

Gender differences in hate feelings towards moral transgressors

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Abstract

This study aims to explore general and gender-based differences in hate feelings towards perpetrators of certain moral transgressions, to get a better understanding on the complex subject of hate. Moral foundations orientation, prior victimization, and gender-linked characteristics like empathy led to the hypothesis that, compared to men, women would not only hate the sexual harassment transgressors more, but that they also feel more hate towards moral transgressors in general. A within-subjects design survey was conducted with 220 participants from the United States of America, exposing them to four experimental conditions involving vignettes that describe moral transgressions: sexual harassment, stealing, harming, and injustice. The outcome variable hate was measured using an adapted version of Zeki and Romaya's (2008) Passionate Hate Scale. Results show that injustice and sexual harassment elicit more hate than stealing and harming, and that there is no significant difference in hate between women and men towards the moral transgressors in general. However, compared to the other transgressions, sexual harassment elicits significantly more hate in women than in men. Prior victimization of sexual harassment being more frequent in women is considered a possible factor to explain this difference. These findings are relevant for future research and might help gain a deeper understanding of hate, which is valuable for tailoring and designing interventions for victim support services and the criminal justice system.

Keywords: hate, moral transgressions, sexual harassment, gender difference, morality

Gender differences in hate feelings towards moral transgressors

Hate is an intense and complex emotion that can have serious consequences in society. Interpersonal and intergroup hate can lead to aggression and exclusion from social situations, but also high impact events like violent crime, discrimination, sexism and genocide (Sternberg & Sternberg, 2008). Fischer et al. (2018, p. 1), claim that “Hate is based on perceptions of a stable, negative disposition of persons or groups. We hate persons and groups more because of who they are, than because of what they do. Hate has the goal to eliminate its target”. Also, hatred is associated with unjustifiability, unfairness, moral inferiority, and disgust in the perceived behavior of the hated person (Fischer et al., 2018). In short, hate is an impactful feeling that carries serious consequences.

Although some theories about hate exist, like the Duplex Theory of Hate in which the structure of hate is divided in negation of intimacy, passion, and commitment (Sternberg & Sternberg, 2008), the Triangular Theory of Hate in which moral emotions anger, contempt and disgust form a triangular structure (Sternberg, 2005), and the FLOTSAM theory which is about the transmission of hate (Sternberg, 2020), there has not been much research on how someone’s experience of hate varies depending on their gender. Also, most articles linking hate to transgressions of morality are either based on the perspective of the victim or the perpetrator, and not on a third-person view.

Therefore, the aim of this study is to examine how different moral transgressions elicit different levels of hate feelings, and if there are gender (operationalized as women and men) differences being in the experience of hate across transgressions. The transgressions chosen for this research are stealing, harming, sexual harassment and injustice. Hate-related concepts like moral outrage, moral foundations, and moral sensitivity have been studied extensively, and could provide insights about hate’s antecedents and motivations for hate feelings (Parker & Janoff-Bulman, 2013), given that morality is the key to distinguish hate from dislike

(Pretus et al., 2018).

Moral foundation orientation

Haidt and Graham's (2007) Moral Foundation Theory (MFT) is useful to understand which foundations would be addressed by the moral transgressions and what kind of emotional response can be expected. MFT states that five psychological constructs can be used to explain moral intuition: harm/care, fairness/reciprocity, authority/respect, ingroup/loyalty and purity/sanctity. As described in Haidt and Graham's article (2007), the foundation of care is centered on the evolutionary instinct of nurturing and caring for others, with empathy playing a big role. The foundation of fairness describes the value of justice, which has its evolutionary roots in reciprocity of altruistic acts. The authority foundation is based on respect for authority figures and hierarchical norms. The foundation of loyalty is focused on the importance of acting in favor of the ingroup. Finally, the purity foundation is based on an evolutionary perspective on prevention of getting ill/being contaminated and is strongly related to feelings of disgust.

