

Pisma Humanistyczne

Zeszyt XIV * 2016 * ISSN 1506-9567

Humanistic Scripts

Volume XIV * 2016 * ISSN 1506-9567

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Cultural aspects of infrahumanization

Introduction

The subject of interest in this article is the influence of culture on the perception of emotions of other people. In particular, the phenomenon of infrahumanization of the outgroup was examined among Bulgarian, Polish and Indonesian respondents.

Infrahumanization

Infrahumanization is a specific attribution error due to the difference in the perception of the ingroup and the outgroup on a dimension of humanity. Lower degree of humanity is attributed to the outgroup than to the ingroup¹. Many researchers believe that this phenomenon is of universal nature, occurs even without real causes and is created by the mere fact of social categorization², but this opinion is debatable³. According to Mirosławska⁴, it is a phenomenon of unconscious, automatic nature. Sometimes also referred to a subtle form of dehumanization, (which is a behavior or

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- 1 G. T. Viki, R. Calitri, *Infrahuman outgroup or suprahumaningroup: the role of nationalism and patriotism in the infrahumanization of outgroups*. "European Journal of Social Psychology" 2008, no. 38 (6), p. 1054-1061.
 - 2 Cf. S. Demoulin, J. P. Leyens, R. Rodriguez-Torres, A. Rodriguez-Perez, M. P. Paladino, S. T. Fiske, *Motivation to support a desired conclusion versus motivation to avoid an undesirable conclusion: The case of infra-humanization*. "International Journal of Psychology", 2005, no. 40, p. 416-428.
 - 3 M. Bilewicz, *Funkcjonalna dehumanizacja. Studium odczłowieczenia ofiar i grup uciskanych*, [in:] *Poza stereotypy. Dehumanizacja i esencjalizm w postrzeganiu grup społecznych*, ed. M. Drogosz, M. Bilewicz, M. Kofta, Warszawa 2012, p. 131-165.
 - 4 M. Mirosławska, *Zjawisko infrahumanizacji „obcych” – demonstracja w warunkach grup minimalnych*. „Studia Psychologiczne”, 2006, no. 44 (4), p. 45-55.

process that undermines individuality of and in others), as it is not accompanied by extreme manifestations of dehumanization and denying humanity of others.

Haslam⁵ distinguishes two types of dehumanization: animalistic and mechanistic. Animalistic dehumanization involves denying that an outgroup can possess typically human features, for example: intelligence, creativity, morality, culture. Mechanistic dehumanization is a denial of a human nature to the outgroup, equating its members to the cold, psychologically shallow machines⁶. Infracommunication is a kind of animalistic dehumanization.

According to Leyens⁷, humanity is designated by following specifically human features: use of language, ability of abstract thinking and feeling emotions specific for humans, which are called secondary emotions. The research of Leyens team, focusing on the emotional dimension, indicates that people attribute fewer secondary emotions to people from an outgroup than to representatives of an ingroup. Evaluation of emotions as primary or secondary is largely correlated with the degree to which it is assessed as “uniquely human”⁸.

Primary emotions are shared by humans and animals. Advanced cognitive processes are not necessary for their emergence. They appear in early ontogeny and are of universal and innate character. According to Leyens⁹, the representatives of ingroups and outgroups are not differentiated in the dimension of primary emotions.

Studies on infracommunication

Leyens, Demoulin, Vaes, Gaunt and Paladino¹⁰ conducted a study using the Implicit Association Test – IAT. The IAT measures the strength of associations between

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- 5 N. Haslam, Dehumanization. *An integrative Review*. “Personality and Social Psychology Review”, 2006, no. 10 (3), p. 252-264.
 - 6 N. Haslam, P. Bain, L. Douge, M. Lee, B. Bastian, *More human than you: attributing humanness to self and others*. “Journal of Personality and Social Psychology”, 2005, no. 89 (6), p. 937-950.
 - 7 J. P. Leyens, M. P. Paladino, R. Rodriguez-Torres, S. Demoulin, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Gount, *The emotional side of prejudice: The attribution of secondary emotions to ingroups and outgroups*. “Personality and Social Psychology Review”, 2000, no. 4 (2), p. 186-197.
 - 8 S. Demoulin, J. P. Leyens, R. Rodriguez-Torres, A. Rodriguez-Perez, M. P. Paladino, S. T. Fiske, *Motivation to support...*, p. 416-428.
 - 9 J. P. Leyens, B. P. Cortes, S. Demoulin, J. F. Fiske, R. Gaunt, M. P. Paladino, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Rodriguez-Torres, J. Vaes, *Emotional prejudice, essentialism and nationalism: The 2002 Tajfel Lecture*. “European Journal of Social Psychology”, 2003, no. 31, p. 395-411.
 - 10 J. P. Leyens, S. Demoulin, J. Vaes, R. Gaunt, M. P. Paladino, *Infracommunication: The Wall of Group Differences*. “Social Issues and Policy Review”, 2007, no. 1, p. 139-172.

concepts and evaluations or stereotypes. The main idea is that making a response is easier when closely related items share the same response key. Researchers were measuring the timing of secondary emotions categorization to the category “Us” and category “They”. The research showed that the time of categorization of secondary emotions to the category “They” is significantly longer than to the category “Us”. Secondary emotions category is therefore very much in line with the category “We”, however, it is poorly consistent with the category “They”, also at the level of implicit processing. The research showed no difference in case of primary emotions, which suggests that this category is associated both with the category “We” as well as “They”. Paladino, Leyens, Rodriguez, Rodriguez, Gaunt and Demoulin¹¹ received similar results. In their studies, the Belgians were an ingroup, and the Arabs were an outgroup. Also in this case, the categorization of secondary emotions to an ingroup proceeded significantly faster. The strength of implicit association was therefore greater in terms of the relationship between the ingroup and the names of secondary emotions, than in the case of the outgroup.

Studies carried out on groups of students from Spain and the Canary Islands show that the phenomenon of infrahumanization is not dependent on the sign of emotion, both positive and negative emotions can be primary (for example: curiosity, pain, joy, sadness, fear, trust, rage) or secondary (for example: amusement, frustration, fright, compassion, shame, remorse, melting-mood). This is what distinguishes it from discrimination and favoritism¹².

The conflict between groups favors infrahumanization, however, is not essential to its occurrence, which stabilizes the universality of the phenomenon¹³. Also the level of knowledge about the outgroup does not limit infrahumanization, which means that it can not be explained by the concept of familiarity. Studies revealed that the range of information about the members of the outgroup does not modify the phenomenon¹⁴.

11 P. M. Paladino, J. P. Leyens, R. T. Rodriguez, A. P. Rodriguez, R. Gaunt, S. Demoulin, *Differential association of uniquely and non uniquely human emotions to the ingroup and the outgroups*. “Group Processes and Intergroup Relations”, 2002, no. 5, p. 105-117.

