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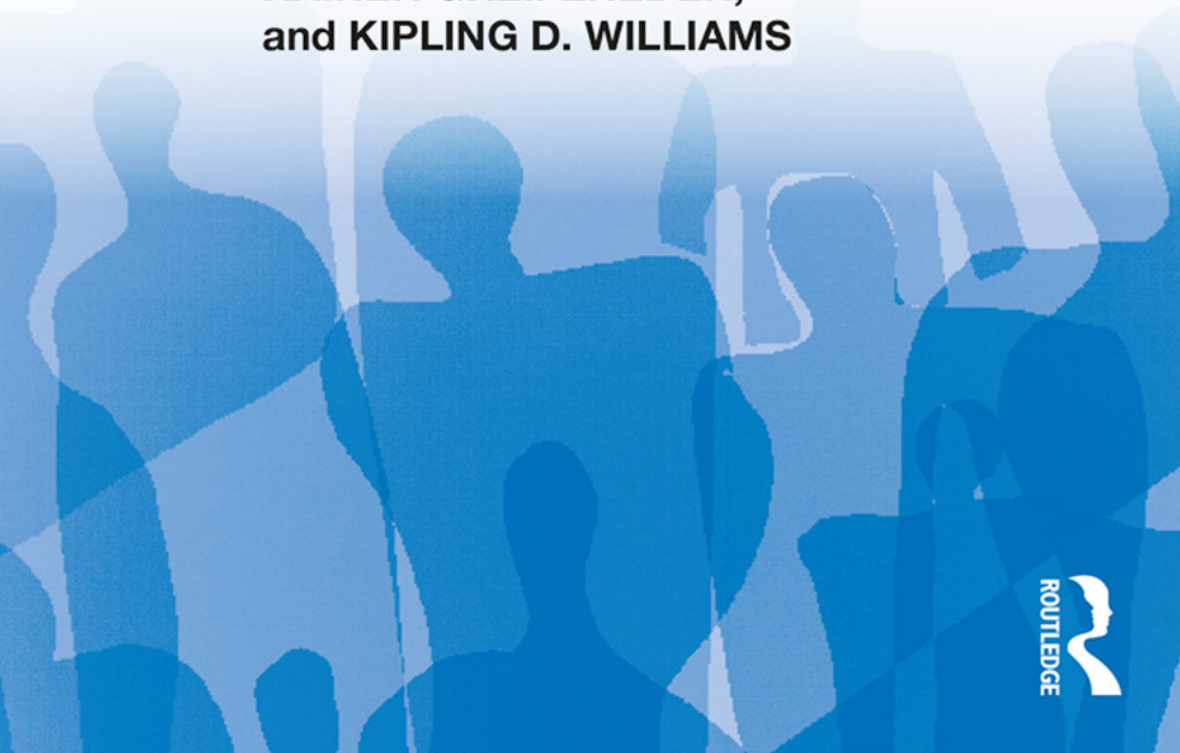
Current Directions in Ostracism, Social Exclusion, and Rejection Research

Edited by SELMA C. RUDERT,
RAINER GREIFENEDER,
and KIPLING D. WILLIAMS



ROUTLEDGE

CURRENT DIRECTIONS IN OSTRACISM, SOCIAL EXCLUSION, AND REJECTION RESEARCH

This edited volume provides an up-to-date review of current research on ostracism, social exclusion, and rejection. The book shows why exclusion and rejection occur, how they affect the excluded individuals, and the consequences they might have for individuals and organizations.

Ostracism, social exclusion, and rejection are common phenomena, both at the individual level, such as ostracism in the classroom or at the workplace, as well as on a societal or even global scale, such as immigration or asylum policies. Examining key concepts such as the long-term effects of ostracism, the developmental and cultural perspectives on ostracism, and the detrimental impact that social exclusion may have on individuals and societies, the authors provide an up-to-date overview of the research field and present new conceptual models and methodological approaches. Featuring discussion of promising areas, novel pathways for research, and cutting-edge developments, this is the most comprehensive bringing-together of research on this topic.

The book gives both a broad state-of-the-art overview of the field as well as discussing cutting-edge ideas and promising areas for future research; it is essential for students, researchers of social psychology, and policy makers interested in this field.

