

Running head: PERSON AND SITUATION EFFECTS

**Person and situation effects in predicting outgroup prejudice and avoidance
during the COVID-19 pandemic**

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Abstract

Recent theories of intergroup relations suggest that factors relevant to disease, disgust, and contagion predict prejudice towards ethnic outgroups. The current research explored the influence of contextual pathogen threat and individual differences in threat sensitivity on outgroup prejudice and avoidance in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Data were collected from a sample of British adults in June 2020 ($N = 524$). A multi-level approach was employed to capture differences in confirmed COVID-19 cases across different regions in the UK. Results demonstrated that even in a “strong” pandemic context, individual differences in both disgust sensitivity (DS) and intergroup disgust sensitivity (ITG-DS) explained variability in outgroup distancing. Subjective perceptions of contextual pathogen prevalence, but not actual infection rates, also predicted greater outgroup avoidance. However, a significant cross-level interaction revealed that DS predicted outgroup distancing in regions with higher numbers of confirmed COVID-19 cases, but not in areas of lower infection. Thus, individual differences in pathogen avoidance may be especially influential under high situational pathogen stress. There was also some evidence that pathogen threat also predicted greater ingroup attraction. Results provide important insights into factors that promote or inhibit positive intergroup relations during pandemics.

Keywords: PREJUDICE, COVID-19, VULNERABILITY TO DISEASE, DISGUST SENSITIVITY, PATHOGEN AVOIDANCE, BEHAVIORAL IMMUNE SYSTEM, MULTILEVEL ANALYSIS

1 **Person and situation effects in predicting outgroup prejudice and avoidance**
2 **during the COVID-19 pandemic**

3 **1. Introduction**

4 The emergence and rapid spread of COVID-19 represents the greatest public health crisis
5 the world has faced for a century. As of December 2020, in excess of 63 million cases of
6 COVID-19 had been confirmed worldwide and COVID-19-related deaths exceeded 1.4 million.
7 COVID-19 presents a unique challenge for psychological science, given its scope and scale, but
8 also offers a unique opportunity to study psychological phenomena. Several theoretical
9 approaches in recent years have proposed that factors relevant to disease, disgust, and/or
10 contagion can play a role in predicting prejudice toward outgroups -- the current pandemic offers
11 a truly unique and rich context to explore the joint role of environmental contagion levels (e.g.,
12 local infection rates) and sociopsychological factors (e.g., individual differences in disgust
13 sensitivity) in shaping outgroup attitudes and avoidance.

14 A number of theoretical models, often rooted in evolutionary theory, suggest that humans
15 are sensitive to contextual cues of pathogen threat and have developed strategies to reduce the
16 risk of infection. Because immunological defences are metabolically costly and are merely
17 reactive, human anti-pathogen defence is thought to be bolstered by a *behavioral immune system*
18 (BIS) characterized by proactive behavioral mechanisms to response to perceptual cues
19 connoting the presence of pathogens in the local environment (Schaller & Park, 2011). The BIS
20 has unique consequences for many aspects of human sociality, particularly prejudice and
21 intergroup relations. Researchers suggests that, historically, contact with ethnically-dissimilar
22 others increased exposure to novel pathogens to which the local population would have no
23 acquired immunity. Outgroup members were also likely to engage in practices that violate local

24 cultural norms (e.g. pertaining to hygiene practice and food preparation) thought to serve as
25 buffers against infection from local pathogens. Under conditions of high pathogen prevalence, a
26 psychological mechanism facilitating the avoidance of ethnic outgroup members is therefore
27 adaptive and helps insulate individuals from the risk of infectious diseases (Faulkner et al., 2004;
28 Fincher & Thornhill, 2008, Schaller & Murray, 2010).

29 Relevant to this discussion, we can distinguish between actual (or “real”) disease threat
30 (i.e. the actual or objective prevalence of disease within one’s environment), and the subjective
31 threat experience (i.e. one’s perception of the prevalence of disease within one’s environment).
32 The behavioral immune system is considered to be flexible and context-contingent, such that
33 more strongly aversive responses occur under conditions in which perceivers are, or perceive
34 themselves to be, more vulnerable to pathogen infection (Schaller et al., 2007). At the societal
35 level, regions with historically higher prevalence of parasitic diseases are characterized by
36 stronger family ties, increased frequency of intrastate ethnic conflict, and greater social
37 conservatism (e.g. Fincher & Thornhill, 2012; Letendre et al., 2010). Meanwhile, exposure to
38 perceptual cues that make the threat of pathogen transmission temporally psychologically salient
39 (e.g. images of coughing people; bodily wastes) can also exacerbate prejudice (e.g. Faulkner et
40 al., 2004).

