

ISCTE  IUL
Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon

IUL - School of Social Sciences

Department of Social and Organizational Psychology

***The Use of Homophobic Labels:
A Comparison Between Self-, Ingroup- and Outgroup-
Labeling***

Dissertation submitted as partial requirement for the conferral of Master in Psychology of
Intercultural Relations,

By Sara Paolini

Supervisor:

Mauro Bianchi, Ph.D, ISCTE-IUL,

December, 2019

Resumo

O presente estudo investigou o efeito do uso de rótulos negativos na percepção do poder individual e na valência atribuída ao rótulo em três condições: a) condição de *Self-labeling* onde o sujeito etiqueta a si mesmo com um rótulo homofóbico; b) condição de *Ingroup-labeling*, onde um membro do ingroup rotula o sujeito; e c) condição de *Outgroup-labeling* onde um membro do outgroup rotula o sujeito. Os resultados evidenciaram a percepção de maior poder individual e uma diminuição da valência negativa atribuída ao rótulo na condição de *Self-labeling* em comparação com a condição de *Outgroup-labeling* e uma diminuição da negatividade atribuída ao rótulo homofóbico na condição de *Ingroup-labeling* em comparação à condição de *Outgroup-labeling*. Por outro lado, a análise de mediação mostrou que o *Self-* vs. *Outgroup-labeling* aumentou os níveis de poder percebidos pelos participantes, que por sua vez diminuiu a negatividade percebida do rótulo pejorativo.

Palavras chaves: Auto-rotulagem, Outro-rotulagem, rotulagem homofóbico, Auto-poder, estigma.

Abstract

This research investigates whether the use of derogatory labels affect the perceived self-power and the valence attributed to the derogatory label in different conditions: (a) Self-labeling condition in which the subject label himself with an homophobic label, (b) Ingroup-labeling condition in which a member of the ingroup labels the subject, and (c) Outgroup-labeling condition in which a member of the outgroup labels the subject. Results showed a higher perceived self-power as well as a decrease of the negative valence attributed to the label in the Self-labeling condition in comparison to the Outgroup-labeling condition. Also, results indicate a decrease negativity of the label in the Ingroup-labeling condition in comparison to the Outgroup-labeling condition. In addition, a mediation analysis showed that Self- vs. Outgroup-labeling increased participants' levels of perceived power, which in turn decreased the perceived negativity of the derogatory label.

Keywords: Self-labeling, Other-labeling, homophobic-labeling, self-power, stigma.

Index

<i>Introduction</i>	5
Chapter I - Theoretical Framework:	7
1.1 Language and Intergroup Relations	7
1.2 From Social Categorization to Discrimination: the role of linguistic labels	9
1.3 Self-Labeling and Reappropriation of Derogatory Terms	11
Chapter II - The Research	20
2.1 Hypothesis	20
2.2 Experimental Design	21
2.3 Participants	21
2.4 Procedures and Manipulation	23
2.5 Measures	26
2.5.1 Individual Power	26
2.5.2 Label Valence	26
Chapter III - Results	27
3.1.1 Perceived Individual Power	27
3.1.2 Valence Attributed to the Labels	27
3.2 Mediation Analysis	29
Chapter IV - Discussion	30
<i>References</i>	33

Introduction

Stigma has been seen and investigated under its negative connotation, mostly because it occurs when a person or a social group is defined with negative or devalued attributes (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). In her article on The Malleability of Automatic Stereotypes and Prejudice, Blair (2002) outlines the different factors that influence stereotypes and prejudice revealing their unfixed and escapable nature. Particularly, the study reveals that automatic stereotypes and prejudices are based on different factors: (1) self and social motivation, (2) specific strategies such as suppression of the stereotype and the promotion of counter-stereotypes, (3) the perceiver's focus of attention (i.e., stereotypes and prejudices operate under very minimal levels of attention) and (4) the order in which stimuli are presented and so, they depend on the context they appear. These factors are dynamic and they can change over time, having implications in the way they can be combated rather than reinforced (Blair, 2002; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Stigmatized individuals and groups can use different strategies to reduce the consequences of stigma (Wang, Whitson, Anicich, Kray, & Galinsky, 2017). With *reappropriation*, for instance, stigmatized individual takes possession of the derogatory remark that was previously used by members of the outgroup in order to reinforce his/her lesser status (Galinsky, Wang, Whitson, Anicich, & Hugenberg, 2013).

The aim of this thesis is to investigate and understand the phenomenon of reappropriation by confronting the three cases of Self-, Ingroup-, and Outgroup-labeling and their consequences for perceived self-power and label valence.

The first chapter of this thesis is opened with an overview of the use of language in intergroup relations. A distinction between the use of concrete and situational versus abstract and

dispositional language is presented. Successively, the use of social categorization in both expressive and descriptive forms is discussed. From the use of general social categories the thesis described the shift to discrimination and so the alternatives to cope with this phenomenon. Importantly, the model of Self-labeling and reappropriation of derogatory labels (Galinsky et al., 2013) is used and adapted to the current study with the aim of understanding whether Self-labeling, Ingroup-labeling, and Outgroup-labeling have different outcomes and how they can change both the perceived self-power and the valence attributed to the negative used label. The second chapter is therefore dedicated to the research with the hypothesis, design and measures adopted, while the following chapter reports the statistical results. Finally, in the last chapter, the results are discussed with respect to the current literature on stigmatizing language.