12 J. P. Leyens, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Rodriguez-Torres, R. Gount, P. Paladino, J. Vaes, S. Demoulin, *Psychological essentialism and differential attribution of uniquely human emotions to ingroups and outgroups*. “European Journal of Social Psychology”, 2001, no. 31, p. 395-411.

13 S. Demoulin, J. P. Leyens, R. Rodriguez-Torres, A. Rodriguez-Perez, M. P. Paladino, S. T. Fiske, *Motivation to support...*, p. 416-428.

14 B. P. Cortes, S. Demoulin, R. Rodriguez-Torres, A. Rodriguez-Perez, J. P. Leyens, *Infrahumanization or familiarity? Attribution of uniquely human emotions to the self, the ingroup and the outgroup*. “Personality on Social Psychology Bulletin”, 2005, no. 31, p. 253-263.

Tomasz Baran¹⁵ conducted a study on a group of high school students, which confirmed the occurrence of infrahumanization among Poles. The respondents were given a questionnaire containing the list of secondary and primary emotions. Both among the primary and secondary emotions there were emotions of a positive and negative nature. The task was to assign which emotions do the members of the ingroup (high school students), and the outgroup (technical college students) experience most often. The results showed that the respondents attributed a significantly greater ability to experience secondary emotions to the ingroup than to the outgroup.

Universality and stability of the phenomena are supported also by the results of research conducted among the real social groups. The research was conducted on a group of 98 students who declared themselves as Catholic. The respondents' task was to assess religious groups in terms of experiencing emotions. Assessment covered four groups: Catholics, Orthodox Christians, Muslims and Judaists. The attitude towards particular religious groups was also measured. The results indicated the most positive attitude towards the ingroup, so the effect of favouritism occurred. In addition, respondents attributed lower overall emotional sensitivity to all outgroups than to the ingroup, which means that also the effect of dementalization occurred, referring to a wholesale denial of mind in the outgroups. Also an effect of infrahumanization of all outgroups was observed¹⁶.

The effect of infrahumanization was also observed in the so-called minimal group paradigm, which is a method for investigating the minimal conditions required for infrahumanization to occur between groups¹⁷. The condition for its occurrence is the activation of collective identity, and the ingroup needs to have certain significance to respondents. If there is no personal significance, for example due to the fact that the ingroup is distinguished on the basis of the roll of the dice, the respondents do not identify with it¹⁸. In case of the outgroup, just thinking about a particular group is suf-

15 T. Baran, *Zjawisko dehumanizacji w relacjach międzygrupowych; znaczenie kategoryzacji społecznej, kooperacji i rywalizacji*, [in:] *Myślenie stereotypowe i uprzedzenia: mechanizmy poznawcze i afektywne*, ed. M. Kofta, Warszawa 2004, p. 117-137.

16 M. Tarnowska, P. Sławuta, M. Kofta, *Procesy dehumanizowania „obcych”: mechanizmy i funkcje*, [in:] *Poza stereotypy. Dehumanizacja i esencjalizm w postrzeganiu grup społecznych*, ed. M. Drogosz, M. Bilewicz, M. Kofta, Warszawa 2012, p. 131-165.

17 H. Tajfel, J. C. Turner, *The social identity theory of inter-group behaviour*, [in:] *Psychology of intergroup relations*, ed. S. Worchel, L. Austin, Chicago 1986, p. 7-24.

18 S. Demoulin, B. P. Cortes, J. P. Leyens, *Infra-humanization: The differential interpretation of primary and secondary emotions*, [in:] *Intergroup misunderstandings: Impact of divergent social realities*, ed. S. Demoulin, J. P. Leyens, J. F. Dovidio. New York 2009, p. 153-171.

ficient. Studies by Kofta and Mirosławska¹⁹ indicate that infrahumanization occurs at the same level of intensity in minimal and real groups. In the case of real groups, however, there was a greater tendency to assign both the primary and secondary emotions, and therefore tendency to perceive more intense emotional experience. For minimal groups, greater tendency to assign primary emotions to the outgroup occurred.

Mirosławska²⁰ conducted a survey on twenty eight female and male students of humanities. Researcher presented pairs of images to the respondents and asked them to select the one they like more and to state the reasons for their choice. Then, the respondents received information that some of the other persons have made the same choice, and some of them have made different choices. It was the way to create minimal groups. Then respondents were asked to assign emotions and character traits to members of both groups, given the false information that aesthetic preferences reflect the personality of a man. The survey results indicated the presence of dementalization (referring to a wholesale denial of mind in the outgroup) and infrahumanization of the outgroup, as well as an effect of the ingroup favoritism.

Another study by Mirosławska²¹, carried out on a group of thirty two female and male students of humanities in the conditions of minimal groups, had an analogous procedure to the preceding survey, but by the end of the study, participants were asked to evaluate the similarity in terms of character traits of two triple groups of speakers. Respondents received information that one set contains speeches of the ingroup members, and a second of the outgroup members or vice versa. In this study, the infrahumanization effect was also observed. There were also the effects of favoritism of the ingroup and homogenization of the outgroup, but none of these effects correlated with infrahumanization, which may indicate that infrahumanization and favorization of the ingroup are separate phenomena. Interestingly, similar studies conducted on groups of students of non-humanities, did not show a statistically significant level of infrahumanization, which may mean that aesthetic preferences were important for the students of the humanities, but not for other students.

Infrahumanization effect can be observed in groups of low and high status. However, Vaes and Paladino²² report that infrahumanization effect is stronger when

19 Kofta M., Mirosławska M., *Czy dehumanizowanie „obcych” to proces elementarny?*, [in:] *Myślenie stereotypowe i uprzedzenia: mechanizmy poznawcze i afektywne*, ed. M. Kofta, Warszawa 2004, p. 95-115.

20 M. Mirosławska, *Zjawisko infrahumanizacji „obcych” – demonstracja w warunkach grup minimalnych*. „*Studia Psychologiczne*”, 2006, no. 44 (4), p. 45-55.

21 For: M. Tarnowska, P. Sławuta, M. Kofta, *Procesy dehumanizowania „obcych”...*, p. 131-165.

22 J. Vaes, M. P. Paladino, *The uniquely human content of stereotypes*. “Group Processes and Interpersonal Relations”, 2010, no. 13, p. 23-39.

the status of one's own group is subjectively assessed as high, than in the case of status assessed as low. The influence of status is smaller in studies comparing emotions than intelligence or linguistic abilities. This allows showing the effect of infrahumanization also for members of groups with low status in relation to groups of high social position. Leyens, Rodriguez-Perez, Rodriguez-Torres, Gount, Paladino, Vaes and Demoulin²³ conducted a study which showed that Canarian people, as a group of low social status, to the same extent attributed fewer secondary emotions to Spaniards living on the continent (who have a higher social status) as the Spaniards from the mainland to Canarian people.

