UPDATES AND IDEAS FOR "A LEVEL" PSYCHOLOGY

No.1 - 10 Articles for PYA4: Social Cognition

Kevin Brewer

Contents

1. Attributional Bias: Ideas and Applications

Attribution is the process of explaining other people's (and our own) behaviour. Usually the explanation is based on something about the person (eg: personality characteristics) (known as dispositional attribution) or something in the environment (eg: other people) (known as situational attribution). How we judge whether behaviour is caused by dispositional or situational factors is far from objective, and is influenced by attributional biases or errors.

OPTIMISTIC BIAS AND HEALTH RISKS

Optimistic bias is linked mainly to the perception of risk and "occurs when people are more optimistic than objective statistics warrant" (Buchanan et al 2002). This has also been called the "illusion of safety in a risky world" (Thompson et al 1996).

It can be applied to the perception of health risks. Weinstein (1987) asked participants to rate their risk of particular health problems, like cancer or tooth decay, as compared to people of the same age on a seven-point scale from "much below average" to "much above average". For most of the thirty-two health problems used, the participants tended to rate their risk as below average in some way (table 1.1). This is the optimistic bias at work.

HEALTH PROBLEM	MEAN COMPARATIVE RISK JUDGMENT*
drug addiction	-2.17
asthma	-1.36
tooth decay	-0.58
skin cancer	-0.77
insomnia	-0.57

* -3 ("much below average") to +3 ("much above average"); 0 = average risk

(After Weinstein 2003)

Table 1.1 - Five health problems and perceived risk.

Joffe (1999) has found similar optimistic bias about contracting HIV/AIDS irrelevant of the actual lifestyle risks (eg: unprotected sex). Over two-thirds of her sample of Britons and South Africans stated that their chances were below average for the illness. This has implications for health messages when individuals are assuming that they will not be at risk.

JUST WORLD HYPOTHESIS AND BLAMING THE VICTIM

The just world hypothesis is the attributional bias that people receive what they deserve (Lerner 1980). In other words, blaming the victim for their misfortune.

Jones and Aronson (1973), in the classic study here, found a tendency to blame the victim of rape if she was wearing provocative clothes, or was divorced, compared to a virgin in fictional scenarios.

More recently, Bohner et al (1998) confirmed these results with male students, finding a positive correlation between rape myth acceptance (RMA) and proclivity to rape (RP). RMA is agreement with statements that blame the victim (eg: a woman walking alone late at night in a short skirt is asking for trouble), and RP is the acceptance of rape as measured by the "Attraction Towards Sexual Aggression" scale (eg: "many women really want to be raped").

This research was particularly interested in "date rape" using fictional scenarios. So, for example, the "date rape" was not perceived as an offence when there was a history of intercourse between the couple, or when the woman had agreed to go to the man's house after the date (Brewer 2000).

Finch and Munro (2005) took this type of research further using two focus groups and a rape trial simulation in a pilot study. They used the scenario in which two people, who are acquaintances, met at a party and subsequently had sex. Three factors were varied: the type of intoxication (alcohol, ecstasy, Rohypnol); the means of administration (by self or secretly by other); and the level of intoxication. What the researchers were looking at, among other things, was the perceived responsibility of the victim as she later accused the other person of rape.

These are the main findings:

i) "In the majority of cases in which the victim had voluntarily ingested either alcohol or recreational drugs, participants were in broad agreement that she ought to bear some responsibility for the subsequent intercourse" (pp30-31);

ii) More of a concern was that some participants blamed the victim when her drink was spiked suggesting that she should have taken greater care of her drink;

iii) There was a "surprising level of condemnation for victims of rape who were intoxicated, even in situations in which their drinks had been interfered with without their knowledge" (p36).

It is not a question of whether the victim is to blame, but how the victim's responsibility is perceived, which, in the case of the just world hypothesis, is to blame them for their misfortune. This has implications for jurors in such cases.

Lupfer et al (1998) felt that there are strong and weak just world believers who have distinctive attributional styles. The strong believers are more distressed by seeing unfair outcomes for others (as well as themselves). These individuals have a strong need to find an explanation for the unfairness, and thus are more likely, if there is no other obvious explanation, to blame the victim to reduce that distress. Lupfer et al used sixteen stories with varying degrees of fair and unfair outcomes with 183 participants.