41 In addition to general and overall patterns (i.e., universals), theorists have also argued
42 that people differ systematically from each other in their sensitivities to pathogen threats. For
43 instance, the construct perceived vulnerability to disease (PVD) captures individual differences
44 in chronic concerns about personal susceptibility to infectious diseases. Ethnocentric attitudes
45 have been shown to increase as a function of perceived vulnerability to disease (Faulkner et al.,
46 2004; Navarette & Fessler, 2006), especially with regard to foreign groups (Hodson & Costello,

47 2007). Likewise, the properties of disgust make it theoretically relevant to prejudice. Disgust is
48 characterized by repulsion and rejection, initiating withdrawal from potentially infected objects.
49 Widely considered a universal human emotion, people nonetheless differ systematically in their
50 disgust sensitivity (Haidt et al., 1994). There is some evidence that individuals higher in general
51 disgust sensitivity (DS) hold more negative outgroup attitudes (Hodson & Costello, 2007;
52 Navarette & Fessler, 2006), although findings are mixed overall, with others finding no
53 association between basic disgust sensitivity and prejudice (e.g. Choma et al., 2012; Hodson et
54 al., 2015) or no consistent pattern of association (e.g. Hodson et al., 2013), leaving its role open
55 to question.

56 Although people can experience generalized disgust in response to a wide array of
57 aversive stimuli, *intergroup disgust* is a specific sub-type of disgust sensitivity that is
58 theoretically more proximal to prejudice. Hodson et al., (2013) introduced the concept of
59 intergroup disgust sensitivity (ITG-DS) to describe “affect-laden revulsion toward social
60 outgroups” (p.195). This construct incorporates concerns about disease prevention, as well as the
61 viral spread of social ideas and values which threaten feelings of ingroup purity and superiority.
62 Individuals higher in ITG-DS are more disgusted and repulsed by the practices and beliefs of
63 outgroups, and seek to avoid physical and symbolic contamination by outgroup members. This
64 construct has been shown to strongly predict outgroup prejudice (Choma et al., 2012), even
65 above and beyond related variables including perceived vulnerability to disease and general
66 disgust sensitivity (Hodson et al., 2013).

67

68

69 Interestingly, there is also some preliminary evidence that ITG-DS is not only associated
70 with outgroup avoidance, but also with *ingroup attraction* (Hodson et al., 2013). Individual
71 differences in generalized disgust sensitivity have also been shown to predict not only negativity
72 towards outgroups, but also more positive ingroup orientations (Hodson & Costello, 2007;
73 Naverette & Fessler, 2006 see also Tybur et al., 2020). Such findings are consistent with
74 Naverette and Fessler’s (2006) argument that ingroup attraction may be just as important as
75 outgroup avoidance in response to disease threat due to the importance of alliances during times
76 of illness or hardship. When the likelihood of illness increases, individuals should be motivated
77 to garner the coalitional support of the ingroup to improve one’s chances of staying safe and
78 healthy. In two studies Naveratte and Fessler demonstrate that ingroup attraction increases as a
79 function of disgust sensitivity, both when measured as an individual difference variable and
80 when experimentally primed.

81 It is unclear, however, whether such effects would persist in actual pandemic context.
82 Social distancing is the main available way to slow the COVID-19 pandemic and many
83 governments took strong measures, such as imposing restrictions on freedom of movement and
84 assembly, meaning that for most people, social life was reduced to a minimum. Against this
85 backdrop it seems unlikely that individuals who feel heightened vulnerability to threats in the
86 natural environment will be more drawn towards other ingroup members. Indeed, it is possible
87 that individual differences may generally be dampened at this time considering that “strong
88 situations” might reduce inter-individual variability in outcome measures (e.g., Mischel, 1973).
89 Yet, recent meta-analytic evidence outside of the disgust or contagion context suggests that
90 strong situations either have little effect on dampening between-person variability, or indeed can
91 magnify such differences, under strong situations (Keeler et al., 2019). The COVID-19 pandemic

92 therefore provides a unique context to test the role of individual differences against the backdrop
93 of a very strong context.

94

95 **2. The Present Investigation**

96 This research explored how contextual pathogen threat (objective and subjective) and
97 individual differences in threat sensitivity predict outgroup prejudice and avoidance, as well as
98 ingroup attraction, amid the COVID-19 crisis. Data were collected from a sample of White
99 British people during the COVID-19 crisis in June 2020. The UK had one of the worst COVID-
100 19 outbreaks in Europe (Office for National Statistics, 2020), but there were substantial regional
101 variations in the number of cases and spread of the virus. A multi-level approach was used to
102 capture differences in infection rates across regions. Based on the past literature and theorizing,
103 several potential outcomes may play out. In a strong situation, such as a once-in a century
104 pandemic, contextual disease prevalence may outweigh the importance of individual differences.
105 This would be indicated if we observe greater outgroup prejudice among people in areas with
106 higher levels of contagion (Level-2 effect, or effect at the regional-level), regardless of
107 individuals' level of threat sensitivity (Level-1 effect, or effect at the level of the individual).
108 Alternatively, it is possible that, because COVID-19 is a relatively invisible threat and rate of
109 infection in one's immediate environment is difficult to know or estimate, contextual disease
110 prevalence (especially objective contagion levels, Level-2 effect) may be less important than
111 dispositional factors in predicting outgroup bias. This would be indicated if we observe
112 significant between-person effects (Level-1 effect) but little variance across regions (Level-2
113 effect). In each of these cases above, the effects of person and situation would be considered
114 independent and possibly additive. Finally, it is possible that contextual disease prevalence and

