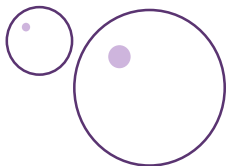


Intergroup Relations: Prejudice, Discrimination & Aggression

Lecture 5



For consideration...

- You may have heard of various homophobic hate groups that have a strong presence on the internet. Which of the social- psychological processes described thus far, may be contributing to the behaviour of these groups?
- Mark, a manager for a large bank, genuinely feels very warm towards women. He thinks that men should cherish, protect, and revere women. Do Mark's attitudes mean that he is less likely than other male managers to discriminate against women, for example to oversee unequal pay?



Intergroup Relations: Part 1.

- Bases of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination
- Stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination in different contexts
- Vicious cycles in intergroup relations
- Social dangers of being categorised



Stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination

- **Stereotypes**

- Simplified but widely shared beliefs about the characteristics of groups and their members

- **Prejudice**

- Negative affective reaction to a group and its` individual members

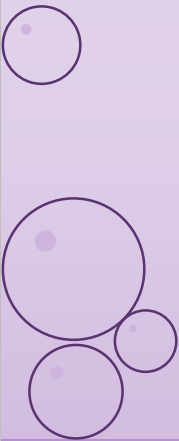
- **Discrimination**

- Others treat you less well simply because of your group membership





Bases of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination

- Do these phenomena stem from the limitations of human beings as information processors? We have limited cognitive resources...
 - People are seen as cognitive misers because:
 - There is not enough space in working memory to process everyone as an individual, therefore, we rely on short-cuts or heuristics (Fiske & Taylor, 1991)
 - We do not take into consideration all of the idiosyncratic, ambiguous or contradictory information available, rather, we take short cuts.
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Cognitive limitations

- What is the evidence?
- People draw on stereotypes to gain knowledge about people they barely know (Dijker & Koomen, 1996)
- However, people sometimes use stereotypes and sometimes they do not:
- When accuracy is important, we tend to use more of our limited resources and rely less on our stereotypes or short cuts (Outcome dependent).
- For example, Stephan, Berscheid & Hatfield, (1971) found that female pp`s made less errors when thinking about a potential dating partner, than about a man who they would never meet!



Cognitive limitations

People who were told they would be working with an elderly person to earn a prize (or working independently):

- Outcome dependent people ascribed less stereotypical traits
- But only when not cognitively busy (Pendry & MacRae, 1994)

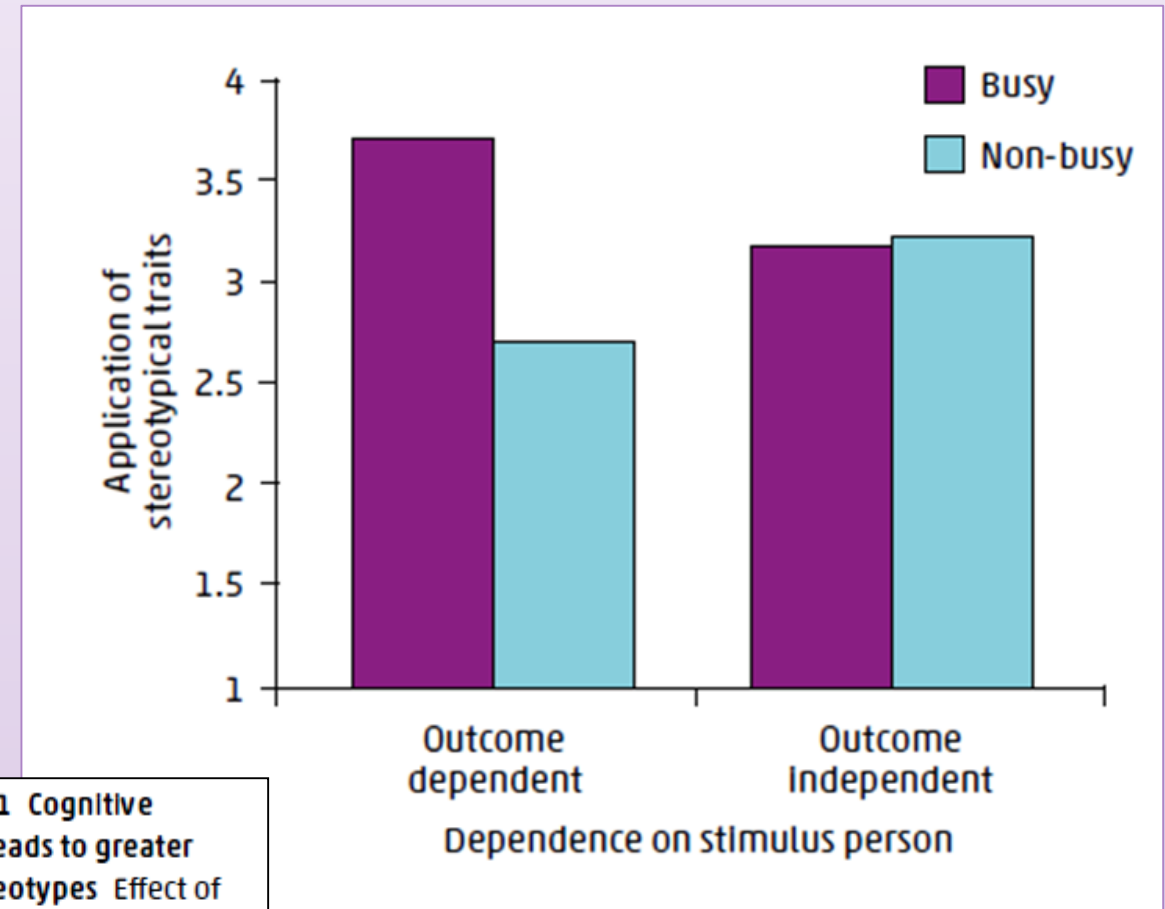
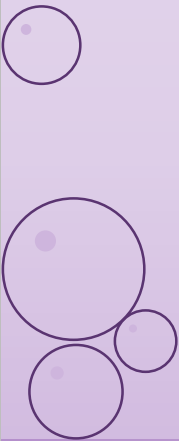