Chapter I - Theoretical Framework

1.1 Language and Intergroup Relations

When individuals interact with each other by expressing their thoughts, feelings, behavior or describing a situation, they tend to use a sequence of representations expressed by language. Evidence from several studies indicated that the use and choice of certain words while formulating a sentence has a powerful impact as a matter of bringing- within the description- part of the observer's categorization into the outcome of the sentence itself (Carnaghi & Bianchi, 2017; Rothbart, Davis-Stitt, & Hill, 1997).

By the use of language one individual is most likely to state his opinion just by the linguistic choice he/ she adopts, or by using a direct form instead of an indirect one. Moreover, part of the evaluation of a circumstance and the opinion an observer can have is affected by the group-related label the observer is part of. Indeed, language shapes and describes intergroup dynamics (Carnaghi & Bianchi, 2017; Foroni & Rothbart, 2011).

On their study on the Linguistic Intergroup Bias, Maass, Arcuri, Salvi, and Semin (1989), reported how the description of a scene varied the observer's lexical choices relatively depending on (1) whether the subject of the scene was an ingroup or outgroup members and (2) the perceived positive vs. negative valence of the behavior carried out in the scene. In their model of Linguistic Intergroup Bias, Maass and colleagues (1989) observe how social categorization plays a central role in the lexical decision for the description of a behavior: when the subject of the scene was a member of the ingroup, the observer used an abstract lexicon giving an internal

attribution of the subject (e.g., A is kind), on the contrary, to describe the same positive scene acted by a member of the outgroup, the observer used a concrete lexical meaning an external attribution of the agent (e.g., A helped B). The difference in describing the action in these two types of scenarios is in the fact that an abstract description conveys a more dispositional information. This type of description brings the audience to consider the agent as commonly acting this way and so more likely to repeat the same behaviour in the future, while a concrete description vehicle a situational behaviour in which the subject acted in a circumscribed scenario and let the observer imagine he/she is less likely to repeat the same positive conduct in the future.

When Maass and colleagues (1989) asked participants to describe an inverted scenario in which the scene was negative, the inverted results were found. That is, if the negative action was acted by an ingroup member, the choice of lexicon was concrete and situational, while when the agent of the negative act was a member of the outgroup, the observer tended to describe the scene by using abstract lexicon and by giving the audience the sense of a dispositional information.

The Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1987) can explain this phenomenon as a result of the maintenance and protection of the self-identity. The individual feels part of a social group because the group is generally behaving good and only in certain contexts behaving badly. At the same time, the individual feels differentiated from the outgroup because he/she considers the outgroup as commonly behaving badly and only in circumscribed context acting well. Moreover, with social identification, the individual tends to emphasize positive in-group compared to out-group degradation (Reynolds, Turner, & Haslam, 2000).

Events can be described and labeled in many ways. As said before, the observer's perspective plays a central role in the resulting description. As a consequence, the audience will perform a cognitive representation of the scene strongly influenced by the lexical choice of the observer. In 1997, Rothbart and colleagues reported how categorial labels associated with stimuli convey a major number of contents compared to information transmitted only with stimuli. In this study, Rothbart and colleagues shows participants pictures of famous actors linked with a political categorization (e.g., Liberal, Conservative). Participants reported a high level of similarities between actors part of the same political class and a high number of differences when they were part of a different political ideology when compared to participants who did not receive the political orientation of the actors. Linguistic description, in this case, modified the way in which actors were socially represented and clustered.

1.2 From Social Categorization to Discrimination

When we speak with other people we tend to use labels to define a certain category and to refer to a certain group of people with defined characteristics.

Studies demonstrate how label plays a relevant role in the organization and evaluation of observer's social environment. Research on categorization showed how nominal labels can effectively represent the functional properties of groups which they are referred to (Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963).

There are different types of category labels that mainly serve as a container of information and conveyors of knowledge. This is the case of more neutral categories, such as *women*, *Italian*,

lesbians, that helps observer's organization and evaluations of the social environment.

Foroni and Rothbart (2011) describe categories as a continuum that varies depending on the strength of the label. Regardless of the social context in which labels occur, what is important to notice is also the semantic content in which they appear. They differentiate categories based on their weak and strength, which makes the switch to another category respectively more and less easy.

A particular type of labels are the stigmatizing ones as, for instance, the derogatory group labels. Bianchi and Carnaghi defined derogatory group labels as "*linguistic tags addressing group members in an offensive and pejorative manner*" (e.g., *fag* for a gay man; Carnaghi & Bianchi, 2017, p.756).

Research seems to differ whether a derogatory group label has or not a descriptive function (i.e., denotative meaning) other than an expressive one (i.e. showing an evaluation of the subject is referred to; Bianchi, Carnaghi, Piccoli, Stragà and Zotti, 2019).

On their study on the descriptive and expressive function of derogatory group labels, Bianchi and colleagues (2019) found that on a descriptive level, category labels and derogatory group labels have an equal effect in pointing to category members, that is, these labels work as linguistic tags that turn individuals into group members to a similar extent (e.g., pointing to group members typicality, similarity, and essentialism), which is different if compared to the use of common slurs (i.e., generally describing a person in his/ her individuality instead of his belonging to a group).

On an expressive level, the above-cited study, confirms the higher offensiveness and less acceptability of derogatory group labels when compared with common slurs and with category labels (Bianchi et al., 2019).

1.3 Self-labelling and Reappropriation of Derogatory Terms

Research suggests that stigmatized individuals and groups adopt different strategies to contrast discrimination (e.g., being labeled by a derogatory slur; Wang et al., 2017).

In their review, Wang and colleagues (2017), reported strategies individuals may adopt to cope with direct discrimination and stigma internalization. One of the individual strategies of coping with stigma is to conceal their group membership, as in the case of religion stigma or as LGBT's do when they stay "in the closet". Indeed, this strategy is possible only when the stigmatized group membership is difficult to discern and/or is a chosen membership (Wang et al., 2017).