Gender differences in moral foundations

By looking at gender differences in moral foundations, an indication can be made about potential gender differences in hate feelings. According to Gilligan and Wiggins (1987), women feel a greater importance than men to make moral judgments that are driven by their sense of duty to care for and nurture individuals. In the research of Graham et al. (2011) the MFQ30 questionnaire, used to measure the importance of each of the five foundations in male and female participants, showed that women scored significantly higher on the foundation of care, purity and fairness. A possible explanation given in the article is that these foundations apply to empathy and egalitarianism, which are associated more with women. Men only barely scored higher on the loyalty and authority foundations, which describe the value of loyalty to the ingroup and hierarchical positions.

Based on these findings, one could argue that the foundations of purity and care would be desecrated most by acts of sexual harassment, and that women would be more sensitive to these kind of transgressions. Harming would very clearly go against the foundation of care, which also is mentioned as the counterpart and other keyword for this foundation (Haidt & Graham, 2007). Injustice would be most contrary to the foundations of loyalty and authority. Fairness/reciprocity would be gone against with stealing. Therefore, reasoning purely from Moral Foundations Theory, women can be expected to feel more negative about sexual harassment, stealing and harming, as opposed to men presumably feeling slightly more negative towards injustice.

Personal views on sexual (mis)behavior

Contemplating sexual harassment, common sense would suggest women are prone to feel more hate towards transgressors, simply because they are more likely to have personal experiences with it. In the research of Kearl et al. (2019), a nationally representative survey about sexual harassment experiences was taken in the United States of America. Results show that 81% of women reported experiencing sexual harassment and/or assault during their lives, compared to 43% of men. This includes all forms of sexual harassment, verbal as well as physical.

Additionally, Leigh et al. (2021) conducted a research in which participants had to read several vignettes with examples of online sexual harassment. They found that women sooner evaluate behavior as sexual harassment than men. Men even tend to blame female victims for sexual harassment instead of the male perpetrator (Jamshed & Kamal, 2020). These findings, combined with the component of personal experiences being more common in women, would suggest that women attribute higher hate scores to sexual harassers than men.

Gender-based differences in predicting hate

Gender differences in certain characteristics can also contribute to predicting

variations in hate feelings. For example, women have higher scores on justice sensitivity than men, suggesting they would be more negative towards breaches of injustice (Schmitt et al., 2010). Also, according to You et al. (2010), women have higher moral sensitivity than men. They score higher on moral identity and pay more attention to moral issues (Xu et al., 2023).

Other than moral constructs, there are also personality traits associated with gender that can help predict hate outcomes. In the research of Davis (1980), empathy was measured with four different subscales: *perspective-taking*, *fantasy* (inverting oneself into the mind and actions of a fantasy character), *empathic concern*, and *personal distress* (discomfort caused by emotional responses from others). Women scored significantly higher in all subscales, meaning they are generally expected to have more empathetic traits than men. The more empathy an individual possesses, the more they might be expected to take the perspective of victims, thus resulting in a stronger emotional response to transgressions.

Lastly, neuroscientific characteristics can also be added as a component that varies in women and men. Yusoff et al. (2023) studied gender differences in moral cognition with neurophysiological marker P300, measuring activity in the frontoparietal network, which plays an important role in abnormal emotional and cognitive processing. They found out that, when presenting several pictures of immoral behavior to participants, women show greater neural cognition processing than men. This indicates that women seem to show more activity in processing moral violations on a neuroscience level than men, and this could lead to equally stronger emotional reactions.

The current research

Described by Fischer et al. (2018) as a feeling aimed at eliminating its target either mentally, physically or socially, hate is known as a consequential emotion. Nevertheless, there is still a lot to explore about hate. Although literature about hate feelings is quite scarce, indications about the manifestations of hate can be derived from moral concepts, taken that

morality is the differentiating factor between dislike and hate (Pretus et al., 2018). In this research, four moral transgressions are used to look into different breaches of morality. Several moral foundations are breached by the transgressions, which are very different situations and could also lead to different emotional reactions. Therefore, one of the main goals of this study is to figure out if and to what extent the moral transgressions differ in eliciting hate feelings.

Moral Foundations Theory shows us that women are more sensitive to breaches of purity, fairness and care, which can be linked to stealing, harming and sexual harassment. Men attribute a slight preference to the foundations of loyalty and authority, which can be associated with injustice (Graham et al., 2011). Women, nonetheless, scored higher on justice sensitivity in the research of Schmitt et al. (2010). Therefore, the possible effect of gender on hate feelings in the injustice transgression was left exploratory. However, morality and empathy typically being more prominent traits in women, combined with the moral foundations that were most important to women being linked to three out of four transgressions, led to the hypothesis that moral transgressions in general elicit stronger hate feelings towards the transgressors in women than in men.

