Chapter 13
Prejudice
Causes, Consequences, and Cures

Chapter Outline and Learning Objectives

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The Cognitive Component: Stereotypes
The Affective Component: Emotions
The Behavioral Component: Discrimination

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Reducing Prejudice

LO 13.5 Summarize the conditions that can reduce prejudice.

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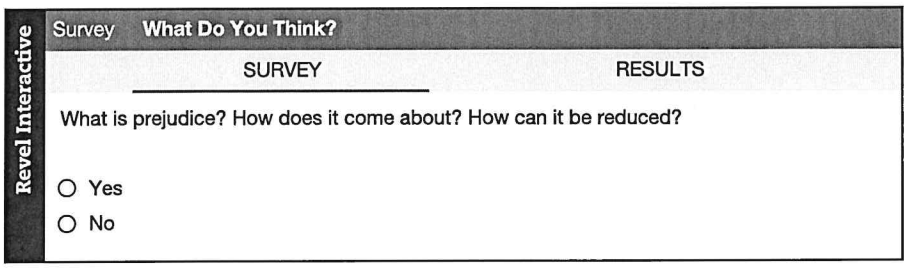
WHAT DO YOU THINK QUESTION



Of all the social behaviors we discuss in this book, prejudice is among the most common and the most dangerous. Consider these examples:

- One Wednesday evening of February 24, 2017, two Indian immigrants, Srinivas Kuchibhotla and Alok Madasani, were enjoying drinks at the bar they frequented in Olathe, Kansas. A man they did not know, Adam Purinton, began to call them racial slurs against "Arabs." The bar staff kicked Purinton out, but he returned shortly and yelled "Get out of my country!" before opening fire on the two friends. For racism against a group that wasn't even their own, Kuchibhotla lost his life and Madasani was seriously wounded.
- When trying to rent or buy a house, Asian Americans and African Americans are 17% less likely to be told about available homes by real estate agents than White clients. Discrimination even shows up in temporary housing like AirBnB, where requesters with Black-sounding names are 16% less likely to be accepted than requesters with White-sounding names.
- More than 300 people were dancing away their Saturday night at Pulse, a gay nightclub in Orlando, Florida, when Omar Mateen opened fire with a semi-automatic rifle. Forty-nine people did not make it out alive. Although Mateen identified himself as a terrorist in social media posts, both his family and coworkers said he was virulently homophobic, and they assumed that was why he carried out the attack at Pulse. Indeed, the FBI announced that they considered the attack to be both a hate crime and an act of terrorism.

None of us emerges completely unscathed by prejudice; it is a problem common to all humankind. When prejudice escalates into extreme hatred, it can lead to brutality, murder, war, and even genocide. During the past half-century, social psychologists have contributed greatly to our understanding of the psychological processes underlying prejudice and have begun to identify some possible solutions. What is prejudice? How does it come about? How can it be reduced?

Defining Prejudice

LO 13.1 Summarize the three components of prejudice.

Prejudice is an attitude—an emotionally powerful one. Attitudes are made up of three components: a cognitive component, involving the beliefs or thoughts (cognitions) that make up the attitude; an affective or emotional component, representing both the type of emotion linked with the attitude (e.g., anger, warmth) and the intensity of the emotion (e.g., mild uneasiness, outright hostility); and a behavioral component, relating to one's actions. (See Chapter 7.) People don't only hold attitudes; they usually act on them as well.

In this context, a **prejudice** is a hostile or negative attitude toward people in a distinguishable group, based *solely* on their membership in that group. Thus, when we say that someone is prejudiced against a certain group, we mean that he or she is

Prejudice
A hostile or negative attitude toward people in a distinguishable group based solely on their membership in that group; it contains cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components

primed to behave coolly or with hostility toward the members of that group and that he or she feels that all members of the group are pretty much the same. The characteristics this individual assigns to the members of that group are negative and applied to the group as a whole. The individual traits or behaviors of the individual target of prejudice will either go unnoticed or be dismissed. Prejudices have a cognitive element (a stereotype) and can influence behavior (in the form of discrimination).

We are all victims or potential victims of prejudice for no other reason than our membership in an identifiable group, whether on the basis of ethnicity, skin color, religion, gender, age, national origin, sexual orientation, body size, or disability, to name just a few. And it is not only minority groups that are the targets of prejudice at the hands of the dominant majority. Prejudice is a two-way street; it often flows from the minority group to the majority group as well as in the other direction.

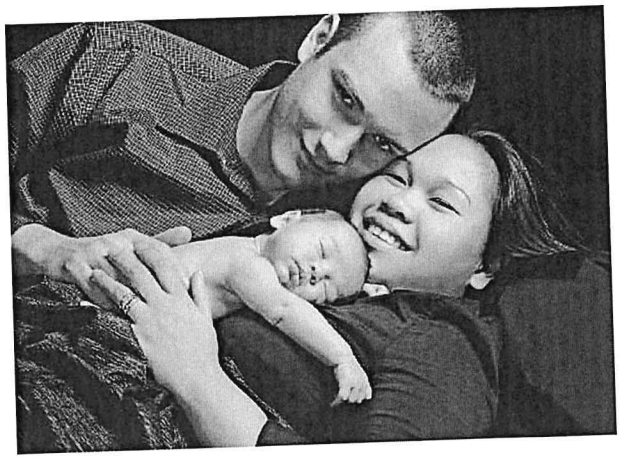
To be sure, enormous progress has been made. The numbers of people who admit to believing that Blacks are inferior to Whites, women inferior to men, and gays inferior to straights have been steadily dropping (Weaver, 2008). Fifty years ago, the overwhelming majority of Americans were opposed to racial integration and could not imagine ever voting for any Black candidate, let alone for president of the United States. Many other changes have swept the country. Fifty years ago, few could imagine that it would one day become routine to see female lawyers, doctors, bartenders, Supreme Court justices, astronauts, or marine biologists. Gay men and lesbians lived in fear of anyone discovering their sexual orientation, and few could imagine that same-sex marriage would ever be a possibility, let alone become legal. Inspired by the civil rights movement, the National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance was formed in 1969, "dedicated to ending size discrimination in all of its forms," and Disability Rights Advocates likewise have organized to fight discrimination against anyone with a disability.

And yet it's clear that prejudice continues. Hate groups in the United States have more than doubled since the turn of the century. Between 2015 and 2017, there was a 197% increase in the total number of anti-Muslim hate groups in the United States (Potok, 2017). The rise in extremist attitudes has been attributed to reactions to demographic shifts throughout the country. Some people—definitely not all people—think that more freedom for another group must come at the cost of less freedom for their own group. If you view the world in this way, then the relationship between local demographics and prejudice make sense. For example, some White Americans feel that reductions in anti-Black bias must necessarily be accompanied by a rise in anti-White bias (Norton & Sommers, 2011; Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014); when confronted with information that the country is becoming more ethnically diverse and that the proportion of Whites is declining, these same people respond not with tolerance but with fear and increased prejudice toward Latinos, African Americans, and Asian Americans (Craig & Richeson, 2014). Online, hundreds of thousands of self-identified White nationalists proudly express their contempt for gays, Blacks, Mexicans, and, primarily, Jews (Stephens-Davidowitz, 2014). Sometimes prejudice erupts overtly, as in the stories we described above, along with hate crimes, vandalism, bigoted jokes. Most of its expressions are more subtle and low-level, however, being reflected in our bodies and the way we process information.

The Cognitive Component: Stereotypes

The human mind cannot avoid creating categories, putting some people into one group based on certain characteristics and others into another group based on their different characteristics (Brewer, 2007; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010). Researchers in the field of *social neuroscience* find that creating categories is an adaptive mechanism, one built into the human brain; humans begin creating categories almost as soon as they are born (Cikara & Van Bavel, 2014). Newborns have no preferences for faces of one race or another, but if they live in a "monoracial" world, they will show a preference for faces of their own race by only

3 months of age (Anzures et al., 2013). If they repeatedly see faces of two or more races, however, they show no preference. This research illustrates a major theme of social-psychological approaches to prejudice: We are born with the ability to notice different categories, but experience shapes that ability, right from the get-go.



At birth, newborns have no preference for faces of one race or another, and if they repeatedly see faces of two or more races, they continue to show no preference.

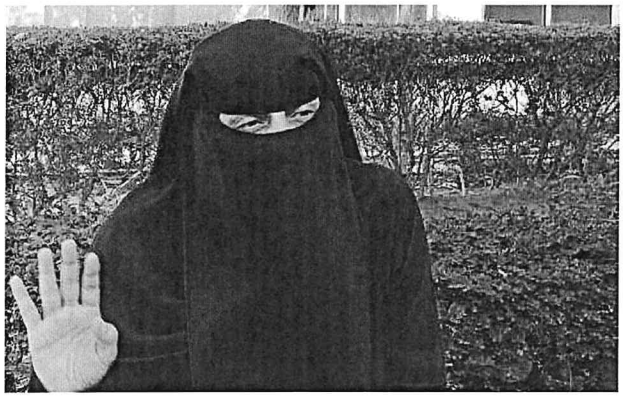
Just as we make sense out of the physical world by grouping animals and plants into taxonomies, we make sense out of our social world by grouping people according to characteristics that are important, most notably gender, age, and race. We rely on our perceptions of what people with similar characteristics have been like in the past to help us determine how to react to someone else with the same ones (Andersen & Klatzky, 1987; Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). As a result, when you think about a social group, concepts that you associate with that group become more accessible (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). As a result, stereotype-consistent information is given more attention and remembered more easily than the "exceptions" to the stereotype (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). When asked to evaluate a drug addict's honesty or dishonesty, more people remembered being told that he found some money on the street and pocketed it than being told that he returned it to its rightful owner (Wigboldus, Dijksterhuis, & van Knippenberg, 2003). The resulting categories are both useful and necessary, but they have profound consequences. They do not inevitably generate prejudices, but they are the first step.

We tend to categorize according to what we regard as normative. And within a given culture, what people regard as normative is similar, in part because these images are perpetuated and broadcast widely by the media. Stereotyping, however, goes a step beyond simple categorization. A **stereotype** is a generalization about a group of people in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members. Walter Lippmann (1922), a distinguished journalist who was the first to introduce the term *stereotype*, described the distinction between the world "out there" and "the little pictures we carry around inside our heads." Within a given culture, these pictures tend to be remarkably similar.

Stereotype
A generalization about a group of people in which certain traits are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members

We know that there are male cheerleaders and nurses, female computer programmers, and Black classical musicians. So, why do we use stereotypes? The world is too complicated for us to have highly differentiated attitudes about everything, we maximize our cognitive time and energy by constructing nuanced, accurate attitudes about some topics while relying on simple, error-prone beliefs about others. Gordon Allport (1954) described stereotyping as "the law of least effort." Given our limited capacity for processing information, it allows human beings to behave like "cognitive misers"—to adopt certain rules of thumb in our attempt to understand other people (Ito & Urland, 2003). We develop stereotypes based on our own experience and what we learn through the media and local culture. Even when a given stereotype is accurate, it blinds us to a person's individuality, which can be extremely maladaptive for all parties. (See the Try It!) Stereotypes certainly harm their targets. Across the world, when occupations are segregated by gender, many people form gender stereotypes about the requirements of such careers: Female jobs

Watch RACE AND THE BIKE THIEF



What is this woman's occupation? Most Western non-Muslims hold the stereotype that Muslim women who wear the full-length Black *niqab* must be repressed sexually as well as politically. But Wedad Lootah, a Muslim living in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, is a marriage counselor and sexual activist, and the author of a best-selling Arabic sex manual.

require kindness and nurturance; male jobs require strength and smarts. These stereotypes, in turn, stifle many people's aspirations to enter a nontraditional career and also create prejudices in employers that motivate them to discriminate (Agars, 2004; Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Eccles, 2011).

Do stereotypes have a "kernel of truth" to them, as some pundits like to argue? Some do, some don't. To the extent that a stereotype is based on experience and accurately identifies certain attributes of a group overall, it can be an adaptive, shorthand way of dealing with complex situations (Jussim et al., 2009; Lee, McCauley, & Jussim, 2013). But, some stereotypes do not reflect experience at all. Consider the pop-psych stereotype that women are "more talkative" than men. To test this assumption, psychologists wired up a sample of men and women with voice recorders that tracked their conversations while they went about their daily lives. There was no significant difference in the number of words spoken: Both sexes used about 16,000 words per day on average, with large individual differences among the participants (Mehl et al., 2007). To know if a stereotype is true or not, you have to be open to evidence that disconfirms it.

ARE POSITIVE STEREOTYPES GOOD? Not all stereotypes are negative. Sometimes we may assume someone is honest because of their group membership: We would be surprised if a Catholic priest stole money from a cash register. While it may seem like a good thing to hold positive beliefs about a group of people, positive stereotypes also disadvantage both parties. For the person holding the stereotype, it is more maladaptive to mistakenly view someone positively than to mistakenly view them negatively. For example, in a zombie apocalypse, if you mistake a zombie for a human, then you will be killed or turned into a zombie, but if you mistake a human for a zombie then it's at most a missed opportunity. For the target of the stereotype, positive stereotypes still mean that you are still being interpreted as a category instead of an individual and possibly mistreated as a result.

For example, Asian Americans have often been labeled a "model minority," a culture of people who are hardworking, ambitious, and intelligent. But many Asian Americans themselves object to this blanket characterization because it sets up expectations for those who are not interested in academic achievement, who don't like science and math and don't do well in those subjects, and who in general don't appreciate being treated as a category rather than as individuals (Thompson & Kiang, 2010). Moreover,

Try It!

Stereotypes and Aggression

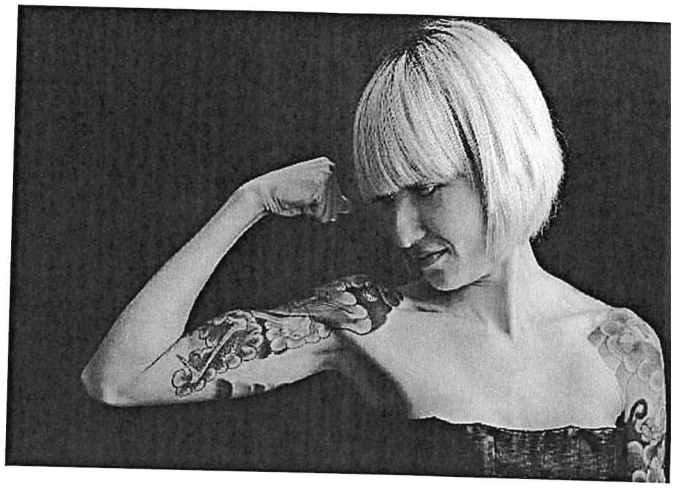
Close your eyes. Imagine an aggressive construction worker. How is this person dressed, where is this person located, and what, specifically, is this person doing to express aggression? Write your answers, being specific about the person's actions.

Now imagine an aggressive lawyer. How is this person dressed, where is this person located, and what, specifically, is this person doing to express aggression? Write your answers, being specific about the person's actions.

If you are like the experimental participants in one research study, your stereotypes of the construction worker and the lawyer will have influenced the way you have construed the term *aggression*: Most of the study subjects imagined the construction worker using physical aggression and the lawyer using verbal aggression (Kunda, Sinclair, & Griffin, 1997). And, by the way, in your visualization, are the construction worker and lawyer both men? Young? What is their race or ethnicity? Unless you are Asian American, we are pretty sure that neither one of the people you are imagining is Asian American. How come?

the stereotype lumps together *all* Asian Americans, ignoring differences across Asian cultures (rather like referring to Swedes, Germans, the Irish, the French, and Greeks as all one bunch of "European Americans"). A study of Cambodian, Chinese, Korean, Lao, and Vietnamese students in America found many average differences in values, motivations, and goals across these groups (S. J. Lee, 2009).