SELF-SERVING BIAS AND CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES

Self-serving bias is where individuals attribute success to their own abilities or effort (dispositional attribution), and failures to situational attributions (eg: chance, nature of task, unfairness) (Nisbett and Ross 1980). However, this idea has come from studies in the US (and the West), and it may not be universal.

For example, Kashima and Triandis (1986) gave US and Japanese students studying in America the difficult task of remembering pictures of unfamiliar countries. The task was deliberately difficult to see how the students would explain their few successes and many failures.
The US students behaved as the self-serving bias would predict, while the Japanese students were opposite. They attributed their failures to dispositional factors (eg: poor memory), and their successes to chance. This is called the "self-effacement bias" or the "modesty bias" (Smith and Bond 1993).
Table 1.2 lists the results of other cross-cultural studies on the self-serving bias reported by Smith and Bond (1993).

DRIVING BEHAVIOUR AND ATTRIBUTIONAL BIASES

Attributional biases can be seen in how individuals perceive driving situations, like accidents or being "cut up".

1. Actor-observer bias

A different explanation is given for the same

STUDY	COUNTRY/ETHNIC GROUP	SHOWED SELF-SERVING BIAS

Fry & Ghosh (1980)	Canada: 8-10 year-olds
	   - white
	   - Asian Indian
		
		yes
		no

Chandler et al (1981)	students and academic success
	   - USA
	   - Japan
	   - India
	   - South Africa
	   - Yugoslavia
		
		yes
		no
		yes
		yes
		yes

Wan & Bond (1982)	Hong Kong Chinese
	   - anonymous questionnaire
	   - personalised questionnaire
		
		yes
		no

Boski (1983)	Nigeria: adults
	   - Ibo
	   - Hausa
	   - Yoruba
		
		yes
		no for success/yes for failure
		yes

Watkins & Regmi (1990)	Nepal: students	 no

Table 1.2 - Examples of cross-cultural studies on self-serving bias.

behaviour between whether I or you do it; eg: "I had an accident because of the icy road" (situational attribution), while "you had an accident because of your bad driving" (dispositional attribution).

2. False consensus bias

The tendency to believe that everybody behaves in the same way as I do, and that my views are shared by the majority of people.

In one experiment, 1500 drivers were asked if they had committed any of sixteen driving violations (eg: speeding). Those who admitted committing any of them tended to assume most people had also done the same when asked to estimate what percentage of the driving population committed the violations. They overestimated the number of people, while non-violators underestimated the numbers (Manstead et al 1992; quoted in Parker and Manstead 1996).

3. Illusion of control

Individuals tend to perceive their risks of an accident as much less when driving (control) compared to as a passenger (lack of control). This is an illusion of

controlling events.

McKenna (1993) asked ninety-nine students and staff at Reading University to judge the likelihood of an accident for an anonymous driver and passenger on a scale of -5 ("much less likely") to 0 ("average") to +5 ("much more likely"). The mean estimate for the driver was -1.41 and +0.01 for the passenger.

Then sixty-one staff had to judge the risk in twelve scenarios involving high and low levels of control. In all cases, the driver's risk was always perceived as less than the passenger.

This same illusion of control has been found with motorcyclists in the UK (Rutter et al 1998). In this research, the motorcyclists rated their own risk of injury (-2.17) as far less than other motorcyclists (-0.81) and car drivers (+0.21) (where 0 = average).

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2. Prejudice and Discrimination Against Homosexuality

Prejudice and discrimination against homosexuals is often called homophobia. Pellegrini (1992) preferred to talk of homophobias:

a) Men against gay men;
b) Men against lesbians;
c) Women against lesbians;
d) Women against gay men.

"Heterosexism" is another term used. This is the assumption that heterosexuality is the only way, and thus stigmatises any alternative sexual orientations (Masters et al 1995).

