CHAPTER 4: PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Chapter 4 introduces you to the related concepts of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination. The chapter begins with definitions of these three concepts. Further, a distinction is made between implicit (unconscious) and explicit stereotypes (conscious) and how they relate to prejudice. Material is presented concerning the persistence and recurrence of prejudice historically. This is illustrated with a poll of Japanese and Americans, revealing mutual stereotyping. The next sections of the chapter focus on the roots of prejudice, starting with personality (authoritarianism) and gender. The social roots are explored next, along with the concept of modern racism. Most of the discussion of roots focuses on the cognitive roots of prejudice. Material is presented on categorization and how the categorization process leads to stereotyping and prejudice. The relationship one has with an in-group is also explored, and there is a discussion of how groups relate to one's self-concept and self-esteem (social identity and self-characterization theories). This section also talks about several biases that contribute to prejudice, including the in-group bias, the out-group homogeneity bias, illusory correlations, and the fundamental attribution error. The next major section deals with the consequences of being a target of prejudice. Here material is presented on the emotional and cognitive consequences of prejudice. There is a large section on the concept of "stereotype threat" and how stereotypes relate to performance. A section on coping with prejudice explores how individuals and groups cope with prejudice. Included is a discussion of primary and secondary compensation. The chapter concludes with a section on reducing prejudice that includes material on the contact hypothesis, humanizing out-group members and the success that the U. S. Army had combating racism.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The Dynamics of Prejudice, Stereotypes and Discrimination

   Prejudice
   Stereotypes
   Discrimination

The Persistence and Recurrence of Prejudice and Stereotypes

Individual Differences and Prejudice

   The Authoritarian Personality
   Social Dominance Orientation
   Openness to New Experience and Agreeableness
   Gender and Prejudice

The Social Roots of Prejudice

   Modern Racism
   Changing Social Norms
The Cognitive Roots of Prejudice: From Categories to Stereotypes

- Identity with the In-Group
- The Role of Language in Maintaining Bias
- Illusory Correlations
- The Confirmation Bias
- The Out-Group Homogeneity Bias
- The Difference between Prejudiced and Nonprejudiced Individuals

The Consequences of Being a Target of Prejudice

- Ways Prejudice Can Be Expressed
- Prejudice-Based Jokes
- Stereotype Threat
- Collective Threat
- Expecting to Be a Target of Prejudice

Coping with Prejudice

- Raising the Value of a Stigmatized Group
- Making In-Group Comparisons
- Anticipating and Confronting Prejudice
- Compensating for Prejudice

Reducing Prejudice

- Contact between Groups
- Personalizing Out-Group Members
- Reducing the Expression of Prejudice through Social Norms
- Reducing Prejudice through Training

A Success Story: The Disarming of Racism in the U.S. Army

The Mormon Experience Revisited

Chapter review
KEY TERMS

**Prejudice**: A biased attitude, positive or negative, based on insufficient information and directed at a group, which leads to prejudgment of members of that group. (p. 104)

**Stereotype**: A set of beliefs, positive or negative, about the characteristics or attributes of a group, resulting in rigid and over generalized images of members of that group. (p. 107)

**Discrimination**: Overt behavior—often negatively directed toward a particular group and often tied to prejudicial attitudes—which involves behaving in different ways toward members of different groups. (p. 112)

**Authoritarianism**: A personality characteristic that relates to a person’s unquestioned acceptance of and respect for authority. (p. 114)

**Authoritarian personality**: A personality dimension characterized by submissive feelings toward authority, rigid and unchangeable beliefs, and a tendency toward prejudicial attitudes. (p. 114)

**Social dominance orientation**: Desire to have one’s in-group in a position of dominance or superiority to out-groups. High social dominance orientation is correlated with higher levels of prejudice. (p. 116)

**Aversive racist**: Person who believes he or she is unprejudiced, but feels uneasy and uncomfortable in the presence of someone from a different racial group. (p. 121)

**Modern racism**: Subtle racial prejudice, expressed in a less open manner than is traditional overt racial prejudice and characterized by an uncertainty in feeling and action toward minorities. (p. 121)

