Dual Pathways to a Better America

to a

Preventing Discrimination and
Promoting Diversity

**AMERICAN
PSYCHOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION**

Final Report

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APA Presidential Task Force on Preventing Discrimination and Promoting Diversity

James M. Jones, PhD, Chair
Susan D. Cochran, PhD
Michelle Fine, PhD
Sam Gaertner, PhD
Rudolfo Mendoza-Denton, PhD
Margaret Shih, PhD
Derald Wing Sue, PhD
Melba J.T. Vasquez, PhD (ex officio)

APA Public Interest Directorate Executive Office Staff

Gwendolyn P. Keita, PhD, Executive Director
Susan Houston
Donella Graham
Gabe Twose, PhD
Leslie A. Cameron

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

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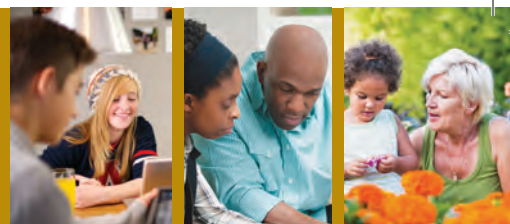
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Foreword

When I was in the first grade, one of my peers declared that he was my boyfriend. A few days later, he informed me that he could not be my boyfriend because I am Mexican. He shared that his mother had told him that it was a "bad thing" to be Mexican. This confused me, and I had many questions for my mother when I arrived home. I wanted to understand what had happened and what it might mean. My mother responded to my questions and account of events by, after becoming quite upset, declaring that, in no uncertain terms, anyone who made such claims, including my so-called former boyfriend and his mother, was simply wrong.

This was my first encounter with differential treatment and being defined as inferior solely on the basis of my ethnicity. It was also perhaps the beginning of an emerging motivation to prove that the bigoted, false claims made by perpetrators of discrimination were unequivocally wrong. Early on, and even to this day, the support of family and community have provided the solid, affirming support I have needed to approach such a daunting mission. One can imagine how the young man began to learn bias and how I began to be affected. Examples abound of experiences I have had of being mistreated, excluded, and marginalized as a result of bias, prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination. My ethnicity has not been the only basis of such injustice. My status as a member of a working-class household, being female, and experiencing temporary disabilities added fuel to the fire of claims that I was "less than."

However, it would be impossible to duly credit the extent to which the support I have been so fortunate to receive has made it possible for me to cultivate and nurture an ever-growing level of determination, one of the many rewards of which has been a solid resilience. I have been able to achieve a level of success that by any standards proves that the most deleterious of injustices and barriers rooted in an extremely flawed belief system can be overcome.

To avoid any risk of promoting a "we victims, you perpetrators" mentality, I also share a story from a much different perspective, one in which I was the perpetrator. This event also occurred in grade school and involved someone I had befriended, a Latino peer with a visible disability. Needing support and friendship, he followed me around school until finally one day my other friends complained about his constant presence. Fearful of being ostracized by these peers, I publicly humiliated him by telling him to go away, adding a shove to emphasize the point. To this day, I feel shame and sadness at the look of shock and hurt on his face as he fell backward to the ground. These simple yet very painful examples illustrate not only the childhood dynamics of exclusion, but also the manner in which we can all be drawn into the perpetuation of discrimination and avoidance of taking action and thus are all affected by the dynamics leading to the exclusion, maltreatment, and marginalization of others.

Sharing events from my life such as these that occurred at the age of 6 or 7 is relatively easy to do now. However, acknowledging that I have been both victim and perpetrator all my life, the latter most often unintentionally, is much more painful and difficult to admit. I, like many others, strive diligently to prevent being in either role, or at least I try to do what I can to mediate the effects of discrimination and to either prevent or diminish the impact a perpetrator imposes. My belief is that the more we know and understand the complex dynamics of exclusion, while learning, documenting, and informing others about the benefits of inclusion, the better we can accomplish these goals.

Virtually everyone has been treated unfairly at some point. However, many in society experience marginalization simply by virtue of their racial, ethnic, (dis)ability, gender, class, age, or sexual identity. The discrimination, stereotyping, and bias that lead to exclusion and marginalization exact an enormous toll on individuals and groups, and ultimately on society. This country's ever-expanding diversity is

now a fact of life. Chances to thwart exclusion and marginalization improve when the potential, capacity, and talent of all members of society are fulfilled and as many individuals as possible have a chance to be highly contributing members.

When I thought about potential presidential initiatives, I knew that much of the psychological research about discrimination and diversity has expanded significantly. I envisioned an integration of the cutting-edge research in regard to these issues. What are the mechanisms, consequences, and principles of discrimination, stereotyping, and bias? How do we teach others to be kind and compassionate and to acknowledge differences without negative judgment? How do we inoculate people from the deleterious effects of exclusion and marginalization? How do we promote a society that celebrates inclusion, promotes genuine equality, and not only tolerates but celebrates and appreciates diversity?

The report produced by members of the Presidential Task Force on Reducing and Preventing Discrimination Against and Enhancing Benefits of Inclusion of People Whose Social Identities Are Marginalized in U.S. Society provides much of the relevant psychological science that has evolved over the past few years. I am very fortunate that James M. Jones, PhD, agreed to serve as chair of this task force, and together he and I identified key researchers who were able and willing to devote time, energy, and effort to producing this report.

Task force members quickly realized that the report needed to focus on dual strategies: to prevent discrimination and to nurture and enjoy the benefits of diversity. The report includes an introduction that provides the meaning of terms as they are used in this report, and it is structured by use of a series

What are the mechanisms, consequences, and principles of discrimination, stereotyping, and bias?

of Frequently Asked Questions, a very creative and clear way of presenting psychological research. Part 1 describes the mechanisms, consequences, and principles of discrimination, including how people cope. Part 2 describes the mechanisms of inclusion and beneficial diversity dynamics. Part 3 describes the mechanisms of and strategies for reducing exclusionary processes and promoting diversity by understanding inclusionary processes that can produce functionally beneficial settings, contexts, institutions, and environments. Part 4 provides recommendations (which are consistent with the American Psychological Association's Strategic Plan, including its vision, mission, and specific goals), and references are included in Part 5.

I am very appreciative of the task force members, stakeholders who reviewed the report, and American Psychological Association staff members who toiled to produce and improve this valuable document and resource, and of you, the reader, for your willingness to take time to increase your understanding about these important concepts that so affect people's lives. You may even experience emotional transformation! Our hope is that the content of the report and the recommendations can be used as a valuable and helpful resource for researchers, educators, practitioners (psychotherapists and workplace discrimination forensic practitioners), students, and policymakers. I also hope that this contribution puts a dent in one of the grand challenges in society.

Melba J T Vasquez

Melba J. T. Vasquez, PhD, ABPP
2011 President, American Psychological Association

Introduction and Overview

One of the grand challenges in society is to eliminate bias, prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination and their deleterious effects on both victims and perpetrators. As one of her Presidential Initiatives, 2011 American Psychological Association (APA) President Melba J. T. Vasquez, PhD, appointed a task force of experts to identify and promote interventions to counteract and prevent these destructive processes. In addition, the benefits of promoting inclusion, respect, acceptance, and appreciation of diversity were also examined. When the potential, capacity, and talent of all members of society are optimally developed, all of society benefits.

The task force focused on two primary premises: (a) An enormous toll is exacted on human capital when systematic biases, stereotypes, and discrimination are perpetuated and (b) acceptance of and support for social diversity is critical to the health of the population, especially in light of the fact that diversity of the U.S. population is ever expanding. In the context of this report, as we talk about bias and discrimination, the term *diversity* is intended to encompass individuals from racial, ethnic, (dis)ability, gender, class, age, and sexual identity groups who have been categorized as marginalized in some way.

Why This Report and Why Now?

There are many possible answers to this question, including that the United States is changing, and Americans need to maximize their potential to compete globally; that we want to bring attention to the members of society that discrimination is wrong and harms the United States as a country; that being diverse adds to our country's strengths; that if Americans want to be strong and united, they must deal with these issues; and that discrimination has negative consequences for the individual. All of these and many more reasons argue for this report. In addition, APA has formulated a Strategic Plan that will guide its activities in the years ahead. This topic is consistent with the plan's vision that APA be

(a) a principal leader and global partner in promoting psychological knowledge and methods to facilitate the resolution of personal, societal, and global challenges in diverse, multicultural, and international contexts and (b) an effective champion of the application of psychology to promote human rights, health, well-being, and dignity.

Diversity and Discrimination

Issues of diversity and discrimination reflect a long history of persistent gaps in educational, economic, legal, and social outcomes, as well as laws and policies that have dictated or enabled differential treatment. Over the past 50 years, laws and social movements have emerged that have generated consciousness about justice, change, and human rights. Analysis of this topic by a sociological task force might have focused on the economic, political, and social conditions that enable discrimination to exist and diversity to thrive; the focus of an economics task force might have been financial infrastructures and the rise of global markets. We recognize the significance of structural conditions, but consistent with the preponderance of psychological evidence, we focused primarily on the individual level of social and interpersonal dynamics.

Across topics, *Dual Pathways to a Better America: Preventing Discrimination and Promoting Diversity* offers evidence and examples of structural systems, organizational policies, small-group and family dynamics, and individual-level behaviors and attitudes that create or exacerbate discrimination. In addition, the report proposes strategies that can begin to address discrimination and its deleterious effects and support the strong case for accepting and promoting diversity. The applied sections of the report reflect how psychological evidence can be implemented and evaluated in the workplace, courts, schools, media, families, and communities.

The task force developed the report and the set of recommendations to be used as a resource for

researchers, educators, students, and policymakers. The report is also intended to be accessible to advocacy groups, lay audiences, and others interested in the science of discrimination and the nurturance of diversity.

Through a series of frequently asked questions and answers, the task force (a) examines how psychological research confirms and illuminates the enormous toll that systematic biases, stereotypes, and discrimination have exacted and continue to impose on human capital and (b) validates the urgency of a move toward embracing social diversity, especially in light of the documented expansion of changes taking place throughout the population of the United States.

Much of the empirical basis of this report emanated from research on cultural, racial, and ethnic identity and intergroup relations, usually between Whites and racial and ethnic groups, which is reflected in its major focus on the dynamics of race, ethnicity, and culture. However, at selected points in its analyses, the task force extended relevant insights as applicable to encompass the characteristics and experiences of additional groups that are marginalized in U.S. society on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, age, social class, and disability status. We believe that the manifestation, dynamics, and impact of stereotyping, prejudice, bias, and discrimination share many similar processes when applied to different marginalized groups in U.S. society.

Research has shown that brain activity associated with social exclusion follows the same pattern as brain activity associated with physical pain (Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003). The psychological consequences of physical assault can be similar to those of social rejection, exclusion, and discrimination based on marginalized group status. Allport (1954) observed that demonstrating what might be viewed as relatively mild forms of prejudicial behavior (e.g., verbally expressing antagonism) makes it easier to transition to more forceful displays of prejudice (e.g., physical attack). This report leaves no room for doubt that discrimination against diverse groups continues to occur frequently, at multiple levels of society, and with adverse consequences for targets and perpetrators alike.

Diversity

Diversity is a fact of life in the United States. A recent U.S. Census report (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011) indicated that out of a total 2010 U.S. population of 308.7 million people, 299.7 million (97.1% of those responding) reported their race or ethnicity as a single category, including 223.6 million reporting as White (72.4% of the total population), 38.9 million as Black (12.6% of the total population), 2.9 million as American Indian or Alaska Native (.9% of the total population), 14.7 million as Asian (4.8% of the total population), .5 million as Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (.2% of the total population), and 19.1 million as "other" (6.2% of the total population). Hispanic or Latino was not included as a race or ethnicity, but 50.5 million people (16.3% of the total population) indicated that they identified as such.

The U.S. Census estimated the degree of racial and ethnic diversity in the population by computing a *diversity index:* the percentage of times that two randomly selected people would differ by race or ethnicity. The index was 49% as of the 2000 Census. By 2011, the index increased to 60%. By 2050, Whites are estimated to no longer be the majority racial and ethnic group in the United States. Figure 1 shows the projected racial and ethnic percentages from 2010 to 2050.

Race or ethnicity is only one characteristic that differentiates one person from another. Age, gender, disability status, social class, sexual orientation, and other status and identity classifications are attributes that are applied to each and every person and on which he or she can be labeled and judged.

The older population (age 65 and older) grew from 3 million in 1900 to 39 million in 2008 and now makes up 13% of the total U.S. population (see Figure 2). The oldest-old segment of this population (age 85 and older) grew from just more than 100,000 in 1900 to 5.7 million in 2008. Baby boomers (those born between 1946 and 1964) began turning 65 in 2011. Therefore, the number of older people in this country will increase dramatically during the period 2011–2030 and is in fact projected to be twice as large in 2030 as it was in 2000, growing from 35 million to 72 million and representing nearly 20% of the total U.S.
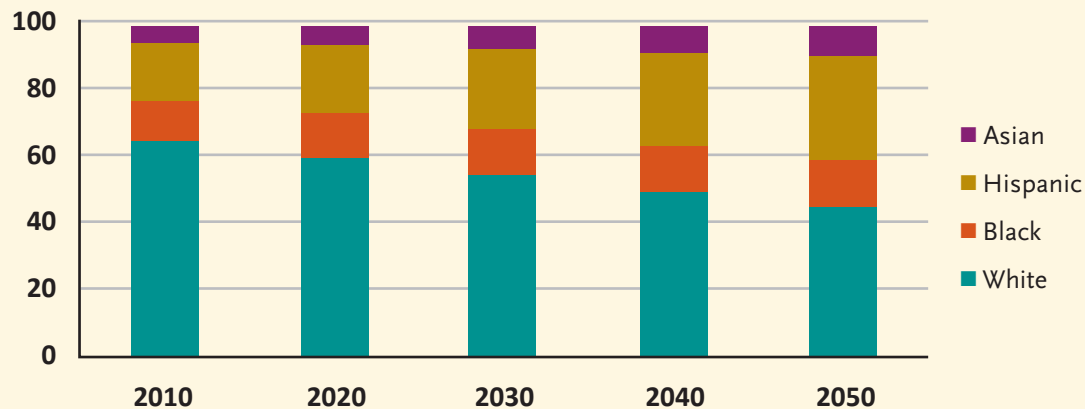
Figure 1. Projected changing ethnic and racial diversity of the U.S. population from 2010 to 2050. Figure based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2009, *2009 National Population Projections.* In the public domain. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/population/www/projections/2009projections.html

population (Federal Interagency Forum on Aging-Related Statistics, 2010).

Economic disparities in the United States are widening at a rapid rate. A recent report by the Congressional Budget Office (2011) indicated that over the past 30 years, the income of the top 1% of Americans with the greatest wealth increased by 275%, whereas the income of middle-class citizens fell by 7%. Those in the upper-middle-class bracket (those who collectively own 20% of the nation's wealth excluding that of the top 1%) fared somewhat better, showing a 65% rise in income. Even more revealing is the class disparity in wealth. Today, the top 1% of the U.S. population owns 36% of all assets, whereas 46.2 million people (15.1% of the U.S. population) live in poverty and 49.9 million people are without health insurance. Thus, socioeconomic disparity is a growing source of diversity subject to increasing bias, conflict, and discrimination in this country. This disparity is highlighted in Figure 3, below.

How does living in an obviously diverse society affect people? Does identification with one's social group cause an automatic drop in identification with the United States? Must an affinity for those similar to oneself lead to conflict with those who are different?

Can a CEO enforce a nonbiased environment, provide fair and adequate leadership, and maintain consistent expectations of all his or her diverse staff members?

Issues of diversity and discrimination reflect a long history of structural disparities, inequality gaps, and laws and policies that have dictated or enabled differential treatment. During the past half-century, laws and social movements have generated consciousness about justice, change, and human rights. It is important to eliminate ambiguity in interpreting the term *diversity* because it is often used in various contexts with different meanings. Here, *diversity* describes individuals who are part of a particular group whose members have similar characteristics coming together with those from other groups with different characteristics to achieve a common purpose. All differences are intact and explicit, and the encounter results in positive consequences for individuals and the environment in which this grouping occurs and beyond. In a discussion of diversity, a sociologist may talk about the economic, political, and social conditions that contribute to discrimination and diversity; an economist might stress the importance of financial structures and practices such as a rise in global markets. Psychological evidence is most

Population age 65 and over and age 85 and over, selected years 1900–2008 and projected 2010–2050

Millions

65 and over

85 and over

2008
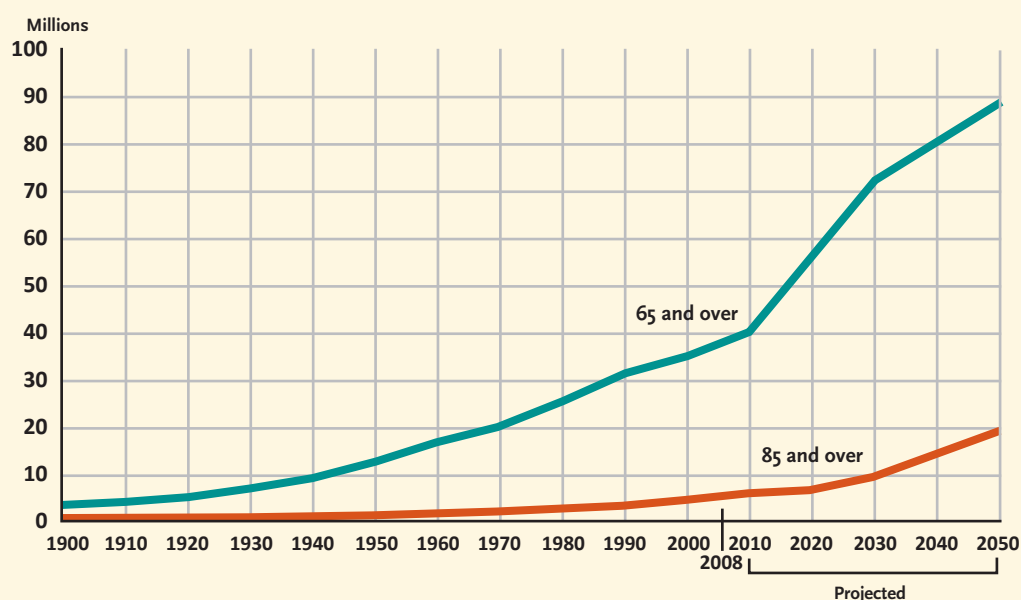
Projected

Figure 2. Population (in millions) age 65 and older and age 85 and older, from 1900 to 2050 (projected). Figure reprinted from the Federal Interagency Forum on Aging-Related Statistics, 2010. In the public domain. Retrieved from http://www.aoa.gov/agingstatsdotnet/Main_Site/Data/2010_Documents/Population.aspx

Figure based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2009, *2009 National Population Projections*. In the public domain. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/population/www/projections/2009projections.html

powerful and authentic at the level of social and interpersonal dynamics.

The benefits of diversity provide the basis of a legal justification for inclusionary policies, such as those articulated by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor in the University of Michigan affirmative action case, *Grutter v. Bollinger et al.* (2003); Title IX legislation for gender equity in higher education funding; laws mandating mainstreaming and accommodation of students with disabilities (Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975); the Americans With Disabilities Act; the lifting of Don't Ask, Don't Tell legislation (Policy Concerning Homosexuality in the Armed Forces, 1994); and the attempts to challenge the Defense of Marriage Act.

Exclusion

Psychologists have by and large studied the dynamics of exclusion for well over half a century,

and much is known about it. The mechanisms and impact of exclusion are well documented in the massive literature on racism, sexism, classism, ableism, heterosexism, homophobia, ageism, and other stereotypes and prejudice. Even those who consider themselves bystanders, not perpetrators, are affected by the cultural dynamics of exclusion, whether acknowledged or not. Thus, color-blind or gender-blind ideologies may be ways to sustain the social hierarchy while maintaining a perspective that provides the cover of innocence. Psychological evidence supports the understanding that everyone is affected by systems of discrimination, and when these systems are challenged, the eventual acceptance of and support for social diversity is exponentially healthier for everyone.

As part of the general consideration of exclusionary methods and practices, the task force searched for principles that capture their systematic nature,

Figure 3. Shares of income after transfers and federal taxes, 1979 and 2007. From Trends in the Distribution of Household Income Between 1979 and 2007, 2011, Pub. No. 4031, Washington, DC: Congressional Budget Office. In the public domain. Retrieved from http://cbo.gov/ftpdocs/124xx/doc12485/10-25-HouseholdIncome.pdf
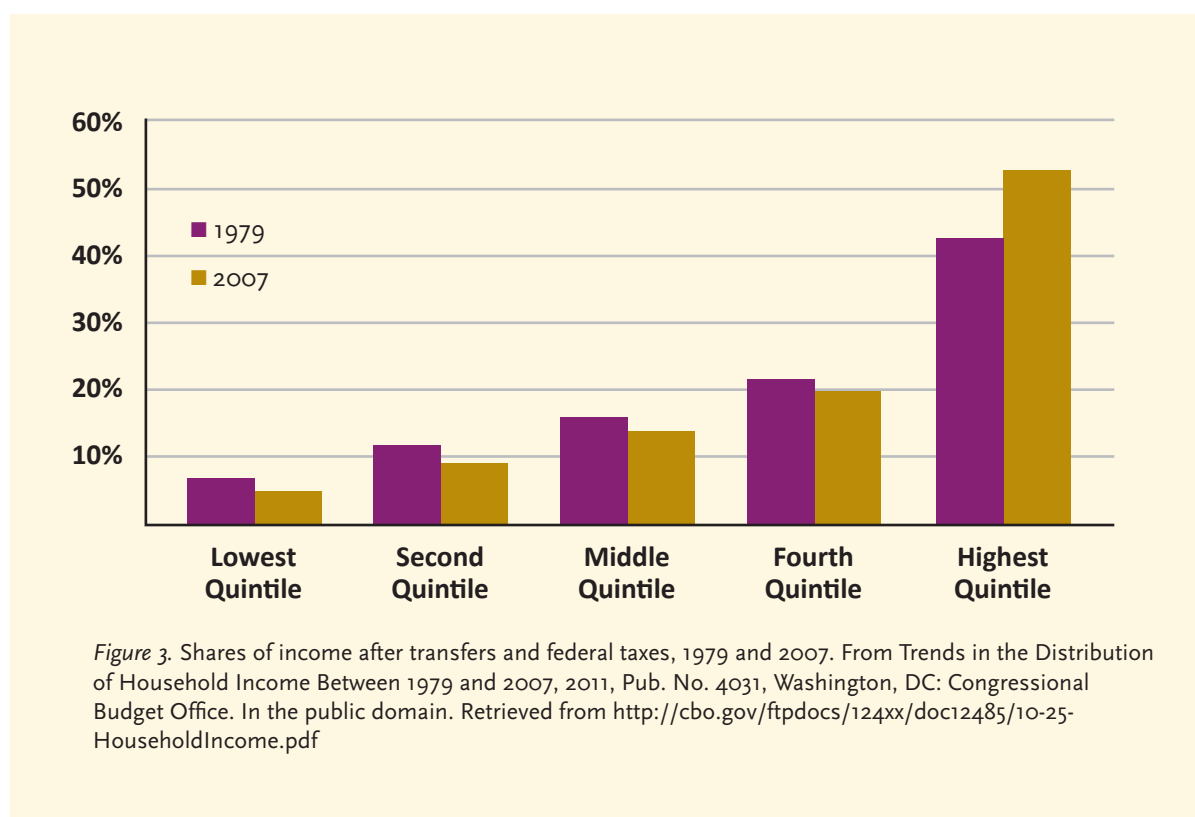
ranging from structural support for discrimination to microaggressions at the interpersonal level. It focused attention on harm to individuals and the mechanisms by which the resultant social inequality and persistent social hierarchy are maintained. Given the complexity of this topic, it is important for the sake of clarification that the following working strategies guiding the task force's analysis be understood:

- Exclusionary mechanisms may vary for different marginalized groups, so efforts were made to balance the dynamics of paradigmatic exclusion and exclusion that may be more group specific and bound by context.

- Exclusionary dynamics can be active (*de jure* segregation in the mid-20th-century South) or passive (Moynihan, 1965; Moynihan later termed this *benign neglect*). Active forms of discrimination are often easier to address and remedy. Passive forms are more subtle and insidious and as such more difficult to counter.

- Exclusionary dynamics are multilevel in nature, encompassing individual, institutional, and cultural expressions of exclusion and discrimination (Jones, 1997).

- Sources of exclusion may be proximal or distal. When bias is located in distal causes (i.e., historical), it may be embedded in processes and procedures that appear to be unbiased or fair. The potential for proximal impact of historical bias adds a degree of complexity to the analysis.

- The consequences of exclusion may be psychological, physical, or both.

- Some people who have been excluded and discriminated against may respond with trauma or outrage; others may internalize the experience or make adaptations that enable them to carry on with their lives. Psychologists are interested in and concerned with this full range of responses. Even in the absence of evidence of damage per se, psychologists are concerned about the cumulative social consequences of discrimination and the implications of a burgeoning inequality gap on the cultural fabric.

Inclusion

Advocating inclusion entails much more than identifying the mechanisms by which perpetrators harm victims. Inclusion requires that we study how difference has been constructed, access denied, stereotypes perpetuated, and exclusion justified. Furthermore, it is critical that we radically rethink how we create institutions and communities in which differences flourish, power-based inequities are contested, and democratic participation is encouraged. Societal redressing of political, structural, historic, economic, and prejudicial forces that have systematically facilitated and justified marginalization and exclusion is essential.

The prototypical inclusionary dynamic is the intergroup contact effect (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), the power of which is well supported by science. However, its full range is elusive; only a relatively small amount of psychological science literature has documented the ways in which bringing people together leads to good outcomes.

Distinguishing Prejudice From Discrimination

J. M. Jones (1997) distinguished between *prejudice* (an attitude) and *discrimination* (a behavior). In general, the problem with prejudicial attitudes is that they often, although not always, end in discrimination. In this report, the distinction between the terms is not always drawn out; we focus principally on research on prejudice. The evidence for the existence of prejudice is very often some form of bias, which in our analysis has the same meaning as *discrimination*. Prejudice in any form and directed at any target is undesirable. The resultant bias or discrimination is harmful. In laboratory studies, bias can be detected through experimental designs that allow comparisons with control conditions. The presence of prejudicial attitudes, whether explicitly or implicitly assessed, can causally be connected to biased or discriminatory behavior toward some target person or group.

In everyday life, discrimination is manifested in one's perception of having been discriminated against. Although one cannot determine the actual existence of discrimination in these contexts, research has clearly shown that perceiving that one has been discriminated against is detrimental to both mental and physical health. Pascoe and Smart Richman (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of 134 separate samples and found that perceiving that one has been discriminated against produces a significantly heightened stress response and often results in participation in unhealthy behaviors and nonparticipation in healthy ones.

Interventions and Strategies

Across topics, this report offers evidence and examples of structural interventions, organizational policies, small-group and family dynamics, and individual-level behaviors and attitudes that can exacerbate discrimination. Strategies are proposed to begin to address discrimination and its deleterious effects and to support the strong case for accepting and promoting diversity. The applied sections of the report reflect how psychological evidence can be implemented and evaluated in the workplace, courts, schools, media, families, and communities.

We know from extensive research literature that most Americans confront issues of discrimination early in their lives, and the ways in which individuals handle these issues may bring both benefits and liabilities to themselves, their families, and society as a whole. For example, in a study by Evan Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, Sommers, and Norton (2008), young, primarily White children displayed a prescient sensitivity to race. In this study, children played a game similar to 20 questions in which they tried to guess with the fewest number of questions the picture (a sticker or a face) held by the experimenter. Eight- and 9-year-olds freely used sticker colors and skin color of the people depicted in the photos to guess the hidden photos.

Figure 4 shows that although older children did well on the colored stickers, they demonstrated a reluctance to use race as a cue (Apfelbaum et al., 2008). This avoidance led to a clear decrease in performance on faces. Although one would anticipate that older children would be better at this game than younger children, it was true only in the race-neutral condition. This study highlighted three facts about discrimination. First, people learn early to adopt strategies to handle socially relevant information,

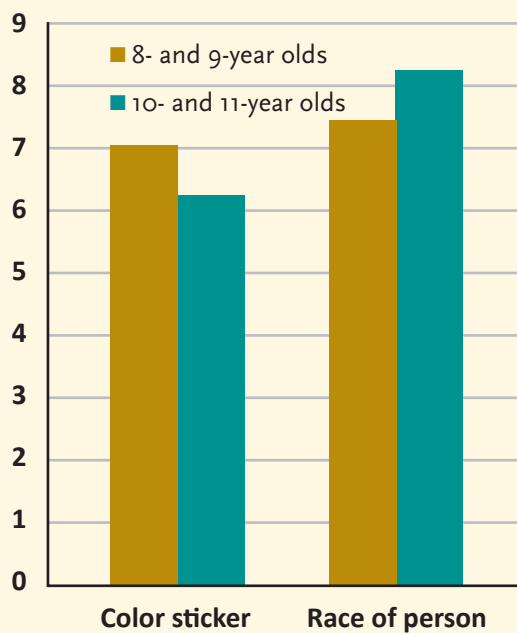**Mean number of questions needed to identify hidden photo**

Figure 4. Color-blind strategies can create adverse psychological outcomes. Data are from "Learning (Not) to Talk About Race: When Older Children Underperform in Social Categorization," by E. P. Apfelbaum et al., 2008, *Developmental Psychology, 44.* Copyright 2008 by the American Psychological Association.

including factors associated with social disadvantage. Second, the strategies adopted can be self-defeating. Third, discrimination affects everyone, both those targeted for discrimination and those who are not.