However, above mentioned groups live in different areas and Canarians on everyday basis do not experience domination of having a higher status Spaniards from the mainland. Miranda, Gouveia-Pereira and Vaes²⁴, after conducting research on groups of low status who experience actual marginalization in relation to the group of higher status, received different results. They examined the Romani Portuguese, and black Portuguese. They asked the respondents to evaluate the outgroup, which had a higher social status – white Portuguese. At the beginning, the respondents were asked to generate features that they consider characteristically human. Then they were asked to assign generated features to an ingroup and an outgroup. The results indicate that neither Romani population nor black people attributed to the white Portuguese fewer human characteristics than to their own group. On the other hand, white Portuguese attributed less human characteristics both to Romani and black Portuguese. However, the differences in results of research on Spaniards and Canarian people and on Romani and black Portuguese may also result from differences in research methodology.

Activation of a common group, superior to the ingroup and the outgroup, turns out to be insignificant for the phenomenon of infrahumanization²⁵. Such strategies are effective in reducing stereotypes, which are thoughts which can be adopted about specific types of individuals or certain ways of doing things, but turn out to be insignificant for infrahumanization - indicating the individuality of both phenomena.

23 J. P. Leyens, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Rodriguez-Torres, R. Gount, P. Paladino, J. Vaes, S. Demoulin, *Psychological essentialism...*, p. 395-411.

24 For: J. Vaes, M. P. Paladino, M. M. P. Miranda, *Dehumanizacja w relacjach międzygrupowych: funkcje i moderatory (de)humanizacji grupy własnej i obcej*, [in:] *Poza stereotypy. Dehumanizacja i esencjalizm w postrzeganiu grup społecznych*, ed. M. Drogosz, M. Bilewicz, M. Kofta, Warszawa 2012, p. 97-130.

25 A. Rohmann, P. M. Niedenthal, M. Brauer, E. Castano, J. P. Leyens, *The attribution of primary and secondary emotions to the in- group and to the out-group: the case of equal status countries*. "The Journal of Social Psychology", 2009, no. 149 (6), p. 709-730.

According to Delgado, Rodriguez-Perez, Vaez, Leyens, Betancor²⁶, infrahumanization is a ductile phenomenon, which means that depending on how the group is perceived, the members can be infrahumanized by the respondents or not. Infrahumanization effect may be weakened or even eliminated in the case of intentional action in the conditions of access to free cognitive resources, such as attention, recognition, and memory, whose capacity directly determines the complexity and quantity of processing that people can manage²⁷. According to Baran²⁸, this effect may be waived when an ingroup and an outgroup cooperate with each other, or if they compete in terms of so called intelligent rivalry, which requires usage of higher cognitive functions, especially if identification with an ingroup is not strong. Research on groups of football fans²⁹ indicate that the effect of infrahumanization can be waived, or even reversed, when the dimension of primary emotions constitutes the image of the ingroup.

According to Pereira, Vala and Leyens³⁰, members of the foreign group are less infrahumanized when external sources of information, such as scientific research, attribute secondary emotions to them. According to Leyens et al.³¹, also individualization limits the infrahumanization effect. Therefore infrahumanization does not occur when respondents do not judge a person through the prism of the group affiliation.

An interesting result was obtained in studies that checked the level of infrahumanization by Caucasian (white) Brazilians in black and white skin color Brazilians comparison. The respondents were given the information about professional success or failure of the individuals concerned. It turned out that the effect of infrahumanization was greater in case of people of a black skin colour, as well as those experiencing failure (Lima, Vala 2005)³². Groups that often are objects of infrahumanization are

26 N. R. Delgado, A. Rodriguez-Perez, J. Vaes, J. P. Leyens, V. Betancor, *Priming effects of violence on infrahumanization*. "Group Processes and Interpersonal Relations", 2009, no. 12, p. 699-714.

27 J. P. Leyens, S. Demoulin, J. Vaes, R. Gaunt, M. P. Paladino, *Infra-humanization: The Wall of Group Differences...*, p. 139-172.

28 T. Baran, *Dehumanizacja w stosunkach międzygrupowych*, Warszawa 2007.

29 M. Kofta, M. Mirosławska, *Czy dehumanizowanie "obcych" to proces elementarny?*, [in:] *Myślenie stereotypowe i uprzedzenia: mechanizmy poznawcze i afektywne*, ed. M. Kofta, Warszawa 2004, p. 95-115.

30 C. Pereira, J. Vala, J.P. Leyens, *From infra-humanization to discrimination: Mediation of symbolic threat needs egalitarian norms*. "Journal of Experimental Social Psychology", 2009, no. 45, p. 336-345.

31 J. P. Leyens, B. P. Cortes, S. Demoulin, J. F. Fiske, R. Gaunt, M. P. Paladino, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Rodriguez-Torres, J. Vaes, *Emotional prejudice...*, p. 395-411.

32 J. P. Leyens, M. P. Paladino, J. Vaes. *Esencja i umysł: w kierunku integracji unikalnie i typowo ludzkich aspektów człowieczeństwa*, [in:] *Poza stereotypy. Dehumanizacja i esencjalizm w postrzeganiu grup społecznych*, ed. M. Drogosz, M. Bilewicz, M. Kofta, Warszawa 2012, p. 97-130.

also, among others, sexually objectified women, immigrants or nationals of countries which do not have a good reputation among respondents³³.

Marcu and Chrysoochoou (2005)³⁴ compared the attitude of the British and Romanians to Romani people. It turned out that the British inhumanized Romani to a much greater extent than the Romanians. These results may be due to the fact that the difference between the economic status of Romani and the majority group is much higher in the United Kingdom.

Bilewicz, Spencer and Castano (2006)³⁵ question the essentialist character of inhumanization and understanding of this phenomenon as an automatic consequence of the categorization by division into an ingroup and an outgroup. The results of their study indicate rather its functionalist nature, as a justification for class domination and stabilizer of hierarchical structure. The survey was conducted in Poland. Participants were presented the story of accident, in which a driver died, which was of Polish or Russian nationality. A manipulation on social class of a victim was used. The victim was presented as a manual worker or a member of the board of directors of the company. The description stated that the person drank a glass of strong alcohol before the accident. In case of the worker it was vodka, and in case of the member of the board of directors – cognac. The participants were asked to assess emotions which the members of the close family of the victim could experience. There was no statistically significant difference in attributing primary and secondary emotions to members of the Polish and Russian family in case of wealthy people. But when participants evaluated poor families, they attributed far less secondary emotions to the Russian family than to Polish one.