115 person-based differences may interact to predict prejudice. That is, we may expect the greatest
116 prejudice amongst people in areas with higher (vs. lower) contagion who also personally score
117 higher (vs. lower) in chronic disease concerns (i.e. a cross-level interaction).

118

119

3. Method

120 3.1 Participants

121 Data were collected from a total of 524 participants from an online participant panel,
122 Prolific¹. Given our interest in racial biases amongst ethnic majority group members we focused
123 on White British participants. Data from 3 mixed-race and 1 non-British participants were
124 excluded. Twelve participants failed an attention screen and another 12 indicated that they did
125 not want their data to be used. We also excluded the data of 28 participants who believed that
126 had already contracted COVID-19 and thus were potentially no longer at risk of infection. The
127 final sample consisted of 468 participants, including 204 males and 263 females (1 participant
128 did not report their gender) aged between 18 and 76 ($M = 37.68$, $SD = 14.37$). Participants were
129 drawn from each of the 9 official regions in the UK (*Scotland, Northern Ireland, Wales, North*
130 *East, North West, Yorkshire and the Humber, West Midlands, East Midlands, South West, South*
131 *East, East of England and Greater London*². Hypotheses were preregistered at

132 <https://aspredicted.org/blind.php?x=4ie9ei>

133

134 3.2 Measures

135 Data were collected on the 17th June 2020. At this time UK was graded as Level 4 in the
136 government's five tier COVID-19 alert level system meaning transmission was high or rising
137 exponentially, but healthcare systems were not overwhelmed. Non-essential retailers had been

138 allowed to reopen following a national lockdown, but restaurants, pubs, hairdressers, and
 139 recreational facilities remained closed. Employees were encouraged to work from home where
 140 possible. The order of all scales was randomized.

141 **3.2.1 Perceived vulnerability to disease (PVD).** Participants completed the 15-item PVD
 142 scale (Duncan et al., 2009) which assesses chronic concerns over infectious diseases. The
 143 measure consists of two subscales: perceived infectability, which reflects people's general
 144 perception about their susceptibility to disease (e.g. 7 items, "If an illness is going around, I will
 145 get it") and germ aversion, which reflects people's affective and behavioral responses to
 146 potential pathogens (e.g. 8 items, "I don't like to write with a pencil someone else has obviously
 147 chewed on"). Responses were measured on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly*
 148 *agree*). An average (overall) perceived vulnerability to disease score was computed, $\alpha = .80$.

149 **3.2.2 Disgust sensitivity (DS).** The 25-item Disgust Scale Revised (Olatunji et al., 2008)
 150 was administered to measure general disgust sensitivity. This scale consists of three subscales
 151 measuring core disgust (basic disgust elicitors such as vomit), animal-reminder disgust
 152 (reminders of our own mortality and inherent animalistic nature) and contamination disgust
 153 (interpersonal contagion threats). Participants indicated their agreement with 13 statements (e.g.
 154 "It bothers me to hear someone clear a throat full of mucus"), from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 =
 155 *strongly agree*, and rated how disgusting they would find 12 specific situations (e.g. "You are
 156 about to drink a glass of milk when you smell that it is spoiled") from 1 = *not disgusting* to 4 =
 157 *very disgusting*. Items were averaged to create an overall disgust sensitivity score ($\alpha = .85$).

158 **3.2.3 Intergroup disgust sensitivity (ITG-DS).** The 8-item ITG-DS scale (Hodson et al.,
 159 2013) was also administered. This measure taps revulsion at intergroup contact and concerns of
 160 contamination by ethnic outgroups. Sample item includes "I feel disgusted when people from

161 other ethnic groups invade my personal space” and “When socializing when members of a
 162 stigmatised group, one can easily become tainted by their stigma” (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 =
 163 *strongly agree*, $\alpha = .64$).

164 **3.2.4 Outgroup prejudice.** Participants completed the 7-item Modern Racism Scale
 165 (McConahay et al., 1981), which was modified to tap attitudes towards ethnic minorities
 166 generally, (e.g. “Ethnic minorities have more influence on government policies than they ought
 167 to”, “Discrimination against ethnic minorities is no longer a problem in Britain”). Responses
 168 were recorded on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*), ($\alpha = .93$). Higher
 169 scores corresponded to higher outgroup prejudice.

