




## **Social norm violation and bystanders**

The effect of different norm violations and bystander presence on perpetrators mind-sets



Master thesis

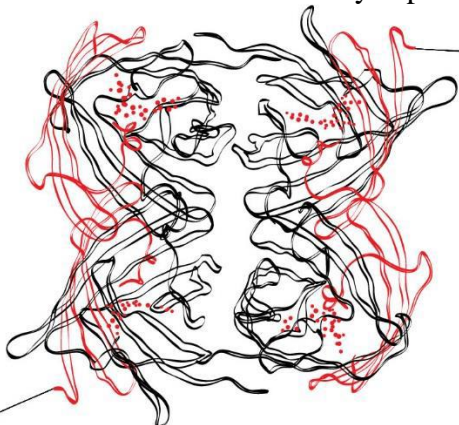
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## Abstract

How are perpetrators influenced by bystanders when committing different types of norm violation? Two online vignette studies were implemented to analyse this. We expected generally more positive attitudes towards norm violation through more positive perceptions towards norm violation, less negative affect, and more power affordance in the presence of multiple versus one bystander(s), for prosocial versus selfish norm violation and in the presence of a passive high status bystander versus a passive low status bystander. We also argue for a strengthened effect for multiple or high status bystanders and prosocial norm violation. In study 1, 136 students had to imagine themselves as a perpetrator committing a prosocial- or selfish norm violation in the perceived presence of one or multiple bystanders. In line with expectations, the online questionnaire results indicated that people put more blame onto someone else when committing selfish norm violation. They surprisingly also felt more disapproval about prosocial norm violation in the presence of multiple bystanders and felt more negative emotions towards prosocial norm violation in the presence of one bystander. The second study, consisting of 116 students, unexpectedly yielded no significant effects for bystander status and norm violation types on perpetrators mind-sets. The results imply that the relation between perpetrators, bystanders and norm violations might differ to what would be expected from research from bystander perspective.

## **Social norm violation and bystanders: The effect of different norm violations and bystander presence on perpetrators mind-sets**

Every day society is exposed to norms and violations of these norms. Trash could be left out on the street, a driver might ignore a red traffic light, graffiti could be spray painted on train carriages, and many more norm violations could occur. Norms are essential within societies and groups because they create order (Stamkou, Van Kleef, Homan & Galinsky, 2016). As a result, violating norms is frowned upon because it can disrupt order within these societies and groups (Feldman, 1984; Stamkou et al., 2016). This could indicate that those who witness a norm violation may have a problem with the person responsible for that violation.

Adding to the problem of norm violation is that one norm violation could spread to another (Keizer, Lindenberg & Steg, 2008). When people see graffiti and littering around them, they might easily litter as well or violate norms in another way. That could result in a spread of disorderly behaviour or perhaps even result in more criminal behaviour. It is thus pivotal to fight the spread of disorder. To accomplish that it is necessary to know what could inhibit norm violation so that order is retained. In this research we therefore want to take a step in uncovering what factors could aid in the prevention of norm violation.

One of the first factors to examine is perpetrators views on violating norms. Every group has its own norms and violations. What constitutes as violation could change in time or per situation; consequences for defiance differ per norm violation (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Van Kleef, Homan, Finkenauer, Blaker & Heerdink, 2012). Attitudes towards different norms should thus be examined in varying situations: one norm violation could have negative consequences for a norm violator, whereas another could result in positive consequences such as a gain in power or status (Van Kleef, Homan, Finkenauer, Gündemir & Stamkou, 2011; Van Kleef et al. 2012). The current research therefore focusses on gaining insight into the perspective of norm violators towards different norm violation types and possible positive consequences such as power gain. In addition, the presence of witnesses or bystanders will be examined because the presence of others can improve behaviour towards adhering to norms (Garcia, Weaver, Darley & Spence, 2009). In the following part the multiple concepts will be explained to provide a background. Relations between variables will be elaborated on.

### **Norms**

Every group and society has norms to create order. Two key principles for the existence of norms are attitudes and knowledge (Brennan, Eriksson, Goodin & Southwood, 2013; Potter,

2016). Individuals first need to be able to have reflective critical attitudes about certain behaviour to form norms while taking into account principles of behaviour. People also need to have knowledge of these (un)acceptable attitudes so norms can continue to exist (Brennan et al., 2013; Potter, 2016). Individual and cultural differences can cause norms to differ per group or society. Definitions for norms are therefore ambiguous (Joven-Romero, 2016).

Two similar definitions of norms will be maintained for the current study. Brauer and Chekroun (2005) argue that norms can be described as “prescriptions of behaviors and attitudes that are considered acceptable or desirable in a given social unit” (p. 2). For instance, in some cultures it might be taken as an insult when one does not finish their food, so for these cultures finishing one’s food is a norm. Brennan et al. (2016) describe norms as “rules or normative principles that are somehow accepted in and by particular groups” (p. 4).

Another difficulty in clarification of norms stems from the multitude of distinctions for norms within scientific research such as distinctions between moral and non-moral norms, between functions of norms and between behavioural actions (O’Neill, 2017). Brennan et al. (2013) however offer a comprehensive account of norms. Their categorization scheme distinguishes between formal norms – legal norms with coercive legal sanctions such as not driving through a red traffic light – and informal norms – norms that are not legally enforceable such as not putting your feet on someone else’s seat in the train (Brennan et al., 2013; Potter, 2016). Informal norms can be further sub categorised into moral norms and social norms. Distinguishing between these norms is difficult because they overlap significantly (Martin, 2013) and researchers do not agree on how differences between social and moral norms can be explained. Differences could be explained through elicitation of conditional conformity to norms (Martin, 2013), the emergence of norms (Bicchieri, 2011), or the advantages they provide to individuals or groups (Hechter & Opp, 2001).

Brennan et al. (2016) argue that moral norms comprise the societies’ moral codes, for instance being truthful. Moral norms with legal sanctions forbidding murder and rape also exist, but would be better defined as formal norms due to the legal sanctions. An example of social norms would be to wear black clothing to funerals. Even though researchers, do not agree on where exactly the differences lie between social and moral norms. They do agree that social norms are powerful predictors for human behaviour (Cialdini, Kallgren & Reno, 1991; Brauer & Chekroun, 2005) and are related to people’s attitudes, behaviour and norm violation (Melnyk, Van Herpen & Van Trijp, 2010). Due to their predictive value and relations to attitudes, behaviour and norm violation, the subject of social norms will be expanded on.

### **Social norms and attitudes**

Social norms can be defined as “implicit or explicit rules or principles that are understood by members of a group and that guide and/or constrain behaviour without the course of laws to engender proper conduct” (Van Kleef, Wanders, Stamkou & Homan, 2015, p.25). They contribute to a group’s identity (Brown, 1995), give people a feeling of belongingness and can give structure in different situations (Chekroun and Brauer, 2005). These norms are group specific: normative behaviour in one group might be deviant behaviour in another group (Chekroun & Brauer, 2002). In addition, social norms are powerful determinants for human behaviour and can assist in changing behaviour (Chekroun & Brauer, 2002; Melnyk et al., 2010; Aronson, Wilson & Akert, 2010). The current study therefore focusses specifically on social norms. Henceforth, when mentioning norms, we mainly refer to social norms.

As stated before, attitudes are important for the existence of norms (Brennan et al., 2013; Potter, 2016) and therefore also for the violation of norms. As with norms, there is no universal definition for attitude (Rao, 2004) but an operational definition describes attitudes as “a relatively enduring organization of beliefs, feelings and behavioural tendencies towards socially significant objects, groups, events or symbols” (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005, p.150, quoted in Leighton, Tang & Guo, 2015, p.3). In general to measure attitude, researchers acknowledge three components: affect (feelings), behaviour, and cognition (beliefs) (Leighton et al., 2015). Affect specifically focusses on the emotional state. Due to its importance to norms and norm violation and to gain insight into how attitudes differ and might change, attitudes will be examined in the current study specifically through measuring beliefs (i.e. perceptions) and emotions. Emotions themselves have also been linked to norm violation (Wilson & O’Gorman, 2003). Furthermore, it is thus important to gain insight into existing attitudes about different norm violations and reasons for violating or adhering to norms. Norm adherence and norm violation will therefore be further explained.

### **Norm violation and norm violation types**

People conform to social norms because of their importance to the group and its identity (Chekroun & Brauer, 2002). Additionally, these norms seem to be maintained through providing rewards for adherence. Every group has different social norms – they have their own standards for what are considered acceptable attitudes and behaviours – and thus have different rewards or punishments (Chekroun & Brauer, 2002).

People are known to engage in acts of helping others through for instance donating money, volunteering or saving a child from drowning. Due to this, humans as a species are

said to be rather altruistically inclined (Van Vugt, Roberts & Hardy, 2007). Altruism would then be defined as the motivation to help or benefit others at a cost to oneself (Sober & Wilson, 1998; Van Vugt et al., 2007). It might be concluded that altruism is a social norm of itself that some groups of people choose to adhere to or not.

Acting altruistically, or refusing to, might garner different consequences. In certain situations, you can be looked down upon for not donating money to the homeless, or might be rewarded when doing so. Defying or complying with norms might garner negative or positive consequences as being ignored or being seen as competent or sincere (Chekroun & Brauer, 2005). It would thus be expected that people would rather comply with norms than violate them. But as mentioned, defying norms does not always garner negative consequences.

Different norm violation types can garner positive or negative reactions for a violator or perpetrator (Stamkou et al., 2016; Van Kleef et al., 2012). Defiance of norms can evoke anger and blame (Helweg-Larsen & LoMonaco, 2008; Kam & Bond, 2009; Ohbuchi et al., 2004; Stamkou et al., 2016), negative comments (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005) and can result in exclusion from a group (Schachter 1951; Brauer & Chekroun, 2005). In contradiction to this, van Kleef et al. (2012) argue that individuals could be granted more power due to breaking the rules depending on the situation. Norm violators were granted more power when their violation of rules benefited others. We define power as the ability to which an individual can control other's outcomes and be uninfluenced by others (Fragale, Overbeck & Neale, 2011; Van Kleef et al., 2012). Norm violation is also seen as status enhancing in certain groups (Sijtsema et al., 2009; Van Kleef et al., 2011). Status can be defined as "the extent to which and individual is respected, admired, and highly regarded by others (Fragale et al., 2011, p. 767). Although power and status are often used congruently to one another.