As observed by Demoulin, Leyens and Yzerbyt³⁶, there is a link between inhumanization and nationalism, however inhumanization usually has a hidden form³⁷, while nationalism – overt form. Both phenomena, however, are characterized by bringing the ingroup over the outgroup. It is confirmed by studies of Viki

33 J. P. Leyens, M. P. Paladino, J. Vaes. *Esencja i umysł...*, p. 97-130.

34 For: M. Bilewicz, *Funkcjonalna dehumanizacja...*, p. 131-165.

35 For: Ibidem, p. 131-165.

36 S. Demoulin, J. P. Leyens, V. Yzerbyt, *Lay theories of essentialism*. "Group Processes & Intergroup Relations", 2006, no. 9, p. 25-42.

37 A. G. Greenwald, M. R. Banaji, *Utajone poznanie społeczne: postawy, wartościowanie, stereotypy*. "Przegląd Psychologiczny", 1995, no. 38 (1), p. 11-64.

and Calitri³⁸, which showed a significant positive correlation between infracumanization of the foreign outgroup and nationalism, and negative between infracumanization and patriotism.

Demoulin, Cortes and Leyens³⁹ conducted a study in which they presented to the participants descriptions of fortunate and unfortunate events happening to members of the ingroup and the outgroup. The participants were assessing the impact of these events on the primary and secondary emotions of an author. The results varied according to which of these groups the events concerned. In the assessment of the ingroup, participants indicated that more secondary emotions had been presented to them than in the case of an outgroup, even if in fact this was not true. Assigning primary emotions in a greater extent to the ingroup was not observed.

Brown⁴⁰ mentions studies which show the impact of infracumanization on emotions in relation to a representative of the ingroup and the outgroup. In the Italian experiments, a person was shown to participants. The person was of a typically Italian name, perceived as a representative of an ingroup, or of a name sounding African, representing an outgroup. These persons were expressing primary or secondary emotions. It turned out that the expression of secondary emotions by a representative of the ingroup was associated with pro-social reactions of the respondents, including expression of solidarity at the linguistic level, increase of conformism on a latent level, and acceleration of approach response at the level of automatic reactions. In the case of a representative an outgroup expression of secondary emotions caused opposite reactions of the respondents. These results indicate that secondary emotions shown by members of outgroups may be met with aversion and lack of understanding.

Foregoing thesis is supported by the study, which analyzed the content of 178 articles, which appeared in the American press during the three days following the two disasters: Hurricane Katrina in US, which caused the death of around 1600 people, and the tsunami in Asia, which caused about 230 000 deaths. A number of words denoting primary and secondary emotions was calculated. It turned out that in the description of Hurricane Katrina the names of secondary emotions were much more likely to appear than in the description of tsunami⁴¹.

38 G. T. Viki, R. Calitri, *Infracuman outgroup or supracumaningroup: the role of nationalism and patriotism in the infracumanization of outgroups*. "European Journal of Social Psychology", 2008, no. 38 (6), p. 1054-1061.

39 S. Demoulin, B. P. Cortes, J. P. Leyens, *Infra-humanization: The differential interpretation...*, p. 153-171.

40 R. Brown, *Procesy grupowe: Dynamika wewnqtrgrupowa i miqdygrupowa*, Gdańsk 2006.

41 M. Bilewicz, *Funkcjonalna dehumanizacja...*, p. 131-165.

Castano and Ginger-Sorolla⁴² conducted a study on the response to information about immoral behavior. During the study, nationals of countries, which are former colonial empires, assessed their ingroup or members of other former colonial empires, and the members of the colonized countries. Similar studies were conducted in different contexts. Among others, a study on imaginary situation in which people destroyed the civilization of aliens. Results of these studies indicate that if the perpetrators are members of the ingroup, victims are inhumanized. This does not happen when the perpetrators are members of the outgroup. These results support the thesis that inhumanization can justify aggression in intergroup relations.

In the Polish study information materials on violence against Iraqi prisoners during the stabilization mission were presented to students. One group received information that the perpetrators were Polish soldiers, while the other, that they were American soldiers. Then, a set of emotions was presented to the students: two positive primary emotions and two negative primary emotions, two positive secondary emotions and two negative secondary emotions. Respondents were asked to identify which of these emotions and to what extent the prisoner experiencing violence could feel. In addition, the level of prejudice against three groups was measured: Germans, Arabs and Jews. In the group of respondents informed that perpetrators of violence were Poles, the phenomenon of inhumanization of victims was observed. This phenomenon was not observed in the case of a group that received information that the aggressors were Americans. Interestingly, when people from the second group learned that the perpetrators were Poles, they ceased to perceive secondary emotions in Iraqi prisoners. The measured level of prejudice was lower in the group of respondents referring to immoral behavior of their own group. It turns out that the threat for a positive image of an ingroup on the dimension of morality leads to inhumanization of the group of victims, while reducing prejudices towards the outgroup. This may indicate that inhumanization is a way of distancing oneself from the awareness of the suffering inflicted on outgroups, which supports the intergroup violence.

Results of other studies, conducted by Bilewicz, Imhoff and Drogosz⁴³, support this thesis. The first study was based on a comparison of the extent to which meat eaters and vegetarians attribute primary and secondary emotions to animals. The study was conducted on a group of 123 Germans, including vegans, vegetarians and meat-eaters.

42 E. Castano, R. Giner-Sorolla, *Not Quite Human: Inhumanization in Response to Collective Responsibility for Intergroup Killing*. "Journal of Personality and Social Psychology", 2006, nr 90 (5), p. 804-818.

43 M. Bilewicz, R. Imhoff, M. Drogosz, *The humanity of what we eat. Conceptions of human uniqueness among vegetarians and omnivores*. "European Journal of Social Psychology", 2011, no. 41, p. 201-209.

It has been shown that eating meat was associated with a lower level of secondary emotions attributed to animals. There was no difference in attributing primary emotions. The second study was conducted on seventy four Polish students. Half of them were vegetarians, and half were meat-eaters. It confirmed the results of the first study. In the third study researchers examined the attribution of primary and secondary emotions to pigs, which are considered to be edible animals, and dogs - commonly considered in Polish culture as inedible. Meat-eaters tended not to attribute secondary emotions to pigs. The degree of attribution of primary and secondary emotions to dogs was similar in the group of vegetarians and meat-eaters.