Selma C. Rudert is Junior Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Koblenz and Landau, Germany. In her research, Selma C. Rudert investigates social group processes with a specific focus on social exclusion in groups.

Rainer Greifeneder is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Basel, Switzerland. His research focuses on various aspects of social cognition, such as the experienced ease or difficulty of thinking, or how individuals construe, experience, and react to social exclusion.

Kipling D. Williams is Distinguished Professor of Psychological Sciences at Purdue University, USA. His research focuses on ostracism, social influence, and intragroup processes.

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Edited by Selma C. Rudert,
Rainer Greifeneder, and Kipling D. Williams

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CONTRIBUTORS

Bernstein, Michael J.
Pennsylvania State University, PA, USA

Claypool, Heather M.
Miami University, OH, USA

Downey, Geraldine
Columbia University, NY, USA

Ferris, Laura J.
The University of Queensland, Australia

Greifeneder, Rainer
University of Basel, Switzerland

Hales, Andrew H.
University of Virginia, VA, USA

Kross, Ethan
University of Michigan, MI, USA

Michels, Corinna
University of Cologne, Germany

Naft, Michael J.
Columbia University, NY, USA

Orvell, Ariana
University of Michigan, MI, USA

Paladino, Maria Paola
University of Trento, Italy

Riva, Paolo
University of Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Robinson, Sandra L.
University of British Columbia, Canada

Rudert, Selma C.
University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany

Schabram, Kira
University of Washington, WA, USA

Slaughter, Alison
Miami University, OH, USA

Sleegers, Willem
Tilburg University, The Netherlands

Täuber, Susanne
University of Groningen, The Netherlands

Timeo, Susanna
University of Padova, Italy

van Beest, Ilja
Tilburg University, The Netherlands

Wesselmann, Eric D.
Illinois State University, IL; USA

Williams, Kipling D.
Purdue University, IN, USA

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UNDERSTANDING COMMON AND DIVERSE FORMS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Eric D. Wesselmann, Corinna Michels, and Alison Slaughter

Humans need each other—they are motivated to forge and maintain stable and long-lasting relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Further, natural selection pressures likely favored individuals who could achieve these goals, avoiding the survival threat posed by social isolation (Lieberman, 2013; Wesselmann, Nairne, & Williams, 2012). In modern times, social relationships afford us various psychological benefits such as social identity, self-esteem, a sense of meaning, and valuable social support in times of stress (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Ellemers & Haslam, 2012; Leary, 1999; Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Williams, 2009). Ultimately, individuals who are well-connected socially fare better physically and psychologically than those who are isolated and lonely (Cacioppo & Patrick, 2008).

Unfortunately, this same need for social relationships can become problematic because individuals do not always treat each other nicely. Even the healthiest and most satisfying relationships have occasional conflicts (e.g., Gottman, Coan, Carrere, & Swanson, 1998). Further, evidence from multiple disciplines suggest that societies have devalued, marginalized or otherwise excluded certain members from their ranks throughout history and across the globe (Goffman, 1963; Williams, 2001). There are many reasons why groups would choose to exclude certain people, such as a way of providing clear group identity boundaries, correcting anti-normative behaviors, or protecting themselves from people who threaten the group longevity (Hogg, 2005; Kurzban & Leary, 2001; Robinson & Schabram, this volume; Täuber, this volume; Williams, 2009). Regardless of the reason, targets of social exclusion experience both physical and psychological distress, and in some circumstances (e.g., in isolated or hunter–gatherer societies) exclusion can be a threat to one's survival (Williams, 2007).

Social exclusion is a broad category encapsulating various types of negative interpersonal experiences in which someone feels kept apart from others

physically, emotionally, or otherwise devalued socially (Riva & Eck, 2016; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). Further, social exclusion violates the general social norm that people should be included socially (Greifeneder & Rudert, this volume). Exclusion experiences may involve someone receiving direct negative attention (*rejection*-based exclusion) or may involve being ignored in some way (*ostracism*-based exclusion; Wesselmann et al., 2016). Even though each of these types of experiences has their own situational nuances and expressions, they share some core negative outcomes for excluded individuals. Initially, excluded individuals often experience pain, both at the self-report and neurological level (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003; Ferris, this volume; Kross, Berman, Mischel, Smith, & Wager, 2011). Many individuals describe these events using visceral language typically used to describe the physical sensation of pain, emphasizing that their feelings were *hurt* by the experience (Leary, Springer, Negel, Ansell, & Evans, 1998).

