Chapter 6

(Shutterstock)

Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What purpose does stereotyping serve as a cognitive process for humans?
2. What is modern racism?
3. Why do social scientists contend that sexism has both a hostile side and a benevolent side?
4. Can prejudice be reduced, or is it so ingrained in our species' evolutionary heritage that it is impossible to reduce?

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Applications: How can our schools be positive institutions of social change?

Preview . . . Over the years, prejudice research has examined both the social conditions that support and weaken intergroup intolerance, and the impact that such intolerance has on those who are its targets. How have social psychologists applied this knowledge to promote diversity acceptance and academic achievement in schools?

Introduction

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, temptest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

This passage from Emma Lazarus's sonnet, "The New Colossus" (1883), is inscribed on a tablet within the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty that stands on Ellis Island in New York Harbor, greeting immigrants to the United States of America. Despite the welcoming sentiment expressed in this famous poem, immigrants are not always treated fairly when they arrive on this country's shores. For example, during the 1800s and early 20th century, Jews and Italian immigrants were perceived as non-Anglo and nonwhite; as such, they experienced extreme prejudice, discrimination, and even violence. Next to African Americans, Italian Americans were the second most likely ethnic group to be lynched during this time period.

(Courtesy of Bain News Service, George Grantham Bain Collection, Library of Congress, circa 1900)

(Mikeledray / Shutterstock)

Anti-immigrant sentiment is not new to the United States and is fed by the often-false belief that immigrants drain a country's resources. How do such beliefs lead to prejudice and discrimination?

Anti-immigrant bias in this country persists in the 21st century, especially toward people from Latin America and those of Arab descent. In January 2017, President Trump signed a controversial executive order banning refugees from seven predominantly Muslim nations. Similarly, a central Trump campaign pledge was building a wall between the United States and Mexico to stop undocumented immigrants from Central and South America. Survey research indicates that Americans' support for these immigration policies is associated with attitudes that dehumanize Muslim and Mexican immigrants (Kteily & Bruneau, 2017a). Such prejudice can be fueled by a number of factors, including a fear by Americans that these newcomers will take their jobs, threaten their safety, deplete social welfare services, and destroy the American way of life by refusing to adopt mainstream cultural values and practices.

Hostility toward immigrants is not limited to America's shores. In 2014, Switzerland passed a controversial anti-immigration law that set strict quotas on immigration. German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared the death of multiculturalism in her country 3 years earlier, stating that it had been foolhardy to think that Germans and foreign workers could "live happily side-by-side." Similar anti-immigration sentiments are expressed in other European countries, such as Great Britain, France, Austria, Italy, Sweden, Holland, Hungary, and Spain. The factors underlying the anti-immigrant tide in these countries are similar to those in America: fear of job loss, fear of crime, fear of social welfare depletion, and fear of national identity loss.

In all these countries, resentment toward immigrants has been strongly fueled by economic problems and unemployment. Yet Dartmouth business professor Vijay Govindarajan (2010) contends that the reasoning underlying the belief that foreign immigrants take jobs from a country's existing citizens is often both flawed and shortsighted. Govindarajan states that many immigrants have skills and capabilities that are unique and not readily available among most current residents of a country. Further, these talented immigrants regularly create innovation that builds new industries and thereby create more jobs in their host countries. For example, in the United States, Govindarajan notes that the founders or cofounders of the following high-tech companies were all recent immigrants: Google, Sun Microsystems, eBay, Juniper Networks, YouTube, Yahoo!, and Intel. These companies—in which highly skilled immigrants played a lead role—have generated hundreds of thousands of new jobs for Americans. Following the announcement of the 2017 US travel ban, nearly 100 technology firms petitioned the federal court to set aside President Trump's ban based on their claim that it would hurt their businesses (Chappell, 2017). Despite evidence that immigrants can strengthen and help to rejuvenate their host countries, hostility toward these people persists around the world; for many citizens, immigrants are "those people" who threaten "us" and "our way of life."

(David A. Litman / Shutterstock)

(Shutterstock)

When you think of a recent immigrant to this country what is the most typical image that comes to mind for you? Mexican migrant workers and Chinese high-tech entrepreneurs often elicit very different stereotypes among Americans, but both immigrant groups are targets of prejudice and discrimination.

Although government polices often reflect and contribute to anti-immigration attitudes, they can also foster acceptance of those who seek entry into the country. For example, research tracking Canadian public opinion over 18 months found that a pro-immigration shift in Canadian national policy was followed by an increase in positive attitudes about immigrants and refugees (Gaucher et al., 2018). This finding highlights the power of social norms and the central role of leaders in shaping people's attitudes toward immigrants.

In this chapter, we examine the social psychology of intergroup bias and intolerance—including the type of prejudice and discrimination experienced by immigrants around the world—as well as intergroup intolerance based on other social identities. We also analyze the causes of prejudice and the consequences that bias and intolerance have for those who are targeted. Finally, we explore research and theory concerning possible remedies.

The three most important social psychological terms associated with the bias and conflict that occur between members of different social groups are *stereotyping*, *prejudice*, and *discrimination*. These three terms are closely tied yet still distinct. Very few of us view these terms positively and we generally go to great lengths to avoid being accused of stereotyping, being prejudiced, or discriminating against others. Yet what is prejudice? How is prejudice different from discrimination? Is stereotyping sometimes a good thing, or is it always wrong? Can you be prejudiced without knowing it? What causes prejudice, both at the intergroup level and at the interpersonal level? Can you fix a prejudiced mind? These and other important questions will be addressed in this chapter.

6.1 What Are the Components of Intergroup Conflict?

Chapter 5 examined how attitudes and beliefs are related to behavior. On the most basic level, stereotypes involve beliefs about specific groups, prejudice involves attitudes toward those groups, and discrimination involves actions toward those groups.

6.1a Stereotypes Are Beliefs About Social Groups.

As you recall from Chapter 4 (section 4.1a), we naturally and automatically develop social categories based on people's shared characteristics. Once categorized, we begin to perceive people differently. Often the nature of these different perceptions is determined by whether the individuals are ingroup members or outgroup members (Deaux, 1996). An **ingroup** is a group to which we belong and that forms a part of our social identity, while an **outgroup** is any group with which we do not share membership.

The Purpose of Stereotyping

Stereotypes are beliefs about the personalities, abilities, and motives of a social group that don't allow for individual variation. They are a type of *schema*, which is an organized structure of knowledge about a stimulus that is built up from experience and contains causal relations (see Chapter 4, section 4.1b for a review). Stereotyping can involve both deliberate and automatic cognitive processing (Wegener et al., 2006). For example, upon seeing an older adult you might automatically assume that she is frail and forgetful—this is an implicit stereotype. In contrast, if a researcher asked you if you believed "older adults are frail" your answer would reflect an explicit stereotype, or your consciously held beliefs about the group.

Like other types of schemas, stereotypes significantly influence how we process and interpret social information—even when we are not consciously aware that they have been activated from memory (Kiefer & Sekaquaptewa, 2007). Once a stereotype is activated, we tend to see people within that social category as possessing the traits or characteristics associated with the stereotyped group. In the example of the older adult, if the stereotype of weak and forgetful is activated, we might also assume a whole host of other characteristics (such as senile, childlike, and hard of hearing) and modify our behavior toward that individual, perhaps by talking slower, louder, and using simpler sentences that reflect our stereotypes.

ingroup
A group to which we belong and that forms a part of our social identity

outgroup
Any group with which we do not share membership

stereotypes
Beliefs about the personalities, abilities, and motives of a social group that don't allow for individual variation

In studying stereotyping, social psychologists have pondered what purpose it serves as a cognitive process. The quickness of stereotyped thinking is one of its most apparent qualities: Being *fast*, it gives us a basis for immediate action in uncertain circumstances. In a very real sense, stereotypes are "shortcuts to thinking" that provide us with rich and distinctive information about individuals we do not personally know. Not only do stereotypes provide us with a fast basis for social judgments, but stereotyping also appears to "free up" cognition for other tasks (Macrae et al., 1994). Thus, a second function of stereotyped thinking is that it is *efficient* and allows people to cognitively engage in other necessary activities. Daniel Gilbert (1989) suggests that this resource-preserving effect has an evolutionary basis. That is, expending cognitive resources as cheaply as possible enables perceivers to redirect their energy to more pressing concerns. The speed and efficiency of stereotype-based information apparently motivates people to rely on it over the more time-consuming method of getting to know a person as an individual.

"Labels are devices for saving talkative persons the trouble of thinking."

—John Morley, English statesman and author, 1838–1923

Development and Maintenance of Stereotypes

How many times have you heard a woman say, "Well, you know men . . . They're all alike and they all want the same thing!"? Likewise, how often have you heard men describing women in similar terms? How do such "all alike" social beliefs develop and how are they maintained, despite contradictory evidence?

(Fitzcrittle / Shutterstock)

Do you think these middle-aged adults are likely to believe that they have more distinct and complex personalities than younger aged adults? If so, what social psychological principal is operating here?

Outgroup Homogeneity Effect The tendency to perceive outgroup members as being more similar to one another than members of one's ingroup is known as the **outgroup homogeneity effect**, and it is found in children as well as in adults (Guinote et al., 2007). Research has shown that merely assigning people to different social groups can create this effect, but it is stronger when directed toward well-established groups (Boldry et al., 2007) and groups of lower social status (Rubin & Badea, 2012). Furthermore, viewing outgroup members as homogeneous is associated with more negative attitudes towards all members of that group (Brauer & Er-rafiy, 2011). Although we tend to perceive outgroups as being fairly uniform, ingroup members are generally viewed as relatively *distinct* and *complex*. For example, young adults tend to perceive others of their age as having more complex personalities than the elderly, whereas older adults hold exactly opposite beliefs (Brewer & Lui, 1984). Brain-imaging studies indicate that this tendency to notice differences among ingroup members while perceiving outgroup members as being more alike is due to the fact that we engage in less thorough neural processing when attending to outgroup members (Ambady & Adams, 2011; Van Bavel & Cunningham, 2012). In other words, we invest less cognitive effort when attending to outgroup members compared to ingroup members, relying more on group-based stereotypes when making social judgments (Amodio, 2011).

Bernadette Park and Charles Judd found that, on college campuses, sorority members, business majors, and engineering students all tended to perceive students in other campus social groups (those in other sororities or those with other majors) as more alike than those in their ingroup (Judd et al., 1991; Park & Rothbart, 1982). Perhaps you have even witnessed some of your own college professors making homogeneous assumptions about certain minority groups by asking minority students in the classroom to represent their group's attitudes and beliefs. Do you think those students—perhaps you were one of those students—might have felt uncomfortable and even stigmatized by being singled out?

Illusory Correlations Another way in which stereotypes can develop is through the power of an **illusory correlation**, which is the belief that two variables are associated with each other when no actual association exists. At least two factors can produce an illusory correlation. The first is *associative meaning*, in which two variables are associated with each other because of the perceiver's preexisting beliefs. One of the important reasons the activation of stereotypes often results in fast social judgments is that filtering social perceptions through a stereotype causes people to ignore information that is relevant but inconsistent with the stereotype (Dijksterhuis & Knippenberg, 1996). For example, Harriet might believe that Jews are more deceptive in their business dealings than non-Jews. When asked why she holds this belief, Harriet might recall a set of pertinent cases of either business deception or honesty from her own personal experiences or from the experiences of others. In recalling these instances, Harriet selectively

outgroup homogeneity effect
Perception of outgroup members as being more similar to one another than are members of one's ingroup

illusory correlation
The belief that two variables are associated with each other when in fact there is little or no actual association

remembers those few cases that conform to her stereotype of Jews, but she forgets or explains away all those that clash with it. Based on this selective recall of past cases, Harriet concludes that there is an association between Jews and deception, even though the correlation is no greater than it is for non-Jews. Numerous studies have found that people's preexisting attitudes and beliefs can predispose them to perceive associations that are truly illusory (Berndsen et al., 2002). Once the stereotype is activated, the person engages in biased processing of social information by attending to information consistent with the stereotype and ignoring contradictory information.

A second factor contributing to the development of illusory correlations is *shared distinctiveness*, in which two variables are associated because they share some unusual feature (Risen et al., 2007). According to this view, Harriet might have developed an illusory correlation about Jews and dishonesty because both the minority group and the unfavorable trait are "infrequent" or "distinct" variables in the population. These two distinct variables are more likely associated in Harriet's memory simply because of their shared distinctiveness.

In the classic experiment demonstrating this effect, David Hamilton and Robert Gifford (1976) asked participants to read information about people from two different groups, "Group A" and "Group B." Twice as much information was provided about Group A, making Group B the smaller or "minority group" in the study. In addition, twice as much of the information given about both groups involved desirable behaviors rather than undesirable actions. Desirable information included statements such as, "John, a member of Group A, visited a sick friend in the hospital." An example of an undesirable statement was, "Bob, a member of Group B, dropped litter in the subway station." Even though there was no correlation between group membership and the proportion of positive and negative information, participants perceived a correlation.

As Figure 6.1 shows, participants overestimated the frequency with which Group B, the "minority group," behaved undesirably. In this study, the members of the "minority group" (who were described only half as much as the "majority group") and the undesirable actions (which occurred only half as often as the desirable behaviors) were both distinctive. This shared distinctiveness resulted in their illusory correlation, a finding replicated in later studies (Mullen & Johnson, 1995). Together, these studies indicate that although stereotyping may be beneficial because it allows us to redirect our energies to other pressing cognitive activities, the cost appears to be that we run the risk of making faulty social judgments about whomever we stereotype. Such biased information processing often occurs unconsciously (Payne et al., 2004).

subtyping
A cognitive process in which people perceive an individual who doesn't fit their stereotype as being an exception to the rule and they create a separate subcategory of the stereotype for that individual

(Shutterstock)

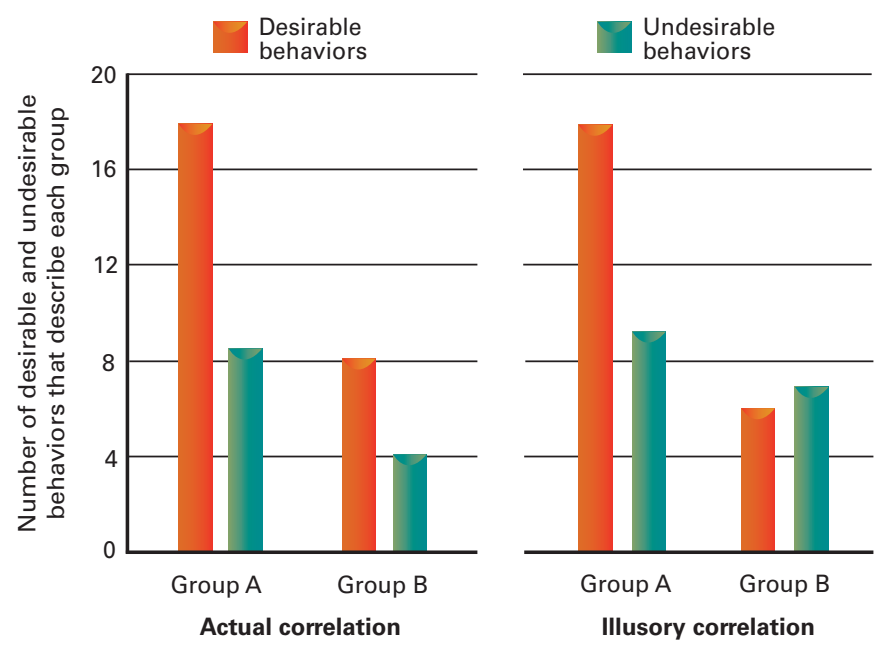
Within our society, there are many different positive and negative stereotypes associated with various groups. For example, older adults are often stereotyped as weak and sickly (a negative stereotype) but wise and venerable (a positive stereotype). Are these positive stereotypes about older adults harmful?

Subtyping Consider again cultural stereotypes about older adults: they are often stereotyped as being socially withdrawn and senile. However, everyone has encountered older adults who are socially outgoing and mentally sharp. Why do these individuals rarely change our generally negative stereotypes about the elderly? The simple fact is that, once developed, stereotypes are often maintained through **subtyping**, a cognitive process in which we perceive an individual who doesn't fit our stereotype as being an exception to the rule and we create a separate subcategory of the stereotype for that individual. Doing so allows us to maintain our overall group stereotype (Kunda & Oleson, 1995; Richards & Hewstone, 2001). Research confirms that socially outgoing and mentally sharp older adults are frequently subtyped by young adults as "golden agers" (sociable and capable) who are "exceptions to the rule" of the overall negative elderly

stereotype (Hummert, 2015). Not surprisingly, as people get older and have more experiences with aging, they also show more complexity in their stereotyping of older people and have increasingly more subtypes (such as "activist" and "mildly impaired") about the elderly.

FIGURE 6.1 Illusory Correlations and the Persistence of Stereotypes

In Hamilton and Gifford's (1976) study of illusory correlations, participants read sentences in which a person from Group A or Group B was associated with either a desirable or an undesirable behavior. Both groups were described with the same proportion of desirable and undesirable behaviors, but only half of the provided information was about Group B members, making them the "minority group." Participants later overestimated the number of undesirable behaviors in the minority group (Group B), suggesting that people tend to perceive an illusory correlation between variables that stand out because they are unusual or deviant.



Data source: "Illusory Correlation in Interpersonal Perception: A Cognitive Basis of Stereotypic Judgments," by D. L. Hamilton and R. K. Gifford, 1976, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 12*(4), pp. 392–407.

Stereotype Content: Accurate and Always Harmful?

Although research has traditionally focused on the inaccuracy of stereotypes, Lee Jussim and his coworkers (2015) contend that their review of studies examining stereotype accuracy suggests that it is false to characterize stereotypes as inherently inaccurate. Consider for example gender: men and women are stereotyped as being very different on numerous cognitive skills, personality traits, and social behaviors. On average, women do tend to think and behave in ways reflecting a higher care-focused moral orientation than do men, d = –.28 (Hyde, 2005). In contrast, men are more likely to engage in more physically aggressive behaviors than women (meta effect size d ranges from .33 to .84). Yet, across the hundreds of studies that have compared men and women on a wide variety of traits and behaviors, 78% of these comparisons find effect sizes indicating either no

differences or only small differences. Indeed, there is more variation within a gender than there is between women and men. What this means is that our stereotypes about gender are exaggerations of the differences between the two sexes (Ellemers, 2018).