An alternative strategy is to reduce the power of the stigma in the psychological identity of the individual by devaluating the feeling of belonging to the stigmatized group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) or by excluding from the individual's personal identity a set of traits that belongs to the stigmatized group (Steele, 1997).

The above-mentioned strategies did not challenge the stigma by confronting it directly, instead, they try to hide or adapt to the imposed stigma.

Galinsky and colleagues (2013) with their model of *reappropriation*, define two different strategies of hijacking of negative terms performed by the individual to empower their stigmatized group's status: Reframing and Self-labeling.

Concerning the strategy of reframing, the individual modifies the meaning of a stereotype by transforming the weakness into a strength. For instance, in a study of 2016, Wolf, Lee, Sah and Brooks, found that showing signs of distress as crying in a work context were condemned as weakness trait. However, when the subjects were reframing this behavior by considering it as

dedication rather than excessive sensitiveness, they were perceived to be more competent. In this concern, a set of traits belonging to the stigmatized group are considered as hindrances that may occur even if the individual does not possess those traits. As a consequence, studies reported that when those traits are highlighted as assets the stigmatized individual outperforms the non-stigmatized group member. For instance, when in bargaining table researchers highlight and alter the typical-stereotype threat paradigm to strengthen feminine traits (i.e. negotiators are great listeners, rely on intuition, and express emotion), women outperform men (Kray, Thompson, & Galinsky, 2001; Eagly & Carli, 2003; Small, Gelfand, Babcock, & Gettman, 2007).

Reframing may occur in an intrapsychic way in which the individual's view of his/her own group is empowered and consequently his/her personal confidence increases during important performances. Also, the process of reframing may be conducted privately or by involving a public context (i.e., declaring publicly that being a woman gives negotiation advantages). In this case not only the individual takes advantages, but also outgroup members (e.g., as audience/observers) participate in the weakening of the stigma (Wang et al., 2017).

As an alternative, Self-labeling is a strategy in which the individual defines him/herself with a derogatory label, transforming the connotative meaning of stigmatizing language from demeaning to empowering.

A related example of this might be found in The BITCH Manifesto by Joe Reeman (1968):

“BITCH is an organization which does not yet exist. The name is not an acronym. It stands for exactly what it sounds like.

BITCH is composed of Bitches. There are many definitions of a bitch .

[...]

A true Bitch is self-determined, but the term "bitch" is usually applied with less discrimination. It is a popular derogation to put down uppity women that was created by man and adopted by women. Like the term "nigger," "bitch" serves the social function of isolating and discrediting a class of people who do not conform to the socially accepted patterns of behavior.

BITCH does not use this word in the negative sense. A woman should be proud to declare she is a Bitch, because Bitch is Beautiful. ”

Galinsky Model of Reappropriation focuses on the use of power - both acted by the labeler and labeled - and so in the causes and consequences derived by this interaction on the conservation and transformation of social hierarchies (Galinsky et al., 2013).

This model is used as a theoretical base for the current study.

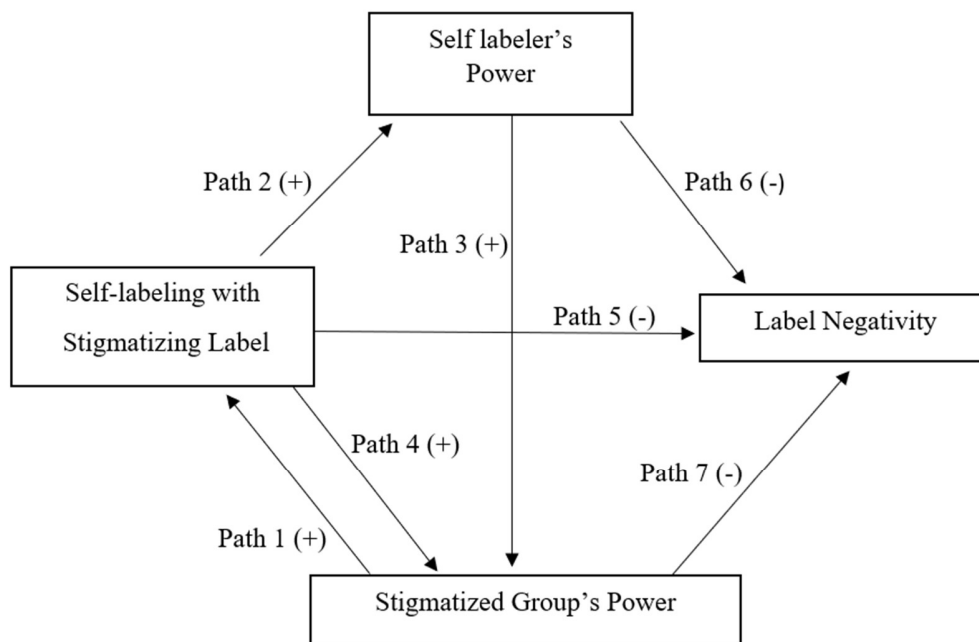


Fig. 1.1 Glinsky et al., 2013, Model of Reappropriation

As pictured in the schema above, the model of reappropriation generates with the individual addressing him/herself with a stigmatizing label (fig.1.1). As a consequence of this first act, the individual will experiment with a feeling of self-power (Path 2), and this feeling of power will be extended to the stigmatized group of belongings which will gain higher perceived power (Path 3,4). Moreover, the model proposes that when individuals feel their group has sufficient powerful, they feel more comfortable using their group's stigmatizing terms to identify themselves (Path 1).