**In-group bias**: The powerful tendency of humans to favor over other groups the group to which they belong. (p. 125)

**Social identity theory (SIT)**: An assumption that we all need to have a positive self-concept, part of which is conferred on us through identification with certain groups. (p. 126)

**Self-categorization theory (SCT)**: A theory suggesting that people need to reduce uncertainty about whether their perceptions of the world are “correct” and seek affirmation of their beliefs from fellow group members. (p. 126)

**Illusory correlation**: An error in judgment about the relationship between two variables in which two unrelated events are believed to covary. (p. 128)

**Out-group homogeneity bias**: The predisposition to see members of an out-group as having similar characteristics or being all alike (p. 131)

**Ultimate attribution error**: The tendency to give in-group, but not out-group, members the benefit of the doubt for negative behaviors. (p. 133)

**Stereotype threat**: The condition that exists when a person is asked to perform a task for which there is a negative stereotype attached to their group and performs poorly because the task is threatening. (p. 136)
Collective threat: The awareness that the poor performance of a member of one’s group may be evaluated with a stereotype and may be generalized into a negative judgment of one’s entire group. (p. 140)

Secondary compensation: A method of handling prejudice involving attempts to change one’s mode of thinking about situations to psychologically protect oneself against the outcomes of prejudice. (p. 143)

Primary compensation: A method by targets of prejudice that reduces threats posed by using coping strategies that allow the targets of prejudice to achieve their goals. (p. 143)

Contact hypothesis: A hypothesis that contact between groups will reduce hostility, which is most effective when members of different groups have equal status and a mutual goal. (p. 144)

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

At the conclusion of Chapter 4, you should be able to:

1. Define the following terms: prejudice, stereotypes discrimination, racism, and sexism.

   After reading Chapter 4 you should be able to discuss the relationship among these terms. You should also understand the difference between a scientific definition of prejudice and those commonly found in popular publications and culture. You should also be able to discuss the difference between explicit and implicit stereotypes, the level on which each operates, and how they affect behavior differently.

   You should understand that stereotypes are more than simple cognitive mechanisms that help us categorize people. They also serve as judgmental heuristics that can affect how we perceive and judge members of a stereotyped group.

   You should know the difference between prejudice and discrimination. You should show an awareness of the persistence of prejudicial attitudes throughout history. You also need to be cognizant of the role that historical and cultural forces play in determining views of stereotyped groups.

2. Discuss how individual difference variables like personality and gender relate to prejudice.

   You should be able to define authoritarianism and the authoritarian personality and discuss how these personality dimensions relate to prejudice. You should also be able to discuss social dominance orientation (SDO) and how this personality dimension relates to prejudice. You should also know how the big five personality model has been applied to the study of prejudice and which of the big five dimensions relate to prejudice.

   You should be able to discuss the relationship between gender and prejudice. You should know that there are differences between males and females on prejudice toward gay men and lesbian women. You will understand something about where the gender difference in this prejudice comes from and how gender relates to other forms of prejudice.

3. Discuss the differences and similarities between old-fashioned racism, aversive racism, and modern racism.

   You should understand that social psychologists distinguish between old-fashioned racism (overtly expressed prejudice), aversive racism (individuals who claim to be nonprejudiced but harbor subtle prejudices), and modern racism (prejudice that is expressed more subtly (e.g., opposing
affirmative action). You should also understand that some social psychologists have criticized the concept of modern racism.

4. **Understand the role of social norms in prejudice.**

You should be able to discuss how changing social norms affect the expression of prejudice. You should understand that norms have changed such that the overt expression of prejudice is no longer socially acceptable. You should understand that despite these changes, there are still many outlets for prejudice to be expressed (e.g., the Internet).

5. **Describe and discuss the cognitive roots of prejudice.**

Here you should understand that the cognitive roots of prejudice are outgrowths of the way we do business cognitively every day. Humans have a tendency to categorize just about everything, including people. Stereotypes are an extension of the predisposition to categorize and use “best examples” of a category to represent a category. Normal cognitive processes become problematic when they become rigid and over generalized.