In Chapter 4, (section 4.3b) we reviewed Social Role Theory (Eagly 1987, 1996), which argues that men's and women's different social roles in society have resulted in different perceptions of their behaviors and traits. For example, women are more likely to work in occupations that involve nurturing traits, such as being a teacher, nurse, or day care provider. Likewise, men have historically been more likely to work in occupations involving assertive traits such as being a physician, manager, or police officer. Stereotypes are thought to have some degree of accuracy in describing social groups in society, because they are derived from people's observations of these different social roles (Keoning & Eagly, 2014). Yet people tend to generalize from these observed behaviors and traits to the individual group members' often diverse personalities, which can lead to mistaken perceptions. Thus, stereotyping reflects an overgeneralization and doesn't allow for individual variation. Interestingly, as women and men's occupational roles have shifted over time, especially with more women entering traditionally masculine fields, gender stereotypes have also changed to reflect these evolving social roles. For example, as the proportion of women in science careers has increased, there has been a corresponding decrease in gender stereotypes about women in these professions (Miller et al., 2015, 2018).

Is there anything problematic about stereotypes that assign seemingly positive traits to people? For example, commonly accepted stereotypes suggest that older people are wise, Asians are good at math, and people who are obese are happy-go-lucky. Aren't these positive traits beneficial to those who are perceived in this manner? A wide range of empirical research indicates that these so-called positive stereotypes often have negative counterpoints to them (Siy & Cheryan 2016). For example, in many countries, women are described more positively than are men, a cultural belief known as the "women are wonderful effect" (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994; Krys et al., 2018). The problem with characterizing women as "the fairer sex" is that there is an implication that while women are "friendlier" and "nicer" than men, they need "strong" and "dominant" men to protect them. Consistent with this assessment, research conducted in 44 cultures found that this "women are wonderful effect" is a much more common belief in cultures where women have low social status than it is in cultures where men's and women's social status is relatively equal (Kay & Jost, 2003). This is just one example of how seemingly positive stereotypes can be used to justify societal inequality.

Media commentators in the United States often use the terms "red" and "blue" to refer to perceived cultural differences in America and American politics. Why might the increased use of these terms increase prejudice and conflict between political groups in America?

Stereotypes are used more often when we first meet people about whom we know very little. As we get to know a person, we tend to rely less on our stereotypes and more on what we have learned about them as individuals (Jussim et al., 2015). In many ways, stereotypes are like any other heuristic; they are mental shortcuts we use to make quick judgments when we lack cognitive resources or have little motivation to be accurate in our impressions. However, like all heuristics, they can easily lead to inaccurate assessments.

6.1b Prejudice Is an Attitude and Discrimination Is an Action.

The type of shared social beliefs that some Americans have toward immigrants can create a psychological climate that leads to prejudice and discrimination (Jackson, 2011). Yet what is prejudice, and how is it different from discrimination?

Prejudice is attitudes toward members of specific groups that directly or indirectly suggest they deserve an inferior social status (Glick & Hilt, 2000). Prejudice can be either explicit or implicit. **Explicit prejudice** involves consciously held prejudicial attitudes toward a group, while **implicit prejudice** involves unconsciously held prejudicial attitudes. Explicit prejudice is best assessed by directly asking people about their attitudes toward a certain group of people (Axt, 2018), whereas implicit prejudice is assessed using various techniques, including the Implicit Association Test and brain-imaging technology (see Chapter 2, section 2.2b).

> "The whole world is festering with unhappy souls: The French hate the Germans, the Germans hate the Poles; Italians hate Yugoslavs, South Africans hate the Dutch; And I don't like anybody very much!"
>
> —Sheldon Harnick, American songwriter, born 1924
> from *Merry Little Minuet*[1]

What is the difference between implicit stereotyping and implicit prejudice?

Just as people can have differing explicit and implicit attitudes toward something (see Chapter 5, section 5.1b), they can also have differing explicit and implicit prejudices toward a social group (Devine, 1989; Devine et al., 1991). People with low explicit prejudice but high implicit prejudice toward a specific group may not be aware of their negative bias, but when they do realize that they have this implicit prejudice it may cause them to experience guilt and even shame. For example, you might strongly endorse egalitarian values and think that you do not harbor any anti-immigrant or racist attitudes. However, upon meeting a new immigrant to your city, you may have an automatic negative reaction to the person, reflecting your implicit prejudice. Such sudden awareness of a previously unnoticed prejudice may well motivate you to try to control your implicit prejudice, perhaps by reaffirming your egalitarian beliefs. Individuals who respond to their implicit prejudices in this manner are referred to as having *high internal motivation to control prejudice*. Yet it is also possible that you may not experience any guilt when an implicit bias is activated, and therefore, you are unlikely to be motivated to control or modify your initial reactions. Those who respond to their implicit prejudices in this manner are referred to as having *low internal motivation to control prejudice*.

Implicit prejudice appears to have neurological underpinnings, meaning that it activates specific brain regions associated with threat and fear reactions. In studying implicit racial prejudice, researchers often first use the Implicit Association Test to identify white individuals with high implicit yet low explicit prejudice toward African Americans and then use functional magnetic resonance imaging to scan their brains as they are shown photos of familiar and unfamiliar black and white faces (Amodio & Lieberman, 2009). As depicted in Figure 6.2, these studies find that unfamiliar black faces are much more likely than unfamiliar white faces to activate the *amygdala* in both the right and left cerebral hemispheres and the *anterior cingulate* in the frontal lobes. These brain structures are involved in arousal and emotional learning and play a crucial role in detecting threat and triggering fear (Phelps et al., 2000). No heightened amygdala and cingulate activity occurs when these high implicit/low explicit prejudiced participants view *familiar* black faces. These findings suggest that, despite not consciously reporting any negative racial attitudes toward African Americans, implicitly prejudiced whites perhaps unknowingly experience heightened arousal associated with some level of anxiety and negativity toward blacks. Similar findings have also been obtained from African American students when they viewed photos of white faces (Hart et al., 2000).

prejudice
Attitudes toward members of specific groups that directly or indirectly suggest they deserve an inferior social status

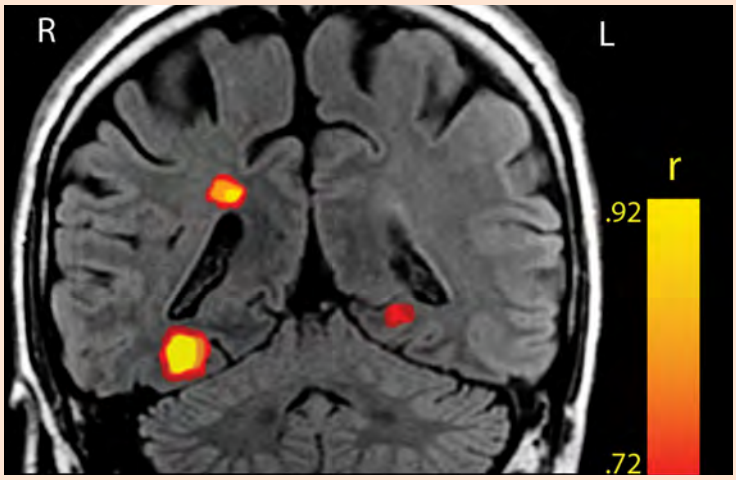
explicit prejudice
Prejudicial attitudes that are consciously held, even if they are not publicly expressed

implicit prejudice
Unconsciously held prejudicial attitudes

1 From "Merry Little Minuet," words and music by Sheldon Harnick. Copyright© 1958 by Alley Music Corp. and Bug Music-Trio Music Company. Copyright Renewed; International Copyright Secured. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission: Reprinted by Permission of Hal Leonard LLC. Copyright©1958 Williamson Music. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission of Mayerling Productions Ltd., administered by Williamson Music, A Division of Rodgers & Hammerstein: An Imagem Company.

FIGURE 6.2 Measuring Implicit Prejudice Using Brain Scans

When white participants with high scores on an implicit measure of racial prejudice (but low explicit prejudice scores) were shown photos of familiar and unfamiliar black and white faces, the unfamiliar black faces were much more likely than the unfamiliar white faces to activate brain regions associated with arousal and emotional responses and the brain's "alarm" system for threat, pain, and danger (Phelps et al., 2000). What implications does the existence of implicit prejudice have for attempts at reducing intergroup hostility?



Source: Adapted from "Performance on Indirect Measures of Race Evaluation Predicts Amygdala Activation," by E. A. Phelps et al., 2000, *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience, 12*(5), pp. 729–738, with permission by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In general, research suggests that implicit prejudice is more stable, enduring, and difficult to change than explicit prejudice (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001). Fortunately, some research suggests that, although it is not easy, implicit prejudices can be modified with awareness, motivation, and effort (Forscher et al., 2017). Later in this chapter we will further explore ways in which both stereotypes and prejudices can be modified.

As we well know, attitudes often trigger predictable behavior, and the same is true for the various denigrating attitudes people develop for specific groups. **Discrimination** is a negative and/or patronizing action toward members of specific groups. Disliking, disrespecting, or resenting people because of their group membership are examples of prejudice. Physically attacking them or failing to hire them for jobs because of their group membership are examples of discrimination. A substantial body of research indicates that people who are motivated to express their ethnic prejudices are also more likely to support policies and political candidates that target minority groups and engage in discriminatory behaviors, such as hate crimes and hate speech (Forscher et al., 2015). Yet, as we learned in Chapter 5, behavior does not always follow attitude. Similarly, discrimination is not an inevitable result of prejudice. For example, students with strong antigay attitudes might not act on their prejudice if the college campus climate strongly prohibits such expressions or is supportive of gay rights. In this case, the subjective norm (see Chapter 5, section 5.3d) significantly shapes students' behavior on campus. It is also true that people who are not prejudiced may still engage in *institutional discrimination* by carrying out the discriminatory guidelines of institutions. For instance, due to state immigration laws, police officers in Georgia can demand at traffic stops that people of Hispanic descent show documentation of their citizenship, while not making similar demands of drivers whose facial features fit the European

discrimination
Negative and/or patronizing action toward members of specific groups

American prototype. In enforcing this law, officers with no anti-immigrant biases are still practicing discrimination.

6.1c There Are Three Basic Forms of Prejudice.

Peter Glick and Susan Fiske (2001b) propose that there are three basic forms of prejudice that account for the different ways in which groups are perceived and treated. According to their **Stereotype Content Model**, which form of prejudice is directed toward a particular group is determined by two dimensions: perceptions of the group's warmth and competence. Recall, warmth and competence are also two primary dimensions along which we form impressions of individuals (Chapter 4, section 4.3d).

Warmth refers to the extent to which the target group is perceived as being trustworthy and friendly (Fiske, 2018; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Groups who are seen as cooperative with mainstream society are perceived as high in warmth while groups who are perceived as competing with mainstream society are perceived as low in warmth. Competence refers to the extent to which the target group is perceived as capable and their degree of assertiveness. Groups having high social status are generally viewed as possessing high competence, while groups low in social status are perceived as possessing low competence. The value of the Stereotype Content Model is that it highlights how our stereotypes about groups along these two dimensions can translate into emotional reactions that create different forms of prejudice (Fiske, 2018).

As depicted in Table 6.1, groups perceived as being relatively low in both warmth and competence are likely to become targets of *contemptuous prejudice*, characterized by exclusively negative attitudes, such as disrespect, disgust, resentment, and hostility. Contemptuous prejudice is most people's prototype for prejudice because it is characterized by uniformly negative emotions and attitudes; it most closely fits the traditional definition of prejudice (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). The blatant prejudices often expressed toward poor whites, poor blacks, homeless people, obese individuals, welfare recipients, lesbians and gay men, and low-skilled immigrants are examples of contemptuous prejudice.

Stereotype Content Model
A theory that the form of prejudice directed toward a particular group is determined by perceptions of the group's warmth and competence

TABLE 6.1 Stereotype Content Model and 3 Forms of Prejudice

	High Warmth	Low Warmth
High Competence	*No Prejudice*	*Envious Prejudice*
Negative Emotions	None	Envy, fear, resentment, hostility
Positive Emotions	Respect, admiration, affection	Grudging admiration of abilities
Behavior	Defer	Avoid, exclude, segregate, exterminate
Common Targets	Dominant groups perceived as "contributors": middle-class people, white people, Christians, heterosexuals	Jews, Asians, feminists, rich people, female professionals, black professionals
Low Competence	*Paternalistic Prejudice*	*Contemptuous Prejudice*
Negative Emotions	Disrespect, condescension	Disrespect, disgust, resentment, hostility
Positive Emotions	Patronizing affection, pity, liking	None
Behavior	Personal intimacy, but role segregation	Avoid, exclude, segregate, exterminate
Common Targets	The elderly, the disabled, traditional women, adolescents and young adults	Poor people, homeless people, obese persons, welfare recipients, Muslims, lesbians and gay men, illegal immigrants

Adapted from "Sacrificial Lambs Dressed in Wolves' Clothing: Envious Prejudice, Ideology, and the Scapegoating of Jews," by P. Glick, 2002, in *Understanding Genocide: The Social Psychology of the Holocaust*, edited by L. S. Newman & R. Erber, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 113–142.

In contrast to this easily recognized intergroup hostility, the other two forms of prejudice each represent a type of *ambivalent prejudice* because they consist of both negative and positive attitudes. For instance, groups perceived as low in warmth yet high in competence are targeted with *envious prejudice*, in which feelings of resentment and hostility are mixed with fear and envy. These groups are resented for their status. So-called model minorities—such as Jews and Asian Americans—are often targets of envious prejudice (Lin et al., 2005). Similarly, the mixed evaluations of feminists, black professionals, and people in the upper classes of society are often rooted in envious prejudice.

Finally, groups perceived as high in warmth but low in competence are targets of *paternalistic prejudice*. The ambivalent attitudes expressed in this form of prejudice involve patronizing affection and pity mixed with condescension and disrespect. The elderly, the disabled, housewives, women in general, and adolescents and young adults are often the targets of paternalistic prejudice.

Section Summary

- Stereotypes are cognitive schemas about groups and can be explicit or implicitly held.
- Two qualities of stereotyped thinking are that it is fast and efficient, but often faulty.
- The outgroup homogeneity effect is the tendency to perceive people in outgroups as more similar to one another than ingroup members.
- Stereotypes are maintained through illusory correlations and subtyping.
- Prejudice involves attitudes toward members of specific groups that directly or indirectly suggest that they deserve an inferior social status.
- Explicit prejudices are consciously held, while implicit prejudices are unconsciously held.
- Discrimination is a negative and often patronizing action toward members of specific groups.
- The form of prejudice (envious, contemptuous, or paternalistic prejudice) directed toward a group is determined by their perceived warmth and competence.

6.2 Who Are Common Targets of Intolerance?

In all societies, some social groups are valued while other groups are stigmatized. A **stigma** is an attribute that discredits a person or a social group in the eyes of others (Shana & van Laar, 2006; Ullah, 2011). Stigmatized persons are not simply different from others; society also judges their difference to be discrediting. Individual members of society may vary in how they personally respond to a particular stigma, but everyone shares the knowledge that the characteristic in question—the "mark"—is negatively valued; having it "spoils" the person's full humanity (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Being marginalized because of a stigma induces feelings of threat and a loss of social power; the stigma engulfs the person's entire identity (Oswald, 2007). It becomes a central trait for that person (see Chapter 4, section 4.3e), shaping the meaning of all other traits.

stigma
An attribute that serves to discredit a person in the eyes of others

In his classic monograph, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Erving Goffman (1963) distinguished the following three different categories of stigma:

1. *Tribal identities*: race, sex, ethnicity, religion, and national origin
2. *Blemishes of individual character:* mental disorders, addictions, homosexuality, and criminality
3. *Abominations of the body:* physical deformities, physical disabilities, diseases, and obesity

(iStock)

Do you have an attribute that discredits you in the eyes of others? Members of stigmatized groups face social challenges that nonstigmatized individuals do not encounter.

The concept of stigma is related to prejudice and discrimination because people who are stigmatized are almost always the targets of intolerance, which can be either subtle or blatant. While anyone can be stereotyped, research indicates that members of stigmatized groups are more frequently stereotyped than members of nonstigmatized groups (Adams et al., 2006). In one such investigation, Jonathan Cook and his colleagues (2011) conducted a 7-day experiential-sampling study in which they measured stigmatized and nonstigmatized individuals' reactions to being stereotyped while they engaged in normal daily activities. Some of the participants were members of stigmatized groups in American society (African Americans, gay men, and lesbians), while other participants were members of the dominant group in the country (heterosexual Caucasian Americans). As expected, participants who were members of stigmatized groups reported more frequent stereotyping than did nonstigmatized participants. For members of all groups, being stereotyped was associated with feeling more socially anxious and inhibited in "being oneself," as well as feeling low in social power. In essence, rather than feeling in control of the situation, stereotyped people felt like they were controlled by the situation and by the stereotyped role they had been cast into.

Although many societal groups fall into one of the stigma categories, let us examine examples from three different categories that are of particular importance in contemporary society. First we will examine intergroup intolerance associated with race-based and sex-based tribal identity stigmas, then we will analyze intolerance based on perceived blemishes of individual character (homosexuality/bisexuality and mental illness) and perceived abominations of the body (obesity).

6.2a Race-Based Appearance Cues Can Trigger Discrimination.

Prejudice and discrimination based on a person's racial background is called **racism**. Blatantly negative stereotypes based on a belief in the racial superiority of one's own group coupled with open opposition to racial equality characterize *old-fashioned racism*. Old-fashioned racism involves contemptuous prejudice and often leads to movement against the despised group, including physical violence, hate crimes, and hate speech.

Although old-fashioned racism is far less common in contemporary American society than a generation ago, racial stereotypes continue to provide fuel for volatile expressions of prejudice and discrimination. Due to socialization about what constitutes different racial categories, a person's skin color and facial characteristics (such as the shape of the eyes, nose, and lips) are physical features that often automatically activate racial stereotypes among people of many different ethnicities in the United States—and in a number of countries around the world (Maddox, 2004). When such race-based stereotype activation occurs, people generally associate more positive personality traits

racism
Prejudice and discrimination based on a person's racial background

(AP Photo/Adam Nadel)

The mistaken shooting of Amadou Diallo by New York City police officers is widely considered an example of the sometimes deadly consequences of racial profiling. Was his killing caused by implicit racism?

with those with lighter skin and Eurocentric facial features than with those with darker skin and Afrocentric features (Blair et al., 2002; Harvey et al., 2017). Consequently, African Americans with more "Afrocentric" facial features (features typically associated with African Americans) are more likely to experience race-based negative stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination (Hunter, 1998; Telles & Marguia, 1990). For example, Jennifer Eberhardt and her colleagues (2006) found that black defendants in murder cases were more likely to receive the death sentence if they had stereotypically Afrocentric features than those with less Afrocentric features. These findings suggest that physical appearance serves as a cue to activate people's race-based stereotypes, and thereby, influence their social judgments and actions.