Self-labelling will then attenuate the stigma by reinforcing the respect of the self-labeler (Path 5) and this effect will be mediated by the perceived power (Path 6,7). This model takes into consideration both the self-labeler and the observers, with similar effects on both perceivers.

Galinsky and colleagues (2013) tested these assumptions in a series of ten experiments. In the first study, Galinsky and collaborators asked participants to recall derogatory labels used against their ingroup. After that, participants had either to think about a situation in which their ingroup had power/felt powerful or to think about a situation in which they experienced a low power of the ingroup. The dependent variable of the study was the willingness to use the recalled derogatory labels to describe themselves. Results indicated that participants were more likely to use derogatory labels to describe themselves when they perceived their group as having high vs. low power.

The experimental design of study 2 follows study 1 with the only difference that authors asked participants to recall either an episode in which the individual's social group had the power, or to remember an episode in which the participant himself had power. Results of this second study indicated that the group power, but not the individual power, facilitated the use of Self-labeling.

In the third study, the authors investigated whether Self-labeling increases participants' perceived Self-power. The procedure was the same as in study 1, with the difference that one group of participants was asked to think of an episode in which they had used a derogatory label to describe themselves, while another group of participants were asked to think of an episode in which another person addressed the participant using a derogatory label. Subsequently, participants were asked to answer three questions to assess the perception of their individual power. Results indicate that participants in the Self-labeling condition reported a significantly high level of perceived individual power than the group in the Other-labeling condition.

In their fourth study, the authors examined whether an external observer attributed more power to an individual who uses Self-Labeling. Participants were asked to read a text in which two boys, Tom and Bill, walk in the hall of a school. In one condition, Tom tells Bill "*you're queer!*"

While in the other condition Bill says "*I'm queer!*". Then participants assessed Bill's individual power. Results of this study show a higher power attributed by an external observer to Bill in the condition of Self-Labeling rather than in condition of Other-Labeling.

In the fifth study, the authors investigated whether the use of Self-labeling leads to higher power attributed to the belonging social group. Participants were involved in the reading of a newspaper article in which a Crimean inhabitant addressed himself with an invented derogatory label during a public meeting, while in the other condition the audience addressed the Crimean with the same label. Participants then had to evaluate the power of Crimean People in the two conditions. The results indicate that the Crimean people are judged with more power in the Self-labeling condition than in the Other-labeling condition.

In another experiment, the authors investigated whether the negative value of the label was reduced throughout the increase of self-power perceived by participants. Using the same procedure of the third study, after being either in a Self- or an Other-labeling condition, participants reported how much power they attributed to themselves, to the member of the outgroup, and how bad the label was perceived in the recalled episode. Participants assessed themselves as having more power in the Self-labeling condition than in the Other-labeling condition. Importantly, the perceived power influenced and diminished the perceived negativity of the stigmatizing label.

In a subsequent experiment, authors inquired whether the group power mediate the relation between Self-labeling and the attenuation of label negativity. After listing their demographic characteristics, participants were asked to indicate a minority group they were not part of in which they observed either a member self-defining with a derogatory label or a member being addressed with a derogatory label by an outgroup member. Participants were asked to rate how

much they felt the minority group had power over the negative term and how negative the label was. In the Self-labeling (vs. Other-labeling) condition participants rated the minority outgroup having more power than in the Other-label condition and the label to be perceived as less negative.

Two final experiments tested whether the attenuation of stigma after Self-labeling is exclusively valid for stigmatizing label or occur for any label. Results of Experiment 9 showed Self-labeling improved the evaluation of derogatory label if compared to Other-labeling and both the Self-labeling and Other-labeling did not differ in the evaluation of non-stigmatizing descriptive label. Results of Experiment 10 compared the use of label with derogatory term (i.e., *bitch*) or with a non-stigmatizing term (i.e., *woman*). Results showed an exclusive effectiveness of the self-labeling with a derogatory term both on attenuating the stigma and on empowering the minority group. No outcomes emerged on the Self-labeling condition with non-stigmatizing term.

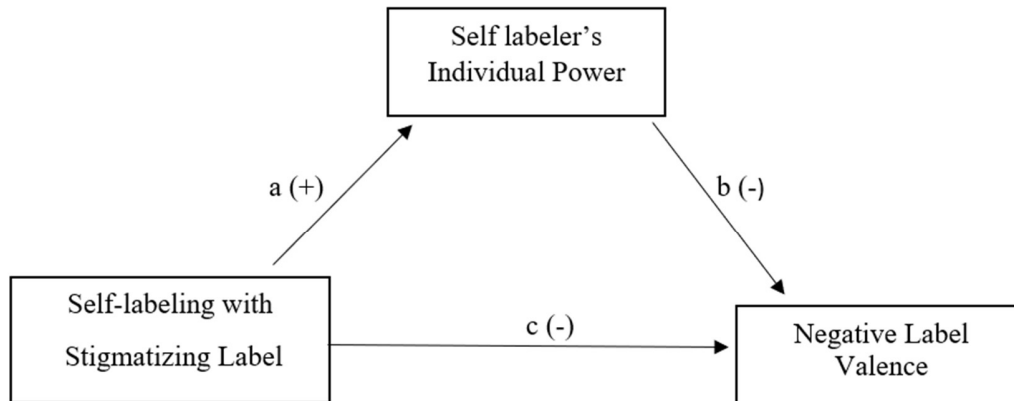


Fig. 1.2 Adaptation of Galinsky's Reappropriation Model (Galinsky et al., 2013)

By adapting the above-mentioned model to the aim of the current study, the focus of this thesis will concern the (c) direct consequences of Self-labeling on the valence of the used label and the proposed mediation (i.e., indirect path a,b) by way of the self-labeler's perceived individual power (see Figure 1.2).