Hudson and Ricketts (1980) devised a self-administered questionnaire to measure attitudes towards homosexuality called the Index of Homophobia (IHP). There are twenty-five questions, and five responses available (from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree"). Table 2.1 gives some examples of items. The higher the score, the higher the degree of homophobia. As a self-administered questionnaire, it depends upon the respondent being honest, which is open to question with this topic.

POSITIVE ITEMS	NEGATIVE ITEMS
1. I would feel comfortable working closely with a male homosexual	3. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my neighbour was homosexual
5. I would feel comfortable knowing that I was attractive to members of my sex	9. I would feel disappointed if I learned that my child was homosexual
11. I would feel comfortable knowing that my clergyman was homosexual	24. I would feel uncomfortable knowing that my son's teacher was homosexual

Table 2.1 - Examples of items from the Index of Homophobia.

Prejudice and discrimination against homosexuals has manifest itself in many ways. Baird (2001) listed the current forms of persecution regularly experienced by sexual minorities today around the world to include unfair arrest, beatings, persecution at work, bullying at school, imprisonment, and execution.

1. Psychiatry

In 1980 the American Psychiatric Association (APA) removed homosexuality from the DSM classification system of mental disorders [1], and it was removed from the International Classification of Diseases (WHO 1992) in 1993 by the World Health Organisation.

Attempts to "cure" homosexuals in the same way as sufferers of phobia have been used in psychiatry in the past, and is still advocated by some today (eg: psychoanalyst Charles Socarides) (Kitzinger 1999).

Though the APA officially declared such therapies as ineffective and harmful in 1997, there is popularity in the US for such ideas. For example, in 1998, Exodus workshops were widely advertised in US newspapers showing smiling ex-gays who had been through "conversion" or "reparative" therapy (Kitzinger 1999).

While in other parts of the world, such techniques (including brain and genital surgery or electric shocks) are commonly used against the individual's will (Amnesty International 1997).

Romesburg (1995) listed some of the "cures" tried for homosexuality since the 19th century. They vary from "prostitution therapy" (forcing gay men to have sex with female prostitutes), hypnosis, hormones (to "butch up" gays and "femme out" lesbians), "beauty therapy" (good make-over for butch lesbians) to lobotomy (used in the US until the 1950s), and aversion therapy (with electric shocks).

2. Law

Homosexuality is illegal in over seventy countries of the world, and punishable by death in seven (Baird 2001).

Other laws enforce discrimination. For example, in the mid-1980s, the Queensland state government in Australia passed a law making it illegal to serve alcohol to "perverts and deviants" (which included homosexuals). While only in 1997 did the Tasmanian state government, in another part of Australia, decriminalise homosexual sexual practices (Hogg and Vaughan 2002).

Discrimination in the law in terms of marriage, inheritance, and custody of children, among other things, abound around the world (Kitzinger 1999).

3. AIDS

The perception that AIDS is related to being

homosexual (2) remains despite the fact that infection can occur in many ways (other than just through homosexual sexual practices) (3), and that the number of cases among heterosexuals is ever-increasing. AIDS is thus used as a "legitimate" justification for discrimination (4).

Figures of assaults on gay men, for example, in the US showed similar levels pre and post-AIDS, suggesting that "AIDS is probably less a direct cause of the aggression than an excuse to allow the assailant to justify committing the hate act" (Nardi and Bolton 1991).

4. In Academia

The British Psychological Society (BPS) has a number of specialist sub-groups for its members, and in December 1998 the Lesbian and Gay Psychology Section was set up.

This was not without opposition - three previous proposals turned down; abusive letters and emails to the proposers; and 1623 votes against by BPS members (more than other ballot) and 1988 in favour (Kitzinger 1999). The American Psychological Association had set up the "Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian and Gay Issues" in 1984.

5. Education

Human Rights Watch (2001) compiled a report about the experiences of being a lesbian, gay or transgender student in US middle and high schools. One study quoted in the report recorded that anti-gay comments were made on average every seven minutes in Iowa public schools.

