
Black appropriator			-0.33***				-0.002				-0.16*	
White appropriator			-0.40***				-0.04				-0.07	
Perceived appropriator power			-0.03				0.05				0.01	
Step 4: SDO	0.29	0.01		15.50***	0.09	0.01		4.14***	0.30	0.03**		13.53***
Age												
Education							0.23***				0.21***	
Essentialism			0.04								0.07	
Ingroup identification			0.19***									
Sex											0.08	
Perceived power of Native Americans			0.26***				0.07				0.29***	
Black appropriator			-0.33***				0.01				-0.14*	
White appropriator			-0.40***				-0.03				-0.06	
Perceived appropriator power			-0.02				0.06				0.03	
SDO			0.09				0.08				0.17**	
Step 5: Interactions	0.37	0.07***		14.77***	0.09	0.01		2.91**	0.32	0.03*		10.92***
Age												
Education							0.23***				0.19**	

Essentialism	0.06		0.06
Ingroup identification	0.18***		
Sex			0.07
Perceived power of Native Americans	0.20**	0.06	0.29***
Black appropriator	-0.68***	-0.003	0.07
White appropriator	-0.98***	-0.20	0.13
Perceived appropriator power	0.07	0.14	-0.17
SDO	-0.20	0.10	0.05
SDO*Black appropriator	0.39***	-0.01	-0.26*
SDO*White appropriator	0.62***	0.18	-0.20
SDO*appropriator power	- 0.05	-0.11	0.38*

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Discussion

Cultural appropriation is a hot button topic in contemporary social discourse. Despite its popularity, the literature has either focused on the theoretical implications of cultural appropriation (Rogers, 2006; Clifford, 1988; Hart, 1996), on specific case studies in which cultural appropriation is experienced by low-power groups (Newton, 1996; Shrum, 2016), or on the moral implications of the acts of cultural appropriation (Root, 1996; Young, 2010). Our goal in this paper is to arrive at a better understanding of the social processes underlying contexts of cultural appropriation by studying the role of ethnicity of the appropriator, the perceived power of the appropriator's ethnic group, and individuals' attitudes towards hierarchy among White Americans' perceptions and reactions to contexts of cultural appropriation. To achieve these goals, we adopted a statistical approach which allows us to control for confounding factors, test our primary experimental goal of assessing the role of appropriator ethnicity, and explore the influence of observers' perceived power of the appropriator's ethnic group and SDO on observers' perceptions and engagement in punitive behaviours towards appropriators.

Furthermore, this is the first study, to our knowledge, that critically examines core assumptions of cultural appropriation. To do this, we tested the influence of a prototypical and a non-prototypical instance of cultural appropriation on White observers' perceptions and reactions to cultural appropriation. To present a prototypical context of cultural appropriation, in line with Mosely & Biernat (2020), we presented White observers to contexts in which a White social target dressed up as a Native American for Halloween. To present a non-prototypical context of cultural

appropriation, we presented them with a Black social target who dressed up as a Native American for Halloween. Finally, we also used a baseline condition which would serve as the comparison point for both of our prototypical and non-prototypical contexts in which a social target depicted as Native American dressed up as a Native American for Halloween. We hypothesized that ethnicity of the target when depicted as White (relative to when depicted as Native American) would be associated with more appropriative, less appreciative, and less appropriate perceptions of the act. We also hypothesized that White appropriators would be perceived as less warm, and that White observers would engage in more punitive social decision-making when the appropriator was White (relative to when the target was depicted as Native American). We further hypothesized that, due to the lack of a socio-historical representation of the Black social group associated with colonization, that we would not find any significant influence when the ethnicity of the target was depicted as Black (relative to when the target was depicted as Native American).

Our results suggest that White observers perceive White social targets as more appropriative, less appreciative, less appropriate and less warm (relative to our Native American social target condition). However, our results also suggest that White observers perceive Black social targets in an equal manner. Interestingly, this was true except for our measures of perceived appropriateness and perceived warmth, where White social targets were perceived as less appropriate and less warm relative to the relationship found when the social target was Black. Our results also failed to suggest that ethnicity alone had any influence on normative and anti-social punitive decision-making. Therefore, while our results technically support the prototypicality hypothesis in the sense that our results suggest that White observers perceive instances in which the appropriator is White as more appropriative, less appreciative, less appropriate and perceive the appropriator as less warm, our results also suggest that they did so when the appropriator was Black as well. Our results therefore suggest a contradiction of our first hypothesis which sought to test the prototypicality hypothesis. Our results suggest that the prototypicality hypothesis for contexts of cultural appropriation is not an accurate representation of how White observers perceive acts of cultural appropriation. In other words, other factors may better predict how contexts of cultural appropriation are perceived.