Different norm violation types exist that actually result in a better status or more power (Van Kleef et al., 2011; Van Kleef et al. 2012). Prosocial- and selfish (either harmful or neutral) norm violation can be distinguished. In the case of prosocial violation, others benefit from the violation. An example would be closing a window in a room full of job applicants who are shivering due to cold, when a sign clearly states that it is forbidden to touch the window. With selfish norm violation the actor's environment is harmed (or neither benefits nor experiences harm), for instance closing a window in a room with job applicants. However, now closing the window will result in a rejection of the job offer for everyone present. Prosocial norm violation leads to power affordance, whereas selfish norm violation does not (Van Kleef et al., 2012). This effect was observed when participants are uninvolved observers but also in face-to-face situations with a perpetrator. We therefore argue that:

- H1a: Perpetrators perceptions towards norm violations will be more positive when norm violation is prosocial than when norm violation is selfish.
- H1b: Perpetrators will feel less negative affect when committing prosocial norm violation than when committing selfish norm violation.
- H1c: Perpetrators will award more power to themselves when norm violation is prosocial than when norm violation is selfish.

However, not only the norm violation type could have influence on perpetrators attitudes, namely perceptions and affect, and on power affordance. Surroundings during violation of norms, specifically environmental cues, also impact normative and deviant behaviour (Keizer et al. 2008; Lindenberg, 2012). People's presence in the environment will strengthen normative goals and in turn strengthen normative behaviour, thus preventing norm violation (Lindenberg, 2012). That is the case, provided that cues show other people respecting norms. This indicates that individuals take cues from others in their environment in establishing their attitudes and behaviour. The presence of others could therefore have important consequences for perpetrators perceptions towards norm violation, negative affect and possible power gain.

### **Guardians**

People's environment could both positively and negatively influence attitudes and behaviour towards norm violations. Keizer et al. (2008) discovered that observing others while violating norms or merely observing the effects of norm defiance, might cause certain disorderly or criminal behaviour to become more common. If observing others defiance encourages norm violation and changes attitudes towards norm violation, the presence of others that adhere to norms, might result in the opposite. In accordance, Garcia et al. (2009) mention that the presence of others could lead to behaviour conform social norms. The presence of witnesses or bystanders could thus possibly fulfil an important role in the prevention of norm violation.

Additionally, the routine activity approach states that criminal violations require three aspects: likely offenders, suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians (Cohen & Felson, 1979). If any of these elements is missing then prevention of the violation is more likely. Cohen and Felson (1979) specifically mention the often overlooked aspect of "guardianship by ordinary citizens of one another and of property" in preventing violations (p. 590). The presence of others could thus prove invaluable in inhibiting acts of norm violation because perpetrators might feel more resistance in the presence of witnesses who could disapprove or interfere.

## Number of bystanders

When looking at the presence of others, it is necessary to take into account the number of those present. People offer less help to a ‘victim’ or are less likely to interfere when the number of bystanders increases (Latané & Nida, 1981; Fischer et al., 2011). In that case the personal responsibility to help is subjectively divided by the number of bystanders that are present (Latané & Darley, 1970; Fischer et al., 2011). Different numbers of bystanders could thus impact perpetrators’ willingness to commit norm violation differently depending on the number of bystanders present. But what are differences between one or more bystanders? Research into conformity to groups might offer insight.

Ash (1955) concluded that a group size of three would ensure that the impact of conformity would be at its largest. In contradiction, other theories state that every additional member will have influence on conformity although with every additional member the influence will be smaller (Bond, 2005). Theories however all seem to indicate that the impact of a person’s presence lessens when the group size consists of more than three (Figure 1).

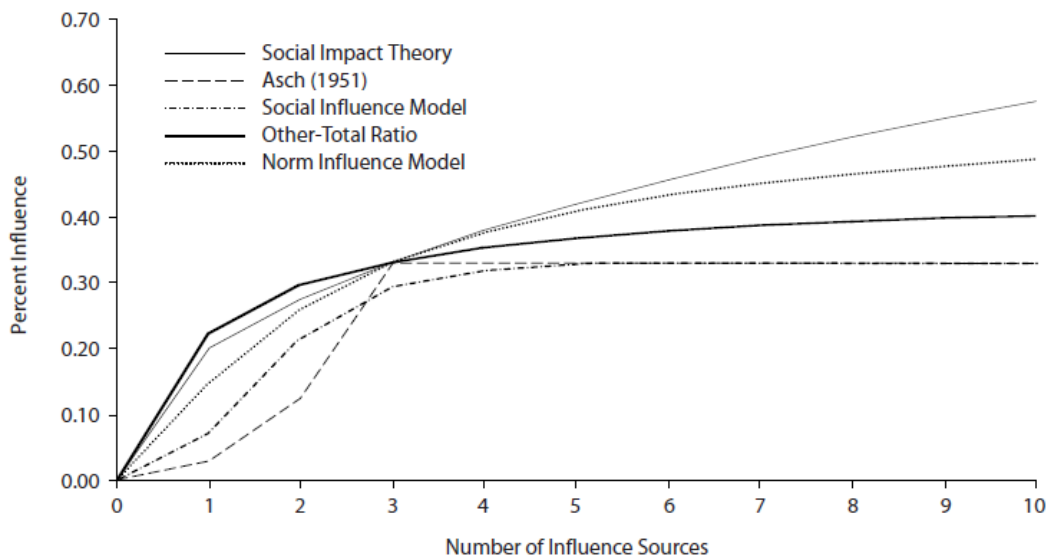


Figure 1. Theoretical relationships between group size and conformity (Bond, 2005, p. 334).

One might expect that this will also be the case for non-conformity or defiance of norms. It is thus possible that the presence of one, two or three bystanders could inhibit norm violation more for each additional bystander whereas presence of more than three bystanders would not result in even stronger norm violation inhibitions. The presence of more bystanders might



instead even make the perpetrator feel more anonymous which can be the case when committing a norm violation in a larger crowd as indicated by Shaye (2017).

Additionally, an individual's ability to take cues from their environment might also play a role in the influence of bystanders on perceptions towards norm violation, negative affect and power affordance. As mentioned before, Keizer et al. (2008) shows that observing norm violation of others can cause other individuals to violate these norms. In contrast, when people see others offering assistance to an injured pedestrian, they are more inclined to help out (Rutkowski, Gruder & Romer, 1983). Environmental cues are key. Bystanders are less likely to offer assistance in larger groups due to a diffusion of responsibility (Latané & Darley, 1968; Latané & Darley, 1981). If however only one or two bystanders are present than they feel more responsibility and are more likely to help. Perpetrators might therefore also expect less interference in larger crowds. In addition, they might worry less about possible negative consequences that were discovered in research such as evoking feelings of anger, blame or negative comments from bystanders (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Helweg-Larsen & LoMonaco, 2008; Kam & Bond, 2009; Ohbuchi et al., 2004; Stamkou et al., 2016). Pluralistic ignorance could also influence perpetrators mind-sets towards norm violation. Pluralistic ignorance refers to bystanders reacting passively and not interfering which could be (falsely) perceived as a cue by a perpetrator that they approve of the norm deviant behaviour (Juvonen & Galvan, 2008; Salmivalli, 2014). We therefore hypothesise that:

H2a: Perpetrators perceptions towards norm violations will be more positive when there are multiple bystanders present than in the presence of one bystander.

H2b: Perpetrators will feel less negative affect for committing norm violation when there are multiple bystanders present than in the presence of one bystander.

Furthermore, research shows that when people show they are willing to violate norms to act according to their own volition, they are seen as more powerful than when abiding to norms (Van Kleef et al., 2011; Stamkou & Van Kleef, 2014). The presence of bystanders allows for a possible affordance of power towards the perpetrator. Research from Tiedens (2001) showed that people could use cues from those around them to infer their level of power. This would indicate that without the presence of others it would be more difficult to infer one's level of power. Similarly, bullies need bystanders or spectators to pursue power and higher social status (Salmivalli, 2014) and most bullying thus occurs when there are peers present

(Hawkins, Pepler & Craig, 2001). The presence of more witnesses could result in more gain of power for a perpetrator. We therefore expect that:

H2c: Perpetrators will award more power to themselves when there are multiple bystanders present than when there is one bystander present.

In addition to effects from norm violation types and number of bystanders on perceptions, negative affect and power affordance, we also expect to find an interaction effect between norm violation types and the number of bystanders. We expect to find strengthened effects of the ones described in hypotheses 1 and 2. We therefore argue that:

H3a: Perpetrators perceptions towards norm violation will be the most positive when violating prosocial norms in the presence of multiple bystanders.

H3b: Perpetrators will feel the least negative affect towards norm violation when they violate prosocial norms in the presence of multiple bystanders.

H3c: Perpetrators will have the largest power affordance when violating prosocial norms in the presence of multiple bystanders.

### **Present study**

The current study aimed to gain insight into the effect of bystanders and different norm violations on perpetrators mind-sets as a first step in gaining insight into preventive measures for norm violation. The study observes differences between one and multiple bystanders, differences between prosocial- and selfish norm violation and an interaction between the number of bystanders and norm violation types. The perpetrator's mind-set was examined through examining attitudes and power affordance. Attitude was subdivided into perceptions and affect. The following specific factors were examined: perceptions of social norms, positive and negative emotions towards norm violation, perceptions of (dis)approval towards norm violation and power affordance or inhibition. Perceptions and emotions were measured to gain insight into general attitudes. Through the study the technique perspective taking was implemented: the norm violation and presence of bystanders needed to be imagined with the help of a written scenario. The focus of the study lay specifically on a perpetrator perspective because it seemed like most studies focussed on bystander or victim perspective up until now. Doing so might result in new insights into the bystander effect and norm violation.

## Study 1

### Method

**Design and participants.** The current study had a 2 (bystander situation: one vs ten) x 2 (norm violation: prosocial vs selfish) between subjects design, resulting in four conditions. Participants were recruited via SONA-systems which provided them with 0.25 participant credits for completing the study. There was one requirement for signing up: an age of at least eighteen years. The initial participant pool consisted of 199 students but a total of 136 remained after implementing exclusion criteria. Participants were excluded based on wrong answers to manipulation checks because then the manipulation might not have taken effect. 19.1 percent of the participants was male and 80.9 percent was female. Mean age was 20.23 years ( $SD = 1.79$ ). Participants were randomly distributed to one of the four conditions.