The negative effects of automatically stereotyping people with Afrocentric facial features can have real-world, life-and-death consequences. For example, around midnight on February 4, 1999, four white New York City police officers were looking for a rape suspect in the Bronx when they saw 22-year-old Amadou Diallo—a West African immigrant—standing in his apartment building doorway. Stopping their car, they told Diallo to "freeze," but then they saw him reach into his pants pocket. The officers drew their pistols and within 5 seconds had fired a total of 41 shots at the unarmed Diallo, 19 of which found their mark, killing him. The object that Diallo was reaching for was his wallet, which contained his ID. The officers were tried for murder but were acquitted of all charges on the grounds that, although they made a mistake, their actions were justified (Fritsch, 2000). Similar events continue to occur across the United States annually, with court verdicts often in favor of police officers' fatal actions.

Motivated by this high-profile case and the resulting charges of racism and racial profiling by law enforcement officers, Keith Payne (2001) conducted a series of studies to understand how the mere presence of a black face could cause people to misidentify harmless objects as weapons. In his research, Payne showed pictures of guns or tools to white participants and asked them to classify the objects as quickly as possible. Just prior to seeing an object, participants were primed by a brief presentation of either a white or a black face (see Figure 6.3). Results indicated that when a black face immediately preceded a tool, the tool was significantly more likely to be mistaken for a handgun compared with conditions in which the same tool was preceded with a white face. This stereotype difference emerged mainly when participants were required to react quickly, a condition that mimics the time pressure involved in real-world police confrontations like the Diallo shooting.

Subsequent studies have replicated and extended these findings to other ethnic minority groups, such as Muslims/Arabs and Turkish individuals (Essien et al., 2017). If a suspected criminal is an ethnic minority (versus white), people generally require less certainty that he is, in fact, holding a gun before they decide to shoot him (Greenwald et al., 2003; Ito et al., 2006; Essien et al., 2017; Mekawi & Bresin, 2015). This race-based bias has been found in both African American and white participants (Correll et al., 2002).

The rates of false shootings of black targets (versus white targets) is higher in states with permissive gun laws and in ethnically diverse cities where there is a larger proportion of nonwhite people (Mekawi & Bresin, 2015). Further, in different regions of the United States, the disproportionate use of lethal police force against blacks is associated with the average level of racial implicit bias in that region. For example, using data from a website (*Project Implicit*) that collects people's responses to the IAT, Eric Hehman

and his coworkers (2018) found that in regions of the United States where people have higher levels of implicit racial prejudice, there were significantly higher incidents of police officers using lethal force against African Americans than in regions with lower levels of implicit racial prejudice. The researchers also found that people's explicit racial prejudice was not associated with excessive force used by police. As you recall from our previous review of implicit prejudice (section 6.1b), when whites with high implicit but low explicit race prejudice see an unfamiliar black face, brain regions that trigger fear and threat responses are activated. Combined with the present results, this research suggests that simply seeing a black man may automatically trigger a fear response in police officers due to racial stereotypes. Further, under conditions that require quick and decisive action, this race-based response may result in police officers misperceiving harmless objects as weapons. This perceptual bias does not appear to be triggered by explicit racial prejudice, but rather, by the racial stereotypes that exist in our culture (Judd et al., 2004).

FIGURE 6.3 Race and the Misperception of Weapons

After being primed by black or white faces, white participants were shown pictures of guns or tools and asked to classify the objects (Payne, 2001). When participants were required to react quickly, they were more likely to misidentify tools as guns after being primed with black faces rather than with white faces. How does this research provide insight into police shootings of unarmed suspects in real-world confrontations?


(iStock)


(iStock)


(Dreamstime)


(Dreamstime)

Source: "Prejudice and Perception: The Role of Automatic and Controlled Processes in Misperceiving a Weapon," by B. K. Payne, 2001, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*(2), pp. 181–192.

The tendency for racial biases to shape quick decisions—and even to alter what we think we have seen—is due to the fact that negative racial stereotypes are often readily accessible from long-term memory. For example, Vaughn Becker and his coworkers (2010) asked participants to view a white face and a black face—one angry and one neutral—for one-tenth of a second and then briefly distracted them by instructing them to add two numbers that had accompanied the faces (see Figure 6.4). When later asked to describe what they could recall about the faces they had briefly seen, participants' memories reflected racial bias: They were almost twice as likely to falsely recall anger on a black face than to falsely recall anger on a white face.

FIGURE 6.4 Racial Biases Can Shape Our Social Perceptions.

When briefly shown a black face and a white face, one neutral and the other angry, participants more often recalled the black rather than the white face as angry (Becker et al., 2010).

The findings reviewed here suggest that there are very real, and often deadly, consequences facing ethnic minorities in our society that are not faced by whites. Is it possible that police training could reduce or even eliminate this race-based shooter bias by teaching officers to focus on the presence of a weapon during confrontations rather than fixating on the target's race? Joshua Correll and his coworkers (2007) tested this possibility in a series of studies comparing police officers to similarly matched community members. Results indicated that the police officers were significantly faster in correctly identifying the presence of a weapon, and were less "trigger-happy" when the target was black, than other community members. However, the police officers still manifested racial bias in the speed with which they made shoot/don't shoot decisions: They were much faster in accurately responding when the targets were armed blacks or unarmed whites than when the targets were unarmed blacks or armed whites. Additional research indicates that officers from various ethnic groups who have had positive personal contact with blacks are better able to reduce the shooter bias with simulation training than are officers who have had negative experiences with blacks (Peruche & Plant, 2006). Together, these studies inform us that police training can reduce race-based shooter bias, but it does not eliminate it.

6.2b Modern Racism Is More Subtle than Openly Hostile.

According to a 2018 national poll, 48% of respondents indicated that prejudice against minority groups in the United States is a "very serious problem" (Malloy & Rubenstein, 2018). This reflects an increase from 2016 when 41% of respondents reported that prejudice was a very serious problem. Americans who are more likely to believe that prejudice is a very serious problem are college educated, women, Democrats, and young adults. Comparisons across ethnic groups find that 83% of black and 73% of Hispanic respondents believe that prejudice against minority groups is a very serious problem, but only 39% of white respondents reported the same belief. People who are knowledgeable about the history of racism in the United States are more likely to acknowledge that racism is currently a problem (Bonam et al., 2019). Additional survey studies of African Americans find that more than half report experiencing at least 13 racial hassles per year (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Most racial hassles involve brief interactions with strangers in which

respondents were ignored, overlooked, not given service, treated rudely, or perceived as a threat. Other minorities in the United States report comparable negative experiences (Park et al., 2009). What are some of the underlying causes of this subtler form of racism?

Aversive Racism

At one time in the United States, openly expressed "old-fashioned" racism was prevalent—lynchings, segregated schools, and denial of voting rights were regular occurrences. However, racism today is often much less blatant in its expression. In studying these more contemporary manifestations of racism, most of the research during the past 40 years has examined white Americans' racial attitudes (Pearson et al., 2009). Researchers such as Samuel Gaertner and John Dovidio (2000) and Irwin Katz and R. Glen Hass (1988) assert that the fundamental nature of white Americans' current attitudes toward many racial groups—but especially toward African Americans—is complex and conflicted. They contend that on the one hand, the majority of whites hold to egalitarian values that stress equal treatment of all people and often experience a sense of collective guilt with the realization that their ingroup has harmed and mistreated other social groups in the past. On the other hand, because of exposure to unflattering stereotypes and media images depicting African Americans as lazy, unmotivated, and violent, and due to simple ingroup-outgroup biases, these researchers believe that many whites come to possess negative feelings and beliefs about blacks that directly contradict their egalitarian values. (Dovidio et al., 2017).

(a katz / Shutterstock)

The 2014 police-shooting death of unarmed teen Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, was perceived by many people as a chilling example of the extreme danger that young black men face from America's criminal justice system—a danger not shared nearly to the same degree by young white men. How might such social perceptions shape people's racial attitudes?

According to this perspective on contemporary racism, the negative feelings engendered by whites' perceptions of disadvantaged racial groups do not encompass anger or contempt, as in old-fashioned racism; however, they do include uneasiness and even fear. Due to the fact that an egalitarian value system plays an important role in many white Americans' self-concepts, this perspective assumes that they typically do not even acknowledge to themselves—much less to others—that they have these negative feelings (Dovidio et al., 2017). This is why the combination of both positive and negative beliefs and feelings about a particular racial group is called **aversive racism**.

Because aversive racists think of themselves as both egalitarian and nonracist, they do not act in racist ways when it would be clearly identified as such (Dovidio et al. 2017). Instead, their behavior is more subtle, indirect, and expressed only when it could be attributed to something other than racism. For example, in a study of employment decisions, white college students evaluated a job applicant who was either black or white. Furthermore, the applicant was described as either highly qualified, poorly qualified, or had ambiguous qualifications for the position (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Only when the applicant had ambiguous qualifications did the college students show a preference for the white applicant over the black applicant.

Contemporary racism theories suggest that most white Americans are motivated to maintain an unprejudiced self-image and, in part, they are able to do so because they define racism as engaging in overtly racist acts (O'Brien et al., 2010). Holding to this narrow definition, modern-day racism is expressed in ways that can be justified as something other than racism (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Vasquez et al., 2019). For example, white Americans who are high in anti-black prejudice are more likely to defend highly negative speech directed towards a black target as simply being an expression of free speech than are white Americans who are low in antiblack prejudice (Roussos &

aversive racism
Attitudes toward members of a racial group that incorporate both egalitarian social values and negative emotions

Dovidio, 2018; White & Crandall, 2017). However, these same Americans with high levels of antiblack prejudice do not similarly defend highly negative speech directed towards their white coworkers or the police. In other words, for high-prejudice people, endorsement of free-speech values appears to be reserved only for defending antiblack speech by fellow whites. Such selective endorsement of free-speech values is just one example of how aversive racism might be expressed, allowing high-prejudice people to support antiblack speech under the guise of something other than racist beliefs. This further highlights that in modern society, racism continues in a subtle, indirect manner and can be more difficult to identify and address.

"He flattered himself on being a man without any prejudices; and this pretension itself is a very great prejudice."

—Anatole France, French novelist and poet, 1844–1924

"A gender line . . . helps to keep women not on a pedestal, but in a cage."

—Ruth Bader Ginsburg, US Supreme Court judge, b. 1933

6.2c Sexism Has Both a Hostile and a Benevolent Component.

Another destructive form of intergroup intolerance is **sexism**, which is any attitude, action, or institutional structure that subordinates a person because of their sex or gender (Swim & Hyers, 2009). Sexism around the globe primarily focuses on the prejudice and discrimination that males direct at females. This is because virtually all societies in the world are *patriarchal*, meaning that the social organization is such that males dominate females (Neely, 2008). While old-fashioned sexism, much like old-fashioned racism reflects overt hostility and male dominance over women, much of modern-day sexism reflects a more subtle and ambivalent attitude towards women.

(Shutterstock)

How have patriarchal beliefs fostered the expression of sexism in society?

Ambivalent Sexism

Peter Glick and Susan Fiske (1996, 2001a, 2001c) contend that modern-day sexism toward women consists of both positive (benevolence) and negative (hostile) attitudes rather than uniform dislike. These two components constitute **ambivalent sexism**. *Hostile sexism* reflects overt hostility and derogatory attitudes towards women and is what most people typically think of as sexism. In contrast, *benevolent sexism* reflects a paternalistic attitude towards women that suggests that women are "warm and wonderful" people who are in need of male protection. While on the surface this attitude seems positive, it also reflects the belief that women are inferior and need to be cared for, much like children. Although these two attitudes of hostility and benevolence seem to be diametrically opposed to one another, research indicates that they, in fact, are *positively* correlated. In other words, individuals who endorse hostile sexist attitudes also tend to endorse benevolent sexist attitudes.

sexism
Any attitude, action, or institutional structure that subordinates a person because of her or his sex or gender

ambivalent sexism
Sexism directed against women based on both positive and negative attitudes (hostility and benevolence) rather than on uniform dislike

According to Glick and Fiske, whether someone who is ambivalently sexist responds to a woman with hostility or benevolence depends on the "type" of woman she is. Ambivalently sexist individuals are more likely to subtype women, and their behavior is determined by these subtypes (Glick et al., 1997). As you recall from the Stereotype Content Model (section 6.1c), contemptuous prejudice is directed at women who are perceived as having high status and low warmth (feminists and career women). These are women who are perceived by ambivalently sexist individuals as having stepped out of their traditional gender role and are attempting to change the status quo by gaining power over men. Thus, those who are ambivalently sexist direct hostility as a punishment towards these women. Also consistent with the Stereotype Content Model, women who are perceived as having low status and high warmth (housewives, mothers) are the

recipients of paternalistic prejudice. Ambivalently sexist individuals express benevolence—in the form of restrictive protection—toward these women as a reward for them "staying in their place." Thus, ambivalently sexist individuals respond differently (with hostility or warmth) to women based on whether they are perceived to be conforming or rebelling against traditional gender roles.

> "The prejudice against color, of which we hear so much, is no stronger than that against sex. It is produced by the same cause, and manifested very much in the same way. The Negro's skin and the woman's sex are both prima facie evidence that they were intended to be in subjection to the white Saxon man."
>
> —Elizabeth Cady Stanton, US feminist and abolitionist, 1815–1902

A field experiment tested Glick and Fiske's theory by having female confederates pose as either job applicants or customers at retail stores while wearing or not wearing padding that made them appear pregnant (Hebl et al., 2007). How people responded to the confederates was predicted by whether they conformed to traditional gender roles. Store employees behaved more rudely toward the female job applicants when they looked pregnant versus not pregnant, but employees were friendlier toward the female customers when they looked pregnant versus not pregnant. Further, the "pregnant" confederates encountered greater hostility from both men and women when applying for masculine compared to feminine jobs.

("Hillary Clinton (24266530879)," by Gage Skidmore, available under a CC by SA 2.0 license via Wikimedia.)

How might some Americans' negative reactions to Hillary Clinton as a politician be explained by ambivalent sexism and the belief that she has a desire for power?

A similar set of experimental studies examined the effect of power-seeking intentions on backlash toward women in political office (Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). Results indicated that both men and women were less likely to vote for a female politician if they believed she had aspirations for power. No similar negative effects were found for male politicians who sought power. These results suggest that a female politician's career progress may be hindered by the belief that she seeks power, because such desire violates the feminine gender role and, thus, elicits interpersonal penalties. Together, these findings of benevolent responses toward women who conform to traditional gender roles and hostility toward those who seek nontraditional roles demonstrate how sexist beliefs foster and maintain sexual inequality in the workforce. Not surprisingly, women who experience benevolently sexist events, especially paternalistic behaviors, tend to experience increased self-doubt, feelings of incompetence, and worse performance in stereotypical masculine tasks (Gervais & Vescio, 2012; Oswald et al., 2019).

Shouldn't people experience considerable cognitive dissonance if they simultaneously believe that women are inferior, ungrateful, sexual teasers who are also refined, morally superior goddesses? Based on your understanding of cognitive dissonance theory (Chapter 5, section 5.3a), how might ambivalent sexists avoid feeling conflicted about their positive and negative beliefs and attitudes toward women?

The degree to which ambivalent sexist views are held varies across cultures and is related to cultural differences in gender equality (Glick et al., 2004; Sakalli-Ugurlu & Glick, 2003). As demonstrated in the pregnant-nonpregnant field experiment, although benevolent sexist beliefs lead people to express many positive attitudes about women, they share common assumptions with hostile sexism—namely, that women belong in restricted domestic roles and are the "weaker" sex. Both beliefs serve to justify male social dominance (Feather, 2004). For example, in Turkey, Brazil, and Japan, men and women who endorse hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs toward women justify and also minimize domestic violence against women; they are also more likely to blame women for triggering the violence against them (Russell & Trig, 2004; Yamawaki et al., 2009). Spend a few minutes completing the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory in *Self/Social Connection Exercise 6.1.*

> "The word 'demand' is a tricky word when used by our gender. When used by men, it's part of their vernacular."
>
> —Robin Wright, b. 1966, American actress and director

Self/Social Connection Exercise 6.1

What Is Your Degree of Ambivalent Sexism Toward Women?

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Instructions

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale:

0 = Disagree strongly
1 = Disagree somewhat
2 = Disagree slightly
3 = Agree slightly
4 = Agree somewhat
5 = Agree strongly

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."
3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily be rescued before men.*
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks as being sexist.
5. Women are too easily offended.
6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.*
7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.*
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
13. Men are complete without women.*
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.*
19. Women, compared with men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.*
22. Women, as compared with men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Scoring Instructions

Before summing either scale, first reverse the scores for the "*" items:

0 = 5, 1 = 4, 2 = 3, 3 = 2, 4 = 1, 5 = 0.

Hostile Sexism Scale Score: Add items 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21.

The average score for men is about 29, while the average score for women is about 20.

Higher scores indicate greater degrees of hostile sexism.

Benevolent Sexism Scale Score: Add items 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22.

The average score for men is about 28, while the average score for women is about 24.

Higher scores indicate greater degrees of benevolent sexism.

Total Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Score: Sum the Hostile Sexism Scale score and the Benevolent Sexism Scale score.

The average score for men is about 57, while the average score for women is about 44.

Higher scores indicate greater degrees of ambivalent sexism.

6.2d Intolerance Based on Weight, Sexual Orientation, and Mental Illness Is Often Accepted.

Aversive racism and ambivalent sexism both involve the expression of positive and negative attitudes toward the target group. Yet there are other social groups within society that arouse little positive feelings in those who are biased against them. Instead, these groups are more likely to arouse only feelings of revulsion and contempt. Three examples of such contemptuous prejudice involve weight, sexual orientation, and mental illness.

Antifat Prejudice

Obese people in the United States are subjected to disdain and discrimination in their daily lives (Crandall et al., 2009; Diedrichs & Puhl, 2017). Such prejudice is substantially due to the fact that most people view obesity as a condition that is controllable (Vartanian & Smyth, 2013). Thus, heavy individuals also are viewed as weak willed, lazy, and self-indulgent (Puhl & Brownell, 2006). In this sense, their stigma involves not only an "abomination of the body" but also a "blemish of individual character." Antifat prejudice is more pronounced in individualist cultures like the United States and Australia compared with collectivist cultures like Mexico and India, partly because individualists are more likely than collectivists to hold people accountable for personal outcomes (Crandall et al., 2001).

The prejudice and discrimination faced by obese people permeates both their personal and professional lives, and also negatively affects their physical and mental health (Schafer & Ferraro, 2011). They are less likely to be chosen as friends and romantic partners than normal-weight persons, and they are treated in a less friendly manner by healthcare workers (Harvey & Hill, 2001; Hebl et al., 2003). The stigma of obesity is especially strong for women. One study even found that heavier college women were less likely than normal-weight women to receive financial assistance from their own parents (Crandall, 1995). In the job market, obese individuals are discriminated against at every stage of employment, from being hired to being fired (Agerström & Rooth, 2011; Muennig, 2008).