170 **3.2.5 Ingroup attraction.** To explore whether pathogen threat may also predict higher
 171 levels of ingroup attraction participants were asked to indicate their feelings towards other White
 172 British people, in general, on six bipolar scales (1-7; *warm-cold*, *negative-positive*, *friendly-*
 173 *hostile*, *suspicious-trusting*, *respect-contempt*, *admiration-disgust*, Wright et al., 1997). Items
 174 were coded so that higher scores corresponded to more positive ingroup evaluation ($\alpha = .92$).
 175 Higher scores reflect more positive ingroup attitudes.

176 **3.2.6 Preferred social distance.** We also assessed participants’ preferred interpersonal
 177 space between themselves and ingroup/outgroup members. A graphic measure was adapted from
 178 Sorokowska et al. (2017). Answers were given on a slider scale anchored by two human-like
 179 figures, labelled A and B. Participants were asked to imagine that he or she was Person A, and to
 180 indicate how close a Person B could approach so that he or she would feel comfortable in a
 181 conversation with Person B by dragging the slider towards the representation of themselves.
 182 Participants completed the measure twice – once imagining the Person B was another White

183 British person, and once imagining that Person B was an ethnic minority. Responses ranged from
184 0-200, with higher scores indicating higher preferred social distance.

185 **3.2.7 Subjective contagion.** Participants' subjective sense of the infection risk was
186 assessed with a single item. Participants were asked "Based on your best estimate, what
187 percentage of people in your postcode area do you think are currently infected with COVID-
188 19?". Responses were recorded on a 0-100% slider scale.

189 **3.2.8 Objective contagion.** Objective infection rate data was obtained from data provided
190 by Public Health England, Public Health Wales, Public Health Scotland, and the Northern
191 Ireland Department of Health. For each of the nine regions in the UK we recorded the
192 cumulative number of confirmed cases of COVID-19 on the same day that participants
193 completed the survey. All 4 nations provide data based on tests carried out in NHS laboratories
194 ('pillar 1' of the Government's mass testing programme) and testing by commercial partners
195 ('pillar 2' of the mass testing programmes). Because the different regions vary considerably in
196 population sizes, and areas with larger populations will tend to have more cases than those with
197 smaller populations, infection rate data was used. The infection rate data provided by the
198 government represent the infection count for each area divided by the total population in the
199 region and multiplied by 100,000 to adjust for differences in population size (i.e., produce a per-
200 capita value).

201 **4. Results**

202 **4.1 Analytic Strategy**

203 Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations between variables are shown in Table 1.
204 We used multilevel modeling with individuals (Level-1) nested within regions (Level-2) using R
205 software v.3.5.3. In multilevel modeling, Level-1 variables are measured at the level of the

206 individual (e.g. PVD, DS, ITG-DS, subjective contagion), Level-2 (or contextual) variables are
207 measured at the level of the group or aggregate (e.g. actual COVID-19 infection rates by region),
208 and cross-level effects refer to interactions between Level-1 and Level-2 variables (e.g., the
209 interaction between individual difference variables and regional infection rates, see Figure 1)³.
210 Separate models were assessed for each outcome variable (outgroup attitudes; outgroup
211 distancing; ingroup attitudes; ingroup distancing). PVD, DS, ITG-DS, and subjective contagion
212 were group-mean centered. Objective regional infection rates were grand-mean centered. Each
213 model had a random intercept and random slopes for the Level-1 variables by each region.

214

215 [insert Figure 1 here]

216 [insert Table 1 here]

217 **4.2 Outgroup Prejudice**

218 As predicted, higher ITG-DS at the individual-level was positively associated with
219 outgroup prejudice ($b = .58, p < .001$ see Table 2). That is, even when controlling for disgust-
220 relevant competitors ITG-DS was strongly associated with greater hostility towards ethnic
221 minorities. There was no significant independent association between any other individual
222 difference variable or subjective contagion at Level-1. There was also no effect of regional
223 objective contagion levels at Level-2 on this outcome, and no significant cross-level interactions.
224 The overall model R^2 calculated based on the Johnson (2014), Nakagawa and Schielzeth (2013)
225 formula was 0.29.