Wójcik, Cislak and Zięba (2012) wondered whether infrahumanization is a phenomenon caused by the use of specific methodology, which consists of selecting those of the primary and secondary emotions, which characterize the representatives of the ingroup and the outgroup, or selecting on the Likert scale the extent to which, according to respondents, representatives of particular groups feel the given emotion. Researchers decided to conduct a study, which would take into account samples of spontaneous and free natural language, derived from the descriptions of the groups which are involved in the actual intergroup conflicts. The study analyzed two sets of texts. The first was a text material collected from 400 blogs of US soldiers stationing in Iraq between 2003 and 2008. The second set consisted of thirty seven diaries written by the soldiers of the Entente, fighting on the French front during the First World War. All materials were written in English. An automated version of the method of semantic fields analysis was used in the study, which means that the frequency of co-occurrence of words relating to the writer, writer's ingroup or outgroup, with words related to the primary and secondary emotions, was checked in the texts. Then differences in proportions of primary and secondary emotions attributed to particular categories were analyzed. Researchers found that differences in proportions of attributed primary and secondary emotions are statistically significant. The proportion of secondary to primary emotions turned out to be dependent on the object to which these emotions have been attributed. Secondary emotions were most often attributed to the "Self", and significantly more often to the ingroup than to the outgroup. This indicates that during spontaneous descriptions of intergroup relations, the outgroup is infrahumanized, what supports the concept Leyens et al.⁴⁴. The result showing that the most secondary emotions in comparison to primary emotions are attributed to oneself is also interesting. This may be a sign of a significant role of Self in the pro-

44 J. P. Leyens, M. P. Paladino, R. Rodriguez-Torres, S. Demoulin, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Gount, *The emotional side of prejudice...*, p. 186-197.

cess of attributing humanity to other people, both belonging to the ingroup and the outgroup.

According to Leyens⁴⁵, neither necessary nor sufficient conditions for the occurrence of the phenomenon of infrahumanization are known. It is certain that identification with an ingroup and collective identity are necessary⁴⁶. However, it is not known whether activation of collective identity should be based on the differences between groups, the perceived inferiority of the outgroup or the superiority of the ingroup.

To sum up, presented research studies suggest that the phenomenon of infrahumanization is not dependent on the sign of emotion and the conflict between groups is not necessary to its occurrence. Also the level of knowledge about the outgroup does not limit infrahumanization. The condition for its occurrence is the activation of collective identity, and the ingroup needs to have certain significance to respondents. In case of the outgroup, just thinking about a particular group is sufficient. Activation of a common group, superior to the ingroup and the outgroup, turns out to be insignificant for the phenomenon of infrahumanization. Infrahumanization effect can be observed in groups of low and high status. However, infrahumanization effect is stronger when the status of one's own group is subjectively assessed as high, than in the case of status assessed as low. Also, infrahumanization effect may be weakened or even eliminated in the case of intentional action in the conditions of access to free cognitive resources, such as attention, recognition, and memory, whose capacity directly determines the complexity and quantity of processing that people can manage. The effect of infrahumanization can be waived, or even reversed, when the dimension of primary emotions constitutes the image of the ingroup. Some results suggest its functionalist nature, as a justification for class domination and stabilizer of hierarchical structure or even aggression, by distancing oneself from the awareness of the suffering inflicted on outgroups. Studies do not, however, answer the question, whether infrahumanization is a culturally universal phenomena. There is a significant lack of studies carried out in Eastern cultures, especially in comparison with the Western ones.

45 J. P. Leyens,(2009). *Retrospective and prospective thoughts about infra- humanization*. "Group Processes and Interpersonal Relations", 2009, no. 12, p. 807-817.

46 M. P. Paladino, J. Vaes, E. Castano, S. Demoulin, J. P. Leyens, *Emotional infrahumanization in intergroup relations: The role of national identification in the attribution of secondary emotions to Italians and Germans*. "Current Psychology of Cognition", 2004, no. 22, p. 519-536.

Research issue and general goal of the Study I and Study II

The goal of a Study I and Study II, presented in this article, is to examine the phenomenon of infrahumanization in the context of intercultural differences. They focus on relationships between the country of origin and infrahumanization and try to answer the question, whether the intensity of infrahumanization effect vary between respondents from different countries. Especially a diversity of the culture between East and West, together with its consequences for the formation of the specifics of “Self” in form of individualism and collectivism, seems interesting in case of infrahumanization and was examined in the Study II. Studies presented in the introduction did not include a comparison of Western and Eastern countries. This is why a large part of formulated questions were of an exploratory nature. Lack of direct empirical or theoretical datum justified the formulation of research questions in a non-directional form.

Presented empirical studies are fragmentary and do not enable to draw general conclusions, but they are presented as an example which may help the reader to gain a greater insight into the infrahumanization.

Due to the universality of the phenomenon, at the starting point its occurrence in all cultural contexts was expected. This expectation is justified by a lot of research results indicating the universal nature of infrahumanization⁴⁷, although not all researchers share this view⁴⁸. Demoulin et al.⁴⁹ reported that the activation of thinking about an outgroup is required to the occurrence of infrahumanization, and in the case of an ingroup it is required to activate the collective identity and significance of the ingroup for the respondent. Such a substantial identity in the present study is the national identity.

Study I: Exploratory question

The aim of the study was to examine whether there are differences in the intensity of the infrahumanization phenomenon between representatives of different nationalities, on the sample of a group of Poles and Bulgarians. The study was quasi-experimental.

47 Cf. S. Demoulin, J. P. Leyens, R. Rodriguez-Torres, A. Rodriguez-Perez, M. P. Paladino, S. T. Fiske, *Motivation to support...*, p. 416-428.

48 M. Bilewicz, *Funkcjonalna dehumanizacja...*, p. 131-165.

49 S. Demoulin, B. P. Cortes, J. P. Leyens, *Infra-humanization: The differential interpretation ...*, p. 153-171.

The exploratory question was as follows: Will, in the two national groups, a statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup occur, with the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup?

Study I: Dependent and independent variables and their operationalization

The following variables were operationalized:

- The dependent variable - infrahumanization;
- The independent variable - nationality.
- A definitional indicator, which comes from the description of infrahumanization phenomenon made by Leyens⁵⁰, was used. It is expressed by the fulfillment of two conditions:
 - the existence of statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to an ingroup and an outgroup.
 - the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to an ingroup and an outgroup.

This indicator is a dichotomous variable indicating the occurrence of infrahumanization phenomenon or lack of it.

Variable nationality was operationalized by question of the nationality of the person examined in the questionnaire.

Study I: Respondents

The study involved 150 respondents. Half of them were students of the University of Warsaw, the other half were the students of the University of Sofia “St. Kliment Ohridski”. A group of Polish students consisted of forty-nine women and twenty-six men, while a group of Bulgarian students of sixty-four women and eleven men. The average age in the group of Polish students was twenty-two years ($sd = 2,832$), while in the group of Bulgarian students – twenty-one years ($sd = 1,800$).

50 For: J. P. Leyens, M. P. Paladino, R. Rodriguez-Torres, S. Demoulin, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Gount, *The emotional side of prejudice...*, p. 186-197.

Study I: Research procedure

The study was conducted on paper questionnaires and was implemented in two stages. The study took place at the University of Warsaw and at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”. In both cases the study had an individual character. The experimenter informed the respondent that taking part in the research is voluntary and anonymous and that the survey is of scientific nature, and asked to read the first page of the questionnaire and not to jump to the next pages before completing the task. In both experimental conditions an equal number of people were tested.