One interpretation is that the socio-historical context associated with the appropriated group is what informs White observers' perception of a context of cultural appropriation. Therefore, what is of importance in contexts of cultural appropriation is not so much the ethnicity of the *appropriator,* but that of who is being *appropriated*. For instance, according to the moral typecasting theory (Wegner & Gray, 2009), it may be possible that what is particularly salient in contexts of cultural appropriation and what guides observers' perceptions is tied to the *harm received* by the socio-historically oppressed social category rather than the harm inflicted by the socio-historically dominant social category. In other words, that a prototypical context of cultural appropriation has more to do with the socio-historical context associated with Native American culture than with the ethnicity of the appropriators.

We also expanded on previous research by empirically assessing the role of perceived power associated with the target's ethnic group on our outcomes of interest. This is of particular interest since, while the prototypicality hypothesis assumes the influence of ethnicity (or categorization) and the socio-historical context in which an intergroup relation occurs as the basis for prototypicality, no research to our knowledge has attempted to parse through what factors of that socio-historical context contributes to the perceptions of cultural appropriation. Namely, we hypothesized that social targets perceived as having more power in society would be associated with more appropriative, less appreciative, and less appropriate perceptions of the act of appropriation, less warm perceptions of the appropriator, and more punitive social decision-making made against the appropriator. We expected an inverse of all these relationships when the target's ethnic group was perceived as having less power in society.

Our results however contradicted these hypotheses. Namely, we failed to find any significant relationship across all our models for perceived power of the target's ethnicity. We only found a temporary significant relationship when predicting perceived cultural appropriation; yet that relationship was gone once SDO and its interactions with ethnicity and perceived power of the target's ethnic group were included. However, of interest was the fact that our White target predictor became non-significant when introduced and regained its significance when SDO was included. Ultimately, this suggests the possibility that White and Black appropriators are assessed differently by White observers. Namely, it would seem that issues of power are more relevant

when the social target is White than when the social target is Black. While our results cannot confirm that this is the case, further research to substantiate this peculiarity would be of interest.

In line with the interpretation proposed above, it is possible that perceived power of the appropriated group was the factor of importance for White observers. In fact, our results suggest that this may be the case. Indeed, perceived power of Native Americans was generally found to be a significant predictor across models, except for perceived cultural appropriation and normative punishment. This provides some data to the effect that perhaps a closer look at the low-power group would be necessary to better understand how White observers perceive instances of cultural appropriation.

Finally, our study contributed to the existing literature on the topic of cultural appropriation by proposing that perceptions of cultural appropriation are influenced by ideological factors, such as SDO. To our knowledge this is the first study to incorporate SDO directly in the study of cultural appropriation. We hypothesized that SDO, beyond its main influence on our outcomes, would interact with our other variables of interest, notably ethnicity of the social target and perceived power associated with the social target's ethnic group. Our results suggest that SDO alone fails to consistently explain our outcome variables but that SDO does, indeed, better predict our variables of interest when placed in interaction with ethnicity (but not with perceived power of the social target's ethnic group).

In line with our hypotheses, we found significant interactions of SDO with our variable of White ethnicity on White observers' perceptions towards the act of appropriation, and perceptions towards the social target. Namely our results suggest White observers which higher SDO scores were related to less perceived cultural appropriation, more perceived cultural appreciation, more perceived appropriateness, and more perceived warmth when the social target was White. However, counter to our hypothesis, this was also found when the social target was Black. Our results suggest that SDO essentially *inverses* the relationships found for ethnicity as a single term (both when the social target is White and when the social target is Black). Ultimately, this suggests that while White observers with lower scores in SDO will generally perceive instances in which a White or Black social target dresses up as a Native American for Halloween as more appropriative,

less appreciative, less appropriate, and perceive the appropriator as less warm, white observers with higher scores of SDO will perceive the same act as less appropriative, more appreciative, more appropriate and perceive the social target as more warm relative to the baseline condition. These results are particularly interesting since they conform to the idea that certain ideological factors (such as SDO) can influence how White observers perceive cultural appropriation and perceive appropriators.