"High" versus "low" prejudice

In their everyday lives, people are constantly confronted with the puzzle of figuring out why people do the things they do. When an athlete makes a bad play, for example, or a student is caught cheating on an exam, people naturally consider possible explanations for the behavior in question. Is the athlete a poor player, or was there something distracting in the environment? Is the cheating student a dishonest person, or was there just too much pressure to succeed? In other words, people often choose between a *dispositional attribution* (attributing the behavior to a disposition or personal quality) and a *situational attribution* (attributing the behavior to the situation or context).

A wealth of research has shown that Americans are especially likely to favor personality-based explanations for behavior (e.g., Gilbert & Malone, 1995; Jones & Harris, 1967; Morris & Peng, 1994). In one study, Choi and Nisbett (1998) asked American and Korean participants to read an essay that argued in favor of capital punishment. The researchers explicitly told the participants that the essay writers had been instructed to write the essay, and they were even shown a list of points the essay writers were asked to cover. Nevertheless, when the participants were asked to indicate the true attitude of the essay writer, the American participants, relative to the Korean participants, were much more likely to indicate that the essay writer actually believed in capital punishment. In other words, when answering the question, "Why did this person write a pro–capital punishment essay?" Americans were inclined to make dispositional attributions (e.g., because the person believes in capital punishment) instead of situational attributions (e.g., because the person was assigned to write the essay and had no choice).

The Choi and Nisbett (1998) study illustrates an important point about the way many Americans think about behavior. We tend to attribute behavior to personality rather than to situations or context. This tendency is reflected in our faith in intelligence tests that promise to reveal our "true" intelligence, in our reliance on personality tests that tell us who we "really" are, and in the search for the genes that control our behavior. The same tendency toward dispositional attributions governs our understanding of prejudice. When somebody displays bias through words or actions, we tend to assume that the source of the bias lies within the person (Smith, Marsh, & Mendoza-Denton, 2011).

The way psychologists often talk about racism, discrimination, and bias contributes to the perception that prejudice is a dispositional quality. Much of what is known about the process of discrimination and bias comes from studying individual differences among people, with psychologists comparing differences in behavior among people who score high versus low on a given measure of prejudice.

The descriptions of people who are high in prejudice and behave in one way and people who are low in prejudice and behave in another way are seen throughout this report as measured by a given study. This research is further complicated by the fact that the measurement tools with which prejudice is assessed have become increasingly sophisticated in recent years. These measurement tools are often misinterpreted as being able to tell people if they are really prejudiced, even if they do not think so or if they explicitly endorse egalitarianism. The labeling of individuals as high versus low in prejudice, however, neither reflects an assumption of immutability nor places the genesis of prejudice within the individual. Rather, as several members of the task force have argued (e.g., Jones, 1997, 2011; Mendoza-Denton & Mischel, 2007), the attitudes that people hold at an individual level (including conscious and unconscious attitudes) are intimately and intricately tied to history, to sociocultural practices, to economic forces, and to sociological trends that are larger than any one individual.

Furthermore, it is important to underscore that people are able to change and modify prejudicial attitudes. As an example, one of the most popular measures of prejudice currently available is the Implicit Association Test, which measures the degree to which people automatically—and uncontrollably—associate positive or negative meanings with social categories, such as race and gender (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Despite the fact that these attitudes may be considered automatic and in many instances outside of conscious control, research has shown that even one's level of automatic prejudice is amenable to change through environmental influence. For example, Rudman, Ashmore, and Gary (2001) showed that taking a course on prejudice changed students' levels of automatic prejudice from the beginning to the end of the course. Similarly, Dasgupta and Greenwald (2001) showed that although most people have an automatic negative bias toward older people, exposing people to positively viewed exemplars of older people (e.g., Mother Teresa, Albert Einstein) reduced people's levels of automatic negativity. Thus, context and exposure really do matter for the attitudes that people often perceive as being inborn, fixed, and immutable.

People higher versus lower in prejudice do, in fact, behave differently—and people do vary along the dimension of prejudice. However, this does not mean that any one individual is irrevocably destined to be high or low in prejudice. People can and do change. Recent research has suggested, in fact, that the very notion that people's personal qualities are immutable makes them particularly unmotivated to change them (e.g., Rosner & Hong, 2011). Keeping in mind that one can change one's personal qualities, including one's prejudices, can give people the courage to face and change them.

Meaning of Terms

It is easy to assume that the terms used in scientific journals have general meaning in society. It is more likely, however, that terms such as *color-blind, multicultural,* and *affirmative action,* for example, have different meanings for different audiences. This poses a challenge as we present the findings of research and extrapolate their implications for positive change in society. Without suggesting that the meanings we give to terms are the only true or best ones, we here define some of the more widely used terms for which there may be differing understandings.

Ableism refers to prejudice and discrimination directed toward people with disabilities. The concept is normed and standardized on the beliefs, behaviors, and institutional practices that presume able-bodiedness with the resultant effect of marginalizing those with disabilities (see APA, 2009).

Affirmative action refers specifically to a set of policies and practices designed to increase the likelihood of including people from a broader spectrum of social groups in a given setting. It is meant to be a process and not an outcome. Organizations engage in affirmative action policies that are directed toward those groups they have identified as underrepresented and whom they have targeted to include in larger numbers.

Ambivalent sexism describes simultaneous hostility toward nontraditional women (e.g., professionals, lesbians, feminists) and subjective benevolence toward women who fill traditional subordinate roles (e.g., secretaries, housewives). *Hostile sexism*

promotes backlash against agentic women. *Benevolent sexism* protects women who comply with traditional sex roles, but it undermines women who move outside those roles.

Aversive racism refers to a framework of attitudes and behaviors in which a person expresses egalitarian attitudes regarding race but is actually influenced by unconscious negative racial feelings. When the context is clear and unambiguous, attitudes and behaviors align, and people behave in prosocial ways. When the context is ambiguous, the unconscious feelings are often expressed in subtle, rationalizable ways that serve to protect the person's nonprejudiced self-image but still harm the target.

Bystander identifies people who may witness an act of discrimination but who do not believe they have any role in the event. A person who hears a derogatory joke about a person or group but does nothing to address the joke teller would be described as a bystander.

Classism refers to the set of attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and institutional practices that sustain and justify class-based power differences that privilege middle- and higher income groups at the expense of the poor and working classes (see APA Task Force on Socioeconomic Status, 2007).

Color-blind refers to a set of beliefs about the way we perceive value and make decisions about people from different racial groups. To be color-blind is to believe that individuals' group membership or physical appearance is not and should not be influential in how we perceive, evaluate, make decisions about, or formulate public policy toward them. Used here, *color-blind* does not mean discouraging the notice of a person's color or other distinctive physical attributes, only that it should not matter in any important aspect of human relations.

Discrimination refers to treating people differently, and generally more negatively, because they belong to

particular groups. Discrimination is also referred to as *bias* because of this negative behavioral aspect. The task force acknowledges that discrimination and bias can also refer to positive behaviors, typically directed at one's own or favored group members.

Diversity refers generally to the fact that people differ on many dimensions, including culture, race, gender, psychological perspectives, sexual orientation, and demographic status. The United States' diversity is in fact a potential source of strength if it is recognized, valued, and properly managed.

Heterosexism refers to the belief that (a) all people are or should be heterosexual, (b) it is more desirable to be heterosexual, and (c) heterosexuality represents the norm of both gender identity and sexual attraction. The ultimate result is bias and discrimination toward those possessing a different sexual orientation.

> *The United States' diversity is in fact a potential source of strength if it is recognized, valued, and properly managed.*

Ideology summarizes a set of beliefs about the prescriptive desirability and descriptive reality of a particular way of doing things and the results to which people should aspire. For example, an ideology that merit should be the only basis for decisions about who should have opportunities reflects a desirability belief, whereas an ideology that the United States is a meritocracy reflects a reality belief.

Multiculturalism refers to a set of beliefs about the fact that the citizenry of the United States come from many different cultural backgrounds and that it is desirable to take this into account in a positive way as one makes judgments about, evaluates, and formulates public policy. The term can also be expanded beyond specific cultural groups to include other affinity groups (e.g., older adult, sexual orientation, gender, and disability).

Perpetrator designates a person who has been shown to discriminate against an individual or group. This determination can be based on experimental evidence, attitude measures and surveys, or individual statements or judgments.

Prejudice refers to attitudes (positive or negative) toward individuals based on faulty and inflexible generalizations related to their perceived affiliations. Specific attributes are ignored or unappreciated.

Symbolic racism refers to prejudice among people who recognize their hostile feelings toward racial groups and believe their negative feelings are related not to prejudice but rather to the fact that members of these groups have inappropriately violated cherished societal values.

Target designates a person or group that is the object of discrimination, bias, and prejudice. A target is referred to in this way even if the perpetrator has no conscious intention to discriminate against him or her.

PART 1

Mechanisms, Consequences, and Principles of Discrimination

*P*art 1 focuses on bias that erodes opportunities and challenges the psychological well-being of its targets. The research reflects more than a half-century of work on the general problem of prejudice in its many manifestations. The bulk of this research and theorizing has focused on race and more specifically on Black–White relations. However, we believe the paradigm of prejudice is general enough to be applicable to many different contexts and groups.

Here we present current research on a variety of forms of bias directed at different targets, examining both their causes and consequences. Where possible, we place the research and discussion in contexts reflecting their significance in everyday life so the reader will understand some of the basic mechanisms of bias and discrimination, their consequences, and why it is so important to reduce or eliminate them in U.S. society.

What Is Prejudice and What Are the Different Forms Prejudice Can Take?

Gordon Allport (1954) told of a Canadian social scientist (Wax, 1948) who wrote two identical letters to approximately 100 hotels and resorts, asking for reservations for exactly the same dates. One letter he signed "Mr. Greenberg," a surname common to Jewish people. The second letter he signed "Mr. Lockwood." The outcome was dramatic. Nearly all of the resorts replied to Mr. Lockwood, and 95% of them offered him accommodations. Mr. Greenberg, however, received replies from only 52% of these same hotels, and he was offered accommodations only 36% of the time. What do you suppose the innkeepers who received these letters requesting reservations knew about Mr. Greenberg that dissuaded them from treating him as well as Mr. Lockwood? What

assumptions did they draw about Mr. Greenberg's character that made him such an unwelcome guest, in view of the fact that they never met him personally?

Social psychologists regard prejudice as an individual's attitude toward a group and its members based on faulty, inflexible generalizations that fail to appreciate differences among individual group members (Allport, 1954). Without considering information beyond group membership, people may prejudge individual members of targeted groups as sharing the same, usually negative, characteristics. Overgeneralized beliefs shared widely within a culture are regarded as stereotypes, as though all group members are identical units, all stamped from the same mold, when they are not. Prejudice, as with other attitudes, has cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components (Harding, Proshansky, Kutner, & Chein, 1969) and also some functional utility for those who hold these types of attitudes. Members of targeted groups usually elicit at least some negative emotions and evaluations (e.g., dislike or disrespect) and negative behavioral orientations (e.g., to avoid or hurt).

Many prejudices combine disliking with respecting (e.g., envied outgroups, such as entrepreneurial immigrants) or disrespecting with liking (e.g., pitied outgroups, such as people with disabilities or older people). Whatever the type of prejudice, denigrating members of other groups can repair one's self-esteem when one is feeling badly about oneself (Fein & Spencer, 1997) and promote feelings of control and superiority. Tangibly, prejudice offers economic advantages to members of the dominant group, whether they are a numerical majority or minority, and serves to maintain that group's political, social, and economic power (vanden Berghe, 1967). Given

these benefits, people who hold strong prejudices are not necessarily motivated to change their views even in the presence of information that disconfirms their beliefs about targeted groups.

Prejudice was believed to result from abnormal psychodynamic processes associated with Freudian theory (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950), but contemporary theory and research has viewed prejudice as the result of normal cognitive and motivational processes. For example, when people or objects are categorized into groups, actual differences between members of the same category tend to be perceptually minimized and are often ignored in making decisions or forming impressions (Tajfel, 1969).

Members of the same category seem to be more similar than they actually are and more similar than they were before they were categorized together. People may even confuse category members with each other (Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, & Ruderman, 1978). The very construction of categories deserves scrutiny and may be presumed to be a form of prejudice. If one considers a category such as disability or even Asian American, the within-group variation is enormous. People with lupus, mental retardation, cancer, blindness, psychiatric impairments, autism, alcoholism, and dyslexia theoretically belong to the same category as though they had much in common. Who is empowered to identify such a grouping? What conditions might constitute the basis (e.g., political, structural) on which these groups have decided to bond? What brings them together may not necessarily be their inherent similarities, but the strength that can be gained from being a member of a supportive group of like individuals in response to a hostile environment. That is, as Asch and Fine pondered in 1988, to what extent is disability a sociopolitical category rather than a medical or biological one?

With any of the categorical groups we consider here, although members of a social category may be different in some ways from members of other categories, these differences tend to become exaggerated and overgeneralized. Thus, categorization enhances perceptions of similarities within groups and differences between groups. Social categorization processes are problematic for two reasons: (a) Exaggerations of group differences are often generalized to characteristics that are unrelated to the original basis for categorizing the groups as different (Allport, 1954) and (b) as the salience of category differences increases, the magnitude of these distortions also increases (Brewer, 1979).

One approach to these categorizations is the stereotype content model proposed by Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002). Focusing on stereotypes as a precursor to bias, this model proposes that the content of stereotypes can be organized around two principal dimensions: (a) warmth (how much one likes or wants to be with members of a group) and (b) competence (how capable, effective, or successful one thinks members of a group typically are). The degree to which outgroups are perceived to be in competition or of higher or lower status drives stereotypical judgments and associated emotional responses. Figure 5 illustrates the interactive features of the model.

The stereotype content model offers a way to think about the complex ways prejudice is expressed. Thinking about prejudice as a racial or gender phenomenon is too simple. This model suggests the emotional fuel that may play a role in keeping the fires of prejudice burning. Prejudice can take on different forms on the basis of envy, sympathy, jealousy, disgust, anger, and even pride and admiration (positive ingroup bias).

It is important in this discussion of categories to consider the important work that has been done on intersectionality (E. R. Cole, 2009). One needs to understand that people belonging to multiple-identity groups of gender, race, ethnicity, class, religion, or disability have multiple axes of identity that intersect in significant ways. For instance, the fact that African American boys are far more likely than other groups to be classified for special education and thereby considered disabled raises significant questions about how these categorical memberships are generated, embraced, and resisted (Rousso & Wehmeyer, 2001).

The fact that boys are more often classified as being in need of special education than girls, and that those girls who are classified tend to be far more impaired

Table 1

Four Types of Out-Groups, Combinations of Status and Competition, and Corresponding Forms of Prejudice as a Function of Perceived Warmth and Competence

Warmth	Competence	
	Low	High
High	Paternalistic prejudice Low status, not competitive	Admiration High status, not competitive
	Pity, sympathy (e.g., elderly people, disabled people, housewives)	Pride, admiration (e.g., in-group, close allies)
Low	Contemptuous prejudice Low status, competitive Contempt, disgust, anger, resentment (e.g., welfare recipients, poor people)	Envious prejudice High status, competitive Envy, jealousy (e.g., Asians, Jews, rich people, feminists)

Figure 5. The content of stereotypes produces variations in prejudice beliefs and emotions. From "A Model of (Often Mixed) Stereotype Content: Competence and Warmth Respectively Follow From Perceived Status and Competition," by S. T. Fiske et al., 2002, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82.* Copyright 2002 by the American Psychological Association.

than boys (they may not act out and so do not get noticed), suggests these axes of identity intersect in ways that require serious, simultaneous research attention. In the process of categorizing people into groups, people may classify themselves into one of the social categories and out of the others—thus the terms ingroups and outgroups. The insertion of the self into the social categorization process increases the emotional significance of group differences and thus leads to further perceptual distortion and to evaluative biases that reflect favorably on the ingroup (Sumner, 1906) and consequently on the self (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). A person's need for positive self-identity may be satisfied by membership in prestigious social groups, and this need may motivate group comparisons that favor ingroup members relative to outgroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

These basic cognitive and motivational mechanisms may serve as a foundation for prejudice that is further amplified by cultural, economic, and political forces. For example, prejudice is often aroused when members of another group present a realistic threat to a group's well-being (e.g., economic competition) or a symbolic threat to a group's cherished values and beliefs. Numerous studies have revealed two basic forms of prejudice: one overt and explicit, the other more subtle and hidden. The primary difference between these forms of prejudice involves people's self-awareness of their prejudiced beliefs, feelings, and behavioral orientations.

Can Prejudice Today Still Represent the Open Flame of Bigotry?

Blatant prejudice involves open and direct expression ranging from name calling to hate crimes to genocide.

It is what comes to mind when most people think about prejudice. Blatant prejudice, also known as "old-fashioned" prejudice, involves the maintenance of overinclusive, unrealistic, disparaging beliefs about a group and its members (e.g., "They are all arrogant, dangerous, or incompetent"), as well as a sense of the moral or intellectual superiority of one's own group (an ingroup) relative to members of the targeted group (an outgroup). People who are blatantly prejudiced are consciously aware of their negative emotions toward the outgroup (e.g., hate, dislike, disgust, fear). They also have behavioral intentions to harm, disadvantage, or avoid outgroup members. Historically, blatant prejudice is most closely associated with anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany and hate groups in the United States such as the Ku Klux Klan. The political psychologist John McConahay (1986) wrote that Hitler gave prejudice a bad name, and it is very likely that such extreme examples of prejudice changed many people's attitudes about the morality of being prejudiced. Blatant prejudice is often directed toward targets such as gay men and lesbians (Herek, 2000), people with AIDS (Blendon & Donelan, 1988), and obese people (Crandall, 1994).

Can People Be Consciously Unaware of Their Prejudice?

In most Western, industrialized countries, the level of blatant prejudice has declined in the past 45 years (Gaertner et al., 2005), although this does not mean it is no longer a significant source of injustice. In particular, since U.S. civil rights legislation was passed in the 1960s, the expression of prejudice seems to have changed. This legislation defined racism as morally improper and legally wrong. The spoken and implied normative standard was that good, moral people are not prejudiced, and they do not discriminate against others because of race, religious preference, social class, disability, age, social status, or gender. As a society, Americans seem to be still undecided about whether treating people unfairly because of their sexual orientation or other personal characteristics, such as obesity or physical attractiveness, constitutes prejudice.

Hidden prejudice refers to a type of bias in which people dissociate themselves from blatant prejudice. They do not consciously endorse traditionally stereotyped beliefs

or feelings of group hatred, nor do they conceive of themselves acting against others solely on the basis of their race or ethnicity. Nevertheless, people with hidden prejudice act in ways that are prejudiced. As discussed in the next section, prejudice can be expressed automatically, unwittingly, unconsciously, and in a subtle or ambivalent manner that precludes people from recognizing their own bigotry and, consequently, helps perpetuate their nonprejudiced self-images. Generally, social psychologists have identified two subcategories of hidden racial prejudice, the first being more hidden than the second: (a) *symbolic racism,* which is more prevalent among political conservatives, and (b) *aversive racism,* which is more prevalent among political liberals. In these more hidden forms of racial prejudice, bias is expressed in indirect, often unintentional ways, but the consequences (e.g., the restriction of economic opportunity) may be as significant and pernicious as those of blatant prejudice. People with hidden prejudice can also target other groups, such as women, older adults, people living in poverty, and people with disabilities.

What Is the Evidence That People Can Be Unaware of Their Prejudice?

Carl Everest, an accountant for a major trucking company, had just finished dinner when the telephone rang. Getting up from the sofa, Carl answered the phone. The caller at the other end asked, "Hello, Ralph's Garage? This is George Williams. Listen, I'm stuck out here on the highway, and I'm wondering if you could come out here and take a look at my car. I'm calling from a pay phone on Shore Parkway, near the Emmons Avenue exit." Carl, who was certain the caller sounded Black and about 30 years of age, explained, "Hey, I'm sorry, but you got the wrong number, this isn't a garage." The caller, sounding a bit alarmed, replied, "This isn't Ralph's Garage? I'm terribly sorry to have disturbed you, but listen, I'm stuck out here on the highway and that was the last dime I had; I have bills in my pocket, but no more change to make another call. What am I going to do now?" After a slight pause, the caller continued, "Do you think you could do me the favor of calling the garage and letting them know where

I am? I'll give you the number. They know me over there." Carl Everest, reaching for a pad and pencil, said, "OK, give me the number, and I'll call the garage for you."

If you were to receive such a call, what would you have done? Would you have offered to help? Would your response have been different if the caller was a man or a woman? Would it have mattered if the person was Black or White?

This is an example of a carefully staged experiment by social psychologists. The goal was to observe the behavior of White individuals across situations in which they might be more or less likely to discriminate against Blacks. In the experiment (Gaertner & Bickman, 1971) conducted in 1969, strangers were called and asked to help. This scenario was repeated approximately 60 times that evening, half the time by a Black man or woman and the other half by a White man or woman. These confederates were hired by a researcher to make the staged calls to registered members of the liberal and conservative political parties living in Brooklyn, New York. Earlier testing had revealed that people listening to these callers describing their predicaments could correctly identify their race and sex on the basis of their voice, speech patterns, or dialect.

Both liberals and conservatives discriminated against the Black callers, but in very different ways, exemplifying the differences between blatant and more hidden prejudice.

Did everybody help by making the phone call to the garage as Carl Everest did? No, but the results tell an interesting story and provide an important new insight about the racial attitudes of liberals and conservatives. Both liberals and conservatives discriminated against the Black callers, but in very different ways, exemplifying the differences between blatant and more hidden prejudice.

Politics of Discrimination—Differences Between Conservatives and Liberals

The research described above (Gaertner & Bickman, 1971) began with a simple prediction based on the

self-reported racial attitudes of probably thousands of people who held politically liberal or conservative views. Across many earlier studies, conservatives scored as more prejudiced than liberals on racial attitude inventories (see Adorno et al., 1950), so conservative Whites were expected to behave in a more racially discriminatory way than liberal Whites. However, the researcher discovered that prejudice was complex and occurred in blatant as well as in more hidden ways (Gaertner, 1973b).

In the "wrong number" study (Gaertner & Bickman, 1971), if the person sitting at home actually called the telephone number provided by the stranded motorist, the investigator recorded a "helping" response. If the participant refused to help or hung up after the caller explained that he or she had no more change, the investigator recorded a "not-helping" response. However, if the participant hung up before learning that the motorist had no more change to make another call, the investigator recorded a "premature hang-up" response because at that point it was not clear that the motorist needed the participant's assistance.

One finding from this study was supportive of a more blatant form of racism. Conservatives showed a higher helping response to Whites than to Blacks (92% vs. 65%), whereas liberals helped Whites somewhat, but not significantly, more than Blacks (85% vs. 75%). By this measure, conservatives were more biased against Blacks than were liberals. Additional analyses, however, revealed an unanticipated finding. Liberals hung up prematurely much more often on Blacks than they did on Whites (19% vs. 3%), and especially more often on a Black male motorist (28%). Conservatives did not discriminate in this way (8% vs. 5%). This is important because had the caller been real, the consequence of a direct not-helping response and of a premature hang-up would be the same: The person would be left without assistance.

From the perspective of the participants, however, these responses were different. Not helping

represented failure to help because the participant knew the motorist could not make another call. However, a premature hang-up was a more hidden, less intentionally harmful decision: This group of participants disengaged from the interaction before knowing the motorist depended on them for help. They never overtly refused assistance. Indeed, how were they to know for sure that their assistance was necessary?

To refuse to help when needed clearly violates a social responsibility norm, whereas the appropriateness of hanging up prematurely is unclear. Therefore, hanging up early on Blacks would not be perceived as behaving inappropriately for any one call. Because liberals chose to hang up prematurely more frequently on Blacks than on Whites, the researchers inferred that the caller's race was driving liberal participants' behavior. Therefore, in this study both conservative and liberal Whites discriminated against Blacks, but in different ways. Conservatives discriminated in a more blatant way, whereas liberals discriminated in a way that was more hidden, at least from themselves. The liberal Whites practiced aversive racism.

Can People Blame Their Negative Feelings on the Targets and Still Believe They Are Not Prejudiced?

Symbolic (or modern) racism refers to prejudice among people who recognize their hostile feelings toward targeted groups. They do not believe these feelings are related to prejudice but rather that members of these groups have inappropriately violated cherished (often politically conservative) societal values (McConahay, 1986; Sears & Henry, 2005). For example, people who score high on scales measuring modern or symbolic racism believe that demands for affirmative action by groups that have historically been discriminated against are inappropriate because prejudice is a thing of the past. All people are seen as having similar opportunities, and if one group is getting a smaller piece of the pie than other groups, it is believed to be their own fault. If the demands for affirmative action or preferential treatment are heeded by institutional or government figures, modern or symbolic racism views this as treating some people unfairly in favor of the beneficiaries of such policies. It is regarded as reverse discrimination and as unjust and inappropriate as

discrimination against minority groups in years past because it violates values of fairness.

The crux is that people may fail to see when their attitudes are actually rooted in negative feelings toward particular minorities, with symbolic issues serving as a cover for prejudiced attitudes. Self-report measures of modern or symbolic racism predict people's political attitudes better than measures of old-fashioned or blatant racism. Symbolic racism uniquely predicts attitudes toward a range of racially relevant policies, including busing for school integration, as well as less explicitly race-targeted policies, such as crime and welfare. Symbolic racism scores also predict opposition to Black candidates for political office. Although opposition could indeed be driven by conservative political ideology alone, the consistent relationship between negative racial attitudes and politically conservative values suggests that symbolic racism is best conceptualized as a fusion of politically conservative values (especially individualism) and anti-Black affect (see Sears & Henry, 2005).

Can People Who Believe in Equality Be Prejudiced Too?

Aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) represents another form of hidden prejudice, and although the term was originally applied to racial prejudice (Kovel, 1970), it can also be applied to prejudice against other target groups. People who hold aversive racist beliefs tend to be well educated and politically liberal, sympathize with victims of past injustice, espouse positive attitudes toward Blacks, and support principles of racial equality. They genuinely regard themselves as nonprejudiced, yet they possess conflicting, often unconscious, negative feelings and beliefs about Blacks.

In contrast to the feelings of open hostility and clear dislike seen among people who are blatantly prejudiced, the negative feelings associated with aversive racism are typically more diffuse, such as feelings of anxiety and uneasiness. The possibility also exists that this subtle form of bias may have a significant pro-White (i.e., pro-ingroup) component that does not seem prejudiced to the individual him- or herself (Gaertner et al., 1997). Indeed, the absence of consciously negative outgroup feelings

serves to reinforce and affirm a nonprejudiced self-image among those who hold aversive racist beliefs.

The aversive racism framework also helps identify when discrimination against Blacks and other minority groups will or will not occur. Whereas blatant racism is exhibited in a direct and overt pattern of discrimination, individuals who would be labeled aversive racists are more variable and inconsistent in their actions. Sometimes they discriminate (manifesting their negative feelings), and sometimes they do not (reflecting their egalitarian beliefs). However, the theory of aversive racism provides an understanding of this pattern of discrimination.

Because people who are aversive racists consciously recognize and endorse egalitarian values and because they truly aspire to be nonprejudiced, they will not discriminate or act inappropriately toward Blacks in situations with strong social norms in which discrimination or wrongdoing would be obvious to others and to themselves. When a situation makes it clear that the appropriate response is egalitarianism, the person will not discriminate against Blacks (or other targeted groups) and will be keenly motivated to avoid feelings, beliefs, and behaviors that could be associated with prejudiced intent. Wrongdoing with regard to targeted groups directly threatens the person's self-image of being without prejudice and would thereby be too costly. However, the person may engage in subtle, indirect, or easily rationalized expressions of prejudice, such as microaggressions (Sue, 2010a).

In general, aversive racism may be identified by a pattern of characteristic responses to racial issues and interracial situations. People high in aversive racism might be expected to

- sympathize with victims of discrimination and endorse fair and just treatment of all groups, in contrast to people who appear to be blatant racists.

- unconsciously harbor feelings of uneasiness toward Blacks and other minorities and thus try to avoid interracial interaction, despite conscious good intentions.

- experience anxiety and discomfort when interracial interaction is unavoidable and consequently try to disengage from the interaction as quickly as possible.

- strictly adhere to established rules and codes of behavior in interracial situations they cannot avoid because they are concerned about acting inappropriately and appearing prejudiced.

- express their feelings in subtle, unintentional, rationalizable ways that disadvantage minorities or unfairly benefit the majority group. Nevertheless, in terms of conscious intent, people high on aversive racism do not intend to discriminate against people of color; they behave in an unprejudiced way when it is possible for them to monitor the appropriateness of their behavior.

In contrast, in situations in which the normative structure is weak, when the guidelines for appropriate or inappropriate behavior are vague, or when the basis for social judgment is ambiguous, the person may act in an overtly racist manner. This manner might be justified or rationalized on the basis of some factor other than race (similar to symbolic racism). Thus, those whose prejudice takes the aversive form are not as color-blind as they may believe; rather, they are blind to the way another person's color influences their beliefs, feelings, and behaviors. The aversion is to their own feelings of prejudice.

Is Ambiguity Fertile Ground for Subtle Expressions of Prejudice?

In a study of hiring decisions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), college students in both 1989 and 1999 were presented with excerpts from an interview and asked to evaluate candidates for a position in an ostensibly new program for peer counseling at their university. Specifically, White participants evaluated a Black or White candidate who had credentials that were systematically manipulated to represent very strong, moderate, or very weak qualifications for the position. Findings from the study provided evidence supportive of the powerful influence of implicit racial bias that lies outside the level of conscious awareness. When the candidates' credentials clearly qualified them for the position (strong qualifications)

or their credentials were clearly not appropriate (weak qualifications), there was no discrimination against the Black candidate.

However, when the match between the candidates' qualifications and the position was more ambiguous and the appropriate decision less clear (moderate qualifications), White participants recommended the Black candidate significantly less often than the White candidate with exactly the same credentials. Moreover, comparing the responses of participants in 1989 and 1999 revealed that whereas overt expressions of prejudice (measured by items on a self-report prejudice scale) declined over the intervening decade, the pattern of subtle discrimination in selection decisions remained essentially unchanged. Participants who recommended that the Black candidate not be hired did not obviously behave wrongly in view of the candidate's marginal qualifications for the job. Thus, they would not have seen their preference for the White candidate as inappropriate. These participants' prejudice against the Black applicant was hidden from view and thus did not challenge their self-images of being unprejudiced.

