Stereotyping, Prejudice & Discrimination

ECAP5004: Social Psychology

Dr Judith Marshall

Changes in the study of prejudice over time

- < 1920s Scientific Racism Inferior groups

Changes in the study of prejudice over time

- 20s/30s Philosophical/Psychodynamic: Attitudes

- Lipmann (1922)

Stereotypes

  - A picture in our heads
  - A guide to information to attend to and information to disregard in our environment

- Katz and Braly (1933)
  - First part of the 'Princeton Trilogy'
  - Stereotypes of outgroups tend to be consistent and negative

Changes in the study of prejudice over time

- 30s/40s Psychodynamic: Defence mechanisms

es.

THE WEATHER
Fair today and tomorrow, not much change in temperature.
Temperature yesterday—Max., 84; min., 67.
U. S. Weather Forecast—For details see Page 33.

TWO CENTS in Greater New York | THREE CENTS Within 200 Miles | FOUR CENTS Elsewhere Except 7th and 8th Postal Zones

OF GOD,' ASSERTS BLAINE

acrilegious," ring Sharp Hearing.

IS DENIED

Political Ex-

TROOPS FIRE ON TEXAS MOB, WOUNDING TWO IN BATTLE AFTER BURNING OF NEGRO

Walker Improving in Bermuda; Avoids Society, Swims Daily

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
HAMILTON, Bermuda, May 9.—Mayor Walker's health is much improved since his arrival here. He is sunburned from bathing daily at the private beach of Mr. and

SHERMAN GOES ON RAMPAGE

Courthouse Burned Down by Frenzied Rioters to Kill Prisoner.

Changes in the study of prejudice over time

- 50s Psychodynamic: Prejudiced personality

Stereotypes

A natural occurrence, particularly along some lines (race, gender, age)

Allport (1954)

Changes in the study of prejudice over time

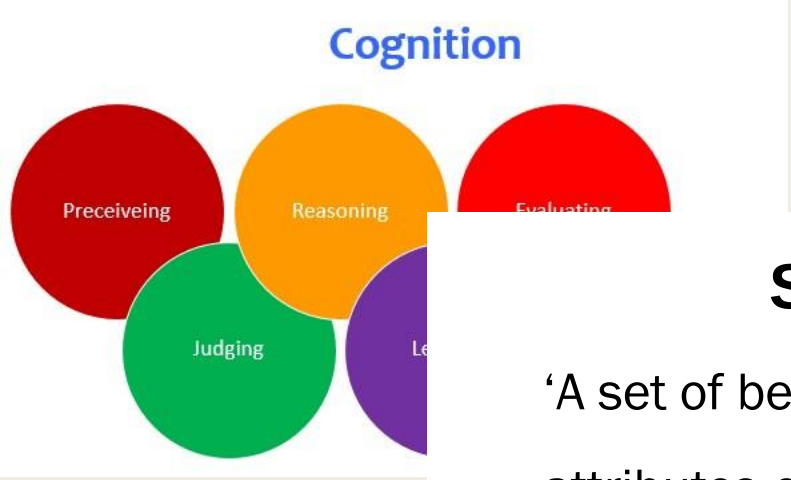
- 60s Sociocultural: Social factors

Changes in the study of prejudice over time

- 70s Intergroup Relations: Social structures

Changes in the study of prejudice over time

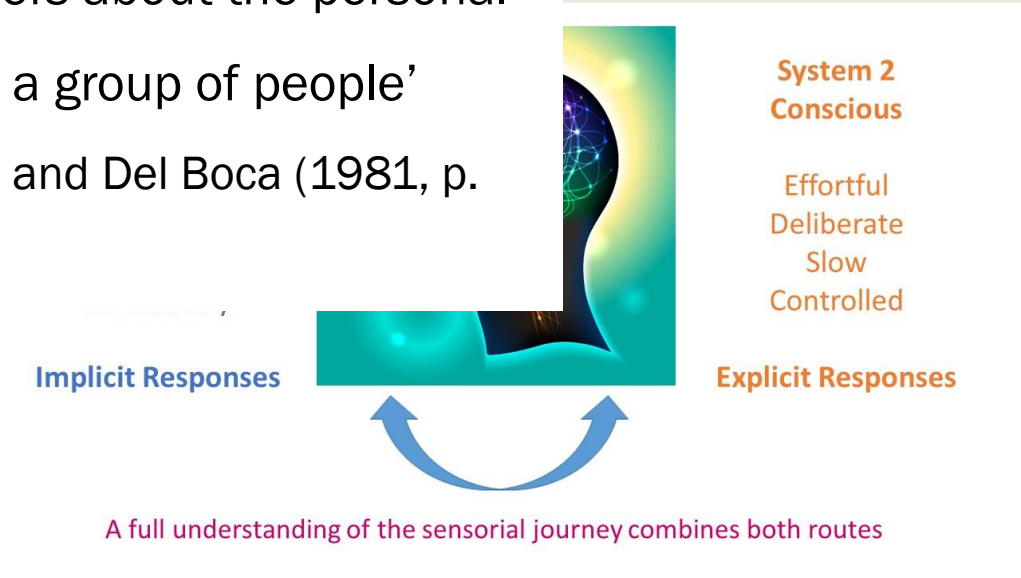
- 80s> Social Cognition/Evolution Processes & Mechanisms



