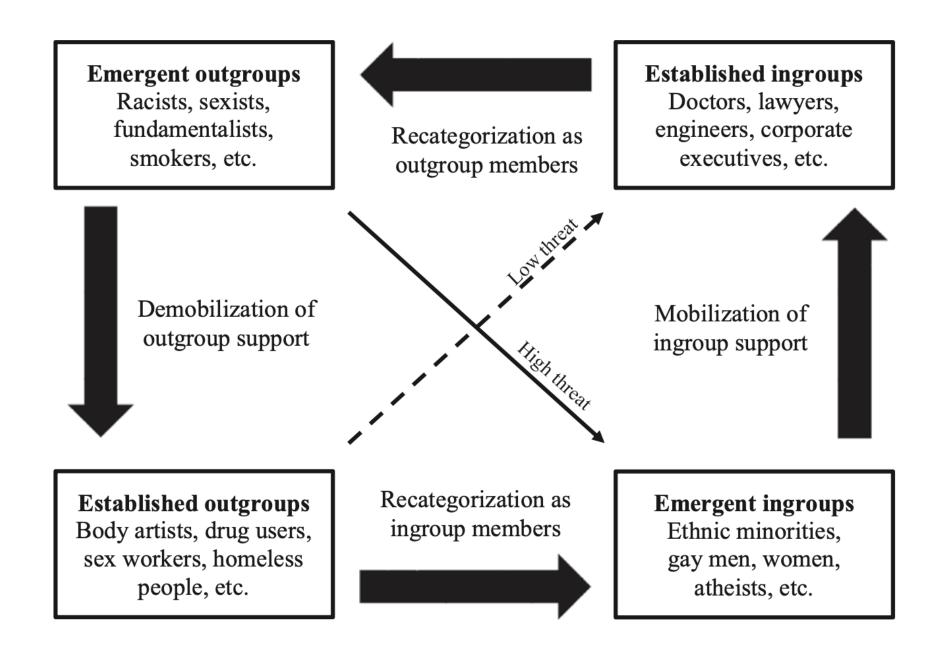
Emergent Ingroup Members in the U.S. Mainstream: A Descriptive Analysis of 245 Social Groups

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Social Group Category

Introduction

Researchers have increasingly become interested in the emergence of novel social identities and their potential for inspiring social change (e.g.., Ntontis et al., 2021; Thomas et al., 2019). The Emergent Ingroup Model (EIM; Ferguson et al., 2019) provides a social identity perspective on the formation and maintenance of stability and change in society. It places recategorization (novel social categories) and remobilization (novel intergroup behavior) at the heart of social change efforts—with emergent ingroup members working together toward a better future, in the face of emergent outgroup resistance.



Our present research addresses three questions. First, how well do perceptions of stability and change in society's emotions toward social groups fit with EIM predictions? Second, do these perceptions differ based temporal focus—on how society *has changed* from the past (Ferguson et al., 2019), or on how society *will change* in the future (Wright et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2013)? Third, do they also depend on the perceived time scale?

Accordingly, in three studies, we tested whether 245 social groups were seen as emergent or established ingroups, as well as emergent or established outgroups, in American society. Across studies, we predicted that emergent ingroups would include prejudice targets studied in social psychology (based on ethnicity, gender, sexuality, etc.), as well as eco-friendly groups studied in environmental psychology (animal rights activists, environmentalists, vegans, etc.). We also predicted that emergent outgroups

would include their opponents within society (homophobic people, racists, climate change skeptics, etc.)

Method

Seven hundred and seventy-six undergraduate students participated in one-of-three online studies in exchange for course credit. Sixty-three participants took either an insufficient (under 10 minutes) or excessive (over 100 minutes) amount of time to complete the study and were thus omitted from the analyses. The final sample consisted of 713 participants (ages 18 to 54, 63% women, 82% European American).

Participants read that the study focused on their perceptions of how Americans' feelings toward 245 social groups have changed over the past 50 (Study 1, n = 225) or 100 years (Study 2, n = 326), or might change over the next 50 years (Study 3, n = 162). They next completed a digital card sorting task, which required placing social groups into one-of-five boxes: 1) always negative feelings (established outgroup), 2) more negative feelings (emergent outgroup), 3) more positive feelings (emergent ingroup), 4) always positive feelings (established ingroup), or 5) not sure. Participants then completed a variety of demographic and study process measures. They finally read a debriefing and logged out.