Sexual harassment transgressions especially have a strong inclination of provoking more hate feelings in women than in men. Personal experience with sexual harassment is an influential component, which almost twice as many women have as opposed to men. Mentioned differences in perspectives on sexual transgressions also strengthen this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1. There are differences in hate feelings towards the four moral transgressors

Hypothesis 2. There are gender differences in the hate feelings people experience towards moral transgressors

Hypothesis 3. Women hate the sexual harassment transgressor more than men, compared to the other transgressions

Method

Participants

We recruited a random sample of healthy adults ($N = 269$) from the United States through the online research platform Prolific. The pilot data ($N = 31$) and participants who either failed both attention check questions ($N = 4$) or submitted an incomplete survey ($N = 14$) were excluded from further analyses. After exclusion, a total sample of $N = 220$ remained, where 48.6% were male, 48.2% were female, and 3.2% identified as “other”. The 3.2% that identified as “other” was cut out of the sample, because this study aims to explore gender differences between women and men. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 77 ($M = 42$, $SD = 14.5$). The majority of our sample was white (57.3%) and has obtained an undergraduate degree (39.5%). Based on an *a priori* power analysis, the sample is appropriate for detecting small to medium effect sizes.

Procedure

The data collection of the main study took place on the 3rd of April 2024 via Prolific. Before completing the online questionnaire, participants read a short overview of the general nature of the study and the survey, including instructions. Giving informed consent was needed to confirm anonymous participation and proceed with the survey. Following this, the respondents received the manipulation by being exposed to four within-subjects experimental conditions in random order, which involved reading the vignettes. After reading each vignette, they answer the dependent measure (the adapted Passionate Hate Scale) in relation to that specific vignette, as well as rate other traits that were relevant for the overarching research (this study being a part of a larger research, measuring different variables). Both the vignettes and the questions were presented in a counterbalanced order, to control for carryover and sequential effects. At the end of the study, the respondents provided sociodemographic information. Finally, they read a debriefing form describing the aim and the content of the

study further, and received the contact details of the researcher. Ethical approval for this cross-sectional study was obtained from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Behavioural and Social Sciences at the University of Groningen prior to data collection. The survey took on average 14 minutes and 23 seconds to complete, and each person was paid 2.30 dollars for their participation.

Instruments

The survey completed by the participants was designed using Qualtrics, and was distributed on Prolific. A pilot study was conducted prior to data collection on a small convenience sample via Qualtrics, to check the functionality of the survey, to gather general feedback, and to make adjustments to the instruments as needed. Based on this feedback, minor changes were made to the vignettes and the questions. The responses from the pilot study were not included in the main study, and these participants were not paid.

Vignettes and measures

The survey's manipulation consisted of four vignettes, in which the transgression was described in approximately 6-8 sentences. The vignettes were inspired by true news headlines, consisting of one of the following four moral transgressions being acted upon by a transgressor: stealing, harming, sexual harassment and injustice. Each of the moral transgressions were depicted as the following scenarios: stealing in the form of pickpocketing, harming in the form of punching someone in the face following a conflict, sexual harassment in the form of inappropriate behavior in the workplace, and injustice in the form of corruption (see the complete vignettes in Appendix A). All transgressors in the vignettes were male, due to these kinds of transgressors typically being male - to give an example, 76.88% of United States violent crime offenders in 2022 were male (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2022).

After each vignette, our dependent measures followed in a randomized order, in which participants were exposed to each measure. This study is a part of a larger project, in

which multiple measures were used. The project included variables like evilness, severity, dehumanization and changeableness, all measured on a 7-point Likert Scale (with textual explanations for points 1 to 7, tailored to each variable). However, for this study, the relevant measures were hate, gender, and the transgression conditions (vignettes). Gender was measured by the simple question ‘What is your gender?’, with 3 answer options: male, female or other.