**Procedure.** Participants were instructed to fill in an online questionnaire. The instructions started with an informed consent to which the participants had to agree to continue the rest of the questionnaire and start the study. After that, participants were instructed to read one of four possible vignettes, each representing one of the four research conditions (Appendix 1). Participants had to imagine themselves as a perpetrator that was committing a norm violation, namely taking a key and key card from a coffee corner to make coffee without the employee's knowledge or permission. The number of bystanders and the type of norm violation were both manipulated in the vignette. There was either one bystander or ten bystanders present as witness to the act of norm violation. Their act could either be prosocial and therefore beneficial for the bystanders through making coffee for everyone present, or purely selfish by only preparing coffee for oneself. The bystander(s) remained passive: they noticed the actions of the perpetrator but did not interfere.

After reading the vignette, the participants filled in the remaining questionnaire with the vignette still in mind. The questionnaire contained questions on perceived social norms, emotions towards norm violation, perceptions of one's own and perceived other's disapproval towards norm violation, power affordance after norm violation and perspective taking of the vignette. In between the participant would be reminded of the scenario. The questionnaire finished with manipulation checks on participants' awareness about the vignette and questions on gender and age. To check if participants were aware of the presence of bystanders, they had to answer an open ended question on how many bystanders were present in the scenario. Awareness of the type of norm violation was checked through two questions

which participants could answer on a 7-point Likert scale. The first item checked if taking a key and key card in the scenario was perceived as a norm violation whereas the second question measured awareness of a prosocial or selfish norm violation. Finally, after concluding the questionnaire, participants were debriefed about the goal of the study via a written message on the final screen.

**Measures.** All items were measured on a 7-point Likert scale with different anchors (Appendix 2). After reliability analysis the scores for every scale were averaged to implement further analysis.

***Perceived social norms.*** The perceived social norms scale was implemented to measure attitudes towards social norms. The items are based on a selection of questions from Brauer & Chekroun (2005). The scale consisted of 2 items with anchors “1 = definitely not” to “7 = definitely” (e.g. Do you think it is normal to take a key and key card that was left behind by the owner to use it;  $r = .414$ ).

***Emotions.*** The emotions scale measured affect through negative and positive emotions about the norm violation in the vignette. The anchors were labelled from “1 = not at all” to “7 = very much”. The negative emotions scale had an  $\alpha$  of .911 and contained 10 items (e.g. I would feel ashamed about taking a key and key card without the owner’s permission). The positive emotions scale consisted of 4 items (e.g. I would feel proud for taking a key and key card without the owner’s permission;  $\alpha = .862$ ). Emotions towards the employee were also measured to get an indication if people would justify their own actions due to the employee’s actions in the vignette. The scale had a Cronbach’s alpha of .814 and consisted of 4 items anchored from “1 = not at all” to “7 = very much” (e.g. I would feel frustration towards the employee working behind the counter for just leaving).

***Perceptions of disapproval self and other.*** Perceptions of disapproval were measured to gain insight into people’s attitude towards norm violation to establish their own views and their thoughts about how others feel about norm violation. The items from the two subscales were partly based on Bicchieri (2016) and were anchored from “1 = definitely not” to “7 = definitely”. The first scale contained 6 items such as “Do you think taking something without the owner’s permission is appropriate” ( $\alpha = .675$ ). The scale on participants perceptions of other’s disapproval also consisted of 6 items (e.g. Do you think others would find it wrong to take someone else’s key and key card without the owner’s permission;  $\alpha = .639$ ).

**General perceptions of norm violation.** The current scale consisted of 4 items measuring general views towards norm violation (e.g. Do you think it is appropriate to go through a red light;  $\alpha = .741$ ). Anchors went from “1 = definitely not” to “7 = definitely”.

**Power affordance self and other.** Items from these two subscales were partly based on Van Kleef et al., (2012). The scale measured people’s own perception of their power as well as their views on how others would rate their power. The power affordance towards oneself scale implemented 4 items that were labelled from “1 = not at all” to “7 = very much”. (e.g. To what extent do you think you would have power of the other person;  $\alpha = .673$ ). The second scale contained 4 items with identical anchors (e.g. How do you think the others in your team would rate your dependence on them;  $\alpha = .628$ ).

**Perspective taking.** The current scale measured to what extent participants had tried to imagine themselves as the perpetrator in the vignette scenario. The scale consisted of 4 items anchored from “1 = not at all” to “7 = very much” with  $\alpha$  of .783 (e.g. To what extent did you try to imagine what you would feel in the coffee corner scenario).

## Results

**Manipulation check.** To measure participant awareness on bystanders in the vignette, participants received a question on how many people, apart from themselves, were waiting at the counter in the coffee corner scenario. The nature of the question could cause confusion as to whether or not participants should count themselves as bystanders. Therefore both 1 and 2 bystanders (10 and 11 in the multiple bystander condition) were seen as the correct answer for the single bystander condition. That answer was provided by 80.6 percent of the participants. In the situation with 10 bystanders, 87.1 percent answered the question correctly. The manipulation check, or in this case controlling question, was supposed to determine if the manipulation was received (Mutz, 2011; Clifford & Jerrit, 2014). However, when participants provided wrong answers, we doubt the intended manipulation about the number of bystanders was received. Participants who gave faulty answers on these questions were thus excluded from data analyses. Distribution of remaining participants can be found in Table 1.

Two items checked for norm violation. 90.4 percent of all participants indicated that the behaviour exhibited in the vignette scenario was not conform the norms of our society. The second item checked awareness of the norm violation type. Participants had to indicate whether or not they prepared coffee for the bystander(s). In the selfish condition 77.8 percent

and in the prosocial condition 80.0 percent answered this question correctly. There were no significant differences between groups based on these manipulation checks. Thus, the manipulations were generally successful. In addition, perspective-taking means indicate that participants did envision themselves as the perpetrator within the vignette ( $M = 5.71$ ,  $SD = 0.89$ ). There were no significant differences between the conditions on perspective taking.

Table 1: *Participants Distributed between Bystanders (Row) and Norm violations (Column) Manipulations*

	Prosocial	Selfish
1 Bystander	37	30
10 Bystanders	36	33

**Perpetrators perceptions towards norm violation.** We expected that perceptions towards norm violation would be more positive in the presence of multiple bystanders than in the presence of one bystander (H2a). Two-way ANOVA analysis was implemented to test our expectation. Mean scores and standard deviations can be found in Table 2. Contrary to our expectation, analysis did not provide evidence for our main effect hypothesis. There was no indication that social norm violations were perceived as less severe in the presence of multiple bystanders than in the presence of one bystander,  $F(1,132) = 0.08$ ;  $p = .78$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , nor did we find main effects for bystander presence on perpetrators own perceptions of disapproval,  $F(1,132) = 0.03$ ;  $p = .85$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , perpetrators perceptions on others disapproval in general,  $F(1,132) = 1.18$ ;  $p = .28$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ , and perpetrators general perceptions towards norm violation,  $F(1,132) = 0.38$ ;  $p = .54$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ .

The second expectation predicted that prosocial norm violation would incite more positive perceptions towards norm violation in general than selfish norm violation (H1a). However, perceived social norm scores  $F(1,132)=0.27$ ;  $p = .61$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , perpetrators own perceptions of disapproval towards norm violation,  $F(1,132) = 0.06$ ;  $p = .80$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , perpetrators perceptions on others disapproval in general,  $F(1,132) = 0.04$ ;  $p = .84$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , and perpetrators general perceptions towards norm violations  $F(1,132) = 0.91$ ;  $p = .34$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ , did not differ significantly between prosocial and selfish norm violation thus offering no evidence for a main effect for norm violation types.

We did however discover a significant interaction effect between norm violation types and bystander presence on perpetrators perceptions of others disapproval towards norm

violation,  $F(1,132) = 4.46$ ;  $p = .037$ ;  $\eta^2 = .03$ . Further simple slope analysis shows that within the prosocial condition, there is a difference in effect between the single bystander and multiple bystanders condition,  $F(1,132) = 5.52$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ . With prosocial norm violation, the presence of multiple bystanders induced higher disapproval perceptions ( $M = 2.91$ ;  $SD = 2.46$ ) than the presence of a single bystander ( $M = 4.10$ ;  $SD = 1.47$ ). Figure 2 provides an overview of the aforementioned slopes. This finding was unexpected because we argued that perpetrators perceptions towards norm violation would be the most positive - show less disapproval - with prosocial norm violation and multiple bystanders present (H3a).

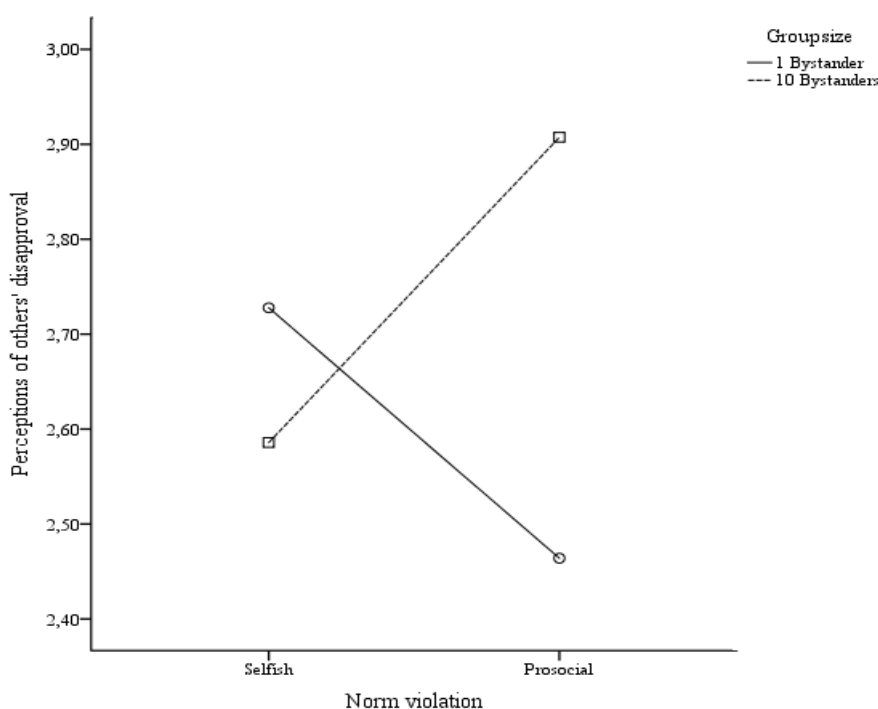


Figure 2: Simple Slopes for Interaction Effect of Perceptions on other's disapproval

We did not discover any other interaction effects despite our prediction that there would be. There were no significant differences between norm violation types and the number of bystander for perceived social norms,  $F(1,132) = 0.52$ ,  $p = .47$ ,  $\eta^2 = .00$ , perpetrators own perceptions of disapproval towards norm violation,  $F(1,132) = 1.235$ ,  $p = .27$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ , and perpetrators general perceptions towards social norms,  $F(1,132) = 1.273$ ,  $p = .26$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ .

**Perpetrators negative affect.** The second set of hypotheses predicted that perpetrators would feel less negative affect when committing norm violation in the presence of multiple bystanders as opposed to the presence of one bystander (H2b). Two-way ANOVA analysis did not provide evidence for less prominent negative emotions in the multiple bystander condition,  $F(1,132) = .00$ ;  $p = .99$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , more positive emotions in the multiple

bystander condition,  $F(1,132) = 2.90$ ;  $p = .09$ ;  $\eta^2 = .02$ , or less feelings of blame towards the employee at the coffee counter  $F(1,132) = 1.91$ ;  $p = .17$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ . The results therefore show no support for a main effect of the number of bystanders.

In addition, we did not find evidence that perpetrators would feel less negative affect when committing prosocial norm violation than when committing selfish norm violation (H1b). There were no significant differences between these two norm violation types for perpetrators negative emotions towards norm violation,  $F(1,132) = 1.37$ ;  $p = .24$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$  and for perpetrators positive emotions towards norm violation,  $F(1,132) = 1.67$ ;  $p = .20$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ . But we did discover a marginally significant main effect of the norm violation type on feelings of blame towards the employee at the coffee counter,  $F(1,132) = 3.63$ ;  $p = .05$ ;  $\eta^2 = .03$ . In line with our expectations feelings of anger and hate were more strongly present in the selfish condition ( $M = 4.60$ ;  $SD = 1.20$ ) than in the prosocial condition ( $M = 4.10$ ;  $SD = 1.47$ ).

Furthermore we discovered a surprising marginally significant interaction effect,  $F(1,132) = 3.78$ ;  $p = .05$ ;  $\eta^2 = .03$ . The trend suggests that the amount of bystanders would have different effects for prosocial versus selfish norm violations. But simple slope analysis yields only significant differences between selfish- and prosocial norm violation within the single bystander condition,  $F(1,132) = 4.78$ ,  $p = .03$ ,  $\eta^2 = .03$ . When there was one bystander present, negative emotions ratings were higher in the prosocial condition ( $M = 5.81$ ;  $SD = 0.99$ ) than in the selfish condition ( $M = 5.20$ ;  $SD = 1.46$ ). We expected the opposite to be the case (H3b). The trends of the slopes can be found in figure 3.

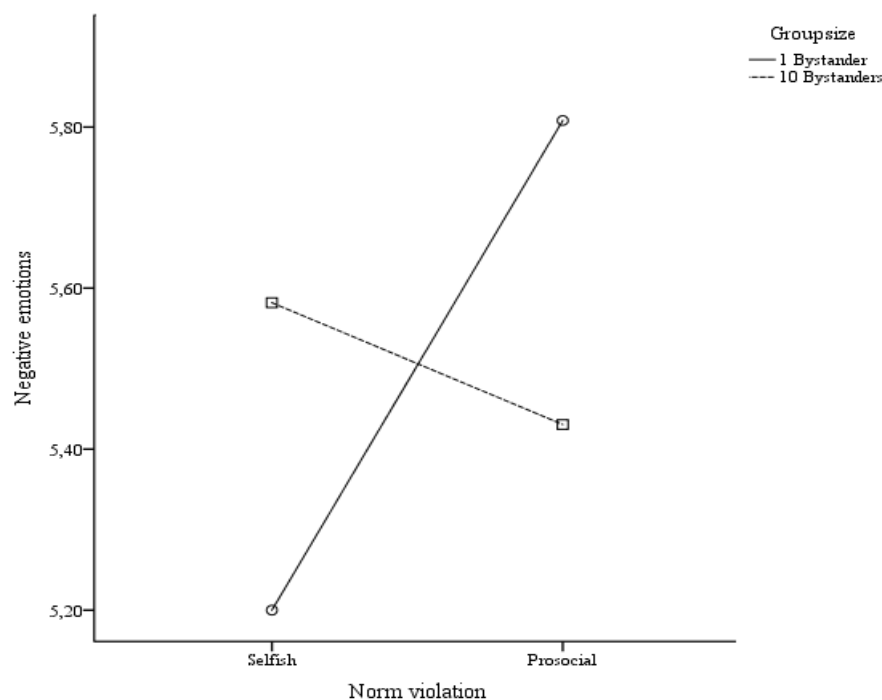


Figure 3: Simple Slopes for Interaction Effect of Negative Emotions



No other significant interaction effect were discovered thus giving no indication that multiple bystanders and prosocial norm violation would result in the most positive emotions being felt,  $F(1,132) = 1.123$ ,  $p = .29$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ , and the least amount of feelings of blame being felt towards the employee at the coffee counter,  $F(1,132) = 0.31$ ,  $p = .58$ ,  $\eta^2 = .00$ .

**Perpetrators power affordance.** Two-way ANOVA yielded no evidence that perpetrators would award more power to themselves when there are multiple bystanders present then when there is one bystander present (H2c). There were no significant differences between power perpetrators awarded to themselves,  $F(1,132) = 0.02$ ;  $p = .88$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , and power that perpetrators thought others would award them,  $F(1,132) = 0.03$ ;  $p = .86$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ .

Similarly to these findings there was no indication for a main effect, indicating that perpetrators awarded themselves more power for committing a prosocial norm violation versus committing a selfish norm violation (H1c),  $F(1,132) = 0.16$ ;  $p = .69$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , or that they thought others would award them more power in the prosocial condition,  $F(1,132) = 1.04$ ;  $p = .31$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ . We surprisingly did not discover any interaction effects indicating towards the highest power affordance in the prosocial and multiple bystander condition (H3c) for either power affordance to oneself,  $F(1,132) = 1.116$ ;  $p = .29$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ , or their perceptions on what powers others would afford them,  $F(1,132) = 0.60$ ;  $p = .44$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ .

Table 2: Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for each variable for the four conditions

Construct	1 Bystander & Prosocial	1 Bystander & Selfish	10 Bystanders & Prosocial	10 Bystanders & Selfish
	<i>M</i> (SD)	<i>M</i> (SD)	<i>M</i> (SD)	<i>M</i> (SD)
Perceived social norms	2.00 (0.72)	1.84 (0.73)	1.94 (0.74)	1.97 (0.72)
Negative emotions	5.81 (0.99)	5.20 (1.46)	5.43 (1.13)	5.58 (0.94)
Positive emotions	1.79 (0.87)	2.26 (1.22)	2.34 (1.39)	2.39 (1.10)
Feelings towards employee	3.91 (1.39)	4.48 (1.07)	4.35 (1.49)	4.67 (1.36)
Perception (dis)approval self	2.24 (0.87)	2.46 (1.08)	2.44 (1.05)	2.31 (0.64)
Perception (dis)approval other	2.46 (0.75)	2.73 (0.86)	2.91 (0.86)	2.59 (0.76)
General perceptions norm violation	2.61 (1.07)	3.02 (1.19)	2.95 (1.28)	2.92 (1.00)
Power affordance self	4.00 (0.98)	4.13 (0.88)	4.22 (1.18)	3.96 (1.09)
Power affordance other	4.03 (0.77)	4.32 (0.86)	4.18 (0.92)	4.22 (1.17)

## Discussion

The current study aimed at gaining insight into the dual influence of the number of bystanders and different norm violation types on a perpetrator's mind-set. In general, the current study provided minimal evidence for effects from bystander presence and different norm violation types on perpetrators attitude, specifically their perceptions and affect towards norm violations, and perpetrators power affordance. As expected, perpetrators committing selfish norm violation experienced more negative emotions towards the employee at the coffee counter than those committing prosocial norm violation. Perpetrators try to rationalize their deviant behaviour and neutralize their inhibitions (Sykes & Matza, 1957; Thompson et al., 2017), probably through putting more blame on the employee for leaving as a way to excuse their own act of norm violation. In the prosocial condition however feelings of guilt might be compensated through giving away coffee to other bystanders. Accordingly, prosocial behaviour has been proven to be positively related to guilt (Hosser et al. 2008; Lindsey 2005; Miller 2010), whereby prosocial actions can be performed in an effort to be forgiven for transgressions and to alleviate guilt (Estrada-Hollenbeck & Heatherton, 1998). However, an important factor that should also be taken into account is that the prosocial behaviour created an accomplice to the act of norm violation.

Perpetrators created an accomplice through giving away coffee to bystanders. This might have evoked additional feelings of guilt for involving others into their deviant behaviour. It might explain why we unexpectedly discovered that perpetrators in the presence of one bystander experienced more negative emotions, as guilt and shame, towards prosocial norm violation than towards selfish norm violation. With multiple bystanders these feelings of guilt and shame might have been moderated through a diffusion of responsibility similar to bystander effects (Darley & Latané, 1968; Latané & Nida, 1981) and feelings of anonymity in crowds (Shayea, 2017). Perpetrators could therefore regulate their internal feelings into experiencing less negative emotions. However, this regulation might not have influenced one's own disapproval towards the norm violation and perpetrators thoughts on others disapproval. Our second unexpected finding indicates that prosocial norm violation in the presence of multiple bystanders induced higher perceptions of disapproval towards norm violation than in the presence of a single bystander. The amount of stolen coffee could have affected perceptions of disapproval. Prosocial behaviour in the presence of multiple bystanders could have been perceived as more severe because the perpetrator stole more coffee in order to provide bystanders with coffee. They might thus have disapproved more.

Overall, the results provided some insight into the influence of bystander presence on perpetrators. In the case of the current study, the bystanders were not acquainted to the perpetrator. Research has however shown that the identity of bystanders also matters in determining the effect of bystander behaviour such as their willingness to help (Levine, Cassidy & Jentsch, 2010). Identity salience has proven to be important for bystander influence (Levine, Cassidy, Brazier & Reicher, 2002; Levine, Prosser, Evans & Reicher, 2005; Levine & Thompson, 2004). Re-categorizing identity boundaries (Levine et al., 2005), changing the content of identities (Hopkins et al., 2007) and priming social identification (Levine & Crowther, 2008; Levine et al., 2010) were shown to improve the likelihood of intervention from bystanders, indicating that bystander identity could influence intervention of norm violation. That might also effect norm violators themselves. To examine the influence of bystander identity, we implemented a second study where perpetrators knew the bystanders. Specifically, the status of these bystanders was primed due to the relation between social status and norm violation (Stamkou et al., 2016).