Obesity is such a strong stigmatizing characteristic in our culture that it even affects how people evaluate individuals who are merely seen with obese persons. Michelle Hebl and Laura Mannix (2003) found that an average-weight male job applicant was rated more negatively when seen with an overweight woman prior to a job interview than when seen with a woman of normal weight. Antifat prejudice is so pervasive in our society that even children evaluate normal-weight peers more negatively when they are

seen with an obese child (Penny & Haddock, 2007). This tendency for individuals who are associated with stigmatized people to also face negative evaluations from others is known as **courtesy stigma** (Goffman, 1963). The threat of negative evaluation causes many nonstigmatized people to avoid those who are stigmatized (Swim et al., 1999).

In the United States and Canada, antifat attitudes are stronger among men, whites, and people with traditional gender roles compared with women, blacks, and individuals with nontraditional gender roles (Hebl & Turchin, 2005; Puhl et al., 2008). One explanation for these differences is that the female thinness standard in North American culture is most closely associated with white, heterosexual beauty ideals that are closely aligned with traditional gender roles (see Chapter 9, section 9.3b). Antifat prejudice can exert a substantial toll upon the well-being of overweight individuals, who often internalize these negative attitudes and experience depression, negative body esteem, and general negative self-esteem (Puhl & Heuer, 2010).

("Kira Nerusskaya 2," by David Shankbone, available under a CC by SA 3.0 license via Wikimedia.)

Fat-acceptance movement advocates, such as documentary filmmaker Kira Nerusskaya, contend that TV shows like The Biggest Loser *perpetuate anti-fat prejudice because the objective of the show is to remove contestants from the stigmatized obese outgroup and into the "healthy" weight ingroup.*

A series of studies have found strong implicit antifat prejudice that is resistant to change, even among people with few explicit antifat attitudes—and even among individuals who were once overweight themselves (Schwartz et al., 2006; Wang et al., 2004). For example, Bethany Teachman and her coworkers (2003) found that even after informing people that obesity is mainly due to genetic factors, there was no significant reduction in their implicit fat bias. When these same individuals read stories of discrimination against obese persons designed to evoke empathy, diminished implicit bias was observed only among those who were overweight. This last finding may be important, given that self-blame and internalizing negative social messages are common in obese individuals. Reminding obese persons about antifat discrimination may promote ingroup support and help them develop a positive social identity (Saguy & Ward, 2011).

As previously discussed in Chapter 3, (section 3.2), being categorized as part of a stigmatized group is threatening to the self because self-concept consists not only of your individual attributes but also your identification with social groups. Thus, the problem faced by anyone categorized within a stigmatized group is how to create and maintain a positive sense of self (Major et al., 2012). In many industrialized societies, medical professionals and popular media strongly encourage obese people to improve their social standing—and health—by trying to remove themselves from the stigmatized fat category through dieting, exercise, and other weight-loss strategies, including surgical procedures such as gastric bypass or liposuction (Brochu et al., 2014).

In contrast to these widely promoted individual change strategies that stigmatize obesity, a growing number of obese individuals are focusing on collective change strategies to enhance fat people's feelings of self-worth and social status by both altering expanding cultural standards of what is an acceptable body size and by passing laws to prevent weight discrimination (Lindly et al., 2014; Nario-Redmond et al., 2013). Throughout North America and Europe, fat acceptance movements are increasingly using legal challenges and other political means to promote anti-size-discrimination policies and systemically advance fat acceptance (Fletcher, 2009). However, in the United States, there is little legal protection for individuals experiencing employment discrimination based on weight (Monahan et al., 2014). Furthermore, weight-based prejudice is positively associated with support for punitive public policies directed towards obese individuals (Berg et al., 2016). Thus, overweight individuals continue to experience discrimination in both the workforce and in their personal relationships, with little likelihood of change in the near future.

courtesy stigma
The tendency for individuals who are associated with stigmatized people to also face negative evaluations from others

Sexual Prejudice

Despite rigorous scientific studies finding no evidence of an association between homosexuality and psychopathology, many conservative religious and political organizations persist in stigmatizing lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, and transgender (LGBT) individuals as sexually deviant and mentally disturbed—and therefore less deserving of the same civil rights as heterosexual individuals (Herek & Garnets, 2007; Minton, 2002). This societal reaction is an example of stigma based on "blemishes of individual character," with nonheterosexual and transgender individuals being targets of a type of contemptuous prejudice (refer to section 6.1c) called **sexual prejudice**. Sexual prejudice refers to all negative attitudes based on sexual orientation, whether the target is homosexual, bisexual, or heterosexual (Herek & McLemore, 2013).

Prejudice and discrimination directed towards people because of their sexual orientation is extensive and ongoing. For example, Sabra Katz-Wise and Janet Hyde (2012) found that approximately 55% of lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) individuals experienced verbal harassment, 45% experienced sexual harassment, 28% experienced physical assault, and 44% reported discrimination. Prejudice directed towards people who are bisexual or transgender tends to be even more negative than that directed towards lesbians and gay men (Burke et al., 2017). Unfortunately, physical and verbal bullying is a far too common problem for LGBT students in school (Goodenow et al., 2016). These bullying experiences take a devastating toll on the victims' mental and physical health and on their academic achievement.

Social scientists often explain sexual prejudice as being caused and fueled by **heterosexism**, which is a system of cultural beliefs, values, and customs that exalts heterosexuality and denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any nonheterosexual form of behavior or identity (Fernald, 1995; Herek, 2004). Calling another person a derogatory name is certainly an example of heterosexism, but this cultural belief system also operates on a subtler level. Like the fish that doesn't realize it's wet, most people are so used to defining heterosexual behaviors as normal and natural that they cease to think of them as being a manifestation of sexuality. For instance, heterosexuals who wouldn't look twice at a man and woman holding hands, hugging, or even kissing in public often react very differently if the couple is of the same sex. Gay couples expressing affection in public are typically criticized for flaunting their sexuality. Even when they are not victims of openly blatant discrimination, gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered individuals often experience *interpersonal discrimination*, where they are treated in a less friendly manner and made to feel unwelcome or "invisible" in various social settings (Hebl et al., 2002).

> "All of us who are openly gay are living and writing the history of our movement. We are no more—and no less—heroic than the suffragists and abolitionists of the 19th century; and the labor organizers, Freedom Riders, Stonewall demonstrators, and environmentalists of the 20th century. We are ordinary people, living our lives, and trying as civil-rights activist Dorothy Cotton said, to 'fix what ain't right' in our society."
>
> —Senator Tammy Baldwin, US senator, b. 1962

Although many cultures can be characterized as heterosexist, people in those cultures who conform most strongly to socially conservative—and even racist and sexist—value systems are also those who hold extremely negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. In contrast to less-prejudiced individuals, people who express antigay attitudes tend to have the following characteristics:

1. Are male rather than female (Ratcliff et al., 2006)
2. Are racially prejudiced, sexist, and authoritarian (Case et al., 2008)
3. Are members of conservative religious organizations (Herek, 1987; Herek & Gonzalez-Rivera, 2006)
4. Hold traditional attitudes toward gender roles (Kite & Whitley, 1996)

sexual prejudice
Negative attitudes based on sexual orientation, whether the target is homosexual, bisexual, or heterosexual

heterosexism
A system of cultural beliefs, values, and customs that exalts heterosexuality and denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any nonheterosexual form of behavior or identity

5. Have friends and family who hold similarly negative attitudes (Franklin, 2000; Lehmiller et al., 2010)
6. Have had less personal contact with gay men or lesbians (Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2002; Vonofakou et al., 2007)

Why do heterosexual men have more negative attitudes than heterosexual women? Social scientists contend that this gender difference exists because many cultures emphasize the importance of heterosexuality in the male gender role in particular (Jellison et al., 2004). A defining characteristic of this *heterosexual masculinity* is to reject men who violate the heterosexual norm—namely, gay men. This is also why heterosexual men express more negative attitudes toward gay men than toward lesbians. They perceive a male transgression of the heterosexual norm to be a more serious violation than a female transgression. As we will discuss in Chapter 10 (section 10.3b), the fact that heterosexual male same-sex friendships are often lacking in emotional tenderness may be mainly due to concerns about not straying from the narrowly defined boundaries of heterosexual masculinity. This is especially true for men with strongly antigay attitudes (Devlin & Cowan, 1985).

Highlighting the important role that reference groups play in the formation of attitudes, research finds that people who hold strongly antigay attitudes also have friends who hold similar opinions (see Chapter 5, section 5.1c). Similarly, schools that have gay/straight alliances also have fewer bullying incidents, and LGBT students report feeling safer on campus (Ioverno et al., 2016). In recent years, there has also been a shift in institutional policies regarding support for same-sex marriage, which can foster more positive attitudes toward LGBT individuals. For example, following the United States Supreme Court decision allowing same-sex marriage, there was an increase in the perceived social norms supporting gay marriage (Tankard & Levy Paluck, 2017). This research demonstrates the importance of reference groups, whether it's peers in school or the larger cultural institutions, in changing attitudes towards stigmatized groups.

Try the following exercise. Listen to some of your favorite songs with lyrics involving romance. Do you tend to automatically imagine that the person singing the song is expressing his or her love for a person of the other sex? How do these reactions relate to heterosexism? Now, actively imagine that the song is about same-sex love. How do you react to these lyrics and any visual images that come to mind?

Although sexual prejudice is typically targeted at sexual minorities, heterosexual individuals are also at risk. Friends, family members, and "allies" who take a public stand against sexual prejudice often experience courtesy stigma. Heterosexual individuals can also become victims of sexual prejudice because of "mistaken identity." That is, due to the fact that sexual orientation is concealable, inferences are often made about people's sexual orientation based on the degree to which they deviate from traditional gender roles or gendered behavior (Majied, 2010; Poteat et al., 2007). For example, when heterosexual men hug other men in public outside the confines of a sporting event, they run the risk of being labeled "gay" and targeted for verbal and physical assault. However, when the social norms are nonprejudicial towards LGBT individuals, then heterosexual individuals' fear of "courtesy stigma" decreases (Cascio & Plant, 2016). This again demonstrates the power of nonprejudicial social norms in not only decreasing stigma for the LGBT community, but for heterosexual individuals as well.

Mental Illness Prejudice

All available evidence strongly indicates that people identified as having psychological disorders are often severely stigmatized in the United States and in other Western, African, and Asian cultures (Brohan et al., 2012; Edwards, 2014). In the United States, a national survey found that Americans perceived people with psychological disorders as dangerous and as less capable than the average person of handling their daily affairs

(Pescosolido et al., 1999). Such stigmatization is fostered and strengthened by television shows, movies, and news outlets that regularly portray people with often-unnamed mental illnesses as being dangerous or incompetent (Angermeyer & Matschinger, 1996). Indeed, one recent study found that the more often people watch television, the less accurate their knowledge is about schizophrenia and obsessive-compulsive disorder (Kimmerle & Cress, 2013). This widespread bias against individuals suffering from psychological disorders extends into our judicial system. Studies of court proceedings in both the United States and Canada find that judges often use and allow others to use language in their courtrooms that stigmatizes mental illness and those who suffer from psychological disorders (Black & Downie, 2013).

> "It wasn't easy telling my parents that I'm gay. I made my carefully worded announcement at Thanksgiving. I said, 'Mom, would you please pass the gravy to a homosexual.' Then my Aunt Lorraine piped in, 'Bob, you're gay. Are you seeing a psychiatrist?' I said, 'No, I'm seeing a lieutenant in the Navy.'"
>
> —Bob Smith, American comedian, b. 1959

Faced with this social stigma and the fear of being negatively evaluated, people with psychological problems often conceal their symptoms and avoid seeking therapy (Held & Owens, 2013; Wahl, 2012). In many Asian countries, the stigma of mental illness is so severe that it can damage the reputation of the family lineage and thereby significantly reduce the marriage and career prospects of other family members (Ng, 1997). This stigma is also pervasive among Asian Americans in the United States (Moon & Cho, 2012). For example, a mental health survey in Los Angeles (Zhang et al., 1998) found that Asian Americans were less than half as likely as white Americans to mention their mental health problems to a friend or relative (12% versus 25%), and only 4% stated that they would seek help from a psychiatrist or psychotherapist (compared to 26% of white Americans). In addition to preventing people from seeking help for their psychological problems, the stigma surrounding mental illness lowers self-esteem while increasing a sense of social isolation and hopelessness.

(Shutterstock)

The stigma surrounding psychological disorders causes many people to avoid seeking help. What is one of the most common stereotypes about people with mental illness?

Why do many people hold such negative attitudes toward those who are afflicted with a mental illness? David Feldman and Christian Crandall (2007) found that three factors seem to be central in triggering such prejudice. First, people respond more negatively when the mentally ill person is perceived as being responsible or at fault for their disorder. Second, people express more negative attitudes when the mentally ill person is perceived as being dangerous or posing a threat to others. Third, people respond more negatively when they mistakenly believe that mental illness is rare and uncommon.

So what is the truth about one of the most common stereotypes of the mentally ill—namely, that they are more violent than the average person? One study monitored the behavior of more than 1,000 individuals during the year after they had been discharged from psychiatric hospitals (Steadman et al., 1998). Results found no significant difference in the incidence of violence between the former patients and a control group of people living in the same neighborhoods with no history of serious mental health problems. Other research indicates that heightened violence is only slightly more likely among people with severe psychological disorders who are currently experiencing extreme psychological symptoms, such as bizarre delusional thoughts and hallucinated voices (Link et al., 1992). All other individuals with psychological disorders who are not experiencing these severe symptoms are no more likely than the average person to be violent. Thus, the research clearly indicates that the cultural stereotype associating mental illness with violence is grossly exaggerated and largely unfounded. However, until such negative stereotypes surrounding psychological disorders are reduced, the stigma of the mental illness label will remain the most formidable obstacle to future progress in the area of mental health.

6.2e Being Stigmatized Has Negative Consequences for the Targets.

What are the implications of constantly being the target of discrimination, prejudice, and stereotypes? Perhaps you experience regular discrimination because of your ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, or other socially stigmatized identities. How might such experiences impact your life?

Physical and Mental Health Outcomes

There is a substantial body of research indicating that experiencing prejudice and discrimination is associated with poorer short- and long-term mental and physical health (Schmitt et al., 2014). Among African Americans, for example, experiencing racism has been linked to poorer physical health and heart disease than the general population, especially when African Americans live in communities where whites express higher levels of racism (Leitner et al., 2016; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). The negative impact that prejudice and discrimination has on health is especially strong among groups that have a stigmatizing condition that is concealable—meaning, not automatically visible to others—such as various types of mental illness, sexual orientation or HIV+ status.

Academic Performance

Stereotypes can also negatively impact the performance of stigmatized group members in areas where the negative stereotype is relevant to performance. For example, a common belief about women is that they are not as good at math as men. Is it possible that, when competing against male students in a college math course, female students might experience a nagging possibility that they might confirm this negative stereotype? Similarly, black students might feel that they carry the burden of "representing their race" in academic pursuits. Claude Steele (1997) defined **stereotype threat** as is the apprehension people feel when performing a task in which their group is stereotyped to lack ability (Steele & Aronson, 1995; Steele et al., 2002). People experience this apprehension because they are concerned that if they perform poorly, they will be confirming or perpetuating the negative stereotype (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007). According to Steele, this apprehension interferes with actual performance in the negatively stereotyped task.

The first evidence for the stereotype threat effect among African American college students came from a series of experiments conducted by Steele and Joshua Aronson (1995). In one of these studies, black and white student volunteers were given a difficult English test. In the *stereotype threat condition*, the test was described as a measure of intellectual ability; in the *nonstereotype threat condition*, it was described as a laboratory problem-solving task that did not measure intelligence. Because cultural stereotypes depict blacks as intellectually inferior to whites, the researchers presumed that describing the test as an intellectual measure would induce stereotype threat among the black students. In contrast, when the task was described as not measuring intelligence, this should make the negative racial stereotype about ability irrelevant to the black students' performance; therefore, it would not arouse stereotype threat. As you can see in Figure 6.5, when the test was presented as a measure of ability, blacks performed worse than whites. However, when the stereotype threat was removed there was no difference between the two groups' performances.

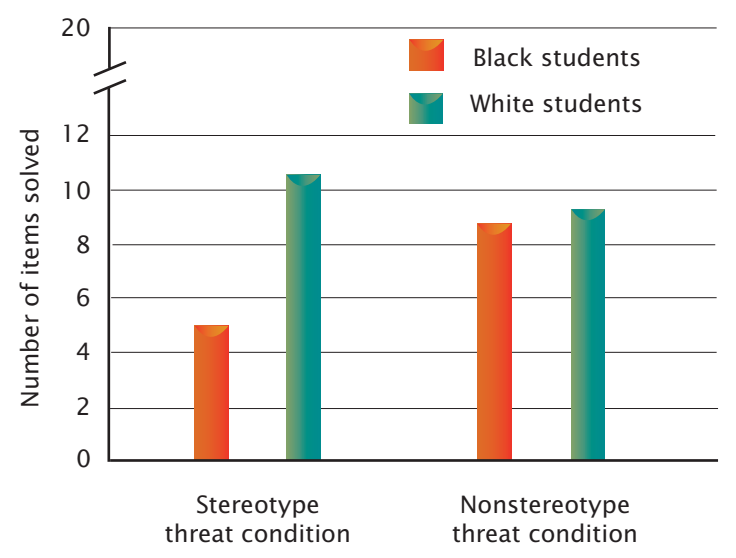
stereotype threat
The apprehension people feel when performing a task in which their group is stereotyped to lack ability

Stereotype threat has also been found to negatively impact women on math tasks (Grand, 2017; Gunderson et al., 2012). For example, Steven Spencer and his colleagues (1999) gave male and female college students a difficult math test, but divided it into two halves and presented it as two distinct tests. Half of the students were told that the first test was one on which men outperformed women, and that the second test was

one on which there were no gender differences. The other students were told the opposite—Test 1 was described as exhibiting no gender differences, but men outperformed women on Test 2. As you can see in Figure 6.6, when told that the test yielded gender differences, women greatly underperformed in relation to men. However, when the test was described as not exhibiting any gender differences, women's underperformance disappeared. Meta-analyses have found this effect to be robust (d = .29) and is stronger for women who are highly identified with math (report math to be an important part of their self-concept) than for women who are not as highly identified with math (Doyle & Voyer, 2016). This suggests that women who care about performing well in math feel a stronger burden not to confirm the negative math stereotype about women, and thus, are more likely to experience stereotype threat.

FIGURE 6.5 African American Intellectual Test Performance and Stereotype Threat

Steele and Aronson (1995) administered a difficult English test to black and white college students. When the test was described as a measure of intellectual ability (stereotype threat condition), blacks performed worse than whites. However, when it was not associated with ability (nonstereotype threat condition), no racial differences were found. How are these findings consistent with the stereotype threat hypothesis?

