

.RUNNING HEAD: *Emotions of Resilience and Resistance*

Sentiments of the Dispossessed: Emotions of Resilience and Resistance

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Sentiments of the Dispossessed: Emotions of Resilience and Resistance

Inequality organized along the lines of group membership is a central feature of many societies (for a review, see Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). In addition to the material (income, wealth, health, environment) and political (power, status, access) detriments of being disadvantaged, those lower in societal hierarchies are often socially devalued as well (for reviews, see Bulhan, 1985; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). One arm of the work in psychology on stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination focuses on their possible psychological effects on the *disadvantaged* (for reviews, see Bulhan, 1985; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001; Vollhardt, in press). Another arm of the work in psychology focuses on the ways in which stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination alter the psychology of the societally *advantaged*. In addition to examining topics such as desired dominance, how power corrupts or blinds, and pride in privilege, theory and research also examines topics such as guilt and shame about advantage, anti-prejudice and egalitarian orientation, and solidarity with the dispossessed (as amply shown in this volume).

In this chapter, we focus on the sentiments of the dispossessed with special interest in what emotion can tell us about the social and psychological meaning individuals and groups give to their societal disadvantage. Although it is true that societal disadvantage can sometimes lead the dispossessed to self-hatred or despondency (for discussions, see Bulhan, 1985; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001) this appears to be quite rare (for reviews, see Leach, in press b; Leach and Livingstone, 2015; Montero & Sonn, 2009; Phillips, Adams, & Salters, 2015). The more common experiences of societal disadvantage and devaluation are resilience and resistance. This is not surprising given the overwhelming evidence that the most serious and sustained adversity causes little lasting psychological or social damage to individuals (for a discussion, see Leach, in press b; Leach and Livingstone, 2015). Disadvantaged people – like all people – tend toward

resilience and resistance.

Emotion concepts characterize resilience and resistance in existential terms. Anger, shame, hope, optimism, and awe are not mere reactions to, or experiences of, societal devaluation. These emotions represent, in poignant and pregnant language, the ways in which the dispossessed give meaning to their “being-in-the-world” as Heidegger called it (see Lazarus, 1991; Leach, 2016). To describe someone as angry, for instance, is to characterize them as standing in active opposition to someone or something they believe is wrong. Anger suggests the action potential of one (or many) poised to confront believed injustice, as circumstances permit (for reviews, see Lazarus, 1991; Parkinson, Fischer, & Manstead, 2005). In contrast, shame suggests a weighty and sad look inward as a result of criticism from ourselves, or from others whose opinion we must consider. To be ashamed is to be moved to escape a klieg light of criticism either by denial or defense, or by creative destruction of the failed self to make room for a renewed and redeemed self (Gausel & Leach, 2011; Leach, 2016). Thus, in both shame and anger, one can see the revolutionary potential of emotion. These ways of being-in-the-world also point to how we wish to be in the world. And, importantly, how we wish the world to be.

Because societal devaluation is a social experience, shared to some degree by those who are members of a devalued category, we should think of the sentiments of the dispossessed as group-based emotions (Iyer & Leach, 2008; Parkinson et al., 2005; Smith & Mackie, 2015). That is, anger, shame, pride, awe about societal devaluation are emotions embedded in this particular group reality and experience. Like all emotion, group-based emotion is dynamic – it changes over time in an ever evolving life cycle of meaning making and doing (Lazarus, 1991). Part of this dynamism comes from the fact that emotion is a form of being-in-the-world. Thus, emotion shifts and change as the ups and downs, ins and outs, of societal devaluation are experienced by

the dispossessed in everyday feeling, thinking, and action. This vitality of emotion – its constant energy, whether a smolder or an inferno – is what makes emotion similar to the closely related concepts of cognitive (re)appraisal, stress, and coping (see Lazarus, 1991). In the sentiments of the dispossessed, we can see the inevitable, undeniable, human capacity to be a subjective agent in an objective world of existential threats and challenges (see Leach, in press b). To feel anger, pride, awe, despair is to be a person even in the face of a curtain of doom aiming to deny one's very personhood. In this way, the emotions of resilience and resistance are the emotions of life for the dispossessed.