The relation between status with norm violation is complex. High status individuals grant less power to norm violators versus norm abiders than low status individuals (Stamkou et al., 2016). They want to maintain their position in the hierarchy and norm violation could endanger it. High status individuals also encounter less social constraint than low status people presumably due to experiencing less fear for negative consequences and feeling more powerful (Van Kleef et al., 2011). Both findings might indicate that high status individuals would be more likely to act or show disapproval when observing norm violation. An important term here is social control. Social control is the direct or indirect disapproval to deviant social behaviour from an observer (Chekroun & Brauer, 2002). It might therefore be expected that high status individuals would inhibit others from violating norms due to the norm violator feeling more social constraint, negative affect and experiencing more negative perceptions. However, if the bystander would remain passive we would expect the opposite to occur due to pluralistic ignorance principles: the perpetrator perceives bystanders to approve of the behaviour and thereby reinforces the norm violation (Juvonen & Galvan, 2008; Salmivalli, 2014). Feelings of power affordance would then also be more prominent in the presence of a high status bystander. To that end, Fragale et al. (2011) argue that high status individuals are viewed as more influential than those with low status. We therefore expect that:

- H4a: Perpetrators perceptions towards norm violations will be more positive when norm violation is committed in the presence of a passive high status bystander than in the presence of a passive low status bystander.
- H4b: Perpetrators will experience less negative affect when there is a passive high status bystander present than when a passive low status bystander is present.
- H4c: Perpetrators will award more power to themselves when there is a passive high status bystander present than when a passive low status bystander is present.

For the different norm violation types, we expect the same effects as hypothesised in study 1: for prosocial norm violation more positive perceptions, less negative affect and more power affordance than for selfish norm violation. We also expect an interaction effect resulting from a strengthened effect of the dual influence of prosocial norm violation and passive high status bystander.

- H5a: Perpetrators perceptions will be the most positive when a passive high status bystander is present and perpetrators commit prosocial norm violation.
- H5b: Perpetrators will feel the least negative affect for committing norm violation when their norm violation is prosocial and they are in the presence of a passive high status bystander.
- H5c: Perpetrators will award the most power to themselves when committing prosocial norm violation in the presence of a passive high status bystander.

## Study 2

### Method

**Design and participants.** The second study had a 2 (low status vs high status) x 2 (prosocial vs selfish norm violation) between subjects design. Participants were once again recruited via SONA-systems. However, now students received 0.5 credit for participation. As a requirement, participants had to be eighteen years or older. A total of 116 out of 156 students with a mean age of 20.47 ( $SD = 1.50$ ) participated in the study: 27.6 percent was male and 72.4 percent was female. Once again, participants were excluded from the sample when they gave faulty answers on questions about the vignette. Participants were randomly distributed to one of the four conditions.

**Procedure.** The set-up for the current study was similar to the first one. The online questionnaire started with an informed consent form. After giving consent, participants received an introductory text to prime status or power. A professor is portrayed as having a high status within the classroom or university. The professor's student-assistant is portrayed to have a lower status. Once again, participants received a vignette and had to imagine themselves as the perpetrator of a prosocial or selfish norm violation. The general context of the scenario was similar to that in the first study but now there was one bystander that witnessed the act of norm violation who either had a low status, student-assistant or a high status, professor. Norm violation was again manipulated through preparing coffee for the other bystander and/or for yourself after taking the key and key card from the coffee counter. Again, bystander(s) remained passive: they noticed the actions of the perpetrator but did not interfere. In the prosocial condition the bystanders accepted coffee from the perpetrator. The full vignettes can be found in Appendix 3 and the complete questionnaire can be found in Appendix 4. The questionnaire contained the same order of scales but the length of questions were shortened and in two scales one item was removed. The check awareness of bystander status, participants received an open ended question on whose company they were in at the coffee corner. The items for awareness about norm violation types were identical to that in study 1. In addition, at the end of the questionnaire participants were asked if they had participated in a study with a similar subject before: 35.3 percent answered with yes and 64.7 percent answered no. This was to check if they might have been a part of the first study.

**Measures.** The scales are all based on those in the first study where all scales, with the exception of the perceived social norm scale, had an alpha of at least .60. However, in both the perceived social norm scale and the perceptions of disapproval scale one item was

removed due to a low alpha in the first study. The other scales contained the same items with slightly different wordings to make the questionnaire easier to fill in. For instance, ‘I would feel guilty for taking a key and key card without the owner’s permission’ became ‘I would feel guilty’ in the negative emotions scale. The second case informed participants that all items in the scale were about taking the key and key card without the owner’s permission. All items were measured with a 7-point Likert scale with different anchors (Appendix 4). After reliability analysis the scores for every scale were averaged to implement further analysis.

***Perceived social norms.*** The scale measured social norms with anchor points “1 = very much” to “7 = not at all” and consisted of 3 items with an  $\alpha$  of .805 (e.g. To what extent do you think this behaviour is appropriate).

***Emotions.*** The subscales on emotions were labelled from “1 = not at all” to “7 = very much”. The subscale negative emotions had an  $\alpha$  of .930 and contained 10 items (e.g. I would feel scared). The positive emotions scale consisted of 4 items (e.g. I would feel proud;  $\alpha = .878$ ). The scale for emotions towards the employee contained 4 items anchored from “1 = not at all” to “7 = very much” (e.g. I would feel frustration towards the employee working behind the counter for just leaving;  $\alpha = .829$ ).

***Perceptions of (dis)approval self and other.*** The self-disapproval scale contained 3 items such as “Do you think this behaviour is inappropriate” ( $\alpha = .817$ ). The other-disapproval scale consisted of 3 items (e.g. Do you think others would find this behaviour wrong;  $\alpha = .763$ ). Both scales measured from “1 = definitely not” to “7 = definitely”.

***General perceptions norm violation.*** The current scale contained 4 items on general views towards norm violation (e.g. Do you think it is appropriate to go through a red light;  $\alpha = .596$ ). The anchor point started with “1 = definitely not” and ended with “7 = definitely”.

***Power affordance self and other.*** The power affordance self-scale consisted of 3 items with anchors from “1 = not at all” to “7 = very much”. (e.g. To what extent do you think you would have influence on the group discussion;  $\alpha = .719$ ). The 3 items of the power affordance other-scale had an  $\alpha$  of .728 (e.g. How do you think the others students would categorize your power over them). The last scale was anchored from “1 = very low” to “7 = very high”.

***Perspective taking.*** The perspective taking scale containing 4 items labelled from “1 = not at all” to “7 = very much” (e.g. To what extent did you try to imagine what you would feel in the coffee corner scenario;  $\alpha = .877$ ).

## Results

**Manipulation checks.** In the low status condition, 77.6 percent of the participants correctly identified their companion in the vignette scenario as a student-assistant. 87.5 percent of the high status participants correctly identified the professor. Two questions checked for norm violation. The first manipulation check tested if the norm violation was seen as norm violation: 88.5 percent of the participants rated the norm violation as such. In addition prosociality was checked: 75.9 percent of the participants in the selfish condition stated that they only prepared coffee for themselves in contrast to 89.6 percent in the prosocial condition who stated that they made coffee for everyone. There were no significant differences between the low and high status conditions. However, there were significant differences between the prosocial and selfish condition,  $\chi^2 = 5.085$ ;  $p = .02$ . More mistakes were made in the selfish condition for correctly identifying the prosociality of the norm violation than in the prosocial condition. There were no significant differences between the conditions on perspective-taking. Moreover, the results indicate that participants did envision themselves as the perpetrator in the vignette as perspective-taking scores were high on a scale of ‘1 = not at all’ to ‘7 = very much’ ( $M = 5.69$ ,  $SD = 0.93$ ).

Table 3: *Participants Distributed between Bystanders (Row) and Norm violations (Column) Manipulations*

	Prosocial	Selfish
Low status bystander	30	23
High status bystander	35	28

**Perpetrators perceptions towards norm violation.** We expected more positive perceptions towards norm violation when a passive high status bystander witnessed the norm violation than when a passive low status bystander did (H4a). Two-way ANOVA analysis yielded no support for this expectation: there was no indication that perpetrators in the presence of passive high status bystanders perceived norm violation as more acceptable,  $F(1,112) = 0.16$ ;  $p = .69$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , disapproved less of themselves,  $F(1,112) = 0.17$ ;  $p = 0.68$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , thought others would disapprove less,  $F(1,112) = 0.48$ ;  $p = .49$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , or rated norm violation in general as more acceptable,  $F(1,112) = 0.13$ ;  $p = .72$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ .

In line with this we discovered no evidence that perceptions were more positive for prosocial than for selfish norm violation (H1a). There were no significant differences

between prosocial and selfish norm violation for perceived social norms,  $F(1,112) = 0.33$ ;  $p = .57$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ ., perpetrators own disapproval perceptions,  $F(1,112) = 0.94$ ;  $p = .34$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ , perceptions on others disapproval,  $F(1,112) = 0.21$ ;  $p = .65$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , or for general perceptions towards norm violation,  $F(1,112) = 1.60$ ;  $p = .21$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ .

There was no indication for a strengthened effect of the combined presence of passive high status bystanders and prosocial norm violation (H5a). There were no significant differences for perceived social norms,  $F(1,112) = 1.02$ ;  $p = .32$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ , perpetrators own disapproval perceptions,  $F(1,112) = 0.34$ ;  $p = .56$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , perpetrators perceptions on others disapproval,  $F(1,112) = 0.40$ ;  $p = .53$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , or for general perceptions towards norms,  $F(1,112) = 0.12$ ;  $p = .73$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$

**Perpetrators negative affect.** Results did not indicate that perpetrators experienced less negative affect in the presence of passive high status bystanders than in the presence of passive low status bystanders (H4b). There was no proof that perpetrators in the passive high status bystander condition experienced less negative emotions,  $F(1,112) = 1.57$ ;  $p = .21$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ , experienced more positive emotions,  $F(1,112) = 0.02$ ;  $p = .90$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , or put less blame on the employee at the coffee corner,  $F(1,112) = 1.59$ ;  $p = .21$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ .

Two-way ANOVA testing differences between prosocial and norm violation conditions resulted in similar findings: no indication that perpetrators experienced less negative affect in the prosocial- than in the selfish condition (H1b). There were no significant differences between norm violation types for negative emotions,  $F(1,112) = 0.26$ ;  $p = .61$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , for positive emotions,  $F(1,112) = 0.32$ ;  $p = .58$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , and for feelings towards the employee at the coffee counter,  $F(1,112) = .12$ ;  $p = .73$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ .

Surprisingly there were no significant interaction effects: there was no evidence that perpetrators would feel the least negative affect towards norm violation in the combined high status and prosocial conditions (H5b). That was the case for negative emotions,  $F(1,112) = 0.53$ ;  $p = .47$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ , for positive emotions,  $F(1,112) = 0.06$ ;  $p = .80$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , and for blame towards the employee at the coffee counter,  $F(1,112) = 1.60$ ;  $p = .21$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ .

**Perpetrators power affordance.** Two-way ANOVA analysis for power affordance offered no proof that perpetrators would award more power to themselves,  $F(1,112) = 0.21$ ;  $p = .65$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , or thought others would award them more power,  $F(1,112) = 0.66$ ;  $p = .41$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ , when passive high status versus passive low status bystanders were present (H4c).

Similarly, analysis did not indicate towards prosocial norm violation resulting in more power affordance (H1c) from perpetrators themselves,  $F(1,112) = 1.10$ ;  $p = .30$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ , or from their perceptions on others power affordance,  $F(1,112) = 1.16$ ;  $p = .28$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ .



No significant interaction effects were discovered. We found no indication that power affordance to oneself would be highest in the prosocial condition when passive high status bystanders were present (H5c),  $F(1,112) = 0.49$ ;  $p = .48$ ;  $\eta^2 = .00$ , nor did perpetrators think others would afford them more power in the combined prosocial and passive high status bystander conditions,  $F(1,112) = 1.02$ ;  $p = .32$ ;  $\eta^2 = .01$ . The means and standard deviations for the constructs can be found in Table 4.

Table 4: *Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for each variable for the four conditions*

Construct	Low status & Prosocial	Low status & Selfish	High status & Prosocial	High status & Selfish
	<i>M</i> (SD)	<i>M</i> (SD)	<i>M</i> (SD)	<i>M</i> (SD)
Perceived social norms	6.16 (0.93)	5.83 (1.42)	6.03 (0.99)	6.12 (1.13)
Negative emotions	4.88 (1.35)	4.57 (1.36)	5.01 (1.06)	5.07 (1.57)
Positive emotions	2.55 (1.18)	2.48 (1.10)	2.58 (1.33)	2.39 (1.21)
Emotions towards employee	4.01 (1.35)	3.63 (1.16)	4.01 (1.32)	4.22 (1.11)
Perception (dis)approval self	5.40 (0.86)	5.09 (0.93)	5.37 (1.11)	5.29 (1.23)
Perception (dis)approval other	5.68 (0.66)	5.65 (0.74)	5.47 (1.02)	5.64 (0.77)
General perceptions norm violation	2.63 (0.96)	2.93 (0.82)	2.76 (1.13)	2.94 (1.00)
Power affordance self	3.98 (1.14)	3.65 (1.02)	3.93 (1.01)	3.87 (0.74)
Power affordance other	3.80 (0.89)	3.81 (0.77)	3.49 (0.97)	3.85 (0.99)

**Pearson's correlation.** A bivariate correlation was implemented to gain more insight into the data, specifically into possible relations between analysed variables, correlational directions and the strength of the relation (Table 5). The analysis yielded multiple significant correlations. An overview of can be found in Table 3.

Perceived social norms correlated positively with the negative emotions scale ( $r = .44$ ) and both perceptions of disapproval self ( $r = .65$ ) and other ( $r = .56$ ). This suggests that when people disagreed more with the norm violation, they experienced more negative emotions but also afforded more power to themselves. In addition, we discovered negative correlations for perceived social norms with the positive emotions scale ( $r = -.29$ ) and general perceptions of norm violation ( $r = -.28$ ). A higher disagreeability with norm violation related to less positive emotions about norm violation and less positive perceptions of norm violation in general.

Negative- and positive emotions also correlated ( $r = -.41$ ) as did negative emotions with perceptions of general norm violations ( $r = -.28$ ). These relations suggest that high feelings of negativity towards norm violation go in hand with low feelings of positivity and high disagreeability with norm violation in general. Correlations between negative emotions

for perceptions of disapproval self ( $r = .61$ ) and other ( $r = .42$ ), imply that when people score high on negativity towards norm violation, scores for power affordance will also be high.

Results also suggests that high scores on positive emotions about norm violation went together with low disapproval scores, low disagreeability with norm violation and high power affordance scores. Conclusions were based on correlations between the positive emotions scale with perceptions of disapproval self ( $r = -.46$ ), perceptions of disapproval other ( $r = -.35$ ), general perceptions on norm violation ( $r = .32$ ) and power affordance self ( $r = .19$ ).

Furthermore, one's own perceptions of disapproval correlated positively with perceptions on other's disapproval ( $r = .65$ ) and negatively with general norm violation perceptions ( $r = -.40$ ). When one's own disapproval with norm violation is high, perceptions on other's ideas about disapproval are also high. High disagreeability scores on norm violation in general go in hand with high disapproval scores. In addition, general perception on norm violation thus also correlates negatively with perceptions on other's disapproval towards norm violation ( $r = -.35$ ). Lastly, there was a significant relation between power affordance self and other ( $r = .45$ ), indicating that high scores on one's own power affordance correlate to high scores on one's view towards power affordance from someone else.

Table 3: *Pearson's Correlations*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Perceived social norms	1								
2 Negative emotions	.44**	1							
3 Positive emotions	-.29**	-.41**	1						
4 Emotions towards employee	.01	.17	.11	1					
5 Perceptions disapproval self	.65**	.61**	-.46**	.03	1				
6 Perceptions disapproval other	.56**	.42**	-.35**	.03	.65**	1			
7 General perception norm violation	-.28**	-.28**	.32**	.07	-.40**	-.35**	1		
8 Power affordance self	.04	-.06	.19*	.07	.03	.05	.10	1	
9 Power affordance other	-.10	-.16	.12	.03	-.10	-.06	.07	.45**	1

Note. N = 116; \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$

## **Discussion**

For the second study we discovered no evidence for an influence of bystander status and norm violation types on perpetrator attitude in general, specifically perceptions and negative affect towards norm violation, and power affordance. Possible explanations could be the different group sizes and differences between groups based on manipulation checks. Analysis of the manipulation checks indicated that participants experienced more difficulty in distinguishing selfish norm violation as such. Due to this, groups were uneven in participant number and the selfish norm violation might not have been primed correctly.

Pearson's correlation analysis provided insight into the directions and strength of the correlations between multiple variables. These directions were in line with what could be expected. For instance, high disagreeability with norm violation went in hand with high scores on negative emotions and low scores on positive emotions. Furthermore, high scores on one's own perceptions of disapproval correlated to high scores on one's views of other's perceptions of disapproval. Similarly, giving high power ratings to oneself went in hand with high power ratings one thought others would afford them.

## **General discussion**

It is a widespread notion that behavioural changes can occur due to observing environmental cues in regards to norm violation and the presence of others (Keizer et al., 2008; Lindenberg, 2012) but the dual influence of different norm violations and the actual number of others present had to our knowledge not been vastly explored. Furthermore, research generally focusses on bystander perspective (Van Kleef et al., 2011; Van Kleef et al., 2012) whereas the perpetrators perspective remains largely unexamined. We therefore attempted to gain insight into these factors through the perspective-taking of an imagined norm violation (prosocial vs. selfish) in the presence of imagined bystanders (one vs. multiple; high status vs. low status). We expected perpetrators to have more positive attitude due to more positive perceptions towards norm violation and less negative affect, and more power affordance in the presence of multiple versus one bystander, for prosocial versus selfish norm violation and in the presence of a passive high status bystander versus a passive low status bystander. We also expected an interaction between these factors. The most important conclusions will be discussed below.

## Conclusions

Findings imply that there is a relation between bystander presence and norm violation, though few actual effects were discovered. In accordance to our expectation, perpetrators felt less negative emotions towards the employee at the coffee counter with prosocial than with selfish norm violation. That could indicate that perpetrators put less blame on someone else and feel less need to rationalize their own behaviour to alleviate guilt after exhibiting prosocial behaviour (cf. Estrada-Hollenbeck & Heatherton, 1998). Against our expectations we also discovered that people felt more guilt and shame for their actions when exhibiting prosocial norm deviant behaviour in the presence of one bystander. Secondly, prosocial norm violation in the presence of multiple bystanders induced higher disapproval perceptions towards norm violation than in the presence of one bystander. There are two probable reasons for these findings. First, there could be influence of a confounding variable of creating an accomplice: when committing prosocial norm violation perpetrators created an accomplice and instead of alleviating guilt, creating more feelings of guilt and disapproval. Secondly, perpetrators stole more coffee when committing prosocial norm violation, especially in the multiple bystander condition. These explanations could imply that severity of the norm violation might be an important factor for perpetrators perceptions, negative affect and gain in power in regards to bystander presence. Accordingly, severity of deviant behaviour seems to be related to perpetrators experience of guilt and punishment (Tangney, Stuewig & Hafez, 2011)

Contrary to our expectations, findings provided no evidence that presence of a high status bystander would result in more positive perceptions towards norm violation, less negative affect and more power affordance than the presence of a low status bystander. Possibly because the selfish norm violation was harder to distinguish, resulting in differences between groups at the start of the study. However, Pearson's correlations indicate that directions of correlations between variables were congruent with what would be expected.

## Strengths, limitations and follow-up research

Limited findings could be due to the study's online nature and the nature of norm violation within the vignettes. Van Kleef et al. (2012) argue that prosocial norm violation only differs from selfish norm violation if bystanders are actually harmed due to selfish norm violation. In accordance, we discovered no differences in power affordance with implied consequences for bystanders. Awareness checks in the second study also showed that participants had trouble determining the selfish nature of selfish norm violation. Although this was not the case in the first study and according to high perspective taking means, participants were able to take

perspective of the vignette scenario. In future research, selfish norm violation could contain explicit negative consequences for bystanders. It might also be interesting to examine varying harmful consequences for bystanders of norm violation. For instance, examining harm towards a specific person versus harm in general, or harm towards a tangible person versus a company. We could also examine absence versus presence of bystanders in relation to prosocial and selfish norm violation. Participants seemed to have more trouble distinguishing the single bystander on awareness questions than multiple bystanders. Changing the condition to no bystanders instead could give more insight into the effects of bystander presence.