Or consider the stereotype that "White men can't jump" and its implied corollary of positive stereotypes that (all) Black men *can* jump. This is a negative stereotype about White men and a positive stereotype about Black men, but neither group wins. Currently, more than 80% of National Basketball Association (NBA) players are Black, yet African Americans constitute only 13% of the U.S. population. Certainly, some of this discrepancy is driven by the impact of negative stereotypes on White boys' baller aspirations. So, what in this stereotype is insulting to the minority? The problem is that this assumption obscures the overlap in the distributions—that is, it blurs the fact that many Black kids are not adept at basketball and that many White kids are. To say that 80% of NBA players are Black does not mean that 80% of all Black men are capable of becoming NBA players. Thus, if someone meets a young Black man and is astonished at his ineptitude on the basketball court, then, in a real sense, the Black man is being denied his individuality. He is being relegated to a category of "good athlete" rather than, say, "smart professional." This creates hurtful experiences like the one described by a Black law professor: At an elegant restaurant with her two young sons, the maître d' came by and casually asked her if they would become rappers or ball players. She replied that doctor or lawyer was more likely. "Aiming kind of high, aren't we?" he said (Cashin, 2014).



Do you have a stereotype of Asian women, blond women, tattooed women, or muscular women? This woman is all four. Are any or all of those four stereotypes positive or negative for you?

Nonetheless, the use and depiction of positive stereotypes has been increasing steadily in America. As it has become less acceptable to overtly express prejudice, people have begun to systematically replace negative stereotypes with more positive stereotypes during conversations and communications with others (Bergsieker et al., 2012). However, people who endorse a lot of positive stereotypes also tend to endorse more negative stereotypes. For example, research involving 15,000 men and women in 19 nations shows that positive gender stereotypes fuel a form of sexism called *benevolent sexism*, where women are idealized as being better than men for stereotypically female qualities like being caring and good cooks (Glick & Fiske, 2001). In comparison, *hostile sexism* describes what we typically think of as sexism: The belief that women are inferior to men and the endorsement of negative stereotypes of women. Because benevolent sexism lacks a tone of hostility to women, it doesn't seem like a prejudice to many people, but benevolent sexism and hostile sexism are strongly correlated, meaning that benevolent sexists are likely also hostile sexists (Glick & Fiske, 1996). We're not just talking about men here: many women also endorse benevolent sexism (e.g., wanting men to hold doors for them), and those who do are less motivated to support action for women's equal rights (Becker & Wright, 2001). Thus, both positive and negative stereotypes legitimize discrimination and can be used to justify relegating people to stereotyped roles (Christopher & Wojda, 2008; Glick 2006).

Watch SURVIVAL TIPS! DEALING WITH POSITIVE STEREOTYPES

Watch PREJUDICE AND STEREOTYPING

The Affective Component: Emotions

If you've ever argued with people who hold deep-seated prejudices, you know how hard it is to get them to change their minds. Even people who are usually reasonable about most topics become immune to rational, logical arguments when it comes to the topic of their prejudice. Why is this so? It is primarily the emotional aspect of attitudes that makes a prejudiced person so hard to argue with; logical arguments are not always effective in countering emotions.

The difficulty of using reason to change prejudice was beautifully illustrated by Gordon Allport (1954) in his landmark book *The Nature of Prejudice.* He reports a dialogue between Mr. X and Mr. Y:

> *Mr. X:* The trouble with the Jews is that they only take care of their own group.
>
> *Mr. Y:* But the record of the Community Chest campaign shows that they gave more generously, in proportion to their numbers, to the general charities of the community than did non-Jews.
>
> *Mr. X:* That shows they are always trying to buy favor and intrude into Christian affairs. They think of nothing but money; that is why there are so many Jewish bankers.
>
> *Mr. Y:* But a recent study shows that the percentage of Jews in the banking business is negligible, far smaller than the percentage of non-Jews.
>
> *Mr. X:* That's just it; they don't go in for respectable business; they are only in the movie business or run nightclubs.

This dialogue shows how we can be motivated to protect certain beliefs. Because Mr. X is emotionally caught up in his beliefs about Jews, his responses are not logical. Rather than challenging the data presented by Mr. Y, he distorts the facts so that they support his hatred of Jews, or he simply ignores them and initiates a new line of attack. The prejudiced attitude remains intact, despite the fact that the specific arguments Mr. X began with are each refuted. That is the signal that emotional reasoning is at work: It is impervious to logic or evidence. The result, as Allport observed long ago, is that "defeated intellectually, prejudice lingers emotionally" (p. 328). He meant that the emotional component of prejudice, its deep-seated negative feelings, may persist even when a person knows consciously that the prejudice is wrong.

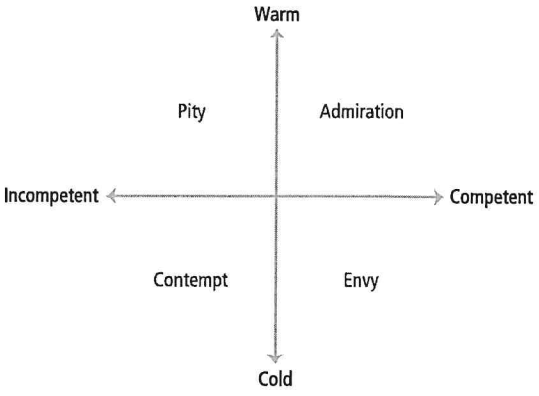
An early pair of studies on prejudice, began by asking college students to rank and rate 20 ethnic and national groups (e.g., Argentines, Canadians, Turks). Later, the students came to the lab and were connected to a skin conductance machine to measure physiological arousal while they listened to *good* statements about their most disliked group, such as "The world will undoubtedly come to recognize them as honest, wise and completely unselfish," and *bad* statements about their most liked group, such as "They certainly can be said to have caused more trouble for humanity than they are worth." They also heard good and bad statements about two neutral groups they had ranked in the middle. Students skin conductance spiked when they heard their most disliked group complimented or their most liked group derogated compared to the equivalent statements about neutral groups. Even more interesting, in the second study, Cooper (1959) was able to predict individual student's group rankings based on how aroused they became to statements about each of the 20 groups. Thus, prejudice is such a strong attitude that it literally gets under your skin to hear someone say something nice about a group you do not like.

Stereotypes also shape our emotional reactions to different groups. Susan Fiske, Amy Cuddy, and Peter Glick (2007) argue that all group stereotypes can be classified along two universal dimensions of person perception: warmth and competence. For example, we tend to view rich people as competent but not warm and the elderly as warm but not competent, and we feel different emotions toward them as a result (see Figure 13.1). Groups that are perceived as competent but not warm are envied, whereas groups that are warm but not competent are pitied. How warm and competent groups are viewed predict people's emotional reactions to them. We admire groups that we consider to be both warm and competent (e.g., the Middle Class), and feel contempt toward groups that we view as neither warm nor competent (e.g., the homeless).

Figure 13.1 Emotional responses as a function of groups' perceived warmth and competence

Groups are generally perceived along the dimensions of warmth and competence. Based on how the stereotypes of a group fall along these dimensions, different groups elicit different emotional reactions in people.

(Adapted from Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007)



Throughout this book, we have seen that none of us is 100% reliable when it comes to processing social information that is important to us. The human mind does not tally events objectively; our emotions, needs, and self-concepts get in the way (Fine, 2008; Gilovich, 1991; Westen et al., 2006). That is why a prejudice—a blend of a stereotype and emotional "heat" toward a particular group—is so hard to change. We see only the information that confirms how right we are about "those people" and, like Mr. X, dismiss information that might require us to change our minds. What negative feelings do you hold toward some group—perhaps even in spite of your wishes not to have those feelings? (See the Try It!)

The Behavioral Component: Discrimination

Prejudice often leads to **discrimination**, which is unjust treatment of someone based solely on their membership in group. The discrimination may be obvious or subtle. In a culture that relentlessly endorses "thin is beautiful," for example, overweight people are often targets of jokes, harassment, and humiliation; they are less likely than slender people to be hired and promoted; and they are less likely to receive appropriate medical treatment from their physicians (Finkelstein, DeMuth, & Sweeney, 2007; Miller et al., 2013). This kind of discrimination has mortal consequences. Take the case of Rebecca Hiles, who first began seeking medical treatment for a cough that wouldn't go away—and sometimes came up with blood—when she was just 17. Over the next 5 years, she went to multiple doctors who all assumed the same thing: her problems were due to her weight. A doctor finally took her problems seriously and Rebecca was diagnosed with cancer. At that point, the only choice was to remove an entire lung. The surgeon later told her that she would still have her lung if she had been diagnosed 5 years earlier.

Discrimination

Unjustified negative or harmful action toward a member of a group solely because of his or her membership in that group

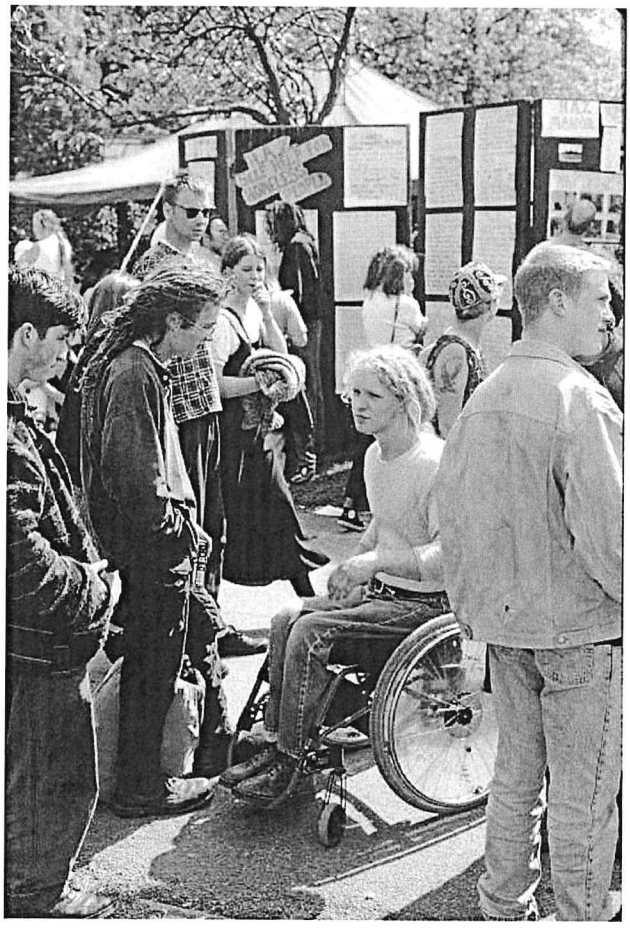
Try It!

Identifying Your Prejudices

Is there some group of people you "can't stand"? Who evokes the strongest prejudice in you? Is it a category defined by their looks, fashion choices, weight, age, occupation, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, gender, race, or even the type of music they listen to? Think about the factors that cause prejudice: Which one or ones might be contributing to your negative feelings? Think about the changes in experience and attitudes that might reduce your prejudice: What would have to happen before you could let go of it?

INSTITUTIONALIZED DISCRIMINATION We opened this chapter with many examples where discrimination was clear, but most obvious forms of discrimination in hospitals, schools, and the workplace are now illegal in America. Nonetheless, stereotypes and prejudices affect behavior in subtle ways that are difficult to document. For example, both male and female science professors at leading universities were contacted and asked to evaluate the applications of a student for a laboratory manager position in their labs. Although the applications were identical except for a randomly assigned male or female name, professors thought the male applicant was significantly more competent than the female applicant. They were more willing to hire him, and they offered him a higher starting salary and more career mentoring than they offered the female (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012).

As a result of hiring discrimination, people resort to strategies that minimize their social identities. The process of "whitening" a résumé is when a non-White person removes references to their ethnicity in their résumé, like removing any awards given by a cultural organization. Sadly, this stripping of one's social identity may be effective: In a massive study, Whitened and non-Whitened résumés of fictitious Black and Asian college graduates were sent to 1600 job ads posted to major career sites over the summer of 2015. The applications with Whitened résumés were twice as likely to receive a callback as applications with non-Whitened résumés (Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik, & Jun, 2016). Despite the widespread perception that affirmative action has given an advantage to Black job candidates, especially those who are college graduates, studies show that they remain at a disadvantage in tough economic times.



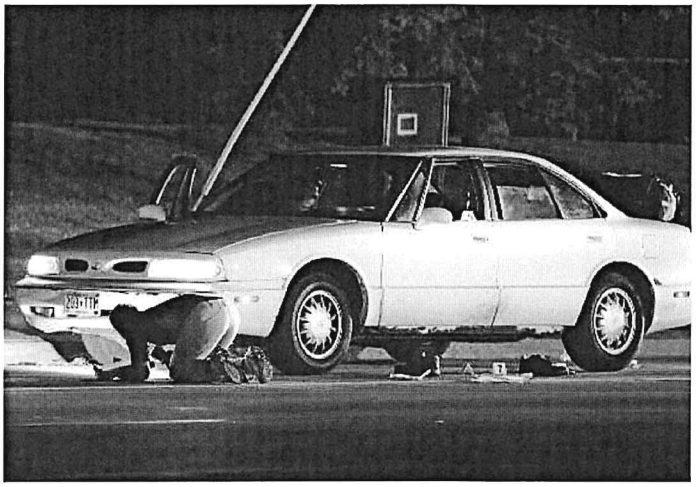
One unobtrusive measure of social distance and "microaggressions" is to notice how people respond, nonverbally, to people with disabilities.

Discrimination appears institutionalized in our criminal justice system, too. Consider the fact that our national "war against drugs," which began in the 1980s, has perhaps done tremendous social and economic harm to the Black community. Legal scholar Michelle Alexander in her book *The New Jim Crow* (2012) has called the mass incarceration of Black men based in large part on the war on drugs as the newest form of legal segregation. Across the country, relative to their numbers in the general population and among drug offenders, African Americans are disproportionately arrested, convicted, and incarcerated on drug charges (Blow, 2011). A typical illustration comes from a study in Seattle, which is 70% White. The great majority of those who use or sell serious drugs are White, yet almost two-thirds of those who are arrested are Black. Whites constitute the majority of those who use or sell methamphetamine, ecstasy, powder cocaine, and heroin; Blacks are the majority of those who use or sell crack. But the police virtually ignore the White market and concentrate on crack arrests. The researchers said they could not find a "racially neutral" explanation for this difference. The focus on crack offenders did not appear to be related to the frequency of crack transactions compared to other drugs, public safety or health concerns, crime rates, or citizen complaints. The researchers concluded that the police department's drug enforcement efforts reflect the unconscious impact of race on official perceptions of who is the cause of the city's drug problem (Beckett, Nyrop, & Pfingst, 2006).

EVERYDAY DISCRIMINATION However, discrimination is not limited to major life events. Discrimination can subtly occur through *microaggressions*, defined as the "slights, indignities, and put-downs" that many minorities routinely encounter (Dovidio, Pagotto, & Hebl, 2011; Nadal et al., 2011; Sue, 2010). Derald Sue (2010)

offers these examples: A White professor compliments an Asian American graduate student on his "excellent English," although the student has lived in the United States his whole life. Employers spend less time interviewing people they are uncomfortable with, making less eye contact and being less verbally positive (Hebl et al., 2002).

FROM PREJUDICE TO DISCRIMINATION One evening shortly after Independence Day 2016 in Minneapolis, a Black couple, Philando Castile and Diamond Reynolds, and her 4-year-old daughter were stopped in their car by Officer Jeronimo Yanez. Castile declared to Yanez he had a permitted gun in the car and 6 seconds later the officer shot seven times into the car, killing Castile. An audio recording captured Castile repeatedly telling Yanez he was not reaching for his gun, while Yanez is yelling at Castile not to touch it. Yanez told everyone later that he felt afraid when he thought Castile was reaching for the gun. He began yelling at Reynolds to not touch the gun, at which point, she began using Facebook Live to stream what was happening. Millions of people watched the horrifying and utterly sad aftermath of the shooting. Yanez was charged with second-degree manslaughter and endangering Reynolds and her daughter by firing into the car, but he was acquitted on all charges less than 1 year after the shooting. Yanez' defense hinged on the fear he felt in the moment.