Hate. Hate was measured in this study using an adaptation of the Passionate Hate Scale, originally developed by Zeki and Romaya (2008). It is based on the Triangular theory of hate (Sternberg, 2004). Accordingly, this measure involves three subscales: contempt, anger, and disgust. Each subscale comprises four items each (12 items in total), operationalized as statements which reflect the participant’s attitude towards the transgressor. Examples of statements are ‘I really despise this person’ (contempt), ‘I cannot control my anger towards this person’ (anger), and ‘This person is really disgusting’ (disgust). Answers are rated on a Likert scale from 1=strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree. The scale yields a hate score, ranging from 0 to 72; certain items were reverse-coded as needed. Attention checks were conducted when deemed fit, where the participant had to select a certain number. Cronbach’s alpha for the Passionate Hate Scale was .93, showing good reliability. It also shows excellent convergent validity, when laid next to Sternberg & Sternberg’s (2008) Triangular Hate Scale ($r = .90$) and a Hate Single item ($r = .69$) (Martínez et al., 2022).

Analytical strategy

A Linear Regression Model (LRM) is executed in Jamovi statistics to analyze the data and test the hypotheses. In the analysis, the dependent variable is hate. The independent variables (categorical factors) are transgression condition (x4) and gender (x2).

Hypothesis 1. The exploratory hypothesis about whether certain transgressions elicit more hate than others, are tested by examining the main effect of transgression condition on

hate. If a main effect is found, post hoc pairwise comparisons of transgression conditions are executed to examine the specific differences between moral transgressions in eliciting hate.

Hypothesis 2. The expectation that women and men differ in the level of hate feelings towards moral transgressors in general, is tested by examining the main effect of gender on outcome variable hate.

Hypothesis 3. The interaction between the transgressions and gender tests whether women and men differ in which transgressors they hate more. If there is a significant interaction, simple effects are examined to disentangle the interactions.

Results

To test how hate scores are divided across transgressions and gender, a Linear Regression analysis has been conducted. To answer the research question, differences in hate feelings towards the four transgressions were tested, as well as the three hypotheses.

H1. There are differences in hate feelings towards the four moral transgressors (tested by the main effect between transgression condition and hate).

H2. There are gender differences in the hate feelings people experience towards moral transgressors (tested by the main effect between hate and gender).

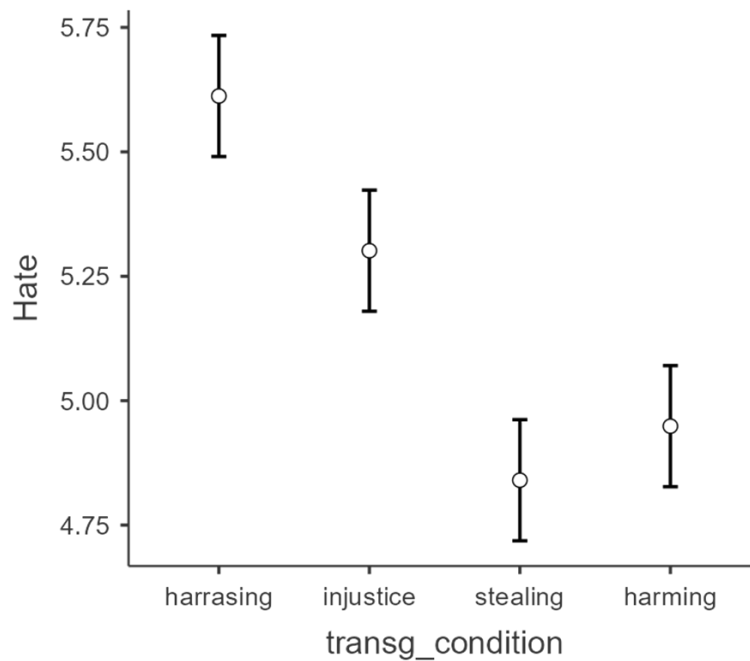
H3. Women hate the sexual harassment transgressor more than men, compared to the other transgressions (tested by the interaction between transgression condition and gender).

Assumption checks

To test and visualize the assumption of normality for dependent variable hate, a Q-Q plot was computed (see Appendix B, figure 2). The plot shows that residuals of observations are all distributed close to the straight reference line, meaning that the data is considered to be normally distributed. No outliers were found nor removed.