We begin the discussion below by first reviewing relevant theory and research on empathy, the quintessential social emotional process that connects people to each other psychologically. We then discuss unpleasant emotional states, with special attention to anger and shame. This is followed by a discussion of pleasant emotional states, such as pride, hope and optimism. We also briefly cover transcendent emotions, such as awe, and the place of (sardonic, “black”) humor. We close by drawing out some general themes and concerns and identify potentially interesting and important areas for future work.

Empathy

Empathy can be thought of as a set of psychological processes underlying the vicarious experience of others' states (Eisenberg, Eggum, & Di Gunta, 2011; Iacoboni, 2009). It can be experienced as either pleasant or unpleasant (Condon & Feldman-Barrett, 2013) and it can be understood as either a temporary state or a more stable trait (for a review, see Eisenberg et al., 2011). Empathy can lead to a variety of emotions and motivations, including compassion, distancing, and helping (de Waal, 2008; Eisenberg et al., 2011). One important empathy-related emotion is compassion -- the “feeling that arises in witnessing another's suffering and that

motivates a subsequent desire to help” (for a review, see Goetz, Keltner, & Simon-Thomas, 2010). This can also be called sympathy.

Most research has examined how empathic processes can improve intergroup relations by reducing dominant groups’ prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination against subordinate groups (e.g., Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003; for a review, see Batson & Ahmad, 2009). And, protest by members of advantaged groups in solidarity with the disadvantaged has been related to empathy-related emotions such as sympathy and compassion (e.g., Lindenberg, Fetchenhauer, Flache, Buunk, 2006; Stefan & Finlay, 1999; Thomas, McGary, & Mavor, 2009; Saab, Tausch, Spears, & Cheung, 2005; Mallet, Huntsinger, Sinclair, and Swim, 2008; for a review, see Leach, Snider, & Iyer, 2002). Interestingly, however, the vicarious experience of disadvantage can also cause aversive distress in the advantaged. Therefore, empathy can also prevent solidarity with the disadvantaged (Leach et al., 2002; for general discussions, see Eisenberg et al., 2011; Goetz et al., 2010). Putting oneself in another’s shoes is no guarantee that one will feel compassionate or wish to help. One may rather wish to exit poorer shoes for the safety and comfort of one’s own footwear (for reviews, see de Waal, 2008; Iyer & Leach, 2008; Leach et al., 2002).

In addition to potentially causing aversive distress in the advantaged, efforts to reduce prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination by bringing the societally advantaged into contact with the disadvantaged can undermine a sense of grievance among the disadvantaged partly by facilitating their empathy, understanding, and liking for the advantaged (e.g., Hasan-Aslih, Pliskin, van Zomeren, Halperin, & Saguy, 2019; for discussions, see Dixon, Durrheim, Thomae, Tredoux, Kerr, & Quayle, 2015; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Thus, empathy between groups divided by enmity and/or structural inequality is no panacea. As a process of perspective-taking and vicarious experience, empathy is a possible route to a number of different emotions and

motivations whose effects on the relations between advantaged and disadvantaged can be best understood in the context of the nature of their (competitive, cooperative, expropriative, dependent) relationship (see Leach, 2016; Leach et al., 2002).

In principle, empathic processes can also affect the relations between societally disadvantaged groups, perhaps by providing a basis for political solidarity and coalition-building. For instance, Craig and Richeson (2016) argued that noticing other groups' structural disadvantage can sometimes enhance identification, empathy, and coalitional thinking among members of disadvantaged in-groups. And, studies show that highlighting similar experiences of discrimination (Cortland, Craig, Shapiro, Richeson, Neel, & Goldstein, 2017) or similarity in general (Burson & Godfrey, 2018) increased positivity and support between minority groups. For instance, Cortland et al. (2017) showed that highlighting shared societal devaluation experiences can increase empathy across identity dimensions, and argue that this closeness based in shared experience increases the likelihood of coalitional attitudes and behaviors forming. This is consistent with a wide range of evidence that (physical, psychological, social) similarity enhances empathic responding between parties (see Batson & Ahmad, 2009; de Waal, 2008; Eisenberg et al., 2011). Similarity, however, has its limits. Craig and Richeson (2014) found that racial minorities who attended to racism against their in-group had increased sympathy for and identification with other racial minorities, but were less positive toward sexual minorities. And, Burson and Godfrey (2018) found that minority group members did not display inter-minority support for a minority group that was believed to be less disadvantaged than their own. In fact, the belief that one minority group was less disadvantaged appeared to fuel competitiveness, rather than solidarity, between these groups.