FIGURE 11.1 Cognitive busyness leads to greater use of stereotypes Effect of outcome dependence and cognitive busyness on ratings of the stimulus person, 'Hilda', on stereotype-consistent traits (In this study, 'Intolerant, prudish, and critical').

Source: Data from Pendry and Macrae, 1994



Flaws in human thought- illusory correlation bias

- Stereotypes assume a correlation between group membership and an individuals' characteristics
 - We are sensitive to distinctive events, so when two distinctive events occur together, it is especially noticeable
 - Typically we have less contact with minorities and outgroups and therefore commit a crucial cognitive error...
 - Think of a football match between your hometown and an away team. Because you are familiar with the behaviour of your own team, and less so for the visiting team, you would be far more likely to see hooliganism of the visiting team as more common/representative behaviour of them, than of the team you are familiar with... (Fiedler, 2004).
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Illusory correlation bias

TABLE 11.1 Observed instances of hooligan and civilized behaviour

	Hooligan behaviour	Civilized behaviour
Hometown FC	100	1,900
Neighbourtown FC	5	95

Majority and minority group equally prone to an undesirable behaviour

“Trick of the mind” leads people to believe that the behaviour is more common among the minority (Fiedler, 2004)

Illusory correlation bias:

- Can explain why some behaviours are unfairly perceived as more characteristic of minority groups
- Even if there is a “kernel of truth” (McGarty et al., 1993)
- How can we explain this?
- Memory is faulty so people do not accurately encode the ratios of positive versus negative behaviours, and estimates become biased (Fiedler, 1991) Mainly in favour of majority because memory for the minority is weaker to begin with, moving towards a 50:50 ratio... underestimating good behaviours and over estimating the bad

Illusory correlation bias

- People are more accurate at accessing common events given the opportunity for greater exposure
- And, Eder et al., (2011) found that the illusory correlation was even higher among pp`s who had a lower working memory capacity
- Rothbart, (1981) emphasised the accessibility of information at the time of retrieval. People process positive information most frequently, hence they are the most available and usually representative of the majority group.
- People process unfamiliar information more elaborately (Hamilton & Gifford, 1976), therefore, a little knowledge about a group can be a dangerous thing...



Category accentuation

- The mere act of categorisation can distort perceptions of groups- it is an even more basic cognitive error than an illusory correlation.
- Differences between categories are maximised and differences within categories are minimised (Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963)