Excluded individuals also experience threats to key psychological needs, such as perceived belonging, control, self-esteem, and a sense of meaningful existence (Williams, 2009; see Williams, Hales, & Michels, this volume). Indeed, excluded individuals even report feeling a threat to their overall perceived humanity (Bastian & Haslam, 2010). Exclusion also makes individuals feel *devalued* socially as if they are unimportant to others (Leary, 1999). This feeling of being devalued may be a key psychological mechanism driving the other negative effects of exclusion (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). If individuals experience exclusion chronically, they may even develop severe psychological problems such as feelings of alienation, helplessness, depression, and existential meaninglessness (Riva, Montali, Wirth, Curioni, & Williams, 2017; Riva, Wesselmann, Wirth, Carter-Sowell, & Williams, 2014). Both qualitative interviews and correlational research suggest that chronic exclusion may contribute to self-harm and suicidal ideation (Van Orden, Witte, Gordon, Bender, & Joiner, 2008; Williams, 2001).

Unfortunately, everyone will likely experience some type of social exclusion at least once in their lives, and some individuals may experience it frequently—perhaps daily (Nezlek, Wesselmann, Wheeler, & Williams, 2012; Williams, 2001). Frequent exclusion may be because of something specific about the person that makes them interpersonally aversive (e.g., Hales, Kassner, Williams, & Graziano, 2016; Wesselmann, Wirth, Pryor, Reeder, & Williams, 2013), because they live in a social environment where exclusion is a common influence tactic (Poulsen, & Carmon, 2015; Williams, 2001), or because they happen to belong to a stigmatized group (Goffman, 1963; Kurzban & Leary, 2001; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). In this chapter, we review the research on various types of social exclusion and highlight some of the new ways in which researchers are applying these concepts to understand diverse types of negative interpersonal situations. We then close with some broader questions and ideas relevant to future directions in both theory-building and research on social-exclusion related phenomena.

Rejection-based exclusion

Rejection researchers typically define the construct as direct communication that one is not wanted (Blackhart, Nelson, Knowles, & Baumeister, 2009), and commonly manipulate this in the laboratory by telling participants that someone (or a group) does not want to interact with them (e.g., Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001). These cues do not have to be direct statements: individuals can feel rejected when their interaction partners react to them in an angry or cold manner (Wesselmann, Butler, Williams, & Pickett, 2010; Wirth, Bernstein, Wesselmann, & LeRoy, 2017) or with hurtful laughter (Klages & Wirth, 2014). The conceptual definition of rejection can be extended to involve discriminatory behaviors that make someone feel they are unwanted, either interpersonally or at the societal level (Kerr & Levine, 2008; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). Indeed, some definitions of these concepts explicitly involve interpersonal or societal rejection (Goffman, 1963; Kurzban & Leary, 2001).

There are many ways that individuals can reject others via discriminatory behavior. For example, individuals can verbally harass someone by calling them derogatory names (e.g., slurs or animal metaphors; Sue et al., 2007). When individuals use derogatory terms to describe out-group members, they are suggesting these individuals are inferior and beyond the typical moral considerations afforded to humans; in effect, they are dehumanizing them (e.g., Crimston, Hornsey, Bain, & Bastian, 2018; Demoulin et al., 2004; Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008). To our knowledge, no research has directly tested if individuals experience dehumanizing language as a type of exclusion, although a recent study demonstrated that experiencing dehumanizing language intensified the pain of an explicit social exclusion manipulation (Andrighetto, Riva, Gabbiadini, & Volpato, 2016). Thus, it is a reasonable hypothesis that dehumanizing language makes individuals feel excluded and compounds any other exclusion experiences they are experiencing by nature of being stigmatized.

Many stigmatized individuals experience subtle forms of rejection on a daily basis—forms that some researchers call *microaggressions* (Nadal, 2011; Sue, 2010). These types of behaviors can be verbal, such as someone making rude, insensitive, or otherwise invalidating comments regarding the stigmatized individual's group, or they can be non-verbal, such as someone purposefully avoiding a stigmatized individual (Nadal, 2011; Sue et al., 2007). Researchers are now explicitly investigating how microaggressions may have similar negative outcomes as other forms of interpersonal rejection (e.g., threats to basic psychological needs; Williams, 2009). For example, one study (Steakley-Freeman, DeSouza, & Wesselmann, 2016) asked bi- and multi-racial participants to complete survey items indicating how often they recalled experiencing various types of microaggressions over the past year. Individuals who reported experiencing more microaggressions also recalled feeling more psychological need threat.