Study I: Research tools

Two questionnaires containing seven primary emotions (curiosity, pain, joy, sadness, fear, trust and rage) and seven secondary emotions (amusement, frustration, fright, compassion, shame, remorse, melting-mood) were used to measure the infrahumanization effect. A list of emotions was developed on the basis of studies conducted by Baran⁵¹. The respondents were indicating on a five-point scale (never, rarely, sometimes, often, very often) how frequently representatives of a particular group experience different kinds of emotions. Polish respondents evaluated representatives of the Polish and Lithuanian nationality, and Bulgarian respondents evaluated representatives of the Bulgarian and Serbian nationality. The nationalities were chosen due to the prevision that citizens of neighboring countries, as highly recognisable to respondents, will be a well distinguished outgroups. The questionnaire was drawn up in two languages – Polish and Bulgarian. The original version had been written in Polish. Bulgarian translation was done by a last year student of Slavic studies. Then, in order to verify the correctness of the translation, the questionnaire in Bulgarian was translated into Polish. Both language versions of the questionnaire had two variants, differing in order of matrices for measuring the infrahumanization effect. In other words, questionnaires for both groups were prepared in two versions: in one the intensity of experiencing emotions by members of the ingroup was evaluated first, and then the outgroup, in the second version – first the intensity of experiencing emotions by members of the outgroup was evaluated, and then the ingroup. The aim of this manipulation was to reduce the impact of the order in which the objects were activated (the ingroup and the outgroup) on the attribution of intensity of emotions.

51 T. Baran, *Dehumanizacja w stosunkach międzygrupowych...*

The questionnaire also contained additional questions, in which participants indicated their age and gender.

Study I: Results

The analysis included data from all participants who fully completed the questionnaire, namely 150 people, seventy-five persons of every nationality. Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to verify the normality of distribution. Distributions of variables were significantly different from the normal distribution, both in the total sample and in national groups. Therefore, non-parametric Wilcoxon signed-rank test was carried.

a) Poles

Analysis of Wilcoxon signed-rank test showed that in the group of Polish respondents the frequency of experiencing secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup was lower than the frequency of experiencing secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 1). Therefore, the condition of significance of the difference between the intensity of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

The frequency of experiencing the primary emotions attributed to the outgroup among Polish respondents was not statistically lower than the frequency of experiencing the primary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 1). The condition of lack of significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

Table 1. Results of Wilcoxon signed-rank test on a definitional indicator of infra-humanization for Polish respondents.

		M rank	Z	p
Primary emotions	ingroup	29,20	-0,521	0.06
	outgroup	29,76		
Secondary emotions	ingroup	21,81	-5,078	<0,001
	outgroup	35,23		

Source: own compilation

b) Bulgarians

In the group of Bulgarian respondents, the frequency of experiencing secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup was lower than the frequency of experiencing secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 2). Therefore, the condition of significance of the difference between the intensity of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

The frequency of experiencing the primary emotions attributed to the outgroup among Bulgarian respondents was not statistically lower than the frequency of experiencing the primary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 2). The condition of lack of significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

Table 2. Results of Wilcoxon signed-rank test on a definitional indicator of infra-humanization for Bulgarian respondents.

		M rank	Z	p
Primary emotions	ingroup	29,20	-0,924	0.07
	outgroup	29,76		
Secondary emotions	ingroup	27,98	-2,052	<0,001
	outgroup	31,20		

Source: own compilation

Study II: Hypothesis and exploratory questions

The aim of the study was to examine whether there are differences in the intensity of the infrahumanization phenomenon between representatives of different cultures of East and West, on the sample of a group of Poles and Indonesians. The study was quasi-experimental.

It is expected, that the effect of infrahumanization of the outgroup will occur in the total sample. A hypothesis can be formulated:

H1. Statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to an ingroup and an outgroup will occur, with the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup.

No empirical evidence on the cultural conditions of infraculturalization limits the ability to formulate further hypotheses. Only formulation of explorative questions is justified.

Q1. Does a statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup, with the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup occur in both national groups?

The second question is related to the issue indicated at the beginning of the article, whether despite of the universality of the infraculturalization phenomenon, its intensity is culturally varied. Therefore, the following question was formulated:

Q2. Does the value of the full index of infraculturalization differ significantly between national groups?

Study II: Dependent and independent variables and their operationalization

The following variables were operationalized:

- The dependent variable - infraculturalization;
- The independent variable - nationality.

Two indicators of infraculturalization were used. One was a full indicator of infraculturalization, same as in research of Kofta and Mirosławska⁵², calculated based on the basis of average values for primary and secondary emotions for the ingroup and the outgroup, calculated by the formula:

Infraculturalization = $\frac{\text{sum of secondary emotions for the ingroup}}{\text{sum of all emotions for the ingroup}} - \frac{\text{sum of secondary emotions for the outgroup}}{\text{sum of all emotions for the outgroup}}$.

A plus value denotes infraculturalization of the outgroup, negative – infraculturalization of the ingroup.

Second one was a definitional indicator, which comes from the description of infraculturalization phenomenon made by Leyens⁵³. It is expressed by the fulfillment of two conditions:

52 M. Kofta, M. Mirosławska, *Zjawisko infraculturalizowania „obcych”: wstępny test generalizacji* *Ja. „Psychologia Społeczna”, 2007, no. 1 (3), p. 52-65.*

53 For: J. P. Leyens, M. P. Paladino, R. Rodriguez-Torres, S. Demoulin, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Gount, *The emotional side of prejudice...*, p. 186-197.

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- the existence of statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to an ingroup and an outgroup.
 - the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to an ingroup and an outgroup.

This indicator is a dichotomous variable indicating the occurrence of infrahumanization phenomenon or lack of it.

Variable nationality was operationalized by question of the nationality of the person examined in order to grant the access code to the questionnaire.

Study II: Respondents

The study involved 120 respondents – sixty Poles and sixty Indonesians. A group of Polish respondents consisted of thirty-one women and twenty-nine men, while a group of Indonesian respondents consisted of twenty-four women and thirty-six men. The average age in the group of Polish respondents was twenty-eight years ($sd = 8,045$), while in the group of Indonesian respondents – twenty-six years ($sd = 9,594$).

Study II: Research procedure

The survey was conducted using a web application created specifically for this study, due to the difficulty of conducting research in two so distant countries. The study was individual, anonymous and single step. Each participant of the study received a one-time access code. Access to the platform was limited to 40 minutes. These procedures were aimed at the control of the research conditions.

Respondents filled a questionnaire designed to test the infrahumanization effect. Depending on the access code, respondents filled in a questionnaire in rotated order: version starting with the attribution of emotions of an ingroup or an outgroup. In the Polish group, fourteen women and sixteen men filled the questionnaire starting with questions about the average Indonesian (the outgroup), and seventeen women and thirteen men filled the questionnaire starting with questions about the average Pole (the ingroup). In the group of Indonesians, fourteen women and eighteen men filled the questionnaire starting with questions about the average Indonesian (the ingroup), and ten women and eighteen men filled the questionnaire starting with questions about the average Pole (the outgroup).