6. **Discuss the importance of identification with the in-group and the consequences for the out-group.**

You should understand that humans have a powerful tendency to identify with a group. You should understand the assumptions of social identity theory and self-categorization theory and be able to discuss how these theories relate to prejudice and discrimination. You should also be able to discuss the role of biology in the tendency to favor members of an in-group.

7. **Describe the extent to which individuals rely on stereotypes as a function of their ability and motivation to think about social information.**

The importance of the cognitive miser as part of the fundamental strategy humans use to manage social information should be understood. In addition, the role of language (e.g., in-group pronouns) in reinforcing social stereotypes and the automaticity of stereotypic expression are critical components of the cognitive approach to prejudice. The Purdue studies are an excellent source for the role of language in maintaining stereotypes.

8. **Understand the relationship between the fundamental attribution error and stereotypes.**

Here you should know that the tendency to attribute the causes for other people's behavior (especially negative behavior) to internal factors contributes to stereotyping and prejudice. You should understand that some stereotypes have a basis in truth, even if a stereotyped group was forced into the situation that caused the stereotype to develop. You should be able to discuss how the confirmation bias and out-group homogeneity bias contribute to stereotyping and prejudice. Finally, you should also understand that the fundamental attribution error extends to the group level with the ultimate attribution error. You should also be able to discuss the differences between prejudiced and nonprejudiced individuals.

9. **Discuss the consequences of being a target of prejudice.**

You should know that being the target of prejudice has cognitive, social and emotional consequences for the target. You should understand how prejudice can be expressed and how even seemingly harmless expressions (e.g. jokes) affect individuals and can lead to more serious forms of prejudice. You should be able to discuss the concept of a stereotype threat and show how it can contribute to poor performance among members of a particular group for which a stereotype exists. You should also understand the concept of collective threat and discuss how it relates to prejudice.
10. Be able to discuss how individuals and groups cope with prejudice.

Here you should know members of stigmatized groups can cope with prejudice by raising the group’s value or having members compare themselves to members of their own group, rather than to another, less stigmatized, group. You should also be able to discuss how people can anticipate prejudice and develop strategies to deal with it. You should also be able to discuss how primary and secondary compensation are used to cope with prejudice.

11. Discuss several methods that have been proposed to reduce the expression of prejudice.

You should be able to discuss extensively the contact hypothesis and the conditions under which it works best. You should understand the cognitive steps involved in altering perceptions of out-groups based on structured contact between groups. You should understand how personalizing out-group members can reduce prejudice and how prejudice can be reduced through the modification of social norms. You should also understand how training programs are used to reduce prejudice and discuss how effective such programs are.

KEY QUESTIONS

These questions appear at the beginning of the chapter. As you read the text, answer these questions as a way to learn the material.

1. How are prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination defined?
2. What is the relationship among prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination?
3. What evidence is there for the prevalence of these three concepts from a historical perspective?
4. What are the personality roots of prejudice?
5. How does gender relate to prejudice?
6. What are the social roots of prejudice?
7. What is modern racism, and what are the criticisms of it?
8. What are the cognitive roots of prejudice?
9. How do cognitive biases contribute to prejudice?
10. What can we learn from social psychological research?
11. What ethical standards must social psychologists follow when conducting research?
12. Are stereotypes ever accurate, and can they be overcome?
13. What are implicit and explicit stereotypes?
14. How do prejudiced and nonprejudiced individuals differ?
15. What is the impact of prejudice on those who are its target?
16. How can a person who is the target of prejudice cope with being a target?
17. What can be done about prejudice?
Multiple-Choice

Choose the alternative that best completes the stem of each question.

1. According to your text, prejudice is defined as
   a. a biased, always negative, attitude toward a group of people.
   b. a biased attitude toward a group of people, which can be either positive or negative.
   c. believing that all members of a group possess the same characteristic.
   d. behaving in a negative way toward a group of people.

2. Which of the following is true of prejudice?
   a. A prejudiced person may display prejudice toward some, but not all, members of a disliked group.
   b. A prejudiced person will display prejudice to all members of a disliked group.
   c. Prejudice represents an abnormal way of thinking.
   d. Prejudices are never overtly expressed.