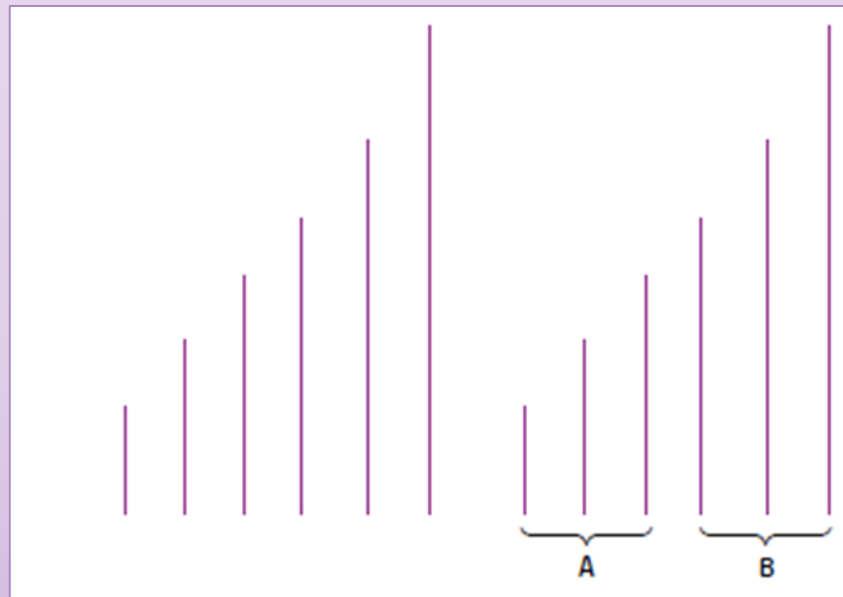


FIGURE 11.3 Illustration of Tajfel and Wilkes's (1963) study The labels caused participants to perceive the lines in group A as similar to each other, the lines in group B as similar to each other, and to perceive large differences between the line groups.

Category accentuation:

- This applies to judgements of people too (e.g. Krueger & Siriam, 1989)

Pp`s told that sprinters weigh more than marathon runners and presented them with charts of confirmatory body weights.

In a later stage, pp`s were given additional information of people which either confirmed or refuted the body weight information of first group.

Pp`s estimates of average weights of two groups changed more for group 1 than group 2, because they attended to the information that accentuated the similarities and confirmed their expectations.

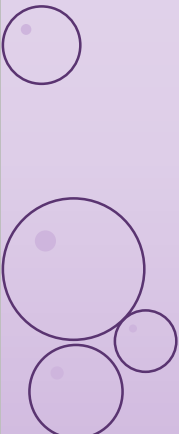
- Outgroup homogeneity effect
- Tendency to see people within a same group as being more “similar” than they really are
- Because we like people who share characteristics with ourselves, the net result of the outgroup homogeneity effect can be in-group bias



Motivations: how people want to think

- Stereotypes and prejudice are not limited to how people are able to think, but also by how they want to think!
- Epistemic (knowledge) needs have been linked to intergroup perceptions – we have an aversion to ambiguity and a need for understanding our environment

This can lead to simple, hasty judgments. Much of the research has looked at individual differences in these processes.

- Dogmatism- the tendency to tolerate mutually inconsistent beliefs by isolating them in memory (Rokeach, 1960)
 - This is a rigid cognitive structure, resistant to change and related to prejudice
- 
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Motivations

- Need for personal structure
- Preference for structure in most situations
- Related to stereotyping
- High PNS participants assigned more stereotypically female traits to a woman
- (Neuberg & Newsom, 1993)