At the end of the questionnaire respondents answered questions indicating their gender, age and level of education.

Study II: Research tools

In order to operationalize the variables, a computer method was used. To carry out the study, four versions of the questionnaire were drawn up in the form of a web application. The questionnaire was prepared in two language versions – Polish and Indonesian. The original version was written in Polish. A translation into Indonesian was made by the by a graduate of oriental studies, who obtained an Indonesian language certificate on C1 level. Then, in order to verify the correctness of the translation, the Indonesian questionnaire was translated into Polish. Both language versions of the questionnaire had two variants, differing in order of matrices for measuring the infrahumanization effect. In other words, like in the study I, the order in which the respondents estimated the intensity of experiencing emotions by members of the ingroup and the outgroup was rotated. The aim of this manipulation was to reduce the impact of the order in which the objects were activated (the ingroup and the outgroup) on the attribution of intensity of emotions. The questionnaire contained two tasks and additional questions, in which respondents indicated their age, gender and level of education.

To measure the infrahumanization effect, two questionnaires containing seven primary emotions (curiosity, pain, joy, sadness, fear, trust and rage) and seven secondary emotions (amusement, frustration, fright, compassion, shame, remorse, melting-mood) were used. A list of emotions was developed on the basis of studies conducted by Baran⁵⁴. Respondents indicated on a five-point scale (never, rarely, sometimes, often, very often) how often representatives of an ingroup and an outgroup experience different kinds of emotions. Questionnaires have been prepared in two language versions – Polish and Indonesian. In both groups, respondents evaluated representatives of Polish and Indonesian nationality. In the Study I the nationalities were chosen due to the prevision that citizens of neighboring countries, as highly recognisable to respondents, will be a well distinguished outgroups. In the Study II more neutral nationalities were chosen to avoid the intensification of infrahumanization due to the potential strongly negative attitude towards the outgroup. The various emotions (primary and secondary) were mixed, but the order in both language versions did not differ.

54 T. Baran, *Dehumanizacja w stosunkach międzygrupowych...*

Study II: Results

The analysis included data from all participants who fully completed the questionnaire, namely 120 people, sixty of every nationality. Distributions of variables were significantly different from the normal distribution, both in the total sample and in national groups. Therefore, non-parametric tests were carried. Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used to verify the normality of distribution.

In the study, rotation of the order of tasks was used to avoid the influence of priming on infrahumanization effect. Analyses were started by comparing the intensity of infrahumanization in groups varied by the order of activation of an ingroup and an outgroup. The full indicator of infrahumanization was used for comparison. Due to non-normal distribution of the variable, Mann-Whitney U test was used. Analysis showed no differences between the groups. Respondents attributing first the emotionality of the ingroup are not characterized by a higher level of infrahumanization than respondents attributing first the emotionality of the outgroup (see: Table 3). These results show that the order of tasks did not affect the infrahumanization effect.

Table 3. Results of Mann-Whitney U test on influence of priming on infrahumanization effect.

	U	p
Ingroup first	2060,00	0,168
Outgroup first		

Source: own compilation

The hypothesis assumed that there is a statistically significant difference between the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup, with the absence of statistically significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup.

Analysis by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not confirm the normal distribution of variables. Due to the non-normal distribution, Wilcoxon signed-rank test was used. Analysis of secondary emotions by Wilcoxon signed-rank test showed that the sum of secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup is lower than the sum of the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 4). Therefore, the conditions of the significance of the difference between the intensity of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

Analysis of Wilcoxon signed-rank test showed that the sum of primary emotions attributed to the outgroup is lower than the sum of primary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 4). Condition of lack of significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup have not been met.

Table 4. Results of Wilcoxon signed-rank test on a definitional indicator of infra-humanization for all respondents.

	Z	P
Primary emotions	-4,634	<0,001
Secondary emotions	-7,177	<0,001

Source: own compilation

First exploratory question concerned testing the difference between the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup separately in national groups of Poles and Indonesians.

a) Poles

Analysis by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not confirm the normal distribution of variables. Due to the non-normal distribution, Wilcoxon signed-rank test was used. The analysis showed that the sum of secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup is lower than the sum of the secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 5). Therefore, the condition of significance of the difference between the intensity of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

Next analysis showed that the sum of primary emotions attributed to the outgroup is not significantly different from the sum of primary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 5). Condition of lack of significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

Table 5. Results of Wilcoxon signed-rank test on a definitional indicator of infra-humanization for Polish respondents.

	Z	P
Primary emotions	1,580	0.114
Secondary emotions	-3,652	< 0,001

Source: own compilation

b) Indonesians

Analysis by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not confirm the normal distribution of variables. Due to the non-normal distribution, Wilcoxon signed-rank test was used. The analysis showed that the sum of secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup is lower than the sum of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup (see: Table 6). Therefore, the condition of significance of the difference between the intensity of secondary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have been met.

Another analysis showed that the sum of primary emotions attributed to the ingroup is higher than the sum of the secondary emotions attributed to the outgroup (see: Table 6). Condition of lack of significant difference between primary emotions attributed to the ingroup and to the outgroup have not been met.

Table 6. Results of Wilcoxon signed-rank test on a definitional indicator of infrahumanization for Indonesian respondents.

	Z	p
Primary emotions	4.955	< 0.001
Secondary emotions	-6,219	< 0,001

Second exploratory question concerned the difference in the value of the full index of infrahumanization in national groups.

The full index of infrahumanization was used for the comparison. Analysis by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not confirm the normal distribution of variable. Due to the non-normal distribution, the Mann-Whitney U test was used. The analysis showed that the differences between groups were not statistically significant. Indonesians are not characterized by a higher level of infrahumanization than Poles.

Table 7. Results of Mann-Whitney U test on Polish-Indonesian comparison of the full index of infrahumanization.

	U	p
Poles	1633,00	0,380
Indonesians		

Source: own compilation

In summary, among Polish respondents the difference in attribution of emotions to the ingroup and the outgroup occurred in case of secondary emotions, but not in case of primary emotions. Among Indonesian respondents differences in both categories occurred. No significant difference between nations in terms of full index of inhumanization was observed.

Additional analysis concerned the differences between the nationalities in the average intensity of all emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup.

Analysis by Kolmogorov-Smirnov test did not confirm the normal distribution of variables. Due to the non-normal distribution, Mann-Whitney U test was used. The analysis showed that Indonesians attribute a greater intensity of the emotions to their ingroup than Poles. However, there was no significant difference in average intensity of emotions attributed by Indonesians to Poles and by Poles to Indonesians.

Table 8. Results of Mann-Whitney U test on Polish-Indonesian comparison of the average intensity of all emotions attributed to the ingroup and the outgroup.