Other studies are addressing these connections experimentally. One study (Wesselmann, Schneider, Ford, & DeSouza, 2018) asked half of the participants

to recall a time when they heard an offensive joke about their group (the other half wrote on a control prompt: their experiences yesterday afternoon). Individuals in the offensive joke condition recalled feeling more excluded and psychologically threatened compared with the control group. These effects were mediated by individuals' recalled feelings of relational value. These findings were replicated using an online community sample. Even though the prompt explicitly asked participants to recall an offensive joke, some participants detailed times in which someone simply "made fun of" their group or otherwise said something offensive. The pattern of results remained the same regardless of the content.

Another study (Wesselmann, Bebel, DeSouza, & Parris, 2018) replicated these results in a sample of transgender participants. Researchers provided participants with a definition of microaggressions (i.e., "behaviors, whether verbal or nonverbal, conscious or unconscious, that put down LGBT individuals"; based on Nadal, 2011) and asked half of them to recall an event that fit this definition (the control group wrote about their experiences the previous Wednesday). Participants' recalled microaggressions ranged from subtle snubs to explicit hostility, sometimes including several different types of behavior in one event. Some participants in the control condition even had to be excluded from analyses because they recalled experiencing events similar to those found in the microaggressions condition. Regardless, participants who recalled microaggressions reported experiencing more negative psychological outcomes than participants in the control condition. Similar to the offensive joke studies, perceived relational value mediated the negative effects of microaggressions on psychological needs. Collectively, these studies provide promising, yet *preliminary* evidence that microaggressions can be considered forms of interpersonal rejection. Future research on these topics will help develop further both the links between rejection and discrimination, as well that of microaggressions—a construct that is still relatively new theoretically and empirically (Lilienfeld, 2017).

Emerging research: sexual objectification

Sexual objectification involves being treated as an object for someone else's pleasure, rather than as a full human being (Bartky, 1990; Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998). Individuals commonly feel objectified when they experience various forms of sexual harassment or are in environments that encourage hyper-sexualization (e.g., Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Lindberg, Grabe, & Hyde, 2007; Tiggemann & Boundy, 2008). Even nonverbal behavior such as someone leering can be a type of objectification (Calogero, 2004; Gervais, Holland, & Dodd, 2013). Most research focuses on sexual objectification of women, though some research demonstrates that men can also feel objectified (Hebl, King, & Lin, 2004; Martins, Tiggemann, & Kirkbride, 2007).

Preliminary data suggest that sexual objectification may make individuals feel excluded; participants who watched a digital confederate stare at their body experienced more need threat and feelings of exclusion when compared

with participants who only received eye-contact (Dvir, Kelly, & Williams, 2017). If non-verbal forms of objectification like leering can make women feel excluded, it is likely that other forms of objectification (e.g., cat-calls, exposure to a hyper-sexualized environment) may too. Further, researchers argue that chronic exposure to objectification can lead women to internalize this perspective and self-objectify, leading to various negative psychological outcomes such as body shame and disordered eating (Fredrickson et al., 1998; Quinn, Kallen, & Cathey, 2006). Researchers interested in self-objectification may also consider assessing outcomes relevant to exclusion research, especially chronic outcomes (i.e., alienation, depression, helplessness, and meaninglessness; Williams, 2009).

Ostracism-based exclusion

Even though people find it aversive to be insulted or told they are unwanted, negative attention still provides some social acknowledgment. Indeed, social norms generally dictate that people acknowledge each other's presence (Geller, Goodstein, Silver, & Sternberg, 1974). When individuals are not acknowledged and treated as if they do not exist, they find the experience deeply unsettling (Williams, 2001). William James (1890/1950) famously noted that being treated as if one were non-existent would be a "fiendish punishment...from which the cruelest bodily tortures would be a relief" (pp. 293–294) because at least negative attention would be better than no attention at all. A few empirical studies support the general idea that negative attention may be better than being unacknowledged (Rudert, Hales, Greifeneder, & Williams, 2017; Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2005), though this premise certainly should be investigated further.