Intra-Group Empathy

In addition to being important to inter-group relations with advantaged, and other disadvantaged, groups, empathy among the dispossessed may also operate in important ways *within* the group. Here too empathy is a double-edged sword that can either help or harm, depending on the emotional experience generated and the relational context between the parties involved. Empathic emotional contagion or mirroring, as well as empathic distress, may be expected to produce unpleasant and aversive emotional states that individuals wish to avoid by distancing themselves from the distress of fellow members of their disadvantaged group (e.g., Goetz et al., 2010). Theoretically, such distress and distancing should reduce social support, cooperation, and collective mobilization among disadvantaged in-groups.

On the other hand, there is ample evidence in the literature that empathy for fellow members of a disadvantaged in-group can empower individuals socially and politically. Indeed, empathic concern for fellow in-group members who also suffer the effects of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination may be a central route by which members of disadvantaged groups come to form a sense of collective grievance (Iyer & Leach, 2008; Parkinson et al., 2005; Smith & Mackie, 2015). It is this shared sense of grievance that is a psychological basis for collective resistance to disadvantage (for a review, see van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012).

More specifically, Rucker, Galinsky, and Magee (2018) argued that social support and communion with in-group members are potential sources of resilience among the disadvantaged whose lower societal power may facilitate empathic processing. In the case of social class, for example, Stellar, Manzo, Kraus, and Keltner (2012) argued that lower class individuals are more attuned to others' emotions and thus more compassionate in response to others' suffering. They explain that limited status and resources encourage the use of empathy and communal cooperation as a way to cope with societal disadvantage. Indeed, numerous studies have shown

that individuals with low power are more emotionally empathic, more compassionate, and affiliative in response to others' distress (e.g., van Kleef, Oveis, van der Lowe, LuoKogan, Goetz, & Keltner, 2008). Some qualitative research on political movements identifies a kind of "transformative" empathy between victims of prejudice and discrimination that appears to operate in similar ways. Transformative empathy for victims of system mistreatment (e.g., the sexual harassment and assault of subordinate women) appears to enhance resilience by increasing victims' social support for each other. One can see this in operation in the #MeToo movement where women create opportunities for mutual social support by identifying themselves as survivors of gender oppression that would have remained secret otherwise (Rodino-Colocino, 2018).

The empathy that can operate within societally disadvantaged groups to create social and political solidarity is similar to what has been examined as "trait" empathy in psychology more generally. For example, Decety and Yoder (2016) showed that individuals higher on trait empathic concern and perspective-taking are more sensitive to injustice towards others. This was not the case for individuals more susceptible to emotional contagion. And, Cosley, McCoy, Saslow and Epel's (2010) found that trait compassion lowers social stress reactivity when social support is available. In a similar vein, studies show that compassion training increases psychological resilience to the witnessing of others' suffering. In addition, compassion training increases the efficacy of altruistic responses aimed at reducing others' suffering (e.g., Klimecki, Leiberg, Lamm, & Singer, 2012; Singer & Klimecki, 2014).

In sum, intra-group empathy may enhance resilience to stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination, as well as facilitate intra-group cooperation in dealing with the societally advantaged and systems of inequality that promote stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination.

Nevertheless, more direct and rigorous tests of these ideas are needed. More generally, future research would do well to focus on the intra-group dynamics of empathy among the societally devalued and disadvantaged.

Unpleasant Emotions

For a long time, many scholars across the disciplines presumed that the societally disadvantaged and devalued would experience their position mainly in the form of the unpleasant emotional states of frustration and sadness (i.e., dejection, depression, relative deprivation). And, in concert with this, it was often assumed that such frustration and sadness would eat away at the disadvantaged psychologically, leading them to feel inferior (for discussions, see Bulhan, 1985; Leach, in press b; Montero & Sonn, 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This widespread view of internalized stigma is partly based on a longstanding view of societal devaluation as leading to shame (see Gausel & Leach, 2011). Not surprisingly, it has also been argued that the psychological health of the societally devalued suffers as a result, in the form of low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, and PTSD, (for a review, see Leach & Livingstone, 2015). These views of societal devaluation as causing psychological dysfunction remain quite popular despite the very limited evidence in support and the substantial evidence against (for reviews, see Leach in press b; Leach & Livingstone, 2015).