		U	p
Ingroup	Poles	1283,00	p = 0,007
	Indonesians		
Outgroup	Poles	2018,00	=0,251
	Indonesians		

Source: own compilation

Discussion of results

In the first study, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed the impact of variable Nationality of the inhumanization effect, which in the case of Polish respondents was significantly stronger than among Bulgarian respondents. There are several possible explanations for this result. According to Baran⁵⁵, the inhumanization effect can be waived under the conditions of cooperation or intelligent competition. Serbs may be one of such groups for Bulgarians, which affects the greater tendency to attribute secondary emotions to them. Another explanation for this phenomenon may be related to the image of the ingroup. Maybe Bulgarians constitute the image of their ingroup based on the primary emotions to a greater extent than Poles.

55 T. Baran, *Dehumanizacja w stosunkach międzygrupowych...*

The attribution of intensity of experiencing primary emotions to the ingroup and the outgroup did not differ between groups, but attribution of intensity of experiencing secondary emotions varied. This result corresponds with results of many studies supporting the theory that people attribute less secondary emotions to members of the outgroup than to members of the ingroup and do not differentiate between the representatives of the ingroup and the outgroup on the dimension of primary emotions⁵⁶.

In the second study one hypothesis and 2 research questions were examined. Results of the analysis confirm the hypothesis only partly and indicate differences between groups. Analysis concerned nationality and infrahumanization phenomenon. Its aim was to replicate results obtained previously by different researchers, indicating universal nature of infrahumanization. New element concerned verification of the expectation that infrahumanization is a culturally universal phenomenon.

Hypothesis of this study anticipated the occurrence of infrahumanization effect throughout the sample. There was no occurrence of the infrahumanization phenomenon, understood as denying secondary emotions to the outgroup in the absence of differentiation in terms of primary emotions. Respondents were attributing a lower frequency of experiencing emotions, both secondary and primary, to the outgroup than to the ingroup. This result seems to stand in opposition to the statement of Leyens et al.⁵⁷, that infrahumanization is a universal phenomenon, for which occurrence social categorization is sufficient.

However, not all authors agree with the thesis on universal character of infrahumanization. For example Bilewicz, Spencer and Castano (2006)⁵⁸, question the universal character of infrahumanization and understanding of this phenomenon as a consequence of the automatic categorization by division to the ingroup and the outgroup. In the view of their thesis, which states that infrahumanization is justification for class domination and stabilizer of hierarchical structure, existence of infrahumanization effect in this study would not be justified. Indonesians and Poles are groups living in distant areas, so they can not come into frequent interactions. However, the derived differentiation in terms of both types of emotions requires commentary.

56 Cf: J. P. Leyens, M. P. Paladino, R. Rodriguez-Torres, S. Demoulin, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Gount, *The emotional side of prejudice...*, p. 186-197; J. P. Leyens, S. Demoulin, J. Vaes, R. Gaunt, M. P. Paladino, *Infra-humanization: The Wall of Group Differences...*, p. 139-172; J. P. Leyens, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Rodriguez-Torres, R. Gount, P. Paladino, J. Vaes, S. Demoulin, *Psychological essentialism and differentia attribution...*, p. 395-411.

57 J. P. Leyens, B. P. Cortes, S. Demoulin, J. F. Fiske, R. Gaunt, M. P. Paladino, A. Rodriguez-Perez, R. Rodriguez-Torres, J. Vaes, *Emotional prejudice...*, p. 395-411.

58 For: M. Bilewicz, *Funkcjonalna dehumanizacja...*, p. 131-165.

Systematically lower tendency for attribution of primary and secondary emotions to the outgroup may be an expression of a different perception of the others in terms of emotional functioning. Aforementioned argument of the lack of interaction between the two national groups, which may limit infrahumanization, may also promote differentiation in terms of emotional functioning. The proximity of the ingroup promotes greater availability of emotions, hence the intensity of attribution of primary and secondary emotions is greater to the ingroup.

First research question in this study concerned the occurrence of the infrahumanization effect in separate national groups. It turned out that the classical phenomenon of infrahumanization, understood as avoidance of attribution of the secondary emotions to the outgroup in the absence of differentiation in terms of primary emotions, occurred only in a group of Polish respondents (See: Tab 5). In the group of Indonesian respondents, frequency of experiencing emotions by the outgroup, both secondary and primary, was attributed as lower (See: Table 6).

The result obtained shows that infrahumanization is characteristic rather for Poles than for Indonesians. Only in the group of Poles the classic effect of infrahumanization of the outgroup occurred. The question arises, why Indonesians attributed less emotions, both primary and secondary, to the outgroup? This result can be explained by the phenomenon of familiarity. In everyday life the average Indonesian rarely has the opportunity to come up with information about Poles, and especially in the context of emotional functioning. For Indonesians the category "Poles" often involves only superficial elements. Thus, physical and psychological distance may be a reason for reduction of attributed emotionality of the outgroup in both types of emotions, in comparison to the ingroup. Indonesians tend more to attribute a general "emotional coldness" to the outgroup. However, this effect has not occurred in the group of Polish respondents. The final conclusion of what mechanism is responsible for this result at this stage is not possible and requires further research.

The last research question concerned the impact of nationality on the level of infrahumanization of the outgroup. The results of the study showed no significant differences between the two groups in the full index of infrahumanization. These results may indicate a cultural versatility of the infrahumanization phenomenon.

An interesting result is the higher attribution of total emotionality to an ingroup among Indonesians than among Poles, with in the absence of significant differences in the case of an outgroup (See: Table 6). This result provides arguments for greater integration with the ingroup among people coming from the eastern cultural circle. Poles, as representatives of Western culture, to a lesser extent than Indonesians dif-

ferentiate the ingroup and the outgroup, whereby the level of emotionality attributed to these groups is characterized by smaller differences.

Presented studies do not prove the claims of Leyens et al⁵⁹, that infrahumanization is of a universal nature, to which only the occurrence of social categorization is necessary, but may suggest a cultural differentiation of the phenomenon. But the question, whether infrahumanization is an attribution error typical for individualistic cultures, remains still open and the causes of variation between national groups require further investigation.

Summary

Infrahumanization is a specific attribution error due to the difference in the perception of the ingroup and the outgroup on a dimension of humanity. The subject of the paper includes two quazi-experimental studies concerning cultural conditions of infrahumanization. Occurrence of the effect of infrahumanization among all the respondents was expected and it was speculated if cultural differences in the intensity of the phenomenon occur. The first study involved 150 people, seventy five of Polish origin and seventy five of Bulgarian origin. The second study involved 120 people, sixty of Polish origin and sixty of Indonesian origin. The hypothesis was partially confirmed. The classic effect of infrahumanization occurred among Polish and Bulgarian respondents, but the effect was stronger among Poles. The classic infrahumanization effect did not occur among Indonesian participants.

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