Regardless, being ignored (i.e., ostracized socially) is a powerful message that one is unwanted and unworthy of inclusion. Early experiments operationalized ostracism in strong, ubiquitous ways. Researchers had participants interact with confederates either in face-to-face or over the Internet in real time. The confederates either included participants or ignored them during the interactions (e.g., Williams, Cheung, & Choi, 2000; Williams et al., 2002; Williams & Sommer, 1997). Other researchers have manipulated ostracism in asynchronous e-based environments, such as text messaging (Smith & Williams, 2004) or social networking platforms (Wolf et al., 2014). Across all of these studies, ostracized participants reported more feelings of being ignored and psychological need threat compared to included participants.

Researchers designed these previous paradigms in order to maximize internal validity; yet ostracism in everyday life outside of the laboratory may occur in subtler and more ambiguous ways. Even if these everyday experiences are subtle or ambiguous, people will still likely find them aversive (e.g., Nezlek et al., 2012). For example, people may feel ostracized when they discover they had not been given relevant social information that others had received (e.g., Jones, Carter-Sowell, Kelly, & Williams, 2009), or when others are speaking in front of them in a language that they do not understand (e.g., Dotan-Eliaz,

Sommer, & Rubin, 2009). People even feel ostracized when they encounter references to pop culture topics (e.g., musicians, celebrities) that they are unfamiliar with (Iannone, Kelly, & Williams, 2016).

Researchers have theorized that people find subtle forms of ostracism aversive because humans have likely evolved to be sensitive to any cue that their social relationships are in danger; these cues help calibrate one's expectations for social inclusion and motivate attention toward social threats (Kerr & Levine, 2008; Wirth et al., 2017). For example, studies have shown that a lack of eye contact and, in some cases, staring through someone as if they do not exist, can increase feelings of social disconnection and ostracism (e.g., Wesselmann, Cardoso, Slater, & Williams, 2012; Wirth, Sacco, Hugenberg, & Williams, 2010). Other research suggests that even uncomfortable silences in communication may impact feelings of social connection negatively (Koudenburg, Postmes, & Gordijn, 2011). Finally, individuals can feel ostracized when someone uses language that implicitly excludes specific social categories (e.g., gendered language; Stout & Dasgupta, 2011).

Emerging research: smart phones and ostracism

Smart phones have become ubiquitous tools in people's everyday lives (Smith, 2015), with many researchers, policymakers, and laypeople wondering how these devices are changing the nature of human life and social relationships (e.g., Campbell & Kwak, 2011; Okdie et al., 2014). People use smart phones for many reasons and in many contexts, such as public areas—even when in the face-to-face presence of their companions (Finkel & Kruger, 2012). However, how does using smart phones in the presence of others influence the dynamics of face-to-face interactions? In people's attempts to stay as socially connected as possible via these devices, do they risk alienating the relationship partners in their midst?

Researchers have used both correlational and experimental methods to investigate these questions. When peoples' interaction partners use a smart phone (or other technology) during face-to-face interactions, they often report feeling less satisfied with the quality of their social connections (e.g., Kushlev & Heintzelman, 2018; McDaniel & Coyne, 2016a, 2016b). In popular lexicon, people often refer to this experience as being *phubbed* (combination of "phone" and "snubbed;" Roberts & David, 2016). Phubbing behavior can be contagious, prompting the target to use their smart phone as well (Chotpitayasunondh & Douglas, 2016; Finkel & Kruger, 2012). This behavioral contagion could potentially become a vicious cycle of social withdrawal that over repeated interactions may have deleterious long-term effects on the relationship.

Given that many people report purposely phubbing someone as a way to avoid them (Smith, 2015), it is likely that this behavior may become culturally defined as a subtle type of social exclusion. Three recently published articles support this general idea. An in vivo study provided preliminary evidence that participants who were phubbed by a confederate experienced feelings of ostracism, especially

if they disliked technology (Gonzales & Wu, 2016). Another study demonstrated that participants who took the perspective of a phubbed character in a video reported experiencing threats to the same basic psychological needs threatened by other types of social exclusion (Chotpitayasunondh & Douglas, 2018). Other research found that individuals recall feeling ostracized and experiencing basic need threat when being phubbed, and this effect was mediated by perceived relational devaluation (Hales, Dvir, Wesselmann, Kruger, & Finkenauer, 2018).