Can People Rationalize Their Prejudiced Behavior as the Result of Factors Other Than a Target's Group Membership?

Another early experiment investigating hidden prejudice demonstrated how aversive racism can operate in very dramatic ways (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977). The scenario for the experiment was inspired by an incident in the mid-1960s in which 38 people purportedly witnessed the stabbing of a woman, Kitty Genovese, without a single bystander intervening to help. What accounted for this behavior? Feelings of responsibility play a key role. If a person witnesses an emergency knowing that he or she is the only bystander, that person bears all of the responsibility for helping. Consequently, the likelihood of helping is high. In contrast, if a person witnesses an emergency but believes several other witnesses might help, then the responsibility for helping is shared. Moreover, if the person believes that someone else will help or has already helped, the likelihood of that bystander taking action is significantly reduced.

In this study of hidden prejudice (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977), White participants witnessed a staged emergency involving a Black or White victim. The researchers led some participants to believe they would be the only witness to this emergency, and they led others to believe there would be other White people who would also witness the emergency. Because people who behave in aversive racist ways do not act overtly bigoted, they predicted that Whites would not discriminate when they were the only witness and the responsibility for helping was clearly theirs. However, they anticipated that Whites would be much less helpful to Black than to White victims when they had a justifiable excuse not to get involved, such as the belief that one of the other witnesses would take responsibility for helping.

The results of the study strongly upheld these predictions (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977). When White participants believed they were the only witness, they helped both White and Black victims very frequently (more than 85% of the time). There was no evidence of discriminatory behavior. In contrast, when they thought there were other witnesses, and they could, presumably, rationalize a decision not to help on the basis of some factor other than race, they helped Black victims only half as often as White victims (37.5% vs. 75%). These results illustrate the operation of subtle biases even in life-threatening circumstances. This research, therefore, showed that although biases may be subtle and the people involved may want to disavow that race matters, the consequences of how race is dealt with in the United States may be severe.

Although this diffusion-of-responsibility study took place in a social psychology laboratory on a university campus, it may tell a larger story about the inactive-bystander role people may play in their everyday lives. That is, rather than stepping forward and intervening to address discriminatory acts being inflicted on racial or ethnic outgroup members by other people or institutions (e.g., gerrymandering election districts to weaken political power), individuals experiencing a diffusion of responsibility may remain unresponsive, intervening only when the target is more similar to themselves. Thus, people without direct responsibility for causing injustice may nevertheless express their more hidden ethnic and racial prejudices by their inaction.

In another study (Kawakami, Dunn, Karmali, & Dovidio, 2009), participants who actually witnessed another person issue racist slurs were not as emotionally distressed as those who only imagined witnessing these racist acts. Moreover, there was no evidence that actually hearing a person issue a racist slur would motivate these witnesses to socially reject the offending person to the same extent as those who only imagined witnessing the event. Here, too, it seems that people who otherwise believe they would uphold egalitarian, nonprejudiced ideals in their reactions to racism fail to act. This overall lack of response after witnessing overt bigotry may indirectly reflect their hidden tolerance of prejudice.

Labor statistics continue to show disparities in the economic status of Blacks relative to Whites. Aversive racism may be one factor that contributes to disparities in the workplace. Subtle biases can influence both the access Blacks have to the workplace and their performance in it. At the time of hiring, aversive racism can affect how qualifications are perceived and weighed in a manner that systematically disadvantages Black relative to White applicants (Norton, Vandello, & Darley, 2004). In particular, the aversive racism framework suggests that bias will not be expressed when a person is clearly qualified or unqualified for a position because the appropriate decision is obvious; bias is more likely when the appropriate decision is unclear.

Microaggressions

A particularly interesting example of hidden biases is represented by microaggressions (Sue, 2010a, 2010b). *Microaggressions* are everyday, seemingly minor verbal, nonverbal, or environmental slights or insults that may be delivered intentionally or unintentionally. These messages provide a glimpse of the communicator's conscious or unconscious assumptions and prejudices.

An example is a mother who, while holiday shopping with her daughter, clutches her child closer to her when she notices a Black man approaching from the opposite direction. This act subtly communicates her concern and anxiety about the Black man's proximity. These actions send hurtful messages to the Black man—"I am afraid of people like you"—

and communicate to the child that Black men are dangerous. When White men pass by, the mother does not retreat, and the child learns that White men are safe. Another example is a blind person who may experience a microaggression when "helped" across the street despite not asking for help, and sometimes not even wanting to cross the street. Microaggressions can occur across a wide variety of situations, which make them especially pernicious. The intended compliment "You are a credit to your race" also communicates a derogatory impression of that person's race. Not all microaggressions are well intentioned. Salespeople's obvious visual overscrutiny of a Black shopper or requests for additional proof of identification before accepting a Black shopper's credit card send hurtful messages to these customers. Similarly, the phrase "Move along, grandpa" reflects the impatience of younger people with the slower pace of older adults, communicating the belief that older people are of no use and are in the way.

It is also important to note that microaggressions may be delivered environmentally, visually, or through symbols (e.g., pictures of an all-male board of directors or of famous male statisticians lining a college hallway, American Indian mascots, or Confederate flags). When students of color refer to a campus climate as hostile and invalidating and when female employees complain about harassing and threatening work conditions, they may be referring to environmental symbols or cues that devalue their contributions and worth in the institution. In these situations, the hidden messages may be "You are not welcome here," "Your kind does not belong here," or "If you stay, you will not succeed." The true dilemma and challenge is how to make people aware that the microaggressions they unintentionally deliver reflect a biased worldview that if left unchecked will continue to harm and oppress others. This challenge is especially difficult given that most people experience themselves as good, moral, and decent human beings who would never consciously or deliberately discriminate against others or as just trying to help.

Although microaggressions are generally discussed from the perspective of race and racism, any marginalized group in society may become targets: women; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

populations; people living in poverty; people with disabilities; religious minorities; and so on. The most detrimental forms of microaggression are usually delivered by well-intentioned individuals who are unaware that they have engaged in harmful conduct toward a socially devalued group. These everyday occurrences may, on the surface, appear quite harmless or trivial and be described as small slights, but research has indicated that they have a powerful impact on the psychological and physical well-being of marginalized groups (Mays, Cochran, & Barnes, 2007; Sue, 2010a) and affect their standard of living by creating inequities in health care, education, and employment (Sue, 2010a, 2010b). Additional examples of microaggressions and their hidden meanings are given below.

Racial microaggressions

- A White woman clutching her purse as a Black or Latino man approaches or passes her. (Hidden message: You and your group are criminals.)

- An Asian American, born and raised in the United States, being complimented for speaking good English. (Hidden message: You are not a true American; you are a perpetual foreigner in your own country.)

Gender microaggressions

- Labeling an assertive female manager as a bitch while describing her male counterpart as a forceful leader. (Hidden message: Women should be passive and allow men to be the decision makers.)

- Mistaking a female physician wearing a stethoscope for a nurse. (Hidden message: Women should occupy nurturing and not decision-making roles; women are less capable than men.)

Sexual orientation microaggressions

- Students using the term *gay* to describe a fellow student who is socially ostracized. (Hidden message: People who are weird, strange, deviant, or different are comparable to homosexual individuals)

Disability microaggressions

- A blind man reports that people often raise their voices when speaking to him. (Hidden message: A person with a disability is defined as lesser in all aspects of physical and mental functioning.)

- A nurse uses baby talk with a middle-aged man who uses a wheelchair. (Hidden message: Adults with disabilities are like children.)

Class microaggressions

- An individual describes a working-class person as having good common sense. (Hidden message: Working-class people lack intellectual ability.)

- People use terms such as *trashy* and *loud-mouthed* to describe working-class people or those in poverty while reserving terms such as *classy* or *high class* to describe those who are more affluent. (Hidden message: Lacking financial resources or being poor is associated with negative traits and behaviors.)

Can a Prejudiced Person Appear Nonprejudiced?

Individuals often have concerns about appearing prejudiced. In a recent study, Goff, Steele, and Davies (2008) measured White participants' concerns about appearing racist, as well as their level of implicit prejudice. The researchers informed the White participants that they would be having a conversation with two Black partners about a racially sensitive topic, and they unobtrusively measured the distance the participants put between their own chairs and those of their Black interactants. The findings revealed that worries the White participants had about appearing racist—but not their implicit prejudice—predicted the distance they placed between themselves and their interactants.

In a 1993 interview, the Reverend Jesse Jackson famously admitted,

> There is nothing more painful to me at this stage in my life than to walk down the street and hear footsteps and start to think about a robbery and then look around and see somebody White and feel relieved.

This quote illustrates the fact that stereotypes and prejudices can come to mind without intention, or automatically, as well as the fact that strong feelings of guilt or compunction often accompany those automatic thoughts. Although such compunction may be a motivator for corrective behaviors, in the context of a color-blind ideology (centered around the belief that people should not notice race), automatically activated prejudice can be experienced as a threat that one is not meeting the internal goal of color blindness. Ironically, this threat can then be a hindrance to positive intergroup relations.

In reaction to their concerns about appearing prejudiced, people will often adopt strategies to make themselves appear nonprejudiced. One strategy that people use to avoid appearing prejudiced is to not talk about or acknowledge racial differences (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008). However, research has found that this strategy can sometimes backfire. For instance, in one study, Apfelbaum, Sommers, and Norton (2008) found that participants who chose not to acknowledge racial differences when interacting with a Black associate displayed less friendly nonverbal behaviors. In addition, participants who adopted the color-blind strategy were seen by Black observers as more prejudiced than those participants who did not.

The effects of a color-blind ideology have also been studied on the Internet. Tynes and Markoe (2010) examined associations between responses to racial-theme party images on social network sites and color-blind racial attitudes. College student respondents were shown racial-theme party images and asked to respond as though they were writing on a friend's wall on Facebook or MySpace. Their responses were coded into four categories: "not bothered," "not bothered–ambivalent," "bothered–ambivalent," and "bothered." European American participants and those high in racial color blindness were more likely to be not bothered by the images and more likely to condone and even encourage the racial-theme party practice by laughing at the photos and affirming the partygoers.

In reaction to their concerns about appearing prejudiced, people will often adopt strategies to make themselves appear nonprejudiced.

Those low in color blindness were more likely to be bothered by the images and vocal in their opposition to the images, with some reporting that they would defriend a person who engaged in the practice.

In addition, negative consequences may occur for someone attempting to regulate his or her behavior to appear unprejudiced. Members of majority groups may fear appearing prejudiced (Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001) and thus carefully monitor their behaviors and feelings in interracial interactions. It seems that the stereotype that Whites are biased leads White people to devote effort to monitoring their behaviors, and this monitoring, in turn, takes up mental resources (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). For example, Richeson, Trawalter, and Shelton (2005) reported that White study participants interacting with a Black experimenter showed worse performance on a cognitive task than participants interacting with a White experimenter.

However, regulating one's behavior may also lead to positive outcomes. Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, and Trawalter (2005) observed that White participants who regulated their behaviors more in an interracial interaction were judged to be more engaged in the interaction than those who did not. The participants who regulated their behaviors engaged in more positive interpersonal behaviors, such as smiling and head nodding. As a result, the Black interaction partners reported that they felt more positive toward these participants. Thus, although regulating behaviors can hurt performance outcomes, such as on cognitive tasks, they may have positive consequences for interpersonal outcomes, such as liking.

In conclusion, researchers have found that noticing differences occurs automatically. However, although noticing differences might not be prejudice, noticing differences is often automatically associated with judgments about the differences. Moreover, although research has found that prejudice can lead to discriminatory behavior, and that much of this process occurs outside one's control, there is evidence to suggest that steps can be taken to reduce prejudice

(see Paluck & Green, 2009 for a review). Some research evidence has suggested that one possible route to reducing discrimination may be to increase internal motivation in individuals to eliminate prejudice (Devine & Monteith, 1993; Monteith, Mark, & Ashburn-Nardo, 2010; Plant & Devine, 2009). This increased motivation coupled with an awareness of implicit biases could lead to consistent effort from individuals to reduce prejudice. Studies have found that this consistent effort is effective in reducing discriminatory behaviors and prejudicial attitudes.

When Is Treating People Differently Discrimination?

> John is invited to a party hosted by Brenda and David, an interracial couple. Brenda is a petite African American woman. David is a tall, blond White man. As John mingles with the other guests over cocktails, he compliments the couple by saying, "Brenda and David come from different racial backgrounds and make a striking couple." However, Jodie reprimands John: "You shouldn't point out their racial backgrounds. Race shouldn't matter and shouldn't be relevant." (Adapted from a story reported in the introduction to Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008)

This scenario raises the question of whether John was being discriminatory by merely commenting on the couple's backgrounds. Jodie felt that John's acknowledgment of Brenda's and David's racial difference was inappropriate. Although Brenda and David were unaware of the exchange between John and Jodie, questions remain about what type of behavior is considered discriminatory. Is simply noticing someone's race discrimination? Is it discrimination when the target is not aware of the behavior? Is treating people from different groups differently (e.g., smiling more toward people in one group than another) considered discrimination when this behavior occurs outside of conscious awareness and is not intended to be prejudiced?

Noticing differences is natural—We can learn not to judge on the basis of differences

Psychologists distinguish among noticing differences, knowing the stereotypes associated with them, and

applying judgments to these distinctions. In a classic study, Devine (1989) observed that all individuals are aware of stereotypes associated with groups, but that individuals low in prejudice will correct for negative stereotypes in their judgments. Devine found that participants high and low in prejudice were all able to list stereotypes about African Americans, suggesting that both high- and low-prejudiced participants have knowledge of the stereotypes associated with African Americans. When asked to list their own beliefs about African Americans, however, low-prejudiced individuals explicitly rejected negative stereotypes. Devine also found that participants, regardless of their level of prejudice, who were subliminally exposed to words associated with African Americans interpreted ambiguous scenarios as more hostile than participants subliminally exposed to neutral words. Thus, when unaware of the influence of stereotypes, it is more likely that all will use them regardless of motivation.

Unfortunately, people are not always aware of their biases. Psychologists have recently developed measures that tap into implicit prejudice—attitudes that lie beneath the level of our consciousness. Measures such as the Implicit Associations Test (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995) measure the strength of people's associations between two concepts using reaction time. The faster people's reaction times are to combinations of words, the stronger the associations they hold. For instance, individuals will display faster reaction times to words when *White* is paired with *pleasant* and *Black* is paired with *unpleasant* than the other way around. The difference between these reaction times is interpreted as an implicit measure of people's automatic and less controllable biases. Research with these measures has documented implicit biases toward different groups. For instance, past work has found that male names are associated with science and career, and female names are associated with liberal arts and family (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). Implicit Associations Test research has also found implicit preference for White names over Black names, young over old (Nosek et al., 2002), thin over overweight (Teachman, Gapinski, Rawlins, & Subathra, 2003), and heterosexuality over homosexuality (Banse, Seise, & Nikola, 2001). (Try one of several types of Implicit Associations Tests at https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/demo.)

Implicit measures predict discriminatory behaviors that are less controllable

Overt expressions of prejudice seem to be less common now, because it is less socially desirable to express prejudices openly. However, studies have found that discrimination still exists for those behaviors that are less controllable. As an example, F. Crosby, Bromley, and Saxe (1980) reported that although surveys of racial attitudes have found little evidence of explicit stereotyping and prejudice, studies using unobtrusive methods to assess bias have revealed systematic biases against African Americans. For instance, among studies of helping behavior, African American confederates asking for help were less likely to receive help than White confederates when they were not in a subordinate or stereotypic role.

Implicit measures predict different types of behaviors than explicit measures. Specifically, researchers have found that implicit measures tend to predict the less controllable behaviors. For example, Dovidio, Kawakami, and Gaertner (2002) observed on one hand that explicit attitudes were more likely to predict more controllable behaviors, such as what people say in interracial interactions. On the other hand, implicit attitudes better predicted more automatic behaviors, such as nonverbal friendliness in interracial interactions. Consistent with this research, Hebl, Foster, Mannix, and Dovidio (2002) found that confederates posing as gay job applicants were exposed to more negative interpersonal treatment than confederates posing as straight applicants, although they were not discriminated against in more formal ways. Specifically, potential employers were more standoffish, nervous, and hostile and showed less interest, made less eye contact, and were less helpful to gay applicants.

Although there is some debate as to whether implicit associations represent measures of attitudes or simply familiarity with cultural stereotypes (Karpinski & Hilton, 2001), the automatic associations that come to mind during same-race or cross-race interactions may serve as a filter for interpreting otherwise ambiguous information gauged from a person's behavior. If negative rather than positive concepts come to mind first when interacting with racial outgroup members relative to racial ingroup members, interactions with outgroup members may be loaded with greater negativity and distrust than interactions with ingroup members. Regardless of whether these implicit associations involve attitudes or merely associations, scores on implicit measures can relate meaningfully to intergroup interactions and consequently to the development of outgroup trust and mistrust.

Some fascinating research by social neuroscientists has revealed that White people who score as highly prejudiced on implicit measures (i.e., make more negative associations to outgroup members) show more activity in their amygdala, a brain structure that shows high levels of activity in emotionally arousing situations (Phelps et al., 2000; also see Eberhardt, 2005). Thus, people with high implicit prejudice react automatically at a neural level, making the process all the more hidden from awareness.

Group stereotypes have been documented to affect people's behaviors outside of their awareness. Researchers have found that stereotypes can be activated automatically (Macrae, Bodenhausen, & Milne, 1995) and affect individuals even when they do not intend or want these stereotypes to affect them (Bargh, 1994). For instance, Pittinsky, Shih, and Trahan (2006) found that when an Asian female target's race was made salient through her e-mail address (i.e., chen@wjh.harvard.edu), study participants remembered a higher math SAT score than when the e-mail address highlighted her female identity (i.e., amy@wjh.harvard.edu). Many more studies have also found that making stereotypes or social identities salient outside of people's awareness or control can have an impact on their behaviors and perceptions. For example, Bargh, Chen, and Burrows (1996) reported that college students subliminally exposed to words associated with older adults walked more slowly at the end of the experiment. Dijksterhuis and Van Knippenberg (1998) found that priming people with soccer hooligans, who are stereotyped as being rowdy and unintelligent, led them to perform worse on a trivia test.

Individuals may believe that endorsing stereotypes that are positive in valence (e.g., "Asians are good at math") is not prejudiced and does not affect behavior. However, research has found that even stereotyping individuals in a positive way affects behavior. For instance, Shih, Pittinsky, and Ambady

(1999) observed that activating positive stereotypes subtly improves performance. In their study, Asian American women performed better on a math test when their Asian identity was made salient but worse when their female identity was made salient. However, this performance boost effect held only when participants were not aware that they were being stereotyped.

When participants are made aware that they are being stereotyped, they can choke under the pressure of positive expectations. For instance, studies have found that when Asian American women were explicitly told that they were expected to perform well on a math test because they were Asian and Asians are stereotyped to be good at math, these women did not perform better on the math test (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000; Shih, Ambady, Richeson, Fujita, & Gray, 2002). Thus, the experience of being stereotyped can be harmful, even if the stereotype content itself is positive.

In other instances, what appear to be positive stereotypes may actually be paternalistic or condescending. For instance, the stereotypes branding children, youths, or adults with disabilities as less competent and in need of assistance are offensive and demeaning to people within the disability community (see Asch & Fine, 1988). Harlan Hahn (1988) has written on the problem that most research on disability suffers from these unexamined stereotypes because it has been conducted by people who are not disabled. Even the classic text by Erving Goffman (1963), *Stigma*, has been appropriately criticized because it assumes that having a disability, which is socially discredited, converts automatically into an internalized rejection of that disability. Thus, as in the case of other presumably positive stereotypes, harm to the target and to the field of study can be substantial. (See the immediately following section—"Is Gender Bias Different?"—for a discussion of benevolent sexism.)

Is Gender Bias Different From Race- or Ethnicity-Based Bias?

Ann Hopkins was one of the most productive account associates at the Price Waterhouse accounting firm. She was in the top 5% of associates in both sales volume and monies earned for the company.

But when she came up for a promotion to partner, she was denied. Ms. Hopkins felt the decision was wrong, but what was really insulting to her was the language in which they couched her rejection. Some of the partners observed that Ms. Hopkins "needs to go to charm school." Another was more specific: "She needs to wear more and better make-up." (See the U.S. Supreme Court case, Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins, 1989; see also American Psychological Association, 1988, for the amicus curiae brief filed by the American Psychological Association in support of the respondent.)

Ann Hopkins did not fit the female stereotype. She was not soft and feminine, nor was she nurturing. Some would describe her as somewhat masculine and agentic (Fiske, Bersoff, Borgida, Deaux, & Heilman, 1991). Men are agentic, the stereotype goes, not women. So she was rejected for partnership because she was too much like a man. Research has shown that men care about gender roles more than women, and they are disgruntled with out-of-role behavior by men and women (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). The judge ruled that Hopkins was a victim of gender stereotyping, which put her in a Catch-22 situation. If she performed well using a masculine style, she might be rejected for not being feminine, but if she were stereotypically feminine, she could be rejected on performance grounds.

The idea that bias against targeted groups is driven by animus is a common feature of the analysis of prejudice and discrimination (aversive racism and the benevolent sexism component of ambivalent sexism are notable exceptions). With women, however, seemingly positive bias has two aspects that can be disadvantages.

First, favorable communal traits are more frequently ascribed to women (e.g., nurturing, helpful, and warm), which makes them more suitable for domestic roles, whereas men are more frequently believed to possess traits associated with competence in high-status roles (e.g., independent, ambitious, and competitive; Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). Second, women are evaluated positively when they occupy roles thought to be appropriate for women (e.g., teachers of

young children) but negatively when they pursue roles typically occupied by men (high-level leadership roles and roles involving strength).

Gender bias may result from both forms of evaluation. For example, in the stereotype content model, women who are housewives are judged to be warm but not competent. Feminist women are judged to be competent but not warm.

Sexism is the term applied to gender bias. Swim and Hyers (2009) conceived of sexism as an individual's beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors as well as institutional, organizational, and cultural practices that lead to negative evaluations of (or outcomes for) women or acceptance of status inequality between men and women. Sometimes, negative outcomes result from positive attitudes. This sort of duality has been captured by two major ideas: ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and social role theory (Eagly, 1987).

Ambivalent sexism, measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, proposes that attitudes toward women are influenced by both antipathy (*hostile sexism*—"Women are too easily offended," "Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them") and positive attitudes (*benevolent sexism*—"A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man," "Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess," "Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores"). Benevolent sexism consists of three factors: *protective paternalism* (men are dominant and protective), *gender differentiation* (division of labor and corresponding differences in social roles between men and women), and *heterosexuality* (men's dependency on and wariness of women's sexuality).

Hostile sexism functions much as do other overt forms of bias. The more hostility is present, the more negative the evaluation, attitudes, and behavior are, particularly when the other group is seen as a threat to the ingroup's status and power. Benevolent sexism is, by contrast, directed at groups that are lower in status and perceived as nonthreatening. Although favorable attitudes toward women arise when they accept men's chivalrous, protective paternalism and stay within prescribed gender roles, they can have subtle and adverse effects (Glick & Fiske, 2001). For

example, research showed that female Dutch college students were more likely to define themselves in relational terms and decrease the extent to which they emphasized their task-related characteristics when they were exposed to benevolent sexism, compared with hostile sexism (Barreto, Ellemers, Piebinga, & Moya, 2010). Other research has shown that women exposed to benevolent sexism are more likely to evaluate a female job applicant negatively and less likely to engage in collective action to reduce gender inequality (Becker & Wright, 2011). One research study showed that women who held benevolent sexist beliefs performed more poorly on cognitive tasks. This deterioration in performance was the result of mental intrusions women experienced about their sense of competence. Women with strong gender identification were protected against hostile but not benevolent sexism.

In fact, although women, relative to men, are more likely to reject hostile sexism, they are less likely to reject benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). In cross-cultural research, countries with the greatest gender inequality have been the ones in which women are most likely to endorse benevolent sexist beliefs (Glick et al., 2000).

Social role theory proposes that sex-differentiated behavior results from men's and women's adaptations to the division of labor assigned to or expected of each sex. These assignments or expectations result from cultural prescriptions for carrying out successful economic activity in specific environmental contexts. These normative expectations are often internalized as part of a person's self-concept and personality, leading to a disposition and behaviors that conform to the accepted gender role. Societies develop gender-linked roles that in turn produce gender-linked cognitive abilities, physical characteristics, personalities, and behaviors. These gender-linked perceptions crystallize as gender stereotypes that channel individuals into roles considered to be suited for those characteristics and abilities (Eagly, 1987).

Researchers are increasingly accepting the idea that men and women "seem to be" different. The connection of those differences to cultural prescriptions that constrain opportunities for women, however, reveals that those differences are frequently

a source of cultural prejudice. Moreover, women often experience discrimination in multiple ways, including hostile humor and sexual innuendoes or teasing, chivalry expressed as condescension, being channeled into unchallenging or gender-appropriate positions, receiving unequal pay for equal work, and having their authority or legitimacy as leaders challenged (Benekraitus & Feagin, 1997).

The ideas that gender differences are natural and that the attributes associated with women are often positive suggest that the factors influencing gender bias might be particularly subtle. Women are supposedly better suited to the roles they occupy, but as Eagly (1987) has shown, women develop along the lines of the roles they occupy rather than roles for which they are suited. This subtle bias makes it hard to detect unwarranted constraints on women's opportunities. It also implicates benevolence toward women as a mechanism that promotes gender inequality.

The duality of negative (hostile) and positive (benevolent) attitudes and beliefs is not, however, fundamentally different from many theories of racial and ethnic bias (most notably aversive racism [Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986] and stereotype threat [Spencer, Steele & Quinn, 1999]), and the fact that women endorse benevolent sexism mirrors the fact that racial and ethnic groups often accept myths that legitimate their lower status.

> *...and the fact that women endorse benevolent sexism mirrors the fact that racial and ethnic groups often accept myths that legitimate their lower status.*

What Is the Evidence for and Consequences of Discrimination in the Workplace?

An overview of bias in the workplace is important to include in this discussion of discrimination and inequality, not only because of its direct effects on organizations and employees alike, but because the workplace provides an example of how many of the individual-level psychological processes that we highlight in this report intersect with group- and organizational-level variables (see Dipboye & Colella, 2005). Discrimination in the workplace continues to be a reality: For example, whereas the workforce is made up of 48% women and 34% minorities, only 38% and 20%, respectively, are officials and managers in U.S. corporations (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2010). The data are similar for a host of other stigmatized characteristics: People with disabilities have more unemployment and lower pay when they are employed relative to those who are not disabled (McNeil, 2000), and older individuals are less likely to receive job training and career counseling relative to their younger counterparts (Pitt-Catsouphes, Smyer, Matz-Costa, & Kane, 2007). Despite legislation that prohibits discrimination in the workforce on the basis of a worker's age (i.e., the Age Discrimination in Employment Act), it is well documented that age discrimination is quite prevalent (see Hedge, Borman, & Lammlein, 2006). Older adults are often talked to in ways that are derogatory (i.e., elderspeak) and that diminish their performance and well-being (e.g., Hummert, Shaner, Garstka, & Henry, 1998).

Discrimination in the workplace occurs within a broader managerial, organizational, and cultural context, such that the locus of bias is not necessarily found at the level of the individual. Gelfand, Nishii, Raver, and Schneider (2005) outlined several organizational levels through which workplace discrimination can be perpetuated (as well as addressed): formal and informal structures, organizational culture, leadership, strategy, human resources systems, and organizational climate. The types of organizational outcomes that are affected by these antecedents, and that affect the targets of discrimination and the company alike, include organizational reputation, turnover, service or product quality, employee health, and grievances or litigation. In terms of informal structures, members of devalued or stigmatized minorities are often excluded from organizations' unregulated, unsanctioned organizational social networks, a process Ibarra (1993) termed *homophily*.

Many of the processes we have outlined in this report (e.g., discomfort in cross-group interactions, fear of being labeled as prejudiced, fear of being the target of prejudice) play out within these informal networks. We further note that the processes that lead to homophily do not need to occur consciously or volitionally. Interpersonal processes that lead to segregation in the informal networks can lead to greater organizational bias because such networks are where informal informational channels, social support, social influence, and status relationships are often realized.

Adverse impact

The term *adverse impact* is used to describe formal (as opposed to informal) organizational settings and procedures and can refer to discrimination resulting from biased hiring and promotion decisions (Outzz, 2010). Unsurprisingly, adverse impact can occur through subtle and nonintentional processes as well. Perhaps the most well-known example of adverse impact is referred to as the *glass ceiling,* in which a smaller percentage of individuals with stigmatized identities (e.g., women, minorities) are represented in upper management positions relative to the more general workforce.

As Gelfand et al. (2005) noted, adverse impact at the level of management can facilitate discrimination throughout the organization. A lack of diversity in management positions can be a self-sustaining quality not only by discouraging a diverse applicant pool from applying to the company (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008) but also by facilitating a process known as *homosocial reproduction,* whereby individuals in managerial positions tend to promote and choose for similar positions people who are similar to themselves (Perry, Davis-Blake, & Kulik, 1994). A further consequence of a lack of diversity at the top is that the organizational culture that is dictated by the management team tends to itself be homogeneous and slanted toward one particular set of values and orientations, which can lead to further exclusion and discrimination, and even the development of products that run the risk of being offensive to consumers in the diverse environment.