In regards to the online study limitations, participants could have been distracted in between reading the vignette and answering questions. Clifford and Jerit (2014) argue that participants in online studies face a higher rate of distractions than lab studies preventing manipulation effects from being perceived at the end of the study. However, we would expect that to be the case for all participants and should therefore still be able to find differences. In addition to distractions, participants also had to rely heavily on their perspective-taking abilities. People have trouble projecting themselves into counterfactual situations and can only imagine to a certain level of detail thereby for instance severely underestimating the amount of guilt they will feel or overestimating their willingness to help (Kind & Kung, 2016). In the current study, participants did not actually violate norms or experience physical bystander presence and status. They might therefore underestimate the effects of the actual presence of bystanders and that could also have been a probable cause of the limited findings.

Furthermore, we did not examine possible delayed negative consequences of violating norms. That might however have had an influence. Would the perpetrator be afraid of negative reactions at a later point in time. For instance, perpetrators could have walked into one of the bystanders at a later date. How would that affect the perpetrator? Would the perpetrator face moral image damage? Delayed negative consequences might be looked into.

Lastly, it should be noted that one of the notabilities of the current study is the attempt to gain more insight into perpetrators perspective within a bystander situation. The current study adds to research from Van Kleef et al. (2011; 2012) into power affordance in relation to different norm violations. Although our findings in general were limited, the results do offer some insight into perpetrator perspective. The current study offers a new approach to previous bystander (Latané & Darley, 1981; Rutkowski et al., 1983) and norm violation research (Brauer & Chekroun, 2005; Stamkou et al., 2016). Further examining norm violations in regards to bystander presence could therefore result in new insights into the bystander effect from perpetrators' perspectives.

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## Appendix 1

### 1 bystander / prosocial norm violation

You are waiting in front of the coffee corner to get some coffee during a fifteen minute break from your lecture. The coffee corner is opened but the employee behind the counter who is serving the drinks, suddenly gets a call and leaves while you and the one other waiting person are left behind. However, you see that the employee has left his key and key card behind within your reach. Both are necessary to open the door to get behind the counter and to get the coffee machines to work. You decide to grab the chance and take the key to open the door to the coffee corner and get behind the counter without the employee's knowledge or permission. The other person notices you taking the key and key card but does not step in and instead keeps waiting in front of the counter. You decide to prepare drinks for yourself and the other person waiting so you will both get back to your lectures on time with your drinks.

### 1 bystander / selfish norm violation

You are waiting in front of the coffee corner to get some coffee during a fifteen minute break from your lecture. The coffee corner is opened but the employee behind the counter who is serving the drinks, suddenly gets a call and leaves while you and the one other waiting person are left behind. However, you see that the employee has left his key and key card behind within reach. Both are necessary to open the door to get behind the counter and to get the coffee machines to work. You decide to grab the chance and take the key to open the door to the coffee corner and get behind the counter without the employee's knowledge or permission. The other person notices you taking the key and key card but does not step in and instead keeps waiting in front of the counter. You decide to prepare your own coffee so you will be back with your coffee in time for the second part of your lecture.

### 10 bystanders/prosocial norm violation

You are standing in line to get some coffee at the coffee corner during a fifteen minute break from your lecture. The coffee corner is opened but the employee behind the counter who is serving the drinks, suddenly gets a call and leaves while you and a row of 10 people are left behind. However, you see that the employee has left his key and key card behind within reach. Both are necessary to open the door to get behind the counter and to get the coffee machines to work. You decide to grab the chance and take the key to open the door to the

coffee corner and get behind the counter without the employee's knowledge or permission. The rest of the ten people in line notice that you take the key and key card but do not step in and instead keep waiting in front of the counter. You decide to prepare drinks for everyone so you will all get back to your lectures on time with your drinks.

#### 10 bystanders/selfish norm violation

You are standing in line to get some coffee at the coffee corner during a fifteen minute break from your lecture. The coffee corner is opened but the employee behind the counter who is serving the drinks, suddenly gets a call and leaves while you and a row of 10 people are left behind. However, you see that the employee has left his key and key card behind within reach. Both are necessary to open the door to get behind the counter and to get the coffee machines to work. You decide to grab the chance and take the key to open the door to the coffee corner and get behind the counter without the employee's knowledge or permission. The rest of the ten people in line notice that you take the key and key card but do not step in and instead keep waiting in front of the counter. You decide to prepare your own coffee so you will be back with your coffee in time for the second part of your lecture.

## Appendix 2

Dear participant,

Before starting the questionnaire, please read the following information carefully. The goal of this study is to gain insight into the attitude towards violating norms in society. The questionnaire will take about 15 minutes to fill in. If you complete the questionnaire via SONA you will gain research credits. All data will be handled confidentially and will be stored anonymously. Participation is completely voluntary and you can discontinue the study at any point in time. If you want to request further information about the research, now or in the future, please contact the researcher.

Do you agree?

Yes

No

In the following part of the questionnaire you will have to read through a scenario. Read this scenario as if you yourself were in it and imagine what thoughts and feelings you would experience. Take a few minutes to do that. After that, hold on to your thoughts and feelings and answer the upcoming questions.

### *Scenario<sup>1</sup>*

You are standing in line to get some coffee at the coffee corner during a fifteen minute break from your lecture. The coffee corner is opened but the employee behind the counter who is serving the drinks, suddenly gets a call and leaves while you and one other person/a row of 10 people are left behind. However, you see that the employee has left his key and key card behind within reach. Both are necessary to open the door to get behind the counter and to get the coffee machines to work. You decide to grab the chance and take the key to open the door to the coffee corner and get behind the counter without the employee's knowledge or permission. The other waiting person/rest of the ten people in line notice that you take the key and key card but do not step in and instead keep waiting in front of the counter. You

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<sup>1</sup> Participants will read one of four scenarios. All four scenarios can be found in the vignette text.

decide to prepare coffee for everyone/your own coffee so you will (all) be back with your coffee in time for the second part of your lecture(s).

*For the next questions, keep in mind the thoughts, feelings and experiences you had.*

**Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much**

To what extent is taking the key and key card appropriate in this situation?

To what extent do you consider taking the key and key card to be counter to the norms of our society?

Do you think others would possibly take a key and key card if left behind by the owner and use it?

Do you think it is normal to take a key and key card that was left behind by the owner to use it?

*The following questions give insight into what feelings you experienced in the scenario. Rate your feelings on a scale of 1 (= not at all) to 7 (= very much).*

**Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much**

I would feel scared about taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel nervous about taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel threatened when taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel worried about taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel insecure about taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel hesitant about taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel sorry about taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel embarrassed about taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel guilty for taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel ashamed after taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel proud for taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel strong after taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel happy about taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel powerful after taking a key and key card without the owner's permission.

I would feel anger towards the employee working behind the counter for just leaving.

I would feel furious towards the employee working behind the counter for just leaving.

I would feel frustration towards the employee working behind the counter for just leaving.

I would feel irritation towards the employee working behind the counter for just leaving.

*Rate the following questions on a scale of 1 to 7.*

**Definitely not 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Definitely**

Do you think anyone would forbid you from taking a key and key card that someone left behind?

Would you approve if someone else took a key and key card that was left behind and use it?

Do you think taking the key and key card and using both of them is inappropriate?

Do you think people in general would describe taking the key and key card as acceptable?

Do you think others would think negatively of you when they know you took the key and key card without the owner's permission?

Do you think taking something without the owner's permission is appropriate?

Do you think others would find it wrong to take someone else's key and key card without the owner's permission?

Do you think anyone would forbid you from using the key and key card?

Do you think negatively of yourself after taking the key and key card?

Would you be willing to sanction the behaviour in the coffee corner scenario if someone else was the one taking the key and key card to use it?

Do you think others would consider taking a key and key card without someone's knowledge as appropriate?

Did you think you were justified in taking the key and key card?

Do you have fear of retribution after taking the key and key card?

Do you think it is appropriate to go through a red light?

Do you think it is appropriate to litter?

Do you think it is appropriate to travel with public transport without paying for it?

Do you think it is appropriate to ride your bicycle in the dark without any lighting on your bike?



*For the next part, still keep in mind the coffee corner scenario. You were with another person/waiting in line to get coffee and took matters into your own hand by taking the key and key card the waiter left behind and getting coffee for yourself/everyone present.<sup>2</sup> Now imagine that you are going to take part in a group pub quiz on a Thursday night. The same person/some of the people that were waiting at the coffee corner are also present and you have to form a team with them to answer the pub quiz questions.*

**Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much**

To what extent do you think that you would have influence on the pub quiz?

To what extent do you think you would have control over the submission of the final answers to the pub quiz?

To what extent do you think you would have power over the other person(s)?

To what extent do you think you would be dependent on the other person(s) (in the group)?

**Very low 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very high**

How do you think the other person/others in your team would rate your influence on the pub quiz?

How do you think the other person/others in your team would rate your control over the submission of the final answers to the pub quiz?

How do you think the other person/others in your team would categorize your power over them?

How do you think the other person/other in your team would rate your dependence on them?

*The next questions are about the point of view you took during the coffee corner scenario. To what extent do you agree with the statements below?*

**Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much**

To what extent did you try to imagine what you would feel in the coffee corner scenario?

To what extent did you try to imagine what you would think in the coffee corner scenario?

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<sup>2</sup> The instructions and questions are phrased for all four conditions in one text.

To what extent did you try to imagine what you would experience in the coffee corner scenario?

To what extent did you try to imagine why you would behave the way you did in the coffee corner scenario?

How many people were waiting at the counter of the coffee corner apart from yourself?

Please answer in numbers.

*Please answer the following two questions about the scenario.*

It was permitted to take the key and key card and make coffee yourself.

Definitely not 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Definitely

You made coffee for the other person/people waiting in line?

Definitely not 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Definitely

What is your gender?

Male

Female

What is your age?

Thank you for your participation in this study! In this survey perspective-taking of an imagined situation is used to gain insight into the influence of the presence of bystanders and different norm violations on the attitude of perpetrators and their perception of bystander inaction. Your answers will help gain insight into these matters. All data will be handled confidentially and will be recorded anonymously.