In Galinsky et al.'s (2013) experiments it is not specified whether the Other-group member is a member of the ingroup or a member of the outgroup, and therefore it is not clear if there are any differences when the labeler is a member of the ingroup vs. a member of the outgroup.

A similar study by Petronio (2017), investigated the use of homophobic labels in the Italian context comparing a condition of Self-labeling with a condition in which the labeler was a member of the ingroup without a direct comparison of an Outgroup-labeling condition. The study took into account sixty-five gay male participants with Italian nationality. Following a

similar procedure as Galynsky and colleagues (2013), participants were asked to fill an anonymous online survey in which they were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (Self-labeling vs. Ingroup-labeling). Participants' individual perceived power and the valence of the labels used in the labeling situation were assessed. The study also included a measure to assess the level of participants' coming-out (e.g., how much and in which context they were open to people about their sexual orientation) as a possible moderator.

Results to this study report participants in Self-labeling condition having significantly higher levels of self-power when this condition is compared to the Other-labeling condition (i.e., Ingroup-labeling). Also, the valence of the label is rated by participants as less negative when participants are in the Self-labeling condition rather than when participants are in Other-labeling condition.

The aim of this study intends to compare Self-labeling with Other-labeling and investigate the consequences on perception of self-power and attribution of valence to the derogatory label. Importantly, in the case of Other-labeling, the other can be either a member of the ingroup or a member of the outgroup. In this way, the consequences of Self-, Ingroup-, and Outgroup-labeling are directly compared in the same study.

Chapter II - The Research

2.1 Hypothesis

This study intends to investigate whether the use of derogatory labels, specifically homophobic epithet, has different psychological effects when this label is used by a member of the outgroup (i.e., heterosexual men) addressing the participant, a member of the ingroup (i.e., gay men) referring to the participant, or if the term is used by the participant (i.e., a gay man) describing himself. The perceived self-power in the labeling situation and the valence of the used homophobic epithet were used as dependent variables.

We will refer to the first case as Outgroup-labeling (OL), the second case as Ingroup-labeling (IL), and the third case as Self-labeling (SL).

Taking into account Galinsky's Model of Reappropriation (2013), when we compare the condition of SL with OL, we expect (**Hypothesis 1**) Self-Power to be perceived as stronger in condition SL than in condition OL, and decrease the negativity attributed to the valence more in SL condition than in OL (**Hypothesis 2**).

Second, when we compare the condition of SL with IL, we expected (**Hypothesis 3**) Self Power to be perceived stronger in condition SL than in condition IL, and the label to be considered as less negative in condition SL than in condition IL (**Hypothesis 4**), as Petronio (2017) already demonstrated in an Italian context.

Considering the study of Fasoli, Hegaarty and Carnaghi, (2019) in which Italian and British participants perceived homophobic labels pronounced by voices of Homosexual individuals as less offensive and the speakers more empowered, we can hypothesize Self Power to be perceived from the participants stronger in condition of IL than in condition of OL (**Hypothesis 5**), and the

valence to be perceived as more negative in condition of OL when compared to IL (**Hypothesis 6**).

Finally, following path 2 and path 6 of Galinsky et al.'s model (2013), we hypothesize a mediation (i.e., adaptation to Galinsky's Model with indirect path a,b on Fig.2) between Self-labeling with stigmatized label and the effect on negative label valence through the Self-labeler's perceived individual power (**Hypothesis 7**).

2.2 Experimental Design

The study uses a between-subject design with three different conditions: Self-, Ingroup-, and Outgroup-labeling.

2.3 Participants

Individuals who participated in the study were N= 156. Among those, N=5 participants reported to be female and N=2 reported a gender other than female or male..

The questionnaire addressed male Portuguese men, speaking Portuguese as main language and rating themselves as exclusively homosexual (N=124) or predominantly homosexual (N=18). Participants who misunderstood the instructions (e.g. Self labeling condition understood as Outgroup-labeling condition) were excluded from the final sample.

Furthermore, in the questionnaire participants who had never experienced a real situation of Self-, Ingroup-, or Outgroup-labeling, could choose to describe an imagined scenario, by clicking

on a specific link . Taking into account that Galinsky and colleagues(2013) reported only real situations and given the fact that the current study did not collect a conspicuous amount of imagined situations (i.e. ten participants or less per condition), the final sample did not contain those cases as it was not possible to properly compare real and imagined situations. pro
The final sample counted of N=92 male participants, speaking Portuguese as main language, considering themselves as exclusively predominantly homosexual with an age ranging from 18 to 56 years old ($M=28.83$; $SD=8.45$).

2.4 Procedure and Manipulations

The present study was designed and developed as part of an international collaboration, therefore it was submitted to three different Ethics Committees: in the United Kingdom, the Ethics Committee of the University of Surrey, in Italy, the Ethics Committee of Università degli Studi di Trieste, and in Portugal, the Ethics Committee of Universidade Lusófona. All the Committees gave their approval.

The data were collected through an individual questionnaire designed using Qualtrics software (<https://www.qualtrics.com>) and spread out through an anonymous link provided by the same website.

Participants were recruited personally through LGBT social events in Lisbon, indirectly via social media such as Facebook, LinkedIn and Instagram and through several LGBT related groups and forums. Participants were also invited to share the anonymous link among friends and acquaintances.