These recent studies suggest that researchers interested either in social exclusion broadly or the effects of smart phone use in social interactions should forge collaborations to generate future hypotheses. For example, why does phubbing behavior become socially contagious? Social exclusion research might suggest two different (and perhaps complementary) motives. If an individual feels excluded when phubbed by an interaction partner, the individual may choose to use their own smart phone as a way of subtly withdrawing from the painful interaction and distracting themselves (Hales, Wesselmann, & Williams, 2016; Ren, Wesselmann, & Williams, 2016). Additionally, the phubbed individual may use the opportunity to connect with others in their social network and fortify their threatened needs (Gardner, Pickett, & Knowles, 2005), or to protect their ego by demonstrating to others (or themselves) that they are not bothered by being phubbed (Bernstein et al., 2013; see also Timeo, Riva, & Paladino, this volume).

Future areas for theoretical development

Comparing different types of exclusion

Thus far, we have reviewed the extant (and emerging) literature on diverse types of social exclusion. Whether these experiences are extreme or subtle, involve explicit negative social attention or a distinct *lack* of attention, they each evoke similar negative outcomes (e.g., pain, anger, sadness, psychological need threat; Wesselmann et al., 2016). These empirical overlaps are interesting given that Williams (2009) has argued that ostracism is uniquely painful among other types of exclusion since it involves being ignored. The overlap among various types of exclusion suggests that, at least regarding subjective feelings of being ignored, individuals may not differentiate between rejection- and ostracism-based exclusions.

Researchers should consider how this overlap may matter theoretically when developing hypotheses about the various types of exclusion and their ultimate effects. For example, rejection- and ostracism-based exclusions may simply influence individuals negatively in a manner of degree. Negative attention may be harmful, but no attention at all may be worse. The few studies that have directly compared negative attention to outright ostracism suggest that individuals who receive the former experience fewer negative effects (e.g., threatened basic needs) than those who experience the latter (Rudert et al., 2017; Zadro et al., 2005). Regardless, future researchers should consider directly comparing various forms of social exclusion in order to investigate general patterns of negative outcomes, as well as to investigate if certain outcomes are affected more by one type of

exclusion than others (e.g., does ostracism have a greater effect on meaningful existence than rejection?).

Additionally, these distinctions may help researchers further unpack other murky areas in the literature, such as when and why individuals are more likely to respond to exclusion with either pro- or anti-social responses. Many researchers have provided data demonstrating that excluded individuals respond aggressively, even to individuals who had nothing to do with the exclusion (e.g., Twenge et al., 2001); paradoxically, other researchers provide data demonstrating that excluded individuals respond pro-socially as well (see Williams, 2009 for review). One way of clarifying these conflicting behavioral patterns is to examine how each behavior may help individuals cope with exclusion. Williams (2009) argues that individuals who prize belonging and esteem needs should focus on responding pro-socially as a way to secure their inclusionary status in future interactions, and individuals who prize control and meaningful existence needs should focus more on anti-social responses in order to re-establish control and receive attention. If ostracism-based exclusion experiences have a stronger effect on certain needs (e.g., meaningful existence) than rejection-based experiences, then it is possible that individuals may respond more aggressively to the former and more pro-socially to the latter. To our knowledge, no published studies have directly compared the effects of these different types of experiences on pro- vs. anti-social behavioral outcomes (but see Molden, Lucas, Gardner, Dean, & Knowles, 2009 on other relevant social outcomes). Regardless, this is one of many areas that may yield interesting results when researchers directly compare exclusion types and any potential differential affective, cognitive, and motivational effects.