This image shows the forensic team investigating the car where Philando Castile was killed. Castile is part of a tragic ongoing pattern of Black males being killed because their shooters claimed to have perceived them as dangerous. Research on implicit bias and discrimination is relevant to the effort to understand and prevent such tragedies.

At the end of the day, justice for Castile boiled down to what Yanez *felt* instead of the officer's objective level of danger. This is where prejudice turns into the deadliest form of discrimination. Research has shown that White Americans attribute some "super human" qualities to African Americans, such as exceptional strength (Waytz, Hoffman, & Trawalter, 2014). When making snap judgements of the danger of a moment, this set of beliefs weighs in. Moreover, police officers are often forced to make quick decisions under conditions of extreme stress and have little time to stop and analyze whether someone poses a threat, requiring them to rely on the faster, association-based thinking of stereotypes. Is that person reaching for an ID or a gun? Is the decision to open fire influenced by the victim's race? Would the officer have acted any differently if Castile had been White? In 2015, police shot five times as many unarmed Black people as unarmed White people.

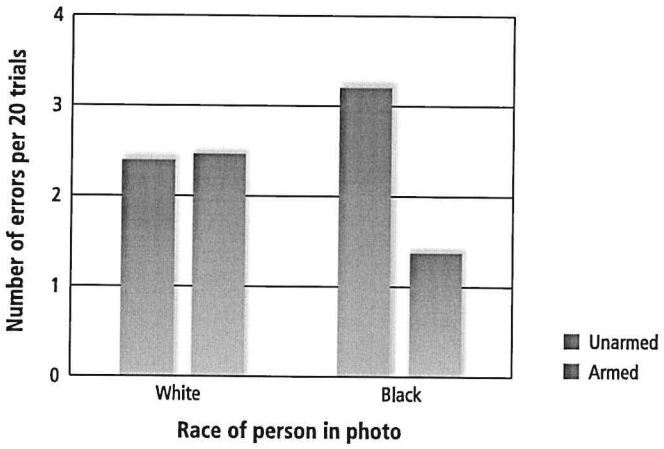
This question led researchers to try to recreate the situation in the laboratory. In one study, White participants saw videos of young men in realistic settings, such as in a park, at a train station, and on a city sidewalk (Correll et al., 2002). Half of the men were African American, and half were White. And half of the men in each group were holding a handgun, and half were holding nonthreatening objects, such as a cell phone, wallet, or camera. Participants were instructed to press a button labeled "shoot" if the man in the video had a gun and a button labeled "don't shoot" if he did not. Like a police officer, they had less than a second to make up their minds. Participants won or lost points on each round: They won 5 points for not shooting someone who did not have a gun and 10 points for shooting someone who did have a gun; they lost 20 points if they shot someone who was not holding a gun and lost 40 points if they failed to shoot someone who was holding a gun (which would be the most life-threatening situation for a police officer).

The results? The White participants were especially likely to pull the trigger when the men in the videos were Black, whether or not they were holding a gun. This "shooter bias" meant that people made relatively few errors when a Black person was actually holding a gun; it also meant, however, that they

Figure 13.2 Errors Made in "Shooting" People in a Video Game

Participants played a video game in which they were supposed to "shoot" a man if he was holding a gun and withhold fire if he was holding a harmless object, such as a cell phone. As the graph shows, players' most common error was to "shoot" an unarmed Black man.

(Adapted from Correll et al., 2002)



made the most errors (shooting an unarmed person) when a Black person was not holding a gun (see Figure 13.2). When the men in the picture were White, participants made about the same number of errors whether the men were armed or unarmed. When this experiment was done with police officers, the officers showed the same association between Black men and guns, taking less time to shoot an armed Black man than an armed White man, even when the background situation looked safe and unthreatening. Many variations of these experiments have replicated the basic findings (Correll et al., 2011; Ma & Correll, 2011; Plant & Peruche, 2005).

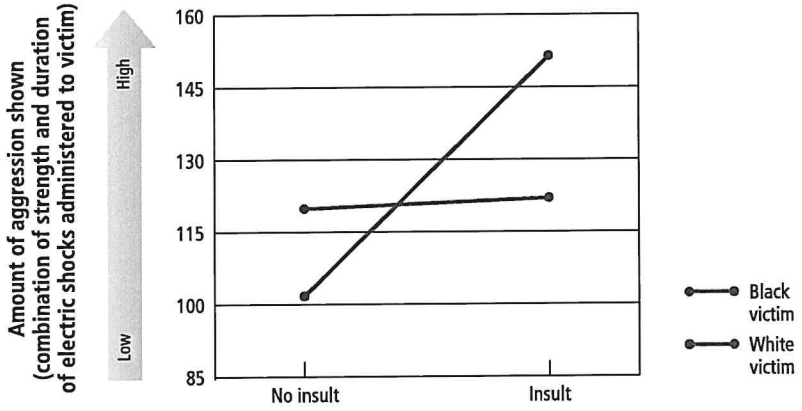
Discrimination can also be activated when a person is angered or insulted (Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1981). White students were told they would be inflicting electric shock on another student, the "learner," whom they were told was either White or African American, as part of an apparent study of biofeedback. The students initially gave a *lower* intensity of shock to Black learners than to White ones—reflecting a desire, perhaps, to show that they were not prejudiced. The students then overheard the learner making derogatory comments about them, which, naturally, made them angry. Now, given another opportunity to inflict electric shock, the students who were working with a Black learner administered *higher* levels of shock than did students who worked with a White learner (see Figure 13.3). The same pattern appears in studies of how English-speaking Canadians behave toward French-speaking Canadians, straights toward gays, non-Jewish students toward Jews, and men toward women (Fein & Spencer, 1997; Maass et al., 2003; Meindl & Lerner, 1985).

#BlackLivesMatter is a movement that formed after George Zimmerman was acquitted for killing 17-year-old Trayvon Martin to fight the dehumanization of Black Americans.

Figure 13.3 The Unleashing of Prejudice Against African Americans

Prejudices can be activated when people feel angry or insulted. In this experiment, White participants gave less shock to a Black "learner" than to a White learner when they were feeling fine. But once insulted, the White students gave higher levels to the Black learner.

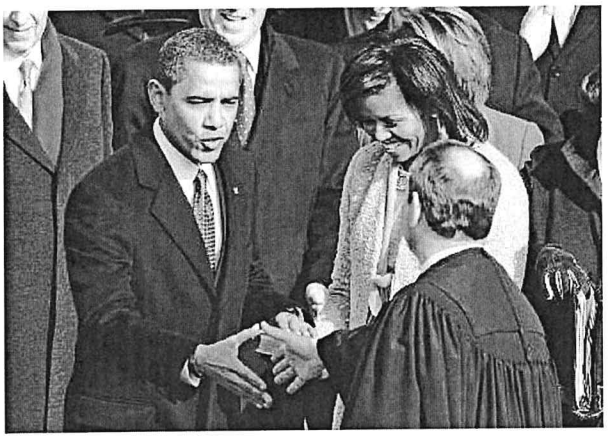
(Adapted from Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1981)



These findings suggest that prejudices often lurk just beneath the surface. It doesn't take much to activate them, and once activated, they can have tragic consequences for how we perceive and treat a particular member of an out-group.

Review Questions

1. Findings from social neuroscience suggest that
   - **a.** it has been evolutionarily beneficial for the brain to be able to rapidly form categories.
   - **b.** the tendency to form categories and stereotypes is determined largely by experience.
   - **c.** people in some cultures are more likely to form stereotypes than other people.
   - **d.** experience plays almost no role in the ability to notice different categories.
2. Suppose you're a bartender and you have a stereotype about people with full-arm tattoos: You think they are more likely to get into fights at your bar than people without tattoos. Your perception illustrates which aspect(s) of stereotypes?
   - **a.** You are noticing people who confirm your stereotype and overlooking those who don't.
   - **b.** You are paying attention to nonaggressive people with tattoos.
   - **c.** You are paying attention to aggressive people without tattoos.
   - **d.** Your stereotype is accurate.
3. *Benevolent sexism* refers to people who think that women are naturally superior to men in kindness and nurturance. What does international research show is a consequence of this belief?
   - **a.** Women have higher self-esteem than men.
   - **b.** Men envy women for having more positive traits than they have.
   - **c.** It can legitimize discrimination against women and justify relegating them to traditional roles.
   - **d.** It can cause people to overlook sexism directed against men.
4. What leads us to envy a social group?
   - **a.** The group is stereotyped as being incompetent and not warm.
   - **b.** The group is stereotyped as being competent but not warm.
   - **c.** The group is stereotyped as being incompetent but warm.
   - **d.** The group is stereotyped as being competent and warm.
5. Because the law has made most forms of discrimination in the United States illegal, the expression of prejudice
   - **a.** has declined markedly.
   - **b.** is more likely to be revealed in microaggressions.
   - **c.** has not changed.
   - **d.** can be activated when a person is under stress, angry, or frustrated.
   - **e.** has less of an impact on minority group members.
   - **f.** both b and d.
   - **g.** b, d, and e.



The election of America's first Black president was an exhilarating milestone for many Americans, but it awakened prejudices in others.

Detecting Hidden Prejudices

LO 13.2 Explain how we measure prejudices that people don't want to reveal—or that they don't know they hold.

When Barack Obama was first elected president, many people hoped the nation was entering a "postracial" era, but before long it became apparent that we're not there yet. Highly prejudiced people realized that it would have been uncool to oppose him on transparently racial grounds, so their prejudice took the form of questioning his nationality and religion: He wasn't born in the United States (he was). He is a Muslim (he is Christian). He wasn't a legitimate citizen (he is). He wasn't, in short, "one of us." A study of nearly 300 students, Black and White, found that for prejudiced Whites, President Obama's perceived "non-Americanism" affected their evaluation of his performance, but not of Vice President Joe Biden's performance (Hehman, Gaertner, & Dovidio, 2011). In effect, these students could say, "I'm not prejudiced against Black people—it's just that Obama isn't really an American *and* is a lousy president." In contrast, Black students and unprejudiced White students could be either supportive or critical of Obama, but belief in his American status was irrelevant to their personal evaluation of him. Perhaps ironically, the subsequent president, Donald Trump, was a leader in the "birther" movement that insisted Obama was not a U.S. citizen.

Now, it is unclear whether it is socially acceptable to express prejudice. On the one hand, we saw Trump win the presidency while overtly expressing negative beliefs about Muslims and Mexican immigrants—among other groups. But simultaneously, we see high-profile people like Frank Artiles, the Florida state senator who resigned in April 2017 after a drunken tirade where he called his fellow state senators by racist and sexist slurs. Because of these mixed messages, some prejudiced people suppress their true feelings to avoid being labeled as racist, sexist, or homophobic by others, whereas other prejudiced people suppress their true feelings out of a genuine desire to change and be non-prejudiced (Devine et al., 2002; Plant & Devine, 2009). In either case, these people will keep their prejudices private. And some people, as we saw in Chapter 7, hold *implicit* prejudices that they might not even be aware of consciously—slight biases and rarely activated stereotypes as well as our fuzzy attitudes of a group having more "goodness" or "badness." Social psychologists have developed a variety of *implicit measures* to try to identify the prejudices that people don't want to admit—to others or to themselves (De Houwer et al., 2009).

Ways of Identifying Suppressed Prejudices

One method to identify suppressed prejudices is to send identical résumés to potential employers, varying only a name that indicates gender (e.g., John or Jennifer), implies race (a name or membership in an African American organization), mentions religious affiliation, or describes an applicant as obese (Acquisti & Fong, 2014; Agerström & Rooth, 2011; Rooth, 2010). Does the employer show bias in responding?

We saw that the answer is often yes, but this method can reveal other prejudices, too, especially when combined with social media. Today, more than a third of U.S. employers check an applicant's Facebook page or other online sources for information they would be prohibited from asking the candidate directly because of state or federal laws. One research team sent out more than 4,000 fabricated résumés to private firms across the country that had posted job openings. They then created fake Facebook pages containing information that the candidate was Muslim or Christian, or gay or straight. The researchers found incredible progress in the acceptance of gay men and

lesbians: Employers did not discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation anywhere in the country. But employers in the most conservative states revealed an anti-Muslim bias: Christian applicants were much more likely to get a callback than Muslim applicants were—17% to 2.3% (Acquisti & Fong, 2014).

Because people tend to believe they can't fool a machine, another way of identifying people's explicit but suppressed prejudices calls on technology. An early version of this method was named the *bogus pipeline.* Participants were hooked up to an impressive-looking machine and told it was a kind of lie detector; actually, it was just a pile of electronic hardware that did nothing. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions in which they indicated their attitudes either on a questionnaire (where it was easy to give socially correct responses) or by using the bogus pipeline (where they believed the machine would reveal their true attitudes if they lied). People expressed more racial prejudice when the bogus pipeline was used (Jones & Sigall, 1971; Roese & Jamieson, 1993; Sigall & Page, 1971). Similarly, college men and women expressed almost identically positive attitudes about women's rights and women's roles in society on a questionnaire. When the bogus pipeline was used, however, most of the men revealed their true feelings, which were far less sympathetic to women's issues (Tourangeau, Smith, & Rasinski, 1997). The bogus pipeline has also been used to reveal people's hostility toward Jews and Israel, feelings that would otherwise be masked as socially inappropriate (Cook et al., 2012).

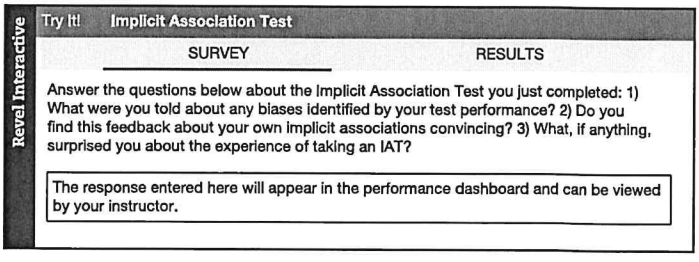
Ways of Identifying Implicit Prejudices

The methods such as the bogus pipeline are employed based on the assumption that people know what they really feel but prefer to hide those feelings from others. But some people may harbor implicit prejudices that are hidden from themselves. Psychologists have developed several ways of measuring implicit prejudice.

One method that has garnered national and international attention is the **Implicit Association Test (IAT)**, which measures the speed of people's positive and negative associations to a target group (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Here's how it works. You sit at a computer and are shown a series of faces you must sort as quickly as you can—pressing a left key for a Black face, say, and a right key for a White face. Now you have to do the same for a series of positive or negative words—press the left key for positive words (such as *triumph, joy, honest*) and the right key for negative words (such as *devil, maggot, failure*). Once you've mastered these sorting tasks, the faces and words are combined: Now, as quickly as possible, you must press the left key when you see a Black face or a positive word and the right key when you see a White face or a negative word. You are given a rapid set of combinations: *Black + triumph, Black + poison, White + peace, White + hatred.* The key pairing then switches so that the left key is for Black faces and negative words and the right key is for White faces and positive words.

Implicit Association Test (IAT)
A test that measures the speed with which people can pair a target face (e.g., Black or White, old or young, Asian or White) with positive or negative stimuli (e.g., the words *honest* or *evil*) reflecting unconscious (implicit) prejudices

Repeatedly, people respond more quickly when White faces are paired with positive words and when Black faces are paired with negative words. That speed difference is said to be a measure of their implicit attitudes toward African Americans because it's harder for their unconscious minds to link African Americans with positive words. Versions of the IAT have been administered using many target groups, including people who are young or old, male or female, Asian or White, disabled or not, gay or straight, overweight or thin. More than 15 million people of all ages and walks of life, all over the world, have taken the test online, in school, or in their workplaces, and most learn that they hold implicit prejudices (Nosek, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2007; Miller et al., 2013).