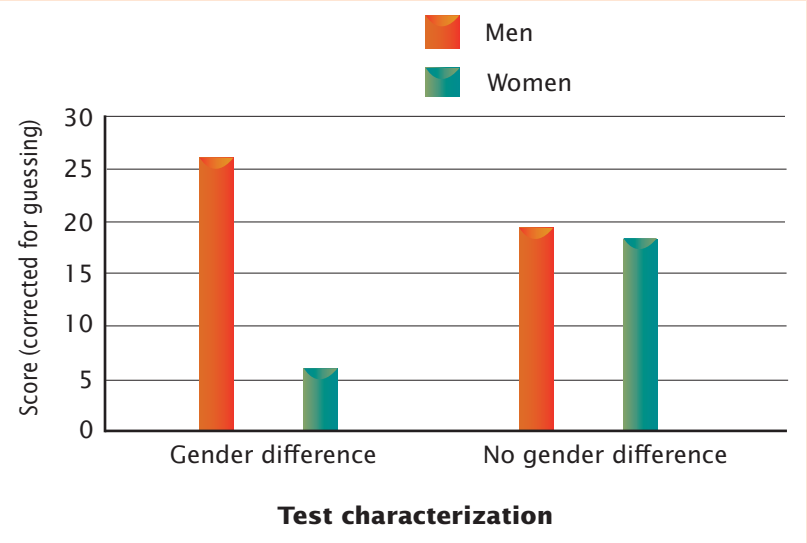


Data source: "Stereotype Threat and the Intellectual Test Performance of African Americans," by C. M. Steele and J. Aronson, 1995, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69*(5), pp. 797–811. Copyright 1995 by the American Psychological Association.

Stereotype threat is most noticeable and problematic among social groups that have been historically disadvantaged (Nadler & Clark, 2011), but it also occurs among members of dominant groups. For example, compared to girls, boys are negatively stereotyped about their reading proficiency. In a study of school-aged children, boys performed worse than girls on a reading test when the children were told that the test was a measure of their reading ability, but boys performed as well as girls when told that the test was merely a game (Pansu et al., 2016).

FIGURE 6.6 Stereotype Threat and Women's Math Performance

Spencer and his colleagues (1999) found that when a difficult math test was described as exhibiting gender differences (men outperforming women), women did indeed underperform. However, when the test was described as exhibiting no gender differences, women's underperformance disappeared. How do these results support the stereotype threat hypothesis?



Data source: "Stereotype Threat and Women's Math Performance," by S. J. Spencer et al., 1999, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 35*(1), pp. 4–28. Copyright 1999 by Academic Press.

What is happening physiologically and cognitively when stereotype threat occurs? Physiological measurements suggest that stereotype threat triggers an arousal state that hinders task performance by reducing individuals' working memory capacity, making it more difficult for them to concentrate and remember relevant information (Ben-Zeev et al., 2005; Bonnot & Croizet, 2007). Furthermore, stereotype threat appears to cause people to second-guess well-learned responses, thereby leading to poorer performance (Beilock et al., 2006). This negative impact on performance can occur even without the person consciously experiencing any noticeable anxiety (Blascovich et al., 2001).

Can you think of a negative stereotype about whites relative to blacks that might cause white individuals to experience stereotype threat in a particular area of pursuit, thereby motivating them to disidentify with this activity?

What happens if a person is in an environment where they repeatedly experience stereotype threat? One likely consequence is that the person will avoid and *disidentify* with whatever task is associated with the threatening scrutiny (Davies et al., 2005). For example, if the stereotype threat involves intellectual performance, you may change your self-concept so that academic achievement is no longer very important to your self-esteem. This sort of academic disidentification is much more common among African American students than among white American students, and it often begins in the lower elementary grades (Ambady et al., 2001; Osbourne, 1995). Consistent with Steele's notion of stereotype threat, academic disidentification among African American students is most likely to occur when negative racial stereotypes concerning black intellectual inferiority are salient in an academic setting. Stereotype threat and academic disidentification also occur among American Indians, Hispanic Americans, lower-class whites, and female students in male-dominated majors

(Croizet & Claire, 1998; Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2000). Although such disidentification protects self-esteem and is a coping response to prejudice and discrimination, it also is one of the psychological factors that undermines school achievement (Aronson et al., 2002). In the Applications section at the end of the chapter, we discuss possible ways to reduce the effects of stereotype threat in academic settings.

Section Summary

- There are three different categories of stigma:
  tribal identities,
  blemishes of individual character, and
  abominations of the body.
- Race-based cues automatically activate threat responses and negative stereotypes, which may contribute to shooter bias among law enforcement officers.
- Aversive racism is a combination of both positive and negative beliefs and feelings about a racial group.
- Sexism is best conceptualized as involving *ambivalence*; it is based on both hostility and benevolence.
- Obesity is an example of both a "blemish of individual character" stigma and an "abomination of the body" stigma, and antifat prejudice permeates society.
- Homosexuality is an example of a "blemish of individual character" stigma, and it is related to the cultural ideology of heterosexism.
- Mental illness is another example of a "blemish of individual character" stigma, and the fear of being stigmatized is perhaps the leading reason sufferers avoid seeking help.
- Experiencing prejudice and discrimination results in poorer mental and physical health.
- Stigmatized groups can respond to negative stereotypes by experiencing stereotype threat.

6.3 What Shapes Prejudice and Discrimination?

Beyond the role that negative stereotypes (and other cultural beliefs and values) play in both the causes and effects of prejudice and discrimination, additional powerful motivational and social variables exert a significant influence in the creation of intergroup intolerance (Gerstenfeld, 2002). In this section of the chapter we examine some of these causes, beginning with how group membership creates ingroup bias.

6.3a Ingroup Members Are Favored Over Outgroup Members.

Have you ever gone to a campus social event and felt that students who were members of different campus groups than your own were evaluating you less positively simply

because you were not "one of them"? Have you ever engaged in this sort of biased evaluation of other students yourself? We have already discussed how social categorization sets the stage for perceiving members of other groups as having similar characteristics—and how such stereotyping can lead to intergroup intolerance. However, research by Henri Tajfel and John Turner demonstrates that the simple act of categorizing people as ingroup or outgroup members affects how we evaluate and compare them, independent of stereotyping (Tajfel et al., 1971).

As you recall from Chapter 3 (section 3.2c), besides our personal identity, another important aspect of our self-concept is our social identity, which we derive from the groups to which we belong. Our social identity establishes what and where we are in social terms. Because our social identity forms a central aspect of our own self-definition, our self-esteem is partly determined by the social esteem of our ingroups. According to Tajfel and Turner's **social identity theory**, we seek to enhance our self-esteem by identifying with specific social groups and perceiving these groups as being better than other groups (Tajfel & Turner 1979; Turner 1987). When our ingroups are successful—or even when members of our ingroups achieve some level of personal success—we can bask in their reflected glory. However, when the social esteem of our ingroup is threatened, we often attempt to maintain a positive social identity by engaging in ingroup biasing—perceiving our ingroup as being better than other groups (Vanhoomissen & Overwalle, 2010).

Consistent with social identity theory, research indicates that people habitually engage in **ingroup bias** when evaluating others. That is, when they observe an ingroup member and an outgroup member performing the same task, their evaluations of these two people's performances will be biased in favor of the ingroup member. This ingroup favoritism manifests itself by people selectively remembering the ingroup member's good behavior and the outgroup member's bad behavior, or by selectively forgetting or trivializing the ingroup member's bad behavior and the outgroup member's good behavior (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010). Such selective information processing causes an overestimation of ingroup performance relative to outgroup performance. Because of this ingroup bias, ingroup members are consistently rewarded more than outgroup members (Crisp et al., 2001; Reynolds et al., 2000).

To test the hypothesis that group membership is sufficient to foster ingroup favoritism, researchers created what they called *minimal groups*, which are groups selected from a larger collection of people using some trivial—or minimal—criteria such as eye color, a random number table, or the flip of a coin (Otten, 2016). The people comprising these newly created groups were strangers to one another and were never given the opportunity to get acquainted. In some studies, participants were then individually taken into a room with the experimenter and asked how much money the other two participants should be paid for a subsequent task. These two people were identified only by code numbers, indicating to the participant that one came from his or her own group and the other was a member of the other group. Based on this information alone, participants proceeded to reward the ingroup person more than the outgroup person (Tajfel et al., 1971).

social identity theory
A theory suggesting that people seek to enhance their self-esteem by identifying with specific social groups and perceiving these groups as being better than other groups

ingroup bias
The tendency to give more favorable evaluations and great rewards to ingroup members than to outgroup members

Ingroup preference tends to be so automatically activated that simply using ingroup pronouns is often sufficient to arouse positive emotions, while using pronouns signifying outgroups can trigger negative emotions. Evidence for this effect comes from a series of studies conducted by Charles Perdue and his coworkers (1990), in which college students saw 108 seemingly randomly paired letter strings on a computer screen. Each pair of letter strings consisted of a nonsense syllable (*xeh*, *yof*, *laj*) presented with either an ingroup-designating pronoun (*we*, *us*, *ours*), an outgroup-designating pronoun (*they*, *them*, *theirs*), or, on the control trials, some other pronoun (*he*, *she*, *his*, *hers*). Students were told to quickly decide which letter string in each pair was a real word (*we-xeh*, *they-yof*).

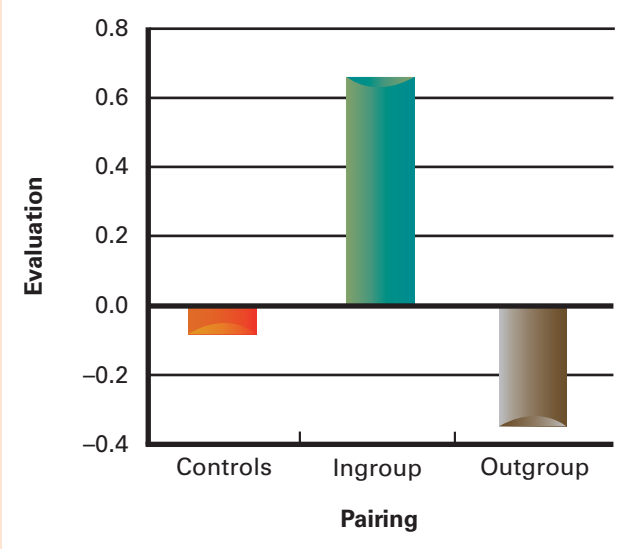
Unbeknownst to the students, one nonsense syllable was consistently paired with ingroup pronouns and another with outgroup pronouns. After the trials, students were asked to rate each of the nonsense syllables in terms of its degree of pleasantness–unpleasantness. As you can see from Figure 6.7, students evaluated the nonsense words that had previously been paired with the ingroup pronouns as more pleasant than those paired either with outgroup pronouns or with the control pronouns. These results suggest that merely associating a previously neutral stimulus to words that designate either ingroup or outgroup affiliations is sufficient to create biased emotional responses. As you might guess, ingroup biasing is often subtle and not recognized as being unfair by either the target or the perpetrator.

(Shutterstock)

Have you ever gone to a social event and felt that others were evaluating you less positively simply because you were not part of their ingroup?

FIGURE 6.7 Us and Them: Ingroup Biasing

How pervasive is ingroup biasing? Perdue and colleagues (1990) found that nonsense words that had previously been paired with ingroup pronouns (e.g., *us*) were evaluated as more "pleasant" than nonsense words that had been paired with either outgroup pronouns (e.g., *them*) or control pronouns (e.g., *hers*). This study suggests that the ingroup–outgroup distinction has such emotional meaning to people that it can even shape their evaluation of unfamiliar words.



Data source: "Us and Them: Social Categorization and the Process of Intergroup Bias," by C. W. Perdue et al., 1990, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*(3), pp. 475–486. Copyright 1990 by the American Psychological Association, Inc.

Not only do people evaluate ingroup members more positively than outgroup members, studies show that they are more likely to be sensitive to ingroup members' emotions and feelings than to those of outgroup members (Chambon et al.,2008). The neurological basis

of such emotional sensitivity can literally be seen in the brain scans of people who are watching someone who is sad. If the sad person is a member of their ingroup, observers' neural activity is the same as when they feel sad themselves, yet if the sad person is an outgroup member, observers' neural activity is actually heightened in brain areas associated with positive affect, suggesting they are pleased to see this person suffering (Scheepers & Derks, 2016). This pleasure in witnessing an outgroup member's misfortune is recognized in cultures around the world—the Germans refer to it as *Schadenfreude*, or "harm-joy"—and illustrates how ingroup biasing can trigger petty reactions toward people we perceive as "those others."

Given our tendency to revel in the misfortunes of those who are not members of our own social groups, it isn't surprising that we also tend to spontaneously prefer other ingroup members who are openly biased toward our ingroup—even when doing so violates egalitarian values (Castelli et al., 2008). Overall, this desire to place our ingroup higher than a comparison outgroup results in us more positively evaluating other ingroup members who enable our ingroup to be perceived as better than other groups (Castelli & Carraro, 2010). This is the reason some politicians openly express prejudicial attitudes toward outgroups that their supporters perceive as undesirable; doing so increases the politicians' popularity among their ingroups. Those who exhibit great pride in their ingroups and believe these groups are a central component of their own self-identity are more likely to engage in ingroup biasing than those who do not identify so strongly with their ingroups (Mohr & Fassinger, 2006; Verkuyten et al., 1999). For example, following the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001, there was a dramatic increase in prejudice directed toward people of Arab ethnicity or Muslim beliefs. Consistent with social identity theory, those citizens who strongly identified with being "American" were more likely to report prejudicial beliefs than those whose nationality was less central to their self-identity (Oswald, 2005).

How would social identity theory explain the relationship between "pride" and "prejudice"?

Additional research suggests that the people who are most likely to engage in prejudiced thinking as a means of enhancing or protecting self-esteem are those with defensive high self-esteem. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.4b), individuals with high explicit self-esteem but low implicit self-esteem often lash out at others who threaten their fragile feelings of self-worth. Similarly, these same individuals are the ones who are particularly likely to engage in discrimination against outgroups as a means of protecting threatened self-esteem (Jordan et al., 2005). Thus, social identity theory may best explain the prejudiced thinking of individuals who have relatively fragile feelings of high self-worth.

6.3b Intergroup Competition Can Lead to Prejudice.

What happens when we take this tendency to perceive our ingroups as being better than other groups and mix it with intergroup competition, where one group's successes become the other group's failures? Hostility and violence are common results. Numerous studies and real-world events inform us that when two groups compete for a limited number of scarce resources such as jobs, housing, consumer sales, or even food, tensions dramatically increase and create a breeding ground for prejudice (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998; Quillian, 1995).

realistic group conflict theory
The theory that intergroup conflict develops from competition for limited resources

Realistic Group Conflict Theory

Realistic group conflict theory focuses on examining the competitive roots of intergroup intolerance (Levine & Campbell, 1972). It argues that groups become prejudiced toward one another because they are in conflict due to competition for scarce resources.

The group conflict is considered "realistic" because it is based on real competition. Contemptuous prejudice and envious prejudice are often fed by the intergroup competition examined by this theory. According to realistic group conflict theory, some Americans' hostility toward immigrants is escalating because of the perception that many immigrants are taking jobs away from American citizens and draining resources from various social service agencies.

(Source: "Tree of Life Synagogue memorials 10-30-2018 01," Official White House Photo by Andrea Hanks, via Wikimedia.)

In October 2018, a gunman shot and killed 11 people during a Jewish service in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. How can social psychology theories help us understand these extreme forms of prejudice?

Realistic group conflict theory contends that when groups are in conflict, two important changes occur in each group. The first change involves increased hostility toward the opposing outgroup, and the second change involves an intensification of ingroup loyalty. This pattern of behavior is referred to as **ethnocentrism** (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012; Sumner, 1906). In an archival study of ethnocentrism, Taya Cohen and her colleagues (2006) analyzed data from 186 preindustrialized societies between 1850 and 1950 and found that as people's loyalty to their local communities increased, they valued outgroup violence more than ingroup violence, engaged in more external than internal warfare, and placed a higher value on external warfare. To better understand how ethnocentrism can develop due to conflict, let's examine a classic field study investigating this psychological phenomenon.

The Robbers Cave Study

What happens if you randomly place people into one of two groups and manipulate circumstances to promote intergroup competition? This was the central question surrounding a classic participant observation study designed by Muzafer Sherif and his colleagues (Sherif et al., 1961; Sherif & Sherif, 1956). They conducted the study in the summer of 1954 at a densely forested and hilly 200-acre camp that the researchers had created at Robbers Cave State Park, in Oklahoma. Participants were 20 white, middle-class, well-adjusted, 11- and 12-year-old boys who had never met one another before. In advance, the researchers divided the boys into two groups; each group was assigned a separate cabin out of sight of the other, and thus, neither knew of the other's existence. The camp counselors were actually researchers who unobtrusively observed and recorded day-to-day camp events as the study progressed.

The study had three phases. The first phase was devoted to *creating ingroups*, the second was devoted to *instilling intergroup competition*, and the third phase involved *encouraging intergroup cooperation*. During the first week of ingroup creation, each group separately engaged in cooperative activities, such as hiking, hunting for hidden treasures, making meals, and pitching tents. As the week progressed, each group developed its own leader and unique social identity. One group named itself the "Rattlers," established a tough-guy group norm, and spent a good deal of time cursing and swearing. The other group called itself the "Eagles," and they instituted a group norm forbidding profanity. As the first week drew to a close, each group became aware of the other's existence. How do you think they responded? By making clear and undeniable ingroup-outgroup statements: "*They* better not be in *our* swimming hole!" "*Those* guys are using *our* baseball diamond again!"

During the second phase of the study, Sherif tested his main hypothesis that intergroup competition would cause prejudice. To do this, he created a weeklong tournament between the two groups, consisting of 10 athletic events including things like baseball, football, and tug-of-war. The winner of each event would receive points, and at the end of

ethnocentrism
A pattern of increased hostility toward outgroups accompanied by increased loyalty to one's ingroup

(Images from Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment, *by M. Sherif et al., 1961, Norman, OK: Oklahoma Book Exchange, p. 105. Copyright © 1988 by Wesleyan University Press. Reprinted by permission of Wesleyan University Press; permission conveyed through Copyright Clearance Center, Inc.)*

Sherif and his colleagues (1961) created intergroup hostility between two groups of boys (the "Eagles" and the "Rattlers") at a summer camp by having them compete against one another. In the photo on the left shown here, the Eagles grab and burn the Rattlers' group flag after losing a tug-of-war contest. Later (right photo), the Rattlers hang an Eagle's pair of jeans—upon which they had painted, "The Last of the Eagles"—from a pole. Can you recall incidents from your own life where competition with another group resulted in the development of prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behavior?

the week the group with the most points would receive highly prized medals and impressive four-bladed pocketknives. True to Sherif's expectations, the intergroup conflict transformed these normal, well-adjusted boys into what a naive observer would have thought were "wicked, disturbed, and vicious" youngsters (Sherif, 1966, p. 58).