Examining connections between social exclusion and other aversive experiences

There are other types of aversive interpersonal experiences that future researchers should consider when integrating social exclusion experiences. For example, individuals likely feel excluded when a potential romantic partner turns them down, or when a current romantic partner either breaks up with them or cheats on them with another person. The first is an outright *rejection*, the second is a dissolution of an extant romantic relationship, and the third provides at least an existential threat to that relationship. All three situations should provoke feelings of social pain and other negative outcomes found in established forms of social exclusion (e.g., Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Baumeister, Wotman, & Stillwell, 1993; Kavanagh, Robins, & Ellis, 2010; Zhang, Liu, Li, & Ruan, 2015). Further, researchers should consider how the context of romantic relationships may intensify traditional rejection effects. Being told one is not wanted in a relationship, even a one-time laboratory interaction, is painful (e.g., Twenge et al., 2001); having a romantic overture rebuffed is likely worse than being told one is unwanted by a stranger or potential friend (e.g., Pass, Lindenberg, & Park, 2010).

Explicit romantic rejection may even cross into the ostracism domain if it extends beyond a one-time event and involves feeling chronically isolated from someone. For example, someone who monitors their former partner's public social network activity and sees that person moving on with their life may feel more ignored and isolated than if their communication with that person had ended with relationship dissolution (Safronova, 2015). This may be related to the general concept of *unrequited love*—loving someone who does not return the love—which may also be considered a form of social exclusion (Baumeister et al., 1993; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). It is reasonable to hypothesize that someone experiencing unrequited love feels ignored by the object of their affection, especially if they see their beloved having other romantic relationships.

Another interesting phenomenon that could be considered relevant to social inclusion and exclusion is social support. *Social support* is an umbrella term that includes various types of behaviors focused on providing assistance to someone perceived to be in need of help (Burleson & MacGeorge, 2002). Social support occurs in both formal (e.g., therapy) and informal (e.g., social interactions with friends and family) contexts (Burleson & Homstrom, 2008). There are many types of social support ranging from giving someone tangible assistance (e.g., money) or advice, to providing empathic emotional support, validating the person's experiences, and assuring them of their value to the support provider (Arora, 2008; Goldsmith, 2004). Baumeister and Leary (1995) argued that the availability of social support is a key aspect of the need to belong. Further, social support availability symbolizes to individuals that they are *valued* by their relationship partners (whether they be romantic, familial, or friendships; Goldsmith, 2004). A common way in which support is enacted in social relationships involves sharing one's problems with a partner, and this sharing can be crucial for coping (Goldsmith, 2004). Further, mutual sharing of self-disclosure and social support—both receiving and giving—often strengthens feelings of closeness and value in social relationships (Collins & Miller, 1994; Crocker, Canevello, & Brown, 2017; Sprecher & Hendrick, 2004).

In order for social support to be effective, the support needs to match what the recipient wants and has to be received positively; if there is a mismatch or the recipient perceives the support as threatening in some way, it may have harmful effects (Bolger & Amarel, 2007; MacGeorge, Feng, & Thompson, 2008). For example, sometimes people tell the recipient how she or he *should* feel or think about a stressful or traumatic incident, rather than simply acknowledging and validating that person's *actual* feelings and perspectives (e.g., "Don't feel sad." or "It could always be worse."). These mishandled attempts at support (sometimes called *cold comfort*) are usually well-intentioned but are often experienced by recipients as attempts to minimize or invalidate their experiences (Burleson, 2003; Coyne, Wortman, & Lehman, 1988). Given the importance of quality social support for one's feeling of belonging and relational value, it is likely that cold comfort may itself be experienced as a form of social exclusion which leads to similar negative outcomes. Interestingly, cold comfort may become a cycle

of exclusion, initially making the recipient feel excluded before causing them to subsequently withdraw from the source in future social interactions (e.g., Holmstrom, Burleson, & Jones, 2005).

Conclusion

Humans have a psychological need to forge meaningful and stable social connections with others, and they suffer both physically and psychologically when this need is not satisfied. In this chapter, we reviewed various ways that individuals can have their social connections threatened, broadly grouped under the term *social exclusion*. We highlighted two general types of exclusion experiences: *rejection*-based and *ostracism*-based. The former type of exclusion involves direct negative attention that communicates one is unwanted, and the latter type is characterized primarily by being ignored in some way. Regardless of exclusion type, these experiences lead to similar negative outcomes, including a subjective feeling of being ignored even when the exclusion is rejection-based. In addition to reviewing the published literature on diverse forms of social exclusion, we highlighted some emerging research on topics that should also be considered by social exclusion researchers. We believe that future theorizing and empirical research will be enriched by taking a more comprehensive view of social exclusion and its overlapping outcomes.

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