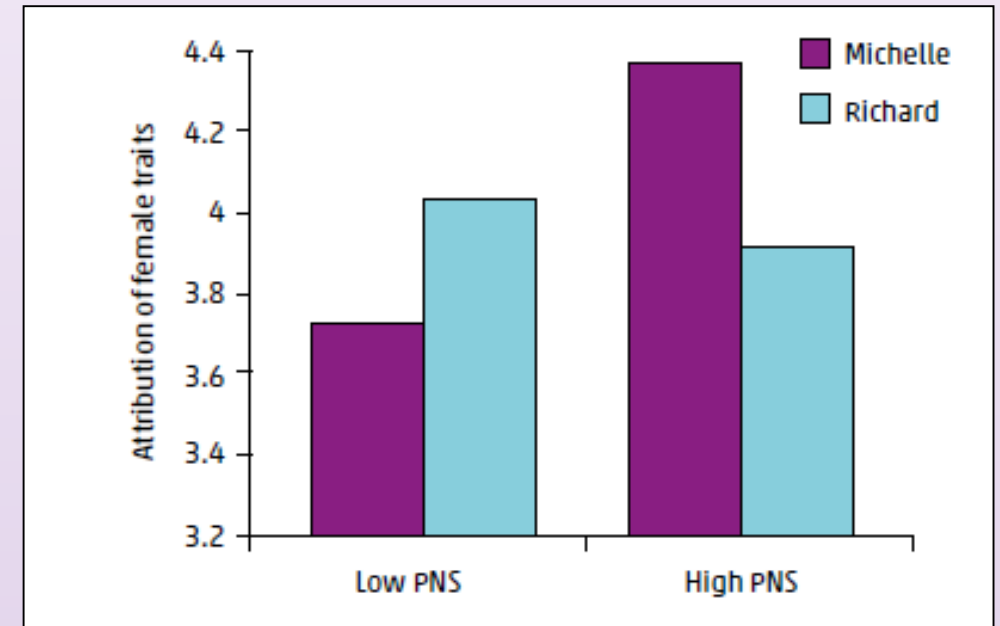


FIGURE 11.4 Personal need for structure and stereotyping Participants who were high in PNS may be more likely to stereotype others in ambiguous situations (by assigning more 'feminine' traits to female targets) than those low in PNS.

Source: Data from Neuberg and Newsom, 1993

Motivations

- Yet another construct is the Need for cognitive closure (NFCC: Kruglanski, 2006)
- a general desire to seek `an answer on a given topic, any answer... compared to confusion and ambiguity` (Kruglanski, 1990, p377)
- Associated with prejudice and stereotyping (Dijksterhuis et al., 1996)
- Pp`s scoring highly on a measure of NFCC recalled more stereotype consistent information compared to those scoring relatively highly on stereotype inconsistent information

Ideologies: Marxist theory

- Classes have different, conflicting interests
- Class conflict stems from ruling class exploitation of the working class
- An unequal class system is preserved by false consciousness – ideologies such as the protestant work ethic keep people in their place
- Class consciousness emerges when people become aware of this
- Consequently, a number of Marxist ideologies have been linked to prejudice: unequal status, common or shared within group interests, conflicting between group interests, failure to act upon or be aware of shared group interests and ideologies that make inequalities seem unchangeable

Authoritarianism

- Research began as an attempt to make sense of the Holocaust (Adorno et al., 1950)
- The hostility towards Jewish people often co-exists with hostility towards other minorities
- Those people exhibiting prejudice seem to share “authoritarian” tendencies
- These tendencies are measured on an F – scale (Although these scales have been subsequently criticised as being neither reliable or valid)
- As a result:
 - Right-wing authoritarianism (Altmeyer, 1998) which measures three components:
 - Conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, authoritarian submission
 - High measures show a range of prejudices, although some suggest that this is more related to attitudes and values rather than personality (Saucier, 2000)

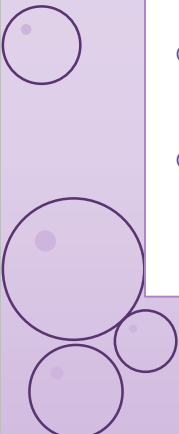
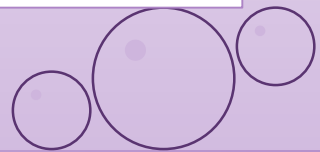
Social Dominance Orientation



- Social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999)
- Like right wing authoritarianism, SDO is a multi-dimensional concept, where:
 - 1. People high in SDO favour status hierarchies
 - 2. People high in SDO have a desire for one`s own group to dominate or be superior to another
- Links between SDO and prejudice
- Racism, sexism and other non-egalitarian attitudes – endorsing beliefs that legitimise unequal status of different groups



Struggle for Superiority

- People want their own group to be superior to others
 - There is collaboration within groups and competition between groups
 - **Realistic group conflict theory (Sherif, 1966)**
 - Struggle for material welfare
 - **Social identity theory (Tajfel et al., 1971)**
 - Seeing one's own group in positive terms relative to others
 - **Both refer to processes at the group level**
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Remember the `Robber`s Cave Study`

- 11 year old boys
 - Phase 1 – group attachment
- “Eagles” and “Rattlers”
 - Phase 2 – intergroup competition
 - Phase 3 – intergroup reconciliation
- Contact and superordinate goals reduced conflict



Robber`s Cave

The introduction of superordinate goals reduced ethnocentrism

In this case... the percentage of outgroup members classified negatively

But is competition necessary for prejudice?