In addition to the glass ceiling, Ryan and Haslam (2005) have further identified a phenomenon they termed the *glass cliff,* whereby minorities and women who are promoted to management positions are essentially set up to fail. These researchers have demonstrated that during financially difficult times, companies that appointed women to leadership positions were significantly more likely to have been in financial jeopardy in the five months before the appointments were made. Research evidence has further suggested that nontraditional individuals in leadership roles are placed under tighter levels of scrutiny (Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995) and that their tenures in such positions are significantly shorter even across comparable levels of performance (Leonhardt & Fessenden, 2005). Thus, a multiplicity of factors conspire to perpetuate a lack of workplace diversity at the highest levels.

Stereotype-related cognitive processes also come into play in the development of adverse impact. For example, research in social cognition has shown that judges consistently rate the exact same evidence as being more indicative of a defendant's guilt when the case is paired with a Latino-sounding name (e.g., Juan Garcia) than with an Anglo-sounding name (e.g., John Gardner; e.g., Bodenhausen, 1990). Similarly, people rate the likability and personality of targets of disliked groups lower than they do targets of favored groups, even when the information about the targets is exactly the same (Fein & Spencer, 1997).

Directly relevant to the workplace context, Correll (2007) empirically demonstrated a phenomenon termed the *motherhood penalty.* The author had judges assess job candidates' application materials. The candidates had identical qualifications and varied only in terms of gender (male or female) and their parental status (childless or with two children). The targets who were parents were described as being coordinators for their local parent–teacher association, and the nonparents were described as being fundraisers for the neighborhood association. Compared with nonfathers, fathers were seen as more committed and likely to be promoted, were allowed more late days, and were recommended for a higher salary. Evidence for the motherhood penalty emerged in the findings for the female targets: Compared with the female nonparent, mothers were rated as less competent and less committed, were recommended for a lower salary,

were allowed fewer late days, and were deemed less likely to be recommended for promotion.

Another way in which adverse impact can facilitate discrimination is through the development of cultural or organizational values, norms, and structures that communicate, often implicitly, only a begrudging acceptance of diversity. These norms can then lead to greater turnover and dissatisfaction among minority employees. For example, Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, and Steele (2009) found that relatively innocuous cues that are associated primarily with men in computer science (e.g., a Star Trek poster) were enough to activate belonging concerns among women in this domain and reduce their interest in the field, relative to decor that was not stereotypically male (e.g., a poster of a nature scene). Similarly, Mendoza-Denton, Shaw-Taylor, Chen, and Chang (2009) found that when in the office of a male authority, the presence of decorations that were ambiguous with respect to his level of sexism depressed the test performance of women who were anxious about discrimination. Conversely, Plaut, Thomas, and Goren (2009) found greater feelings of organizational satisfaction among minority employees in organizations that upheld a cultural norm of multiculturalism over a norm of color blindness.

Test bias

In addressing issues of adverse impact, much research attention has been devoted to the selection criteria that are used to filter people into organizations or management positions. In particular, the assessment instruments used in these selection processes have come under scrutiny as a principal source of adverse impact. A central topic for debate in the literature is the extent to which differences in test performance as a function of ethnicity, gender, social class, or other status dimensions reflect test bias (Sackett, Borneman, & Connelly, 2008; Walton & Spencer, 2009). Much of the debate on test biases has to do with high-stakes, cognitively loaded tests of knowledge, that is, tests that purport to assess core competence in a given domain (Sackett, Schmitt, Ellingson, & Kabin, 2001). Examples of such tests are the SAT, GRE, LSAT, and GMAT. Scores on such tests have a strong influence in organizational settings because the educational institutions that act

as professional gateways (e.g., graduate schools, law schools, business schools) rely heavily on these scores for admissions decisions.

Sackett et al. (2001) have argued that if group-based achievement differences in cognitively loaded tests of knowledge reflect test bias, then these tests should underpredict achievement—that is, if a score of 1200 on an SAT predicts a GPA of 3.5 in college for a White student, the same 1200 SAT score should predict a higher GPA for a Black student. Sackett et al. noted that the data suggest very slight underprediction of scores for women, but overprediction for minority students—that is, that the GPA of the Black students tends to be lower than that of the White students at the same level of cognitive test performance.

Although Sackett et al. (2001) have interpreted this pattern of results as evidence against achievement differences reflecting test bias, this argument ignores the fundamental problem that bias influences performance not only in testing situations, but in just about all of the other criterion performance domains that testing is supposed to predict. In the specific example noted earlier, students' GPA is not itself free or uninfluenced by discrimination concerns (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002). Extending work on stereotype and identity threat, Walton and Spencer (2009) conducted a meta-analysis, concluding that across a range of experimental settings and interventions, the performance of stigmatized students in threatening testing situations does, in fact, underpredict ability when compared with contexts or environments in which psychological threat is removed. The underestimation of performance among stigmatized groups does not result from the content of the tests per se (M. Cole & Gay, 1972) as much as from the threatening contexts in which such tests are administered and taken.

Independent of debates about test bias, an overreliance on tests of aptitude or cognition obscures the potential for other indexes to predict effectiveness or performance, including indexes that may not differ as a function of majority versus minority group membership. On the basis of this logic, Schultz and Zedeck (2008, 2011) undertook a long-term

research study with two principal aims. The first was to establish the qualities that characterize successful, effective lawyers and the second was to derive a set of measures to predict lawyer effectiveness that is not plagued by racial or gender gaps.

The research was motivated by the observation that although LSAT admission scores are heavily used as entrance criteria into law schools (and thus the profession) and do a good job of predicting performance within the 1st year of law school, they do a much poorer job of predicting subsequent lawyer effectiveness. Part of this has to do with the fact that the skill set that is tested in the LSAT overlaps considerably with the skill set that is rewarded and graded positively during the early stages of training in law, but the skill set required for effective lawyers is much broader (Shultz & Zedeck, 2011).

Accordingly, through extensive interviews and pilot testing, Shultz and Zedeck (2011) devised a set of 26 skills that law school alumni, clients, faculty, students, and judges deemed as important for lawyering. These skills include factors such as practical judgment, negotiation skills, ability to see the world through the eyes of others, developing relationships within the legal profession, and strategic planning. LSAT scores were poorly predictive of these factors: Only eight of the 26 factors were positively related to LSAT scores, and two were in fact negatively related to LSAT scores.

Schultz and Zedeck (2011) went on to identify or create several other measures that were predictive of a majority of these factors. For example, the team developed a Situational Judgment Test in which participants have to decide the best way to handle a set of a critical situations lawyers might encounter in their jobs. An example item from the researchers' pool is "You learn that a coworker, Angela, who you helped train for the job, copied some confidential and proprietary information from the company's files. What would you do?" As another example, Schultz and Zedeck identified a set of biographical and experiential factors that were predictive of lawyer effectiveness. An example of a biographical item is "How many times in the past year were you able to think of a way of doing something that most others would not have thought of?" Dispositional

factors that were predictive of lawyer effectiveness included ambition, interpersonal sensitivity, and dispositional optimism.

In summary, then, rather than try to determine whether test bias exists in available assessments, Schultz and Zedeck (2011) took an alternative approach: They sought indicators of actual lawyering performance that did not show evidence of group differences. In doing so, these researchers paved the way for a new generation of assessment materials that tap into a wider variety of skill sets than those tapped by cognitively loaded assessments. The hope is that bringing diversity to assessment and evaluation tools will increase diversity in organizational settings, reducing adverse impact. The catch-22 is that these are key for organizational change, yet implementing them in the first place requires organizational change.

How Does Prejudice Affect its Targets?

In their now-classic doll preference study, K. B. Clark and Clark (1947) asked African American youngsters to choose which of two dolls they would prefer to play with: one with light skin or one with dark skin. Most of the children preferred the White doll over the Black doll. When asked the reasons for their preference, many of the children cited the ugliness and dirtiness of the Black doll.

These findings were widely interpreted to mean that the children had internalized the negative societal stereotype of African Americans and that they harbored feelings of inferiority and self-hatred. "Self-hatred and feelings of helplessness tend to arise from membership in underprivileged or outcast groups," concluded Cartwright in 1950 (p. 440). Even Erik Erikson (1956, p. 115) added, "There is ample evidence of inferiority feelings and morbid self-hate in all minority groups."

Despite these ominous statements, in the past half-century psychological science has helped to uncover a central yet faulty assumption behind the idea of self-hatred among minorities. This faulty assumption is that people experience prejudice and discrimination passively. The field has come to recognize that people have at their disposal personal, familial, and social resources to help them cope effectively with

prejudice. They find and share strategies to protect themselves and their loved ones and create groups and organizations that place the locus of coping at the collective level. Rather than a story of victimhood and shame, what has emerged over the past 50 years is a story of resilience and coping, albeit one that very often involves trade-offs in the outcomes involved. In this section of the report, we highlight the conundrums faced by members of stigmatized groups as well as common strategies that people use to cope. In doing so, we answer the following question: How does prejudice affect people, their lives, their loved ones, and their communities?

Self-esteem among African Americans: What do the data tell us?

In stark contrast to the assumption of deep self-hatred and feelings of helplessness, research has shown that African Americans consistently show equal, and sometimes even higher, self-esteem relative to White Americans (for a review, see Twenge & Crocker, 2002). How can one account for these data patterns? Crocker and Major (1989) proposed that, paradoxically, stigmatized group membership might actually serve as a buffer for self-esteem. The logic is as follows: When one is a member of a stigmatized group and receives negative feedback (e.g., a negative employee evaluation, a low grade on an academic assignment, or a disciplinary referral), it is possible to attribute this outcome either to oneself or, alternatively, to discrimination on the part of the evaluator. Crocker and Major coined the term *attributional ambiguity* to refer to the state of not knowing whether to attribute negative outcomes to one's internal qualities or to discrimination.

Attributional ambiguity can protect self-esteem because when faced with negative outcomes, members of stigmatized groups can selectively attribute these outcomes to the evaluator's prejudice rather than to their own abilities or efforts (Crocker & Major, 1994). In a demonstration of this phenomenon, Crocker, Voeckel, Testa, and Major (1991) invited African American participants to take part in an experiment involving social evaluation. Participants thought that their evaluator, who was purportedly sitting in a room next door, was White. A one-way mirror separated the two rooms. In one condition, the blinds to the one-

way mirror were drawn, so participants thought the evaluator could not see them. In the other condition, the blinds remained open, so participants thought the evaluator could see them. When Black participants received negative feedback from the evaluator, those in the blinds-closed situation reported lower levels of self-esteem, but those in the blinds-open condition reported no change in self-esteem. White participants' self-esteem was unaffected by whether the blinds were closed or open. The findings thus suggested that participants who thought the evaluator could see them attributed the negative feedback to the evaluator's prejudice, leaving their self-esteem intact. By contrast, those who could not draw such a conclusion (because the blinds were closed) could only attribute the negative feedback to their own personal qualities, and their self-esteem plummeted.

Major, Kaiser, and McCoy (2003) similarly found that attributions to sexism buffered both men and women against depression in the face of a negative evaluation. Attributional ambiguity is an excellent example of the principle that people are not simply passive recipients of negative information or treatment from others. Rather, the targets of such negativity think about its causes and meanings, try to guess the intentions of others, and decide on self-protective courses of action. People cope by disengaging their self-concept from domains in which feedback is not trusted, which protects them from potentially hurtful discrimination, but the concept of attributional ambiguity also has trade-offs.

Yet, to the degree that an important aspect of growth and achievement comes from the receipt of legitimate and helpful feedback, it can rob people of the opportunity to achieve in a given domain (Steele, 1997). The conundrum of attributional ambiguity points to a strong need to create educational and occupational environments in which people can trust that the feedback they receive is supportive and unbiased (Cheryan et al., 2009; Mendoza-Denton, Goldman-Flythe, Pietrzak, Downey, & Aceves, 2010).

What about other groups?

Although attributions of prejudice have been found to protect self-esteem among African Americans as well as women (Crocker et al., 1991; Crocker, Cornwell,

& Major, 1993), there is evidence that this protective process does not apply uniformly across groups. Chan and Mendoza-Denton (2008) found that among Asian Americans, discrimination concerns are correlated negatively with self-esteem and positively with depressive symptoms and social anxiety. Pachankis, Goldfried, and Ramrattan (2008) have similarly observed that the stigmatized status of gay men does not protect them against negative self-views. In their study, concerns about rejection were also associated with internalizing symptoms. Relatedly, S. W. Cole, Kemeny, and Taylor (1997) observed accelerated HIV progression among closeted gay men who were particularly concerned about being rejected on the basis of being gay.

What can account for the differences in the outcomes of African Americans versus some of these other groups? In addressing this question, it is important to look beyond the level of the individual and examine broader sociopolitical histories. The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s served to inoculate African Americans against racism, with positive messages of pride widely disseminated and supported at a national level. Data from Twenge and Crocker (2002) showed that since the Civil Rights movement, self-esteem among African Americans has increased linearly, and even exceeds that of Whites. A consciousness-raising movement of such magnitude has not yet occurred among Asian Americans and other minority groups in the United States. For cultural reasons, ethnic identity movements for Asians, Latinos, and others are likely to take group-specific forms that reflect each group's own history and circumstances.

What can account for the differences in the outcomes of African Americans versus some of these other groups?

In the same way that family members can share effective coping strategies against discrimination, unrelated individuals may come together and collectively respond to societal problems (e.g., Boyte & Kari, 1996). From churches to community service programs, from neighborhood groups to lobbying groups to national organizations, people are motivated to respond collectively to the common problem of discrimination. And, as learned from the Civil Rights movement, collective action can act as a catalyst for change at the political and legal levels while also positively affecting the psychology of individual people.

Although children of color may benefit enormously from family support, stories passed across generations, and adult models of active coping and support, children who are the only minority in their family—children with a disability or who identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual—may have to develop a wider range of supports to deal with antidisability or homophobic attacks, either from outside or within. Hatzenbuehler, Nolen-Hoeksema, and Dovidio (2009) found that stigmatized individuals with potentially concealable identities (e.g., lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals) experienced less social support and greater isolation than minorities with unconcealable stigmas (e.g., African Americans).

In the area of disability discrimination and critical consciousness, Akemi Nishida (2011) has studied adults with disabilities who are disability rights activists. She has sought to understand how they come to critical disability consciousness when they have been raised, for the most part, surrounded by disability stereotypes in nondisabled households and an antidisability society. Nishida found that as children, most did internalize the negative views of disability that haunt the larger culture. However, as young women and men, they became engaged in broader (non–disability related) activism such as feminism, lesbian and gay rights, antiapartheid organizing, or the Civil Rights movement. Only then did they begin to rethink the extent to which they had internalized the dominant views of disability. Thus, stereotypes and systematic discrimination do indeed penetrate the soul, and yet people are remarkably resilient, especially if they are encouraged to think critically about stereotypes and generate more critical views of self, others, and the need for political reeducation.

One group for whom negative stereotypes continue to go unchallenged at both the individual and the societal level is older adults. Unlike ethnic or racial stereotypes, old-age stereotypes are commonly accepted and endorsed in the United States. Stereotypes of old age include slowness, senility, and an inability to learn new things (Levy, 2003). A particularly important aspect of these stereotypes is that people learn and endorse them when they are not part of the demeaned outgroup (i.e., when they are young).

Research has shown that as people become members of this category, however, these outgroup stereotypes become self-stereotypes, with negative consequences for cognition and health. For example, Hess, Auman, Colcombe, and Rahaal (2002) found that reminding older study participants of negative aging stereotypes literally impaired their performance on a memory task relative to older participants who were not reminded of the stereotype before the memory task. Other studies have found that priming participants with old-age stereotypes results in slower walking times among both younger and older individuals, suggesting that the vigorousness of exercise can be affected by stereotypes (Bargh et al., 1996; Hausdorff, Levy, & Wei, 1999).

Levy and colleagues (Levy, 2009; Levy, Zonderman, Slade, & Ferrucci, 2009) have examined the effects of aging stereotypes, both positive and negative, on psychological functioning in older adults. They have proposed a theory of stereotype embodiment: Stereotypes assimilated from the surrounding culture affect how people think about and define themselves, and this self-definition in turn influences functioning and health. This theory suggests that stereotypes (a) become internalized across the life span, (b) can operate unconsciously, (c) gain salience from self-relevance, and (d) use multiple pathways. This process occurs in two directions: top-down (from society to the individual) and over time (from childhood to old age). Research on stereotype embodiment theory among older adults has shown that individuals who express more negative age stereotypes before age 40 are twice as likely to have a cardiovascular event after their 60th birthday (Levy et al., 2009) and that older individuals who are exposed to more negative age stereotypes have a significantly

elevated response to cardiovascular stress (Levy, Hausdorff, Hencke, & Wei, 2000).

Discrimination can be structural, interpersonal, and individual: The effect of socioeconomic status on health disparities

Issues of social class, classism, poverty, and privilege are central to any discussion of discrimination and inclusion, and yet within U.S. psychology these topics have been relatively marginal. The APA's 2006 *Report of the APA Task Force on Socioeconomic Status* provides a comprehensive review of the state of psychological knowledge with regard to socioeconomic status.

Extensive research has demonstrated health disparities, particularly by socioeconomic class, as well as race and ethnicity. Although this literature is too expansive to be reviewed here, it is important to note that health psychologists have tried to disentangle the question of why and how socioeconomic class metabolizes into health risks and protective factors. We encourage readers to consult the *Report of the APA Task Force on Socioeconomic Status* (APA, 2006) for information about the broad range of studies on this topic. What is important to note is that researchers have begun to examine empirically how (not only that) socioeconomic status affects individual health, illness, disability, and well-being through four main mechanisms: differential access to health care, differential exposure to health and environmental hazards, differential engagement with risky health behaviors, and differential exposure to stress (APA, 2006). Although discrimination may not be intentional or even internalized, the effects may show up in varied health indictors.

Do Stereotypes Have to Be Internalized to Affect Their Targets Negatively?

Even if someone does not believe or internalize a negative stereotype, it can still have a negative effect. As mentioned earlier, Major et al. (2003) found that attributions to sexism buffered people against negative self-directed emotions (e.g., depression). However, they also found that these attributions did not buffer them against anxiety and anger (see Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002), in part because attributions to discrimination, although protective of the self, also involve a recognition that one is not necessarily in

control of one's outcomes, which can lead to emotions such as anxiety and anger.

Claude Steele and colleagues' work on stereotype threat (see Steele, 2010, for a review) has further shown how stereotypes can affect us even if we do not endorse or believe them. This research has shown that when one is a member of a negatively stereotyped group, the worry or concern that one may be viewed or treated through the lens of that stereotype is enough to hinder task performance. Stereotype threat becomes a relevant psychological process when people find themselves in contexts in which a stereotype about their group is applicable. Whereas older people might have to cope with situations in which their computer savvy is under suspicion, women may have to cope with negative stereotypes about their math ability. Latino, Latina, and African American students are vulnerable to stereotype threat in academics, because the stereotype surrounding these students concerns a generalized suspicion about their intelligence. To reiterate, stereotype threat effects can occur without the stereotyped individual believing the stereotype. Rather, one simply has to have knowledge of the stereotype and the fact that others may view or treat one through the lens of that stereotype. Identity threat expands this notion to the more diffuse apprehension that one's defining identity may be a source of negative contingencies in one's environment.

Spencer et al. (1997) presented men and women with questions identical to those found in a standardized achievement test. In one experimental condition, the participants were told they were about to take a test that had previously revealed gender differences, directly bringing this social stereotype to bear on the participants' performance. In the other condition, the students were told that the test had revealed no gender differences, lifting the female students' concern that, as members of a negatively stereotyped group, their ability was under suspicion or scrutiny.

Whereas the men performed comparably regardless of which condition they were in, the female students underperformed relative to the male students in the gender differences condition, yet performed just as well as the male students in the no-gender-

differences condition. In other words, the students' performance on the same set of questions was significantly affected by a small—but psychologically critical—framing of the test. More recent studies have shown that stereotype-relevant intrusive ideation and concerns about fulfilling the stereotype help to explain this underperformance effect (Schmader, Johns, & Forbes, 2008).

Stereotype threat effects have been replicated for a wide variety of stigmatized social identities, underscoring the striking malleability of what are too often considered to be inborn, static differences. Croizet and Claire (1998) found that when the perceived goal of a difficult test was to "assess one's intellectual ability for solving verbal problems," socioeconomic status was positively related to performance—people from wealthier backgrounds performed better than people from poorer backgrounds. However, when the same questions were presented with the articulated goal of testing "several hypotheses about the role attention plays in the functioning of lexical memory," these differences disappeared. Whereas the former framing directly implicated the stereotype of low intelligence and ability among groups of low socioeconomic status, the latter framing dissipated or lifted this concern, freeing people to perform better. Quinn, Kahng, and Crocker (2004) have observed similar findings for mental health status, and Hoff and Pandey (2004) have found that in India, a manipulation as simple as a roll call by surname (which reveals caste status) was enough to cause performance decrements in a puzzle-solving task among lower caste people.

Coping with stereotype threat is another example of trade-offs. Studies have shown that those who care the most about their performance—those who stake their identities on achievement in a given domain—are the ones most affected by negative performance stereotypes in that domain. In a study reported by Steele (1997), ethnic and racial minority students were divided into academically identified and nonidentified students. The results revealed that stereotype threat manipulations negatively affected the performance of the identified students most strongly. This insight helps explain in part why achievement differences between gender and ethnic and racial groups actually

increase the higher one goes up the educational ladder. Stereotype threats disproportionately affect those who are the most motivated to succeed and best placed to challenge the stereotypes, thus further entrenching inequality.

It is important to note that stereotypes have the potential to affect all people, albeit in different domains. Latinos are stereotyped as being hot headed; older people are stereotyped as being slow and senile; Whites are stereotyped as being racist. Goff et al. (2008) have pointedly shown the effects of this last stereotype. They found that the more White participants worried about confirming the White racist stereotype, the greater distance they put between themselves and Black interaction partners during conversations about sensitive race-related topics. Thus, in the same way that Blacks' concerns about confirming a stereotype of low ability affect performance irrespective of actual ability, Goff et al. showed that Whites' concerns about confirming a stereotype of being racist affected their interracial interactions irrespective of their actual prejudice. In other words, the stereotypes are different, and the domains are different, but the processes are the same across groups.

Going Beyond the Test: How Does Prejudice Affect Life Outcomes?

Stereotype threat is often conceptualized as a situational predicament. One way to protect oneself in threatening situations is through psychological disengagement from those situations (Major & Schmader, 1998). Over time and through repeated exposure, however, situational disengagement can turn into domain disidentification—that is, removing one's sense of identity more broadly from the evaluative domain and not allowing success or failure in that domain to affect how one feels (Steele, 1997). Disidentification becomes a form of coping that can protect from stereotype threat. At the same time, however, disidentification can close doors to achievement in that domain. Thus, in a very direct way, prejudice can constrain the educational and career choices of members of stigmatized groups. Critics might point out that people are still free to choose (or opt out of) a given career path, but if a woman chooses a career in engineering, for example,

she makes herself vulnerable to the microaggressions (Sue, 2010a) and the psychological and physical repercussions of threat.

What are some of these physical repercussions? At a physiological level, prejudice may function as do other stressors to undermine immune functioning and thus increase susceptibility to common infectious illnesses (R. Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999). Lepore et al. (2006) found that attributions of discrimination were associated with increases in systolic blood pressure. Similarly, Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, and Steele (2001) showed that among African Americans, an evaluative task that induced stereotype threat not only raised blood pressure during the evaluation itself but prevented recovery during the break periods between evaluative tasks. In other words, stereotype threat effects can spill over beyond evaluative situations, providing a potential explanation for mean-level differences in the incidence of cardiovascular disease among minority and majority groups.

Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, and Tropp (2008) further found that in a cross-racial interaction, Latino and Latina participants who were most worried about the potential of discrimination also showed the greatest increases in cortisol, a salivary hormone that indexes stress in the body. Given that chronic stress is associated with immunosuppression (Chrousos & Gold, 1992), heart disease (Whitworth, Brown, Kelly, & Williamson, 1995), and Type 2 diabetes (Räikkönen, Keltikangas-Järvinen, Adlercreutz, & Hautenen, 1996), discrimination is an important yet changeable culprit in the incidence of ethnic disparities in the United States for these health conditions (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000).

Beyond the Individual: How Does Prejudice Affect My Family and Community?

Prejudice not only affects people at the individual level, it affects families. Research has found that parents who are concerned with discrimination are more likely to explicitly discuss discrimination and model the management of racially tinged interactions for their children (e.g., Hamm, 2001). A recent review of the literature on racial and ethnic socialization

(Hughes et al., 2006) has identified four distinct components to parents' socialization practices: promotion of cultural pride, preparation for bias, promotion of outgroup mistrust, and a belief in individual ability and hard work. These socialization practices represent a mixture of protective and proactive strategies to help children cope with discrimination.

Ultimately, though, we may not be able to protect our loved ones from the effects of stigmatization. *Courtesy stigma* and *stigma by association* are terms used to describe the social shunning that befalls those who are associated with stigmatized individuals, even when they themselves may not bear the stigmatizing characteristic in question. Courtesy stigma has been documented for family members of individuals with disabilities (Gill, 1999; Green, 2003), caregivers of AIDS patients (Wight, Aneshensel, Murphy, Miller-Martinez, & Beals, 2006), and caregivers of those with mental illnesses ranging from attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder to depression to Alzheimer's disease (Corrigan & Miller, 2004). Courtesy stigma is particularly damaging in cases of treatable illness, because family members or caregivers may avoid seeking care for their loved ones precisely because of the potential for shared (courtesy and direct) stigmatization. Family members may also collude in the stigmatizing process, failing to support children and youths who need help resisting the stereotypes. This is particularly the case in families in which a child carries an identity that is not shared by family members, for example, a child who is gay or lesbian, a child with a disability, or a child who is adopted or of another racial group than most family members. These children may endure stereotyping and prejudice both in the world and at home.

How Do People Cope With Stigmatized Identities Within the Broader Social Context?

I became aware of my sexual orientation in my late teens. When I first experienced a same-sex attraction, I labeled it a "close friendship" and proceeded to deny my true self. My upbringing told me that being gay was wrong, "morally depraved." As an only son, I was expected to get married and have a son to perpetuate the family name. How could I disappoint my family? How could I allow myself to give in to moral weakness?...For several years, I struggled to maintain a heterosexual identity. I dated women but could never gain intimacy with them. Deep down, I knew "the unspeakable truth," that I was a gay man.... Yet I had a deep-seated fear of how the process of coming out would impact relationships with my family.... After coming out, my worst fears initially came true. I lost the support of my parents and initially did not have contact with them.... Ultimately, the relationship settled into an uncomfortable silence about my life as a gay man. "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" was the only way to maintain a connection with them. (O'Brien, 2005, pp. 97–98)

I can sum up the work issue for gays and lesbians in two words: "We hide."...We are mostly in the closet—especially in the professions.... Although more gays and lesbians are coming out, most feel it is necessary to hide their sexual orientation—to be invisible—to avoid the risk of losing their jobs or of being harassed or rejected by fellow workers. (Blank & Slipp, 1994, p. 139)

Research has recognized that a fundamental way in which people cope with discrimination is through the development of collective identities. The development of a collective identity—being able to identify with similar people from a group to which one belongs—serves three primary functions: (a) emotional protection from discrimination, (b) a sense of affiliation to an ingroup, and (c) a way to understand and relate to other cultures and groups (Cross, 1991). Research has suggested that the development of collective identity around stigmatized status characteristics (e.g., identification around racial groups, sexual orientation, or disability status) is often motivated by hurtful experiences of discrimination (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). In other words, the process of identity formation around a stigmatized characteristic is a form of active coping—one that is found within the individual but relies and is founded on support from group members with whom one shares a given social identity.

Research by Selcuk Sirin and Michelle Fine (2008) on Muslim American youths in the New York City region just after 9/11 illustrates this insight. They conducted a large-scale survey of more than 200 Muslim American youths combined with focus groups and interviews. Most of these young people, up until September 10, 2001, were middle- and upper-middle-class students in public and private schools, enjoying the privileges of a relatively well-resourced life. By September 12, suspicion, accusations, taunts, threats, and terror had invaded their homes and communities. Neighbors grew suspicious; peers in school asked the boys whether they were terrorists and the girls whether they were oppressed, and police seemed to believe they were a threat rather than simply citizens in need of everyday protection.

Sirin and Fine (2008) found that although all experienced the shift from citizen to suspect, the young people varied dramatically in how they responded. On both quantitative and qualitative indicators, some grew quite alienated from U.S. culture and society and more drawn to a Muslim identity (as if separate from being an American). However, many either continued to pursue parallel lives (fully Muslim and fully American) or worked hard to innovate new identities that integrated their Muslim and American values and lifestyles.

The two drawings that follow (see Figure 6) were produced on the basis of procedures for mapping techniques (Milgram & Jodelet, 1976) and the Draw-a-Person test (Winnicott, 1989). The maps in Figure 6, drawn by two of the young people interviewed in this study, show that although both experienced the shift in political, ideological, and interpersonal relations, each was distinct in his or her reaction to the discrimination, and most were relentless in their conviction they were both American and Muslim—identities in a dance, not in conflict.

However, the more young people felt discriminated against, the less they identified as American. Two conclusions can be drawn: Young people's responses to acts of discrimination vary enormously, and discrimination does affect a sense of belonging and attachment to mainstream society.

Is it better to claim or deny a given identity?

The process of identity negotiation is complex. For example, as noted earlier, rejection-sensitive gay men were found to be at increased risk for HIV progression (S. W. Cole et al., 1997); however, this risk was exacerbated among men who publicly claimed this identity by being out of the closet. Among African Americans, strong ethnic identification was associated with better educational outcomes (including GPA and motivation to persevere in school), but only among students who did not anxiously expect to be discriminated against in the school context (Mendoza-Denton, Pietrzak, & Downey, 2008). Similarly, Taub, McLorg, and Fanflik (2004) found that women with physical disabilities flexibly weighed various factors in deciding whether to embrace an identity. These factors included both stable factors (e.g., the nature of their disability) as well as contextual, changing factors (e.g., whether they were interacting formally or personally with someone and whether they expected the person to be accepting or questioning).