One interpretation is that, through the moderation of SDO, the distinction between high and low SDO simply represents (in some way) the polarization of conservative and liberal ideology within the United States. Namely, while republican ideology may be more inclined to discredit the term of cultural appropriation, liberal ideology professes itself as more sensitive to those issues, and therefore will be more likely to attribute an act of cultural appropriation along the lines that we would expect (e.g., *cultural appropriation* when the social target is White and dressing up as a Native American for Halloween). This interpretation, of course, assumes that cultural appropriation is a political term which, as we argued in this paper, has a rhetorical dimension through which the act of cultural appropriation is perceived and is interpreted. Our results would therefore suggest, in line with previous research, that observers' political views can influence their perceptions of contexts of cultural appropriation (Katzarska-Miller, Faucher, Kramer & Reysen (2020).

At the level of social decision-making towards appropriators, we found no confirmation for our hypotheses. The only significant relationship was the interaction of SDO and Black appropriator, as well as the interaction of SDO and perceived power of the appropriator on anti-social punishment. We did, however, find a significant interaction of SDO and perceived power of the appropriator, indicating that, for anti-social punitive behaviours, higher SDO was associated with more punitive behaviours. While these results remain inconclusive and difficult to interpret, our results can be explained by the fact that, generally, SDO has been associated with Dark Triad traits—traits that are known to be characterized by hostility and attention to competition. (Ho et al., 2015).

A possible interpretation of our results for punitive social decision-making is that cultural appropriation, at least within our sample, does not constitute a grave enough act to warrant an influence on white individuals' social decision-making. This seems to suggest that while our variables influence how White individuals perceive acts of cultural appropriation, they do not reliably influence punitive social decision-making. This, however, may be different for other ethnic groups for whom the act of cultural appropriation is more serious. It is further possible that other factors which we controlled in our analyses, and therefore did not focus on in the present study, could serve as better predictors for social decision-making. For instance, education was found to be a significant predictor of White observers' engagement in normative punitive social decision-making. Perhaps certain socio-demographic factors which influence the informational and normative knowledge an individual has on the topic of cultural appropriation are more crucial to understanding the link between White observers and their engagement in punitive social decision making towards appropriators. In fact, our results would suggest that, at education was a good predictor of White observers' engagement in punitive social decision-making, However, these results remain murky; namely, it is unclear how education produces this influence. Regardless, further research on the topic is required to substantiate these implications.

Future Directions & Limitations

The current findings provide an important step, we believe, in our understanding of the social psychological processes at play in how White observers perceive and react to cultural appropriation. Despite this, certain limitations are imposed on our study which limit our interpretations of our results and their generalizability. As was mentioned previously in the methods section, our sample is unique in that it is composed entirely of White observers with a generally high level of education. While we argued that this may have certain strengths, namely since cultural appropriation is a salient and relevant topic among that population (as is shown in the media and academic discourse), cultural appropriation generally impacts non-white ethnic and cultural groups. As such, the attitude towards cultural appropriation may be inextricably different among non-whites. In fact, Mosely & Biernat's (2020) results suggest that Black observers were, compared to White observers, more likely to perceive acts of cultural appropriation, to perceive the act as more harmful, and to perceive it as being driven with more

intentionality. These results support the idea that perhaps, given the different socio-historical contexts that different ethnic groups have experienced, especially in the context of colonialism, it would be particularly interesting to assess whether there exist variations across how members from these different categorizations perceive and react to instances of cultural appropriation.

As it pertains to the development and improvement of the current experimental paradigm, another avenue of interest would be to vary which cultural object is being appropriated. In the current study we limited ourselves to a simple *ethnic* and *stereotypical* representation of a group's culture. Namely, while we were interested in studying contexts of cultural appropriation, we used the popular ethnic costume phenomenon as a means of studying these processes. While I realize that Aboriginal culture is much more complex and nuanced than the stereotypical representation of Aboriginals generally depicted for Halloween costumes, it served our purposes as a recognizable Aboriginal cultural product to our sample of White Americans familiar to them in the context of Halloween. Of particular interest for future research would be to specify the cultural object being appropriated so that participants are confronted with the meanings and significance that the object holds. By varying the degree of importance that the object holds to the appropriated group and the level of knowledge that the appropriator group member has of the object, relative to instances in which the cultural object has no meaning, it would be possible to assess another key assumption not discussed extensively in this thesis: the importance of *knowing* or being *informed* of the object's meaning within a cultural space on individuals' perceptions and reactions and by extension the normative rules associated with this aspect of the intergroup context. This would allow us also to control for the possible ways in which the cultural object that is being appropriated is perceived as *authentic* or traditional by observers. Notably, while we assumed that by depicting a Native American costume within the context of Halloween as representing the mass-produced costume found in stores around that time, it is possible that participants interpreted this costume as a traditional garb. Therefore, further research should perhaps leave less room for interpretation to control for this interpretive dimension.