Of course there is every reason to expect that the devalued will be upset by the fact of their devaluation. Indeed, emotion theory presumes that unpleasant emotions are the experience of an unwanted or undesirable state of affairs (Lazarus, 1991; Parkinson et al., 2005). Emotion theory does not, however, presume that unpleasant emotions are inherently debilitating. Indeed, many approaches to emotion argue that unpleasant states *can* signal the need for those suffering them to alter their aversive relationship to the world so as to alter their aversive emotional state

(see Lazarus, 1991). In general, it is wise not to presume that unpleasant emotional states are socially or psychologically debilitating or otherwise counter-productive. Both unpleasant and pleasant emotional states can lead to counter-productive -- or even destructive -- motivation and action (for discussions, see Leach 2016; in press a). In fact, the social and psychological implications of unpleasant states are not inherent to their unpleasantness. We illustrate this broader point in a discussion of two emotions that are thought to be among the most common ways to experience societal devaluation – shame and anger.

Shame

In the social sciences, and to some degree psychology, shame has long been considered the quintessential experience of devaluation by others (for a review, see Gausel & Leach, 2011). It has long been thought to be the psychological consequence of social scorn, rebuke, and rejection. And thus shame is widely thought of as the painful and debilitating internalization of social stigma; an intense rejection and scorn of the self, resulting from one's agreement with other's views of one as inferior and inadequate (see Bulhan, 1985; Gausel & Leach, 2011; Lazarus, 1991). The thing is, shame is not particularly common among the disadvantaged or among anyone (for a review, see Gausel & Leach, 2011). Also, shame is not necessarily debilitating psychologically. Although dominant western, individualistic, views of emotion presume that intensely unpleasant states such as shame undermine the self and prevent constructive action, this is based in a far reaching but exaggerated assumption that human beings are inherently hedonistic -- pleasure loving and pleasure seeking (Leach, in press a). Other views of humanity emphasize the productive power of prolonged and profound self-criticism as an essential means to self-improvement (for discussions, see Allen & Leach, 2017; Leach, in press a).

Shame in response to other's scorn or rejection need not be internalized and thus need not produce psychological damage (Gausel & Leach, in press). In fact, many societally devalued groups have come to identify with the marks once used to stigmatize their identity and now use them to mark the absurdity of their societal devaluation (see Bulhan, 1985). Think of "Slut walks," "Black is beautiful," "#Me too," and the re-appropriation of derogatory labels such as "bitch," "white trash," "queer" and "negro." In such instances we see psychological and social resistance enacted by taking insults meant to provoke shame and turning them into expressions of pride (see Leach & Livingstone, 2015). Such assertions of a devalued identity may be seen as resilient and resistant being-in-the-world (e.g., "we're here, we're queer, get used to it!").

Anger

Anger is another unpleasant emotion that has long been thought to be prevalent among the societally disadvantaged and devalued. But, here too there is a history of misunderstanding the nature and consequences of the sentiments of the dispossessed. Their anger has often been framed as untoward and combustible -- the kind of anger that supposedly leads to violent revenge in the form of riots and rebellions (see Bulhan, 1985; Leach, 2008; Montero & Sonn, 2009). There is something to this of course. Anger is a state of agitation. It is about an unwanted and undesired state of affairs that one wishes to confront or otherwise alter (Lazarus, 1991; Parkinson et al., 2005). Thus, it makes sense that the dispossessed should be angry at their position in society and want to confront it somehow. This may make anger *seem* dangerous. And that is why a great deal of popular and scholarly thinking on the anger of the oppressed characterizes it as illegitimate and misdirected rage at the advantaged and at the world at large (for a review, see Leach, 2008). The anger of the societally disadvantaged and devalued has been called envy, jealousy, *ressentiment*, bitterness, vengeful anger, and shame-rage.