Stereotypes

'A set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people'

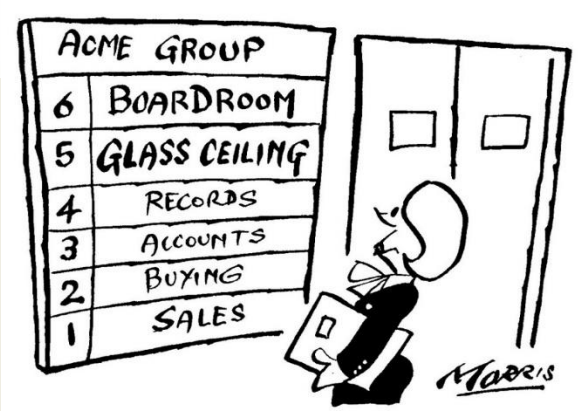
Ashmore and Del Boca (1981, p. 16).



Changes in the study of prejudice over time

- 2000s Complex integration

Socio-cognitive, political and cultural



Introduction: Defining the basics

- Stereotypes
  - *A picture in our heads*
  - *A guide to information to attend to and information to disregard in our environment*
    - Lippmann (1922)
  - *A natural occurrence, particularly along some lines (race, gender, age)*
    - Allport (1954)
  - *'A set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people'*
    - Ashmore and Del Boca (1981, p. 16).

- Positive and negative stereotypes
  - *Generalisations of groups: can be good or bad*

  - *‘Blacks are less intelligent’*
  - *‘Blacks are more athletic’*

  - *‘Asians are emotionless’*
  - *‘Asians are good at maths’*

  - *‘Whites are untrustworthy’*
  - *‘Whites are industrious’*

  - *‘Students are lazy’*
  - *‘Students are intelligent’*

Prejudice – ‘pre-judgement’

- Allport (1958) – an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation
  - *Prejudice as a feeling. But ‘antipathy’ suggests uni-directional feeling.*
  - *Positive and negative. We can be prejudiced ‘for’ and ‘against’ things…*

- Stangor et al. (1991)
  - *best predictor of out-group prejudice (negative) is <u>not</u> negative feelings towards the group…*
  - *It is a <u>lack</u> of positive emotions towards the out-group*

- Brewer and Brown (1998)
  - *Prejudice is an attitude directed toward people because they are members of a specific social group*

Discrimination

- The act of behaving negatively towards someone based upon their group membership (Nelson, 2006).

  - *Not employing someone because of race*
  - *Paying lower wages because of gender*
  - *Ignoring/refusing service because of race/gender/age etc.*

  - *Treating people differently, when there is no real reason to*

- Interpersonal
  - *One person treating another unfairly*
    - Level of exploration of ‘pure’ psychological research
- Organisational discrimination
  - *Practices of an organisation which may be discriminatory*
    - Hiring policies; Pay; Working hours
- Institutional discrimination
  - *Social institutions producing differential outcomes for different group members*
    - School segregation; Stop and search; Racial profiling
- Cultural discrimination
  - *Defining cultural values based upon one group’s norms*
    - Judaeo-Christian values

Are the terms interchangeable?