In the current research we also proposed to study the topic of cultural appropriation within the specific context of Halloween costume choices. The choice to use this context was informed by

the predominance of claims of cultural appropriation which emerge each year regarding which costumes are deemed appropriate or inappropriate (Monroy & Moody-Ramirez, 2018). Ultimately, the context of Halloween costume decision was chosen since it, we believed, provided a familiar context to our sample. While we believe that our results can be generalized to other contexts at a certain level of abstraction, it is undeniable that Halloween provides certain socio-historical factors, norms and expectations which are implicit to it and which may influence how (different) observers perceive acts occurring within that context. For instance, Halloween is primarily a festive event which features, predominantly, a certain element of *playfulness* among its participants. Notably, a core element of Halloween is the expectation that certain norms can be *transgressed*. For example, while cross dressing may be deemed inappropriate or seen as transgressive across other contexts, Halloween offers the opportunity for men to cross-dress as women, or vise versa (Mueller, Dirks & Picca, 2001). While it may be absurd to overstate the transgressive nature of Halloween, the point here is simply to point out that Halloween holds a certain playfulness which is inherent to how individuals engage with this festivity. This is of particular importance when contextualizing the interpretations of our results since it may influence how White observers perceived our social target. Namely, it is possible, as Mueller, Dirks & Picca (2001) argue, that dressing up as an ethnicity during Halloween is simply a means of transgressing the social norms of interethnic division. It is possible that White observers minimize the negative aspects of cultural appropriation within that context. What is of interest, however, is that our results still suggest that White observers perceived cultural appropriation and that this was perceived as inappropriate. However, it may be possible that in different contexts, observers' perceptions of acts of cultural appropriation, their perception of the appropriator and their engagement in punitive social decision-making may be different across less socially permissive contexts.

Given the predominant influence of education throughout our results, the role of education within our sample (and in other groups) would be of particular interest for future research. If we assume that education provides certain informational and normative cues regarding the context in which cultural appropriation occurs, and given the demographic profile of our sample, education can also inform how White observe perceive acts of cultural appropriation. Further

research which investigates these individual and group-level differences are necessary for providing a clearer picture on how ideological, individual-, and group-level differences can inform how White observers perceive and react to instances of cultural appropriation.

We may also assume, given our findings regarding the ideological aspects of cultural appropriation, that this may split entrenched ideological groups (e.g., conservative vs. liberal). Another implication from our results is that ideological attitudes influence the perceptions of cultural appropriation. The ideological component of cultural appropriation provides evidence, in line with Katzarska-Miller, Faucher, Kramer, & Reysen (2020), of the way that, potentially, political discourse shapes how cultural appropriation is perceived. Our results suggest an influence of participants' attitudes towards hierarchy (e.g., SDO) and its interaction with appropriator ethnicity on perceptions of acts of cultural appropriation and perceptions of appropriators. While our results suggest that ideological factors are an important aspect in how perceptions are formed, they do not inform us of the underlying motives which may influence these perceptions (beyond the implications of hierarchy enhancement/attenuation provided by the measure of SDO). Future research would therefore benefit in testing the actual motives underlying the differences in perceptions. This conceptualization assumes cultural appropriation as a manifestation of political ideology and therefore future studies would require testing *why* cultural appropriation is used differentially across ideological attitudes towards social hierarchy.

Relatedly, another limitation of the current study is that while our measures allow us to assess how our participants perceive acts of cultural appropriation, our measures do not allow us to interpret the intentions and the potential social motivations for rating an instance as culturally appropriative, appreciative, or appropriate. Further research which attempts to gain insight into these factors would greatly contribute to our current understanding of cultural appropriation. It could allow us to understand how cultural appropriation, as a term that is applied to describe certain instances of intercultural contact, operates and what it signifies to those who use it.