During this phase, the counselors heard a sharp increase in the number of unflattering names used to refer to outgroup members (for example, "pig" and "cheater"). The boys also rated their own group as being "brave," "tough," and "friendly," while those in the outgroup were "sneaky," "smart alecks," and "stinkers." This ingroup favoritism was also manifested in the boys' friendship preferences. Sherif, playing the role of camp handyman, asked the boys to tell him who their friends were at camp. The sharp division between the two groups was reflected in the fact that 93% of the friendship preferences were of the ingroup variety. If negative attitudes previously existed between ingroup members, they were now redirected against the outgroup, indicating that one by-product of intergroup hostility is an increase in ingroup solidarity.

As the two groups competed in the various games, intergroup hostility quickly escalated from name-calling to acts of physical aggression. For example, at the end of the first tug-of-war contest, the losing Eagles demonstrated their outgroup attitudes by seizing and burning the Rattlers' group flag. Not to be outdone, the Rattlers raided the Eagles' cabin, overturning cots, ripping mosquito netting, and carrying off one of the Eagles' blue jeans as booty. The next day, armed with bats and sticks, the Eagles returned the favor. Then they retreated to their cabin, proceeded to stuff rocks in their socks, and waited for the next wave of Rattler reprisals.

Who ultimately won the valued prizes for which they were competing? The Eagles. Not surprisingly, the Rattlers thought they had been cheated. While the victors were taking a celebratory swim, the Rattlers stole their medals and knives. When the Eagles returned to find their prizes gone, the Rattlers admitted to the deed and told the incensed Eagles they could have them back . . . if they got down on their bellies and crawled for them! These are only a few of the incidents that occurred between the Eagles and the Rattlers. Intergroup hostility became so intense that members of the opposing groups held their noses whenever they passed by one another in camp.

The third phase of the study was designed to reverse the hostility, a task that proved to be much more difficult to accomplish. First, the researchers sought to determine whether simple noncompetitive contact between the groups would ease tensions. They tested this hypothesis during the first two days of phase three by bringing the groups together for some pleasant activity, such as a meal or a movie. The results were not encouraging. Both groups used each interaction merely as an opportunity to increase their mutual animosity for one another. During mealtimes, for example, food was more likely to be thrown at opposing group members than eaten.

The failure of simple contact to reduce hostility did not surprise Sherif and his colleagues. They hypothesized that to reduce intergroup conflict, they needed to introduce what they called a **superordinate goal**, which is a mutually shared goal that can be achieved only through intergroup cooperation. To test this hypothesis, the researchers arranged for a series of problem situations to develop over the course of the next 6 days. Each problem was urgent and involved both groups. The first problem was the "failure" of the camp's water supply. The groups initially responded to this emergency by trying to solve it on their own. However, after converging on the source of the water problem—the camp water tank's plugged faucet—they cooperated in fixing it.

A few days later, the camp truck "broke down"; all the boys had to work together to pull it up a steep hill. Outgroup friendships grew from a measly 7% average at the end of phase one to a rather robust 30% average during this phase. At their final campfire, the two groups decided to put on a joint entertainment program consisting of skits and songs. When departing from camp the following day, the two groups insisted on traveling home on the same bus and the Rattlers used their prize money to buy milkshakes for everyone.

Taken as a whole, the Robbers Cave study is an excellent example of how ethnocentrism can develop when two groups compete for scarce resources. It also demonstrates that having a superordinate goal can lead to peaceful coexistence between previously antagonistic groups. Although this study used children as participants, similar results have also been obtained with adult samples (Jackson, 1993).

Broader Role of Competition and Threats

Although the original theory assumed that prejudice develops due to real, tangible conflict between groups, later work demonstrated that the mere *perception* of conflict is often sufficient to fuel intolerance (Esses et al., 1998). For example, Michael Zárate and his colleagues (2004) found that when American research participants were led to believe that Mexican immigrants had similar skills and attributes as themselves, their sense of job security was threatened, which led to more negative attitudes toward immigrants. These findings suggest that the perceived threat of competing for jobs was sufficient to induce prejudice. Similarly, heterosexual individuals who perceive threats from gay men and lesbians—such as unwanted sexual attention, fear of HIV infection, or courtesy stigma—display more antigay prejudice than do people who do not perceive such threats (Pirlott & Cook, 2018).

Beyond feeling threatened due to perceived safety or resource threats, studies find that some people feel threatened because they perceive that an outgroup is culturally changing their "way of life" by practicing a different religion, celebrating different holidays, or having different values. These types of concerns reflect symbolic threats and can also lead to prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 2017; Tsukamoto & Fiske, 2018). For example, white Americans are less threatened by immigrants who have lighter skin features (e.g., "look white") because they are perceived as more likely to assimilate to an American culture that is predominantly defined by Anglo-Saxon European standards (Kunst et al., 2018).

superordinate goal
A mutually shared goal that can be achieved only through intergroup cooperation

Of course, not everybody responds to real and perceived threats with fear and intolerance. Research demonstrates that a major factor in short-circuiting prejudicial responses is an individual's personal value system. For example, in a series of experimental studies, Amy Krosch and her colleagues (2017) manipulated conditions so that white participants experienced scarce economic resources. When later given the opportunity to provide financial resources to others, participants who had been previously identified as having a high internal motivation to respond without prejudice (that is, they held egalitarian beliefs) gave more resources to black targets than did participants who had a low internal motivation to respond without prejudice (that is, they held anti-egalitarian beliefs). This finding suggests that people who are motivated by their internalized egalitarian beliefs are less likely to respond to perceived threats with prejudice and discrimination. The takeaway message in all of this research is that prejudice and discrimination toward outgroups can be triggered by real threats, perceived threats, and symbolic threats, but such fear-based intolerance is especially likely among people whose personal values encourage rather than discourage anti-egalitarian behavior.

6.3c Prejudice Can Serve as a Justification for Oppression.

What if two groups come into contact with one another, but one group is much more powerful than the other? In laboratory experiments, when groups are given different amounts of social power, members of high-power groups discriminate more against outgroups than members of low-power groups (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987, 1991). Additional research suggests that having social power increases automatic negative evaluations of stigmatized groups and increases the experience of negative affect when encountering stigmatized group members (Guinote et al., 2010). What sort of beliefs might foster and justify these automatically activated negative feelings that often lead to discrimination?

Social Dominance Theory

Social dominance theory proposes that in all societies, groups can be organized in a hierarchy of power with at least one group being dominant over all others (Pratto, 1996). Dominant groups enjoy a lopsided share of the society's assets, such as wealth, prestige, education, and health. In contrast, subordinate groups receive most of the society's liabilities, such as poverty, social stigma, illiteracy, poor health, and high levels of criminal punishment. History teaches us that the negative stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes that dominant groups develop about those they oppress serve to justify their continued oppression (Bergh et al., 2016; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). Contemptuous prejudice and paternalistic prejudice are the two forms of intolerance expressed by the oppressor group, while the prejudice that subordinate groups express toward those who oppress them is of the envious form.

"The Whites told only one side. Told it to please themselves. Told much that is not true. Only his own best deeds, only the worst deeds of the Indians, has the White man told."

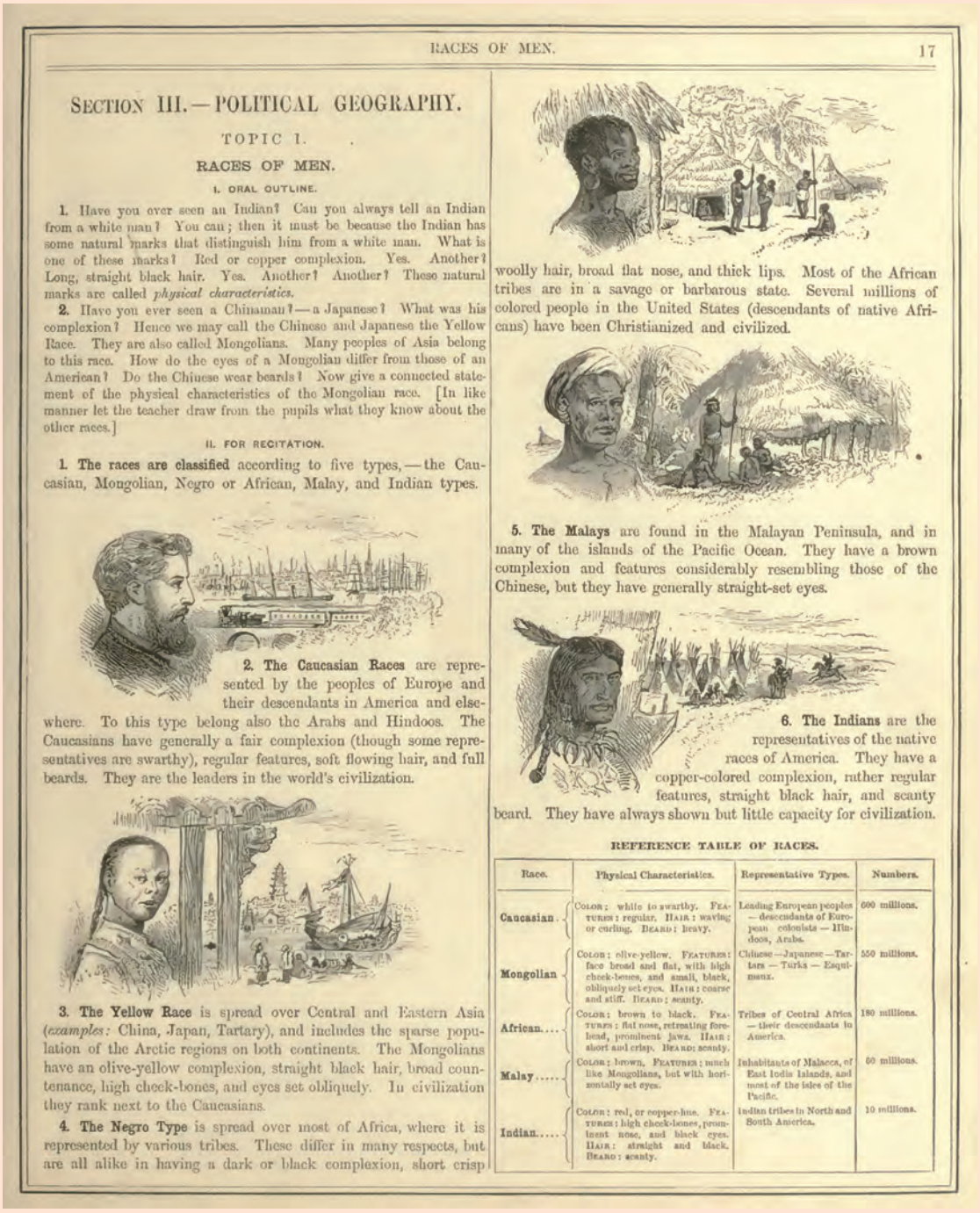
—Yellow Wolf, Nez Perce Indian, 1855–1935

social dominance theory
A theory contending that societal groups can be organized in a power hierarchy in which the dominant groups enjoy a disproportionate share of the society's assets and the subordinate groups receive most of its liabilities

A good deal of the prejudice that has occurred in the history of the United States has rested on social dominance. The Europeans who founded this country did not arrive on uninhabited shores in the "New World." These settlers used their superior weapons to dominate and conquer the indigenous people of North America. At the same time that Europeans were colonizing North America, they were also capturing and buying Africans and transporting them to the colonies as slaves. They justified this inhuman exploitation by stigmatizing both American Indians and Africans as biologically inferior races who needed civilizing (see Figure 6.8). To this day, people who hold such beliefs about racial groupings display increased support for social hierarchies and racial prejudice (Mandalaywala et al., 2018).

FIGURE 6.8 An Example of Racist Attitudes in an Old American Textbook

This American high school geography book published in 1880 categorized "Races of Man" around the globe in a descending order of capacity for civilization. The white American author described the two races that his social group had the most contact with, and whom they had historically treated so harshly, in a particularly condescending manner. African tribes are described as living in a "savage or barbarous state," while the American descendants of native Africans are described as having "been Christianized and civilized" by whites. Similarly, the native races of America, whose land had been taken by the European colonizers, are described as having "always shown but little capacity for civilization" (Swinton, 1880, p. 17). In these characterizations, we see how an oppressor group justifies its exploitation of less powerful groups by denigrating them.



RACES OF MEN. 17

SECTION III.—POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY.

TOPIC I.

RACES OF MEN.

I. ORAL OUTLINE.

1. Have you ever seen an Indian? Can you always tell an Indian from a white man? You can; then it must be because the Indian has some natural marks that distinguish him from a white man. What is one of these marks? Red or copper complexion. Yes. Another? Long, straight black hair. Yes. Another? Another? These natural marks are called *physical characteristics.*

2. Have you ever seen a Chinaman?—a Japanese? What was his complexion? Hence we may call the Chinese and Japanese the Yellow Race. They are also called Mongolians. Many peoples of Asia belong to this race. How do the eyes of a Mongolian differ from those of an American? Do the Chinese wear beards? Now give a connected statement of the physical characteristics of the Mongolian race. [In like manner let the teacher draw from the pupils what they know about the other races.]

II. FOR RECITATION.

1. **The races are classified** according to five types,—the Caucasian, Mongolian, Negro or African, Malay, and Indian types.

2. **The Caucasian Races** are represented by the peoples of Europe and their descendants in America and elsewhere. To this type belong also the Arabs and Hindoos. The Caucasians have generally a fair complexion (though some representatives are swarthy), regular features, soft flowing hair, and full beards. They are the leaders in the world's civilization.

3. **The Yellow Race** is spread over Central and Eastern Asia (*examples:* China, Japan, Tartary), and includes the sparse population of the Arctic regions on both continents. The Mongolians have an olive-yellow complexion, straight black hair, broad countenance, high cheek-bones, and eyes set obliquely. In civilization they rank next to the Caucasians.

4. **The Negro Type** is spread over most of Africa, where it is represented by various tribes. These differ in many respects, but are all alike in having a dark or black complexion, short crisp woolly hair, broad flat nose, and thick lips. Most of the African tribes are in a savage or barbarous state. Several millions of colored people in the United States (descendants of native Africans) have been Christianized and civilized.

5. **The Malays** are found in the Malayan Peninsula, and in many of the islands of the Pacific Ocean. They have a brown complexion and features considerably resembling those of the Chinese, but they have generally straight-set eyes.

6. **The Indians** are the representatives of the native races of America. They have a copper-colored complexion, rather regular features, straight black hair, and scanty beard. They have always shown but little capacity for civilization.

REFERENCE TABLE OF RACES.

Race.	Physical Characteristics.	Representative Types.	Numbers.
Caucasian	Color: white to swarthy. Features: regular. Hair: waving or curling. Beard: heavy.	Leading European peoples — descendants of European colonists — Hindoos, Arabs.	600 millions.
Mongolian	Color: olive-yellow. Features: face broad and flat, with high cheek-bones, and small, black, obliquely set eyes. Hair: coarse and stiff. Beard: scanty.	Chinese — Japanese — Tartars — Turks — Esquimaux.	550 millions.
African	Color: brown to black. Features: flat nose, retreating forehead, prominent jaws. Hair: short and crisp. Beard: scanty.	Tribes of Central Africa — their descendants in America.	180 millions.
Malay	Color: brown. Features: much like Mongolians, but with horizontally set eyes.	Inhabitants of Malacca, of East India Islands, and most of the isles of the Pacific.	60 millions.
Indian	Color: red, or copper-hue. Features: high cheek-bones, prominent nose, and black eyes. Hair: straight and black. Beard: scanty.	Indian tribes in North and South America.	10 millions.

Source: *A Complete Course in Geography: Physical, Industrial and Political,* by W. Swinton, 1880, New York, NY: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, p. 17, via California Digital Library.

Consistent with social dominance theory, research indicates that people develop less egalitarian beliefs toward outgroups as the social status of their own group increases in comparison to the target outgroups (Levin, 2004; Schmitt et al., 2003). A number of experimental studies have also demonstrated that developing prejudicial and stigmatizing attitudes toward the victims of one's own harmful actions is a common response (Georgesen & Harris, 2000; Rodríguez-Bailón et al., 2000). For example, Stephen Worchel and Virginia Mathie Andreoli (1978) found that, when instructed to deliver electric shocks to a man when he responded incorrectly on a learning task, college students were more likely to dehumanize him than were students who were instructed to reward the man for correct answers. By dehumanizing and derogating their own victims, powerful exploiters can not only avoid thinking of themselves as villains but can also justify further exploitation (Quist & Resendez, 2002).

Of course, not all members of dominant groups denigrate those below them in the status hierarchy. People differ in the degree to which they perceive their social world as a competitive jungle, with "haves" and "have-nots" fighting to gain or maintain supremacy over each other. Individuals with a strong *social dominance orientation* desire and support the organization of societal groups in a status hierarchy, with designated "inferior" groups being dominated by designated "superior" groups (Bratt et al., 2016; Bassett, 2010; Costello & Hodson, 2011). Research suggests that this motivation—to view the world in terms of a status hierarchy dominated by the powerful—causes people to adopt belief systems and to seek out membership in groups that promote prejudice and social inequality (Dambrun et al., 2002; Guimond et al., 2003). In contrast, people who are low in social dominance orientation—those holding egalitarian beliefs—are more likely to engage in collective action and support policies that promote social equality (Stewart & Tran, 2018).

personal-group discrimination discrepancy
The tendency for members of disadvantaged groups to downplay personal discrimination in their own lives

(Donaldson Collection / Getty Images)

A historically popular theme in Hollywood movies is that the material advantages of the rich are offset by the nonmaterial advantages of the poor. In Mary Poppins, *the well-to-do are unhappy and need to be "set straight" by jolly working-class characters, such as Bert the chimney sweep, who declares, "A sweep is as lucky as lucky can be . . . When you're with a sweep, you're in glad company." How does this cultural belief—that overall benefits in society balance out—illustrate a key component of system justification theory?*

System Justification Theory

How do members of disadvantaged groups respond to this unequal distribution of societal resources? A number of studies find that, while members of disadvantaged groups readily acknowledge that their group is frequently targeted for prejudice and discrimination, they tend to minimize the extent to which they have personally experienced discrimination in their jobs and daily lives. This tendency for members of disadvantaged groups to downplay personal discrimination in their own lives is known as the **personal-group discrimination discrepancy** (Taylor et al., 1990).

Why might people often fail to appreciate the degree to which they are the victims of discrimination? One reason is that admitting that you have been the victim of discrimination would challenge your belief that you have control over your life, which would, in turn, weaken your confidence that you can obtain your personal goals (Sechrist et al., 2004). Thus, denying personal discrimination allows you to maintain the belief that you personally control what happens to you. A second reason for denying personal discrimination is that you may want to distance yourself from the negative attributes stereotypically assigned to your fellow ingroup members (Hodson & Esses, 2002). Underlying this type of thinking is an acknowledgment that there is at least some legitimacy to the discrimination directed at your ingroup while at the same time denying that you personally possess the objectionable attributes.