The effectiveness of claiming or denying an identity depends on myriad factors, with the best strategy for targets being flexibility and attention to contextual demands. Among adolescents with a hearing disability, for example, Weinberg and Sterritt (1986) found that those adolescents with a dual identity—those who strongly endorsed both a deaf identity and an able-bodied identity—showed greater academic achievement and more positive social relations relative to those who endorsed only an able-bodied identity. (Also see Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995, for a similar argument with respect to the benefits of dual identities for the achievement of African American students.) These findings suggest that students who had access to both identities may have had a greater behavioral repertoire to navigate the multiple demands of their world.

In predicting or assessing the effectiveness of a given strategy for negotiating identity, it is helpful to think about the dimensions along which stigmatized conditions differ. E. E. Jones et al. (1984) proposed six such dimensions:

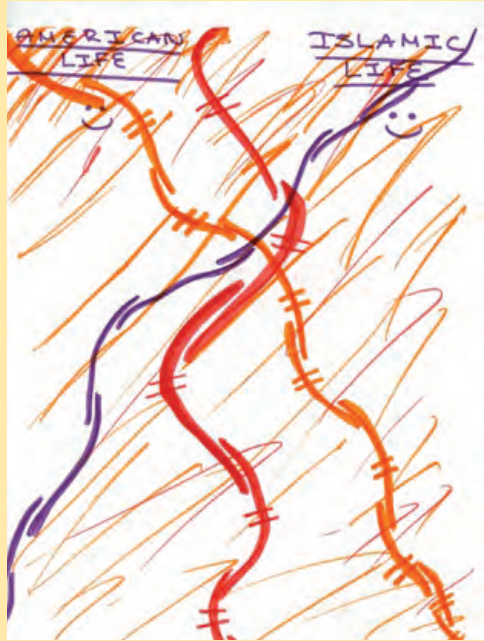1. *Concealability:* Can the stigmatizing condition be hidden from others?

Figure 6. Drawings by Muslim Americans illustrate identity conflict and resolution. From *Muslim American Youth: Understanding Hyphenated Identities Through Multiple Methods,* by S. Sirin and M. Fine, 2008, New York: New York University Press. Copyright 2008 by Selcuk R. Sirin and Michelle Fine. Reprinted by permission of the authors.

2. *Course:* How does the condition change over time, and what is its outcome?

3. *Disruptiveness:* How much does the condition hamper social interaction?

4. *Aesthetic qualities:* How much does the condition violate the aesthetic standards of the culture?

5. *Origin:* How was the condition acquired, and who is responsible?

6. *Peril:* What kind of danger does the stigmatized condition place the target in?

This list is not exhaustive; however, it does suggest the types of dimensions that may be important for future research and application of identity management. Beyond the dimensions of stigma per se, Strauss and Cross (2005) have proposed an organizational framework for the types of transactional goals into which identity negotiations fall:

- *buffering:* the protection of self from hostile, aggressive, or unpleasant interactions;

- *code switching:* the ability to flexibly shift one's behavioral or impression management repertoire to fit a group's norms;

- *bridging:* being able to build relationships across group boundaries;

- *bonding:* being able to build and maintain relationships that sustain and enrich group cohesion; and

- *individualism:* adopting an individual frame of reference for the self.

In summary, the question of how prejudice and discrimination affect individuals, families, and communities is not just a question of negative outcomes. Prejudice affects people psychologically and physically, and families and communities feel the consequences of the health, economic, and

occupational disparities stemming from inequality. However, there is also a story of resilience and coping at every level. From individuals who choose to protect their self-worth and marshal collective identity in their favor, to families who actively engage in protective collective socialization practices, and to communities and societies that find strength in numbers, people are not merely passive recipients of social judgments and evaluations; rather, they psychologically construe and physically reshape their social worlds to actively cope with the problem of stigma.

There is an odd pattern in psychology: To prove oppression, discrimination, or injustice, psychologists document evidence of damage. Indeed, legions of studies have demonstrated that discrimination or inequitable opportunities adversely affect one's cognitive abilities, spike blood pressure, reduce self-esteem, diminish trust, disable motivation, and contribute to depression and self-abusive behaviors, suicidal thoughts, and fantasies. Although all of this may be true, humans are also remarkably resilient. In the face of oppression, individuals and groups resist, develop protective coping strategies, create new identities, fight back, laugh, have relationships, make families, and teach their children how to cope.

Boykin and Toms (1985) explained, for instance, that Black children experience the "triple quandary," growing up within White culture and within the Black community and contending with the struggles of being treated as a minority group. With Black culture as a deep and rich resource, one learns from psychologists (e.g., Franklin & Boyd Franklin, 2001; Ward, 1996) just how much Black families work to buffer their children from the impact of racialized discrimination. However, the fact that people cope does not mean that discrimination and oppression are without consequences.

Do the Ground Rules for Talking About Race Hinder Interracial Understanding?

Consider the following testimony by a politically active psychologist:

> Several years ago, I was at a political fundraiser to "get out the vote" in New York City. Although I am a Democrat, many of those attending

were Republicans who supported either Mitt Romney or John McCain. As someone who has studied issues of race, ethnicity, and gender in psychology, I was excited about the prospect of electing either the first female (Hillary Clinton) or Black (Barack Obama) president. I remember a series of conversations I had during the cocktail hour with those in attendance. Most of them felt extremely superficial, and I could not shake the feeling of being ignored or invalidated about my thoughts on race and gender. Most of the guests seemed to dance around the topic with tepid responses and niceties. I felt constrained in what issues could be discussed and how they were discussed.

One conversation in particular stood out. My wife and I had just joined a group speculating about the most likely Democratic or Republican candidates to run in the fall. When I observed that our nation had an opportunity to make history in the upcoming election, most in the group remained silent. After some period of time, one male guest flatly stated that race and gender were no longer hindrances in our society, it would be much better to be colorblind, and we should simply vote for the most qualified candidate. I countered by saying race and gender were always factors, although at times not obvious. I gave the example of former Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley (African American) who lost the California governor's race some time back. I mentioned that studies suggested race was a determining factor in his loss.

As we were discussing the issue, I was aware that several of the group members politely excused themselves, while others appeared uncomfortable and remained silent. As I tried to press the point about the importance of race, I felt the jab of my wife's elbow, an obvious signal to discontinue the conversation. She quickly stated to the group that it was so nice to meet everyone and wondered aloud if I would get her a glass of Perrier. Later that evening, she took me aside and admonished me that race was not a topic appropriate to discuss in this setting. I was embarrassing her, and I should speak calmly and politely to others

(which I thought I had done), even though she generally agrees with my opinions on these topics. Heeding my wife's warning, I made certain my comments for the rest of the evening were "noncontroversial." Race and gender as topics never arose again in my conversations. (personal communication, Derald Wing Sue, Teacher's College, Columbia University)

What conditions hinder constructive dialogues on race or gender?

In her classic 1992 *Harvard Educational Review* article, "Talking About Race, Learning About Racism: An Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom," Beverly Daniel Tatum, now president of Spelman College, identified several resistances to talking about race. First, U.S. society teaches and socializes us to believe that race is a taboo topic to be discussed only on a superficial level. Second, many White Americans are taught that the United States is a just society and that although racial disparities existed in the past, they no longer pose a major problem in the lives of people of color. Last, many White citizens are raised to believe they are not personally prejudiced, although racism may be recognized in others. According to Tatum, viewing race as a taboo topic provides cover in denying biased personal beliefs and attitudes and in maintaining a false illusion that society operates on a level playing field where everyone can succeed if they work hard enough. She asserted that talking about race may threaten to unmask both conscious and unconscious belief systems about one's own biases and prejudices.

Bell (2003) likened a public discourse on race to story-telling between two opposing camps, a conversation that often unconsciously reflects historical and cultural themes. Whites, for example, are more likely to tell stories that depict U.S. society as just, fair, and democratic and that say that historical injustice and unfairness will be or have been largely eliminated. People of color, however, tend to view their experiences through a prism of past and continuing discrimination, are less optimistic of change, and see racial progress as erratic.

When dialogues on race occur between members of both groups, Whites and people of color hear and tell very different stories about race and racism. Feagin (2001) used the term *sincere fictions* to describe a similar phenomenon in which White merit and moral superiority, usually unconscious, shape the attitudes and beliefs of White Americans. These stories are sincere in that Whites truly believe themselves to be free of bias and discrimination; they are fictions in that they ignore the realities of racism in favor of a tale of White goodness and decency (Bell, 2002). Many White Americans are taught to talk about race through a color-blind discourse, whether conscious or unconscious, that works against deeper engagements on issues of race and racism (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Sue, 2010a).

A similar analogy operates with respect to gender roles and the perceived status of women in U.S. society. Studies have revealed that women and girls (a) must contend with frequent sexual harassment (81% of girls in Grades 8–11, 30% of female undergraduate students, and 40% of female graduate students); (b) encounter greater discrimination and victimization; (c) carry more of the domestic burden and responsibility for child care and social and interpersonal relationships even if fully employed outside of the home; (d) are more likely to live in poverty; (e) must contend with low wages and low-skilled occupations; (f) are paid less than their male counterparts for similar jobs; and (g) face more barriers in their career choices than their male counterparts (Morales & Sheaford, 2004; National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering, & Institutes of Medicine, 2006; Spradlin & Parsons, 2008). Conversations and dialogues with men on gender and sexism, however, reveal many sincere fictions in the stories they tell. The statement "You've come a long way baby" expresses a sincere belief by many men that the status of women in this society has improved dramatically and is no longer a major concern. Men's realities are that sexism is a thing of the past and that women are now equally advantaged in U.S. society and no longer have a right to complain (Sue, 2010b).

Sue et al. (2007) refer to this as a clash of racial or sexual realities, or when counternarratives meet master narratives. Such opposing realities cause considerable discomfort and strong emotive feelings

between both groups. For many Whites and men, the prospect of talking about race or gender is likely to elicit powerful feelings of anxiety, dread, guilt, and defensiveness. In one revealing race study by Utsey, Gernat, and Hammar (2005), White counselor trainees were exposed to hypothetical vignettes containing racially related issues in counseling and supervision. The discussion of the material by participants was recorded and transcribed verbatim; the reactions were categorized into several themes. One of the strongest themes was "discomfort with racial issues" (p. 462), in which participants revealed high anxiety manifested psychologically, physiologically, and emotionally.

Sue et al. (2007) noted that participants struggled to manage their anxiety, had extended periods of silence, used broad and general statements that avoided taking a stance, and minimized race as an issue. Apprehension in talking about race was manifested in difficulty with articulation; barely audible volume; faltering speech, trembling voices, or both; and a mispronunciation of common words. Voice constriction, especially when using words such as *Black* or *Haitian,* was noticeable. Bonilla-Silva (2007) termed the responses of White Americans to racial topics as *rhetorical incoherence.* Utsey, Gernat, and Hammar (2005, p. 470) concluded "It is still taboo to have direct discussions about race and racism that penetrate surface-level explorations." This anxiety is equally, if not more, present in conversations between temporarily able-bodied people and people with disabilities, for whom a variety of discomforts and anxieties interfere with the ability to engage in significant dialogues (Linton, 1998).

The dilemma for many White Americans in addressing race issues is captured in a quote from a White psychologist, Mark Kiselica (1999):

> You see, the subjects I am about to discuss—ethnocentrism and racism, including my own racism—are topics that most Whites tend to avoid. We shy away from discussing these issues for many reasons: We are racked with guilt over the way people of color have been treated in our nation; we fear that we will be accused of mistreating others; we particularly fear being called the "R" word—racist—so we

grow uneasy whenever issues of race emerge; and we tend to back away, change the subject, respond defensively, assert our innocence and our "color blindness," denying that we could possibly be ethnocentric or racist. (p. 14)

With the dreaded conflicts described by Kiselica (1999), there is little wonder that many Whites find it easier to simply let race issues fade from consciousness, to remain silent on the topic, to minimize their importance, and to profess a color-blind ideology. Sue (2005) and Young (2003) observed that discomfort in addressing race issues has led to the development of implicit ground rules that seem to dictate how we currently talk or do not talk about race or differences. These ground rules and their manifestations are meant to constrict and actually dampen racial dialogues by filtering out what can or cannot be addressed and by dictating how we speak about race and differences. Avoidance of racial topics is manifested in the code of silence, the politeness protocol, and the academic protocol and through stereotype constraint.

Code of silence

In his presidential address delivered to the Division of Counseling Psychology, Sue (2005) asserted that there was a conspiracy of silence around the topic of race and racism. He made the point that the conspiracy was not necessarily conscious or deliberate but was generated by a disinclination to unmask sincere fictions held by well-intentioned White people. Beliefs that racism and bigotry are confined to skinheads, neo-Nazis, and the Klan; that racism is pathological and non-normative; and that only White supremacists cause the greatest harm to people of color allow Whites to think they are personally free of bias and not responsible for the racial inequities in this society.

In a study examining how White students reacted to racial dialogues, Sue, Rivera, Capodilupo, Lin, and Torino (2010) found that the most common strategies used were to remain inactive and silent in classroom discussions, to play a passive or appeasing role, or to deflect the conversation to another topic. Many participants indicated that their silence was generated by a fear of appearing racist, feelings that they did not have a right to dialogue about race, and

a lack of certainty about what to say when the topic arose. As a result, students indicated there was often an implicit agreement among White students to be silent on the topic.

Politeness protocol

In the vignette opening this section, the professor at the fundraiser experienced a very common social situation described as the *politeness protocol* (Young, 2003). This protocol dictates that people should be nice and polite; take care not to offend others; keep conversations light, friendly, and noncontroversial; and avoid potential interpersonal conflict. It is often considered improper and impolite to discuss certain topics such as race, gender, sexual orientation, or the plight of poor people at social events, public forums, and private functions for fear it will bring out differences of opinion that lead to disagreements, heated exchanges, and conflict (Sue, 2005). During the cocktail reception, those in attendance tended to engage in pleasantries, small talk, and superficial dialogue. When the author of the vignette expressed his views on race and gender, he violated the politeness protocol; certain topics or issues are considered taboo and, when brought up in a conversation, are to be treated in a superficial and fleeting manner. Even his wife, whose thoughts and opinions probably matched his own, was sensitive to the violation. Race and deep discussions of it are forbidden, and a code of silence reinforces avoidance of such dialogues.

Academic protocol

The academic environment fosters an emphasis on intellectual thought and analysis. Rationality and cognitive inquiry are valued, and most topical discussions or debates are characterized by objectivity, detachment, and the negation of strong feelings. In her book *Teaching to Transgress,* bell hooks (1994) described professors as trained in the Western metaphysical context of mind–body dualism, in which the mind is legitimized and the body (spirit, emotions, feelings) is repressed. She observed that most professors still embrace and conduct their classes in a manner that reinforces a sterile decorum, in which the politics of race, gender, social class, disability, and sexual orientation are intellectualized in a businesslike manner. In many classrooms, for example, debates or dialogues on race adhere to the academic protocol that is dispassionate and objective, devoid of emotions and affect.

The prevailing implicit assumption in academic circles is that emotions are antagonistic to reason and that the power differences in the classroom make these discussions unfair to some students. When a discussion on race becomes heated, students are admonished to not let their emotions get the best of them, to calm down, and to speak to one another with respect (Sue, 2010a). The academic protocol operates under the mistaken assumption that dialogues on race are purely intellectual exercises and undercut the importance of emotions in such discussions. With skill, these discussions can achieve both a safe environment and a deep grappling with the issues. However, blanket discouragement of heated expression serves to discourage people from honestly expressing their true thoughts, attitudes, and feelings about race and racism, gender and sexism, social class and classism, disability and ableism, or sexual orientation and heterosexism as well as hearing the thoughts, attitudes, and feelings of others.

> *Research has recently uncovered subtle ways in which stereotypes about our own groups can affect our behavior toward members of outgroups and how we talk about race.*

Stereotype constraint

Being aware of and trying to dispel one's own personal stereotypes can constrain and alter the desire and ability to talk honestly about race and racial issues. Research has recently uncovered subtle ways in which stereotypes about our own groups can affect our behavior toward members of outgroups and how we talk about race. In one laboratory experiment, Black and White volunteers were asked to talk about

race relations (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005). After the conversation, the Black participants provided their impressions of their White partners. Surprisingly, Shelton et al. (2005) found that the less biased the White partners were, the less their Black counterparts liked them.

Research has suggested that people who are low in prejudice exert considerable energy trying to show that they are, in fact, not prejudiced, and this effort makes them poor conversational partners (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004). The energy people invest in showing they are not prejudiced is motivated by one major stereotype: All Whites are racist and bigoted (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010; Goff et al., 2008). This stereotype leads people to increase their efforts to be liked. Behaviors associated with this goal include smiling, head nodding, self-deprecation, and touching. However, Black partners who are coping with a stereotype of being unintelligent and incompetent may adopt the goal of being respected (Bergsieker et al., 2010). With this goal, people focus on signaling their achievements and on seriousness. In other words, impression management drains energy from both sides, making it difficult to have an honest dialogue about race incorporating appropriate and spontaneous responses. Bergsieker et al. (2010) found that the more an interracial dyad's goals differed, the more negative feelings they had toward each other at the end of the interaction. Thus, the interracial coping mechanisms people adopt, although rooted in a similar concern about being stereotyped, lead to different behavior patterns that can lead to negative interactions.

In summary, societal norms and ground rules surrounding the discussion on topics such as race, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and class differences hinder an honest and open discussion of these topics. The code of silence, the politeness protocol, the academic protocol, and stereotype constraint all intersect in such a manner as to make people avoid, or only superficially engage in, meaningful and honest discussions on these socially taboo topics. If honest dialogues on race, gender, and sexual orientation, for example, lead to increased group understanding and improved group relations, then the challenge before us is how to overcome these social, academic, and interpersonal constraints.

PART 2

Mechanisms of Inclusion and Beneficial Diversity Dynamics

*I*n this portion of the report, we focus on the value of inclusion and the benefits of diversity. Diversity is a widely used and often misunderstood concept. Some critics of diversity have contended that it could lead to the fragmentation of U.S. society. Whites often think diversity is about "them," the "others." Yet a growing body of evidence has shown that diversity can be beneficial to achieving positive outcomes in education, business, and interpersonal and intergroup relations. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor asserted in the *Grutter v. Bollinger et al.* Supreme Court case that it is a "compelling interest" in higher education. Even if diversity is a compelling interest, however, what means of advancing it are effective? There is no simple understanding or one-size-fits-all strategy for achieving successful diversity. In this section, we consider some of the criticisms, some of the barriers, and some of the benefits of diversity.

What Is Diversity and Why Is It Beneficial?

Diversity is a complex and poorly defined concept. It is based on differences among people, but it is also a term that encompasses traditional discussions of race. Race has historically been conceived in binary terms that contrast Blacks from Africa with Whites from Europe. When "ism" is attached to race, it contrasts "perpetrators" with "victims." By assigning people to categories and differentially valuing those categories, the multidimensionality of differences among people are oversimplified.

The Tuskegee Airmen exemplify diversity and its benefits.

> In 1941, the Tuskegee Airmen overcame the U.S. Army Air Corps' color barrier to become the first African American pilots in the U.S. military.

These men faced racism at home and yet fought for democracy abroad. In all, 994 pilots were trained in Tuskegee from 1941 to 1946, approximately 445 were deployed overseas, and 150 lost their lives in accidents or combat.

Flying escort for heavy bombers, the Tuskegee Airmen were credited with shooting down 112 Luftwaffe aircraft, sinking the German-operated Italian destroyer TA-23 by machine gun fire, and destroying numerous fuel dumps, trucks, and trains. The squadrons of the 332nd Fighter Group flew more than 15,000 sorties on 1,500 missions. The unit was awarded a Distinguished Unit Citation for a mission flown March 24, 1945, escorting B-17s to bomb the Daimler-Benz tank factory in Berlin, Germany, and individual Airmen were awarded several medals of honor, including Purple Hearts, Bronze Stars, and Air Medals.

In March 2007, President George W. Bush and Congress awarded the Congressional Gold Medal to the Tuskegee Airmen and acknowledged that they fought two wars: one in Europe and another in the "hearts and minds of the nation's citizens.... [The award comes] more than 60 years after the 332nd Fighter Group's World War II achievement that we made bittersweet by the racial discrimination they endured after returning home.... [The award is offered as] a gesture to help atone for all the unreturned salutes and unforgivable indignities the men endured upon returning home" (Kuzel, 2007, para. 6).

Dr. Roscoe Brown spoke on behalf of the Airmen: "Over 60 years ago we were flying in the skies over Europe defending our country and at the same time fighting the battle against racial segregation. Because of our great record and our persistence, we inspired revolutionary reform which led to integration of the armed forces in 1948. This provided a symbol for America that all people can contribute to this country and be treated fairly" (Kuzel, 2007, para. 9).

What do we mean by diversity?

Diversity is not one thing; it is many things. In *The Difference,* Scott Page (2007) argued that diversity has the power to create better groups, businesses, schools, and societies. The genesis of this idea occurred to Page on the basis of a computer simulation he performed at the California Institute of Technology. His simulation created two groups from competent problem solvers. One was formed randomly (the diversity group), and the other was formed from the very best individual performers (the ability group). In this study, diversity was represented by differences in the ways in which problem solvers encoded the problem and searched for solutions. In nearly every simulation, the diversity group outperformed the ability group. With respect to this specific domain of problem solving in organizational settings, Page concluded that "progress depends as much on our collective differences as it does on our individual IQ scores" (p. xxvi). Page specifically referred to cognitive diversity in his problem-solving example. However, we may also be diverse in our identities, demographics, and preferences. We borrow from Page to outline the diversity of diversity as follows:

- *cognitive diversity:* differences in patterns of thinking, analysis, perception, and point of view;

- *identity diversity:* differences in sex, religion, race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, or immigrant status;

- *demographic diversity:* differences in social categories or social roles without regard to their psychological salience for the person; these social categories are usually the same as those making up identity diversity; and

- *preference diversity*: differences in taste and values, including *fundamental preferences*—the outcomes people value or prefer—and *instrumental preferences*—how people go about or believe they should go about getting what they want.

We typically think of diversity only with respect to identity diversity and assume that it is highly correlated with a variety of other sources of diversity. However, when we consider diversity broadly, we must acknowledge the significant differences within and between diversity categories: All Asians do not have superior math abilities, all Blacks are not athletic, all women are not feminists, and all older adults are not slow and forgetful.

To illustrate the added complexity this multidimensional view of diversity may produce, it is possible that people could agree on a fundamental value (i.e., social justice) but disagree on an instrumental value of how to achieve it (e.g., color-blind vs. multicultural approaches). This observation was given voice by William Bennett, who spoke about achieving a color-blind society on the occasion of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday:

> People of good will disagree about the means [instrumental values], but I don't think anybody disagrees about the ends [fundamental value]. ...I think the best way to achieve the ends of a colorblind society is to proceed as if we were a colorblind society.... I think the best way to treat people is as if their race did not make any difference. (Sawyer, 1986, p. A8)

As we have already shown, the distinction between color-blind and multicultural perspectives makes a big difference in attitudes toward policies and programs and in individual responses to them, quite apart from whether there actually is agreement on the value of a color-blind society.

Why is diversity important?

As Nobel Laureate biologist E. O. Wilson articulated in his 1992 book *The Diversity of Life,* diversity is the foundation of the survival and evolution of the species. In an evolutionary sense, human survival and

advancement may be the most fundamental benefit of diversity. Differences among people benefit all. That people fear and retreat from their differences, or base aggressive hostilities and exclusion on them, is understandable but also regrettable.

Diversity is a fact of U.S. society. The 2010 Census showed that so-called racial and ethnic minorities constitute more than one third (105,803,975) of the U.S. population of 308,745,538 (34.46%). By 2040 or sooner, these groups are projected to constitute more than half of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009b). Crossing race and ethnicity with gender, socioeconomic class, immigrant status, age, and sexual orientation means that talking about diversity is literally talking about the vast majority of the U.S. population. The question of whether diversity is good is not the most compelling way to address the fundamental fact of our diversity. Perhaps a better question is "What are the ways in which diversity makes us stronger?" Its corollary should also be acknowledged: "What are the ways in which poorly handling diversity makes us weaker?"

There is a duality in our consciousness and understanding. On the one hand, discrimination, bias, ingroup preference, and aversion to differences constrain diversity and produce adverse outcomes for members of certain groups. But we also recognize the value and inevitability of diversity. As a result, we often attempt to diversify settings and contexts because we believe diversity enhances our ability to produce more effective institutions, firmer and more interesting interpersonal relationships, and in the long run, a better society and global community. Thus, as the task force's title implies, there are dual pathways to a better United States: preventing discrimination and promoting diversity.

Does a Focus on Diversity Undermine U.S. Culture?

My body and mentality [is] not split down the middle where half is Black and the other half is Japanese. I have taken aspects of both worlds to create my own worldview and identity. I am Blackanese.—Mitzi Uehara Carter (Gaskins, 1999, p. 197)

I think it's really important to acknowledge who you are and everything that makes you that.— Laura Wood, vice president of the Multiracial and Biracial Student Association, University of Maryland (Saulny, 2011, paragraph 10).

These two quotes highlight the tensions individuals from mixed-race backgrounds experience when acknowledging their different racial identities and trying to assimilate these identities into one associated with a larger group. The issue of whether to recognize differences is highlighted by the debate over whether to recognize a separate multiracial identity for individuals of mixed-racial ancestry in the United States. The population of multiracial individuals has been growing rapidly in the United States, increasing by 35% since 2000. Those who support the recognition of a multiracial identity have argued that the differences should be recognized and that the blending of races signals a step toward transcending race. Those who oppose recognition have argued that it will lead to more stratification within the United States and reduce population numbers for minority groups such as African Americans (Saulny, 2011).

The argument that recognizing diversity undermines U.S. culture underlies many initiatives, such as eliminating ethnic studies (as was recently done in Arizona) or not collecting ethnic or racial data in public surveys. Television pundits such as Patrick Buchanan have argued that too much focus on diversity undermines U.S. culture and can potentially lead to *balkanization,* the fragmentation or division of a region or state into smaller regions or states often hostile to or noncooperative with each other. This term originated in reference to the ethnic conflicts in the Balkan states of the former Yugoslavia and described what some saw as the downside of the diversity dynamic. If Americans celebrate and enhance each ingroup identity, they may promote Black children sitting together at one lunch table, Asians sitting together at another, Latinos and Latinas together at another, and Whites together at still another table. Fear of balkanization is rooted in the belief that a minority, ethnic, or subordinate identity is incompatible with a superordinate American identity.

However, a variety of research findings have suggested that the benefits of having an ingroup identity do not have to come at the expense of enjoying the benefits of a broader, superordinate identity (Cheng & Lee, 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2009). For example, the common ingroup identity model (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005) emphasizes that a common ingroup identity (e.g., as university students) shared among individuals who do not share other identities provides benefits such as reduced intergroup bias (Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994) and greater institutional belonging and commitment among minority group members (Dovidio, Gaertner, Niemann, & Snider, 2001).

Moreover, holding a common ingroup identity does not exclude the possibility of simultaneously holding other identities. The reality is that most people have many different identities that can also support developing a sense of belongingness to a larger group. For example, Mendoza-Denton et al. (2002) found that on the days after students had attended ethnically centered events (e.g., a meeting of the Black Students' Organization), they felt a greater sense of belongingness at the university. Similarly, minority students who had a sense of belonging to their own ethnic group tended to have higher academic achievement in historically White institutions, at least when not threatened with rejection (Mendoza-Denton, Pietrzak, & Downey, 2008). Forging dual identities has been found to be a critical factor in sustaining positive self-worth across a variety of sometimes conflicting identities (e.g., sexual orientation and race; gender and sexual orientation, among others) (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011; Fingerhut, Peplau, & Ghavami, 2005; Glasford & Dovidio, 2011).

Specific contexts foster having a dual identity (i.e., identifying with two groups simultaneously; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Gaertner et al., 1994; Gaertner, Dovidio, Nier, Ward, & Banker, 1999; González & Brown, 2006). Research on bicultural identity has noted that cultural cognitive frame sets (e.g., cultural values and shared knowledge) can be activated among individuals who hold multiple identities (Y. Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). However, this effect is limited to bicultural individuals who view their two cultural identities as being similar and relatively

harmonious (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). Bicultural individuals are able to engage in the process of frame switching (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993), or they shift cultural frameworks to adapt to cues in the social environment. This process helps bicultural individuals access thoughts, actions, and behaviors associated with the cultural identity that is most appropriate to the situation.

The key to dual identity formation may lie in a majority institution's efforts to communicate that a subordinate identity is in fact safe within its confines. The creation of "safe spaces" for students of color, students with minority sexual orientations, or organizations that celebrate diversity may prevent balkanization. If the institution can earn the trust of minority students by ensuring that their subordinate identities will not be threatened, the goal of promoting a dual identity becomes more realistic and achievable. These findings suggest that strong, unambiguous acceptance of minority spaces, including opportunities for intergroup contact, should figure into institutions' plans for facilitating a diverse atmosphere.

What Is the Best Approach to Improving Intergroup Relations?

To the extent that there is a scientific literature on inclusion and intergroup relations, the focus has primarily been on racial integration. As a field, psychology has done little to study the consequences of integration in the areas of disability, social class, or sexuality. Indeed, discussions of diversity in the United States often exclude these areas, which itself might be seen as a not-so-micro-aggression.

To the extent that psychologists have studied conditions for integration, the bulk of the evidence has examined the effects of multiculturalism (recognizing and celebrating group differences) and color blindness (minimizing group differences). Both ideologies advocate for equality (Plaut et al., 2009) and aim to reduce intergroup conflict. However, research evidence has shown that adoption of these two ideologies results in different consequences for both individuals and organizations.