Results

As predicted, perceptions of stability and change in emotions toward social groups fit reasonably well with EIM predictions. Emergent ingroups generally included prejudice targets and ecofriendly groups. Emergent outgroups generally included their opponents in society. See the table for the top 15 sorting frequencies and ranks per group category across studies.

To test whether there were differences across studies, we conducted one-way ANOVAs on the sorting measure. This measure was coded from 0 (always negative) to 4 (always positive). For the overall ANOVAs, we set a conservative p-value of < .001. For thirty groups (12%), the ANOVAs

reached significance. Most of these groups were emergent ingroups or established outgroups. The simple effects generally showed that participants in the next 50 years study rated societal emotions as more positively toward these groups than those in the past 50 and 100 years studies.

Past 50 Years Past 100 Years Next 50 Years

Established Ingroup	Freq.	Rank	Freq.	Rank	Freq.	Rank
Firefighters	143	_	189	_	89	1
		1		1		
Doctors	130	2	169	6	70	18
Veternarians	128	3	182	2	76	9
Attractive people	115	4	169	7	81	3
Soup kitchen volunteers	115	5	168	8	81	4
Mothers	113	6	160	14	66	23
Astronauts	112	7	180	3	77	6
Dog owners	110	8	173	4	88	2
Chefs	106	9	163	12	69	19
Girl scouts	105	10	168	9	78	5
Dentists	104	11	162	13	71	17
Married people	102	12	168	10	72	15
						-
Veterans	100	13	120	32	68	21
Blood donors	99	14	152	15	76	10
Librarians	99	15	173	5	72	14
Emergent Ingroup	Freq.	Rank	Freq.	Rank	Freq.	Rank
Business women	185	1	262	1	118	4
Women who are scientists	176	2	260	2	122	1
Supporters of same sex marriage	172	3	254	3	110	11
Interracial couples	171	4	253	4	109	13
Men who stay home to raise kids	169	5	237	11	122	2
Male nurses	167	6	252	5	107	14
		-				
Black professionals	165	7	252	6	121	3
Single parents	159	8	225	16	111	10
Gay men	157	9	239	9	111	9
Medical marijuana users	156	11	250	7	115	5
Gay people who raise children	156	10	230	13	110	12
Lesbians	155	12	245	8	105	19
Bisexual people	149	13	238	10	113	7
Supporters of legalizing marijuana	148	15	237	12	115	6
Adopted children	148	14	229	14	103	21
Emergent Outgroup	Freq.	Rank	Freq.	Rank	Freq.	Rank
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Police officers	-	1	205	4	71	12
Police officers	151	1	205	4	71	12
Cigarette smokers	151 143	2	221	1	81	6
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people	151 143 133	2	221 210	1	81 83	6
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers	151 143 133 132	2 3 4	221 210 199	1 3 5	81 83 83	6 3 4
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts	151 143 133 132 130	2 3 4 5	221 210 199 196	1 3 5	81 83 83 74	6 3 4 10
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians	151 143 133 132	2 3 4	221 210 199	1 3 5	81 83 83 74 83	6 3 4
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians	151 143 133 132 130	2 3 4 5	221 210 199 196	1 3 5	81 83 83 74	6 3 4 10
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers	151 143 133 132 130 125	2 3 4 5	221 210 199 196 196	1 3 5 6	81 83 83 74 83	6 3 4 10 5
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians Distracted drivers	151 143 133 132 130 125 123	2 3 4 5 6	221 210 199 196 196	1 3 5 6 7 21	81 83 83 74 83 67	6 3 4 10 5
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians Distracted drivers Selfie addicts	151 143 133 132 130 125 123 121	2 3 4 5 6 7	221 210 199 196 196 151 140	1 3 5 6 7 21 27	81 83 83 74 83 67	6 3 4 10 5 17
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians Distracted drivers Selfie addicts Supporters of gun rights	151 143 133 132 130 125 123 121 118	2 3 4 5 6 7 8	221 210 199 196 196 151 140 166	1 3 5 6 7 21 27	81 83 83 74 83 67 67	6 3 4 10 5 17 19 32
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians Distracted drivers Selfie addicts Supporters of gun rights Racists American Muslims	151 143 133 132 130 125 123 121 118 115 113	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	221 210 199 196 196 151 140 166 163	1 3 5 6 7 21 27 11	81 83 83 74 83 67 67 57 95	6 3 4 10 5 17 19 32 1
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians Distracted drivers Selfie addicts Supporters of gun rights Racists American Muslims Rich people	151 143 133 132 130 125 123 121 118 115 113	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	221 210 199 196 196 151 140 166 163 151 159	1 3 5 6 7 21 27 11 14 22	81 83 83 74 83 67 67 57 95 17	6 3 4 10 5 17 19 32 1 137 8