One of the consequences of failing to realize that you have been the victim of discrimination is that such denial increases the likelihood that the existing unfair status hierarchy

in society will remain intact. **System justification theory** contends that members of both advantaged and disadvantaged groups often endorse the group status hierarchy in society as being legitimate and fair. Unfortunately, this endorsement of the existing status quo often serves as a stumbling block to disadvantaged individuals' own personal and social advancement (Jost et al., 2007; Osborne & Sibley, 2013).

Societal stereotypes play an important role in system justification because they justify the positive outcomes of dominant groups, the negative outcomes of subordinate groups, and the exploitation of subordinate groups by dominant groups (Howard & Sommers, 2017; Jost et al., 2005). For example, women are often rewarded and encouraged to conform to the feminine gender role by presenting themselves as "nice, but weak" (Rudman, 2005). Women who adopt this benevolently sexist self-presentation style receive positive reinforcement for being warm and nurturing, but they also are perceived as being less competent and powerful (Jackman, 1994). Despite these negative consequences, by focusing on the rewards of this subordinate role, women tend to develop an automatic preference for male over female authority, which perpetuates the existing status quo and short-circuits any collective action to reduce gender inequality (Becker & Wright, 2011).

Similar system justification is observed among the social classes. Throughout literature, film, and popular culture, poor people are often stereotyped as being happier and more honest than rich people, and also as being more likely to be rewarded in the afterlife (Streib et al., 2016). Aaron Kay and John Jost (2003) found that, when people read stories about characters who matched societal stereotypes of rich and poor, they were more likely than those not exposed to such stereotyped characters to later believe that the status hierarchy in society is fair and equitable. Although believing that existing social arrangements are generally desirable may reduce personal distress and lead to greater satisfaction among those at the lower end of the status hierarchy, it also breeds inaction (Kay et al., 2007). If moral outrage is one of the primary motivators of social reform and efforts to help the disadvantaged, then system justification effectively defuses the emotional component that would trigger such social action (Wakslak et al., 2007).

system justification theory
A theory proposing that members of both advantaged and disadvantaged groups often adopt beliefs endorsing the legitimacy and fairness of the unequal group status hierarchy in society

authoritarian personality
A personality type characterized by submissiveness to authority, rigid adherence to conventional values, and prejudice toward outgroups

6.3d Authoritarianism Is Associated with Hostility Toward Outgroups.

One of the early inquiries into prejudice-prone personalities was the work of Theodor Adorno and Else Frenkel-Brunswik—two social scientists who fled Nazi Germany during World War II. Motivated by a desire to explain the psychology underlying the mass genocide of millions of Jews and other "undesirables" by the Nazi regime, Adorno and Frenkel-Brunswik believed that the cause of extreme prejudice could be traced to personality conflicts developed during childhood (Adorno et al., 1950). Operating from a psychoanalytic perspective and using survey, case study, and interview methods, they identified what they called the **authoritarian personality**. Based on their studies, the researchers concluded that authoritarian personalities develop from harsh child-rearing practices that teach children to repress their hostility toward authority, and instead, redirect or displace it onto less powerful targets who cannot retaliate. As adults, these authoritarians are submissive to authority figures and intolerant of those who are weak or different. Although this original theory is acknowledged as an important attempt to understand prejudice in terms

(AP Photo)

The widespread abuse of Iraqi detainees by US occupying forces in Abu Ghraib prison was widely condemned. Which type of person is more likely to excuse such prisoner abuse: an individual with an authoritarian personality, or someone with a high social dominance orientation?

of personality conflict and child-rearing practices, questions about how people actually become authoritarians and criticisms of the research methods employed in the original studies resulted in this approach losing credibility by the late 1960s (Van Hiel et al., 2004).

In the 1980s, interest in the authoritarian personality was revived when Bob Altemeyer (1981, 1988) suggested that its origins have nothing to do with personality conflicts from childhood; instead, he proposed, it is caused by children learning a prejudicial style of thinking from their parents and other important people in their lives. Operating from a social learning perspective, Altemeyer contended that children who are socialized by authoritarians and strict disciplinarians develop similar tendencies because they model and reinforce this intolerant worldview. He further asserted that most of this social learning occurs during adolescence, with the principal modelers being parents and peers. Socialized to view their world as a dangerous and threatening place, and isolated from personal contact with nonconventional people or minorities, adolescents in authoritarian environments learn that it is acceptable and even encouraged to express hostility toward various outgroups.

A number of studies conducted over the past 20 years support Altemeyer's social learning view over the earlier psychoanalytic perspective (Duckitt & Fisher, 2003; Feldman & Stenner, 1997). What appears to motivate the prejudice of the authoritarian personality is a strong desire to identify with, and conform to, the existing social order, coupled with a learned sense of fearfulness and insecurity about the social world and a perception that other groups pose a threat to one's ingroup (Altemeyer, 2004; Jost et al., 2003). Individuals growing up in authoritarian households are most likely to adopt authoritarian attitudes and beliefs when they have strong needs for social order and conformity.

In many different societies, people with authoritarian personalities not only express greater antipathy toward threatening outgroups than the average person but are also more likely to act on their hostility (Lippa & Arad, 1999). Authoritarians also tend to generalize their outgroup prejudices and have lower pro-diversity beliefs (Asbrock & Kauff, 2015). For example, authoritarians are likely to express hostility toward blacks, Jews, feminists, gay men and lesbians, the homeless, and people with AIDS (Crawford et al. 2016; Pek & Leong, 2003). Authoritarians' distaste for threatening outgroups is also reflected in greater support for their government's military actions against other countries during times of international tension. They not only support such actions but are also more likely to excuse atrocities committed by their own military forces during these interventions (Doty et al., 1997; Unger, 2002).

In 2018, there was much political discussion and controversy around "immigrant caravans" coming from Central America, which greatly increased some Americans' perceived social threat. For example, television and radio commentator Glenn Beck stated, "This is an invasion. There's no other way to describe it." Based on authoritarianism research, what type of social consequences might we see in this country due to this heightened perceived threat?

Besides identifying individual variations in authoritarianism, social scientists have also examined how it might vary on a societal level over time. An important catalyst for the manifestation of societal authoritarianism is *perceived social threat* (Doty et al., 1991). That is, when societies undergo economic hardships and social upheaval, mildly authoritarian individuals may become motivated to join social, political, or religious organizations that express dogmatic and rigid social attitudes and preach intolerance of outgroups who are perceived as threats to the social order (Ludeke et al., 2018; McCann, 1999). For example, in a series of archival studies of church membership patterns in the United States, Stuart McCann (1999) found that people were most attracted to intolerant religious teachings and authoritarian churches when the country was experiencing heightened social and economic threat. Similarly, longitudinal studies of South Koreans' social values between 1982 and 1996 found that as economic and military threats diminished, endorsement of authoritarian beliefs also diminished among the young and the educated portions of the population (Lee, 2003).

Section Summary

- People appear to be automatically biased toward ingroup members.
- Social identity theory asserts that prejudice and discrimination can result from people trying to increase or maintain self-esteem.
- Realistic group conflict theory argues that groups become prejudiced toward one another because they are in competition for scarce resources.
- Social dominance theory explains how dominant groups develop stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes to justify their oppression of others.
- System justification theory explains how disadvantaged groups endorse oppressive societal beliefs.
- Research on authoritarianism suggests that some forms of prejudice can be traced to personality and socialization factors.

6.4 Can We Reduce Intergroup Bias and Intolerance?

Having analyzed the psychological and social mechanisms underlying intergroup bias and intolerance, let us now explore the prospects for reducing prejudice and discrimination. First, we examine whether changing people's thinking can reduce prejudice (an *individual-based approach*), and then we outline situational factors necessary to reduce intergroup intolerance (a *group-based approach*). Finally, the chapter ends with a brief look at social psychological attempts to remedy some of the negative consequences of prejudice and discrimination in our educational system.

6.4a Prejudice and Discrimination Can Be Reduced by Monitoring Stereotyped Thinking.

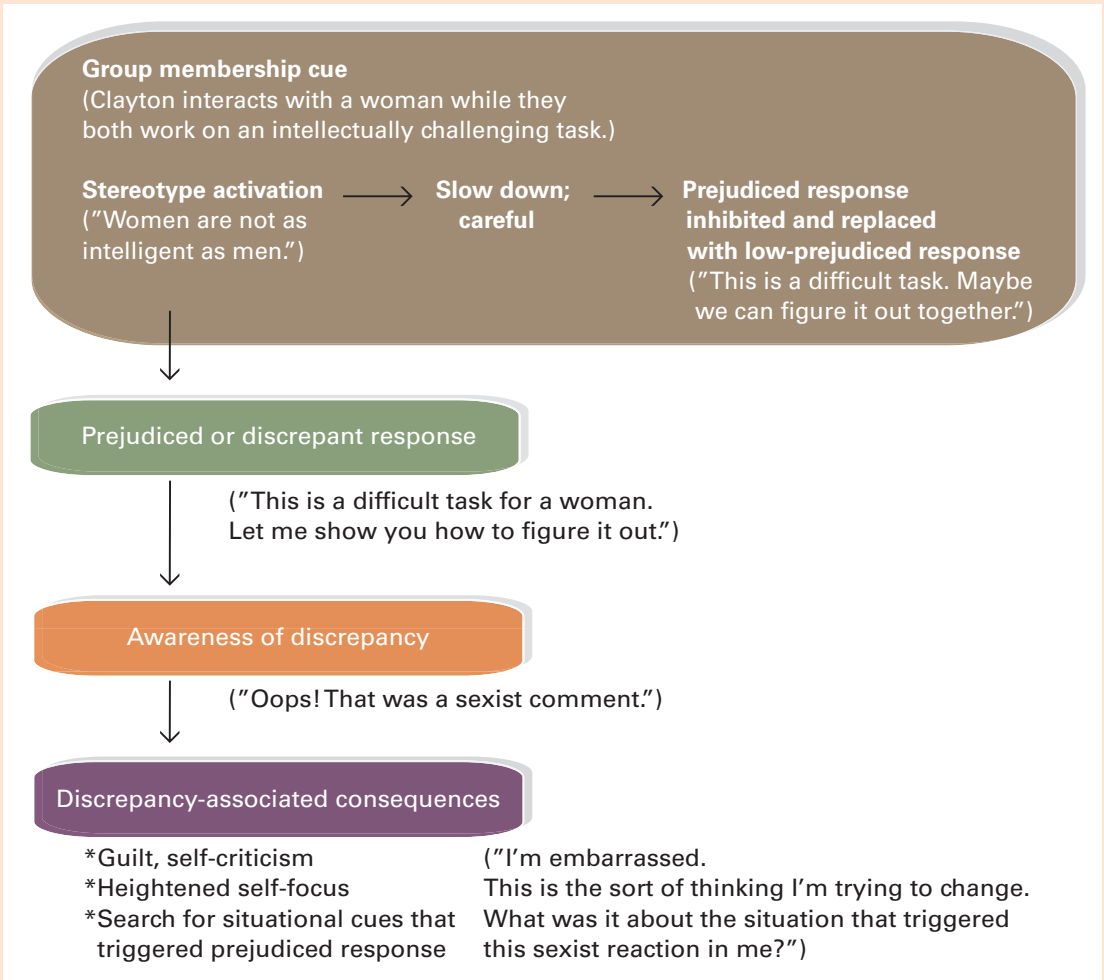
Given the fact that stereotypes are resistant to change, how can motivated individuals avoid judging others in this manner? For example, imagine that Clayton has grown up being taught that women are intellectually inferior to men. However, during the course of his life, Clayton has been exposed to people who do not fit this gender stereotype. Because of these experiences—and his desire to perceive himself as nonsexist—Clayton may begin to adopt a more egalitarian view of women. Although Clayton no longer accepts the stereotype, he has not eliminated it from his memory. Suppose that upon learning that his new boss is a woman he makes an automatic assumption that she will not be good at her job. Upon realizing that this negative assumption is inconsistent with his newer, egalitarian view of women, Clayton is likely to experience guilt and be motivated to avoid such biased thinking in the future. Yet how might he best accomplish that goal?

In a very real sense, for a person like Clayton, censoring the negative stereotype and guarding against ingroup biasing takes conscious and deliberate attention—like trying to break a bad habit. Patricia Devine and Margo Monteith contend that people can circumvent stereotypical thinking if they make a conscious effort to use more rational, inductive strategies (Devine & Sharp, 2009; Monteith & Mark, 2009). Although the unwanted stereotype will likely be automatically activated as soon as Clayton encounters a woman, the good news is that this stereotype is likely to become weaker with self-awareness

and self-regulation. As depicted in Figure 6.9, whenever Clayton encounters a woman, the gender stereotype is involuntarily activated. If he does not consciously monitor his thoughts, he may automatically slip back into acting as though women are the intellectual inferiors of men (a *discrepant response*). Becoming aware of this discrepancy in his actions, Clayton will experience *discrepancy-associated consequences*. These include feelings of guilt and self-criticism that will, in turn, motivate him to heighten his self-awareness and search for situational cues that may have spontaneously triggered this prejudiced response (Hing et al., 2002). Through such attentiveness to prejudice-triggering cues, Clayton will slowly build up self-regulatory mechanisms that should produce more controlled and careful responses on future occasions (Kawakami et al., 2000).

FIGURE 6.9 Reducing Prejudiced Responding Through Self-Regulation

According to Devine and Monteith, when low-prejudiced persons first begin to try to respond in a nonprejudiced manner toward previously denigrated outgroup members, stereotype activation often spontaneously triggers a discrepant (i.e., prejudiced) response, which then triggers a series of discrepancy-associated consequences. This cognitive process is depicted by the arrows running vertically from top to bottom in the left side of the figure. Over time, through careful self-regulation of one's thoughts and attention to one's nonprejudiced standards, low-prejudiced people break the "prejudice habit" and respond as depicted by the horizontal arrows at the top of the figure. According to this model, what would be the first step you would need to take to reduce your own prejudiced responding?



According to Devine and Monteith, the two critical factors in reducing prejudice are that people must first be aware of their biases and then also be concerned about their biases. If people engage in self-awareness, they can learn to avoid using stereotypes in their social judgments (Kawakami et al., 2000). This perspective also holds out hope for reducing prejudice even among aversive racists. Recall, aversive racists are convinced they are nonprejudiced, so they believe there is no need to monitor their thoughts for bias. How can their prejudiced thinking be reduced without them engaging in careful self-regulation? The answer is that someone else must make aversive racists aware that there is a discrepancy between their explicit and implicit attitudes. Research by Leanne Son Hing and her coworkers (2002) indicates that when aversive racists are confronted with evidence exposing their hidden biases, they tend to experience guilt and make conscious efforts to behave in a nonprejudiced manner.

The importance of Devine and Monteith's perspective for reducing prejudice and discrimination is that it proposes that we can avoid prejudiced responding (and discrimination) if low-prejudiced standards are central to our self-concept *and* we bring these standards to mind before acting. In other words, although automatic stereotype activation makes nonprejudiced responding difficult, we can inhibit such intolerance through conscious and deliberate self-regulation (Legault et al., 2007).

6.4b People Can Become Agents of Positive Social Change.

Thus far, our discussion has focused on how prejudiced individuals can reduce their own biased thinking and responding, but can we also induce change in our wider social groups? Furthermore, can those who are the targets of prejudice and discrimination become powerful agents of social change themselves? For example, imagine that you are in a class and someone blurts out "That's so gay!" to express a negative opinion of another student's comments. What would you do? Would you confront the person who made the statement? Would your response be different if you were a member of the LGBT community than if you were a heterosexual person?

Confrontation can occur in a variety of ways, ranging from pointing out the inappropriateness of the comment, expressing disagreement, or requesting the perpetrator refrain from expressing their biased beliefs or discriminatory behaviors. A number of studies find that individuals who are the targets of negative stereotyping and prejudice report that they often want to respond by assertively communicating their displeasure to the perpetrator, but that they do not always act on this desire (Swim et al., 1998). One important social benefit of assertively responding is that it provides the opportunity to educate perpetrators by raising their awareness and hopefully reducing their prejudice (Zitek & Hebl, 2007). An additional personal benefit is that an assertive response often reduces negative feelings aroused by the perpetrators' comments (Hyers, 2007).

Despite these benefits, survey studies find that targets of negative stereotyping and prejudice sometimes decide to remain silent (Foster, 1999; Wright et al., 1990). The most common reason for not assertively responding to others' biased thinking is a concern about being judged negatively (Dodd et al., 2001). Assertive confrontations risk confirming stereotypes that your group is "difficult," "aggressive," or "oversensitive" when interacting with outgroup members (Latting, 1993). A related reason for not assertively responding is a desire to avoid conflict. Yet one negative personal consequence of not assertively responding to prejudice is that targets report that they carry negative feelings with them afterward (Hyers, 2007).

> "If we accept and acquiesce in the face of discrimination, we accept the responsibility ourselves and allow those responsible to salve their conscience by believing that they have our acceptance and concurrence. . . . We should, therefore, protest openly everything . . . that smacks of discrimination."
>
> —Mary McLeod Bethune, US educator and civil rights activist, 1875–1955

Individuals from the nonstereotyped group can play a significant role as an "ally" in confronting prejudice. Confrontation of prejudice by allies is especially helpful because it is generally not perceived as being self-serving, and therefore, it may be more effective than confrontation by those who were targeted (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Although many people report that they would confront prejudice when it occurs, the reality is that many people remain silent (Kawakami et al., 2009; LeMarie & Oswald, 2016). However, those who confront prejudice by speaking up or doing something often report positive feelings about their intervention (Dickter & Newton, 2013). Furthermore, confrontation can be effective at initiating the sort of self-awareness and self-regulation that is necessary for prejudiced people to reduce their biased responses (Czopp et al., 2006). For example, Kimberly Chaney and Diana Sanchez (2018) found that people who expressed prejudiced thoughts were much less likely to express such thoughts one week later if others had confronted them following their initial biased statements. Interviews with these individuals revealed that this reduction in prejudice was at least partly due to them feeling guilty about their behavior and running the incident over in their minds. Such results suggest that confrontation can motivate long-term prejudice reduction, thereby nurturing the seeds of social change that might otherwise lie dormant.

6.4c The Contact Hypothesis Identifies Social Conditions That Reduce Intergroup Conflict.

contact hypothesis
The theory that under certain conditions, direct contact between antagonistic groups will reduce prejudice

At the time of the original U.S. Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education* decision on school desegregation, Gordon Allport (1954) outlined how desegregation might reduce racial prejudice. Later, other social psychologists also contributed to what came to be known as the **contact hypothesis** (Amir, 1969; Hewstone, 1996). The contact hypothesis can be thought of as a blueprint for reducing hostility by manipulating situational variables between groups that have had a history of conflict. According to this perspective, intergroup contact will decrease hostility when specific situational conditions are met (refer to Table 6.2).