One contentious form of cultural valuation concerns American Indian sports mascots. Teams such as the

Washington Redskins, the Cleveland Indians, and the Atlanta Braves all have Indian logos and assorted symbolic and behavioral references (such Cleveland's cartoonlike Chief Wahoo and the tomahawk chop used by Atlanta fans) to accompany their sports branding. Research has raised questions about the different impacts American Indian mascots have on Native Americans and Whites. Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, and Stone (2008) examined the effects of American Indian mascots and the imagery associated with them on high school and college students' self-concepts. As demonstrated in Figure 7, exposure to the mascots and related imagery (e.g., Chief Wahoo, Pocahontas, negative stereotypes) was associated with decreases in self-esteem and feelings of community worth among American Indian respondents, but among Whites, self-esteem increased.

As a result of such research and strong opposition raised by American Indians, most colleges and universities have abandoned their Indian mascots (the Stanford Indians became the Cardinals and St. John's Redmen became the Red Storm). The APA (2005) passed a resolution calling on the complete elimination of American Indian mascots.

In 2007, the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign discontinued its mascot, Chief Illiniwek. There were mixed feelings about this decision, and a survey of university students found that those who opposed the elimination of the mascot believed that (a) the mascot was not racist or offensive, (b) it was a symbol of honor and pride, (c) it was really not a big deal, (d) the university acquiesced to pressure from the NCAA, and (e) the university was more concerned with minority opinion or political correctness than with the majority opinion. Those who were more supportive of the discontinuance of the mascot were more likely to (a) have empathy for the experiences of American Indians and (b) identify the images as racist or offensive (Neville, Yeung, Todd, Spanierman, & Reed, 2011). Moreover, Neville et al. (2011) found that belief in a color-blind racial ideology (as assessed with the Colorblind Racial Ideology Scale; Neville et al., 2000) was significantly related to lower support for discontinuing the Chief Illiniwek mascot.

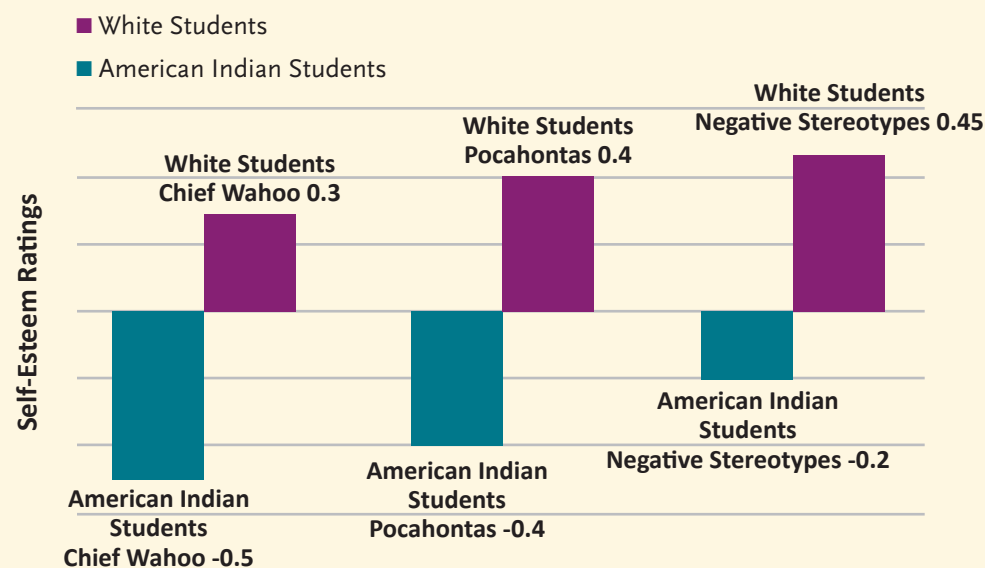*Figure 7.* Changes in self-esteem among American Indian and White high school students when exposed to American Indian mascots, cartoons, and negative stereotypes. From "Of Warrior Chiefs and Indian Princesses: The Psychological Consequences of American Indian Mascots," by S. A. Fryberg et al., 2008, *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 30.* Copyright 2008 by Taylor & Francis. http://www.tandfonline.com

Other research has suggested that adopting the ideology of color blindness is often motivated by a desire to make sense of existing inequalities (Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, & Chow, 2009). For example, Knowles et al. (2009) found that White participants would endorse the ideology of color blindness on the basis of arguments around procedural justice. White participants reasoned that if the individuals making decisions stay blind to race, then it is not possible for racial bias to enter into the decision-making process, resulting in an inherently fair process. In other words, individuals may endorse color blindness as a fair process in an unfair world in which the distribution of resources among different groups is unequal.

Knowles et al. (2009) also found, however, that White endorsement of color-blind procedures did not stay constant across situations. Specifically, White participants who were higher in anti-egalitarian sentiment increased their endorsement for color blindness when they felt a motivation to justify the status quo associated with their group's relatively advantaged status. In addition, color blindness has been linked with increasing racial bias in decision making (Sommers, 2006; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004).

Encounters with different ideologies have also been shown to affect children.

Encounters with different ideologies have also been shown to affect children. Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, and Ambady (2011) exposed children between the ages of 8 and 11 to a narrative that endorsed either a color-blind or a value-diversity ideology. They then read stories about racial bias to these children. They found that children exposed to the color-blind narrative were less likely to detect incidents of racial discrimination and that when they recounted these incidents, they would tell the stories in a way that minimized the likelihood that adults would intervene to correct the racial discrimination incident.

In organizations, multicultural and color-blind ideologies can have different consequences for the engagement of minority individuals. Minorities pay attention to cues that may signal whether the social

environments in which they find themselves are biased (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). The operation of different ideologies may be one of the cues to which minority individuals pay attention.

Color-blind approaches can also result in negative consequences for majority individuals. Apfelbaum, Sommers, and Norton (2008) found that individuals who try to avoid acknowledging racial differences in their interactions with African American partners were perceived to be more racially biased. Similarly, Richeson et al. (2005) have found that among White participants who were interacting with African Americans, those who had to correct for their racial biases showed later declines in their cognitive performance.

Although the adoption of color-blind approaches has been found to elicit negative effects, multicultural approaches also present some drawbacks for majority individuals. For example, research has demonstrated that majority individuals adopting color-blind and multicultural ideologies show differences in how much they use and react to stereotypes. Wolsko, Park, Judd, and Wittenbrink (2000) observed that participants who read an article advocating for multiculturalism showed higher levels of stereotype use than participants who read an article advocating for color blindness. In addition, participants in the multicultural condition perceived greater dissimilarity between the values and life-guiding principles held by African Americans and White Americans than did participants in the color-blind condition.

Not only do ideologies affect the use of stereotypes, but they also affect the judgments individuals make about minority targets on the basis of stereotypes. Multiculturalism may create a preference for minority individuals who confirm stereotypes about their groups, and color blindness may create a preference for individuals who disconfirm stereotypes about their groups. Such preferences can have implications for how minority group individuals are judged. For example, Gutiérrez and Unzueta (2010) examined the

effects of these ideologies on evaluations of stereotypic and counterstereotypic minority individuals. They found that participants exposed to multicultural ideology liked stereotypic African American and Latino targets more than counterstereotypic African American and Latino targets. However, participants exposed to color-blind ideology showed the reverse effect. They liked counterstereotypic African American and Latino targets more than stereotypic African American and Latino targets.

In summary, color-blind and multicultural ideologies can have unintended consequences for individuals and organizations. Yet, these two ideologies underlie many of the social policies that organizations and governments use to manage intergroup relations and minimize unlawful discrimination. In general, although research has found pros and cons for each of these ideologies, the majority of work has found that multicultural approaches tend to be more successful in facilitating workplace cohesiveness, employee engagement, and facilitation of dual identities. As a consequence, the task force recommends an adapted multicultural approach in which differences are recognized and celebrated but not judged and contact is encouraged but not forced. This approach allows both minority and majority individuals to feel safe in their environments and removes barriers to the adoption of dual identities.

These dynamics and tensions of inclusion, partial inclusion, or dedicated safe spaces are most interesting in the disability community, in which there has been strong legal and academic support for mainstreaming children with disabilities into the least restrictive environment. Yet there has been substantial resistance from people in the deaf–sign language community, who advocate deaf-only spaces. Parents of children with disabilities in mainstream classes have voiced concern that assumptions about disability are not challenged at all. In the latter case, parents are concerned that their children are just placed in the general classroom and systematically neglected, without significant accommodations or social integration. Although this debate is intense and the bulk of evidence favors mainstreaming, it is evident that inclusion must be fully embraced and not simply implemented as a token gesture.

An equally important issue is whether color-blind processes can be fully implemented without disadvantaging the individual. As an example, to keep admissions officers truly color-blind, all traces of information that might hint at an applicant's race must be removed (e.g., being active in an African American church community or volunteering as a Spanish-language tutor in a local community center). Is it possible, though, for an admissions officer to get a full picture of the applicant without this information? Social identities are an integral part of a person, and a completely color-blind selection process would be impossible to implement without sacrificing the quality and validity of the process. Ironically, although some may argue that a color-blind process increases procedural justice, it may actually put those with distinctive identities at a disadvantage.

Although some have claimed that a focus on diversity may divide and undermine U.S. society, research has found that it is possible for individuals to maintain multiple, overlapping, and complex identities (Shih et al., 1999), including maintaining strong ingroup identities for distinct minority or majority groups (e.g., by religion, ethnicity, or sexual orientation) while at the same time identifying with a broader, superordinate identity (i.e., American; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). Ironically, arguments for the culture wars may themselves be divisive, because they implicitly assume that there are different levels of importance or values attached to people's different identities and that these will usually conflict. Moreover, these approaches may presume that some identities (e.g., Muslim, lesbian, or Asian) carry less value or importance than others (e.g., Christian, heterosexual, or White).

What Conditions Enable Diversity to Flourish?

Enabling Condition 1: Diversity must be perceived as fundamental to the core values and goals of institutional and societal decision makers

In her majority opinion in the U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the *Grutter v. Bollinger et al.* case on affirmative action at the University of Michigan Law School, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor cited diversity as a compelling interest in U.S. society. She based this judgment in part on a military amicus brief

signed by 29 former high-ranking officers and civilian leaders of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, including military academy superintendents, former secretaries of defense, and present and former members of the U.S. Senate:

> High-ranking retired officers and civilian leaders of the United States military assert that, "[b]ased on [their] decades of experience," a "highly qualified, racially diverse officer corps… is essential to the military's ability to fulfill its principle mission to provide national security." (*Grutter v. Bollinger et al.*, 2003, Section III A, paragraph 9)

In her opinion, based on briefs for 3M and General Motors Corporation as amicus curiae, Justice O'Connor highlighted the significance of diversity initiatives as an integral aspect of economic globalization: "major American businesses have made clear that the skills needed in today's increasingly global marketplace can only be developed through exposure to widely diverse people, cultures, ideas, and viewpoints" (*Grutter v. Bollinger et al.*, 2003, Section III A, paragraph 9).

These two examples illustrate the principle that when diversity is a core value, it is something to embrace, strive for, and make work to the benefit of all. Another example comes from *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke.* The University of California, Davis, set aside places in the medical school entering class because it believed Black and Latino–Latina medical students would be more likely to work with underserved Black and Latino–Latina communities. The university valued not only admitting capable students but also producing a cadre of physicians who would help meet the health needs of underserved populations. When Allan Bakke, a White man, was rejected for admission for the third time, he brought suit against the university. He claimed he was discriminated against on the basis of the principle that MCAT scores and GPA were the only legitimate admissions criteria, and his scores surpassed those of all of the students admitted to the special spaces.

These criteria are indeed the best predictors of academic performance in the 1st year of medical school. However, analysis of other special

admissions Black and Latino–Latina students showed that although they had lower entering credentials and did not perform as well on written tests, they were just as likely to graduate and have successful residencies and professional careers. Most important, they were nearly 3 times more likely to practice medicine in underserved Black and Latino–Latina communities than students offered standard admissions. Very much like the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), the diversity hypothesis (Jones, Lynch, Tenglund, & Gaertner, 2000) proposes that diversity is more likely to be sought and is more effectively conceived and produced when it is a core value of the leadership.

Enabling Condition 2: For diversity to be beneficial, it must be relevant to the goal at hand

Research has demonstrated that the consequences of diversity on a group or institution depend on the source of diversity and the extent to which the diversity is relevant to the overall goals of the group. For example, Horwitz and Horwitz (2007) performed a meta-analysis on the relationship between diversity and team performance and found that functional diversity (i.e., education) was positively related to team performance, and demographic diversity (i.e., race, gender, age) was unrelated to team performance.

Chatman and Spataro (2005) investigated how the relationship between demographic diversity and cooperative behavior is moderated by organizational culture. Within a financing firm, they found that officers behaved more cooperatively with demographically different coworkers in business units that promoted collectivistic values, relative to business units that promoted individualistic values. Thus, the cultural milieu that is created by an institution can determine the consequences of increased diversity.

What complicates the goal relevance standard is that people, organizations, and societies have quite different goals. The University of California, Davis, wanted to supply physicians to underserved communities, and diversity was relevant to that goal and facilitated its accomplishment. If organizations want to have better problem solving, diversity needs to be relevant to the problem they are trying to

solve. If organizations want to have more innovative and creative solutions, then diversity of thought, experience, and perspective will help. Simply meeting numerical quotas by designated demographic groups, although helpful, is not sufficient.

Enabling Condition 3: The benefits of diversity may be quite different for those who diversify a setting and those who reflect the setting's status quo

The benefits of diversity may depend on individual differences in diversity management skills, such as emotional resilience (Kelley & Meyers, 1992), making inferences (Simons & Tulin, 1992), self-monitoring and willingness to communicate (Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985), and listening and observation. In a study that examined group performance over time, Shaw (2004) found that students with low- and medium-diversity management skills reported their groups had higher levels of anxiety and apprehension, cognitive effort, group conflict, role ambiguity, and role conflict than did students with high-diversity skills. Additionally, students with low- and medium-diversity management skills reported their groups had lesser abilities to set performance goals and use group resources effectively than did students with high-diversity skills.

Diversity also has its costs. Accommodating the needs and desires of two groups may be much easier than responding to the those of 10 different groups. If accommodating differences requires limited resources, it may be difficult to prioritize whose needs will be met. With multiple different sets of needs and desires, the likelihood that they may be in direct conflict is dramatically increased.

Pelled, Eisenhardt, and Xin (1999) found a complex relationship between diversity and intragroup conflict that depended on the source of diversity. Functional diversity (i.e., education) was related to greater task conflict, which was in turn related to elevated performance. Race and tenure diversity were related to greater emotional conflict, and age diversity was related to less emotional conflict. Emotional conflict, though, was ultimately unrelated to group performance.

Shaw (2004), in a longitudinal study that examined the relationship between group diversity and performance over time, found that diversity affects perceptions of group performance differently for different members. For example, gender-majority members perceived their group performance to increase over time, but gender-minority members perceived their group performance to deteriorate over time. Groups with medium age diversity perceived their group performance to increase over time; however, groups with low or high age diversity perceived group performance to deteriorate over time. These findings suggest that diversity does have longitudinal effects, but that these effects are moderated or mediated by a number of other factors.

What Is the Impact of Diversity?

U.S. national history, collective values, and science support the movement toward full, respectful inclusion that is structural, institutional, interpersonal, and individual. It is quite significant that the military, the corporate United States, and social science converge in the simple recognition that diversity is good for the country. Indeed, there is substantial social science literature documenting the individual, institutional, democratic, and societal benefits of diversity. This literature, in the aggregate, points to the following conclusions about the impact of diversity.

Diversity breeds creative thinking, democratic communities, and innovation

Diverse organizations and teams produce more creative, original, and innovative products than homogeneous groups. That is, organizations and groups that integrate varied talents, experiences, backgrounds, and perspectives are more likely than homogeneous groups to produce complex answers to complex problems because the variety of talents and experiences enable divergent problem solving. Several conditions for and consequences of diversity should be noted:

- *Everyone benefits.* It is well documented that diversity has positive benefits for relatively advantaged members of an organization as well as historically disadvantaged members. For instance, White students in racially integrated schools gain from their exposure to racially and ethnically diverse perspectives, just as students of color gain from access to better resourced

institutions and opportunities (Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004).

- *Certain enabling conditions improve outcomes.* Diversity is most effective when individuals are included with full membership, not simply added to the mix and asked to silence any differences. That is, when marginalized individuals are invited into a homogeneous organization but asked explicitly or subtly to not talk about, not focus on, or not expose their differences, the positive benefits of diversity are significantly compromised. Trust is reduced, contributions are diminished, and a false sense of sameness pervades the group, limiting the innovative possibilities that could be created when differences are acknowledged, explored, valued, and considered a resource (Gurin et al., 2004; Torre, 2005).

- *Talent diversity breeds innovation.* Echoing the conclusions of Page (2007) that cognitive diversity leads to better problem solving, Yong Zhao, a mathematics education professor at Michigan State University, argued multicultural urban environments increase productivity among Americans because "immigrants have skills that complement those of the American people and provide valuable services that Americans would prefer not to do" (Zhao, 2009, p. 53).

Zhao (2009) argued further that talent diversity breeds innovation and prepares societies for change rather than stasis. Studies conducted in varied workplaces have confirmed that members of heterogeneous working groups offer more creative solutions to problems than those working in homogeneous groups (Cox, 1995; McLeod, Lobel, & Cox, 1996), showing greater potential for critical thinking and avoiding regression to the mean or groupthink.

Diversity in higher education makes better citizens
A wide range of benefits accrue from racial, ethnic, and social class diversity on college campuses. Bowen and Bok (2000) tracked almost 80,000 undergraduate students who matriculated into 28 selective colleges in 1951, 1976, and 1989. They analyzed the experiences and consequences of higher education for students from different racial and ethnic groups over these three generations. Using data on salaries, workforce participation, family structure, civic engagements, and leisure activities, they found that students accepted into elite campuses through race-sensitive admissions policies did extremely well postgraduation in terms of economic, educational, and civic contributions to society.

In addition, Bowen and Bok (2000) demonstrated the remarkably high levels of community service and civic engagements of students of color while attending college and in subsequent years. The evidence they gathered showing that Black graduates of selective colleges are more highly engaged in civic activities than Whites bodes well for the contributions of diversity to a strong and engaged multiracial democracy.

In a more focused study of the benefits of diversity in higher education, Gurin et al. (2004) created a structured Intergroup Relations Program for 1st-year college students. The Intergroup Relations Program was based on five principles for bringing diversity and democracy into alignment: presence of diverse others, discontinuity from precollege experiences, equality among peers, discussion under rules of civil discourse, and normalization and negotiation of conflict. Participants came from diverse backgrounds, and the curriculum consisted of readings, lectures, papers, and intergroup dialogues. The intergroup dialogues brought together students from two different identity groups that had a history of disagreements over group-relevant policy issues. Several measures were taken 4 years later during the students' senior year. Results showed that Intergroup Relations Program participants, compared with controls, were more likely to hold democratic sentiments in which differences were not divisive, conflict was not bad, and learning about other groups was desirable and worthwhile. Intergroup Relations Program students were more likely to be interested in politics and to participate in campus civic and political activities. They also felt that they were more likely to be active in the community and promote racial and ethnic understanding once they graduated.

A second study (the Michigan Student Survey) examined similar participation and attitude data from

a larger cohort of University of Michigan students who entered in 1990 and followed them over their 4 years at the university. An analysis of the Michigan Student Survey (Gurin et al., 2004) showed that White students, who lived in predominantly White, segregated communities before college, reported more contact with students of color while in college and that this contact was largely positive in terms of cooperative and personal relationships, interracial understanding, and perspective taking.

An empirical analysis of learning outcomes demonstrated that students across racial and ethnic groups, especially White students, reported positive relationships between student learning and classroom diversity. Indeed, White students with the most experience with diversity during college showed the largest increase in activity thinking and complex thinking processes, motivation, postgraduate degree aspirations, and commitment to intellectual and academic skills.

Turning to the impact on democratic participation, Gurin et al. (2004) were able to demonstrate that students who experienced the most diversity in the classroom and in casual interactions with peers reported the most civic engagement and cross-racial interactions postgraduation. These students were also most likely to "acknowledge that difference is not inevitably divisive but instead can be congenial to democracy" (pp. 28–29). In her expert testimony before the Supreme Court, Gurin (2003) concluded, "Diversity of the student body is essential to fulfilling higher education's mission to enhance learning and encourage democratic outcomes and values" (*Section VII*).

Identity safe spaces are significant in integrated settings

Given the substantial evidence that people comfortably subscribe to multiple social identities, it is clear that youths and adults can feel deeply Muslim and still be American (Sirin & Fine, 2008), be gay and African American, or be a person with a disability and Jewish. They also know that people who belong to marginalized groups, even if they are engaged in

A wide range of benefits accrue from racial, ethnic, and social class diversity on college campuses.

mainstream institutions, may need access to identity safe spaces if they are to be fully integrated into the broader culture. The desire to belong to both majority and minority groups is psychologically healthy and needs to be supported. Unfortunately, hyphenated identities are viewed as a challenge to U.S. culture. However, both history and psychology tell one that hyphenated identities are a national treasure. Deep commitments to one's ethnic or minority group identity can strengthen one's commitments to the majority group and the fabric of the United States' multicultural democracy.

Identity safety has been proposed as a way to achieve a balance by acknowledging the individual experiences of members of minority groups while also recognizing how group identity affects these experiences (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2010). Two processes are described: (a) identifying cues in the setting that trigger threat and (b) securing a felt sense of belonging. To evaluate the first process, Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008) created brochures representing a fictitious company and distributed them at job fairs. They manipulated two variables: the number of other minority group members depicted in the corporate brochures (high or low) and the stated diversity philosophy of the organization (color-blind or valuing diversity). African American professionals at the job fair indicated that they anticipated that the corporation would value minorities, and they reported a high level of trust and anticipated a high sense of belonging when either a high representation of minorities was shown or a valuing diversity was expressed in the brochures, or when both occurred. Only when the brochures showed a small number of minorities and endorsed a color-blind philosophy did motivation and institutional trust plummet. These variables did not affect White professionals' motivation or institutional trust.

Walton and Cohen (2007) tested the effects of securing a felt sense of belonging. African American and White American 1st-year college students attending an elite university read the results of a survey of ethnically diverse upper-year students

at their school. The survey indicated that negative social events and feelings of nonbelonging are normal in the transition to college and dissipate with time. The materials were designed to lead students to attribute such events to the difficulty of the transition to college rather than to a lack of belonging on their part or on the part of their racial group. For White students, the treatment had little effect. However, the treatment had many benefits for African American students: It buffered their academic motivation against negative social events, it increased their self-reported engagement in behaviors that promote academic success, and in the next semester they earned grades than were one-

third of a grade point higher than those of students in the control group. These positive academic outcomes continued over the next 3 years of college (Walton & Cohen, 2007).

The consequence of this identity safety approach is that organizations and institutions should be aware that diversity programs that lump all diversity groups together fail to appreciate the different challenges, goals, and experiences that each face. Each group faces different identity-related threats and has different needs to belong and ways to meet those needs. Successful diversity programming will have to take into account these strategies for achieving identity safety.

PART 3

Mechanisms and Strategies for Promoting Diversity and Reducing Discrimination

The real challenge of this report is to identify ways to reduce discrimination and promote a positive form of diversity. The task force speaks interchangeably about mechanisms, interventions, and strategies. We discuss only approaches that have empirically validated evidence of success at reducing discriminatory behavior, enhancing psychological well-being, or improving relationships within and among diverse groups.

We fully recognize that the challenges and objectives of reducing discrimination and promoting diversity vary widely across situations. We cannot and do not presume to cover all possible situations and scenarios. Many of the approaches are derived from Allport's (1954) classic contact hypothesis. The contact hypothesis specifies that bringing people together can simultaneously reduce bias and promote positive relations. However, this only occurs if the conditions are favorable to providing intimate contact, which emphasizes mutual goals and cooperation, supports equitable relationships and outcomes, and offers a feeling of belonging and connection with others (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In Part 3 of this report, we describe a variety of approaches and interventions, often based on psychological mechanisms that have demonstrated positive effects that individuals or organizations may adopt.

What Are Some Ways to Overcome Prejudice?

Imagine you are about to enter a university football stadium about an hour before the game. You are approached by a student who asks, "Excuse me, would you be willing to help me out by completing a 5-minute survey regarding your food preferences?" Do you think your willingness to help would be influenced by the interviewer's race? Would it matter if this interviewer's clothing revealed that he or she was affiliated with your university or the rival team's university? You might be surprised to learn that Nier, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, and Ward (2001) found that both race and university affiliation matter in this situation.

In this study, although Nier et al. (2001) planned to oversample Black fans, the sample was still too small to yield informative findings. Among White fans, however, sharing common university affiliation with the Black interviewers increased their compliance (59%) relative to when they did not share common affiliation with the Black interviewer (36%). When the interviewers were White, however, there was no difference in the level of compliance as a function of university identity.

These findings suggest that outgroup members will be treated more favorably when they are seen as sharing a common ingroup affiliation with oneself. As Allport (1954) proposed when speaking about ways to reduce prejudice, "While it may help somewhat to place members of different ethnic groups side by side on a job, the gain is greater if these members regard themselves as part of a *team*" (p. 489).

Although some normal cognitive and motivational processes may predispose people toward harboring prejudiced attitudes, these processes are malleable,

and therefore prejudice is not inevitable. Nevertheless, prejudiced attitudes are complex, capable of changing form (e.g., from blatant to hidden), and difficult to change. A revealing review titled "Prejudice Reduction: What Works? A Review and Assessment of Research and Practice" (Paluck & Green, 2009) detailed various strategies that have been developed in laboratory and natural settings. However, the researchers concluded that a more rigorous and broad-ranging empirical assessment of prejudice reduction strategies is needed to determine which approaches are successful. Thus, although psychologists have developed many promising leads that suggest what works, full-scale, carefully executed interventions integrating many of these promising strategies have yet to be executed. In view of the evidence to date, we present the most promising prejudice reduction strategies below. Although there are a variety of ways to overcome prejudice, psychologists have generally focused on strategies that target either the intergroup factors between ingroup and outgroup members or the intraindividual cognitive and affective processes within people who are prejudiced.

What Are Some Promising Strategies for Overcoming Prejudice That Have Been Evaluated With Experimental Methods?

Changes at the intergroup level

Intergroup contact. A recent meta-analysis (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) examined 515 investigations of the effects of intergroup contact across many different settings. This investigation revealed that contact between groups effectively reduced intergroup bias and prejudice, although more so for majority than for minority group members (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005), and as suggested by Allport (1954), the effects were only observed under specific conditions. These specific contact-enhancing conditions include opportunities for personal, self-revealing interaction and working together toward a common goal. It is most effective if the groups are cooperatively interdependent (i.e., each group needs the other because neither group can achieve the goal on its own); the different groups are recognized as having equal status relative to one another during and beyond the contact situation; and authorities within and beyond the contact situation sanction and encourage intergroup contact. However, perceptions of racial discrimination may inhibit the potentially positive effects of contact among minorities, such as Black Americans (Tropp, 2007).

Cooperative interaction and cooperative learning. In a classic investigation into the creation and reduction of intergroup prejudice and conflict known as the Robbers' Cave Study, Muzafer Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, and Sherif (1961) studied 12-year-old middle-class boys at a 3-week summer camp. The boys had no knowledge of their participation in this study (not permissible under current ethical research standards). During the 1st week, the boys were assigned to one of two groups. The two groups were kept completely apart for the 1st week, as norms and leadership structures developed. During the 2nd week, Sherif et al. brought the groups into conflict through athletic activities, such as tug of war, baseball, and touch football, for which only members of the winning group received rewards. As expected, the introduction of competitive activities generated derogatory stereotypes and very physical, hostile conflict between the groups.

In the 3rd week, experimenters altered the functional relations between the groups by introducing a series of superordinate goals that could only be achieved by cooperating with each other (e.g., finding leaks in the camp's water supply, collecting money to watch a popular movie, moving a stalled truck carrying lunch up a hill to the dining area). Relations between the groups become more harmonious, and members' attitudes toward the outgroup became less prejudiced.

In the aftermath of the Robbers' Cave Study, psychologists conducted many additional investigations into the effects of cooperation on intergroup bias. In particular, a number of studies and school-based interventions engaged children in cooperative learning exercises (e.g., D. W. Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Slavin, 1985). In one version of cooperative learning known as the Jig-Saw Classroom (Aronson, Blaney, Stephan, Sikes, & Snapp, 1978), children from different racial and ethnic groups became experts on different parts of a lesson. After the class reassembled, each child shared his or her particular expertise with the others.

Hence, each child was cooperatively interdependent on others from different racial and ethnic groups so as to facilitate learning the entire lesson, which became a superordinate goal. The Jig-Saw strategy has been evaluated extensively and presents clear evidence of its effectiveness for facilitating learning as well as reducing intergroup biases and prejudices (Aronson, 2002).

Changes to the relative salience of group boundaries.

The process of social categorization is fluid, and people belong to many groups that are hierarchically organized in terms of their inclusiveness. The level of category inclusiveness that will be dominant within a particular context can be modified by altering a person's goals, motives, and expectations, as well as situational factors (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). This flexibility of social categorization is important because of its implications for altering the way people think and feel about members of other groups.

Several empirically supported, category-based alternatives have been proposed to structure the social world to promote harmonious intergroup relations. Although various models share common theoretical assumptions about the importance of social categorization in intergroup relations, they suggest different strategies for reducing prejudice. For example, some strategies focus on decategorization, eliminating group boundaries completely, and inducing people to regard one another as individuals rather than as group members (Miller, 2002; Wilder, 1981).

Interpersonal interactions and cross-group friendships.