Differences in hate feelings towards transgressions

The ANOVA results reveal a significant main effect of the transgression condition on hate, $F(3, 209) = 32.11, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.102$. The highest mean hate score was elicited by the sexual harassment transgression ($M = 5.61, SD = .06$), followed by injustice ($M = 5.30, SD = .06$), then by harming ($M = 4.95, SD = .06$), and stealing had the lowest mean score ($M = 4.84, SD = .06$) (see Appendix B, Table 2). Mean hate scores on every transgression are visualized in Figure 1.

Figure 1*Mean hate scores per transgression*

We conducted post-hoc pairwise comparisons to examine the specific differences between conditions in eliciting hate. Using the Tukey HSD test for post-hoc comparisons showed significant mean differences between harassing and harming ($MD = .663$, $SD = .09$, $p = <.001$), harassing and injustice ($MD = .311$, $SD = .09$, $p = .002$), harassing and stealing ($MD = .772$, $SD = .09$, $p = <.001$). There were also significant differences found between injustice and harming ($MD = .353$, $SD = .09$, $p = <.001$), and injustice and stealing ($MD = .461$, $SD = .09$, $p = <.001$). The biggest difference was between harassing and stealing, whereas the smallest significant difference was found between harassing and injustice. The only non-significant difference was found between stealing and harming ($MD = -.109$, $SD = .09$, $p = .603$). The results of the post hoc comparisons are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1*Post hoc comparisons of transgression conditions*

Post Hoc Comparisons - transg_condition

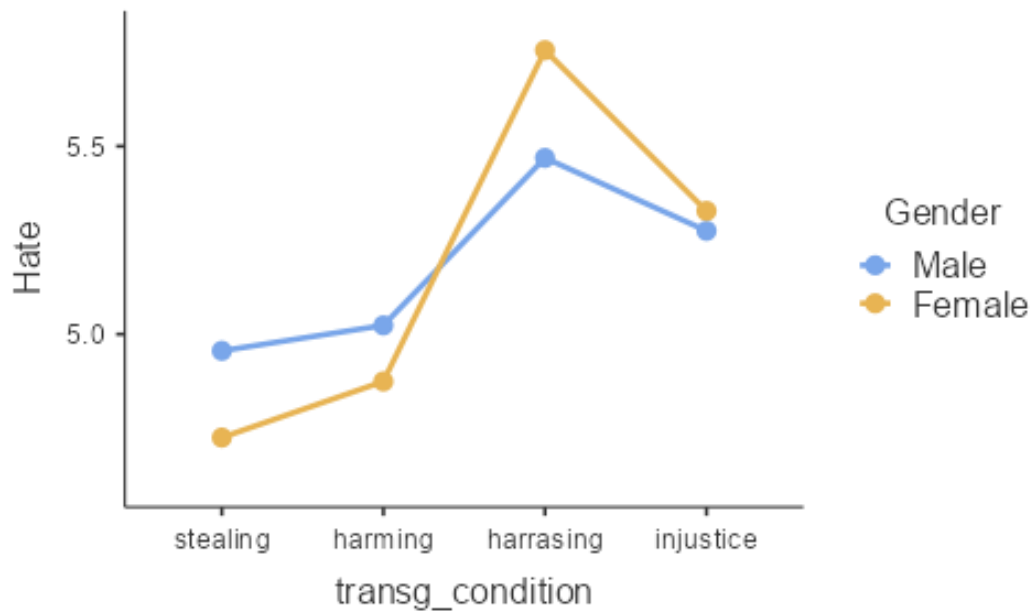
Comparison		Difference	SE	t	df	p _{Tukey}
transg_condition	transg_condition					
harrasing	- harming	0.663	0.0877	7.57	844	< .001
harrasing	- injustice	0.311	0.0877	3.54	844	0.002
harrasing	- stealing	0.772	0.0877	8.80	844	< .001
injustice	- harming	0.353	0.0877	4.02	844	< .001
injustice	- stealing	0.461	0.0877	5.26	844	< .001
stealing	- harming	-0.109	0.0877	-1.24	844	0.603

Gender differences in hate feelings

To test the hypothesis that women generally feel more hate towards transgressions, a main effect of gender on hate was tested. It was found not significant with $F(1, 211) = .03$, $p = .871$, meaning there was no significant difference in hate feelings towards transgressions in general, between women and men. All mean hate scores on the transgressions, divided by gender, are shown in Appendix B (Table 3).