Watch MAHZARIN BANAJI ON THE IAT

The developers of the IAT, Mahzarin Banaji and Anthony Greenwald (2013), report that people are often surprised and alarmed to be told they have prejudices they are unaware of. Banaji herself, a woman of color who was born and raised in India, says that she "failed" the racial IAT, revealing anti-Black associations that she consciously repudiates. One gay activist they describe was stunned to learn that "her own mind contained stronger gay = bad associations than gay = good associations." Young people have faster reaction times to *old + bad* than to *old + good*, but the great majority of old people do also. And writer Malcolm Gladwell, who is biracial, likewise was shocked by his responses on the IAT. The researchers quote from his interview with Oprah Winfrey: "The person in my life [his mother] who I love more than almost anyone else is Black, and here I was taking a test, which said, frankly, I wasn't too crazy about Black people, you know?" (quoted in Banaji & Greenwald, 2013, p. 57).

Well, not so fast, Malcolm! The IAT could mean you are prejudiced, but it might not. Psychological scientists have debated the ambiguities surrounding interpretations of the test. If Gladwell's response to *Black + good* is a few milliseconds slower than to *Black + bad*, that could mean that he holds an unconscious (implicit) bias. But it could also mean that the IAT is not always measuring what it says it's measuring (De Houwer et al., 2009; Kinoshita & Peek-O'Leary, 2005; Rothermund & Wentura, 2004). Some psychological scientists think it simply captures a cultural association or stereotype, in the same way that people would be quicker to pair *bread + butter* than *bread + avocado*. Thus, old people may really be as biased against other old people as young people are, but it could also be that old and young share the same cultural stereotypes and associations about the elderly (Arkes & Tetlock, 2004; Olson & Fazio, 2004). Even if we adopt this interpretation, individual differences in the IAT suggest that some people hold these stereotypes more strongly than others.

One way to judge the IAT's validity is to see if a high score predicts actual behavior toward people who are elderly, overweight, transgender, or any other group. Some studies do show that the higher a person's IAT score, the more likely he or she is to discriminate against the target in some way (Green et al., 2007; Greenwald et al., 2009). For example, one study found that Whites who reveal racial bias on the IAT tend to find Blacks less trustworthy (Stanley et al., 2011), and another found that Whites with high scores don't communicate as warmly with Blacks in professional settings as they would with Whites (Cooper et al., 2012). Cancer doctors with higher IAT scores spent less time in the treatment room with Black patients and they thought Black patients had milder cancer symptoms than White patients. This differentiated behavior is not seen among oncologists with low IAT scores (Penner et al., 2016).

Typical stimuli used in the IAT to measure implicit racism.

However, some people claim that the IAT measures biases that are hidden from even yourself, such that you would be surprised to hear how implicitly prejudiced you were toward different groups. To the contrary, it seems that people are "surprisingly accurate" when predicting their implicit prejudice toward five different groups on the IAT (Hahn et al., 2014). This suggests that, if the implicit bias exists, you probably know it. Thus, although it is clear that people can and do hold unconscious prejudices that govern their behavior in ways they do not always recognize (see Chapter 7), the debate over how best to identify them continues.

Review Questions

1. What is a *suppressed* prejudice?
   a. A person holds a prejudice without being aware of it.
   b. A person has a tendency to become prejudiced under the right circumstances.
   c. A person knows he or she is prejudiced but chooses not to express it in public.
   d. A person reveals a prejudice subtly, by *implying* a bias rather than saying so outright.
2. What is an *implicit* prejudice?
   a. A person holds a prejudice without being aware of it.
   b. A person has a tendency to become prejudiced under the right circumstances.
   c. A person knows he or she is prejudiced but chooses not to express it in public.
   d. A person reveals a prejudice subtly, by *implying* a bias rather than saying so outright.
3. When people are attached to a "bogus pipeline" or other technological "lie detectors," how does this affect their willingness to admit their prejudices?
   a. They are more likely admit prejudices that they would otherwise suppress.
   b. They are more likely to admit unconscious prejudices.
   c. They are less likely to admit any kind of prejudice.
   d. They are less likely to reveal sexism but more likely to reveal anti-Semitism.
4. What is one of the main problems with the Implicit Association Test?
   a. People can't respond to the pairs of associations rapidly enough.
   b. It is pretty good at identifying racism but not other kinds of prejudice.
   c. It may reflect cultural norms more than individual prejudices.
   d. It is a better test of explicit prejudice than implicit prejudice.
5. The Implicit Association Test might be measuring implicit prejudice, but what other explanations might account for the findings it produces?
   a. It is capturing cultural stereotypes rather than people's real feelings.
   b. It reflects actual associations between two traits but not necessarily prejudices.
   c. It doesn't measure speed of associations quickly enough.
   d. All of the answers are correct.
   e. Answers a and b are correct.

The Effects of Prejudice on the Victim

LO 13.3 Describe some ways that prejudice affects its targets.

Thus far, we have been looking at prejudice from the perspective of the perpetrator, but let's shift the focus now to the victim. A common result of being the target of prejudice is to internalize society's views of one's group as being inferior, unattractive, or incompetent. But, another common response is to reappropriate these negative stereotypes and turn them into a source of empowerment, motivation, and pride. What predicts one response or the other? Here we will discuss two kinds of self-defeating problems that can occur as a result of those internalized feelings as well as strategies that people with stigmatized identities use to be resilient in the face of stigma.

The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

All other things being equal, if you believe that Amy is not very bright and treat her accordingly, chances are that she will not say a lot of clever things in your presence. This is the well-known **self-fulfilling prophecy**. (See Chapter 3.) How does it work? Given your belief in her low intelligence, you probably will not ask her interesting questions, and you will not listen intently while she is talking; you might even look out the window or yawn. You behave this way because of a simple expectation: Why waste energy paying attention to Amy if she is unlikely to say anything smart or interesting? Your behavior, in turn, is bound to influence Amy's behavior, for if the people she is talking to aren't paying much attention, she will feel uneasy. She will probably clam up and not come out with all the poetry and wisdom within her. Her silence then serves to confirm the belief you had about her in the first place. The circle is closed; the self-fulfilling prophecy is

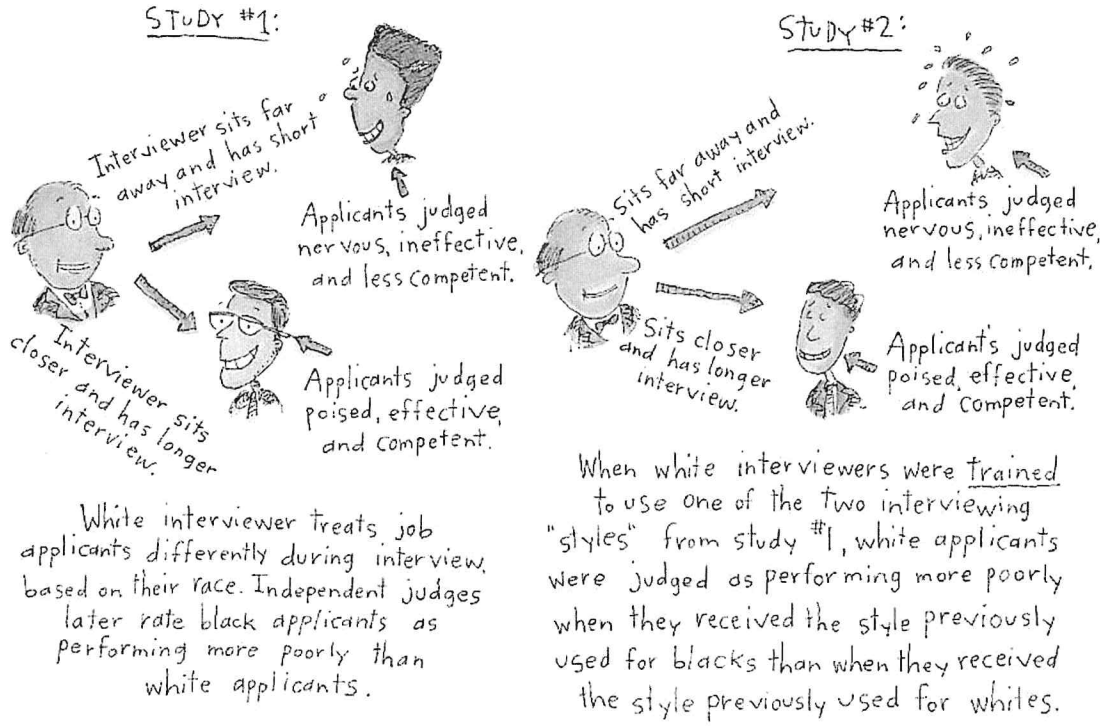
Self-Fulfilling Prophecy
An expectation of one's own or another person's behavior that comes true because of the tendency of the person holding it to act in ways that bring it about.

complete. And it is complete for Amy as well: As people continue to ignore her observations, she develops a self-concept that she is stupid and boring.

Researchers demonstrated the relevance of this phenomenon to stereotyping and discrimination in an elegant experiment (Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974). White college undergraduates were asked to interview several job applicants, some White, some African American. The White students displayed discomfort and lack of interest when interviewing African American applicants. They sat farther away, tended to stammer, and ended the interview far sooner than when they were interviewing White applicants. Then, in a second experiment, the researchers systematically varied the behavior of the interviewers (actually their confederates) so that it coincided with the way the original interviewers had treated the African American or White interviewees in the first experiment. But in the second experiment, all of the people being interviewed were White. The researchers videotaped the proceedings and had the applicants rated by independent judges. Applicants who were interviewed the way African Americans had been interviewed in the first experiment were judged to be far more nervous and far less effective than those who were interviewed the way White applicants had originally been interviewed. Their behavior, in short, reflected the *interviewer's* expectations (see Figure 13.4).

On a societal level, the insidiousness of the self-fulfilling prophecy goes even further. Suppose that there is a general belief that a particular group is irredeemably uneducable and fit only for low-paying jobs. Why waste educational resources on them? Hence, they are given inadequate schooling and fail to acquire the skills they need for well-paying careers. Hence, they face a limited number of jobs that are available and that they can do. Thirty years later, what do you

Figure 13.4 An Experiment Demonstrating Self-Fulfilling Prophecies



find? For the most part, members of the targeted group will be severely limited in the jobs available to them and otherwise disadvantaged compared to the rest of the population. "See? I was right all the while," says the bigot. "How fortunate that we didn't waste our precious educational resources on such people!" The self-fulfilling prophecy strikes again.

Social Identity Threat

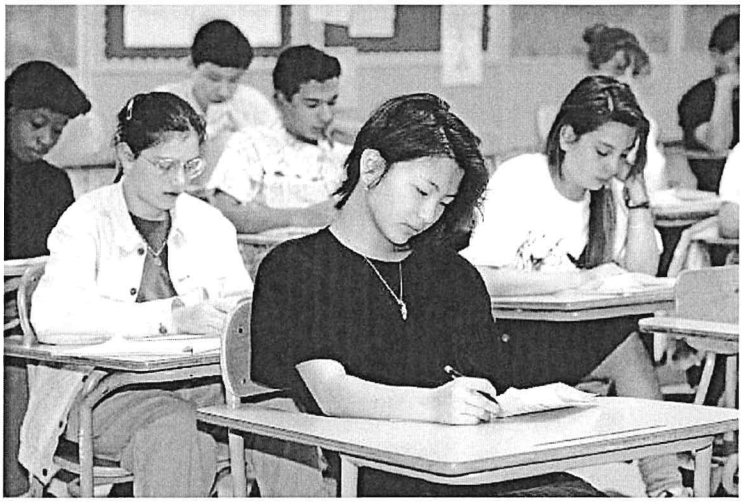
Have you ever been talking with other people and, either because someone directly mentioned it or the conversation topic was relevant, you suddenly become hyper-aware of your group identity? You suddenly realize that the other people may view you more as a representative of your group instead of an individual. Could be to do with your race, religion, or sexual orientation, but it could also do with less "weighty" categorizations, such as your political affiliations, being part of a certain organization or sports team, or even the color of your hair. When this happens, there is a lot more weight on your shoulders to disprove negative stereotypes about your group and prove that you are a smart, well-rounded, and good-natured person. This burden uses up your cognitive resources to focus on the task at hand, which hinders your ability to show off your skills and true self.

Researchers call the feelings and behaviors elicited by knowing that you are being evaluated as a member of your group **social identity threat** (Inzlicht & Kang, 2010). This experience of being evaluated through the lens of negative stereotypes about your group used to be termed *stereotype threat* (Steele & Aronson, 1995a, b), but the experience seems to extend to any situation where you feel at risk to be devalued on the basis of your identity. Research shows that social identity threat reduces our working memory capacity (Schmader & Johns, 2003), so you do not have as many cognitive resources left to enable you to perform at your best. The extra burden of representing your whole social group creates an apprehension that interferes with your ability to perform well.

Social Identity Threat
The threat elicited when people perceive that others are evaluating them as a member of their group instead of as an individual

In one of their experiments, Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson administered a difficult test (the GRE) individually to African American and White students at Stanford University. Half of the students of each race were led to believe that the investigator was interested in measuring their intellectual ability. The other half were led to believe that the investigator was examining the process of test taking but didn't care about the students' abilities. The results confirmed the researchers' predictions. White students performed equally well (or poorly) regardless of whether or not they believed the test was being used as a diagnostic tool. The African American students who believed their abilities were not being measured performed as well as the White students. But the African American students who thought the test *was* measuring their abilities did not perform as well as the African Americans in the other group. The African Americans who thought the researchers were investigating test-taking performed equally well as the White students. Steele and Aronson subsequently found that one of the triggers of social identity threat is the salience of social identity: If test takers are asked to indicate their race prior to taking the test, Black students perform significantly worse than they would otherwise. This detail has no effect on the performance of White test takers.

Social identity threat is truly about whichever of your social identities is currently salient in a given situation. In some cases, you may have social identities with conflicting stereotypes. For example, would society stereotype Asian American women as being good or bad at math? On the one hand, American culture has a stereotype that men are better at math than women are, despite the fact that the sexes' math skills overlap far more than they diverge (Else-Quest, Hyde, & Linn, 2010). However, American culture also has a stereotype that Asians are better at math than non-Asians. So, how do Asian American women perform on math?



Whether or not you feel "social identity threat" depends on what category you are identifying with at the time. Asian women do worse on math tests when they see themselves as "women" (stereotype = poor at math) rather than as "Asians" (stereotype = good at math).

The answer depends on whether they are thinking about their ethnic identity or gender identity: Asian American women do worse on math tests when they are reminded of their gender than when they are reminded of their cultural identity (Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999). The phenomenon applies to White males too: They performed less well on a math exam when they thought they would be compared with Asian males (Aronson, Lustina, et al., 1999).

The impact of social identity threat extends beyond the situation that triggered it. University students whose social identities were triggered subsequently exhibited less self-control in other areas—in one study they ate more unhealthy food and in another study they behaved more aggressively (Inzlicht & Kang, 2010)—because their motivation for self-control had been sapped by the experience of social identity threat. Social identity threat affects people's everyday lives, too. One study followed the daily experiences of male and female engineers for 2 weeks (10 work days). Overall, female engineers felt like their gender affected the way their colleagues interacted with them in the workplace more than male engineers. Moreover, on days when female engineers experienced more social identity threat, they also felt more burnt out and disengaged from their jobs (Hall, Schmader, & Croft, 2015).