- No
  - *The classic example why:*

- LaPiere (1934)
  - *Wrote to 184 restaurants and 66 hotels and motels in the USA asking if they would mind him visiting their establishment with a Chinese couple…*
  - *92% of restaurants and 91% of hotels/motels replied that they would not offer service to the Chinese couple…*
  - *Strange, as previously they had visited the establishments and only been refused service by one – the rest were very pleasant to them*

- So…. Prejudice alone ≠ Discrimination
  - *Must also have the behavioural act*

Formation And Maintenance Of Stereotypes

- Social Stereotypes – ‘Beliefs about groups’ - but definitions vary across time and theories
- ‘Pictures in our heads’ Lippmann (1922)
- Consensual beliefs Katz & Braly (1933)
- Overgeneralizations Allport (1954)
- Individual cognitive beliefs Hamilton (1981)

Timeline

- Early theories – stereotyping as a deficiency
- E.g., Lippman – ‘lazy thinking’
- As cognitive psychology became better understood, so our understanding of how the mind works becomes better
- Humans as limited capacity processors
- William James – the environment as ‘this blooming, buzzing confusion’

- Gardner (1985) – automatic classification of similar objects into categories
- Prototypes/exemplars
- Fiske (1998) – stereotypes are a natural consequence of cognition
- Quite simply, there is too much information in the world for us to take in
- And why would we want all of that information anyway?

- Categorisation is useful for us – we can select basic information
- But why choose to categorise people by their race? Gender? Hair colour?
- No-one ever said humans were rational

The BIG categories

- Race
- Gender
- Age (Brewer, 1988)

- Obvious features

- Supply a lot of information

- Influence is strong – can become virtually automatic responses (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990)

One Of The Big Debates In Psychology:

- Are stereotypes automatic?
- Banaji & Greenwald (1994)
- Mere exposure to a picture or name e.g., Leroy can activate associated cognitions and beliefs

Macrae et al. (1997)
- Should not be/is not the case for images
    - *'women' is an abstract concept*
    - *But an image of a particular woman is a concrete entity, and so should not require a stereotypic activation*

Ingroups/Outgroups

Ingroups – groups to which we belong

Outgroups – groups to which we don't belong • Group salience is important here

- In-groups – comprise of unique individuals with a common goal

- Out-groups – share similar features, characteristics and motives
  - *In-group heterogeneity*
  - *Out-group homogeneity*
  - *SO… if the out-group is homogenous… why not stereotype?*

Minimal Group Paradigm

- Tajfel et al. (1971)
- Preference for paintings
- Points
- Money
- Random assignment to groups – X or Y

Some Possible Causes…

Social Learning Theory

- Children show preferences for groups by the age of five (Goodman, 1952)

- By age 5 most urban White children in the USA differentiate, are aware of prevailing norms about race, and display signs of prejudice (Aboud, 1988)

- “Prejudice is not taught by the parent, but caught by the child” (Allport, 1954, p300)

- Influence of the media
- Influence of the culture we are brought up in

Hebl & Heatherton (1998)

- Prejudice differences across race
- Rating of photos of large women
- White females judged large women as less attractive, less happy, and less popular
- Black women rated large women as more popular than thin women, and just as happy

The contact hypothesis

- The more contact we have with outgroup members, the less prejudice we have towards them

Relatively few White people have close Black friends or even acquaintances (Jackman & Crane, 1986)

- Contact may not be enough – friendship is a critical factor (Pettigrew, 1987)

Theory

- Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982)
    - *People categorise their social world into in-groups and out-groups*
    - *People derive a sense of self-esteem from their social identity as members of an in-group*
    - *People's self-concepts partly depend on how they evaluate the ingroup relative to other groups* • *A mixture of cognition and motivation*

Theory

- Realistic Conflict Theory

- Prejudice as an inevitable consequence of competition among groups for resources or power (Le Vine & Campbell, 1972)

- Cohen and Nisbett (1994); Nisbett (1993)

    - *Southern United States has a 'herding economy' – based on physical resources.*

        - *As times get hard, violence towards outgroups increases*
        - *Increase in lynchings in the early part of the 20th Century correlated with poor harvests*

Stereotype-specific theories

Stereotype knowledge

- Familiarity with content of a stereotype (see Devine etc.)
    - *Not correlated with prejudice*

- Stereotype endorsement
    - *Correlated with prejudice*

Stereotype-specific theories

Stereotype activation

- Extent to which a stereotype is accessible in mind
  - *Ease of activation*
  - *Dormant until activated*

- Stereotype application
  - *Extent to which a stereotype is used*
  - *More likely to use stereotypes with less well known targets than well known targets*

Stereotype-Specific Theories

Stereotype-activation model (Kunda & Spencer, 2003) (and others)

- Automatic and controlled reactions act in tandem - e.g., Cunningham et al. (2004)

- Automaticity shown by greater activation of amygdala for Black than White faces at 30m/s • Virtually equal at 500m/s+ (White participants)

- Why?