Conclusion

In the current paper we presented our results regarding the influence of appropriator ethnicity on White observers' perceptions of acts of cultural appropriation, on their perception of the appropriator, and on their social decision-making towards the appropriator. We further explored the influence, implicit to the notion of ethnicity, of perceived power of the ethnic group and observers' SDO on our outcome variables. Our results suggest that acts of cultural appropriation are perceived in similar ways whether the appropriator is Black or White. Further, White observers perceive Black and White appropriators equally as less warm than Native Americans when they dress up as Native Americans for Halloween. We further explored the influence of perceived power and found no significant and reliable effect of that factor on White observers' perceptions. We did, however find significant interactions of SDO and ethnicity (but not perceived power of the appropriator's ethnic group) across our perceptual outcome variables. Finally, our results regarding social decision-making did not conform to our hypotheses. While this paper provides a promising start for future research, more research and data are required to have a better grasp of what cultural appropriation means within our current socio-historical context and how it is used by different groups.

Chapter 3 – General Discussion

Cultural appropriation has emerged in recent years as a prescient social issue in popular and academic discourse. However, to understand cultural appropriation and more specifically accurately interpret results related to the perceptions and interpretations of intercultural acts as *cultural appropriation*, considerable attention to the socio-historical context must be given. In fact, I argue that cultural appropriation can be described more as a *social phenomenon* than any *objective* marker of intergroup relations. Arguably, intercultural contact and *cultural appropriations* have occurred throughout history; what is novel in our contemporary moment is that certain acts of cultural appropriation are particularly salient and are met with the perceptions and reactions that they do. Specifically, why are specific acts of cultural appropriation now perceived as negative and as threatening to the group being appropriated while others are not?

I proposed in chapter 1 that cultural appropriation could theoretically be distinguished between its objective dimension involving its socio-historical characteristics, and its rhetorical dimension composed of the subsequent the interpretations of the act of appropriation. I further argued that ideology was a key component which theoretically could influence how individuals perceived acts of cultural appropriation. In chapter 2, I attempted to contribute to the existing literature on the topic of cultural appropriation by investigating certain core characteristics which emerge throughout the literature on the topic of contemporary depictions and studies related to the topic of cultural appropriation. Notably, I tested the influence of 1) appropriator ethnicity, 2) perceived power of the appropriator's ethnic group, and 3) observers' SDO on perceptions towards act of cultural appropriation. I further extended the literature by expanding my analyses to include the influence of our factors on aspects of the intergroup relation which have, to my knowledge, not been investigated in the literature: perceptions of the appropriator and observers' engagement in punitive behaviours.

However, a contextualization of those factors within our current socio-historical context is crucial to fully understand the implications of the results provided in chapter 2. In this chapter, I will attempt to provide a more socio-historically focused interpretation of my results. I will argue that

a crucial aspect to consider is, notably, the way in which culture, as a socio-historical development, functions as a system of categorization which can potentially explain my results found for the function of ethnicity in the study. Further, I will then also argue that the findings related to ideology can themselves be explained by the fact that perception of cultural appropriation may be influenced by a dual process of informational and normative processes. I will argue that this may potentially be supported by the results for education across my models. Finally, I will argue that another factor which may influence the ideological split found in my results is due to certain aspects of the current political landscape in the United States.

Cultural categorization and the influence of ethnicity and perceived power in contexts of cultural appropriation

I used the prototypicality and moral typecasting hypotheses as a means of guiding my hypotheses. Namely, according to the prototypicality hypothesis, I expected that participants would perceive instances of cultural appropriation as more negative, perceive appropriators more negatively, and engage in more punitive social decision-making when the appropriator was depicted as White since this constitutes a certain cultural stereotype in contemporary society. Furthermore, since Whites are considered as a privileged group in society, I further expected, according to the moral typecasting theory (Wegner & Gray, 2009), that White observers would be more likely to perceive White appropriators as moral agents and for participants to perceive the appropriated culture (Aboriginal) as a moral patient and therefore perceive the context generally more negatively and participants to be more willing to engage in punitive decision-making. I further tested whether this would only be true if the group was White and whether the appropriator's ethnic group was perceived as having more power, by including a non-prototypical context of cultural appropriation featuring a Black appropriator and a baseline condition in which an Aboriginal social target dresses up as an Aboriginal for Halloween.

While the results failed to conclusively suggest the primacy of the prototypicality and moral typecasting theories within the context of cultural appropriation, at as described by Mosely & Biernat (2020), I offered in chapter 2 the interpretation that perhaps the prototypicality is rather informed by the low-power group (and perhaps more specifically the socio-historical context

associated with the Aboriginal group), I will here propose that another element associated to the broader socio-historical context may be at play.