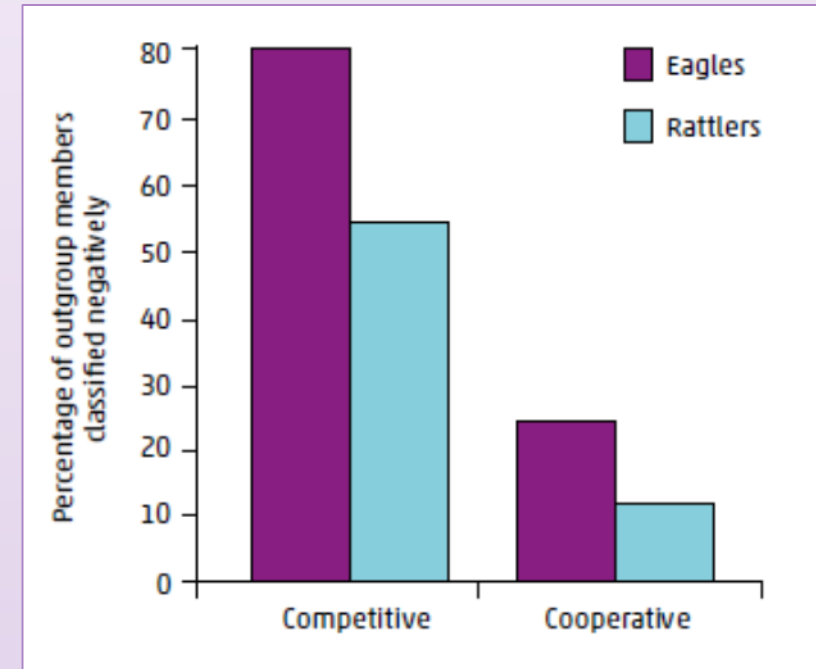


FIGURE 11.5 Superordinate goals reduce ethnocentrism
In the Robbers Cave study, the introduction of superordinate goals significantly reduced ethnocentrism. For example, the percentage of outgroup members who were classified negatively after cooperation was much lower than the percentage of outgroup members who were classified negatively after competition.
Source: Data from Sherif and Sherif, [1954]1961

Minimal Group Paradigm

- Does simply putting people into social categories elicit ethnocentrism?
- British school boys were given the task of evaluating unfamiliar paintings (Tajfel et al., 1970)
- They were told that they had a preference for paintings by either Klee or Kandinsky, where in actual fact, their assignment to conditions was random
- Tajfel had thus created `minimal` groups, based upon bogus and minimal differences between them



Minimal Group Paradigm

- Therefore, the groups have no common goals or history
- Each boy was asked to assign points to two other boys (points = money at the end)
- Only known by code and group membership- anonymous apart from this
- Boys assigned more points to their in-group
- However, they also favoured the in-group in **relative** terms, even if it meant losing money
- People strive to maintain the superiority of their own group (even if they have to cut off the group`s nose in doing so!)

Minimal Group Paradigm

Ingroup member	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Outgroup member	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

- F – fairness: the most equal allocation
- MD – maximum difference: the most Ingroup-biased allocation which makes the Ingroup member most well off relative to the outgroup member, regardless of the absolute number of points they receive
- MIP – maximum Ingroup profit: the allocation which gives the Ingroup member most points, regardless of how much the outgroup member receives
- MJP – maximum joint profit: the allocation that awards the highest number of points (regardless of the difference between the groups)
- FAV – favouritism: employment of MIP and MD

Intergroup bias in different intergroup contexts: gender

- Women have been generally at the wrong end of the “battle of the sexes”
- But, they are liked more and are seen as nicer (Fiske et al., 2002)
- “Women are wonderful” stereotype (Eagly and Mladinic, 1994)
- Thus...
- Prejudice and discrimination do not always go hand in hand. Less prejudice, but more discrimination?

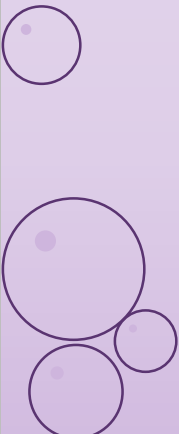


Sexism: a specific type of ideology

- The beliefs about how there are differences but also the appropriateness of the differences and how women/men ought to behave
- Hostile sexism
 - Women pose a threat to men's position
- Benevolent sexism
 - Women are wonderful and necessary for men's happiness
- Attitudes toward women are therefore ambivalent (Glick & Fiske, 1996) - they have both positive and negative elements



Sexism

- According to Glick et al., (2000) Men tend to endorse hostile sexism more than women and across countries hostile sexism predicted negative stereotypes of women
 - In those countries where gender inequalities are strong, women endorse benevolent sexism more than men (Glick et al., 2000), compared to those countries where inequalities are less pronounced, and both men and women endorsed benevolent sexism equally.
 - This is in line with Social Identity Theory; where status between genders is marked and stable, members of low status groups will establish social creativity- preserving a positive self image.
 - **What is the problem?**
 - Benevolent attitudes justify women's consignment to a subordinate role
 - Suited to caring roles
 - Not suited to status-driven roles
- 
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Sexism