Sassenberg & Moskowitz

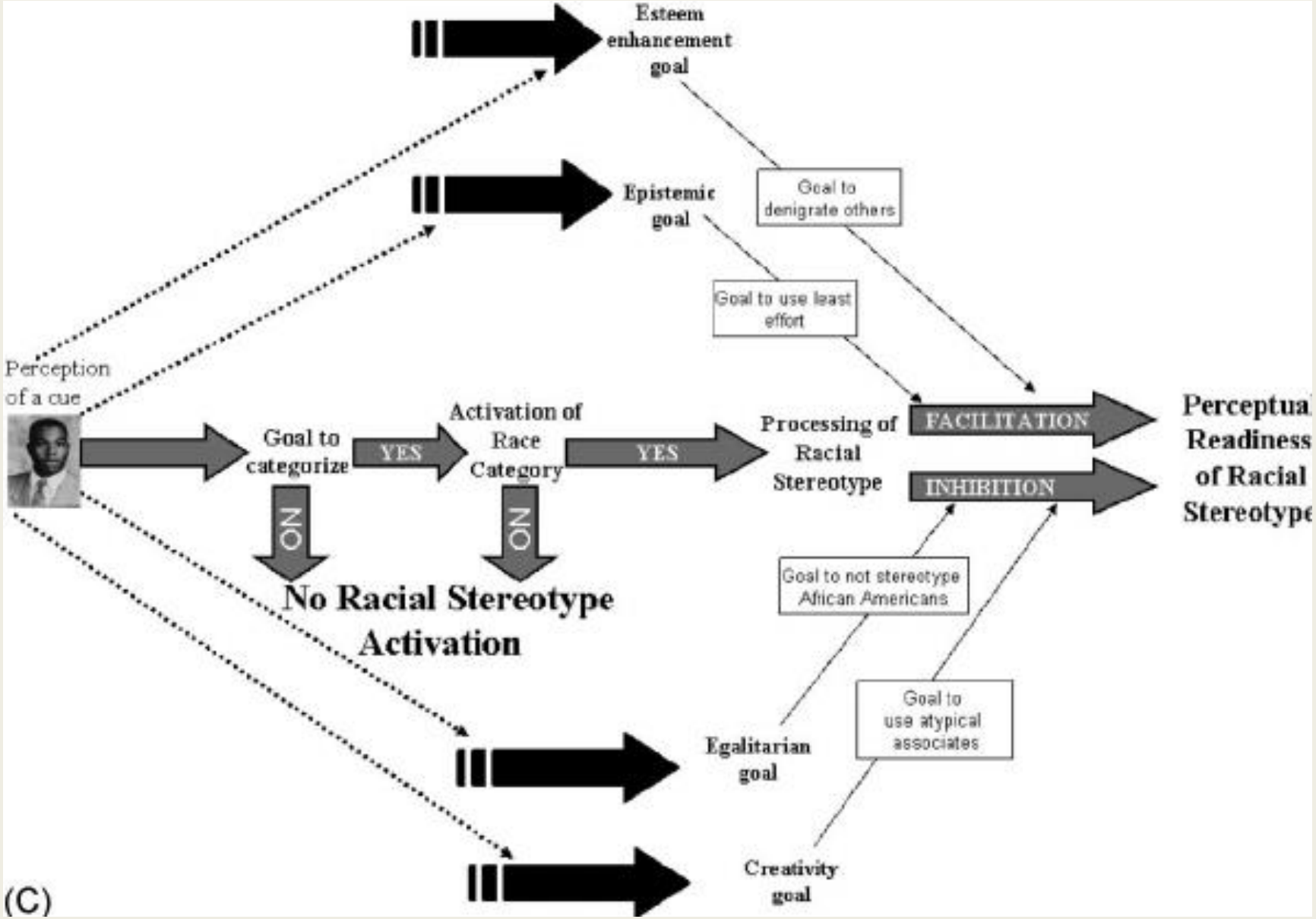
- Less use of stereotypes if people are primed to be creative/use creative thinking • Tasks unrelated to prejudice task

- Suggests creativity can be used as a proactive strategy

- If that is the case suggests prejudice does come under our own volition to a certain extent

- The question is, how much in comparison to automaticity?