226

227 **4.3 Outgroup Social Distance**

228 As expected, ITG-DS at the individual-level was a significant predictor of outgroup
229 social distance ($b = 7.84, p = .004$, see Table 2). Those higher in ITG-DS preferred to maintain
230 greater physical distance from ethnic minorities. Generalized disgust sensitivity ($b = 14.67, p$
231 $= .006$) and subjective contagion ($b = 0.54, p = .007$) also had significant independent effects on
232 outgroup social distance at the individual-level. Those higher in chronic disgust sensitivity and
233 those who reported higher subjective infection estimates preferred to maintain greater social
234 distance from outgroup members. There was no independent effect of regional objective
235 contagion at Level-2, however, we did observe a significant cross-level interaction between DS
236 and objective infection rates on this outcome. See Figure 2 for slopes of DS at low (-1 SD),
237 average, and high (+1 SD) levels of contextual infection rates. DS was found to have a
238 significant association with preferred social distance from ethnic outgroup members in regions
239 with high ($b = 27.23, p < .001$) and mean ($b = 14.67, p = .006$) levels of infection, but the
240 association became non-significant at low levels of contextual infection ($b = 2.12, p = .788$). In
241 other words, individual differences in DS were most predictive of outgroup avoidance in
242 situations of high, or average levels of infection risk, compared to low infection risk contexts.
243 The overall model R^2 was 0.09.

244

245 [Insert Table 2 here]

246 [Insert Figure 2 here]

247 **4.4 Ingroup Attraction**

248 We then explored whether individual differences in threat sensitivity and regional
249 contagion also predicted attraction to the ingroup. The overall model R^2 was 0.03. Only DS at the
250 individual-level was found to predict greater ingroup attraction ($b = 0.33, p = .011$, see Table 3).

251 Individuals predisposed to heightened disgust sensitivity exhibited more positive attitudes
252 towards White British people. There was no evidence that other individual differences variables
253 at Level-1, or objective regional contagion levels Level-2 predicted attitudes towards ingroup
254 members.

255

256 **4.5 Ingroup Social Distance**

257 As with outgroup social distance, individual-level DS and subjective contagion were
258 positively associated with ingroup social distance ($b = 16.01, p = .006$, see Table 3). Individuals
259 higher in chronic disgust sensitivity, and those who reported higher subjective infection
260 estimates preferred to maintain greater social distance from ethnically-similar others (as well as
261 ethnically-dissimilar others). There was no effect of ITG-DS on this outcome, and no effect of
262 regional contagion levels at Level-2 or cross-level interactions. The overall model R^2 was 0.08.

263

264 [Insert Table 3 here]

265

266

267

5. Discussion

268 Recent theories of intergroup relations suggest that prejudice is partially rooted in
269 behavioral immune system mechanisms (e.g. Faulkner et al., 2004; Fincher & Thornhill, 2008;
270 Schaller & Murray, 2010). Even when pathogen stimuli do not explicitly implicate outgroup
271 members, they may nevertheless trigger negative reactions to outgroup members as a heuristic
272 form of pathogen avoidance. Although the evolved psychological mechanisms underlying the
273 ability to respond adaptatively to disease threats may be universal, there is considerable
274 individual variation in the extent to which people feel subjectively vulnerable to disease or

275 sensitive to particular kinds of disease-relevant stimuli. The implication of these individual
276 differences in predicting intergroup processes are relatively unexplored, especially within an
277 actual pandemic context. The present research provides a critical test of theory in response to a
278 real threat. Using official government COVID-19 infection rate data, participants were
279 statistically nested within their local region, allowing us to explore the joint role of contextual
280 pathogen threat and individual differences in threat sensitivity in predicting outgroup prejudice
281 and avoidance.

282 Our results suggest that, despite strong government guidelines restricting individuals'
283 freedoms, individual differences in chronic disgust concerns predicted variance in outgroup
284 avoidance. Individuals higher in generalized DS preferred to maintain greater physical distance
285 from ethnic minorities amid the pandemic. Higher ITG-DS also predicted greater outgroup
286 distancing as well as more negative attitudes toward the outgroup (i.e. their beliefs and
287 practices). These findings are consistent with the idea that ITG-DS taps the disgust domain but is
288 empirically distinct from generalized DS. That is, ITG-DS captures concern about an unwilling
289 change in the entity's properties (e.g. self, ingroup) through contact – both physical and symbolic
290 (Hodson et al., 2013). Surprisingly, PVD was not uniquely related to the criteria, something to be
291 further explored in future research.

292 Higher subjective estimates of situational pathogen prevalence were also associated with
293 greater outgroup distancing. There was, however, no effect of objective pathogen prevalence on
294 either outgroup prejudice or outgroup distancing. Such findings suggest that there is a disconnect
295 between the psychological *perception* of contagion and actual, objective contagion risk. Indeed,
296 there was no significant bivariate correlation between subjective and objective contagion levels
297 (see Table 1). We did, however, detect a significant cross-level interaction between objective

298 infection rates and individual differences in DS whereby individuals higher in DS were more
299 avoidant of outgroup members at high and mean levels of contextual contagion, but not at low
300 levels of contextual contagion. This finding represents an important extension of the existing
301 literature by demonstrating that contextual pathogen threat and trait pathogen avoidance not only
302 have important independent effects, but their effects may also be interactive. In this case,
303 situational factors moderated the impact of some person-based factors in that individual
304 differences in DS were more relevant under conditions of higher pathogen stress.