Specifically, it is possible that White observers simply perceive cultural appropriation as intergroup *mis-categorization*. This interpretation assumes that within our socio-historical moment, *culture* functions as a conceptual framework of intergroup categorization (see Clifford, 1988). This interpretation also provides the socio-historical basis for White observers seeing cultural categories as rigidly distinctive. This has the implication that cultural categories serve as an assumed aspect of social reality and are a salient dimension of categorization. Research in the Self-Categorization Theory (SCT; Turner, 1985) tradition can perhaps give us some insight into the potential social processes of this interpretation. Namely, SCT proposes that identity is structured cognitively in terms of self-categories and that the formation of self-categories are produced out of inter-class and intra-class comparisons. In other words, one's categorization to a group is the result of comparisons between members that are part of your own social category (intra-class) and those part of some other social category (inter-class). It is possible, within the context of this experiment, that cultural appropriation was perceived along the lines of one social category using cultural elements from another, distinctive, social category. Under this interpretation, cultural appropriation would simply be the result of a perceived mismatch of the social categories between appropriator and appropriated social categories. This could further explain the general complaint that cultural appropriations are not *authentic* (Young, 2010). It would therefore be possible that authenticity, in this case, would be a means of expressing that the culture associated with one social category is not properly presented when used by a member of a different social category. Interpreted as such, cultural appropriation would therefore be perceived negatively only insofar as it violates intergroup categorical norms or is perceived as subjectively aesthetically displeasing.

While the mis-categorization hypothesis provided above may explain some of the ways in which cultural appropriation is perceived, it does not account for other factors found in the literature presented throughout this thesis, notably regarding the importance of perceived power of the appropriator's ethnic group within the intergroup relationship (Root, 1996; Ziff & Rao, 1996; Rogers, 2006). Notably, the context of (post-)colonialism within which these categories exist

makes the power dynamics between colonized and colonizer especially salient. Given the moral implications of a dominant group taking advantage of a dominated group, cultural appropriation can therefore in turn be an especially morally salient context. Two possible factors which may influence how morally salient the context is are one's educational level and one's political ideology.

Influence of observers' education and ideological attitudes in contexts of cultural appropriation

Factors which may influence the salience of morality within contexts of cultural appropriation, I propose, are observers' education and observers' ideological proclivities, specifically political orientation. Regarding education, my results suggest that White observers' education is associated with higher perceived cultural appropriation, lower perceived appropriateness, and higher engagement in punitive social decision-making overall. This suggests that education may have a crucial role to play in how perception regarding cultural appropriation is informed. Two processes could hypothetically be proposed to explain this result. Indeed, it is possible that educational level has an informational influence on White observers' knowledge regarding the socio-historical context of colonialism and cultural appropriation roles within that context. It is also possible that educational level has a normative influence on White observers which is informed by the pressures of the context. It may also be that there is an interaction between these two processes which could influence how observers perceive acts of cultural appropriation which could explain the results found in this thesis. However, at the level of normative processes, it would be necessary to include the fact that universities are generally highly associated with liberal values (Sidanius & Pratto, 1996; Thompson, 2017), which could themselves serve as means of instilling certain views and assumptions regarding cultural appropriation.

As such, relatedly, another context which may explain my results for my American sample is the political context. The divide in the United States between Democrat and Republican attitudes towards social issues related to race (see Pew Research Center, 2021) are still highly polarized. Given that SDO is associated with political ideology along the Democrat-Republican continuum (Sidanius & Pratto, 1996), it may be argued that cultural appropriation is a highly politicized

concept which is not only perceived differently by those two groups but is also utilized in different ways for political and ideological means. My results support this view where observers' SDO was found to interact with the ethnicity of the appropriator. This was found regardless of whether the appropriator was White or Black, thus suggesting that SDO has a moderating effect in line with Katzarska-Miller, Faucher, Kramer, & Reysen's (2020) findings. Taken together, these results suggest the importance of the socio-historical political context in the United States among the sample used in this thesis, and more specifically the dichotomization along political orientation regarding how contexts of cultural appropriation are perceived. Ultimately, it suggests that perhaps a normative dimension to the perception of cultural appropriation is tied to political ideology. Ultimately, it is crucial to account for the larger socio-historical context for cultural appropriation to be studied accurately. In the next section I will discuss the limitations and future directions of the current thesis.

Limits and future directions

While the evidence presented in this thesis provides interesting implications for the study of the social psychological processes of cultural appropriation, there remain certain limitations. I will avoid discussing the limits of the study per se, which are found in chapter 2. Otherwise, one limit, as was illustrated above, is that we did not control for political orientation directly; while we do include SDO, it would be of interest to have had both factors included in our models to assess their separate influences on observers' perceptions and reactions to contexts of cultural appropriation.