How can the effects of social threat be reversed? Joshua Aronson and his colleagues reasoned in the following way: If thinking about a negatively stereotyped identity can harm performance, then drawing on an identity that has a counter-stereotype ought to help performance. In one experimental condition, they reminded women and men who were about to take a difficult test of spatial ability that they were students at a "selective northeastern liberal arts college." This reminder was enough to completely eliminate the male–female gap that occurred in the control condition, in which the test takers were merely reminded of the fact that they were "residents of the Northeast" (McGlone & Aronson, 2006). Similar results have been found for advanced calculus students at the university level and with middle school students on actual standardized tests (for a review, see Aronson & McGlone, 2009).

We have discussed *self-affirmation*, the practice of reminding yourself—realistically—of your good qualities or experiences that made you feel successful or proud. Self-affirmation is a counter-stereotype approach, as well. Experimental and field studies have found that thinking about important social identities other than the negatively stereotyped one can help to counteract the effects of feeling stigmatized, disrespected, or incompetent (Cohen, Purdie-Vaughns, & Garcia, 2012; Hall, Zhao, & Shafir, 2014). This practice puts poor performance in that one area into broader perspective; their worth does not depend on performance in one domain alone (Sherman et al., 2013). Even learning about social identity threat—like you are right now—is sufficient for improving test performance, because people know to attribute feelings of anxiety to the social situation instead of their abilities (Johns, Schmader, & Martens, 2005).

Now that we have described the universality and consequences of prejudice, it is time to look at some of its causes.

Watch SOCIAL IDENTITY THREAT

Review Questions

1. Noah's teachers don't think that Noah is very smart, so they stop paying attention to him or asking him questions. After a few years, Noah decides there is no point trying to do well in school because he's dumb. He has become a victim of
   a. the justification of effort.
   b. a self-fulfilling prophecy.
   c. implicit prejudice.
   d. stereotype threat.
2. Jenny, who is Asian American, is taking a math test. Under which of these conditions is she likely to do best?
   a. When she's made aware that women don't do as well as men at math
   b. When she's made aware that she is not at a top-notch university
   c. When she's made aware of her Asian identity
   d. Since Jenny is very good at math, none of these conditions will affect her performance.
3. What is an aspect of social identity threat?
   a. Feeling threatened by prejudices we wish we didn't have
   b. Feeling threatened by stereotypes we hold about other people
   c. Feeling threatened by people who confirm our stereotypes
   d. Feeling threatened by stereotypes that others hold of our group
4. How can test takers reduce the effects of social identity threat on their performance?
   a. By reminding themselves of their skills and good qualities
   b. By denying that stereotypes affect them
   c. By studying harder
   d. By blaming cultural prejudices in society
5. Which of these ways of thinking can reduce the power of social identity threat?
   a. Understanding that people's abilities are pretty fixed, so it's not worth being upset if you don't do well on a test
   b. Being aware that anxiety about taking tests is normal, especially for members of stigmatized groups
   c. Accepting the cultural stereotype as one that is likely to be based on actual group differences
   d. Spend 5 minutes before the test reflecting on your stigmatized group identity and how it defines you

Causes of Prejudice

LO 13.4 Describe three aspects of social life that can cause prejudice.

Prejudice is created and maintained by many forces in the social world. Some operate on the level of the group or institution, which demands conformity to normative standards or rules in the society. Some operate within the individual, such as in the ways we process information and assign meaning to observed events. And some forces operate on whole groups of people, such as the effects of competition, conflict, and frustration.

Pressures to Conform: Normative Rules

Most people, simply by living in a society where stereotypical information abounds and where discriminatory behavior is the norm, will develop prejudiced attitudes and behave in discriminatory ways to some extent. Under conditions of **institutional discrimination**, when companies and other institutions are legally permitted—or socially encouraged—to discriminate on the basis of race, gender, or other categories, prejudice will seem normal. If you grow up in a society where few minority group members and women have professional careers and where most people in these groups hold menial jobs, the likelihood of your developing negative attitudes about the inherent abilities of minorities and women will be increased. This will happen without anyone actively teaching you that minorities and women are inferior and without any law or decree banning minorities and women from college faculties, boardrooms, or medical schools. Instead, social barriers create a lack of opportunity for these groups that makes their success unlikely.

Institutional Discrimination
Practices that discriminate, legally or illegally, against a minority group by virtue of its ethnicity, gender, culture, age, sexual orientation, or other target of societal or company prejudice

As social norms change, often as a result of changing laws and customs, so does prejudice. For decades, prejudice against the LGBTQ community was institutionalized in law and custom, just as segregation was. "Sodomy" (anal sex and certain

Children often learn prejudice from parents and grandparents.

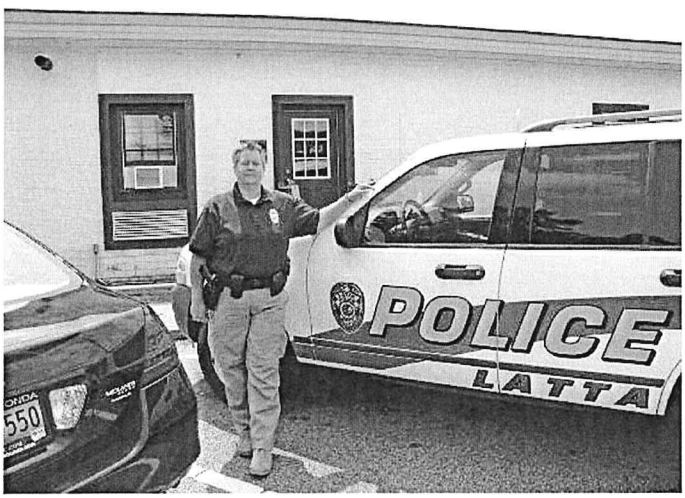
other forms of sexual behavior, practiced by people of all sexual orientations) was against the law until the Supreme Court struck down state laws against sodomy in 2003. The 1996 Defense of Marriage Act, which had defined marriage as the union of one man and one woman, was ruled unconstitutional in 2013, and by 2017, 64% of all Americans thought same-sex marriage should be allowed (Gallup, 2017), up from only 27% in 1996. But gay marriage is a nonissue for most young people, whereas it remains highly contentious among many of their elders. Seventy-one percent of Americans younger than 35 support same-sex marriage, compared to only 38% of Americans older than age 72 (Pew Research Center, 2016).

The tendency to go along with the group to fulfill the group's expectations and gain acceptance is known as **normative conformity**. (See Chapter 8.) An understanding of normative conformity helps explain why people who hold deep prejudices might not act on them, and why people who are not prejudiced might behave in a discriminatory way: They are conforming to the norms of their social groups or institutions. A vivid example of the influence of social norms occurred in a small mining town in West Virginia many decades ago, when racial segregation was rigidly enforced: African American miners and White miners worked together with total integration while they were underground but observed the norms of total segregation while they were above ground (Minard, 1952).

Normative Conformity
The tendency to go along with the group in order to fulfill the group's expectations and gain acceptance

Being a nonconformist is not easy; your friends might reject you, or your employer might fire you. Many people would rather go along with the prevailing view of their friends and culture rather than rock the boat. It's as if people say, "Everybody else thinks Xs are inferior; if I behave warmly toward Xs, people won't like me. They'll say bad things about me. I could lose my job. I don't need the hassle. I'll just go along with everybody else." What happens to people who think it is important to confront friends or colleagues who make racist or sexist remarks, but, when it actually happens, decide not to, preferring to go along rather than speak up? In a series of experiments, college women were put in a group allegedly to discuss group decision making; one male member (a confederate of the experimenter) repeatedly made sexist remarks. The women who valued confronting—but did not say anything when given the opportunity—later evaluated the confederate *more highly* than women who didn't care about speaking out. Moreover, the self-silencers later decided that confronting guys who make sexist remarks is less important than they originally thought: "I guess what he said wasn't that bad" (Rasinski, Geers, & Czopp, 2013). This is too bad, because people who witness someone confront prejudice later exhibit less prejudice and stereotyping (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006). In other words, confronting prejudice works. The crucial message of this research is that silence has a price: It not only affects the target of the racist or sexist remark, who mistakenly assumes everyone else in the room agrees with it, but it also affects the people who remain silent. They reduce dissonance by justifying their inaction—and thereby increasing the chance that they won't speak up in the future.

When the mayor of Latta, South Carolina, fired 20-year force veteran Crystal Moore (below) from her position as police chief in 2014, he made little secret of the fact that it was because of her sexual orientation. But the citizens of Latta were outraged, rallying behind Chief Moore and forcing a vote on a referendum that allowed the town council to reinstate her. By reacting vocally to examples of prejudice in our immediate environment, we have the potential to create norms that combat bias.



#trending

Everyday Discrimination in Professional Sports

On the evening of May 1, 2017, major league baseball fans were setting up to enjoy the opening game of a series between the Baltimore Orioles and the Boston Red Sox in Boston's historic Fenway Park. Fans were enjoying classic ballpark treats like peanuts and hot dogs, but at least one fan felt more hate than hunger. Orioles' All-Star center fielder, Adam Jones, suddenly found himself being repeatedly called racial slurs (the "n-word") and even had a bag of peanuts chucked at him. That fan was ejected from the stadium, but no assault charges were filed.

The next day, Jones spoke out about his experience, sending sports fans into a social media tailspin. In solidarity with Jones, other Black baseball players spoke out about their own experiences with racism from fans, including the Red Sox's David Price who reported being the target of racial slurs in Fenway during his first year on the team. Other baseball players were less sympathetic. Former Red Sox' pitcher, Curt Shilling, came out publicly in media interviews to say that Jones was "lying," saying "I think this is bulls***. I think this is somebody creating a situation." This is a common response to people who confront prejudice. The confronter is derogated, especially if they are a member of the targeted group. When prejudiced people witness someone confront prejudice, they tend to be irritated and antagonistic (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). It was important to Shilling to deny and dismiss Jones's experience of discrimination, and he did so by publicly attacking his credibility.

The Orioles and the Red Sox were playing again at Fenway the following night. Prior to the game, Red Sox player Mookie Betts tweeted that he wished fans would "Literally stand up for [Jones] tonight and say no to racism." That evening, as Jones stepped up to bat, the crowded stadium of fans spontaneously lept up and gave him a standing ovation. The Red Sox pitcher, Chris Sale, stepped off the pitcher's mound to allow the ovation to continue. Betts took off his hat in respect and joined in the applause. Jones said he thought the response by the Red Sox and the MLB was "tremendous" and expeditious. All the same, the pain of discrimination lingers. Despite the positive outcomes that arose from this incident, he later wrote that the incident still "breaks my heart."

Thus, people can conform to the prejudices of others and to the pressures of institutional discrimination without being prejudiced themselves, just as they can suppress their own prejudices when the norms and situation demand. But how do prejudices get "inside" us in the first place and become so difficult to eradicate?

Social Identity Theory: Us versus Them

Each of us develops a personal identity that is based on our particular personality and unique life history. But we also develop a **social identity** based on the groups we belong to, including our national, religious, political, and occupational groups (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identities give us a sense of place and position in the world. It feels good to be part of an "us." But does that mean that we must automatically feel superior to "them"? As we already saw with social identity threat, these social identities also form the basis on which others judge us.

Social Identity
The part of a person's self-concept that is based on his or her identification with a nation, religious or political group, occupation, or other social affiliation

ETHNOCENTRISM The belief that your own culture, nation, or religion is superior to all others is called **ethnocentrism**. It is universal, probably because it aids survival by increasing people's attachment to their own group and their willingness to work on its behalf. It rests on a fundamental category: us. As soon as people have created an "us," however, they perceive everybody else as "not us." The impulse to feel suspicious of "outsiders" seems to be part of a biological survival mechanism inducing us to favor our own family, tribe, or race and to protect our tribe from external threat. But that statement doesn't go far enough, because human beings are also biologically prepared to be friendly, open, and cooperative (Cikara & Van Bavel, 2014; Kappeler & van Schaik, 2006).

Ethnocentrism
The belief that one's own ethnic group, nation, or religion is superior to all others

Social neuroscientists investigate which parts of the brain might be involved in forming stereotypes, holding prejudiced beliefs, and feeling disgust, anger, or anxiety about an ethnic or stigmatized group (Harris & Fiske, 2006; Stanley, Phelps, & Banaji, 2008). In one study, when African Americans and Whites saw pictures of each other, activity in

Dressing alike is a way of demonstrating membership in an in-group.

the amygdala (the brain structure associated with fear and other negative emotions) was elevated; it was not elevated when people saw pictures of members of their own group. Yet when participants were registering the faces as individuals or as part of a simple visual test rather than as members of the category "Blacks," there was no increased activation in the amygdala. The brain is designed to register differences, it appears, but any negative associations with those differences depend on context and learning (Wheeler & Fiske, 2005). That is why social psychologists strive to identify the *conditions* under which prejudice and hostility toward outgroups are fostered or reduced.

IN-GROUP BIAS Even when people have almost nothing else in common, a bond can form immediately between people who share social identities. There is a presumption that in-group members will treat you fairly. For example, investors put 10.9% more money into mutual funds managed by someone with an American-sounding last name (Kumar, Niessen-Ruenzi, & Spalt, 2015). This **in-group bias** refers to the positive feelings and special treatment we give to people we have defined as being part of our in-group; unfortunately, it often leads to unfair treatment of others merely because we have defined them as being in the out-group. Indeed, social psychologists Anthony Greenwald and Thomas Pettigrew (2014) argue that in-group bias is an even more powerful reason for discrimination than outright prejudice and hostility are. People prefer being with others who are familiar, who are similar to them in norms and customs, and whom they perceive as being "like them" in other important ways. But this bias can lead to unintended negative outcomes, such as preference for the in-group in hiring and promotion.

In-Group Bias

The tendency to favor members of one's own group and give them special preference over people who belong to other groups; the group can be temporary and trivial as well as significant

To get at the pure, unvarnished mechanisms behind this phenomenon, British social psychologist Henri Tajfel and his colleagues created entities called *minimal groups* (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In their experiments, complete strangers are formed into groups using the most trivial criteria imaginable. For example, in one, British schoolboys were shown a set of slides with varying numbers of dots on them. The boys were asked to guess how many dots there were. The boys were arbitrarily told that they were "overestimators" or "underestimators" and were then asked to work on another task. In this phase, they had a chance to give points to other boys identified as overestimators or underestimators. Although each boy worked alone in his cubicle, almost every single one assigned far more points to boys he thought were like him, an overestimator or an underestimator. As the boys emerged from their rooms, they were asked, "Which were you?" The answers received either cheers or boos from the others.

Watch MINIMAL GROUPS

In short, even when the reasons for differentiation are minimal, being in the in-group makes you want to win against members of the out-group and leads you to treat the latter unfairly, because such tactics build your self-esteem and feeling of "belongingness." When your group does win, it strengthens your feelings of pride and identification with that group. How do you feel about being a student of your

university following a winning or losing football season? Robert Cialdini and his colleagues (Cialdini et al., 1976; see also Cialdini, 2009) counted the number of college insignia T-shirts and sweatshirts worn to classes on the Monday following a football game at seven different universities. The results? You guessed it: Students were more likely to wear their university's insignia after victory than after defeat. "We" won. But if our team loses, we say "they" lost.

OUT-GROUP HOMOGENEITY Besides the in-group bias, another consequence of social categorization is the perception of **out-group homogeneity**, the belief that "they" are all alike (Linville, Fischer, & Salovey, 1989; Quattrone, 1986). In-group members tend to perceive those in the out-group as more similar to each other (homogeneous) than they really are. Does your college have a traditional rival, whether in athletics or academics? If so, as an in-group member, you probably value your institution more highly than you value the rival (thereby raising and protecting your self-esteem), and you probably perceive students at this rival school to be more alike than you perceive students at your own college to be.