Moskowitz (2009): Implicit volition



Prejudice has been an issue for hundreds of years… so why did no-one really study it until the 1920s?

- The simple, if harsh, reason is that generally, nobody cared

- Overt hostility, discrimination, and social dominance was the norm

- Only with the work of Lippmann (1922), LaPiere (1934) and Katz and Braly (1933) did people begin to see that prejudice and discrimination was wrong

Lippmann (1922) – ‘pictures in our heads’ and ‘lazy thinking’

- *Attitude (negative evaluation)*

Katz and Braly (1933)

- Whites held negative trait views of African-Americans and positive trait views of Whites
  - *‘superstitious’, ‘lazy’, ‘ignorant’*
  - *‘industrious’, ‘intelligent’, ‘ambitious’*

Similar scales used in 1991 (Dovidio & Gaertner)

- *Attitudes now more positive about AAs*

Dovidio and Gaertner (1986)

- *Caucasian willingness to publicly state and endorse negative beliefs strongly diminished*

- But… Devine and Elliot (1995)

  - *When Caucasians asked about their knowledge of AAs their descriptions tend to be of negative traits similar to those found by Katz and Braly*
  - *Possibly reinforcing the stereotype*

Pettigrew & Meertens (1995)

Old-fashioned, blatant prejudice/racism is ‘hot, close and direct’ (p.58)

- *Direct threat and abuse of out-group*
- *Lynchings*
- *Discrimination with institutional backing*
- *Enforced segregation*

Pettigrew & Meertens (1995)

Modern, subtle prejudice/racism is ‘cool, distant, and indirect’ (p.58)

- *Covert and indirect prejudice and discrimination*

Prior to the 1960s prejudice was seen as an overt attitude

- *Overt because it did not need to be covert*
- *Discrimination was the norm*
- *Modern racism is frowned upon and so prejudices must, by necessity, be more covert*

- McConahay (1983, 1986) – Modern Racism Scale

  - *Whites suffer from ambivalence*
  - *Negative feelings towards racial outgroups, but also knowledge that this is wrong and now a breach of social norms*

Modern racism

McConahay's theory of the modern racist

- *Believe that racism is no longer an issue*
- *Believe that AAs make unfair demands, particularly in the case of positive discrimination*
- *How do they defend their position?*
- *Display negative attitudes towards anyone who violates 'traditional cultural values'*
- *'Patriot', 'Little Englander'*

Symbolic racism

Kinder & Sears (1981)

- *Embodying the 'Protestant work ethic'*
- *Belief that ethnic minorities violate this work ethic (not self-reliant, not hard-working, disobedient)*
- *Can be seen as very similar to McConahay's work*
- *Also similar to realistic-group conflict*
- *And Social-Dominance Theory*
- *Major criticism – is it very different to old-fashioned racism? Isn't this what people believed 100 years ago?*

Aversive racism

Gaertner & Dovidio (1986)

- Consciously deny being racist – and in unambiguous situations will actively not show racism (may even overcompensate)
- In ambiguous situations they will display racism, as it can be attributed to other things apart from race

- E.g., Dovidio and Gaertner (2000): Hiring for a job
    - *When Black applicant has superior qualifications, ARs hire the Black participant – unambiguous situation*
    - *When Black and White applicant equal in qualifications, far more likely to hire the White applicant – ambiguous situation, can justify on many other grounds*

Measurement: Explicit Prejudice

For many years – self-report questionnaire

- *Worked fine when prejudice was not particularly a breach of social norms*
- *As times changed, participants knowledge of social desirability may have made them lie to disguise their prejudices*

Explicit prejudice

- Level of explicit prejudice
- 'If people move to another country they should be allowed to maintain their own traditions'

1 2 3 4 5

Strongly Agree - Agree - Neither A nor D - Disagree - Strongly Disagree

Measurement: Implicit Prejudice

Modern technology

- Priming and the IAT (word stem completion, etc.)