Relatedly, future research could also look at the ways in which national policies towards the integration of ethnic groups influences observers' perceptions and reactions to contexts of cultural appropriation. Previous research has provided evidence that political policies enacted by governing entities can have impacts on intergroup attitudes, behaviours and ideologies (Guimond & de la Sablonière, 2014). Studying how these policies generally influence the perceptions of cultural appropriation can reveal important insights regarding how culture is perceived in a given society, and the relationship that individuals and groups have to those definitions of culture. More importantly it could also allow us to assess whether these policies render the concept of cultural

appropriation itself, or the underlying socio-historical factors which are associated with it, more salient which would theoretically lead to higher perceptions of cultural appropriation. For instance, we could ascertain whether a multiculturalist, colorblind, or segregationist policy towards the integration of ethnic groups (and by extension culture) influences in any way the perceptions of acts of appropriation, the perceptions of the appropriator and observers' engagement in punitive social decision-making (for an example of research using this approach, see Rodriguez, 2006).

Finally, another crucial limitation of the current paper is that it does not address the economic issues which cultural appropriation generally present (Cardinal-Schubert, 1996; Rogers, 2006). This omission was purposeful, since the study presented in chapter 2 did not represent economic factors tied to the appropriation. However, future research which examines such factors is an absolute necessity considering that the material deprivations related to cultural appropriation can provide important implications regarding how groups perceive and react to contexts of cultural appropriation. Namely, the distinction between simply consuming a cultural object—as was the case in the vignette presented to participants—and the actual act of profiteering and (in the real sense of the word) appropriating a cultural element associated with another group in order to commodify it has very important implications and ramifications on the culture being used, as well as on the intergroup relationship. As such, as a potential future avenue for research, it would be necessary to pursue the study of how culture and economic interests interact together in contexts of cultural appropriation.

Conclusion

Cultural appropriation is a highly complex social phenomenon which warrants more empirical research. While this research can of course help in making sense of what cultural appropriation is and its impacts on the groups which it targets and has negative impacts on, it can also help us understand how culture is perceived, defined, and utilized in intergroup contexts within our contemporary society. Within our current socio-historical context of global capitalism, the lines which distinguish groups from one another have increasingly blurred over the course of the latter half of the 20th century and into the 21st century. With cultural appropriation becoming a more

salient issue, it has huge implications on how different cultures interact. While the principal focus of social psychology is the study of social attitudes, perceptions, and behaviours, it is crucial not to forget the socio-historical context in which these social processes occur. The study of cultural appropriation provides a case in point in this exercise. By clarifying our understanding of the material and social conditions which undergird contexts of cultural appropriation, we may be able to clarify certain contradictions of contemporary society which contribute to the existing issues which constitute cultural appropriation today.

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Annexes

Figure 7.— Overview of the experiment

Preliminary Questionnaire
- SDO
- Essentialism
- Ingroup identification
- Perceived power of appropriator
  - Black
  - Native American
  - White

Manipulation

"You have been randomly paired with a participant from a previous study, the participant P189. Below you will see information P189 has provided us within the context of a study conducted last week on costumes Americans have worn for Halloween. The information provided will include their ethnicity and the costume they chose to dress as for Halloween."

| Black appropriator | Native American (Baseline) | White appropriator |

Measures
- Appropriateness
- Warmth
- 2PP economic game (normative and anti-social punishment)
- Cultural appropriation
- Cultural appreciation