Out-Group Homogeneity
The perception that individuals in the out-group are more similar to each other (homogeneous) than they really are, as well as more similar than members of the in-group are

Consider a study of students in two rival universities: Princeton and Rutgers. The rivalry between these institutions has long been based on athletics, academics, and even social-class consciousness (Princeton is private, and Rutgers is public). Male students at the two schools watched videotaped scenes in which three different young men were asked to make a decision, such as whether he wanted to listen to rock music or classical music while participating in an experiment on auditory perception (Quattrone & Jones, 1980). The participants were told that the man was either a Princeton or a Rutgers student, so for some of them, the student in the videotape was an in-group member and for others an out-group member. Participants had to predict what the man in the videotape would choose. After they saw the man make his choice (e.g., rock or classical music), they were asked to predict what percentage of male students at that institution would make the same choice. Did the predictions vary due to the in-group or the out-group status of the target men?

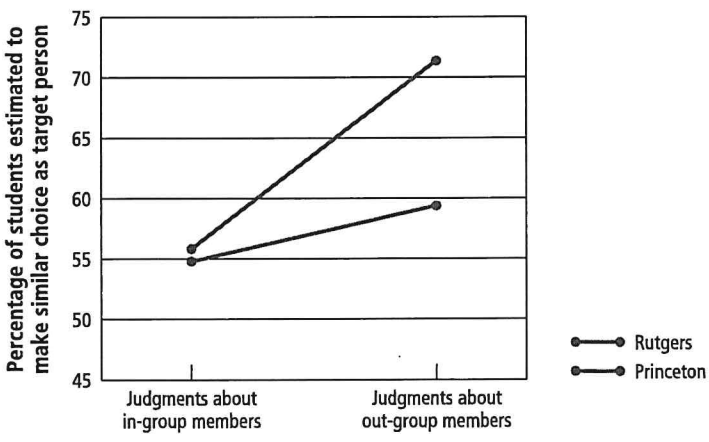
Blaming the Victim
The tendency to blame individuals (make dispositional attributions) for their victimization, typically motivated by a desire to see the world as a fair place

As you can see in Figure 13.5, the results support the out-group homogeneity hypothesis: When the target person was an out-group member, the participants believed his choice was more predictive of what his peers would choose than when he was an in-group member (a student at their own school). In other words, if you know something about one out-group member, you are more likely to feel you know something about all of them. Similar results have been found in a wide variety of experiments (Park & Rothbart, 1982).

Figure 13.5 Judgments About In-Group and Out-Group Members

After watching a target person choose between two alternatives, Rutgers students and Princeton students had to estimate what percentage of students at their school (their in-group) versus their rival school (the out-group) would make the same choice. Students thought that out-group members were more alike, whereas they noticed variation within their own group. This "homogeneity bias" was especially pronounced among Rutgers students (blue line).

(Adapted from Quattrone & Jones, 1980)



BLAMING THE VICTIM Try as they might, people who have rarely been discriminated against have a hard time fully understanding what it's like to be a target of prejudice. Well-intentioned members of the majority will sympathize with groups that are targets of discrimination, but true empathy is difficult for those who have routinely been judged on the basis of their own merit and not their racial, ethnic, religious, or other group membership. And when empathy is absent, it is hard to avoid falling into the attributional trap of **blaming the victim** for his or her plight.

Ironically, this tendency to blame victims for their victimization—attributing their predicaments to inherent deficits in their abilities and character—is typically motivated by an understandable desire to see the world as a fair and just place, one where

people get what they deserve and deserve what they get. (See Chapter 4.) The stronger a person's belief in a just world, the more likely he or she is to blame the poor and homeless for their own plight, or to blame overweight people for being lazy, rather than consider economic conditions, genetic predispositions, mental illness, lack of opportunities, and so forth (Crandall et al., 2001; Furnham & Gunter, 1984). Similarly, most people, when confronted with evidence of an unfair outcome that is otherwise hard to explain, find a way to blame the victim (Aguiar et al., 2008; Lerner, 1980, 1991; Lerner & Grant, 1990). In one experiment, two people worked equally hard on the same task, and by the flip of a coin, one received a sizable reward, and the other received nothing. After the fact, observers tended to reconstruct what happened and convince themselves that the unlucky person must not have worked as hard.

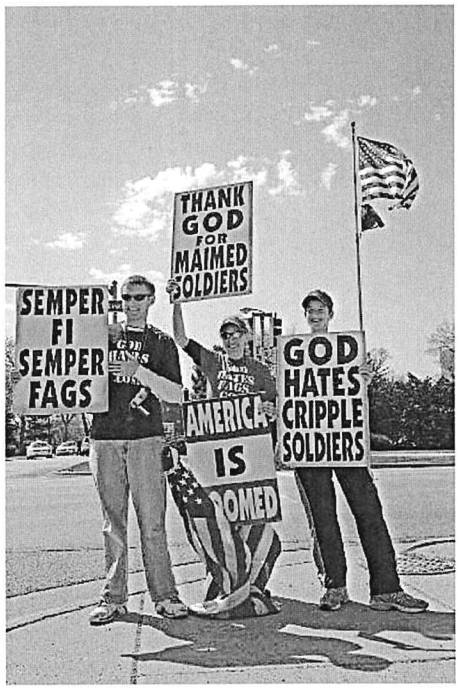
Most of us are good at reconstructing situations after the fact to support our belief in a just world. It simply requires making a dispositional attribution (it's the victim's fault) rather than a situational one (scary, random events can happen to anyone at any time). In a fascinating experiment, college students who were provided with a description of a young woman's friendly behavior toward a man judged that behavior as completely appropriate (Janoff-Bulman, Timko, & Carli, 1985). Another group of students was given the same description, plus the information that the encounter ended with the young woman being raped by the man. This group rated the young woman's behavior as inappropriate; she was judged as having brought the rape on herself.

How can we account for such harsh attributions? When something bad happens to another person, we will feel sorry for the person but at the same time relieved that this horrible thing didn't happen to us. We will also feel scared that such a thing might happen to us in the future. We can protect ourselves from that fear by convincing ourselves that the person must have done something to cause the tragedy. We feel safer, then, because we believe that *we* would have behaved more cautiously (Jones & Aronson, 1973).

How does the belief in a just world lead to the perpetuation of prejudice? Most of us find it frightening to think that we live in a world where people, through no fault of their own, can be discriminated against, deprived of equal pay for equal work, or denied the basic necessities of life. It is much more reassuring to believe that they brought their fates on themselves. One variation of blaming the victim is the "well-deserved reputation" excuse. It goes something like this: "If the Jews have been victimized throughout their history, they must have been doing something to deserve it." Such reasoning constitutes a demand that members of the out-group conform to more stringent standards of behavior than those the majority have set for themselves.

JUSTIFYING FEELINGS OF ENTITLEMENT AND SUPERIORITY Prejudices support the in-group's feeling of superiority, its religious or political identity, and the legitimacy of inequality in wealth, status, and power ("our group is entitled to its greater wealth and status because 'those people' are inferior"). Wherever a majority group systematically discriminates against a minority to preserve its power—Whites, Blacks, Muslims, Hindus, Japanese, Hutu, Christians, Jews, you name it—they will claim that their actions are legitimate because the minority is so obviously inferior and incompetent (Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008; Morton et al., 2009; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996). In a series of experiments in Bangladesh, Muslims (who are the majority there) and Hindus (a minority) both revealed strong in-group favoritism, but only the majority Muslims denigrated the minority Hindus (Islam & Hewstone, 1993). Most people who are in dominant positions in their society do not see themselves as being prejudiced; they regard *their* beliefs about the out-group as being perfectly reasonable.

Christian Crandall and Amy Eshleman (2003) argue that most people struggle between their urge to express a prejudice they hold and their need to maintain a positive self-concept as someone who is not a bigot, both in their own eyes and in the eyes of others. But suppressing prejudiced impulses requires constant energy, so people are always on the lookout for information that will enable them to convince themselves that they are justified in disliking a particular out-group. Once they find that justification, they can discriminate all they want and still feel that they are not bigots (thus avoiding cognitive dissonance). Remember the experiments in which supposedly unprejudiced people administered more punishment to the out-group when they had been insulted or angered? They had a justification for their increased aggression: "I'm not a bad or prejudiced person, but he insulted me! She hurt me!" In this way, as Crandall and Eshleman (2003, p. 425) put it, "Justification undoes suppression, it provides cover, and it protects a sense of egalitarianism and a non-prejudiced self-image."



The Bible has been used to promote tolerance and compassion—as well as to justify and inflame many prejudices.

Many people justify their beliefs, including their prejudiced beliefs, by calling on religious doctrine. For example, it's not uncommon for people to defend their antigay feelings by citing the Bible, either claiming that the Bible prohibits homosexuality or that they are fighting for "family values" rather than against gays and lesbians. The problem with using the Bible in this way is that equally religious people use the Bible to support their belief in acceptance of and equality for gay men and lesbians, and many religious denominations now endorse gay marriage and approve of gay clergy. In their book *What God Has Joined Together: The Christian Case for Gay Marriage*, David Myers and Letha Scanzoni (2006) argued that there are far more verses in the Bible celebrating compassion, love, and justice than the very few that refer vaguely to homosexuality. As Gordon Allport (1954, p. 444) wrote, "The role of religion is paradoxical. It makes prejudice and it unmakes prejudice."

Realistic Conflict Theory

Finally, one of the most obvious sources of conflict and prejudice is competition—for scarce resources, for political power, and for social status. **Realistic conflict theory** holds that limited resources lead to conflict between groups and result in prejudice and discrimination (J. W. Jackson, 1993; Sherif, 1966; White, 1977). In a classic experiment, Muzafer Sherif and his colleagues (1961) tested realistic conflict theory using the natural environment of a Boy Scout camp called Robber's Cave. The participants in the camp were healthy 12-year-old boys who were randomly assigned to one of two groups, the Eagles or the Rattlers. Each group stayed in its own cabin; the cabins were located quite a distance apart to reduce contact between the two groups. The boys were placed in situations designed to increase the cohesiveness of their own group, such as going hiking and swimming, working together on building projects, and preparing group meals.

Realistic Conflict Theory
The idea that limited resources lead to conflict between groups and result in increased prejudice and discrimination

After feelings of cohesiveness developed within each group, the researchers set up a series of competitive activities in which the two groups were pitted against each other—in football, baseball, and tug-of-war, where prizes were awarded to the winning team. These competitive games aroused feelings of conflict and tension between the two groups. The investigators created other situations to further intensify the conflict: A camp party was arranged, but each group was told that it started at a different time, thereby ensuring that the Eagles would arrive well before the Rattlers. Also, the refreshments at the party consisted of two different kinds of food. Half the food was fresh, appealing, and appetizing, while the

Economic competition drives a good deal of prejudice. When unemployment rises, so does resentment against minorities.

other half was squashed, ugly, and unappetizing. As you'd expect, the early-arriving Eagles ate well, and the late-coming Rattlers were not happy with what they found. They began to curse the Eagles for being greedy. Because the Eagles believed they deserved what they got (first come, first served), they resented the name-calling and responded in kind. Name-calling escalated into food throwing, and within a short time punches were thrown and a full-scale riot ensued.

In today's economic climate, intergenerational tensions have grown due to how each generation feels resources are being allocated. Some young people are feeling resentful, believing that the old are getting more of society's benefits and opportunities than they deserve. Some older people, on the other hand, feel that all the focus is on the young. Both old and young now complain that they are victims of age discrimination (North & Fiske, 2012). Many young people complain that they are unfairly labeled as lazy and entitled by the older generations. But they too may be ageist, regarding old people as incompetent, irrelevant, stubborn, or stingy.

In his classic study of prejudice in a small industrial town, John Dollard (1938) was among the first to document the relationship between discrimination and economic competition. At first, there was no discernible hostility toward the new German immigrants who had arrived in the town; prejudice flourished, however, as jobs grew scarce. Local Whites became hostile and aggressive toward the newcomers. They began to express scornful, derogatory opinions about the Germans, to whom the native White people felt superior. "The chief element in the permission to be aggressive against the Germans," wrote Dollard, "was rivalry for jobs and status in the local woodenware plants" (pp. 25 – 26).

In politics, weak leaders and governments often select a minority group to use as a scapegoat—"those people are the reason for all our problems." This is an effort to unify their citizens ("us") against "them" and thereby distract everyone's attention from "our" failures to run the country (Staub, 1999). Rodrigo Duterte was elected president of the Philippines in the summer of 2016 during a surge of unemployment due to dips in oil prices. Almost immediately, he launched his #WarOnDrugs where he urged Filipino citizens to kill drug addicts. He pitted the money the state spent on caring for drug users against the money it could be spending to create jobs for the unemployed, the message being that the economy would get back on track if we simply didn't have the drug addicts. Less than a year later, it is estimated more than 7000 Filipino drug users have been murdered by police and random citizens in Duterte's #WarOnDrugs (Bueza, 2017).

Today, Mexicans are viewed in the same way the Chinese were, particularly the Mexican migrant workers whose labor is needed in many American states but who are perceived as costing American workers their jobs. As competition—real and imagined—has increased, violence against Latinos has risen as well, and Mexicans and other Latinos have become the main focus of White anger about working-class job loss. These changes in the target of a majority group's anger suggest that when times are tough and resources are scarce, in-group members will feel more threatened by the out-group. Accordingly, incidents of prejudice, discrimination, and violence toward out-group members will increase.

Review Questions

1. According to realistic conflict theory, prejudice and discrimination are likely to increase when
   a. a country has a history of racism.
   b. people who hold stereotypes about a target group are frustrated.
   c. people know that their close friends are prejudiced.
   d. people are competing for jobs and security.
   e. prejudice is explicit rather than implicit.
2. Rebecca is covering her college's football game against its arch rival for the school newspaper. At the game, she interviews six students from her college but decides she needs to interview only one student from the rival school to represent their view of the game. Rebecca is demonstrating
   a. in-group bias.
   b. out-group homogeneity.
   c. entitlement.
   d. blaming the victim.
3. Following are some explanations of prejudice that social psychologists investigate. Which one doesn't fit?
   a. Pressures to conform
   b. Ethnocentrism
   c. Realistic economic conflicts
   d. The need for catharsis
   e. Institutional discrimination
4. John knows and likes most of his Latino classmates but privately believes that his Anglo culture is superior to all others. His belief is evidence of his
   a. anti-Latino prejudice.
   b. stereotyping a minority.
   c. ethnocentrism.
   d. out-group homogeneity.
5. The Robber's Cave study created hostility between two groups of boys by
   a. putting them in competitive situations with prizes for the winners.
   b. allowing them to freely express their feelings of anger.
   c. randomly giving one group more privileges.
   d. letting the boys set their own rules and games.

Reducing Prejudice

LO 13.5 Summarize the conditions that can reduce prejudice.

Sometimes prejudice feels so ubiquitous, it is easy to find yourself questioning whether it is also inevitable. As we saw in discussing stereotypes earlier, when people are presented with an example or two that seems to refute their existing stereotype, most of them do not change their general belief. In one experiment, some people presented with this kind of disconfirming evidence actually *strengthened* their stereotypical belief because the disconfirming evidence challenged them to come up with additional reasons for holding on to their prejudice (Kunda & Oleson, 1997). Does this mean that prejudice is an essential aspect of human social interaction and will therefore always be with us? We social psychologists do not take such a pessimistic view. We tend to agree with Henry David Thoreau that "it is never too late to give up our prejudices." People can change. But how? What can we do to reduce this noxious aspect of human social behavior?

After the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, scapegoating of Muslims increased.

Because stereotypes and prejudice are typically based on false information, for many years social activists believed that education was the answer: All we needed to do was expose people to the truth, and their prejudices would disappear. But, as we saw earlier, this expectation proved to be naive. Because of the underlying emotional aspects of prejudice, as well as some of the cognitive ruts we get into, stereotypes based on misinformation are difficult to modify merely by providing people with the facts. But there is hope. Repeated contact with members of an out-group can modify stereotypes and prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). But mere contact is not enough; it must be a special kind of contact. What exactly does this mean?