Intergroup contact that leads to interpersonal interactions provides an opportunity for members of one group to develop positive emotional reactions to the outgroup and recognize individual attitudes, talents, and interests. Interpersonal interaction therefore undermines beliefs about the value of an outgroup member's group identity for predicting his or her beliefs, feelings, and behaviors (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Miller, Brewer, & Edwards, 1985). Thus, the development of interpersonal friendships further reduces prejudice (Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, Alegre, & Siy, 2010). Although it is difficult to definitively assert causality in longitudinal research, Levin, van Laar, and Sidanius (2003) revealed that

cross-group friendships lead to reduced bias more strongly than reduced bias leads to the development of cross-group friendships (Pettigrew, 1998). In the Levin et al. longitudinal study, college students who had more outgroup friends in their 2nd and 3rd years of college were less biased in favor of their ethnic group at the end of their 4th year, controlling for prior attitudes.

Cross-group friendships have cascading effects because friends of those involved in cross-group friendships are affected by the knowledge that their friends have close friendships with outgroup members (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). These prejudice-reducing effects of cross-group friendships occurred even among children who listened to stories in school in which an ingroup character befriended an outgroup character (Cameron & Rutland, 2006). Other media can also be instrumental in changing social norms about the acceptability of close relationships between ingroup and outgroup members (Paluck & Green, 2009).

In addition, research on the effects of interactions between students and older instructors in college campus intergenerational service learning courses found these relationships reduced ageist stereotypes (Layfield, 2004). Compared with their beliefs at the beginning of the course, 10 weeks later these students believed that older adults were less set in their ways, less meddlesome, less old-fashioned, less intolerant, and more physically active and optimistic.

Recategorization.
Intergroup contact that induces members of different groups to recategorize themselves as members of the same, more inclusive group can reduce prejudice through cognitive and motivational processes involving ingroup favoritism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Thus, more positive beliefs, feelings, and behaviors, usually reserved for ingroup members, are extended or redirected to former outgroup members because of their recategorized ingroup status. Recategorization changes the conceptual representations of the different groups from an us-versus-them orientation to a more inclusive, superordinate "we" connection. Common ingroup identity may be achieved by increasing the salience of existing common superordinate memberships (e.g., school, company, or

nation) or by introducing factors (e.g., common goals or fate) perceived to be shared by the memberships. Other field research has demonstrated that more salient common identity relates to more favorable intergroup attitudes for members of majority and minority racial and ethnic groups and across national groups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

Dual identity or mutual intergroup differentiation. The development of a more inclusive common identity does not necessarily require members of each group to completely forsake their less inclusive ethnic or racial group identities. It is possible to establish a common superordinate identity (e.g., American) while simultaneously maintaining the salience of subgroup identities (e.g., Black or White). Dual identities can be effective in reducing prejudice between groups by combining the benefits of a common identity with the reassurance that subgroup identities will not be lost or devalued. Both the dual identity and the common ingroup identity have shown promise for not only changing attitudes toward outgroup members present during the intervention but for also generalizing the positive effects of contact to the outgroup as a whole (González & Brown, 2003, 2006).

Changes at the individual level

An exhaustive review by Paluck and Green (2009) discussed a number of techniques tested primarily in laboratory settings that have successfully reduced components of prejudice by targeting cognitive and emotional processes within individuals.

Self-affirmation. According to self-affirmation theory (Steele, 1988), people are motivated to maintain positive regard for their self-worth (i.e., to have a global sense of being moral and proficient). With regard to prejudice, self-affirmation plays a role in both the instigation and the prevention of prejudice. On one hand, research has demonstrated that when a person's self-image is threatened, devaluing a member of another group for whom pejorative stereotypes are available (e.g., a Jewish woman or gay man) serves to restore that person's positive self-regard (Fein & Spencer, 1997). However, this research has also demonstrated that people who are initially provided an alternative means of increasing the saliency of their positive self-image by thinking about an important

value in their own lives (e.g., art, the pursuit of knowledge, relationships) are less likely to use available stereotypes than those who are not first given the opportunity to self-affirm. Cohen, Garcia, Apfel, and Master (2006) found that a brief self-affirmation intervention (an essay-writing exercise in which students reaffirmed their important personal values) among seventh graders reduced the Black–White academic achievement gap by 40%, with this effect maintained over a 2-year period (Cohen, Garcia, Purdie-Vaughns, Apfel, & Brzustoski, 2009). The implications of this finding are particularly important because they suggest that the motivation leading to prejudicial beliefs and feelings related to self-affirmation can be buffered by providing ample alternative opportunities for people to maintain and increase their sense of positive self-worth (see Sinclair & Kunda, 1999).

Dynamic versus static theories of human nature.
Among professional psychologists and laypeople alike, some believe that psychological attributes are fixed, stable, and unchangeable (i.e., entity theorists), whereas others believe that attributes are more dynamic and changeable (i.e., incremental theorists; see Dweck, Chiu, & Hong, 1995). Entity theorists interpret people's actions and outcomes in terms of fixed attributes, whereas incremental theorists understand these actions and outcomes in terms of more temporary psychological factors (e.g., immediate need), possibly prompted by the person's situation. Levy, Stroessner, and Dweck (1998) observed that entity personality theorists more strongly endorsed stereotypic traits for groups such as African Americans and Latinos than did incremental theorists. Entity theorists perceived greater homogeneity among outgroup members than did incremental theorists (Levy et al., 1998, Study 3). According to Y. Y. Hong and Yeung (1997), greater prejudice existed among entity theorists than among incremental theorists. In addition to these more correlational findings, college students exposed to an ostensibly scientific news article advocating an incremental point of view agreed less with stereotypes of African Americans, Asians, and Latinos than did students exposed to an entity point of view (Levy et al., 1998, Study 5). Carr, Pauker, and Dweck (2012) also found that compared to participants who were taught a fixed (entity) belief, those taught to believe prejudice was malleable

(incremental) were less anxious and more friendly interacting with a Black partner.

Cognitive retraining: Practice makes perfect. To the extent that stereotypes are learned associations, it is possible to combat stereotyping by unlearning and reversing those associations. Research has shown that repeated efforts to control activation of implicit biases can result in the individual's ability to inhibit these biases. For example, Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, and Russin (2000) demonstrated that extensive practice negating stereotyped characteristics and affirming counterstereotypic characteristics of Blacks and Whites reduced activation of racial stereotypes and stereotypic characteristics not used in the training procedure.

Motivating self-regulation. When people are shown that they have responded in a biased way that violates their personal nonprejudiced standards, this recognition initiates a basic self-regulatory process (Devine & Monteith, 1993; Monteith, Mark, & Ashburn-Nardo, 2010). They experience feelings of guilt (compunction) and attempt to inhibit further bias. These individuals then engage in retrospective reflection, in which they focus their attention on aspects of the situation that might have elicited the reaction and attempt to develop cues to control bias in the future. For example, in studies examining racial bias in jury decisions, Sommers and Ellsworth (2009) found that jurors who were made aware of potential racial biases in their judgments of a case with an African American defendant self-corrected and displayed less bias in their judgments. However, it is also important to consider the basis for motivational efforts to reduce bias. One source of motivation arises out of fear of censure from others (external motivation), and another source of motivation is a desire not to be prejudiced (internal motivation; Plant & Devine, 2009). Those who are externally motivated may focus on hiding rather than eliminating bias; those who are internally motivated may focus on trying to be free from prejudice.

Few studies have actually been conducted on identifying conditions or personal attributes that allow people to carry out meaningful racial dialogues.

Inducing empathy for targets of prejudice. Finally, evidence has suggested that inducing empathy for an outgroup member could reduce bias toward members of that group. For example, Batson et al. (1997) found that asking individuals to take the perspective of a person with AIDS improved attitudes toward all AIDS patients. Vescio, Sechrist, and Paolucci (2003) found that instructing participants to take the perspective of a Black target improved attitudes toward African Americans, and Shih, Wang, Trahan Bucher, and Stotzer (2009) found that participants taking the perspective of an Asian American movie character judged an Asian American college applicant more positively. This work revealed that empathy reduces not only explicit prejudice but also implicit prejudice (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Moreover, intergroup contact is effective in reducing prejudice largely because it reduces anxiety about the outgroup and enhances empathy toward it (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008).

Conditions that facilitate constructive dialogues on race

Most of the work on identifying conditions that facilitate constructive dialogues on race has come from personal narratives and biographical explorations (Conyne & Bemak, 2005; hooks, 1994; Kiselica, 2008; Tatum, 1992, 1997), critical intellectual discourse (Bell, 2002, 2003; Bolgatz, 2007), personal experiences of and observations by educators and trainers (Sanchez-Hucles & Jones, 2005; Young & Davis-Russell, 2002), and the President's Initiative on Race (1998). Few studies have actually been conducted on identifying conditions or personal attributes that allow people to carry out meaningful racial dialogues.

In a four-part series of studies conducted by Sue and colleagues (Sue, Lin, Torino, et al., 2009; Sue, Rivera, Capodilupo, et al., 2010; Sue, Torino, Capodilupo, & Rivera, 2009; Sue et al., 2011), difficult dialogues on race were explored from the perspectives of four different groups: White students, White faculty, students of color, and faculty of color. Using consensual qualitative research and focus groups,

a series of in-depth individual interviews with and laboratory group observations of participants were conducted to learn how educators and students could learn to become comfortable when addressing race issues, what strategies led to effective facilitation of racial dialogues, and what conditions were helpful to both groups. As expected, major differences emerged between how faculty and students of color and White faculty and students perceived difficult racial dialogues. Despite these differences (described below), the researchers identified some common conditions and personal attributes that could lead to honest racial dialogues.

1. *Acknowledge emotions and feelings.* Participants, whether student or faculty, continually stated that strong emotions, such as anxiety, guilt, defensiveness, or anger were often ignored or left untouched when a dialogue on race occurred. A form of group conspiracy developed such that racial issues were only dealt with superficially. Participants believed that talking about race would be better served if professors and students could courageously acknowledge strong feelings in themselves and others, monitor their own emotional reactions, and work to understand their meanings. Scholars likewise have indicated the importance of deconstructing emotions with their implicit meanings; some have believed that nested emotions, unless released, serve as major roadblocks to racial dialogues (Watt, 2007; Young & Davis Russell, 2002).

2. *Acknowledge and self-disclose personal challenges and fears.* Kiselica (2004), a White psychologist, captured the essence of this dictum in the following quote: "When we disclose our doubts, mistakes, and imperfections, we give our students . . . the message that it is safe for them to examine their own shortcomings in our presence" (p. 847). This was a consistent theme among Sue et al.'s (2010) White participants. Disclosing one's own vulnerabilities and biases has a positive effect on racial dialogues, especially if the disclosure comes from someone in authority or from more than one person. White students, especially, believed that honestly acknowledging one's fears and biases did several positive things: (a) It freed them from the constant guardedness that results from denying their

own racism, sexism, and other biases; (b) it modeled truthfulness and openness to those engaged in conversations about race; (c) it set an example of risk taking; and (d) it encouraged others to communicate more openly because they were equally flawed. Every faculty member of color interestingly also believed that self-disclosing biased thoughts, feelings, and mistakes facilitated deeper discussions on race (Sue et al., 2011).

3. *Acknowledge the possibility of biased social upbringing and conditioning.* This particular dictum came primarily from students of color in their observations of White participants' reluctance to talk about race (Sue, Lin, et al., 2009). They observed that many of their White counterparts appeared insincere and fearful of appearing racist and had difficulty entertaining the notion that they might be prejudiced. Most of the students of color seemed to believe that few people born and raised in the United States could escape the biased cultural conditioning of society. There is considerable empirical support for the fact that many Whites do possess biased beliefs and attitudes and can act in ways that discriminate, albeit unintentionally (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1991, 1996; Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). Students of color found dialogue with Whites productive if they were willing to examine their own prejudices, stereotypes, and values.

4. *Recognize and understand the manifestation and dynamics of difficult dialogues.* One of Sue et al.'s (2010) major findings was the wide divide between Whites' and people of color's ability to make sense of racial dialogues. For example, Whites and people of color showed different responses to mentions of race in cross-race interactions (Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Tropp & Bianchi, 2007). From the perspective of participants of color, most could easily identify a difficult racial dialogue, give past examples, explain what was occurring in the classroom, identify the (unplanned) triggers that set off the dialogue, and anticipate many of the affective feelings being generated. Whites, both students and professors, however, were often at a loss to recognize, recall, or even give examples of difficult racial dialogues that occurred in their classes. When examples were recalled, they were often vaguely

described. What White participants remembered most were feelings of confusion, tension, and discomfort, but they were unable to put their finger on what triggered them. Sue et al. concluded that when critical consciousness about race and race issues is absent, it frequently leads to bafflement and disorientation about what is transpiring.

One of the primary questions that extends beyond the classroom is how to help Whites make the invisible, visible (Sue, 2004). This is a monumental task because it calls for self-exploration, self-reckoning, and self-education. The President's Initiative on Race (1999) stated that such additional self-learning must contain a strong experiential component that cannot simply be achieved through inservice training, textbook readings, or classroom experiences. Achieving this goal necessitates interaction and dialogue with people who differ in race, culture, and ethnicity and constant and continuing experiences in real-life multicultural settings and situations (e.g., minority communities, public forums, and integrated neighborhoods).

What Are Some Ways to Teach Your Child Not to Be Prejudiced?

It was a summer afternoon. A group of White mothers, obviously friends, had brought their 4- and 5-year-olds to the local McDonald's for a snack and to play on the restaurant's swings and slides. They were seated at a table watching their sons and daughters run about the play area. In one corner of the yard sat a small Black child pushing a red truck along the grass. One of the White girls from the group approached the Black boy, and they started a conversation. At that instant, the mother of the girl exchanged quick glances with the other mothers who nodded knowingly. She quickly rose from the table, walked over to the two, spoke to her daughter, and gently pulled her away to join her previous playmates. Within minutes, however, the girl again approached the Black boy and both began to play with the truck. At that point, all the mothers rose from the table and loudly exclaimed to their children, "It's time to go now." (Sue, 2003, pp. 89–90)

Teaching a child not to be prejudiced must begin with self-examination. These questions become very important: "How aware are you of your own biases and beliefs on issues regarding race, gender, class, disability, and sexual orientation?" "Do you socialize and interact with people different from yourself and your son or daughter?" and "What personal work have you done to educate and enlighten yourself and your family about prejudice, discrimination, and bias?"

Case commentary

Prejudice is bias expressed through negative opinions, beliefs, or feelings toward individuals who belong to a certain group or fit a certain category (Allport, 1954). Classic theories of prejudice propose three components: (a) Prejudice is negative in nature (e.g., fear, dislike, or hatred), (b) it is based on faulty or unsubstantiated data, and (c) it is rooted in an inflexible generalization. However, as we have shown in earlier sections of this report, prejudice also has positive components (e.g., ambivalent sexism and aversive racism) that nevertheless lead to biased behavior. Prejudices toward racial and ethnic minorities, women, those living in poverty, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people are learned, generally from an early age and frequently from significant others in the child's life (Sue, 2003).

Looking at the vignette again, these mothers are communicating to their children in a nonverbal manner. Their actions speak louder than words. They are teaching their children that some people are less desirable to associate with, there is something wrong with being different, and these people should be avoided. When one realizes that these mothers are unknowingly transmitting prejudice, it becomes obvious how deeply ingrained these attitudes and discriminatory actions can become. Having conversations with your child about prejudice may be a first step, but it is not enough to overcome years of modeling of biased attitudes. Parents should realize they too are products of their cultural conditioning and may harbor biases outside their conscious awareness. Although they may consciously condemn prejudice, hate crimes, or overt acts of discrimination, their implicit biases undermine the lessons they hope to teach their children. Talking to your children about prejudice does no good unless your communications

on prejudice and discrimination are clear and consistent with how your family lives. If you are unaware of your own biases and have not done the necessary personal and social self-examination, you are likely to say one thing but mean another.

Developing a sense of what difference means

The conventional wisdom among psychologists has been that during the first 3–4 years of life, children are relatively naïve about racial and cultural differences. Recent research, however, has suggested that infants and very young children not only recognize social categories such as race, they demonstrate preferences for facial representations of their own categories (Cassidy, Quinn, & Humphrey, 2011; Dunham, Baron, & Banaji, 2008; Shutts, Banaji, & Spelke, 2010). However, awareness of the social meanings attached to race is absent or minimal, and young children are generally unable to articulate differences and are unaware of social norms about race (Aboud, 1988; Hirschfeld, 2001). Parental stories about embarrassing situations abound. A White mother recounts how, when in a supermarket with her 4-year-old daughter, they passed a Vietnamese man, and her daughter loudly exclaimed, "Look at his funny eyes." A single father tells of interviewing an African American woman for a day care position while his young son was playing by the sofa. The child scooted toward the woman, reached out with his forefinger, rubbed her leg, and looked at his finger to see if the color had rubbed off. In both cases, these young children noticed differences and exhibited an open and naïve curiosity about them. It is only when parents shush their children, admonish them for their actions, and show embarrassment that attachment of social meaning to differences begins to occur.

At about 5–6 years of age, while children still have only minimal awareness of their own racial and cultural identities, they become increasingly articulate about differences and their often negative associations. Through socialization and the actions of

The conventional wisdom among psychologists has been that during the first 3–4 years of life, children are relatively naïve about racial and cultural differences.

significant others, the mass media, and institutions, children begin to learn that certain groups are less desirable and are to be avoided or treated differently (Children Now, 1998).

Beginning around age 10 or 11, noticing racial differences crystallizes into prejudice toward other groups. In a first-of-its-kind study on race (Children Now, 1998), researchers found that children ages 10–17, regardless of race, were more likely to associate positive qualities with White characters (e.g., intelligent and educated) than minority characters (e.g., lawbreakers, poor, lazy, and goofy) in movies and on television. Two other important findings about this age range are important to note. Just as adults go out of their way to avoid talking about race, so too, by this age, do children. In an attempt not to appear racist, many Whites avoid talking about race or seeing race. Researchers have labeled this *strategic color blindness* (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008). In a sample of children ages 8–11, researchers found that the older participants (ages 10 and 11) avoided talking about race much more than their younger counterparts, even when race was a relevant topic (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, & Sommers, 2008). Their responses mirrored studies of adults, who also avoided talking about race. Although the researchers concluded that strategic color blindness does not indicate that a person who avoids talking about race is a racist, other studies have revealed the importance of distinguishing between explicit and implicit bias (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Ambady, and Sommers, 2008).

Explicit expressions of bias, measured by asking people directly about their attitudes toward specific social groups, have declined significantly from the past (Dovidio et al., 2002). However, these methods are prone to the influence of social desirability and political correctness, and they do not tap underlying implicit attitudes. Implicit biases are usually outside the level of conscious awareness. It is possible, for example, to know that a stereotype of African Americans as

being less intelligent is false on a conscious level but to harbor such beliefs subconsciously (Devine, 1989; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000).

In a study designed to measure the development of both implicit and explicit biases, different age groups were sampled: 6-year-olds, 10-year-olds, and adults (Baron & Banaji, 2006). Using a child's version of the Implicit Attitudes Test, the researchers found the following: (a) At age 6, implicit and explicit attitudes were relatively similar; (b) at age 10, the beginnings of a dissociation occurred—explicit bias decreased, but implicit bias remained unchanged; and (c) at adulthood, explicit bias dropped even more, but implicit bias did not change. In another study that tested the effects of multicultural competency training in trainees, explicit bias decreased and cultural competence increased, but implicit bias toward African Americans, lesbians, and gay men remained unchanged (Boysen & Vogel, 2008).

Several major conclusions can be drawn:

- At the explicit and conscious levels, we have made great strides in combating prejudicial attitudes and beliefs.

- Although it is possible to change explicit racial biases, implicit ones (e.g., pro-White and anti-Black) remain disturbingly constant from childhood to adulthood.

- Implicit bias is highly resistant to change and a preventive approach (early socialization and learning) is more effective than a remedial one (unlearning deeply ingrained prejudice) in combating prejudice and discrimination.

Talking to children about prejudice and discrimination

Educators and social scientists believe that one of the best ways to combat explicit and implicit bias is to talk to children about prejudice (President's Initiative on Race, 1999). Honest and open racial dialogues between individuals and groups have been identified as important means of racial healing because they lessen the power of racism, sexism, classism, ableism, and heterosexism; make hidden

biases visible; and facilitate understanding of different worldviews (Sue, 2010a). When effectively practiced, dialogue can reduce prejudice, increase compassion, dispel stereotypes, and promote mutual respect and understanding (President's Initiative on Race, 1999; Spanierman, Poteat, Beer, & Armstrong, 2006; Willow, 2008; Young, 2003).

Talking to children about race, disability, sexual orientation, or social class requires consistent and honest communication. Do you understand your own prejudices? Is your life a model for your children on racial issues? Have you exposed your child to diverse friends, neighbors, and other acquaintances and actively created situations of diversity for your child? Are you comfortable interacting with members of different groups and talking on topics of differences, prejudice, and stereotyping?

There is much in social psychological and racial identity development literature to guide us in creating conditions likely to reduce children's prejudice. As previously noted, the basic principles or conditions related to reducing prejudice through intergroup processes were first formulated by Allport (1954) in his contact hypothesis and refined and expanded by the work of other researchers and scholars (Aboud, 1988; Amir, 1969; Cook, 1962, 1978; Gaertner et al., 1994; Jones, 1997). Sue (2003) reworked the conventional four conditions of contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) into seven basic principles of prejudice reduction as a way to make them more useful for managing one's personal life:

- *Principle 1:* having intimate and close contact with others;

- *Principle 2:* accepting cooperating conditions and tasks rather than competition;

- *Principle 3:* sharing mutual goals;

- *Principle 4:* exchanging accurate information;

- *Principle 5:* sharing an equal relationship;

- *Principle 6:* supporting equity by individuals in authority; and

- *Principle 7:* feeling a sense of connection and belonging to others.

To these seven principles, an eighth can be added:

- *Principle 8:* understanding oneself as a racial and cultural being.

White racial identity development theorists have indicated the importance of understanding oneself as a racial and cultural being, the need to examine and understand concepts of Whiteness, and the importance of examining one's own biases (Helms, 1990; Ponterotto, 1988). For example, the level of White racial awareness has been found to be predictive of racism (Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1994; Wang et al., 2003): The less aware participants were of their White racial identity, the more likely they were to exhibit increased levels of racism. However, we should note that these principles presuppose that a person wishes not to be racist. White supremacists are acutely aware of their racial identity, and in some samples, White identification actually predicts racism (Josey, 2010).

These eight principles represent the overarching conditions that must exist to reduce prejudicial attitudes and behaviors. Their implementation depends on the development of appropriate roles and activities that represent the active manifestation of these principles. The recommendations put forth by the APA, the President's Initiative on Race (1999), educators and trainers (Ponterotto, Utsey, & Pedersen, 2006; Young & Russell-Davis, 2002), and studies on difficult racial dialogues (Sue, Lin, et al., 2009; Sue et al., 2010) have been derived from or are consistent with these eight principles. Some of these roles are listed below:

1. *Be a self-explorer:* Work on understanding yourself as a gendered or racial and cultural being. Examine your biases and prejudices as they relate to racial, gender, or class differences. When around people of color or when race-related issues or racial situations arise, ask yourself, "Do I have feelings of uneasiness or outright fear?" This may reveal something about your implicit biases, beliefs, and attitudes. Do not make excuses for these thoughts and feelings, dismiss them, or avoid attempting to add meaning to them. Only if you confront them directly can they be unlearned.

2. *Be a student:* Realize that antiracism, antisexism, antiheterosexism, and anti-ableism education is a constant and ongoing process. You must educate yourself and others on a continuing and ongoing basis. Reading books, seeing movies, and going to hear nonmajority speakers may help enlighten, educate, and free you from your biases. Attend workshops and the many educational events on understanding racial, gender, and sexual orientation put on by local colleges and universities, neighborhood organizations, and other groups. Be proactive and take control of your own learning and development.

3. *Be a role model:* Parents are role models for their children. Being vocal in opposing racist, sexist, classist, or heterosexist views and practices is very important for your children to witness. Invite neighbors, colleagues, and other acquaintances of color from across social classes to your home. Seeing you interacting, laughing, talking, and enjoying relationships with people of color will do much to allay your children's fears, increase their comfort, and facilitate their connections with different groups.

4. *Be an antiracist, antisexist, anticlassist, and antiheterosexist parent:* Raise your children to understand concepts such as prejudice, discrimination, racism, sexism, and homophobia. Encourage your children to interact with and learn from children from all groups while they are young. Take them to school-sponsored events on multiculturalism; do not discourage them from interacting with children of color; and make topics of inclusion, democracy, and antiracism a part of your everyday vocabulary.

5. *Be a teacher:* You can teach your children and family members to value diversity and multiculturalism. The Southern Poverty Law Center, for example, can provide suggestions for what ordinary citizens can do to combat hatred and bigotry. Their *Teaching Tolerance* magazine contains many good ideas and reference pages.

Volunteer to be a Sunday school teacher, parent–teacher association leader, or head of a reading group on diversity, and make sure racial, gender, social class, and sexual orientation equality are part of the curriculum.

6. *Be an activist:* When you see racial injustice, speak out and object. Be willing to challenge your family, friends, and neighbors when they make racist or sexist jokes or slurs about poverty or act in ways that indicate bias. Be vigilant not only with family and friends, but at your workplace, church, and other organizations to which you belong. Work to make sure that your school district and place of employment treat different groups fairly. Serve on groups and committees that have a multicultural agenda.

7. *Be proactive:* Talk with your children about racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination. Help them process television programs, movies, and current events that may have racial overtones or perpetuate negative images and stereotypes of various groups. Help them process biased remarks made by peers, neighbors, and even family members. Talk to them calmly about prejudicial statements they may have made and their discriminatory actions.

8. *Be multicultural:* Create a home environment that honors cultural pluralism by displaying artwork, artifacts, and cherished symbols representative of different groups. Expose your children to children's books about different groups. As a family, attend racial and ethnic holiday events, and view films with diversity themes.

In essence, these roles are all aimed at allowing your children to have intimate contact with people different from themselves, build personal and experiential connectedness with others, glean accurate information about others' lives, and develop an openness to differences.

What Are the Critical Conditions for Moving From Exclusion to Access to Respectful Inclusion, and What Are Strategies for Respectfully Including People Who Are Different?

In 1963, when Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech to the 250,000 people joining the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, he called not simply for equal rights, but instead for respectful inclusion. It was not enough for Blacks to have a seat at the table reserved exclusively for Whites; rather, "the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood." He called for an end to discrimination and predicted that would only happen when people treat each other with the same respect and care they reserve for their own kin.

Today Americans seem to understand King's primary point about the adverse consequences of exclusion, but many still struggle with the more nuanced distinction between simple access and respectful inclusion. For example, opinion polls on the military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy for military service by Americans of minority sexual orientation have shown that an increasing percentage of Americans believe lesbians and gay men should be allowed to serve their country (see Figure 8). But more Americans believe lesbians and gay men should be allowed to serve if they do not disclose their sexual orientation than if they do. The right to serve is certainly preferred over exclusion, stigma, or punishment. However, this is not inclusion. Only the ability to be comfortably out and honest about one's multiple identities would reflect what we call *full and respectful inclusion*.

The consequences of being denied inclusion are severe for targets of discrimination, but even those who presumably benefit from such exclusionary practices pay a price. On this point, civil rights leader Fannie Lou Hamer spoke clearly and boldly:

I'd tell the White powers that I ain't trying to take nothing from them. I'm trying to make

Mississippi a better place for all of us. And I'd say, "What you don't understand is that as long as you stand with your feet on my neck, you got to stand in a ditch, too. But if you move, I'm coming out. I want to get us both out of the ditch. (Beilenson & Jackson, 1992, p. 15)

Building on the work of Helen Neville, and perhaps the spirit of Fannie Lou Hamer, Spanierman et al. (2006) have recently documented what they call the psychosocial costs of racism to Whites. In this section of the task force report, we review the empirical literature on the conditions necessary for an organization, community, school, or nation to shift from a culture of exclusion to full inclusion—the conditions necessary if all are to sit together as in King's vision and leave Hamer's metaphoric ditch.

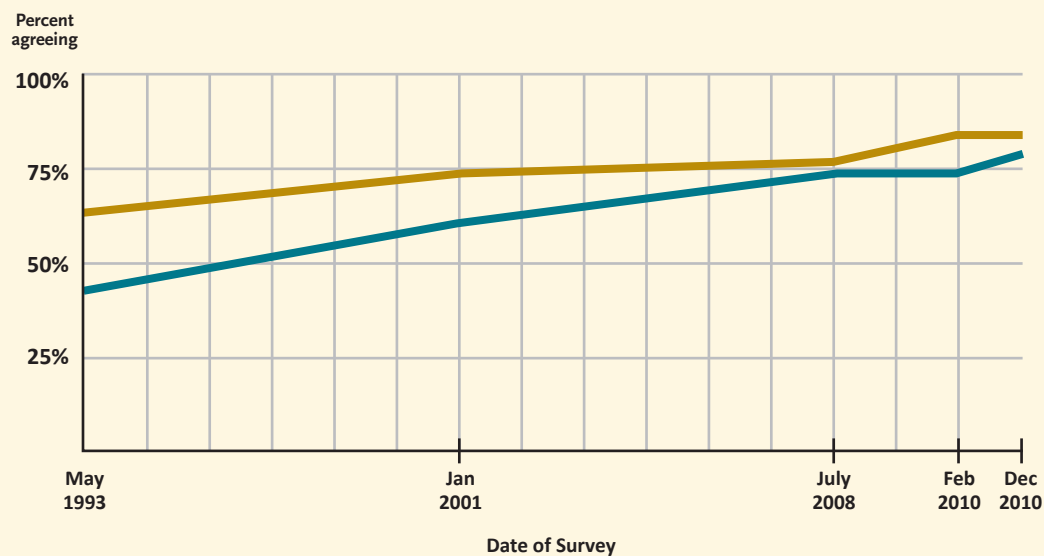## From moral exclusion to full inclusion

That people see distinctions among themselves is not in and of itself discrimination. When those distinctions are used to exclude, demean, silence, or deny full humanity to others, then a problem emerges (Opotow, 2011). Geyla Frank (2000) has written an elegant cultural biography of gender and disability in which she explores the conditions under which people's (nondisabled) views of and anxieties about disability degenerate into systematic exclusion, contaminate their social relations, limit their imagination for health care, and distort the social research on difference. We turn now to consideration of the processes by which communities, institutions, and even research can move from exclusion to more intentional and respectful inclusion.