Demographic
- Age
- Income
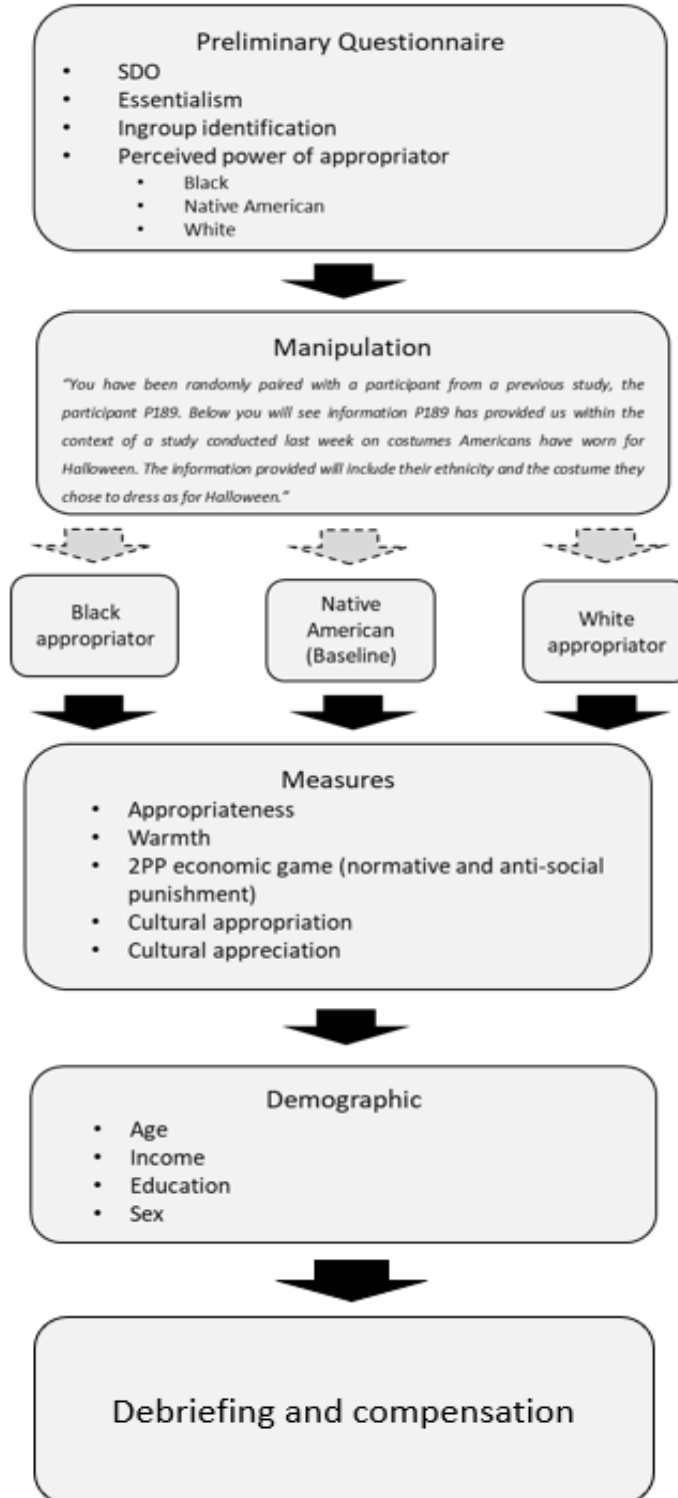- Education
- Sex

Debriefing and compensation

Figure 8.—   Overview of the economic game

Second Party Punishment Game (adapted from Peysakhovich, Nowak & Rand, 2014)

In this interaction one of you will be person A, one of you will be person B. All individuals start with 100 points. This interaction has two parts, in each part both people choose at the same time
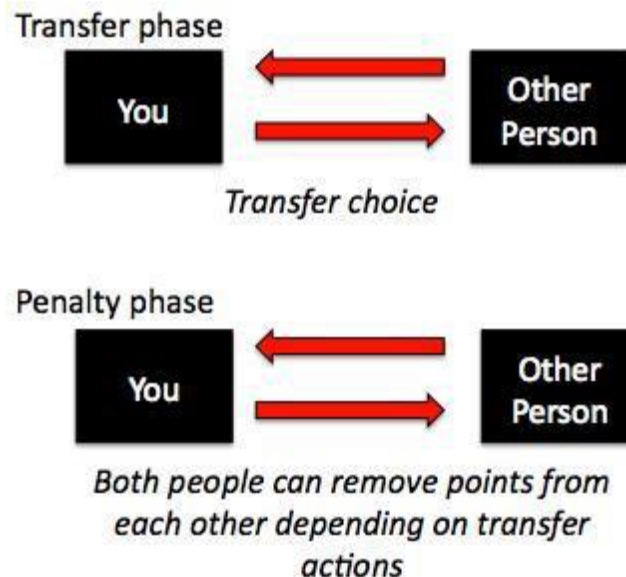
The transfer phase:

1) First, both people will choose to transfer 30 of their points to the other person or not. Any points transferred are doubled and given to the other person.

The penalty phase:

2) Each person then chooses whether they want to remove up to 70 points from that other person. For every 5 points someone wants to remove from the other person, they must pay 1 point.

The graphic below shows a summary of the interaction:

Transfer phase

You → Other Person

Transfer choice

Penalty phase

You → Other Person

Both people can remove points from each other depending on transfer actions

If the other DOES TRANSFER, I will remove...

If the other DOESN'T TRANSFER, I will remove...