- Pitfalls of benevolent sexism
- Women exposed to benevolent statements that society is fairer (Jost & Kay, 2005)
- Benevolent sexists are more likely to want to restrict pregnant women's freedoms (Sutton et al., 2011)
- Benevolent sexists are more likely to blame date rape victims (Viki & Abrams, 2002)

Sexism

- Suggests why the genders ought to differ – benevolent sexism justifies the status quo, and women likely to endorse this ideology are less likely to want to change it
- Rudman & Glick (2001) found that female job candidates presenting themselves as ambitious and agentic, would suffer a backlash ; seen as lacking in warmth, less likely to work well in a team etc.
- Apparent in the literature on objectification
 - When women are viewed as if their bodies represent who they are...
 - Face-ism bias (Archer et al., 1983)



Objectification theory

- Objectification changes the way women are treated by others, but also how they themselves think, feel and act (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997)
- Frequent objectification leads to self-objectification (Calogero, 2004)
- Linked to the severity of striving for thinness (Calogero et al., 2005)
- When university students were primed with benevolent sexism, they became more accepting of the status quo between men and women and in turn the objectification of themselves (Calogero and Jost, 2011)

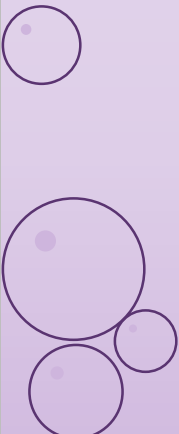
Race and Ethnicity



- Different races and ethnicities are in less contact than gender groups, so relations are different. Not only this, but historically contact has been less frequent. Moreover, some of the initial contact was for competition of resources (Think sheriff!)
- Dehumanisation – has arisen from ethnocentrism, in that those who look act and dress very differently will seem less than human (Summer, 1966)
- Unfortunately, dehumanisation of racial groups tends to legitimate even the worst actions against them (Haslam, 2006)



Race and Ethnicity

- Racism also fosters a predominant belief that perceived differences (e.g., intelligence) are genetically-based
 - Gould (1996) Cranial capacity and brain folds...
 - Eugenics movement and Nazi Germany
 - Apartheid, US States:
 - Forced segregation, exclusion from public places, the vote etc....
 - Interesting findings from discourse analysis demonstrate that conflicting statements, (both egalitarian and racist) from a single person can reveal how they express racist views whilst defusing the charge that they are racist.
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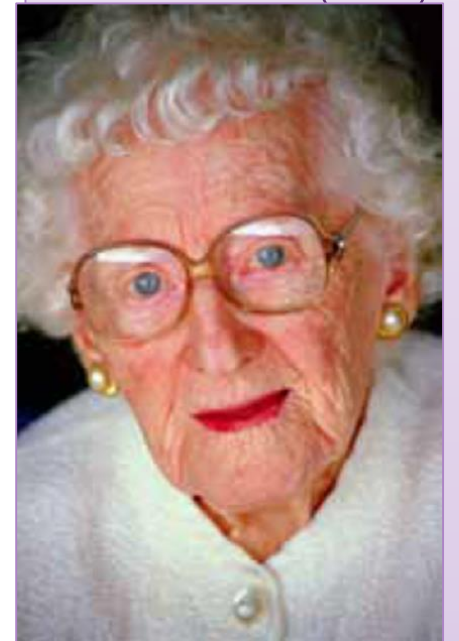
More subtle forms of racism

- Credentialling (Monin & Miller, 2001) People show more prejudice after having the opportunity to demonstrate that they are not prejudiced
- Monin & Miller (2001) gave undergraduates opportunity to select candidate for hypothetical firm. When standout was black or female, they had the chance to prove their lack of prejudice. Later, when compared to controls on a second selection task, those who had already `proved` themselves to be non- prejudiced, were less likely to select a minority candidate again.
- Modern racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998)
- Old-fashioned racism has been driven away
- Replaced by more subtle, qualified racism
- May lead to aversive racism – avoiding ethnic minorities



Ageism

- Older people too, face many forms of prejudice (Age Concern, 2006)
- This is bad for you (Levy et al., 2009) as it is almost a self-fulfilling prophecy
- The Baltimore Longitudinal Study of Aging began in 1968 and tracked adults into old age
- People completed an ageism scale and were revisited periodically
- 25% of people who endorsed ageist stereotypes had a cardiovascular event within 30 years (compared to 13% with no ageist attitudes)



Ageism

- Bargh et al., (1996) wanted to investigate whether pp`s could be primed to behave in stereotypical ways associated with the primed category.
- Undergraduates completed a `scrambled sentence task` supposedly as a test of language proficiency. In the `elderly` condition, words related to the elderly were embedded in the task, compared to the control condition, where words such as `clean` `thirsty` were used.
- Following the task, the pp`s were thanked and informed about the location of the elevator and exit of the building. A confederate observed and measured the time taken to reach the elevator.
- Pp`s primed in the elderly condition walked significantly more slowly to the elevator than those in the control group.