The Contact Hypothesis

In 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed segregated schools, social psychologists were excited and optimistic. They believed that desegregating the schools—increasing the contact between White children and Black children—would increase the self-esteem of minority children and herald the beginning of the end of prejudice. The view that social interactions between social groups would reduce prejudice came to be called the *contact hypothesis*.

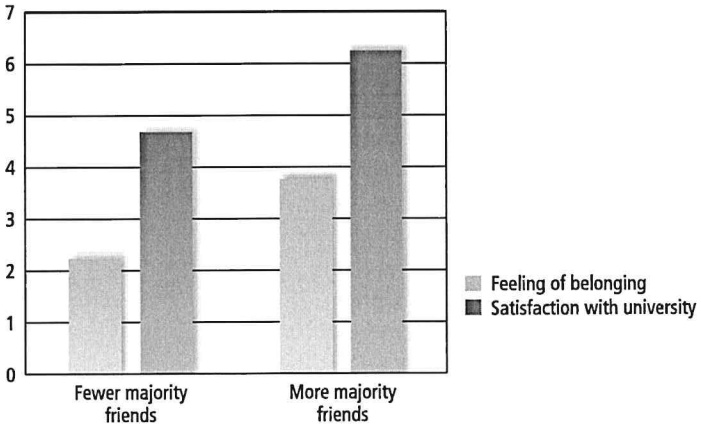
There was good reason for this optimism because empirical evidence also supported the power of contact among races (Van Laar, Levin, & Sidanius, 2008). As early as 1951, Morton Deutsch and Mary Ellen Collins examined the attitudes of White Americans toward African Americans in two public housing projects that differed in their degree of racial integration. In one, Black and White families had been randomly assigned to separate buildings in the same project. In the other project, Black and White families lived in the same building. After several months, White residents in the integrated project reported a greater positive change in their attitudes toward Black neighbors than residents of the segregated project did, even though the former had not chosen to live in an integrated building initially (Deutsch & Collins, 1951). Similarly, when White southerners joined the U.S. Army—after army units became integrated in the early 1950s—their racism gradually decreased (Pettigrew, 1958; Watson, 1950).

Today's multiethnic college campuses are a living laboratory of the contact hypothesis. White students who have roommates, friends, and relationships across racial and ethnic lines tend to become less prejudiced and find commonalities across group borders (Van Laar et al., 2008). A longitudinal study of Black and Latino students at a predominantly White university found that friendships with White students increased their feelings of belonging and reduced their feelings of dissatisfaction with the school. The effect of friendship was strongest for students who tended to expect other people to reject them for their race (Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008) (see Figure 13.6).

Figure 13.6 The Impact of Cross-Ethnic Friendships on Minority Students' Well-Being

In a longitudinal study of minority Black students at a predominantly White university, many Black students at first felt dissatisfied and excluded from school life. But the more White friends they made, the higher their sense of belonging (orange bar) and satisfaction with the university (red bar). This finding was particularly significant for minority students who had been the most sensitive to rejection and who had felt the most anxious and insecure about being in a largely White school. The study was later replicated by creating cross-group friendships among White and Latino students at a predominantly White university.

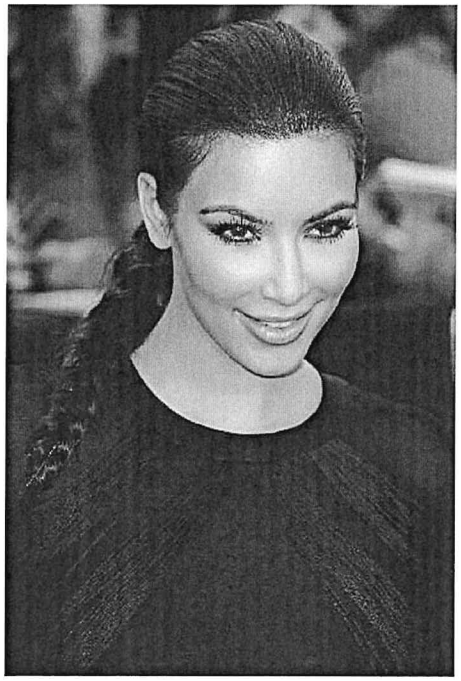
(Based on Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008)



The contact hypothesis has been supported by many studies in the laboratory and in the real world. Contact with other groups eases prejudice for a variety of groups, such as young people's attitudes toward the elderly, healthy people's attitudes toward the mentally ill, nondisabled children's attitudes toward the disabled, and heterosexual people's prejudices toward the LGBTQ community (Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Wilner, Walkley, & Cook, 1955). Although the effectiveness of contact varies across different groups—contact between heterosexuals and gays and lesbians has the strongest effect in decreasing prejudice whereas contact with the elderly has the weakest—more intergroup contact is nonetheless associated with decreasing prejudice in 94% of the more than 700 samples where it has been investigated (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). But, while the promise of the contact hypothesis for improving intergroup relations is great—some call it "our best hope" (Wright, Brody, & Aron, 2005)—there remain a number of barriers that limit its potential impact.

One problem with the classic contact hypothesis is that it requires each person to directly experience intergroup contact in order to reduce prejudice. But what if you do not have the opportunity for contact? Some people live in homogenous areas and have

little exposure to people who are different from them. It turns out there are many indirect forms of contact that also predict less prejudice. The *extended contact effect* shows that simply knowing an in-group member has out-group friends is sufficient to reduce prejudice (Wright et al., 1997). Thus, if you gain a new cross-group friend, then you are helping to reduce the prejudice of all your friends. Intergroup contact can also be spread *en mass* through the media. *Media contact* occurs through the media in two ways: (a) getting emotionally connected to and invested in certain characters or celebrities from other social groups, which is called *parasocial contact*; (b) vicariously witnessing intergroup contact occur through vignettes in the news and entertainment media, which is called *vicarious contact* (Joyce & Harwood, 2012; Schiappa, Gregg & Hewes, 2005). Indirect forms of contact hold particular promise for improving prejudice at the population level.



Intergroup contact can occur through the media when people get personally invested in the lives of celebrities like Armenian reality TV star, Kim Kardashian West. One hundred years ago, Armenians were barred from being able to loan money or buy houses in certain neighborhoods in the United States. With tens of millions of followers on Instagram and Twitter, the *parasocial relationships* that people have with Kardashian West represent a high-quality form of intergroup contact.

Another problem with the contact hypothesis is that social interactions between members of different groups, termed *intergroup interaction*, tend to be characterized by mistrust and anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009). These feelings of anxiety during intergroup interactions are a core reason people avoid interacting with people of other groups (Plant & Butz, 2006). The discomfort of intergroup interaction can run deep, such that people show physiological patterns of threat when interacting with people who have stigmatized identities (Blascovich et al., 2001). But, these negative experiences may be relegated to when you are a relative intergroup novice (MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015). People's expectations for intergroup interactions tend to be worse than intergroup interactions actually are (Mallett, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2008) and most intergroup interactions in everyday life are relatively benign (Page-Gould, 2012). With more contact, the psychological differences between intergroup interactions and in-group interactions disappear. Indeed, people with lots of intergroup contact do not show physiological threat during interracial interactions (Blascovich et al., 2001).

The biggest problem with the contact hypothesis is that, sometimes, contact can make intergroup relations more hostile and even increase prejudice (Saguy et al., 2011). Take, for example, the time of "The Troubles" in Ireland, when regular violence between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland led to more than 65% of people reporting the serious injury of themselves or a loved one (Paolini et al., 2004). Especially in situations marked by extreme intergroup violence, mere contact does not seem to reduce prejudice and can even make it worse (Islam & Hewstone, 1993). However, even in these violent intergroup contexts, *high-quality contact* like cross-group friendship still predicts less prejudice and greater desire for reconciliation (Paolini et al., 2004).

What increases the quality of intergroup contact to the extent that it will improve prejudice? Allport (1954) stated that contact can reduce prejudice only when four conditions are met: both groups are of equal status; both share a common goal that generates awareness of their shared interests and common humanity; the contact involves intergroup cooperation; and their contact is supported by law or local custom (social norms). Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp (2006) looked at 134 studies that included Allport's optimal conditions compared to studies that did not. True to Allport's intuition, studies that included all optimal conditions found a stronger link between contact and prejudice reduction than studies involving nonoptimal contact, but nonoptimal contact still predicted less prejudice. So, while the optimal conditions are helpful, they are not as necessary for the contact hypothesis as was once thought.

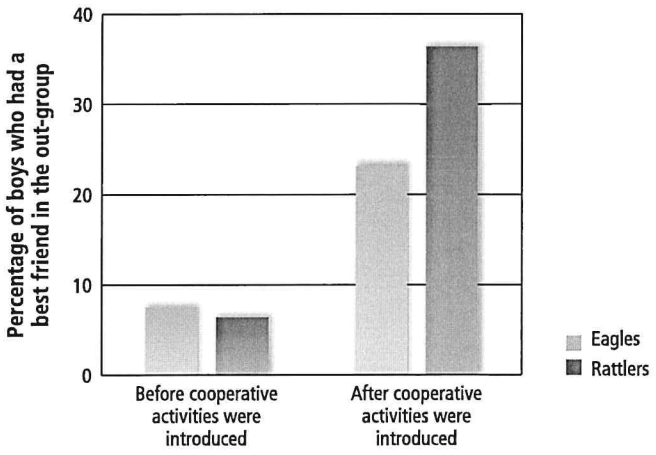
That being said, contact reliably reduces prejudice when different groups must work together to achieve a common goal. In the Robber's Cave experiment, Sherif created conditions of **interdependence**, placing the two groups of boys in situations where they needed one another to get something that was important to both sides (see Figure 13.7). One time, the investigators set up an emergency situation by damaging

Interdependence
The situation that exists when two or more groups need to depend on one another to accomplish a goal that is important to each of them

Figure 13.7 How Cooperation Fosters Intergroup Relations

When the Eagles and the Rattlers were in competition, few of the boys in each group had friends from the other side. Intergroup tensions were eased only after the boys had to cooperate to get shared privileges and the boys began to make friends across "enemy lines."

(Based on data in Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961)



the water supply system; the only way the system could be repaired was if all the Rattlers and Eagles cooperated immediately. On another occasion, the camp truck broke down while the boys were on a camping trip. To get the truck going again, it was necessary for all of them to work in harmony to pull it up a steep hill.

WHERE CONTACT CAN GO WRONG Although contact between ethnic groups is generally a good thing, the desegregation of schools did not work as smoothly as most knowledgeable people had expected. Far from producing the hoped-for harmony, school desegregation frequently led to tension and turmoil in the classroom. In his analysis of the research examining the impact of desegregation, Walter Stephan (1978) found that in 53% of studies on school desegregation, prejudice actually increased; in 34% of the studies, no change in prejudice occurred. And if you had taken an aerial photograph of the school yards of most desegregated schools, you would have found almost no integration: White kids tended to cluster with White kids, Black kids tended to cluster with Black kids, Hispanic kids tended to cluster with Hispanic kids, and so on (Aronson & Gonzalez, 1988; Aronson & Thibodeau, 1992; Schofield, 1986). Clearly, in this instance, mere contact did not work as anticipated. What went wrong? Why did desegregated housing work better than desegregated schools?

Knowing now what conditions help contact work, we can better understand the problems that occurred when schools were first desegregated. Imagine this scenario: Carlos, a Mexican American sixth grader, has been attending schools in an underprivileged neighborhood his entire life. Because the schools in his neighborhood were not well equipped or well staffed, his first 5 years of education were somewhat deficient. Suddenly, without much warning or preparation, he is bused to a school in a predominantly White, middle-class neighborhood.

As most students know from experience, the traditional classroom is a highly competitive environment. The typical scene involves the teacher asking a question; immediately, several hands go into the air as the children strive to show the teacher that they know the answer. When a teacher calls on one child, several others groan because they've missed an opportunity to show the teacher how smart they are. If the child who is called on hesitates or comes up with the wrong answer, there is a renewed and intensified flurry of hands in the air, perhaps even accompanied by whispered, derisive comments directed at the student who failed. Carlos finds he must compete against White, middle-class students who have been doing it this way all along. They are used to raising one's hand enthusiastically whenever the teacher asks a question, but Carlos has been thrust into this highly competitive situation for the first time. After a few failures, Carlos, feeling defeated, humiliated, and dispirited, stops raising his hand and can hardly wait for the bell to ring to signal the end of the school day.

This image from the Robber's Cave experiment shows the Eagles and the Rattlers working together to pull the camp truck, using their former tug-of-war rope as an ironic touch.

How could we change the atmosphere of the classroom so that it comes closer to Allport's prescription for the effectiveness of contact? How could we get White students and minority students to be of equal status, interdependent, and in pursuit of common goals?

Cooperation and Interdependence: The Jigsaw Classroom

In 1971, Austin, Texas, desegregated its schools. Within just a few weeks, African American, White, and Mexican American children were in open conflict; fistfights broke out in the corridors and school yards. Austin's school superintendent called on Elliot Aronson, then a professor at the University of Texas, to find a way to create a more harmonious environment. After spending a few days observing the dynamics of several classrooms, Aronson and his graduate students were reminded of the situation that existed in the Robber's Cave experiment of Sherif and colleagues (1961). With the findings of that study in mind, they developed a technique that created an interdependent classroom atmosphere designed to place the students of various racial and ethnic groups in pursuit of common goals. They called it the **jigsaw classroom** because it resembled the assembling of a jigsaw puzzle (Aronson, 1978; Aronson & Bridgeman, 1979; Aronson & Gonzalez, 1988; Aronson & Patnoe, 1997; Walker & Crogan, 1998; Wolfe & Spencer, 1996).

Jigsaw Classroom
A classroom setting designed to reduce prejudice and raise the self-esteem of children by placing them in small, multiethnic groups and making each child dependent on the other children in the group to learn the course material

Here is how the jigsaw classroom works: Students are placed in diverse six-person learning groups. The day's lesson is divided into six segments, and each student is assigned one segment of the written material. Thus, if the students are to learn the life of Eleanor Roosevelt, her biography is broken into six parts and distributed to the six students, each of whom has possession of a unique and vital part of the information, which, like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, must be put together before anyone can view the whole picture. Each student must learn his or her own section and teach it to the other members of the group, who do not have any other access to that material. Therefore, if Alicia wants to do well on the exam about the life of Eleanor Roosevelt, she must pay close attention to Carlos (who is explaining Roosevelt's girlhood years), to Shamika (who is explaining Roosevelt's years in the White House), and so on.

Unlike the traditional classroom, where students are competing against each other, the jigsaw classroom has students depending on each other. In the traditional classroom, if Carlos, because of anxiety and discomfort, is having trouble reciting, the other students can easily ignore him or put him down in their zeal to show the teacher how smart they are. But in the jigsaw classroom, if Carlos is having trouble reciting, it is now in the best interests of the other students to be patient, make encouraging comments, and even ask friendly, probing questions to make it easier for Carlos to bring forth the knowledge that only he has.

Through the jigsaw process, the children begin to pay more attention to each other and to show respect for each other. A child such as Carlos would respond to this treatment by simultaneously becoming more relaxed and more engaged; this would inevitably produce an improvement in his ability to communicate. After a couple of weeks, the other students were struck by their realization that Carlos was a lot smarter than they had thought he was. They began to like him. Carlos began to enjoy school more and began to see the White students in his group not as tormentors, but as helpful and responsible teammates. In turn, as he began to feel increasingly comfortable in class and started to gain more confidence in himself, Carlos's academic performance began to improve. As his academic performance improved, so did his self-esteem. The vicious circle had been broken; the elements that had been causing a downward spiral were changed, and the spiral moved upward.