Figure 2

Interaction between transgression condition and gender as predictors of hate feelings towards different transgressors



Although no significant main effect of gender on hate was found, there was a significant interaction effect between gender and transgression condition as predictors of hate, $F(3, 208) = 3.47, p = .016, \eta_p^2 = 0.012$. The interaction is visualized in Figure 2 and summarized in Table 2. Sexual harassment was the only transgression that showed a significant simple effect, $F(1, 847) = 5.34, p = .021, \eta_p^2 = 0.006$. The simple effect of stealing was not significant, $F(1, 847) = 3.46, p = .063, \eta_p^2 = 0.004$, as well as the simple effects of harming, $F(1, 847) = 1.45, p = .229, \eta_p^2 = 0.002$ and injustice, $F(1, 847) = .18, p = .670, \eta_p^2 = 0.000$ (see Table 2). The hypothesis that female participants reported a higher mean hate score than male participants on the sexual harassment transgression was supported by these results.

Table 2*Simple effects of the interaction between gender and transgression condition*

Moderator levels							
transg_condition	contrast	Estimate	SE	β	df	t	p
stealing	Female - Male	-0.2308	0.124	-0.2413	844	-1.861	0.063
harming	Female - Male	-0.1492	0.124	-0.1560	844	-1.203	0.229
harrasing	Female - Male	0.2867	0.124	0.2998	844	2.312	0.021
injustice	Female - Male	0.0529	0.124	0.0553	844	0.427	0.670

Taken together, these findings indicate that participants showed higher levels of hate towards sexual harassment and injustice, as opposed to harming and stealing eliciting lower levels of hate. Sexual harassment elicited significantly higher levels of hate in women, compared to men. There was no significant effect found between gender and transgression condition, meaning that in this sample, gender had no predictive value on hate scores towards moral transgressions in general.

Discussion

The primary aim of this study was to explore (gender) differences in hate feelings elicited by certain moral transgressions. We hypothesized that women would generally feel more hate towards moral transgressions than men, and women specifically would hate the sexual harassment transgressors more. Findings showed that hate levels were higher in the sexual harassment condition, followed by injustice, then harming, and lastly stealing. There was no significant difference in hate feelings between women and men in general. However, findings did show that women feel significantly more hate towards the sexual harassment transgressor than men, supporting hypothesis 3.

Theoretical and practical implications

The expectation that there would be differences in hate feelings towards the four moral transgressors, was supported by the significant main effect between transgression condition and hate. The most hated transgressor was the sexual harasser, followed by the corrupt politician (injustice), the man punching another man after a conflict (harming), and lastly, the pickpocket (stealing). All transgressions differed significantly from each other, except for stealing and harming. One explanation for the sexual harasser eliciting most hate can be that acts of sexual harassment breach the foundation of purity in Moral Foundations Theory, which is associated with feelings of disgust (Graham et al., 2011). Disgust is one of the three components in Sternberg's (2005) Triangular Theory of Hate, and therefore strongly related to hate. Another explanation for the differences in hate levels can be that both injustice and sexual harassment breach two out of five moral foundations, as opposed to stealing and harming each breaching one foundation: sexual harassment violates the foundations of purity and care, and injustice violates the foundations of loyalty and authority (Haidt & Graham, 2007). Harming applies only to the foundation of care, whereas stealing is linked to the foundation of fairness. Thus, the corrupt politician and the sexual harasser go against two

foundations of moral intuition instead of ‘just’ one, which might result in stronger hate feelings.