These states of frustrated, embittered, anger are thought to provoke a destructive desire in the oppressed to tear down society and those advantaged in it. Many bloody revolutions, rebellions, and riots have been attributed to so called explosions of such “rage against the machine.” These include the French revolution, the Haitian revolution, slave rebellions, and anti-colonial radical resistance in North Africa, in South Africa, and across the globe. If one listens closely to popular media one can hear echoes of this discourse in recent diagnoses of the Me Too movement, Black Lives Matter, Occupy, the so-called Arab Spring, and Gezi Park/Taksim Square. Characterizing the anger of the oppressed as vengeful and dangerous is a surefire way to challenge its moral and political legitimacy. After all, revenge is not a decent reason to rebel. Right? By explaining anger at societal disadvantage and devaluation as a product of vengeful envy or inferiority, one directly undermines claims that the anger is a righteous one rooted in desire for justice (Leach, 2008).

There is, of course, a different take on the anger of the oppressed. Across the social sciences, anger at societal disadvantage and devaluation has been examined as central to collective grievance and protest, variously called moral outrage, righteous indignation, or relative deprivation (see Iyer & Leach, 2008; Leach, 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2012). Prevailing models of the motivation to protest oppression view anger as an important route paralleled by a more practical judgement of what is actually possible or likely to be achieved by protest that is called efficacy (for a review, see van Zomeren et al., 2012). This is an “anger of hope,” in contrast to the vengeful “anger of despair” discussed above (see Leach, 2008, 2016). Righteous anger is potentially dangerous for societal systems of injustice as the agitated state of outrage is what social and political movements seek to direct to aims of redress or revolution. Many movements have first sought to rile up righteous anger in the dispossessed as a necessary psychological step

toward social and political organizing and action (for reviews, see Bulhan, 1985; Leach & Livingstone, 2015; Montero & Sonn, 2009). Central to this mission is the social sharing of critical views of societal injustice and disapproval of it in the form of a morally outraged anger (Bulhan, 1985). By sharing sentiments such as anger, the dispossessed come to share a collective way of being-in-the-world that begins to identify a better world to be. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore that this solidarity in anger must often be paralleled by a solidarity in plan and purpose if the oppressed are to effectively strategize on what to do with the anger they feel (for a review, see Zomeren et al., 2012; see also Bulhan, 1985).

Pleasant Emotions

Theory and research on emotion generally tends to focus on unpleasant states and to say less about pleasant states, which also tend to be less differentiated from each other conceptually and empirically (for reviews, see Lazarus, 1991; Leach, in press a; Parkinson et al., 2005). This bias is based to some degree in the widely shared (functionalist) view that unpleasant states have greater importance to human adjustment to danger or adversity (for reviews, see Lazarus, 1991; Parkinson et al., 2005; for discussions, see Allen & Leach, 2017; Leach, in press a). As a result, there is also much less theory and research on the pleasant emotional experiences of membership in a societally disadvantaged or devalued group (for reviews, see Leach, in press b; Vollhardt, in press), despite the obvious reality of it (Allen & Leach, 2017; Leach & Livingstone, 2015). This may be due, in part, to somewhat implicit assumptions that emotions such as shame and anger are more characteristic of the experience of societal devaluation than pleasant emotions such as joy, pride, awe, or inspiration (see Allen & Leach, 2017; Bulhan, 1985; Leach & Livingstone, 2015; Montero & Sonn, 2009). Whatever their actual frequency, transcendent emotions such as awe, flow, or peak experiences are interesting and potentially important existential and

experiential possibilities for the societally devalued (see Allen & Leach, 2017; Leach & Livingstone, 2015; McDonald, Wearing, & Ponting, 2009). Humor is another intriguing state for the dispossessed as it may provide an important alternative to desperation and despondency, perhaps through sardonic, sarcastic, or sassy jokes that critique the absurdity of arbitrary injustices through a wry smile or quiet chuckle (see Leach & Livingstone, 2015; Riquelme et al, 2019; Sorensen, 2017). Play has its place in the “art of resistance,” as Oshinski (2018) argued in the case of Palestinian graffiti on the Israeli border wall isolating the West Bank.