All the participants were informed about the voluntary and anonymous nature of the study, the

confidentiality of the data and, after a brief explanation of the study, the contacts of the researchers responsible were provided in order to give participants the possibility to have more details on the study if needed.

In case of a positive answer to the informed consent and using a similar procedure as in Galinsky et al. (2013), participants were first asked to recall and write down all the negative and insulting labels used in everyday life against gay men:

“This part of the studio is about how taboo words are used in everyday life. In particular, think in general about gay men and all the negative and insulting labels that are usually used against them.”

By answering this first requirement, participants were primed by thinking about the social group of gay men and about the terms that are generally used against members of this group.

After the first task, the participants were randomly distributed among three different conditions:

- the Self-labeling condition in which individuals were asked as follows:

“In this part of the study, we are interested in your personal experience. Please, describe an occasion when you defined yourself using one of these labels or terms. Please, specify which label, when and under what circumstances it was used.”

- the Ingroup-labeling condition in which individuals were asked as follows:

“In this part of the study, we are interested in your personal experience. Please, describe a situation when a gay man addressed you using one of these labels or terms. Please, specify which label, when and under what circumstances it was used.”

- the Outgroup-labeling condition in which individuals were asked as follows:

“In this part of the study, we are interested in your personal experience.

Please, describe a situation when a heterosexual man addressed you using one of these labels or terms. Please, specify which label, when and under what circumstances it was used.

Furthermore, in all conditions, in case the respondent was not able to recall a past experience or he did not experience a similar situation, the instruction asked (a) to report an imagined situation in which the subject defined himself by using one of the labels provided in the first part of the questionnaire in case the condition was the Self-labeling condition, (b) to report an imagined situation in which the subject was defined with the previous labels by a homosexual man in case of the Ingroup-labeling condition, and (c) to report an imagined situation in which the subject was defined with the previous labels or terms by a heterosexual man in case of the Outgroup-labeling condition.

Hereafter the manipulation, all the participants rated the individual power and the value of the denigratory label used in both the real or imagined situations.

After these measures, they were presented with a screen asking for socio-demographic information: gender (Male, Female, voice "Other" with free completion), age (free completion), sexual orientation (Kinsey scale ranging from 0 meaning "exclusively heterosexual" to 6 meaning "exclusively homosexual" and "Other" with free completion), mother tongue (free completion), nationality (free completion), and if they had already taken part in the current study before (dichotomous answer "yes / no").

2.5 Measures

2.5.1 Individual Power

In order to measure participants' feeling of individual power during the study, they were asked to give an evaluation on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = "not at all", 7 = "very much") on three different perceptions experienced in the situation described or imagined "How powerful did you feel in this situation?", "How much control did you feel you had in this situation?", "How much influence did you feel you had in this situation?" (Galinsky et al., 2013).

2.5.2 Label Valence

The same seven points Likert scale (1= not at all; 7= very much) was used to record the responses regarding the valence attributed to the label. Participants were asked their agreement on the two following questions: "How negative did you perceive the term used in this situation to be?" and "How positive did you perceive the term used in this situation to be?".

Chapter III - Results

3.1.1 Perception of Individual Power

Scores on the three items related to the power construct attributed to the self have a high level of internal consistency (Cronbach alpha = .88). The average of the scores on these items (i.e., Power attributed to the self) was calculated, therefore higher score corresponds to a greater perception of power attributed to the self in the situation in which an homophobic epithet was used.

A univariate ANOVA was performed to examine whether labeling (Self vs. Ingroup vs. Outgroup) affected participants' perceived power in the situation in which an homophobic epithet was used. A significant main effect of labeling, $F(2, 91) = 6.00, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .12$, emerged. Pairwise comparisons (Bonferroni correction) showed that participants perceived a higher power when they labeled themselves ($M = 4.64, SD = 1.94$) than when the label was used against them by an outgroup member ($M = 3.06, SD = 1.80$), $p = .002$. Participants did not perceive higher power when they were labeled by an ingroup member ($M = 3.68, SD = 1.97$) than when the label was used by a member of the outgroup, as no difference emerged between these two conditions, $p = .614$. Also, no difference emerged between the Self- and Ingroup-labeling conditions, $p = .213$.

3.1.2 Label Valence

Scores of the two items related to the valence construct are related $r = -.59, p = .001$.

After reversing the scores given to the item relative to the positivity attributed to the homophobic epithet (as for the above measure) we conducted a reliability analysis (Cronbach alpha = .73). The scale has a good level of internal consistency. The average scores on these items (i.e., valence score) was calculated, therefore higher levels on valence score corresponds to greater negativity attributed to the homophobic epithet.

A univariate ANOVA was performed to examine whether labeling (Self vs. Ingroup vs. Outgroup) affected participants' perceived valence of the label. A significant effect of labeling, $F(2, 91) = 21.89, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .33$, was found. Pairwise comparisons (Bonferroni correction) showed that the label was perceived as less negative when it was used by participants themselves ($M = 4.28, SD = 1.96$) and ingroup members ($M = 3.67, SD = 2.12$) than when it was used by outgroup members ($M = 6.32, SD = 1.12; ps < .001$). No difference emerged between the self- and ingroup-labeling conditions, $p = .621$.

3.2 Mediation Analysis

Mediation has been performed considering labeling as the predictor, perceived valence of the label as an outcome variable, and perceived power as a mediator by using PROCESS v2.16 (Hayes, 2013). As far as perceived power was concerned, no difference between Ingroup- and Outgroup-labeling conditions was found (see above), consequently, for the mediational analysis we compared the self- and the outgroup-labeling conditions.