The second expectation was, that because women generally attribute more value to moral issues than men (Xu et al., 2023), have higher moral sensitivity (You et al., 2010), and showed higher scores on empathy (Davis, 1980), they would feel more hate towards moral transgressors. This hypothesis was not supported by the data, which showed a non-significant difference between women and men in hate feelings towards transgressors. A logical explanation derives from the interaction between gender and transgression condition, which means that it depends on the transgression type whether hate levels are higher in women or men. As shown in Figure 2, the gender differences in hate levels per transgression type even out each other, meaning that if variable transgression condition is taken as a whole, there will be no significant gender differences. A factor that could also have an influence on whether or not gender differences are found, which we did not address in the survey used in this study, is emphasizing gender as a social category. Ryan et al. (2004) studied gender differences in moral reasoning based on Turner’s (1985) Social Categorization Theory, and found that when gender was made salient as a social category, there were differences in moral reasoning between women and men. Nevertheless, when gender differences were not emphasized, differences in moral reasoning between women and men did not occur. Because of the strong connection between hate and moral reasoning (Pretus et al., 2018), this is interesting information to consider in future research on gender-based differences in hate feelings towards moral transgressions.

The third expectation was that women would feel more hateful towards sexual harassment transgressions than men, due to women generally having more personal experiences with sexually transgressive behavior (Kearl et al., 2019), being more sensitive to breaches of purity (Haidt and Graham, 2007), and evaluating behavior as sexual harassment

sooner than men (Leigh et al., 2021). The interaction effect between gender and transgression condition with the additional simple effects supported this expectation: the sexual harasser significantly elicited more hate in women than in men. No other transgression condition showed a significant difference in gender, making this a more notable result.

With hate being seen as an emotion that has the goal to harm or eliminate its target (Fischer et al., 2018), there is a lot of relevance in figuring out what causes hate. Often hate is associated with intergroup emotions and minorities like the LGBTQI+ or Muslim community (Walters et al., 2020), making this a more frequent subject for research about hate. Nonetheless, in this study interpersonal hate was researched. Hate can be looked at from various different perspectives - in the case of moral transgressions and crimes the first thing coming to mind is the perspective of the perpetrator or victim. In this study, the perspective of a third person was highlighted. Translating the information gathered in this study to practical situations, one could imagine an example of people reading about a certain transgressor in the local news and placing themselves in the shoes of the victim. If hate feelings are sparked, aggression and the desire for retaliation could be a consequence (Elshout et al., 2014). Understanding more about the factors that are at play in the development of hate could be very helpful for designing and tailoring interventions to prevent and decrease hate feelings. Based on the information gathered in this study, focusing on the role of prior sexual harassment victimization in developing hate feelings would be a valuable angle to further explore and incorporate in victim support services.

Strengths, limitations and future directions

A strength is that the topic of this study is completely novel. As mentioned before, not a lot of research has been done about hate, let alone with this approach. The sample was big (N = 220) and the distribution of male and female participants was almost completely even, which was quite relevant for the aims of this study. Furthermore, vignettes were designed

based on a preliminary executed pilot study.

One limitation of this study is that gender was only considered to be either male or female, other genders were not included. A future direction could involve including other genders, considering this is not only an increasingly accepted and relevant subject in society, but also a very under-researched area. Another limitation of this study was the entirely US-based sample, making it hard to generalize results. To get a complete view on the topic of hate across cultures and countries, choosing a more inclusive sample would add value to future research. This also applies to the vignettes: the perpetrators in the short descriptions of the transgression were all men, which possibly could have influenced attitudes from both male and female participants (Basow et al., 2007). Therefore, exploring whether depicting male or female perpetrators would result in different perceptions and attitudes, could be an interesting approach in future research. Lastly, because previous victimization of certain transgressions possibly is an important factor in predicting hate levels (as can be derived from the findings regarding the hypothesis about women hating more towards sexual transgressors), this variable should be taken into account in future research.

Conclusion

Taken together, findings in this research not only showed that moral transgressions differ in the levels of hate towards the transgressors they elicit, but also that women feel significantly more hate towards transgressors of sexual harassment than men, compared to other transgressions. This means that, when using hate as a predictor for possible consequences (e.g. violence, revenge), the fact that sexual harassment and injustice cause more hate than stealing and harming adds valuable information. Furthermore, not much research is done on gender-based differences in hate, hence making the implications and future directions of this study a step in the right direction to gather more information about hate.