305 Some prior research suggests that pathogen threat is not only associated with an
306 “avoidant” psychology of negativity towards outgroup members but also an “approach”
307 psychology directed at ingroups (Hodson & Costello, 2007; Naverette & Fessler, 2006). In
308 keeping with these findings, we found that increased DS was associated with more positive
309 attitudes towards ingroup members. At the same time, however, higher DS and higher subjective
310 infection estimates were also associated with greater ingroup distancing. These findings are
311 perhaps not surprising in a context where the virus can be transmitted through close contact with
312 infected people. Our findings suggest that individuals higher in disgust sensitivity can
313 simultaneously hold more positive attitudes towards ingroup members, and desire to maintain
314 greater physical distance from them in order to avoid contamination. This may, however, have
315 negative psychological consequences, with findings suggesting that social distancing is
316 associated with symptoms of depression and anxiety, independent of individuals’ levels of
317 perceived social support (Marroquin et al., 2020).

318 Conducted during the early stages of the COVID-19 crisis in the UK, this research offers
319 a single day’s snapshot of how people reacted to an ongoing pandemic. The epidemiological
320 landscape is continually changing, making it unknown the degree to which our results generalize

321 beyond the moment in time and cultural context of this snapshot. Lippold et al. (2020) recently
322 found that fear of coronavirus increased as the virus intensified in Germany, but personality
323 remained a stable predictor of fear over time. Cross-cultural evidence meanwhile suggests that
324 COVID-19 concern is higher in the UK compared to other countries across European, American,
325 and Asia (Dryhurst et al., 2020). Future research should seek to make comparisons between
326 different countries, and different timepoints, with our results suggesting that individual
327 differences may be especially influential under high pathogen stress.
328

Table 1*Means, standard deviations and correlations for all variables.*

	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1) Outgroup prejudice	1.84 (0.91)	-								
2) Outgroup social distance	52.08 (48.12)	.18** [.079, .274]	-							
3) Ingroup attraction	4.80 (1.04)	.09 [-.004, .176]	.01 [-.075, .102]	-						
4) Ingroup social distance	50.54 (45.66)	.11* [.015, .201]	.90** [.847, .956]	.01 [-.80, .096]	-					
5) PVD	4.04 (0.92)	.11* [.024, .198]	.17** [.088, .254]	-.01 [-.091, .075]	.15** [.064, .240]	-				
6) DS	2.72 (0.44)	.01 [-.079, .091]	.19** [.107, .279]	.12* [.021, .212]	.21** [.123, .290]	.34** [.260, .413]	-			
7) ITG-DS	1.91 (0.83)	.55** [.471, .621]	.15* [.054, .245]	.03 [-.057, .124]	.09* [-.003, .190]	.16** [.066, .250]	.05 [-.049, .133]	-		
8) Subjective contagion	11.40 (11.78)	-.03 [-.126, .057]	.17** [.078, .255]	-.05 [-.143, .032]	.19** [.106, .274]	.11* [0.12, .207]	.16* [.069, .245]	-.01 [-.090, .088]	-	
9) Objective contagion	410.06 (99.53)	<.01 [-.090, .096]	.01 [-.088, .109]	.03 [-.063, .128]	.01 [-.090, .109]	.06 [-.033, .152]	.05 [-.043, .141]	-.05 [-.153, .043]	.13* [.048, .220]	-

Notes. Values in square brackets are 95% bias correlated and accelerated confidence intervals for each correlation based on bootstrapping of 1000 iterations. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

Table 2*Fixed Effects for Predictors of Outgroup Prejudice and Outgroup Social Distance*

Outgroup prejudice	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Semi-partial r²</i>
Intercept	1.83	0.04	9.72	43.42	<.001	
PVD	0.03	0.05	11.32	0.46	.653	.01
DS	-0.05	0.11	8.53	-0.46	.654	<.01
ITG-DS	0.58	0.05	7.79	10.62	<.001	.27
Subjective contagion	<.01	<.01	11.95	-1.20	.253	.01
Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	9.59	-0.18	.860	<.001
PVD X Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	13.45	-1.49	.159	.01
DS X Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	10.08	0.49	.635	<.01
ITG-DS X Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	7.69	-0.64	.540	<.01
Subjective contagion X Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	11.69	0.49	.631	<.01
<hr/>						
Outgroup social distance						
Intercept	52.24	2.34	20.67	22.33	<.001	
PVD	5.04	3.08	10.01	1.64	.132	.01
DS	14.67	5.32	189.40	2.76	.006	.02
ITG-DS	7.84	2.70	227.36	2.91	.004	.02
Subjective contagion	0.54	0.20	118.55	2.75	.007	.02
Objective contagion	<.01	0.02	19.83	0.03	.975	<.001
PVD X Objective contagion	-0.03	0.03	11.64	-0.90	.387	<.01
DS X Objective contagion	0.13	0.06	190.16	2.22	.028	.01
ITG-DS X Objective contagion	0.01	0.03	236.57	0.46	.643	<.001
Subjective contagion X Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	104.53	-0.51	.614	<.01