Homophobia

- As late as 1973, homosexuality was considered a psychiatric disorder
- Civil Partnership Act (2004) met by public opposition (86%) in a consultation document in Northern Ireland
- Anti-gay prejudice is associated with Christian attitudes (Batson et al., 1993)



Vicious cycles in IPR`s: Social Cognition

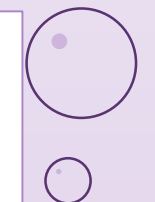
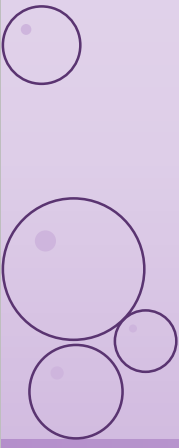
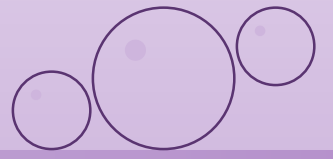
- Stereotypes often “hijack” the way people process social information
- Information from the environment seems to confirm them, even when it does not. Recall from an earlier attribution lecture `Correspondence bias`. One manifestation of this is `Spontaneous trait inference`, when people take longer to **correctly** identify that they have not seen a trait before (in a sentence for example).
- The tendency to think that a person who acts in a certain way must possess the associated trait, we associate stereotype consistent traits far more readily than we do stereotype inconsistent traits.
- Hence, stereotypes shape how we perceive the world (Dunning & Sherman, 1997)

The Implicit Association Test (IAT)

- A quick demonstration... (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwarz, 1998)
- *Place each hand flat, face down on the desk in front of you*

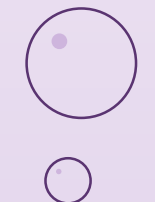
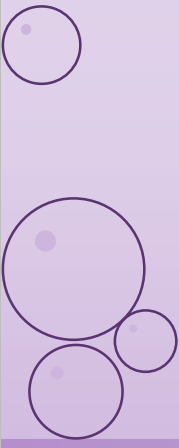
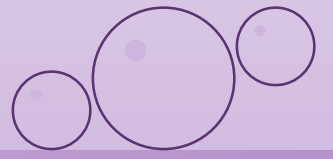


As quickly as you can -

- Tap LEFT if the word I read out is related to “BAD”
 - Tap RIGHT if the word I read out is related to “GOOD”
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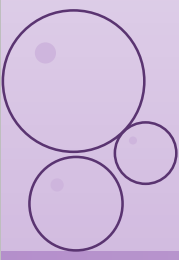
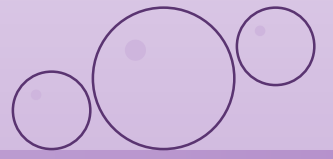


As quickly as you can -

- Tap **LEFT** if the word I read out is related to **“ME”**
 - Tap **RIGHT** if the word I read out is related to **“THEM”**
- 
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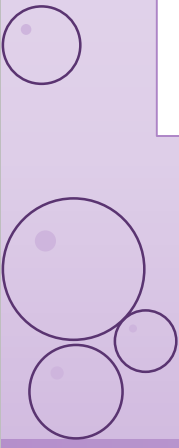
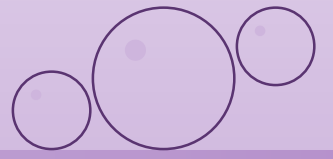


As quickly as you can -

- Tap LEFT if the word I read out is related to “ME” or “GOOD”
 - Tap RIGHT if the word I read out is related to “THEM” or “BAD”
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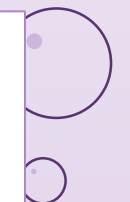
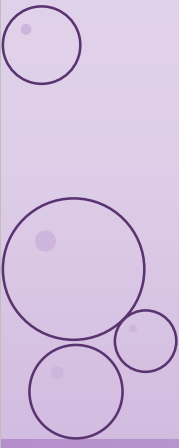
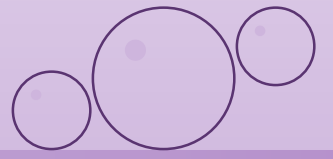