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians Distracted drivers Selfie addicts Supporters of gun rights Racists American Muslims Rich people Climate change skeptics	151 143 133 132 130 125 123 121 118 115 113 112	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	221 210 199 196 196 151 140 166 163 151 159	1 3 5 6 7 21 27 11 14 22 18	81 83 83 74 83 67 67 57 95 17 78 64	6 3 4 10 5 17 19 32 1 137 8 22
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Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians Distracted drivers Selfie addicts Supporters of gun rights Racists American Muslims Rich people Climate change skeptics Rednecks Slut shamers	151 143 133 132 130 125 123 121 118 115 113 112 111 109	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14	221 210 199 196 196 151 140 166 163 151 159 160 140	1 3 5 6 7 21 27 11 14 22 18 16 28	81 83 83 74 83 67 67 57 95 17 78 64 48	6 3 4 10 5 17 19 32 1 137 8 22 46 15
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Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians Distracted drivers Selfie addicts Supporters of gun rights Racists American Muslims Rich people Climate change skeptics Rednecks Slut shamers Established Outgroup Murderers	151 143 133 132 130 125 123 121 118 115 113 112 111 109 108 Freq. 182	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 Rank	221 210 199 196 196 151 140 166 163 151 159 160 140 164 Freq.	1 3 5 6 7 21 27 11 14 22 18 16 28 13 Rank	81 83 83 74 83 67 67 57 95 17 78 64 48 69 Freq.	6 3 4 10 5 17 19 32 1 137 8 22 46 15 Rank 1
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Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians Distracted drivers Selfie addicts Supporters of gun rights Racists American Muslims Rich people Climate change skeptics Rednecks Slut shamers Established Outgroup Murderers Shoplifters People who abuse children Identity thieves People who abuse elderly adults Siblings who have consensual sex Heroin addicts Human traffickers Husbands who hire prostitutes Cult members Drug dealers Terrorists Juvenile delinquents	151 143 133 132 130 125 123 121 118 115 113 112 111 109 108 Freq. 182 167 165 163 160 160 156 154 152 140 135 133 132	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 Rank 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	221 210 199 196 196 151 140 166 163 151 159 160 140 164 Freq. 271 249 214 226 214 222 206 214 222 206 219 223 192 206 194 181	1 3 5 6 7 21 27 11 14 22 18 13 Rank 1 2 7 3 8 5 9 6 4 15 10 14 17	81 83 83 74 83 67 67 67 57 95 17 78 64 48 69 Freq. 109 96 90 95 91 96 90 95 91 96 90 95	6 3 4 10 5 17 19 32 1 137 8 22 46 15 Rank 1 4 11 6 10 5 9 7 8
Cigarette smokers Homophobic people Anti-vaxxers Social media addicts Politicians Distracted drivers Selfie addicts Supporters of gun rights Racists American Muslims Rich people Climate change skeptics Rednecks Slut shamers Established Outgroup Murderers Shoplifters People who abuse children Identity thieves People who abuse elderly adults Siblings who have consensual sex Heroin addicts Human traffickers Husbands who hire prostitutes Cult members Drug dealers Terrorists Juvenile delinquents People who cheat on their partners	151 143 133 132 130 125 123 121 118 115 113 112 111 109 108 Freq. 182 167 165 163 160 160 160 156 154 152 140 135 133	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 Rank 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	221 210 199 196 196 151 140 166 163 151 159 160 140 164 Freq. 271 249 214 226 214 226 214 222 206 219 223 192 206 194	1 3 5 6 7 21 27 11 14 22 18 13 Rank 1 2 7 3 8 5 9 6 4 15 10 14	81 83 83 74 83 67 67 57 95 17 78 64 48 69 Freq. 109 96 90 95 91 96 90 95 91 96 93 95 91	6 3 4 10 5 17 19 32 1 137 8 22 46 15 Rank 1 4 11 6 10 5 9 7 8 12 15 9 7 8 12 15 2 20 14
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Discussion

These studies provide initial support for the EIM. Emergent ingroups generally include prejudice targets, as well as eco-friendly groups. Across studies, these patterns typically hold regardless of the temporal focus (past versus future) or the time scale (50 versus 100 years). These results are limited by a buggy sorting task, and do not account for group perceptions of social change. Future research should consider these issues.

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