As seen below, most existing work on pleasant emotions among the dispossessed has focused on pride, hope and optimism. These states have important links to the less explored state of inspiration whereby the societally disadvantaged are encouraged -- by someone or something – to imagine a better world not yet seen. One can think of the continuing inspiration the Haitian revolution, for example, has provided oppressed people around the world since its unexpected success culminated in independence in 1804 (see Hallward, 2004). The inspired act of imagining alternatives to disadvantage and devaluation is essential to expecting better treatment and outcomes (e.g., Cropanzano & Folger, 1989; Kalisch, Müller, & Tüscher, 2014). And, in many ways, imagined alternatives for the better can feed psychological resilience, problem solving, solution generation, coping, and resistance (for a discussion, see Bou Zeineddine, 2015). Thus, it is important to see inspiration as potentially embedded in the seemingly less imaginative emotions of pride, hope, and optimism.

Pride

Simply put, pride is the opposite of shame. Thus, pride is a pleasantly experienced, self-focused, emotion deriving from the belief that an achievement can be attributed to one’s abilities, efforts (see Lazarus, 2001; Tracy & Robins, 2004) or moral benevolence (Leach, Ellemers, &

Barreto, 2007). Importantly, pride can arise not just from one's individual achievements or identity, but also from a collective's success, power, status, or identity (Leach et al., 2002; Parkinson et al., 2005). Williams and DeSteno (2008) argued that pride motivates action, incentivizing perseverance in difficult or costly tasks aimed at developing skills and status. If collective pride functions in a similar way, then there should be evidence that collective pride provides a means of coping with the difficulties encountered when facing prejudice and discrimination, and that such pride motivates action oriented towards challenging prejudice and discrimination.

Bannon, McKay, Chacko, Rodriguez, and Cavaleri (2009) found that when African American parents more strongly reinforced cultural pride, their children exhibited lower anxiety, and were buffered against mental health risk factors. Likewise, a qualitative study in Canada showed that Salvadoran mothers saw the need to strengthen their daughters' ethnic pride as a way to resist discrimination, and that fostering such pride helped their daughters cope with acculturation pressures and discrimination (Carranza, 2007). In another qualitative study, Singh and McKleroy (2011) showed that expressions of collective pride among transgender people of color were central to resilience in response to traumatic life events (including hate crimes). In a quantitative study, Ratner, Halim, and Amodio (2013) found that greater in-group pride among Black and Latina women in the U.S. was associated with higher basal dehydroepiandrosterone (DHEA), a hormone taken as a marker of resilience to stressors. Likewise, Lee (2005) found that Korean Americans' ethnic pride enhanced psychological resilience in the form of enhanced self-esteem. Ethnic pride also enhanced psychological resilience by minimizing the effects of believed discrimination on depressive symptoms and social disconnectedness.

Pride may not only promote resilience, it may also motivate resistance. As in individual

pride, collective pride plays a role in building determination, persistence, and agency to oppose societal devaluation in groups (e.g., Sabucedo & Vilas, 2014). Pearlman (2013) argued that pride promotes optimistic assessments of future outcomes, risk acceptance, and feelings of personal efficacy. She showed how feelings of pride can encourage protest by oppressed people, in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011, even in unfavorable conditions. Tausch and Becker (2013) went further by presenting evidence that in-group pride actually increased belief in the in-group's efficacy to change their conditions. And, such efficacy fueled future intentions to protest collectively for societal improvement.

While many of the above studies were conducted with European students protesting educational cuts or costs, there is also some evidence that pride is important for structurally disadvantaged groups resisting prejudice and discrimination. Krane, Barber, and McClung (2002) found that the increased pride and sense of belonging LGBT athletes felt at participating in the Gay Games motivated subsequent desire to challenge LGBT discrimination. Collective pride then may empower members of disadvantaged groups and increase their motivation for collective opposition and protest. Thus, pride, like compassion, may be an important part of how members of disadvantaged groups cope with prejudice and discrimination, and pride may motivate and mobilize resistance to discrimination and other forms of societal devaluation.

Although not always focused explicitly on the emotion of pride, a great deal of work on strong and "positive" identification with societally devalued groups also shows it to be important to psychological resilience and to social and political resistance (for a review, see Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). Whether called evaluation, affirmation, or (private) self-regard, satisfaction with membership in a societally devalued group is linked to a wide variety of psychological and physical health indicators as well as to a commitment to improving the

position of the group through protest or other collective action (for reviews, see Ashmore et al., 2004; Leach et al., 2008). Interestingly, a growing body of work suggests that social and political commitment to a societally devalued group also serves to reinforce and extend pride and other aspects of positive identity in what may operate as a virtuous circle of dynamic reinforcement (see van Zomeren et al., 2012).