The insights gathered in this study indicate that researching gender differences is more complex than merely relying on stereotypical information. Contextual, cultural, and individual factors likely play significant roles, making it clear that this subject cannot be viewed in a simplistic, black-and-white manner. Some (confirmed) expectations were clear-cut and obvious, not only based on literature, but also on personal presumptions. Others were not supported, which results in curiosity as to what could cause these unexpected outcomes. The findings of this study underscore the importance of considering a broader range of genders and cultural contexts when researching hate, highlighting the need for more inclusive samples. Future research should incorporate variables like prior victimization, different perpetrator genders, and more gender inclusivity for exploring gender differences in hate feelings to gain a deeper understanding of hate - hopefully resulting in being able to develop and tailor interventions and prevent consequences.

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Appendix A

Vignettes

Vignette 1: stealing

A man has been pickpocketing in the metro without being caught. He usually stands by the door during rush hours, waiting until people are distracted to slide his hand into their pockets and steal their small but valuable items such as wallets and mobile phones. One day, the man sees a great opportunity. A young woman is distracted while having a phone conversation and has her backpack open with her laptop exposed. The man waits until the next stop and slowly takes her laptop from her backpack, leaving the metro without her noticing.

Vignette 2: harming

Driver A is in a busy parking lot looking for a spot. Someone is just leaving, so a place is about to be available. However, another car (Driver B) was waiting across looking for the same spot for even longer, so Driver B rightfully proceeds to park his car. Driver A gets really angry, steps out of his car, and confronts Driver B, who is also stepping out. Driver B is willing to negotiate, so he starts to explain the situation in a calm and reasonable way. But without waiting, or saying a word, Driver A punches Driver B in the face and leaves.

Vignette 3: sexual harassment

The manager of a small company has been inappropriately approaching his female employees. One day, he asks one of them to stay after work to help him with a project. While working on the tasks, he makes inappropriate comments about her appearance and touches her thigh. After she refuses, he insists and tries to kiss her. She resists again and claims to be feeling uncomfortable and that she wants to leave. He replies that if she leaves now, she better not come the next day because she will lose her job.

Vignette 4: injustice

A politician was in charge of managing the taxpayers' money for developing community projects and building a public school in a deprived area. Because of some administrative and legal gaps, he sees the opportunity to delay the projects indefinitely and create a parallel account for keeping the money for himself and some of his associates. Later, the case is discovered, and he is convicted of embezzlement. However, using the same funds, he bribes the jury in charge of his case, and is declared innocent, after which he leaves the country.

Appendix B**Tables and figures (results)****Figure 2**

Assumption check: linearity of residuals

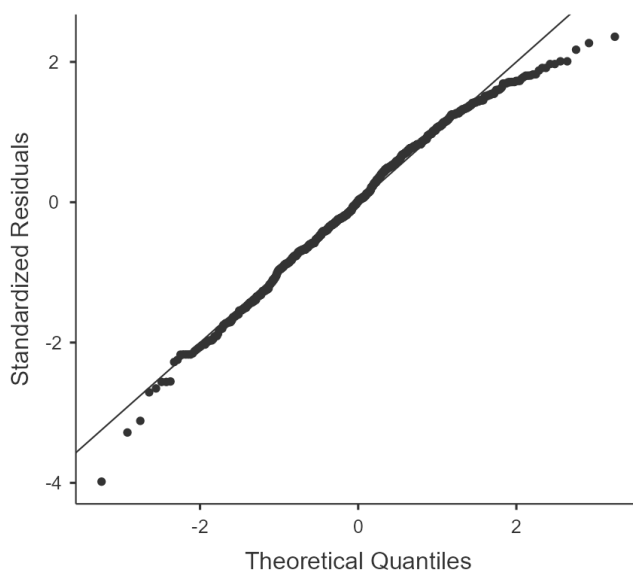


Table 2*Mean hate scores per transgression*

Estimated Marginal Means - transg_condition

transg_condition	Mean	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower	Upper
stealing	4.84	0.0620	4.72	4.96
harming	4.95	0.0620	4.83	5.07
harrasing	5.61	0.0620	5.49	5.73
injustice	5.30	0.0620	5.18	5.42

Table 3*Mean hate scores on transgression conditions, divided by gender*

Descriptives

	Gender	transg_condition	Hate
Mean	Male	stealing	4.96
		harming	5.02
		harrasing	5.47
		injustice	5.27
	Female	stealing	4.72
		harming	4.87
		harrasing	5.76
		injustice	5.33