Note. PVD = perceived vulnerability to disease, DS = disgust sensitivity, ITG-DS = intergroup disgust sensitivity. Objective contagion is measured a Level-2 (at the regional-level). The remaining variables are measured at Level-1 (at the level of the individual).

Table 3*Fixed Effects for Predictors of Ingroup Attraction and Ingroup Social Distance*

Ingroup attraction	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Semi-partial r²</i>
Intercept	4.81	0.05	8.19	87.40	<.001	
PVD	-0.06	0.06	32.09	-1.02	.314	<.01
DS	0.33	0.12	31.00	2.69	.011	.02
ITG-DS	0.03	0.06	186.02	0.57	.567	<.01
Subjective contagion	-0.01	0.01	9.47	-1.04	.325	<.01
Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	7.94	0.63	.545	<.01
PVD X Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	37.56	-0.76	.449	<.01
DS X Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	36.62	-0.23	.823	<.001
ITG-DS X Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	187.05	0.27	.786	<.001
Subjective contagion X Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	9.55	-0.27	.795	<.001
<hr/>						
Ingroup social distance						
Intercept	50.71	2.29	13.98	22.10	<.001	
PVD	3.82	2.82	11.96	1.35	.201	.01
DS	16.01	5.29	25.43	3.03	.006	.02
ITG-DS	4.17	2.75	16.15	1.52	.149	.01
Subjective contagion	0.61	0.20	14.20	3.09	.008	.02
Objective contagion	<.01	0.02	13.49	0.11	.915	<.001
PVD X Objective contagion	-0.01	0.03	14.09	-0.48	.642	<.01
DS X Objective contagion	0.07	0.06	30.33	1.26	.219	<.01
ITG-DS X Objective contagion	0.01	0.03	16.13	0.19	.849	<.001
Subjective contagion X Objective contagion	<.01	<.01	11.69	-0.21	.836	<.001

Note. PVD = perceived vulnerability to disease, DS = disgust sensitivity, ITG-DS = intergroup

disgust sensitivity. Objective contagion is measured a Level-2 (at the regional-level). The

remaining variables are measured at Level-1 (at the level of the individual).