As far as we are aware there is little to no research examining the way that pride in membership in a societally devalued group may promote social or political solidarity with other disadvantaged groups (for reviews, see Ashmore et al., 2004; Leach et al., 2008). However, there is reason to expect that pride in group membership may feed solidarity especially when it is accompanied by pride in an overarching, potentially politicized, category that includes the disadvantaged in-group together with similarly situated out-groups (e.g., the dispossessed, the global south, the 99%, the workers or proletariat). Another interesting avenue for future theory and research is the potential for pride among the advantaged to be a basis for solidarity with the disadvantaged. In a series of experiments, van Leeuwen and colleagues exposed Dutch students to reminders of guilt-inducing Dutch complicity with the Nazis or with pride-inducing Dutch resistance (e.g., van Leeuwen, van Dijk, & Kaynak, 2013). Pride at in-group resistance to oppression led to greater support for the disadvantaged out-groups most hurt by the Nazis, such as Jews. Given the importance of believed morality to in-group pride (Leach et al., 2007), future work might examine the possibility that advantaged groups who feel a morality-based pride for being benevolent are more committed to helping the disadvantaged and to challenging unfair systems that produce societal inequality. Groups that define themselves in terms of a moral commitment to justice or kindness appear to experience this sort of pride in addressing, and redressing, the harm of societal inequality (e.g., Doctors without Borders, Red Crescent Society,

Oxfam).

Hope and Optimism

Generally, hope is defined as an emotionally pleasant motivational state deriving from the belief that one has the agency to successfully pursue a goal and a pathway available to achieve it (Snyder, Cheavens, & Michael, 2005; cf. Lazarus, 1999). This is why some scholars use the terms hope and optimism interchangeably (e.g., Bruininks & Malle, 2005). Here, we define hope as the pleasant emotional state accompanying the aspiration and expectation that negative circumstances can and will change (Bar-Tal, Halperin, & de Rivera, 2007) and we define optimism as the more stable predisposition to feel hopeful regardless of circumstances (Scheier & Carver, 1992). There are clear links between hope, optimism, and religious, spiritual, or other faith that provides a basis for aspiration and expectation that the future will be better than the past or present (e.g., Ciarrocchi, Dy-Liacco, & Deneke, 2008).

Hope and optimism have long been linked to resilience, coping, and empowerment (e.g., Lazarus, 1999; Zimmerman, 1990), as well as more recently to protest and effort at societal improvement (e.g., Sabucedo & Vilas, 2014; Cohen-Chen, van Zomeren, & Halperin, 2015; Włodarczyk, Basabe, Paez, & Zumeta, 2017). Very few studies, however, have examined hope specifically among the societally disadvantaged in response to discrimination and prejudice. Nevertheless, Singh and McKleroy (2011) identified hope for the future as an important theme in the ways that transgender people of color express resilience to extreme discrimination and other traumatic experiences. Hope has also been linked to better coping with the stressors of racism for African Americans (Adams, Rand, Kahle, Snyder, Berg, et al., 2003). Danoff-Burg, Prelow, and Swenson (2004) found that African American college students with high hope coped more efficaciously with race-related stressors and used more problem-focused coping than those with

low hope. Shorter-Gooden (2004) also identified faith as one of the main ways in which African-American women cope with sexism and racism. In their review of LGB individuals' resilience to societal devaluation, prejudice, and discrimination, Hill and Gunderson (2015) identified general hopefulness, optimism, and hopes for the future as factors likely to increase reliance on positive emotion regulation strategies and to increase resilience. Kaiser, Major, and McCoy (2004) found that (both men and women) optimists appraised sexism directed against their gender as less stressful and believed they had more resources for coping with it, compared to pessimists. Overall, there seems to be ample evidence that hope, optimism, and related constructs such as faith and future orientation, increase resilience to societal devaluation.