Labeling had a significant effect on perceived power, path *a*: $B = .80$, $SE = .23$, $t = 3.51$, $p < .001$, and perceived power had a significant effect on the valence of the label, path *b*: $B = -.25$, $SE = .10$, $t = -2.57$, $p = .012$. Labeling was associated with the valence of the label, direct effect: $B = -.83$, $SE = .19$, $t = -4.24$, $p < .001$; total effect was $B = -1.02$, $SE = .19$, $p < .001$. The indirect effect was tested using a bootstrap estimation approach with 5,000 samples. Importantly, the indirect coefficient was significant, $B = -.20$, $SE = .10$, 95%CI [-.46, -.05], Sobel's $z = 2.03$, $p = .042$. Hence, and supporting Galinsky et al.'s model, Self- vs. Outgroup-labeling increased participants' levels of perceived power, which in turn decreased the perceived negativity of the label.

Chapter IV - Discussion

The current study analyzed the use of self-labeling as a way of reappropriation in challenging stigma. Based on Galinsky et al.'s model of reappropriation (2013), Other- and Self-labeling conditions were taken into account. Moreover, to establish hypothetical differences in Other group-labeling conditions, the study focuses and distinguishes the Ingroup- and Outgroup-labeling.

The experiment's findings show significant differences between the conditions of Self- and Outgroup-labeling on the perceived power participants felt in the recollected situation, revealing a higher individual perceived power in the Self- in comparison to the Outgroup-labeling condition, confirming Hypothesis 1, as well as a decrease in the negativity attributed to the power, confirming Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3 and 4 were not confirmed as no difference emerged in the perception of individual power between the Self- and Ingroup-labeling conditions, and also, no difference was registered in the two conditions regarding the valence of the label. This result differs with Petronio's findings (2017) in the Italian context and raise a question in relation to the cultural effects that may affect the results. Future research can try to answer this question by investigating whether the cultural context may influence the process of reappropriation of homophobic label.

In their model, Galinsky et al. consider self-labeling as a manner of reappropriation, empowering the self and decreasing the negativity of the label. But as already said, in Ingroup condition, reappropriation is not completely happening: the negativity of the label decrease while no significant alteration in the level of perceived self power is shown. Again, this result leaves another open question that can be discussed and examined in depth in future research: can this condition of Ingroup-labeling be considered a form of reappropriation?

Moreover, by considering different researches that already investigated the reappropriation of homophobic labels, a review can be carried out by considering, for instance, the study of Galinsky et al. (2011) for the American context, Fasoli et al. in the UK and USA (2019) context, Petronio (2017) in the Italian context and the current study as representative for the Portuguese context.

The study reported a difference in the negativity of the label perceived as more negative in condition of OL than in IL condition, confirming Hypothesis 6. Instead, no difference was observed in the measure of individual power when comparing the two conditions (Hypothesis 5). Lastly, for the mediation analysis and supporting Galinsky et al.'s model, Self- vs. Outgroup-labeling increased participants' levels of perceived power, which in turn decreased the perceived negativity of the label confirming Hypothesis 7. Perceived individual power is a mediator between the Self-labelling and the negativity attributed to the label, meaning that when an individual Self-labeled him/herself, this decreases the negativity of the label because there is a perception personal power increase. In other words, there is a direct impact of the self-label on the valence attributed to the label, indirectly mediated by the perceived self-power that confirms and replicates Galinsky et al.'s experiment 7 (2013).

The current research focuses on the use of homophobic labels but lots of different derogatory labels in different stigmatized contexts (e.g. racial context, sexist context, etc.) can be investigated under this phenomenon of reappropriation to deepen its understanding and dynamics.

Limitations of this study can be found in the considered sample. A big group of participants was reached during LGBT manifestations, events, or LGBT active social pages, meaning an active

sample of LGBT populations with probably a more sensitive understanding or approach to the contents of the questionnaire.

Moreover, future studies can investigate and compare self-power perception in case of Self-labeling with stigmatizing-label and Self-labeling with no stigmatizing-label in order to understand if there is a difference in the perception of the self in the two conditions and if one condition of labeling is empowering more than the other one.

References

- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Bianchi, M., Carnaghi, A., Piccoli, V., Stragà, M., & Zotti, D. (2019). On the Descriptive and Expressive Function of Derogatory Group Labels: An Experimental Test. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 38*(5-6), 756-772.
- Blair, I. (2002). The malleability of automatic stereotypes and prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 6*, 242–261.
- Crocker, J., Major, B., & Steele, C. M. (1998). Social stigma (In D. T. Gilbert, ST Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.). *The handbook of social psychology, 2*, 504–553.
- Eagly, A. H., & Carli, L. L. (2003). The female leadership advantage: An evaluation of the evidence. *Leadership Quarterly, 14*, 807–834.
- Fasoli, F., Hegarty, P., & Carnaghi, A. (2019). Sounding Gay, Speaking as a “Fag”: Auditory Gaydar and the Perception of Reclaimed Homophobic Language. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 0261927X19852753*.
- Foroni, F., & Rothbart, M. (2011). Category boundaries and category labels: When does a category name influence the perceived similarity of category members?. *Social Cognition, 29*(5), 547-576.
- Freeman, J. (2000). The bitch manifesto. *Radical feminism: A documentary reader, 226-32*.
- Galinsky, A. D., Wang, C. S., Whitson, J. A., Anicich, E. M., Hugenberg, K., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2013). The reappropriation of stigmatizing labels: The reciprocal relationship between power and self-labeling. *Psychological Science, 24*(10), 2020-2029.