If you completed this study for SONA credits then please fill in your sona number at the following link!

### Appendix 3

#### Low status bystander / prosocial norm violation

The fifteen minute break from your lecture has just started and you would like to get some coffee. The student assistant decides to join you in getting some coffee and together you walk to the coffee corner. When you approach the corner you notice that the employee behind the counter is putting away some boxes. Just when the employee is about to approach you and the student assistant, he gets a call and leaves while the two of you are left behind. You have been waiting for a few minutes and still do not have your coffee. However, you notice that the employee has left his key and key card behind within your reach. Both are necessary to open the door to get behind the counter and to get the coffee machines to work. You decide to grab the chance and take the key to open the door to the coffee corner and get behind the counter without the employee's knowledge or permission. The student assistant notices you taking the key and key card but does not step in or say anything and instead keeps waiting in front of the counter. You decide to prepare drinks for the two of you so you both can go back to the second part of your lecture with your coffee. The student assistant accepts the coffee.

#### Low status bystander / selfish norm violation

The fifteen minute break from your lecture has just started and you would like to get some coffee. The student assistant decides to join you in getting some coffee and together you walk to the coffee corner. When you approach the corner you notice that the employee behind the counter is putting away some boxes. Just when the employee is about to approach you and the student assistant, he gets a call and leaves while the two of you are left behind. You have been waiting for a few minutes and still do not have your coffee. However, you notice that the employee has left his key and key card behind within your reach. Both are necessary to open the door to get behind the counter and to get the coffee machines to work. You decide to grab the chance and take the key to open the door to the coffee corner and get behind the counter without the employee's knowledge or permission. The student assistant notices you taking the key and key card but does not step in or say anything and instead keeps waiting in front of the counter. You decide to prepare your own coffee so you can go back to the second part of your lecture with your coffee. The student assistant keeps waiting at the coffee corner.

High status bystander/prosocial norm violation

The fifteen minute break from your lecture has just started and you would like to get some coffee. Your professor decides to join you in getting some coffee and together you walk to the coffee corner. When you approach the corner you notice that the employee behind the counter is putting away some boxes. Just when the employee is about to approach you and your professor, he gets a call and leaves while the two of you are left behind. You have been waiting for a few minutes and still do not have your coffee. However, you notice that the employee has left his key and key card behind within your reach. Both are necessary to open the door to get behind the counter and to get the coffee machines to work. You decide to grab the chance and take the key to open the door to the coffee corner and get behind the counter without the employee's knowledge or permission. Your professor notices you taking the key and key card but does not step in or say anything and instead keeps waiting in front of the counter. You decide to prepare drinks for the two of you so you can both go back to the second part of your lecture with your coffee. Your professor accepts the coffee.

High status bystander/selfish norm violation

The fifteen minute break from your lecture has just started and you would like to get some coffee. Your professor decides to join you in getting some coffee and together you walk to the coffee corner. When you approach the corner you notice that the employee behind the counter is putting away some boxes. Just when the employee is about to approach you and your professor, he gets a call and leaves while the two of you are left behind. You have been waiting for a few minutes and still do not have your coffee. However, you notice that the employee has left his key and key card behind within your reach. Both are necessary to open the door to get behind the counter and to get the coffee machines to work. You decide to grab the chance and take the key to open the door to the coffee corner and get behind the counter without the employee's knowledge or permission. Your professor notices you taking the key and key card but does not step in or say anything and instead keeps waiting in front of the counter. You decide to prepare your own coffee so you can go back to the second part of your lecture with your coffee. The professor keeps waiting at the coffee corner.

## Appendix 4

Dear participant,

Before starting the questionnaire, please read the following information carefully. The goal of this study is to gain insight into the attitude towards violating norms in society. The questionnaire will take about 20 minutes to fill in. If you complete the questionnaire via SONA you will gain research credits. All data will be handled confidentially and will be stored anonymously. Participation is completely voluntary and you can discontinue the study at any point in time. If you want to request further information about the research, now or in the future, please contact the researcher.

Do you agree?

Yes

No

*Read the following information carefully and keep this in mind for the next part of the questionnaire.*

You are in a tutorial that is guided by a professor and a student assistant. The professor presented theory that is necessary for an assignment later on in the module. After the presentation you had to start working on this assignment. The professor is present for all your questions, both theoretical and practical. He is also the one who will grade your final product. The student assistant is there to assist the professor in answering questions on the practical parts of the assignment such as the format. However, the student assistant is not part of the grading process and is thus not responsible for your grade.

### ***Instructions***

*In the following part of the questionnaire you will have to read through a scenario. Read this scenario as if you yourself were in it and imagine what thoughts and feelings you would experience. Take a few minutes to do that. After that, hold on to your thoughts and feelings and answer the upcoming questions.*

*Scenario*<sup>3</sup>

The fifteen minute break from your lecture has just started and you would like to get some coffee. The student assistant/ professor decides to join you in getting some coffee and together you walk to the coffee corner. When you approach the corner you notice that the employee behind the counter is putting away some boxes. Just when the employee is about to approach you and the student assistant/professor, he gets a call and leaves while the two of you are left behind. You have been waiting for a few minutes and still do not have your coffee. However, you notice that the employee has left his key and key card behind within your reach. Both are necessary to open the door to get behind the counter and to get the coffee machines to work. You decide to grab the chance and take the key to open the door to the coffee corner and get behind the counter without the employee's knowledge or permission. The student assistant/professor notices you taking the key and key card but does not step in or say anything and instead keeps waiting in front of the counter. You decide to prepare drinks for the two of you/yourself so you will (both) get back to the lecture on time with your drink(s). You leave the student assistant/professor behind./The student assistant/professor accepts the coffee.

*For the next questions, keep in mind the thoughts, feelings and experiences you had while you took the key and key card and used it without the owner's knowledge and permission. Rate your feelings from 1 (=not at all) to 7 (=very much).*

To what extent do you think this behaviour is appropriate?

To what extent do you think this behaviour is acceptable?

To what extent do you think this behaviour is normal?

The following questions give insight into what feelings you could have experienced in the scenario at the start of the questionnaire. All questions pertain to taking a key and key card without the owner's permission to make coffee. Rate your feelings about this situation on a scale of 1 (= not at all) to 7 (= very much).

I would feel scared

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<sup>3</sup> Participants will read one of four scenarios. All four scenarios can be found in the vignette text.

I would feel nervous  
I would feel threatened  
I would feel worried  
I would feel insecure  
I would feel hesitant  
I would feel sorry  
I would feel embarrassed  
I would feel guilty  
I would feel ashamed  
I would feel proud  
I would feel strong  
I would feel happy  
I would feel powerful

*Again, rate your feelings on a scale of 1 (=not at all) to 7 (=very much).*

I would feel anger towards the employee working behind the counter for just leaving.  
I would feel furious towards the employee working behind the counter for just leaving.  
I would feel frustration towards the employee working behind the counter for just leaving.  
I would feel irritation towards the employee working behind the counter for just leaving.

*Rate the following questions on a scale of 1 (=definitely not) to 7 (=definitely). Once again, the questions reflect on the behaviour exhibited in the scenario at the start of the questionnaire, namely taking and using a key and key card that was left behind without the owner's permission.*

Do you think anyone would forbid this behaviour?  
Would you approve if someone else exhibited this behaviour?  
Do you think this behaviour is inappropriate?  
Do you think people in general would describe this behaviour as acceptable?  
Do you think others would think negatively of you when they know you behaved like this?  
Do you think this behaviour is appropriate?  
Do you think others would find this behaviour wrong?  
Do you think negatively of yourself after exhibiting this behaviour?

Do you think others would consider this behaviour appropriate?

Did you think you were justified in behaving like this?

Do you have fear of retribution after exhibiting this behaviour?

*The following questions are about perceptions and feelings towards certain behaviours in general. Please rate on a scale of 1 to 7.*

Do you think it is appropriate to go through a red light?

Do you think it is appropriate to litter?

Do you think it is appropriate to travel with public transport without paying for it?

Do you think it is appropriate to ride your bicycle in the dark without any lighting on your bike?

*For the next part, still keep in mind the coffee corner scenario. You were waiting to get coffee with a student assistant/a professor. When the employee left you took matters into your own hand by taking the key and key card the waiter left behind and getting coffee for yourself (and the student assistant/professor).<sup>4</sup> Now imagine that you are back for the second part of your lecture and have to take part in a group discussion where you have to come to an agreement on feedback criteria for the assignment. The student assistant/professor you were with at the coffee corner is also a part of this discussion. Fill in the following questions with this scenario in mind. Rate questions from 1 (=not at all) to 7 (=very much).*

To what extent do you think that you would have influence on the group discussion?

To what extent do you think you would have control over the choice for the definitive feedback criteria?

To what extent do you think you would have power over the other present students (and student assistant/professor)?

To what extent do you think you would be dependent on the other students (and student assistant/professor)?

*Rate your questions from 1 (=very low) to 7 (=very high).*

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<sup>4</sup> The instructions and questions are phrased for all four conditions in one text.



How do you think the other students (and student assistant/professor) would rate your influence on the group discussion?

How do you think the other students (and student assistant/professor) would rate your control over the final decision on the feedback criteria?

How do you think the other students (and student assistant/professor) would categorize your power over them?

How do you think the other students (and student assistant/professor) would rate your dependence on them?

*The next questions are about the point of view you took during the coffee corner scenario. To what extent do you agree with the statements below? Rate on a scale of 1 (=not at all) to 7 (=very much).*

To what extent did you try to imagine what you would feel in the coffee corner scenario?

To what extent did you try to imagine what you would think in the coffee corner scenario?

To what extent did you try to imagine what you would experience in the coffee corner scenario?

To what extent did you try to imagine why you would behave the way you did in the coffee corner scenario?

With whom did you go to coffee corner?

*Please answer the following two questions about the scenario on a scale of 1 (=definitely not) to 7 (=definitely).*

It was permitted to take the key and key card and make coffee yourself.

You made coffee for yourself only and for nobody else?

Did you already participate in a study with a similar subject?

Yes

No

What is your gender?

Male

Female

What is your age?

*Thank you for your participation in this study! In this survey perspective-taking of an imagined situation was used to gain insight into the influence of the status of present bystanders and different norm violations on the attitude of perpetrators and their perception of bystander inaction. Your answers will help gain insight into these matters. All data will be handled confidentially and will be recorded anonymously.*

*Please click on finish to finalize the questionnaire!*