ABC News/Washington Post Poll

Figure 8. Changes in attitudes toward military policy of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" from 1993 to 2010. Figure 8 is based on data from: ABC News/Washington Post Poll (2010, December 9-12). "Do You Think Homosexuals/Gays and Lesbians Who Do NOT Publicly Disclose Their Sexual Orientation Should Be Allowed to Serve in the Military or Not?" Retrieved from http://www.pollingreport.com/civil.htm.

How individuals, groups, or organizations handle issues of power, oppression, and difference has been explored in many settings (e.g., military, business, education). These issues have been studied with various methods, including surveys, experiments, interviews, and participatory action research, in both psychological laboratories and communities. Researchers have learned from these studies that simple contact is not enough.

Revisiting contact theory

Within the field of social psychology, there is a long history of research on contact theory—studies documenting the conditions under which high- and low-status groups can be brought together respectfully so that new relationships, knowledge, and identities can be formed. In the 1940s, Morton Deutsch and Mary Collins studied relations among Black and White neighbors in an integrated housing project (Deutsch & Collins, 1951). In 1954, Gordon Allport articulated four conditions necessary for positive intergroup relations:

1. equal status,

2. personal interaction,

3. cooperative activities toward a shared goal, and

4. social norms, endorsed by relevant authorities that favor intergroup contact.

Since that time, social, educational, and industrial psychologists have studied in the laboratory and more applied settings the conditions under which integrated schools, housing complexes, military units, worksites, and community organizations provide a sense of belonging, comfort, and shared fates (see Bertram, 2008; Deaux & Ullman, 1983; Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1994; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2011; Tropp & Mallett, 2011; Wagner, Tropp, Finchilescu, & Tredoux, 2008).

Numerous experimental researchers have documented the positive impact of these conditions in the laboratory. The difficulties emerge, however, when researchers leave the laboratory and venture into real-world contexts in which they find histories of oppression and exclusion; social dynamics of mistrust, stereotyping, anger, distance, and derogation; and cumulative biographies of privilege and oppression,

all of which result in relentless defense of the status quo or a sense of despair about the impossibility of change (Paluck & Green, 2009). Braddock, Dawkins, and Wilson (1995) called these findings *inclusion and interaction barriers*. These barriers include, for example, differential expectations, subtle forms of social exclusion, diminished verbal and nonverbal communication, and harassment of the now-included other. A number of diversity scientists have also studied how to overcome these barriers and facilitate and sustain full inclusion.

Building communities of difference

In an article titled "Communities of Difference: A Critical Look at Desegregated Spaces Created by and for Youth," Fine, Weis, and Powell (1997) assessed Allport's (1954) notions of contact and intergroup relations by documenting, across two educational contexts, the limits of contact alone; the adverse educational, social, and psychological consequences of inclusion barriers; and the ways in which access without full inclusion can ultimately reproduce inequitable outcomes. Their analysis corroborated the principles for effective intergroup contact demonstrated by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) and Paluck and Green (2009).

In addition, Fine et al. (1997) reported on outcomes from a third school and provided evidence of how full inclusion can support positive educational, social, and psychological outcomes for historically privileged and historically marginalized youths. In this setting, ninth-grade students from across racial groups and social classes were placed in the same demanding World Literatures classroom, provided academic supports , encouraged to develop a common ingroup identity (as smart students capable of rigorous work), and encouraged to explore their multiple identities as resources for analyzing world literatures. In this "detracking" experiment, the typical racial stratification of academic rigor was undermined, with the students engaged in a heterogeneous classroom and the educators provided with professional development classes on how to support a diversity of learners within the same class.

This case study provided clear evidence that full inclusion requires that

- inclusion barriers are contested and challenged (e.g., in the detracked class),

- educators (and other authorities) are trained in strategies to support full inclusion and support equal-status contact in the classroom (e.g., through professional development), and

- privileged and nonprivileged students are recognized for their distinct contributions and encouraged to challenge the traditional hierarchies of privilege and deficit that permeate classrooms.

As this project revealed (particularly in the first two schools studied), and others have demonstrated since, historically privileged groups are typically hesitant and uncomfortable exploring their privilege. Although Whites in particular reported feeling guilty, ashamed, or uncomfortable, men, heterosexual people, and people without disability also reported high levels of discomfort when discussing privilege, even if they were comfortable addressing issues of injustice as they affect others (see Stoudt, 2009; Stoudt, Fox, & Fine, in press; Torre, 2005).

Full inclusion: Diversity as justice— in terms of access, opportunity, and recognition

Respectful inclusion requires a commitment in a diverse setting to explore varied and conflicting perspectives on history, power, politics, and difference. To facilitate optimal intergroup relations and engagement by all groups, contexts should be designed with a conviction to excavate disparate histories and perspectives, joined with a desire to find common identities. (See van Laar, Derks, Ellemers, & Bleeker, 2010, for experimental and survey material on the importance of ingroup identity for a broader sense of belonging among Muslim women in the Netherlands.) As noted earlier, empirical evidence has confirmed that people can strongly identify with a common group identity (e.g., being American) and a subgroup identity (e.g., being Muslim) without these identities being in competition (Sirin & Fine, 2008).

The following sampling of studies reveals the necessary, if not always sufficient, conditions for full inclusion to be accomplished and sustained. Beyond simple access and contact, evidence has suggested that participants should be encouraged to consider their shared and multiple identities; that in circumstances of contentious historic intergroup relations, histories of oppression and privilege should be discussed; that common ingroup identity should be paired with a commitment to acknowledge and appreciate differences; and that even in sites of full inclusion, safe spaces may still be necessary for low-power groups to secure identity safety (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011).

When Does Access Facilitate Internal Segregation, and When Does Contact Enable Full Inclusion?

In anticipation of the 50th anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*, María Elena Torre (2008) designed a two-part social psychological study of the impact of contact, over time, on White, Black, and Latino and Latina suburban and urban youths attending desegregated high schools. In Study 1, Torre documented the differential experiences of White, Black, and Latino and Latina youths attending the same desegregated high schools in terms of their access to a rigorous curriculum; academic expectations; drop-out, graduation, and college attendance rates; and psychological indicators (i.e., sense of belonging, trust, educational aspirations, and intergroup attitudes). These schools were desegregated by race and ethnicity but stratified within by tracks, discipline codes, and differential expectations. Students of color had access but not full inclusion in these schools.

In Study 2, Torre and Fine (2008) created a multiracial social research and performance institute for a group of diverse youths: elite and relatively low income; self-identified as White, Black, Palestinian, Latino or Latina, and multiracial; straight, gay, lesbian, and questioning; from suburban and urban schools; and in advanced placement courses and special education classes. The study was designed around a full-inclusion setting in which Allport's (1954) conditions were met and extended through attention to multiple identities and analyses of power and privilege. For this study, Torre and Fine tracked the impact of full inclusion on the individual participants for 5 years.

For the Achievement Gap Project (Study 1), Torre (2008) recruited a racially and ethnically diverse group of youths as researchers to study the varied academic, social, and psychological effects of desegregated schooling on diverse suburban youths. Drawing on Allport's (1954) conditions for optimal contact, Torre tested the extent to which desegregated schools met the criteria (e.g., equal-status contact, shared goals, support of authorities) of Allport's conditions. With a participatory action research methodology, Torre trained these youth researchers to design, administer, and analyze a survey completed by more than 10,000 suburban ninth and 12th graders from 12 desegregated high schools about their differential experiences of desegregation. Together, they documented the ways in which desegregated schools typically fail to satisfy Allport's minimal conditions of equal-status contact. Within most desegregated high schools, White students and students of color had significantly different access to rigorous and nonrigorous curricula (via tracking and special education placements) and quite distinct experiences of discipline, suspension, and expulsion policies. In these desegregated schools, as Galletta and Cross (2007) demonstrated in Shaker Heights, Ohio, there was much contact but little inclusion.

In Echoes of Brown (Study 2), Torre (2008) designed a contact zone for respectful inclusion. Over the course of a summer week, young people participated in the Institute on Arts, Social Science, and Social Justice. With adult educators, these youth researchers analyzed the quantitative data from the first study; interviewed civil rights elders; read and listened to lectures on the history of varied human rights struggles in the United States; and explored their own racial and ethnic, gender, class, and sexual identities. They subsequently transformed the material and their understanding and analysis of it into a performance of evidence through dance and spoken word for an audience of 800 adults and youths called *Echoes of Brown* (see Fine, Roberts, & Torre., 2004; Torre, 2008).

Through the institute and the Echoes of Brown performance, Torre (2008) created a context defined by conditions that matched and extended those in Allport's (1954) theory. The students had equal-status contact, explored their differences and multiplicities

with the support of adults and authorities, and worked together on shared goals.

In the institute, youths were encouraged to develop a common ingroup identity (youth researcher and performer) and cultivate their distinct and multiple other identities (e.g., Latino or Latina, musician, straight, atheist, athlete, or Muslim). The youth researcher–performers' educational, racial, and civic identities were tracked over 5 years. The results documented positive shifts among White, Black, Latino and Latina, and multiracial youths characterized by (a) emergent cross-ethnic trust, (b) diminished stereotypes, (c) sustained commitments to finding and creating diverse social spaces, and (d) substantial engagement in civic activism (Torre, 2010). Five years after the Echoes performance, in interviews and focus groups, youths explained that Echoes was a site at which differences and inequities were explored and social justice was assumed to be everyone's responsibility. This provided a transformative learning experience about self and others and an interest in creating deeply respectful sites of inclusion across young adulthood. Over time, a sense of "we" began to take hold.

Most of the youths sought out similarly diverse sites for social justice as they left for college, employment, civic engagement, and other venues of young adulthood. Years later, the participants were found working in urban schools, post-Katrina New Orleans, a Jewish–Palestinian environmental project in Israel, and a Muslim–American youth program in New York City. They said Echoes had shown them how multiracial common work was not only possible but essential for living in a multiracial democracy. Offering key extensions to Allport's (1954) original thinking, Torre and Fine (2008) concluded that full-inclusion sites require young people to be asked to collaborate with equal status and across differences on a common project (not charity, tutoring, or mentoring, but a project of shared fates) in which similarities and differences of power and position are explored, multiple identities introduced as resources for the group task, and their shared project performed or presented to a "worthy" and respecting audience. Torre and Fine's study (2008) demonstrated the alienation and disengagement that

arise in the absence of inclusion and, in contrast, the positive intergroup relations that result from full and respectful inclusion.

How Do Postconflict Societies Establish a Moral Foundation for Diversity and Inclusion After Generations of Exclusion and Oppression?

While María Elena Torre studied diversity in desegregated schools and in a full-inclusion contact zone, Susan Opotow's (2008b) research took up similar questions of respectful inclusion within communities ravaged by war, conflict, and violence. Opotow studied how respectful inclusion was cultivated post–Civil War, post-Holocaust, and post–9/11. She documented how communities that have been torn into disarray rebuild. Relying on laboratory studies, surveys, participant observations, historic archival analyses, and museum research, Opotow offered rich theoretical and empirical answers to the question, "After war, conflict, and devastating histories that have normalized exclusion and injustice, how do communities act to advance inclusion within society?" The answers are complex, and Opotow (2008b) offered a clear voice on the conditions that foster rich inclusion:

> To grasp intergroup relations it is important to understand the scope of justice as it is and how it has changed over time. . . . The willingness to consider fairness, allocate resources, and make sacrifices to support the well-being of other social groups influences how groups interact and whether that interaction occurs with the desire for more egalitarian or oppressive relations. (p. 81)

We turn to Opotow's (2008a, 2008b) post–Civil War research. Opotow relied on historic and archival materials to excavate the fragile history of inclusion, starting with Black communities. Opotow followed both the legal shifts toward official inclusion in mainstream society and the Black communities' internal commitments to building cultural opportunities for development and educational justice. In the American South after the Civil War, Black communities founded their own schools, churches, and benevolent societies.

These benevolent societies (e.g., debate, fire, burial, equal rights, temperance, and drama societies) sought to foster community inclusion so that different people within the Black community (e.g., educated or not, formerly free or enslaved) could work together cooperatively and respectfully to foster community well-being. Foner, (1988, p. 95) writes that:

> Linking Blacks across lines of occupation, income, and prewar status, the societies offered the better-off the opportunity for wholesome and respectable association, provided the poor with a modicum of economic insurance, and opened positions of community leadership to men of modest backgrounds.

This work on respectful social inclusion within communities was concurrent with struggles for systematic legal rights across the broader society. Amendments 13, 14, and 15 to the U.S. Constitution (1865–1870) fostered legislative inclusion at the national level by abolishing slavery and conferring citizenship and civil and voting rights on Black Americans and others.

While these within- and between-group initiatives were being cultivated, White backlash was gaining steam. The efforts of Black communities and national legislation did not have sufficient purchase in Southern White society, where exclusion of Black Americans had been institutionalized for centuries. After the Civil War, prevailing exclusionary norms included the refusal to sell land to Black Americans and the enactment of Black Codes that replicated the coercive employment conditions of slavery. In addition, inclusionary legislative gains at the national level were nullified by terror, torture, and lynching, particularly during the Jim Crow period (ca. 1877 to the mid-1960s), which violently enforced the exclusion of Black Americans from all societal spheres (Garland, 2005).

In the 1930s and 1940s, the prevailing sociomoral and political culture of the South gradually changed with the rise of the Black middle class and the development of vibrant artistic and political communities fostered by New Deal programs, which resulted in increasingly positive and mutually

respectful cross-racial contacts in which individuals and groups could collaborate on common projects (Gilmore, 1996; Woodward, 1957). These efforts gave rise to the Civil Rights Movement (1955–1965), which resulted in the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and Civil Rights Act of 1968 (also known as the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968), the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and Executive Order 11246, signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson on September 24, 1965, requiring government contractors to take affirmative action toward prospective minority employees in all aspects of hiring and employment.

The choreography of inclusion politics has been well articulated by psychologists who have taken on historic, archival research. From these scholars, researchers learn the predictability of resistance to inclusion and strategies to circumvent this resistance, both within and across communities.

With a careful historic lens, Opotow (1997) revealed the small and large, gradual and radical steps toward widening the scope of justice, which, she argued, can be a long-term, intergenerational project during which inclusionary change is inevitably braided with exclusionary opposition. Effective inclusionary work fosters three kinds of justice: distributive, procedural, and inclusionary. This happens by widening the applicability of fairness, redistributing societal resources, and fostering well-being through active, respectful, and collaborative efforts. Although this work succeeds most dramatically when it pervades every sector of society, it can begin with ingroup efforts, as Opotow's (2008a, 2008b) post–Civil War research illustrated.

Opotow, Gerson, and Woodside (2005) contended that efforts to achieve the respectful inclusion of excluded people can be found in many relatively progressive postconflict communities. They noted the importance of inclusionary laws, broad-based organizing, and social movements (e.g., antiapartheid, civil rights, human rights) that foster inclusionary change. The fruits of such collaborative effort are evident at the global level in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations General Assembly, 1948)*, which includes 30 articles enumerating rights that apply to all people. These rights have been further elaborated in additional United Nations covenants, international treaties, regional human rights instruments, and national constitutions and laws.

> *Diversity principle:* In postconflict situations, there is a profound need to struggle for official inclusion as well as safe, separate spaces for community development, to resist backlash, and to deepen ingroup cultural mooring.

How can applied psychologists work with communities and organizations to foster inclusion in contexts marked by intergroup conflict?

Applied psychologists have not only studied the processes of inclusion but have become active participants in facilitating movements for inclusionary justice. In this section, we offer examples to illustrate how diversity science can be applied to address intergroup conflict (e.g., Israel and Palestine) and redress historic oppression (e.g., in South Africa and in relations between people convicted of violent crimes and their victims) through public education, truth and reconciliation commissions, and restorative justice initiatives.

> *Diversity principle:* History, oppression, privilege, and victimization must be analyzed if intergroup relations are to move beyond the past.

PRIME's writing the shared history project

The PRIME project, a collaboration among Jewish and Palestinian teachers, historians, and psychologists, resulted in a middle-school history book on shared, but not common, histories. Based on the concepts of psychologist Daniel Bar-On, the book by Adwan and Bar-On (2004) provides young people with a balanced view from multiple historic perspectives. Each page is divided into three columns: The first column relates the Palestinian narrative of that historic moment, written in Arabic; the second column reflects the Jewish perspective, written in Hebrew; and the third column is an open space for the children to craft their own hybrid stories. The decision to build this curriculum collaboratively reflects the social psychological principle that for intergroup recognition and reconciliation to occur, issues of power, difference, and multiple perspectives must be taken into account.

Confronting the past—Forgiving without forgetting in postapartheid South Africa

Psychologist James M. Jones has written extensively on the relentless damage of sustained racism and the optimistic possibilities of building a just and inclusive society from its many fractured parts. Jones (2006), in his presidential address to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, reflected the stubborn particulars of racism in U.S. society:

> We observe that in spite of all of our efforts to ameliorate racial disparities, in virtually every domain of social and economic life, racial disparities persist and for the most part, have abated very little in the past 50 years if we use a relative rather than an absolute criterion (see Pettigrew, 2004). It is easy to conclude that we are simply a racist society that prefers a status quo that confers automatic racial privilege and preference on those in control. But I do not reach that conclusion. What I conclude is that we need to take a wider view of racial inequality and examine it against the core principles and experiences that seem so easily to maintain it. (p. 885)

In his address, Jones (2006) focused on the processes and values underlying the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the country's new constitution, which asserts,

> Social justice is a fundamental human right. Rather than ignoring the past, the Constitution embraces it. It acknowledges the suffering of the victims of apartheid and honors those who suffered in its overthrow. Yet, inclusion, not exclusion, is the theme of building a diverse society. (p. 909)

Restorative justice movements

As shown in the work of truth and reconciliation commissions, intergroup progress requires a systematic and painful analysis of the past. A number of psychologists have been involved in the restorative justice movement, dedicating themselves to intergroup repair and respectful inclusion through deliberate and difficult conversation, interrogation,

and cooperation (e.g., among people convicted of violent crime and those who have been victimized). Restorative justice has been a guiding value in various movements for social justice after violence and oppression. Some restorative justice projects have included mothers of children killed by violence forming relationships with young people accused of murder (see Miller, 2004) and bereaved men and women in Israel and Palestine who lost children to violence joining together in an antiviolence and antioccupation campaign (Keshet, 2005; Bereaved Families' Forum, http://www.mideastweb.org/familyforumactivitiesbackground.htm).

> *Diversity principle:* In circumstances of contentious histories, moving toward the future requires a critical, difficult dialogue about the past.

In each of these projects, there is an ethical and empirical recognition that repair, healing, and reconciliation require another painful look at history—not to seek consensus, not to attribute guilt, but to reflect collectively and critically and in this way move forward. Full and respectful inclusion requires acknowledgment of past injustice, opportunities for the voices of pain and injury to be heard, and a thorough analysis of continued barriers to inclusion (see Marquez et al., in press, for an analysis of moral inclusion of formerly incarcerated men and women).

Next steps for diversity science: Are identity politics and diversity initiatives compatible?

Are identity politics (e.g., being engaged in African American culture, Muslim religious practices, or feminist or gay identities) incompatible with a broader sense of belonging (e.g., being American)? This anxiety has a long and painful history in U.S. politics. In the early 1900s, Theodore Roosevelt declared "hyphenated Americans" to be a threat to national security (New York Times, 1915, p. 1).

> There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism.... A hyphenated American is not an American at all.... Americanism is a matter of the spirit, and of the soul.... The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be

a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans...each preserving its separate nationality.... The men who do not become Americans and nothing else are hyphenated Americans.... There is no such thing as a hyphenated American who is a good American.

Yet the empirical evidence from the literature on African American identities (Fhagen-Smith, Vandiver, Worrell, & Cross, 2010), Muslim American identities (Sirin & Fine, 2008), Latino and Latina American identities among college students (Deaux & Ethier, 1998), and LGBT identities (Diamond, 2008) has suggested that youths and adults fare well in the United States when they embrace subgroup identities and a sense of being American (see Deaux & Ethier, 1998, on the significance of Latina identity in academic success for Latina students in the Ivy League). In fact, a very positive feature of U.S. culture, although it is now being challenged, is the expectation that one can flourish with multiple identities. Indeed, a massive corpus of social science evidence has demonstrated that identification with a subgroup is not a threat to identifying with the larger national group and for some groups may actually strengthen a sense of national belonging. More important, the only documented exception to this dynamic occurs when marginalized individuals report high levels of discrimination and alienation. Then subgroup identity may grow as national identity shrinks (see Sirin & Fine, 2008; van Laar et al., 2010). To the extent that this negative correlation is documented, it appears that tension results from the experience of sustained discrimination and not to a clash of civilizations. One might conclude that discrimination poses a threat to national security, whereas exploration of multiple identities strengthens the fabric of the nation.

Might Separate Be a Part of Equal?

Throughout the world, and in the United States, many researchers would argue that for equality and respectful inclusion to be realized, marginalized groups also need and deserve dedicated separate spaces. In New Zealand, for instance, the Maori struggle for civil rights is designed around a politic for separate and equal, with campaigns for language-nest preschools; separate university classes; and a recognition of culture, autonomy, and sovereignty as constitutive of a full human rights agenda (Smith, 1999).

Closer to home, there is much evidence on college campuses that particularly marginalized groups of students feel the need for safe spaces (Weis & Fine, 2000, 2005; e.g., ethnic clubs, LGBT organizations, disability rights groups, and Black graduation ceremonies) to develop a sense of group support, be protected from the toxic air of stereotypes, and contend with or challenge the assumptions of the mainstream through protest, humor, shared experiences, and activist research and demands.

Short shelf life of psychological and political categories

There is some concern within the field of multicultural studies, as well as in LGBT studies, that the very categories of identity over which social movements and through which social research have been conducted may be historically limited and viewed as too constraining by today's youths. A growing number of youths now refuse or reject the identity categories that many adults, researchers, and activists take for granted (i.e., Black or Latino; straight, gay, or lesbian; disabled or able-bodied; Barnett & Wout, 2011; Diamond, 2008; Root, 2003b), engaging with new social movements such as Swirl, Mixed, the Census Question Movement, and LGBT. These young people are challenging adults, including researchers, to rethink what diversity means and the very categories assumed to be true. When young people reject established categories of race, gender, sexuality, social class, or disability as too fixed, rigid, and defined, then the question of diversity and inclusion becomes far more complex, often exciting, and always challenging (see the work of Maria P. P. Root, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, and Sabrica Barnett, 2010, on mixed-race youths; and of Lisa Diamond, 2008, on young women and sexual fluidity).

PART 4
Recommendations

As we have shown in this report, stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination have discernible consequences for their direct targets as well as for the families and communities that support and interact with them. We have further documented a variety of psychological processes and mechanisms that exacerbate these effects. However, research has suggested several strategies that can mitigate these negative consequences. Most of the strategies that follow center on educational outreach. Education is a principal gateway to attitude change, and much of the material in this report (e.g., the vignettes) lends itself readily to the creation of educational materials. The task force encourages APA to endorse and take advantage of newer forms of media (e.g., Web-based videos and blogs) to disseminate educational materials, targeting lay populations, including students, educators, and the general public, as well as professionals in the field and APA. The principal recommendations herein reflect the task force's judgment that APA can promote understanding of the psychological science that illuminates the mechanisms of discrimination and the promising pathways to beneficial diversity.

The recommendations in the report are also consistent with the APA Strategic Plan—its vision, mission, and specific goals. The report addresses the vision that APA be (a) a principal leader and global partner in promoting psychological knowledge and methods to facilitate the resolution of personal, societal, and global challenges in diverse, multicultural, and international contexts and (b) an effective champion of the application of psychology to promote human rights, health, well-being, and dignity.

The report is particularly relevant to two Strategic Plan goals: (a) emphasizing APA's central role in positioning psychology as the science of behavior will increase public awareness of the benefits psychology brings to daily living and (b) expanding psychology's role in advancing health will promote psychology's role in decreasing health disparities.

APA Strategic Plan

Given the alignment of the task force report with APA's strategic goals, we recommend that APA look for a range of opportunities to promote the significant role of psychological science in understanding and reducing discrimination and achieving the benefits of diversity. The set of activities included here should focus on the strategic subgoals of decreasing health disparities and applying psychology to everyday living.

Education and Training

There is much information in this report that will be educational and useful to multiple audiences. We have separated the recommendations into those most useful for the public and those that might be better used by psychologists and APA members.

Public information

- Make the task force report and ancillary teaching and curriculum materials available to teachers for use in high school and college classes. We recommend that these materials be developed to include case vignettes drawn from the research evidence, exercises to demonstrate the biasing effects, and a sample curriculum to aid teachers in making the report and its findings effective for classroom activities.

- Develop and distribute educational materials to day care, Head Start, preschool, and kindergarten teachers and parents. We believe it is never too soon to introduce diversity education.

- Develop a variety of Web-based products and interactive materials, including videos that highlight specific sections of the report (e.g.,

teaching children not to be prejudiced and to understand more about the many forms of discrimination).

- Develop a speaker series, to include an annual major lecture in Washington, DC, named for a prominent scholar and a speaker's bureau of experts available to present a variety of diversity and discrimination topics and issues.

- Develop a master lecture series on discrimination and diversity to be presented at the APA Annual Convention.

Educating and training psychologists

- Produce a special issue of the *American Psychologist* to underscore a commitment to diversity on the part of APA and to educate members and professionals in the field.

- Develop a set of graphic materials for distribution by APA members to governance and other groups at conferences and other forums.

- Develop diversity training based on findings from the report that would be presented to APA Council and consolidated meetings and videotaped and edited for use as a major training tool for divisions, state psychological associations, and other organizations.

- Develop networking linkages with other organizations; connect to the Social Psychology Network Prejudice site.

- Collect videos made by teachers, consultants, researchers, and others that address and illustrate the forms prejudice takes, effective approaches for reducing it, and strategies for creating beneficial diversity in a wide range of organizational contexts. These videos could be used at APA meetings and made available online with appropriate monitoring and protections. Present the report and its implications at the National Multicultural Summit.

Research

Although we have reviewed a very large body of research in this report, there continue to be research gaps, underresearched areas, and tests of models and populations that have not been sufficiently examined and compared across settings and over time. Given the growing pressures that dramatically expanding diversity of all kinds may have on U.S. society, and the historically central role psychological research has played in addressing issues of prejudice and discrimination, we feel this is a perfect time for APA to take the lead in forging a vigorous and vital research agenda on discrimination and diversity. We offer several recommendations in line with this view:

- As we noted in the introduction to this report, a vast majority of the research has focused on bias and discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity. This body of work has produced many outstanding findings and has well documented the overt and subtle forms that race and ethnicity bias takes and with what consequences. However, do these well-established empirical findings and explanatory mechanisms apply in the same way to bias based on other factors such as gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, disability status, and immigration status? We encourage more systematic research on the sources and consequences of bias aimed at targeted groups beyond race and ethnicity.

- We also know that much research that has demonstrated mechanisms for the reduction of intergroup bias has not been broadly tested with other groups. Thus, we recommend systematic testing of different methods singly and in combination relating to bias and stereotype reduction toward a variety of target groups. As far as we are aware, there is no evidence that some bias reduction strategies are less (or more) effective for some groups than others. If we find that different methods are more effective for some target groups relative to others, we would then conclude that the underlying processes of prejudice toward some groups may be different than for others.

- We strongly recommend that intersectionality be a major research focus for both funding and publication priorities. The research literature

has tended to focus on individuals on the basis of their most salient group membership (e.g., race, gender, age, social class). However, everyone belongs to multiple groups, and the intersection of group membership within individuals, known as *intersectionality,* is a growing and underresearched issue. Biracial individuals have gained some attention, but there are many others who fit an intersectional criterion. Psychologists have significantly advanced our understanding of intersectionality in the lives of everyday people and in our research designs (see Cole, 2009, for comprehensive analysis of this issue).

- Studies documenting various forms of discrimination and bias and their effects far outnumber those that address the challenges and benefits of diversity. Moreover, little is known about the psychological trauma endured and coping mechanisms used by those who diversify or integrate nondiverse settings. We recommend more research attention to these individuals and groups.

- We propose convening a meeting focused on examining the empirical, evidence-based interventions that have been shown to reduce discrimination, bias, and prejudice and compiling a best-practices handbook for use by practitioners and organizational leaders.

- We believe APA should take the lead and convene an interdisciplinary conference to examine the issues of discrimination and diversity and set a broad interdisciplinary research agenda that will serve the increasingly diverse U.S. population in the years ahead.

- Although the benefits of integration, particularly under supportive enabling conditions, are well

documented, a series of research and policy questions about the process of integration, the collateral consequences, and the predictable backlash deserve further attention. Three areas are particularly important for future research: (a) a full review of color-blind and diversity ideologies: Who benefits and under what conditions? (b) evaluation of when integration means assimilation and when it produces backlash and the dynamics of inclusion in applied settings; and (c) systematic investigation of the significance of identity safe spaces in integrated settings.

Clinical Practice

Many practitioners provide psychological or organizational services to people who are engaged in some form of difficult, stressful, or even violent interaction across group boundaries. Practitioners in clinical and applied settings have an excellent opportunity to bring the findings and recommendations of this report to the people and settings they serve.

- Make the report of the Task Force on Discrimination and Diversity available to practitioners who work with members of diverse groups, communities, and organizational settings.

- Develop curricula and workshops on discrimination and diversity for continuing education programs for practitioners.

Advocacy

Government relations staff should extract policy implications from the report, develop appropriate fact sheets, and disseminate this information to policymakers and federal agency leaders through the convening of meetings, briefings, and other events.

PART 5
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