3. A stereotype is a
   a. negative attitude toward a particular group of people.
   b. form of behavior that leads to direct harm to members of a particular group.
   c. set of rigid beliefs about the characteristics of a group.
   d. set of flexible beliefs about the characteristics of a group.
   e. none of the above

4. According to your text, stereotyping is
   a. an abnormal way of thinking that is unrelated to everyday information processing.
   b. generally only weakly related to prejudice.
   c. simply a part of the way we do business cognitively every day.
   d. both a and b
   e. none of the above

5. Maria sees a group of men walking toward her on a sidewalk, which causes her to be afraid. Without thinking, she crosses the street so she will feel safer. According to your text, Maria's behavior reflects a(n)
   a. implicit stereotype.
   b. explicit stereotype.
   c. covert stereotype.
   d. unconscious stereotype.

6. A stereotype about which we are consciously aware and are under the influence of controlled processing is a(n)
   a. overt stereotype.
   b. conscious stereotype.
   c. implicit stereotype.
   d. explicit stereotype.

7. According to research by Sassenberg and Moskowitz (2005) the automatic activation of a stereotype can be inhibited by
   a. thought stopping.
   b. thinking different.
   c. repressing stereotypes.
   d. expressing stereotypes.
8. According to research discussed in your text, it appears that implicit stereotypes develop  
a. at birth.  
b. by the age of two years.  
c. by the age of four years.  
d. by the age of six years.

9. Mike has negative stereotypes about Hispanics. He finds himself on a jury on a case involving a  
Hispanic defendant accused of a crime Mike thinks is typical of that ethnic group. Mike decides,  
even before he hears all of the evidence, that the defendant is guilty. In this example, Mike  
used a stereotype as  
a. primary compensation.  
b. secondary compensation.  
c. a judgmental heuristic.  
d. a stereotype threat.

10. Samantha, a real estate agent, refuses to show black customers houses in a certain part of  
town. This would best be classified as  
a. a prejudicial attitude.  
b. ethnocentrism.  
c. stereotyping.  
d. discrimination.

11. Vincent generally sides with authority, is rigid in his beliefs, and is prejudiced. We would say  
that Vincent has a(n) _______________ personality.  
a. authoritarian  
b. egalitarian  
c. prejudiced  
d. authoritative

12. A desire to have one’s group in a position of superiority over others constitutes  
a. the authoritarian personality.  
b. social dominance orientation.  
c. right-wing authoritarianism.  
d. left-wing radicalism.

13. Research on the relationship between the big five personality dimensions and prejudice has  
found that ________ and ________ are significantly correlated with prejudice.  
a. introversion/extroversion; neuroticism  
b. agreeableness; conscientiousness  
c. openness to new experience; agreeableness  
d. conscientiousness; openness to new experience

14. Research shows that compared to females, males  
a. show less prejudice toward homosexuality.  
b. show more prejudice toward homosexuality.  
c. are more likely to be prejudiced equally against male homosexuals and lesbians.  
d. show about the same level of prejudice toward homosexuality.

15. A person who believes she is unprejudiced, who wants to do the right thing  
but, in fact, feels very uneasy and uncomfortable in the presence of someone from a different  
racial group would be classified as a(n)  
a. implicit racist.  
b. aversive racist.  
c. old-fashioned racist.
d. explicit racist.

16. A person who says he is not racist, still has a great deal of uncertainty in feeling and action toward minorities, and expresses prejudiced attitudes in a more subtle way would be showing
   a. old-fashioned racism.
   b. contemporary racism.
   c. modern racism.
   d. regressive racism.

17. Which of the following was listed in your text as a criticism of modern racism?
   a. It is illogical to equate opposition to programs like affirmative action with racism.
   b. The concept of modern racism has not been adequately defined.
   c. Racism is much too simple a concept to propose that there are different forms of racism.
   d. both a and b
   e. all of the above

18. Cognitive social psychologists have focused on which of the following when trying to explain prejudice?
   a. existing social norms
   b. the authoritarian personality
   c. basic information-processing, including categorization and stereotyping
   d. modern racism
   e. none of the above

19. According to your text, cognitive psychologists studying prejudice have emphasized the role of _______ in prejudice.
   a. category-based processes
   b. schemas
   c. story narratives
   d. abnormal thinking processes

20. We tend to rely most on stereotypes when we are
   a. using controlled processing.
   b. forced to consider our racial attitudes.
   c. thinking carefully about a task involving judging other people.
   d. not at our peak of cognitive efficiency.