Hope is also very relevant for resistance to societal devaluation. Social and political opposition to societal devaluation requires hope that societal improvement is possible, even when the odds seem to be against it (e.g., Wlodarczyk et al., 2017; for a general discussion, see van Zomeren et al., 2012). Collective hope, then is an important foundation for social movements towards social equality (e.g., Aminzade & McAdam, 2001; Greenaway, Cichoka, van Veelen, Likki, & Branscombe, 2014). It is as yet unclear where exactly hope fits in existing psychological process models of resistance, but it seems that hope fuels opposition to disadvantage and devaluation through its impact on a shared sense of collective efficacy (e.g., Cohen-Chen & van Zomeren, 2018; Greenaway et al., 2014; Wlodarczyk et al., 2017). Unlike efficacy, however, hope can in principle be maintained, perhaps even magnified, when the odds of improvement appear poor (e.g., Wlodarczyk et al., 2017; for a general discussion, see Lazarus, 1991). This suggests hope as an alternative motivator of resistance to oppression in the face of circumstances that undermine a sense of efficacy to alter unfortunate circumstances (see Allen & Leach, 2017; Leach & Livingstone, 2015).

It may be important to note that the relationship between hope and resistance may be nuanced, and, at times, delicate. This is illustrated in four recent studies by Hasan-Aslih et al. (2019). They found that African Americans' and Israeli-Palestinians' hope for *equality* tended to be *positively* associated with motivation to protest for it, as previously found in many other contexts. On the other hand, hope for *harmony* between groups was *negatively* associated with protest motivation among those weakly identified with their in-group. Thus, it seems that context, the specific goals set by disadvantaged groups, and the strength of in-group identification all determine whether hope can empower groups to resist their disadvantage and/or devaluation. This is an important reminder that attempts to understand the role of emotion in the experience of, and reaction to, prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination must take seriously the nature of the oppression and the wide variety of ways that emotions can be experienced and expressed as individuals and groups figure out how to best manage their position in light of their material, psychological, and social circumstances (Leach, 2016; in press; Leach & Livingstone, 2015).

Discussion

Unpleasant emotions such as anger, shame, and distress are not necessarily reactive, aggressive, and/or (self)-destructive and can in fact be constructive, based on the nature of the relationship between groups (Leach, 2016). Likewise, pleasant emotions -- such as pride (de Figuereido & Elkins, 2003) or hope (Hasan-Aslih et al., 2019) -- are not necessarily constructive and can be destructive to the self, ingroup, or outgroups. Societal devaluation is a complex phenomenon, as are responses to it (for a review, see Leach, in press b). Negative reactions and direct confrontation are important aspects of how people react to such devaluation, but societal devaluation can elicit increased motivation for counter-stereotypic behavior or for achievement

generally (Carter, 2008), increased solidarity with others in similar positions (e.g. Cortland et al., 2017), or can alternatively increase prejudice or discrimination (e.g., towards third party groups, scapegoats, other targets of devaluation; e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2014).

The evidence we have reviewed emphasizes that prejudice and discrimination elicit emotions, and that these emotions can facilitate the empowerment of devalued groups through resilience or resistance, and not simply lead to distress and negative outcomes. However, very little research examines the role of pre-existing emotional states on the perceptions, appraisals, and responses to prejudice and discrimination (for a discussion, see Parkinson et al., 2005). This is a potentially important area for future research.

Another important issue deserving of further theory and research is the effect of societal devaluation on disadvantaged groups' treatment of groups above and below them in the hierarchy (e.g. Craig & Richeson, 2014; Rucker & Richeson, this volume; Wright & Lubensky, 2007). The ways in which the experience of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination can facilitate or thwart mistreatment of the worse off seems especially important. This question is being examined across psychology under the rubric of collective victimization (Vollhardt, in press). But, there remains a great deal of work to be done on this topic.

Close attention to the (many) sentiments of the dispossessed enables us to examine and understand the quality of the experience of societal disadvantage and devaluation. As agentic, existential, socially embedded, states of being-in-the-world, emotions are indispensable concepts (and linguistic markers) of human experience. However, emotions cannot be fully understood outside of the context in which they arise (Leach, 2016; Parkinson et al. 2005). The sentiments of the dispossessed that we have discussed here are *about* societal disadvantage and devaluation and thus they must be understood as examples of resilience and resistance (occasionally

resignation) to disadvantage and devaluation shared by a category of people whose existence is at least partly defined by the limits and possibilities of oppression.

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