TABLE 6.2 Reducing Prejudice Through Social Contact

According to the contact hypothesis, intergroup prejudice can be reduced if the four conditions listed below are met. Does research indicate that all four conditions are essential for prejudice reduction to occur?

Four Situational Conditions
1. *Equal Social Status*: Members of groups in conflict should interact in settings where everyone has roughly equal status.
2. *Sustained Close Contact*: Interaction between members of different groups should be one-on-one and should be maintained over an extended period of time.
3. *Intergroup Cooperation*: Members of different groups should engage in joint activities to achieve superordinate goals.
4. *Social Norms Favoring Equality*: There must be a clear social perception, largely fostered by group authority figures, that prejudice and discrimination are not condoned.
Fifth Condition in the Reformulated Model
Friendship Potential: Developing friendships with outgroup members precipitates initial reductions in intergroup tensions and fosters emotional ties that are important in reducing prejudice over time.

Equal Social Status

"Only equals can be friends."

—Ethiopian proverb

The first necessary condition is that the groups interacting must be roughly *equal in social status*. When this condition is not met and traditional status imbalances are maintained, long-standing stereotypes that are largely based on status discrepancies are generally not revised (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). However, research indicates that when equal-status people from different racial and ethnic groups interact, such as soldiers in the U.S. Armed Forces, racial stereotyping and prejudices decline (Pettigrew, 1969).

"You cannot judge another person until you have walked a mile in his moccasins."

—North American proverb

Sustained Close Contact

The second condition is that the two groups must have *sustained close contact*. Several public-housing studies conducted in the 1940s and 1950s demonstrated the importance of this condition in reducing prejudice. Reflecting on these social experiments in racial integration, Stuart Cook stated:

> One of the clearest findings of studies on the relation between intergroup contact and attitude change is that, while individuals rather quickly come to accept and even approve of association with members of another social group in situations of the type where they have experienced such association, this approval is not likely to be generalized to other situations unless the individuals have quite close personal relationships with members of the other group. (Cook, 1964, pp. 41–42)

Which of the two types of personality-influenced prejudice—prejudice based on the authoritarian personality or on social dominance orientation—is most likely to be positively influenced by sustained close contact with members of a group toward which a person holds prejudiced attitudes?

Similarly, survey studies and field experiments in France, Chile, Great Britain, Germany, Finland, and the Netherlands confirm that intergroup friendships significantly reduce both subtle and blatant explicit prejudice, as well as implicit prejudice (e.g., R. Brown et al., 2007; Gonzalez et al., 2010). The sustained close contact necessary to reduce prejudice does not even have to be something that one directly experiences; simply knowing that some of your ingroup members have outgroup friends is often sufficient to reduce prejudice toward that outgroup (Wright et al., 1997).

One likely reason school desegregation has not produced a significant reduction in racial prejudice is that students of different races generally avoid interacting with one another. That is, even though the school building is integrated, students segregate themselves on the bus and playground, and in the cafeteria and classroom. School officials often magnify the problem by separating students based on academic achievement, which results in advantaged white students and disadvantaged minority students having very little classroom contact (Epstein, 1985). One type of school activity that is fairly effective in reducing racial prejudice is team sports. When sports teams have a high percentage of minority athletes, there is a decrease in intergroup intolerance among the participants (Brown et al., 2003).

"And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand."

—Mark 3:24–25, The New Testament

Intergroup Cooperation

A third necessary condition in reducing hostility is *intergroup cooperation*. As the Robbers Cave study demonstrated, animosity between the Rattlers and the Eagles subsided when they engaged in a joint activity to achieve mutually shared goals (*superordinate goals*). Similar results have been obtained in a variety of experimental and field settings, including school, work, and the armed forces (Desforges et al., 1997). One possible reason cooperation reduces intergroup bias and hostility is that cooperating

(U.S. Navy photo by Anastasia Puscian, via Wikimedia, Camp Pendleton, 2009)

When individuals from various ethnic groups join the armed services, situational conditions often reduce previously learned ethnic prejudices. In school settings, what type of activity is also likely to have these same situational conditions?

members of different social groups appear to cognitively *recategorize* one another into a new ingroup (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2009).

Social Norms Favoring Equality

The fourth condition for successful conflict reduction is a social environment that contains *social norms favoring equality* (Monteith et al., 1996). Here is where authority figures and group leaders play a pivotal role. If they publicly state support for equality and actively oppose intolerance, others are likely to follow their lead (Bahns & Branscombe, 2011). If they oppose intergroup contact, prejudice reduction is unlikely (Nesdale & Dalton, 2011). Institutional policies and social movements also play a significant role in shaping social norms. For example, surveys of American citizens found that during the "Black Lives Matter" movement both explicit and implicit racial attitudes became more egalitarian among both white and black respondents (Sawyer & Gampa, 2018). In contrast, during the 2016 United States presidential election, Republican candidate Donald Trump routinely expressed negative attitudes and prejudice towards a number of stigmatized groups (Muslims, immigrants, Asian Americans, disabled people, people who are obese). Not surprisingly, perceived tolerance for prejudice was higher following the election of Trump as president than before the election (Crandall et al., 2018). That is, many people perceived that America's social norms had changed to reflect increased prejudice directed towards specific groups targeted by the new leader of the country. These two examples highlight the power that authority figures and social movements can have in altering social norms regarding tolerance of outgroups, for better or for worse.

"Let's go hand in hand, not one before another."

—William Shakespeare, English dramatist and poet, 1564–1616

"When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. . . . They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people."

—Donald Trump, 2015 presidential campaign speech

Are All Four Conditions Necessary?

Recent meta-analyses support the argument that contact, under the conditions outlined by Allport, can result in decreased prejudice with the effect sizes estimated between .25 and .37 (Paluck et al., 2018; Zhou et al., 2018). Contact appears to be especially useful in decreasing prejudice directed towards individuals with mental and physical disabilities and religious outgroups (Paluck et al., 2018; Zhou et al., 2018). In Thomas Pettigrew's and Linda Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis of 713 separate studies, they found that the greatest reductions in prejudice tended to occur when all four conditions in Allport's model were present, yet significant reductions emerged even when some conditions were absent. Thus, counter to Allport's initial thinking, while these four conditions do facilitate prejudice reduction, all four conditions are not necessary for reductions to occur.

Beyond the four conditions outlined in the original theory, Pettigrew (1998) has offered a reformulated version of the contact hypothesis in which he adds a fifth situational factor that facilitates prejudice reduction—namely, *friendship potential*. Pettigrew argued not only that developing friendships with outgroup members is important in precipitating the initial reduction in intergroup tensions, but also that fostering these emotional ties becomes

"Progress is a nice word, but change is its motivator. And change has its enemies."

—Robert Kennedy, US senator, 1925–1968

increasingly important in reducing prejudice over time. Subsequent research has found that establishing a positive emotional relationship with even a single outgroup member can reduce both explicit and implicit prejudice toward the outgroup as a whole (Gulker & Monteith, 2013). Further, these cross-group friendships are most effective in reducing prejudice when individuals live in segregated neighborhoods and have had only occasional, or no, previous contact with outgroup members (Baum, 2010; Christ et al., 2010). Other research suggests that even imagined contact with outgroup members can initiate prejudice reduction, which illustrates the importance of simply anticipating positive interactions between groups (Yetkili et al., 2018; Zhou et al., 2018).

Intergroup Anxiety and the Contact Hypothesis

A criticism of the contact hypothesis has been its overemphasis on changing the dominant group's prejudicial attitudes, while ignoring the attitudes of minority group members (Devine et al., 1996). To more effectively promote intergroup harmony, social scientists must also consider (1) the attitudes and beliefs of minority group members, and (2) the beliefs and anxieties of everyone involved in intergroup contact. According to this perspective, during intergroup contact, minority group members may feel anxious because they fear being victimized and negatively evaluated (Shelton et al., 2005). They may also have negative stereotypes about the dominant group members (Trawlater et al., 2009). In turn, dominant group members may be anxious from fear of saying or doing something that might be interpreted as a sign of prejudice (Shelton et al., 2005).

In a meta-analysis of 108 samples, Negin Toosi and her colleagues (2012) found that people report more anxiety during interracial interactions than when interacting with someone of the same race. Compounding this anxiety is the concern of both parties that their interest in contact and interaction will not be reciprocated (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). This **intergroup anxiety** often creates difficulties in such social encounters, even in the absence of any real prejudicial attitudes (Ashburn-Nardo & Smith, 2008; Littleford et al., 2005). Among low-prejudiced individuals, those who have had very limited contact with the outgroup are the ones most likely to experience intergroup anxiety (Blair et al., 2003; Brown et al., 2001). The good news is that when people place themselves in intergroup situations and do so with an open mind, their intergroup anxiety often diminishes (Flynn, 2005; Phills et al., 2011). Intergroup anxiety tends to decrease during long-term interactions rather than during those that are fleeting (Toosi et al., 2012). Yet even imagined contact with members of another group can begin to decrease intergroup anxiety and decrease prejudice (Zhou et al., 2018).

intergroup anxiety
Anxiety due to anticipating negative consequences when interacting with an outgroup member

> "Most of the bigoted remarks I have heard and prejudice I have experienced came from people who were trying to be popular, not despised. They were following what they believed to be acceptable behavior in their group or sub-group, not deviating from it."
>
> —Clarence Page, US author and social commentator, born 1947

In the final analysis, no single strategy eliminates prejudice and discrimination from the vocabulary of intergroup relations (Walsh, 2011). Because of the manner in which we as a species process information from our social world, and because of the importance we place on our group affiliations, we will always need to be attentive to the way we judge others. Otherwise, stereotyping can easily diminish our ability to see the shared humanity in those who fall outside the favored category of "we."

(Shutterstock)

Intergroup anxiety can lead to awkward social situations, but such anxiety often disappears through repeated interactions.

Section Summary

- Stereotypical and prejudicial thinking can be reduced through self-regulation, if one is motivated.
- Confrontation is an effective weapon against intolerance.
- The contact hypothesis identifies four conditions to reduce prejudice:
  equal social status
  sustained close contact
  intergroup cooperation
  social norms favoring equality
- A reformulated version of the contact hypothesis adds a fifth condition: friendship potential.
- Intergroup anxiety hinders the development of greater understanding between conflicted social groups.

Applications

How Can Our Schools Be Positive Institutions of Social Change?

The concepts that we have reviewed in this chapter have clear applications to a number of social settings, and one that has received specific attention is schooling. Here we focus on how social psychological research has attempted to address two educational issues (1) how schools can foster intergroup tolerance between students and (2) how schools can counter the negative effects of stereotype threat.

The Jigsaw Classroom

In 1971, Elliot Aronson was asked by the superintendent of the Austin, Texas, schools to devise a plan to reduce interracial tensions in the recently desegregated classrooms. After observing student interaction, Aronson realized that the social dynamics were strikingly similar to those described by Sherif in the Robbers Cave field study (refer back to section 6.3b, The Robbers Cave Study). Using that study and the contact hypothesis as guides, he and his colleagues developed a cooperative learning technique that came to be called the **jigsaw classroom** (Aronson et al., 1978; Aronson & Thibodeau, 1992). The technique was so named because students had to cooperate in "piecing together" their daily lessons, much the way a jigsaw puzzle is assembled. Ten fifth-grade classrooms were introduced to this technique, and three additional classes served as control groups.

jigsaw classroom
A cooperative group-learning technique designed to reduce prejudice and raise self-esteem

In the jigsaw classroom, students were placed in six-person racially and academically mixed learning groups. The day's lesson was divided into six subtopics, and each student was responsible for learning one piece of this lesson and then teaching it to the other group members. With the lesson divided up in this manner, cooperation was essential for success. In contrast to traditional classroom learning, in which students compete against one another, the jigsaw classroom promoted superordinate goals. It also promoted racial harmony. Compared with students in the control classrooms (in which traditional learning techniques were employed), students in the jigsaw groups showed a decrease in prejudice and an increase in liking for one another. This change in students' attitudes toward one another was due to them recategorizing previous outgroup members as new ingroup members—"we" versus "us against them." Their liking for school also improved, as did their level of self-esteem. The cooperative learning also improved minority students' academic test scores, while white students' scores remained the same. Since these studies were first conducted and reported, meta-analysis of results from similar cooperative classroom settings has found that the jigsaw method offers a promising way to improve race relations in desegregated schools by breaking down the "outgroup" barriers that drive a cognitive and emotional wedge between students (Miller & Davidson-Podgorny, 1987).

(Shutterstock)

How did social psychologist Elliot Aronson use the insights of the contact hypothesis in designing jigsaw classrooms to both foster cooperative learning and reduce prejudice?

(*continues*)

(**Applications**, *continued*)

Defusing Stereotype Threat

Beyond reducing intergroup tensions, research on stereotype threat highlights a second serious problem for many of our students, namely, struggling with negative cultural stereotypes regarding their academic potential. Unfortunately, many underrepresented students (such as ethnic minorities and women in math and science fields) fail to perform up to their intellectual potential. For example, African American college students tend to underachieve academically—even when their college equivalency scores are equal to those of white students (Neisser et al., 1996). Based on our previous discussion of stereotype threat, this underachievement may be partly caused by two factors. First, the anxiety and extra cognitive burden associated with stereotype threat may directly impair students' academic achievement (Blascovich et al., 2001). Second, following repeated instances of this anxiety-induced underperformance, many students may disidentify with academic achievement so that it is no longer important to their self-esteem.

To counteract these two negative effects of stereotype threat, social psychologists have been instrumental in developing a new—and still evolving—educational approach, often referred to as "wise" schooling (Walton, 2014). An important component in wise schooling is to provide students with critical feedback concerning their academic progress in a manner that does not induce stereotype threat (Steele, 2010). Thus, instead of offering students stigmatizing remedial help—which often only reinforces doubts they may have about their intelligence and academic ability—wise schooling invites minority students to participate in a racially integrated and intellectually challenging learning program. Often working cooperatively, students receive the message that regardless of their current skill level, they have the ability to reach their academic potential. This message is another important component in wise schooling: Intelligence is not fixed and unchanging, but rather, through hard work, it is expandable (Aronson et al., 2002). Research on wise schooling programs among low-income, minority, and female students indicates that wise schooling fosters greater enjoyment of the academic process, greater sense of belonging at college and identification with college-based careers, and higher grade-point averages—compared with control groups who receive conventional schooling—among stigmatized groups who are most likely to experience stereotype threat (Good et al., 2003; Walton, 2014).

What about school districts that do not have wise schooling programs? Is there anything that educators and parents can do on their own to increase the likelihood that students perform up to their potential? Research suggests some possibilities. For example, regarding math achievement, a number of studies indicate that girls are less susceptible to stereotype threat in math when their parents and teachers not only encourage them in math activities, but also intentionally shelter them from negative gender stereotypes (Oswald & Harvey, 2003). This does not mean that adults should not discuss negative stereotypes with children, but rather, when doing so, adults should provide a cultural context for such discussion that emphasizes children's academic potential. Additional research indicates that girls and young women are much less likely to underperform in math when they are not only taught about women's achievements in masculine-type fields but they also actually witness women succeeding in these fields (Cheryan et al., 2011; McIntyre et al., 2003). Female role models and mentors are important both in challenging negative gender stereotypes and in encouraging college-aged women to pursue careers in science and math (Drury et al., 2011; Herrmann et al., 2016; Shin et al., 2016).

In a very real sense, both wise schooling programs and the individual efforts of informed parents and teachers described above are examples of the self-fulfilling prophecy. Yet, now teachers and parents are not expecting failure from students; they're setting high expectations, and through their conviction, those expectations are much more likely to become reality.

The Big Picture

John Dovidio (2001) suggests that there have been three "waves" of scholarship in the study of prejudice. The first wave developed after World War II and conceived of prejudice as a form of personal psychopathology. The authoritarian personality is this wave's most identifiable theory. The second wave began in the 1950s and approached prejudice as more of a social problem, much like a social cancer that spread from person to person. A number of theories developed from this social perspective, including realistic group conflict theory, the social contact hypothesis, and social identity theory.

This second wave, which peaked during the early 1990s, did not consider prejudice to be a manifestation of mental illness. Instead, it was conceptualized as an outgrowth of socialization, normal cognitive processes, and the natural desire to receive rewards and raise self-esteem. Now we are in the third wave of research on prejudice. Here, more attention is paid to understanding unconsciously held prejudicial attitudes, as well as how the targets of intergroup intolerance adapt to and cope with stigmatization. Examples of recent work in this third wave include implicit prejudice, stereotype threat, and ambivalent sexism. Together, these three research waves have deepened our understanding of how prejudice develops, spreads, and diminishes, as well as what consequences it has for both its targets and perpetrators.

We are far from being a nonprejudiced species. Our natural inclination to categorize people can set the stage for prejudice. It is also true that competition, ingroup loyalties, and social ideologies fan the flames of this tendency to see people as "them" rather than "us" (Lanning, 2002). However, as has been demonstrated throughout this text, our ability to reflect on our actions, our desire to act in ways consistent with our internalized personal beliefs, and our ability to reshape social reality all mean that prejudice can be reduced. If self-concept is truly a process of identification, what we need to do on an individual level is expand our ingroup identification to include humanity as a whole (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2009). In doing so, we will be able to see ourselves in those who were previously thought of as merely inferior "others." This is by no means an insignificant cognitive shift. As you will discover in Chapter 10, when we include others in our self-concept, our resources become theirs to share and their successes and failures become our own. Therefore, the first step in achieving a community with a low level of prejudice is to monitor our own thinking and actions. The second step is to work collectively to change the perceptions of others. The question to ask yourself is whether you are ready to take that first step.

KEY TERMS

WEBSITES

Accessed through https://www.bvtlab.com/sop8

Websites for this chapter focus on the nature of prejudice, including an analysis of ethnic stereotypes, sexual harassment, antigay prejudice, the history and psychology of hate crimes, and how to break prejudicial habits.

American Psychological Association

The American Psychological Association has web pages that explore a number of issues related to prejudice and discrimination. For example, one web page analyzes whether all of us have some degree of prejudice, as well as the possibility that we can break our prejudicial habits. Another web page explores the history of hate crimes, including their prevalence, perpetrators, and emotional effects.

American Association of University Women

This website for the American Association of University Women has separate pages devoted to sexual harassment (Hostile Hallways: The AAUW Survey on Sexual Harassment in America's Schools) and gender discrimination in education (Gender Gaps: Where Schools Still Fail Our Children).

Sexual Orientation: Science, Education, and Policy

This website features the work of Dr. Gregory Herek, a noted authority on antigay prejudice, and his Northern California Community Research Group. A number of the studies conducted by Herek and this group are cited in the present chapter.

Breaking the Prejudice Habit

This is the website of Awareness Harmony Acceptance Advocates, an organization dedicated to spreading awareness around prejudice and discrimination.