The formal data gathered from the jigsaw experiments confirmed the observations of the experimenters and the teachers: Compared to students in traditional classrooms,

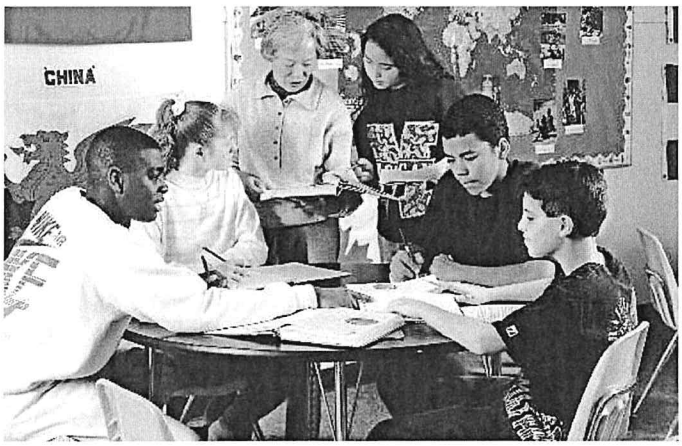
Watch THE JIGSAW CLASSROOM

students in jigsaw groups became less prejudiced and liked their groupmates more, both within and across ethnic boundaries. Children in the jigsaw classrooms did better on exams, had higher self-esteem, and began to like school better than did the children in traditional classrooms. Finally, the jigsaw children became more truly integrated: In the school yard, there was far more intermingling among ethnic groups than on the grounds of schools using more traditional classroom techniques.

WHY DOES JIGSAW WORK? One reason for the success of this technique is that the process of participating in a cooperative group breaks down in-group versus out-group perceptions and allows the individual to develop the cognitive category of "oneness" (Gaertner et al., 1990). In addition, the cooperative strategy places people in a "favor-doing" situation. In Chapter 6, we discussed an experiment demonstrating that people who act in a way that benefits others subsequently come to feel more favorable toward the people they helped (Leippe & Eisenstadt, 1998).

Jigsaw learning produces positive outcomes for another reason: It encourages the development of empathy. In the competitive classroom, the goal is to show the teacher how smart you are. You don't have to pay much attention to the other students in your classroom. But to participate effectively in the jigsaw classroom, you have to pay close attention to whichever member of the group is reciting. In doing so, the participants learn how to approach each classmate in a way that is tailored to fit his or her special needs. Alicia may learn that Carlos is a bit shy and needs to be prodded gently, while Trang is so talkative that she might need to be reined in occasionally. Darnell can be joked with, but Peter responds only to serious suggestions.

If our analysis is sound, it should follow that working in jigsaw groups would lead to the sharpening of a child's general empathic ability, a change that will reduce the tendency to rely on stereotypes. To test this notion, Diane Bridgeman conducted a clever experiment with 10-year-old children. Just prior to her experiment, half of the children had spent 2 months participating in jigsaw classes and the other half in traditional classrooms. Bridgeman (1981) showed the children a series of cartoons aimed at testing their ability to put themselves in the shoes of the cartoon characters. In one cartoon, the first panel shows a little boy looking sad as he waves good-bye to his father at the airport. In the next panel, a letter carrier delivers a package to the boy. In the third panel, the boy opens the package, finds a toy airplane inside, and bursts into tears. Bridgeman asked the children why they thought the little boy burst into tears at the sight of the airplane. Nearly all of the children could answer correctly: because the toy airplane reminded him of how much he missed his father. Then Bridgeman asked the crucial question: "What did the letter carrier think when he saw the boy open the package and start to cry?"



When the classroom is structured so that students of various ethnic groups work together cooperatively, prejudice decreases and self-esteem increases.

The children in the control group thought that the letter carrier would know the boy was sad because the gift reminded him of his father leaving. But those who had participated in the jigsaw classroom responded differently. They had developed the ability to take the perspective of the letter carrier—to put themselves in his shoes—and they realized

Try It!

Jigsaw-Type Group Study

The next time a quiz is coming up in one of your courses, try to organize a handful of your classmates into a jigsaw-type group for purposes of studying for the quiz.

Assign each person a segment of the reading. That person is responsible for becoming the world's greatest expert on that material. That person will organize the material into a report that will be given to the rest of the group. The rest of the group will feel free to ask questions to make sure they fully understand the material. At the end of the session, ask the group members the following questions:

1. Compared to studying alone, was this more or less enjoyable?
2. Compared to studying alone, was this more or less efficient?
3. How are you feeling about each of the people in the group, compared to how you felt about them prior to the session?
4. Would you like to do this again?

You should realize that this situation is probably less influential than the jigsaw groups described in this book. Why?

that he would be confused at seeing the boy cry over receiving a nice present because he hadn't witnessed the farewell scene at the airport. Offhand, this might not seem important. Who cares whether kids have the ability to figure out what is in the mind of a cartoon character? We should all care. The extent to which children can develop the ability to see the world from the perspective of another human being has profound implications for empathy, generosity, and learning to get along with others (Todd et al., 2011). (To find out if the jigsaw method will benefit you, see the Try It!)

When we develop the ability to understand what another person is going through, it increases the probability that our heart will open to that person. Once our heart opens to another person, it becomes almost impossible to feel prejudice against that person, to bully that person, to humiliate that person.

THE GRADUAL SPREAD OF COOPERATIVE AND INTERDEPENDENT LEARNING The jigsaw approach was first tested in 1971; since then, educational researchers have developed a variety of similar cooperative techniques (J. Aronson, 2010; Cook, 1985; Johnson & Johnson, 1987; Slavin & Cooper, 1999). The striking results that Aronson and his colleagues obtained years ago in Austin have now been replicated in hundreds of classrooms, for children of all ages and in many regions of the country and abroad (Hänze & Berger, 2007; Jürgen-Lohmann, Borsch, & Giesen, 2001; Sharan, 1980; Walker & Crogan, 1998). This method is now generally accepted as one of the most effective ways of improving relations between ethnic groups, increasing acceptance of stigmatized individuals such as people with mental illness, building empathy, and improving instruction (Desforges et al., 1991; Deutsch, 1997; McConahay, 1981; Slavin, 1996). What began as a simple experiment in one school system is slowly becoming an important force in public education. Unfortunately, the operative word in the preceding sentence is *slowly*. The educational system, like all other bureaucracies, tends to resist change.

But it is a goal worth pursuing. It is impossible to overstate the power that a simple change in the classroom structure can have on the life of a child. Some three decades ago, Elliot Aronson, the inventor of the jigsaw classroom, received a letter from a college student. He has saved it all these years, as an eloquent reminder that under all the scientific research and statistical analyses, there are living, breathing human beings who are affected every day by prejudice and by how the social situation treats

them—individuals who can rise and flourish when the classroom structure makes it possible for them to do so. Here is the letter in its entirety:

> Dear Professor Aronson:
>
> I am a senior at—University. Today I got a letter admitting me to the Harvard Law School. This may not seem odd to you, but let me tell you something. I am the 6th of 7 children my parents had—and I am the only one who ever went to college, let alone graduate, or go to law school.
>
> By now, you are probably wondering why this stranger is writing to you and bragging to you about his achievements. Actually, I'm not a stranger although we never met. You see, last year I was taking a course in social psychology and we were using a book you wrote, *The Social Animal*, and when I read about prejudice and jigsaw it all sounded very familiar—and then, I realized that I was in that very first class you ever did jigsaw in—when I was in the 5th grade. And as I read on, it dawned on me that I was the boy that you called Carlos. And then I remembered you when you first came to our classroom and how I was scared and how I hated school and how I was so stupid and didn't know anything. And you came in—it all came back to me when I read your book—you were very tall—about 6 1/2 feet—and you had a big Black beard and you were funny and made us all laugh.
>
> And, most important, when we started to do work in jigsaw groups, I began to realize that I wasn't really that stupid. And the kids I thought were cruel became my friends and the teacher acted friendly and nice to me and I actually began to love school, and I began to love to learn things and now I'm about to go to Harvard Law School.
>
> You must get a lot of letters like this but I decided to write anyway because let me tell you something. My mother tells me that when I was born I almost died. I was born at home and the cord was wrapped around my neck and the midwife gave me mouth to mouth and saved my life. If she was still alive, I would write to her too, to tell her that I grew up smart and good and I'm going to law school. But she died a few years ago. I'm writing to you because, no less than her, you saved my life too.
>
> Sincerely,
> "Carlos"

Review Questions

1. Increasing contact between groups will reduce prejudice if the following conditions are met except one. Which one?
   - **a.** Common goals
   - **b.** Higher status of the minority group
   - **c.** Cooperation between groups
   - **d.** Approval of authorities
2. What strategy does the Robber's Cave study suggest for reducing hostility between groups?
   - **a.** Sharing social norms
   - **b.** Being together in the same environment
   - **c.** Working together in pursuit of common goals
   - **d.** Playing fun competitive games like tug-of-war
3. Why did early attempts at desegregation fail to reduce prejudice between ethnic groups?
   - **a.** The students were given equal status.
   - **b.** The classroom environments were highly competitive.
   - **c.** The minority students didn't try hard enough to make friends.
   - **d.** The majority students shared the same goals as the minority students.
4. What is the key feature of the jigsaw classroom?
   - **a.** Kids of different ethnicities need each other to solve problems.
   - **b.** Kids of different ethnicities have a chance to show their individual talents.
   - **c.** Minority kids get to work in their own language and preferred pace.
   - **d.** Teachers stop calling on individual students.
5. What is one of the main reasons that the jigsaw method is effective?
   - **a.** It requires kids to behave in polite and empathic ways.
   - **b.** It sets clear rules for good behavior.
   - **c.** It allows kids to express their real feelings toward one another.
   - **d.** It breaks down in-group versus out-group perceptions and stereotypes.

Summary

LO 13.1 **Summarize the three components of prejudice.**

- **Defining Prejudice** Prejudice is a widespread phenomenon, present in all societies of the world. What varies across societies are the particular social groups that are the victims of prejudice and the degree to which societies enable or discourage discrimination. Social psychologists define **prejudice** as a hostile or negative attitude toward a distinguishable group of people based solely on their group membership. It contains cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components.
  - **The Cognitive Component: Stereotypes** A **stereotype** is a generalization about a group of people in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group, regardless of actual variation among the members. A stereotype may be positive or negative, and it can be a useful, adaptive mental tool to organize the social world. However, by obliterating individual differences within a group of people, it can be come maladaptive and unfair both to the person holding the stereotype and to the target. Even positive stereotypes of a group can be limiting and demeaning to members of the stereotyped group. Modern stereotypes of gender—which can take the form of *hostile sexism* or *benevolent sexism*—justify discrimination against women and their relegation to traditional roles.
  - **The Affective Component: Emotions** The deep emotional aspect of prejudice is what makes a prejudiced person so hard to argue with; logical arguments are not effective in countering emotions. This is the reason that prejudices can linger unconsciously long after a person wishes to be rid of them. People tend to react to groups with the emotions of admiration, pity, contempt, or envy, based on the warmth and competence conveyed in stereotypes about those groups.
  - **The Behavioral Component: Discrimination** An unjustified negative or harmful action directed toward members of a group solely because of their membership in that group is a sign of **discrimination**. Examples include police focus on Black drug users rather than on the much larger number of White drug users; *institutionalized discrimination* in hiring and the justice system; and *microaggressions*, the small insults and put-downs that many members of minority groups experience. When people are stressed, angry, have suffered a blow to their self-esteem, or otherwise are not in full control of their conscious intentions, they often behave with greater aggression or hostility toward a stereotyped target than toward members of their own group.

LO 13.2 **Explain how we measure prejudices that people don't want to reveal—or that they don't know they hold.**

- **Detecting Hidden Prejudices** Because of a shift in normative rules about prejudice, many people have learned to hide their prejudices in situations where they might be labeled as racist, sexist, anti-Semitic, homophobic, and so on. Accordingly, researchers have developed ways to detect hidden prejudices.
  - **Ways of Identifying Suppressed Prejudices** Researchers have developed unobtrusive measures to identify suppressed prejudices, such as sending out identical résumés that vary only the applicant's name or another identifying feature to see whether employers are biased against a particular group; or using the "bogus pipeline," in which participants believe a machine is registering their real attitudes.
  - **Ways of Identifying Implicit Prejudices** A popular method of identifying unconscious (implicit) prejudices is the **Implicit Association Test (IAT)**, a measure of the speed of people's associations between a target group and negative attributes. However, controversy exists about what the IAT actually measures.

LO 13.3 **Describe some ways that prejudice affects its targets.**

- **The Effects of Prejudice on the Victim**
  - **The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy** The prevalence of stereotypes and prejudices can create a **self-fulfilling prophecy** both for members of the majority and for victims of prejudice.
  - **Social Identity Threat** One cause of the average difference in academic performance is **social identity threat**, the anxiety that some groups feel when a stereotype about their group is activated or they could be devalued on the basis of their social identity.

LO 13.4 **Describe three aspects of social life that can cause prejudice.**

- **Causes of Prejudice** Three aspects of social life that increase the likelihood of prejudice are conformity to social rules, the importance of social identities and "us-them" thinking, and realistic conflict over resources or power.

- **Pressures to Conform: Normative Rules** Institutional discrimination reflects society's norms. Normative conformity, or the desire to be accepted and fit in, leads many people to go along with stereotyped beliefs and their society's dominant prejudices and not challenge them. As norms change, so, often, does prejudice.
- **Social Identity Theory: Us versus Them** Prejudice is enabled by the human tendency to organize people into in-groups and out-groups. It begins with **ethnocentrism**, the universal human inclination to see our own groups as superior to all others, and the need for a **social identity**, the part of the self-concept based on our membership in groups that are important to us. Ethnocentrism may originally have served as a survival mechanism inducing people to favor their own families and tribes, but human beings are also biologically designed to be friendly and cooperative. Social psychologists therefore strive to identify the conditions under which intergroup prejudice is fostered or reduced. Ethnocentrism and "us-them" categorization leads to **in-group bias** (the tendency to treat members of our own group more positively than members of the out-group) and **out-group homogeneity** (the mistaken perception that "they" are all alike). One common out-group attribution is **blaming the victim** for one's own prejudices and discriminatory behavior. Blaming the victim also promotes the in-group's feelings of superiority, its religious or political identity, and the legitimacy of its power.
- **Realistic Conflict Theory** According to **realistic conflict theory**, prejudice is the inevitable by-product of real conflict between groups for limited resources, whether involving economics, power, or status. Competition for resources leads to denigration of and discrimination against the competing out-group, as happened with Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century and as happens with Mexican and other Latino immigrants today. Scapegoating is a process whereby frustrated and angry people tend to displace their aggression from its real source to a convenient target—an out-group that is disliked, visible, and relatively powerless.

LO 13.5 **Summarize the conditions that can reduce prejudice.**

- **Reducing Prejudice** Prejudice may be universal, but social psychologists have investigated many of the conditions under which intergroup hostility can be reduced and better relationships fostered. It is not enough simply to provide prejudiced people with information that they are stereotyping the out-group; they will often cling even more tightly to their beliefs.
  - **The Contact Hypothesis** According to the *contact hypothesis*, the most important way to reduce prejudice between racial and ethnic groups is through contact, bringing in-group and out-group members together. Such contact has been shown to be effective in many situations, from integrating housing projects and the military to fostering friendships across ethnic lines at universities. However, mere contact is not enough and can even exacerbate existing negative attitudes. Contact is optimal when it involves intergroup cooperation, a common goal, equal status, and the contact is approved by authorities. Contact is especially effective when groups are interdependent and need each other to achieve a superordinate goal.
  - **Cooperation and Interdependence: The Jigsaw Classroom** The **jigsaw classroom** is a form of cooperative learning in which children from different ethnic groups must cooperate in order to learn a lesson. It has been shown to improve minority students' self-esteem and performance, increase empathy, and promote intergroup friendships.

Revel Interactive

Shared Writing **What Do You Think?**

How might college campuses combat the negative effects of social identity threat on the academic performance of some students?