- Priming – subliminal words/faces presented below conscious awareness (20ms)

e.g., Judd et al. (1997)

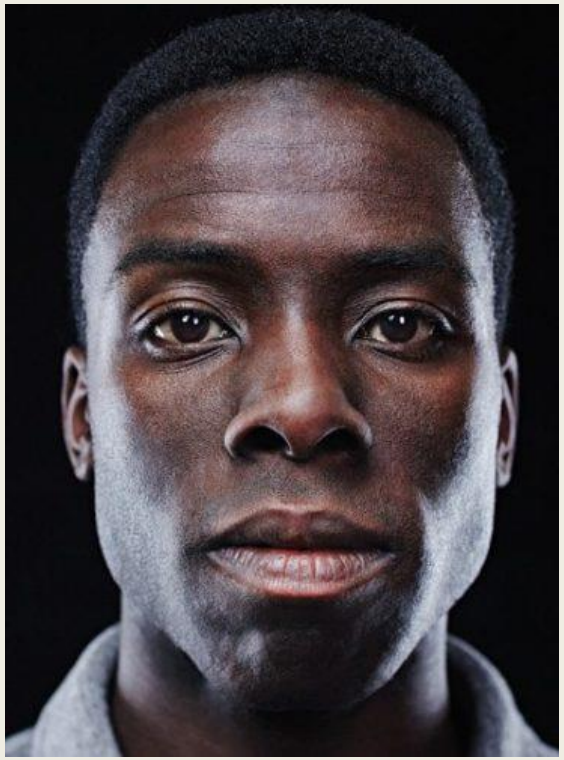
- Implicit Association Test (IAT: Greenwald et al., 1998)

- Associations between positive and negative words, and Black, and White faces

The Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998)

- Words e.g. Disease Honour

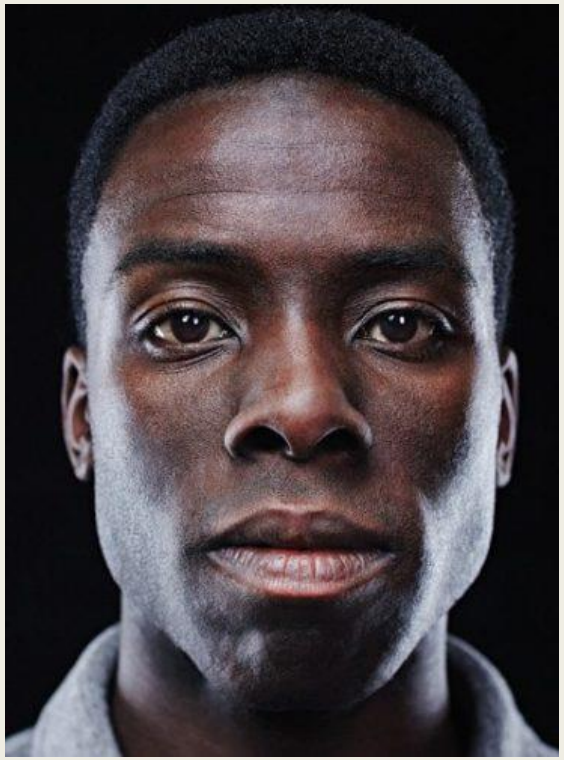
Critical trial 1



Disease

Honour

Critical trial 2



Honour

Disease

Implicit and Explicit combined

- The low correlations between implicit and explicit scores in many studies suggests that they may actually be separate constructs (Fazio & Olson, 2003).

- Proposal of four prejudice subtypes
- (Hutchings & Haddock, 2008; Son Hing et al., 2008; Sullivan & Hutchings, 2018)

Prejudice types

- Low Explicit
- High Explicit
- Low Implicit
- High Implicit

Aversive Racists

Gaertner and Dovidio (1986):

- The interaction between implicit and explicit prejudice
    - *Low Implicit/Low Explicit = Egalitarian*
    - *High Implicit/Low Explicit = Aversive Racists*
    - *Low Implicit/High Explicit = Principled Conservatives*
    - *High Implicit/High Explicit = Bigots/Modern Racists*

Modern studies – Implicit prejudice:

Hugenberg and Bodenhausen (2004); Hutchings and Haddock (2008) – Interaction between Implicit and Explicit prejudice: Hutchings and Haddock (in press); Son Hing et al. (2006, 2008)

Aversive Racism

- Kovel (1970) suggested that the term aversive racist could be applied to a person who “tries to ignore the existence of black people, tries to avoid contact with them, and at most to be polite, correct, and cold in whatever dealings are necessary between the races” (Hutchings, 2009, p. 38).

- Gaertner and Dovidio (2005), “aversive racists, in contrast to old-fashioned racists, endorse fair and just treatment of all groups, but they unconsciously harbor feelings of uneasiness towards Blacks, and thus try to avoid interracial interaction” (p. 619).

- “It is this unconscious element that is the key to the exploration of prejudice and discrimination in modern racism” (Hutchings, 2009, p.39)