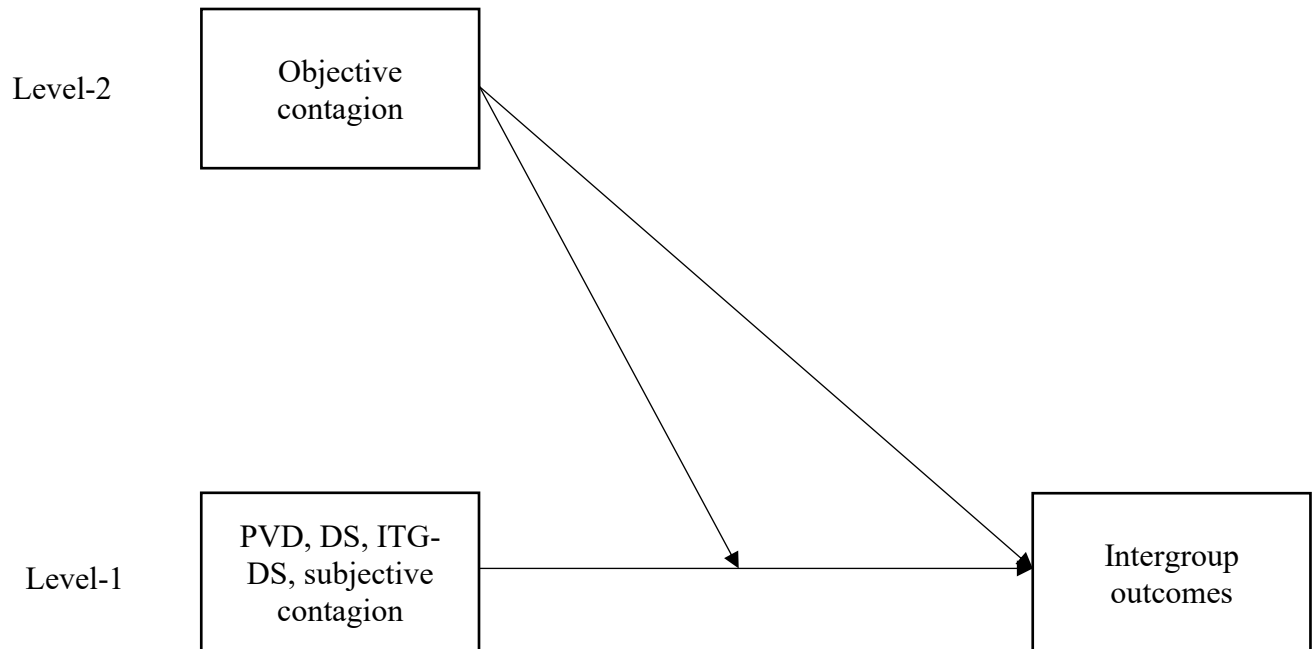


Figure 1. Conceptual representation of the model in which outcomes are predicted by individual differences and subjective contagion is measured at Level-1, and objective contagion measured at Level-2. The moderating role of Level-2 contagion on Level-1 effects was also assessed. Separate models were tested for each outcome variable (outgroup prejudice, outgroup social distance, ingroup attraction, ingroup social distance). PVD = perceived vulnerability to disease, DS = disgust sensitivity, ITG-DS = intergroup disgust sensitivity.

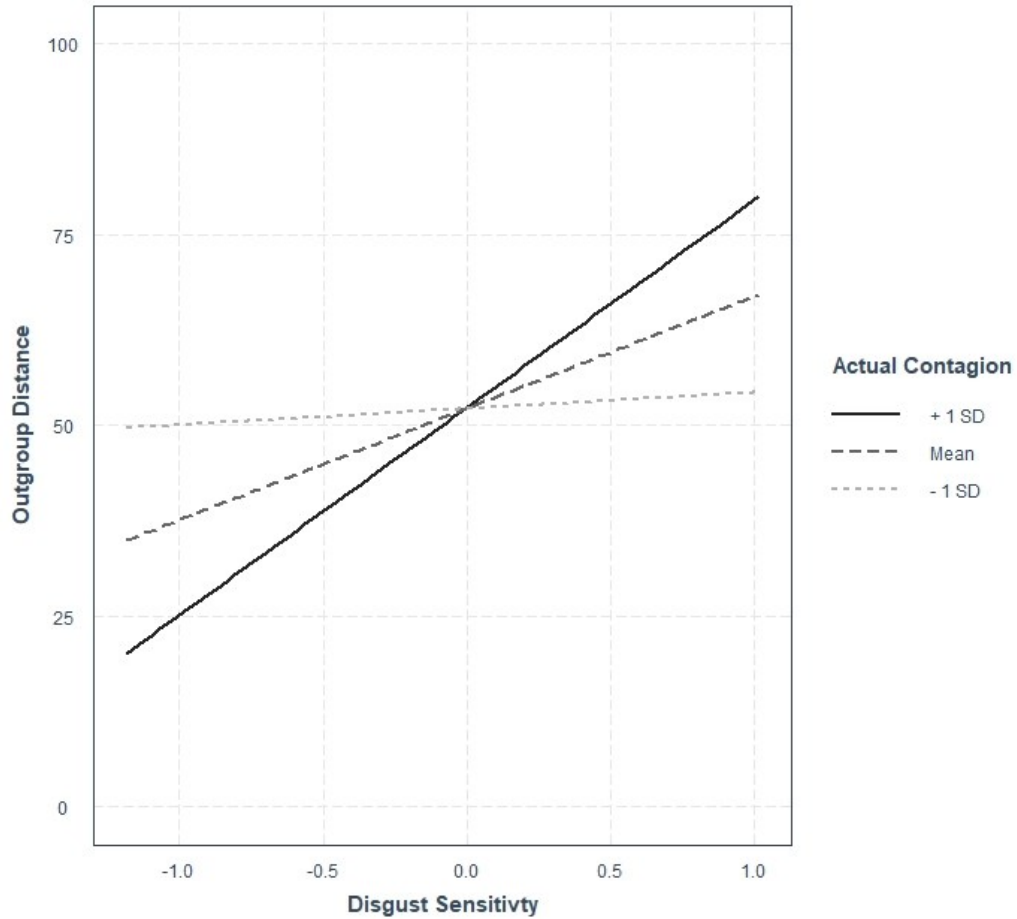


Figure 2. Simple slopes analysis exploring the association between disgust sensitivity (Level-1) and outgroup social distance at high, mean, and low levels of objective regional contagion (Level-2).

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Notes

¹ Our intended sample size was 500 but a server error when the study was live meant that more participants were able to complete the study than requested.

² There are 11 cases of missing data on the objective infection rate variable from participants who did not provide their postcode.

³Intraclass correlations (ICCs) for all analyses were small ($<.01$). However, it has been argued that even very small ICCs can lead to incorrect conclusions if MLM is not used (e.g. Musca et al., 2011).