21. The powerful human tendency to favor members of one's own group is called the
   a. out-group homogeneity bias.
   b. in-group bias.
   c. same-race bias.
   d. out-group bias.

22. According to your text, if your in-group does something good you are likely to engage in
   a. CORFing.
   b. CAUGHing.
   c. BIRGing.
   d. SNEEZing.

23. According to social identity theory,
   a. we derive a part of our self-concept through identification with groups.
   b. people are motivated to positively evaluate members of their own group.
   c. any threat to the in-group leads to an increase in hostility toward an out-group.
   d. all of the above
   e. both a and b only
24. According to your text, a theory that suggests people need to reduce uncertainty about their perceptions of the world through group affiliation is
   a. self-categorization theory.
   b. social identity theory.
   c. stereotype threat theory.
   d. self-identity theory.

25. If a doctor were to assume that a black patient had a sexually transmitted disease, even though her disease was not sexually related, she would be falling prey to
   a. an illusory correlation.
   b. the illusion of control.
   c. the confirmation bias.
   d. the in-group bias.

26. According to your text, the link between an item of negative information about a group and discrimination against that group is
   a. the in-group bias.
   b. the fundamental attribution error.
   c. an illusory correlation.
   d. stereotyping.

27. John says that all members of a certain minority group look and act the same, but says that members of his group are different from one another in appearance and behavior. This shows
   a. an in-group bias.
   b. an illusory correlation.
   c. the out-group homogeneity bias.
   d. a stereotype threat.
   e. none of the above

28. According to research by Devine (1989) on the differences between prejudiced and nonprejudiced individuals,
   a. nonprejudiced individuals do not hold stereotypes of minority groups.
   b. prejudiced individuals actually hold fewer stereotypes of minority groups than do nonprejudiced individuals.
   c. nonprejudiced individuals have stereotypes, but they are successfully able to overcome them.
   d. automatic processing is not related to prejudice.

29. According to your text, sexist jokes
   a. are seen as less funny by women than nonsexist jokes.
   b. are more likely to be seen as offensive by women than men.
   c. are told less often by women than men.
   d. all of the above
   e. both a and b only

30. If a person does a task for which there is a negative stereotype about his or her group, performance is likely to suffer. According to your text, which of the following concepts best explains this scenario?
   a. Stereotype threat
   b. The ultimate attribution error.
   c. The out-group homogeneity bias
   d. Primary compensation
Fill-in-the-Blank

31. __________________________ refers to a biased attitude directed at a group of individuals that leads to prejudgment of members of that group based on insufficient information.

32. A set of beliefs, positive or negative, about the characteristics or attributes of a group is a rigid categorization known as a ____________________________.

33. A(n) __________________________ is activated automatically on an unconscious level when a minority group member is encountered.

34. When prejudicial feelings are turned into overt behavior, __________________________ is said to occur.

35. The ___________, which is characterized by a submissive feeling toward authority and rigid, unchangeable beliefs, is a personality factor underlying prejudice.

36. The idea that people still express racism, but in a less open manner than in former years, illustrates the concept which McConahay calls ____________________________.

37. The need to favor those we perceive to be similar to us, which seems to be very basic in human nature, is known as the ____________________________.

38. Tajfel's ____________________________ theory assumes that we all need to have a positive self-concept; thus we are motivated to positively evaluate our own groups.

39. __________________________ refers to an error in judgment about the relationship between two variables.

40. The phenomenon of perceiving members of an out-group as "all alike" is called the ____________________________.

41. The idea that we are more likely to attribute negative behavior to the disposition of a person in the in-group, yet generalize to the group when an out-group member behaves in a negative manner, is known as the ____________________________.

42. Talking in terms of prejudice and stereotypes is the form of prejudice expression known as ____________________________.

43. ____________________________ is the awareness that the poor performance of a member of one's group may be evaluated with a stereotype and may be generalized into a negative judgment of one's entire group.