- Hayes, A. F. (in press). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Kray, L. J., Galinsky, A. D., & Thompson, L. (2002). Reversing the gender gap in negotiations: An exploration of stereotype regeneration. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 87(2), 386-409.
- Maass, A. (1999). Linguistic intergroup bias: Stereotype perpetuation through language. *Advances in experimental social psychology*, 31, 79-121.
- Maass, A., Salvi, D., Arcuri, L., & Semin, G. R. (1989). Language use in intergroup contexts: the linguistic intergroup bias. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 57(6), 981.
- Magee, J., & Galinsky, A. (2008). Social hierarchy: The self-reinforcing nature of power and status. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 2, 351–398.
- Petronio, F. (Bianchi, M. & Carnaghi, A.) (2017). L'Uso di Etichette Denigratorie nei Gruppi Sociali: il Self e l'Ingroup Labeling. Unpublished Master Thesis in: Social and developmental Psychology. University of Trieste.
- Qualtrics, I. (2013). Qualtrics. *Provo, UT, USA*.
- Reynolds, K. J., Turner, J. C., & Haslam, S. A. (2000). When are we better than them and they worse than us? A closer look at social discrimination in positive and negative domains. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 78(1), 64.
- Rothbart, M., Davis-Stitt, C., & Hill, J. (1997). Effects of arbitrarily placed category boundaries on similarity judgments. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 33, 122–145.

- Rudman, L. A. (1998). Self-promotion as a risk factor for women: The costs and benefits of counterstereotypical impression management. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 629–645.
- Small, D. A., Gelfand, M., Babcock, L., & Gettman, H. (2007). Who goes to the bargaining table? The influence of gender and framing on the initiation of negotiation. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 93*(4), 600.
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American psychologist, 52*(6), 613.
- Turner, J. C., & Tajfel, H. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. *Psychology of intergroup relations, 5*, 7-24.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1987). Social identity theory of intergroup relations. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 724). Chicago: Nelson Hall.
- Tajfel, H., & Wilkes, A. L. (1963). Classification and quantitative judgement. *British Journal of Psychology, 54*, 101–114.
- Wang, C. S., Whitson, J. A., Anicich, E. M., Kray, L. J., & Galinsky, A. D. (2017). Challenge your stigma: How to reframe and revalue negative stereotypes and slurs. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 26*(1), 75-80.
- Wolf, E. B., Lee, J. J., Sah, S., & Brooks, A. W. (2016). Managing perceptions of distress at work: Reframing emotion as passion. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 137*, 1–12.

Appendix A

List of labels used by participants divided by conditions.

Self-labeling Condition	Ingroup-labeling Condition	Outgroup-labeling Condition
Abafa palhinha	Aberração	Abafa-palhinhas
Afimiando	Afeminado	Aberração
Anormal	Anormais	Amaricado
Barolas	Anormais	Anormal
Batty	Bambi	Apaneirado
Bicha	Bicha	Apanha no rabo
Bichinha	Boiola	Baião
Bichona	Borboleta	Bate
Biola	Broxista	Bicha
Anti natural	Caga-para-dentro	Bichona
Aberração	Camiona	Boiola
Boiola	Camionas	Borboleta
Borboleta	Chupa pilas	Broxista
Camiona	Delicado	Camiona
Chupa-Piças	Desavergonhado	Coitado
Confuso	Desviante	Confusos
Deficiente	Diva	Cricas

Demente	Doentes	Demônia
Desviado	Fissureira	Desavergonhados
Doente	Flor	Desilusão do país
Doentes de sida	Florzinha	Desperdício
Enrabado	Frágil	Desviado
Feminino	Frutinha	Doente
Fessureira	Fufa	Donzela
Fita de velcro	Gosta de outra fruta	Efeminado
Florzinha	Homo	Empurra-cocós
Florzinha	Intriguista	Faggot
Gaja	Lambe conas	Fagote
Gayolas	Lambe cus	Flor de estufa
Gayzolas	Larilas	Florzinha
Homo	Leva no cu	Fracos
Invertido	Libelinha	Fufa
Lambe carpetes	Maria-rapaz	Gay
Lambe cus	Maricas	Gayzolas
Lambre cricas	Maricas	Hermafrodita
Larilas	Maricona	Homo
Lesmia	Mariconço	Lambe
Leva de empurrão	Menina-Amélia	Lambe-carpetes
Leva no cú	Mulher-homem	Larilas

Maricão	Mulherzinha	Leva no cu
Maricas	Nem é carne nem é peixe	Machona
Mariconço	Nilas	Maria rapaz
Mariconso	Panasca	Maricas
Mariquinhas	Paneleiros	Mariconço
Morde almofadas	Panilas	Marimacho
Nojento	Panisca	Menina
Pandula	Gayzolas	Mesquinhos
Paneleirices	Parte-Bilhas	Modas
Paneleiro	Pedofilos	Ninfomaníacos
Panilas	Pega de empurrão	Nojento
Panisga	Princesa	Panasca
Pedófilo	Promíscuo	Pandula
Promíscuo	Rabeta	Paneleiro
Rabeta	Roto	Paneleiro da merda
Sapatão	Sapato	Paneleiro Maricas
Sapatona	Sapatona	Puta
Sidosos	Sensível	Coninhas
Sodomizador	Sidoso	Panilas
Veado	Tesouras	Panisga
Viado	Traveca	Panuca
	Viado	Pé de salsa

	Virado	Pede Pedófilo Pega de empurrão Pega de traseira Perdido Picolho Pratos Promíscuos Quer ser mulher Rabeta Rabiló Rabinossauro Roto Salsinha Sapatona Sidoso Sujo Tarado Traveca Travesti Veado Vergonha
--	--------	---

		Viado
--	--	-------