As quickly as you can -

- Tap LEFT if the word I read out is related to “ME” or “BAD”
 - Tap RIGHT if the word I read out is related to “THEM” or “GOOD”
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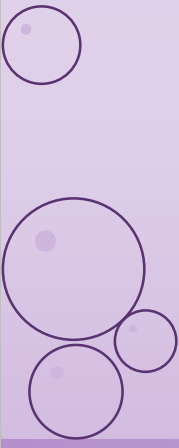


The IAT -

- Participants sit behind a computer and press different keys to match concepts
 - In this case “good” and “bad”, “me” and “them”
 - Where an attitude exists, reaction time is much faster when the concepts share a response key than when they do not
 - On which trial was everyone the slowest?
 - Why do you think this happens?
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The IAT -

- Measures the strength of associations between groups and concepts
 - But sadly, groups that experience prejudice and discrimination become associated with those concepts
 - African Americans are mentally associated (by a sample of White Americans) with oppression
 - The more strongly participants had these associations, the more prejudice they showed (Uhlmann et al., 2006)
 - Mud sticks...
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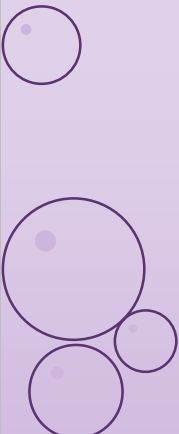


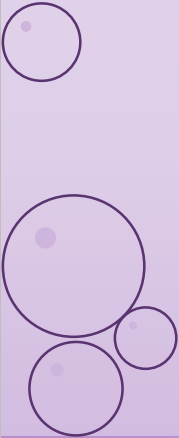
Vicious cycles in social emotion

- Just as people experience emotions to other people, groups experience emotions towards other groups (Smith, 1993, 1999)
- Intergroup emotions theory (Mackie & Smith, 2002) states that the nature of those emotions depends on the relative power and status of the groups. E.g.
 - Power - anger - aggression
 - Powerless - fear - avoidance (Mackie et al., 2000)
- Intergroup emotions (e.g., guilt) can reduce conflict (Maitner et al., 2007)
- But...interestingly, feelings of satisfaction after aggression can lead to support for more aggressive acts.
- Why? Anger in response to being attacked (particularly if group perceives itself as powerful) and able to retaliate.



Vicious cycles in social emotion

- And, anxiety perpetuates unhealthy, conflictual relationships as indicated by the Intergroup anxiety model (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). According to the model-
 - People expect to feel embarrassed and uncomfortable
 - People expect to be exploited
 - People expect to be negatively evaluated by the outgroup and in-group
 - These negative threats elicit anxiety and anxiety can become exaggerated when strong stereotypes exist, or when little is known regarding the other group
 - However, not all anxiety is bad. It may motivate people to attend more closely, or to act in a more positive way (Harber, 1998).
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- However, when anxiety has motivated people to act in a more positive way, the efforts are stressful (Ickes, 1984).
 - It can reduce enjoyment of the interaction and reduce communication efficacy.
 - It can also heighten and energise any negative thoughts and feelings towards the outgroup (Stephan et al., 1999).
 - It can interfere with task performance and self-control (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).
 - Self-control is necessary in the reduction of prejudice, hence a lack of this may be one reason why some individuals are unable to stop themselves from exhibiting prejudiced responses.
 - See also the ingenious study conducted by Amodio (2009), which highlights the role of cortisol in controlling racial bias.

Vicious cycles in social behaviour

- Stereotypes can and sometimes do contain a kernel of truth. It is important to acknowledge that stereotypes have the potential to change people's behaviours in ways that seem to verify those stereotypes.
- This is referred to as Stereotype threat (Steele, 1997)
- Ironically, when people are tested and belong to a group that is not stereotypically expected to do well, they become anxious and confirm the stereotype, because anxiety interferes with performance and they do less well
- Girls do less well in maths after they are made aware that boys typically do better than them (Keller, 2002).



Vicious cycles in social behaviour

- However...
- Stereotype lift (Walton & Cohen, 2003) refers to when individuals are made aware of a negatively stereotyped outgroup, their own performance is enhanced.
- These concepts can be seen in the example:
- Women acting assertively and fearlessly (bucking the typically stereotype) may experience a backlash from other individuals, thus giving the appearance that they confirm to the `feminist stereotype` rather than being viewed as successful. Alternatively, they may adopt the stereotypical behaviour because they want to be evaluated positively.