44. A method of coping with prejudice involving changing one's mode of thinking to psychologically protect oneself is known as ____________________________.

45. Achieving a goal by persisting in the face of prejudice is a way of coping with prejudice known as ____________________________.

46. According to ____________________________, members of a group recognize that their group is undervalued and underbenefitted by society.

47. Gordon Allport, in a book titled The Nature of Prejudice, suggested the
which states that contact between groups will reduce hostility when the participants have equal status and a mutual goal.

48. The correct sequence of stages in altering of characteristics attributed to a group member is ____________________________________________, and then ____________________________________________.

49. According to your text, one way to counter the dehumanization that is part of prejudice is to ____________________________________________ out-group members.

50. According to your text, an important strategy used by the U.S. Army in combating prejudice was ____________________________________________.

**Answers**

**Multiple-Choice**

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KNOWLEDGE IN ACTION

Illusory Correlations
An important concept in the psychology of prejudice is illusory correlation, which is the tendency to overestimate the co-occurrence of pairs of distinctive stimuli. Rare negative events are distinctive stimuli, as are members of racial or ethnic groups. We tend to overestimate the proportion of negative traits or behaviors in distinctive (read as racial/ethnic) groups as compared to less distinctive groups even though the proportion of negative traits may be the same in both groups.

Illusory correlations seem to be a result of our cognitive apparatus rather than any deliberate attempt to discriminate. To demonstrate this concept, try a little experiment. Give subjects a list that describes two individuals. For person A list sixteen traits, half of which are positive and the other half are negative. Then describe individual B with eight traits, four of which are positive and four of which are negative. Be careful to equate the traits; that is, make sure the eight positive traits and eight negative traits ascribed to person A are the same as the four positive and four negative traits used to describe B. You can describe several other individuals (or groups) using the same technique.

Finally, ask the subjects to rate the individuals (or groups) on a scale measuring how positive or negative you rated them. You will find that subjects rate person A more positively than person B, even though the proportion of positive to negative traits is the same.

Personal Assessment
Most people, at one time or another, have been discriminated against on the basis of some category membership. If you have ever been the victim of discrimination, write a description of one such event.
How did it feel to be discriminated against?
What do you think was the cause of that discrimination? If you have ever discriminated against another person based on his or her membership in a social category, write a short description of one such event.
Why do you think you engaged in discrimination?
Did you experience anything like the stereotype threat described in Chapter 4?
How did you cope with the prejudice and discrimination?

INTERNET ACTIVITY

The Internet provides a wealth of information, some good and some not so good. U.S. News and World Report (September 25, 2000) ran an article indicating how hate groups are using the Internet to disseminate racist, anti-Semitic, and misogynist ideas nationally and internationally. The article points out that the Internet has allowed for the globalization of hate. Gordon Allport in his classic work, The Nature of Prejudice (1954), identified several levels on which prejudice can be expressed. These are antilocution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and extermination. The first, antilocution, involved talking in terms of prejudice and expressing prejudice in various verbal forms (e.g., racist jokes, racist propaganda, etc.). According to Allport, once antilocution is accepted, it can set the stage for more serious outlets for prejudice.

For this activity, you are going to explore the world of hatred on the Internet. Use your search engine to find a Web site related to a racist group (e.g., the Ku Klux Klan, White Aryan...
Resistance, the American Nazi Party). Next, analyze what is on the site (the White Aryan site is a good one for this activity) or what the game involves, and answer the following questions:

1. What positions does the site present on issues such as race, gender, religion, and immigration?
   a. How are women, Jews, blacks, and other minorities described (portrayed)?
   b. What, if any, stereotypical terms or images are associated with members of out-groups?
2. Are there any racist images portrayed on the site (e.g., cartoons, characters)? If so, how are members of various nonwhite groups portrayed in these images?
3. Does the site present any specific types of persuasive argument (e.g., an emotional appeal, such as fear; or facts and figures)? If so, what types are presented?
4. How would you counter some of the statements made on the site?
5. What, if any, action is recommended on the site to address the issues raised on the site?

As an extension of this exercise, find a Web site dedicated to reducing prejudice and discrimination (e.g., the Antidefamation League), and determine what specific measures are recommended to combat prejudice.