Teachers only intervened in three percent of cases, and usually when "straight students are targets of homophobic harassment". "Unfortunately, when school officials respond only after a straight student is 'mistakenly' targeted, they reinforce the notion that lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender students are not worthy of protection" (Human Rights Watch 2001 p31).

a) Verbal and non-physical harassment

Most of the 140 US pupils and students interviewed by Human Rights Watch in 2000 reported verbal abuse. The most common term used was "fag" or "faggot". "Chance M" felt that those terms were not playing around: "A few times, I'm sure that's true. But a lot of times it's pure hate" (Human Rights Watch 2001 p35).

Mallon (1998) interviewed fifty-four gay and lesbian teenagers, and found that verbal abuse was experienced as hurtful as physical abuse because of the effect upon

self-esteem.

"Miguel S" told of a whispering campaign, in his junior high school, that he had AIDS, while "Dylan N" reported fake love letters to other boys in his name. In one Texas school, graffiti saying "all gays must die" appeared (Human Rights Watch 2001).

b) Sexual harassment

The most common form of sexual harassment reported was being touched in an unwelcome way. Two young lesbians said: "People would grab my breast area", and "They'd come up and grab my waist, put their arm around me".

Reports showed that lesbian and bisexual teenagers received more sexual harassment than other groups at high school (Human Rights Watch 2001).

From a different point of view, Clarke et al (2004) performed discourse analysis on interviews with lesbian and gay parents about homophobic bullying of their children. The children were not necessarily gay or lesbian. The parents were faced with a dilemma: "damned if they report bullying and damned if they do not" (p547).

6. Worldwide

The negative attitudes towards LGBT individuals occurs all around the world, and at all levels of society. For example, in 1995, Zimbabwean President Mugabe called homosexuals "worse than pigs and dogs" while attacking the organisation, Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) (Baird 2001).

It has not mattered the political persuasion of the governments that set up anti-homosexual policies. The Nazis in Germany sent up to 100 000 individuals convicted of "sexual degeneracy" to concentration camps, while "homosexual deviants" were put in rehabilitation camps in Cuba by Castro in the 1960s.
The US Senate Commission ("McCarthy witch trials") in the 1950s removed 600 "sexual perverts" from government jobs as a security risk. Under the military government in Argentina, attempts were made to "finish off" homosexuals in the 1970s (Baird 2001).

7. Masculinity

Kimmel (1997) argued that the predominance of

prejudice and discrimination against LGBT individuals was due to the fact that traditional masculinity is intrinsically homophobic: "As adolescents, we learn that our peers are a kind of gender police, constantly threatening to unmask us as feminine, as sissies.." (p234), and violence is often the strongest indicator of "being a man".

Thus picking on others (verbal or physical violence) allows the perpetrator to establish that they are "safe" (masculine) as opposed to the victim who is not.

FOOTNOTES

1. In DSM-II (APA 1968), homosexuality was named as a classification under "Sexual Deviations". While in DSM-III (APA 1980), "Ego-dystonic Homosexuality" (EDH) was used: "a sustained pattern of overt homosexual arousal that the individual explicitly states has been unwanted and a persistent source of distress" (p282). This category was dropped in DSM-IIIR (APA 1987).

Currently in DSM-IV (APA 1994), there is "Sexual Disorders Not Otherwise Specified" for "persistent and marked distress about sexual orientation" (p538). Kutchins and Kirk (1997) pointed out that "psychiatrists have seemingly agreed not to call their clients homosexual, although they have indirect ways of identifying homosexuality" (p91).

2. Originally AIDS was called "Gay-Related Immune Deficiency" (GRID) in the late 1970s and early 1980s as the first cases were recognised in gay men in the US (Nardi and Bolton 1991).

In the 1980s in the US, there was also "AFRAIDS", which was a hysteria against the gay community during the Reagan administration (Nardi and Bolton 1991).

3. McDonald et al (2000) looked at the received mode of transmission of HIV/AIDS of 925 Australian cases of people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). For men, 84% received it through homosexual contact, but for women, 66% of cases were through heterosexual contact followed by 17% injecting drug use.

4. For general work on stigma, prejudice and discrimination towards PLWHA, see, for example, Parker and Aggleton (2003), and Reidpath and Chen (2005).

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3. Forms of Prejudice and Discrimination

The organisation, Stonewall (2003) undertook a survey of 1700 adults in England, and Stonewall (2004) interviewed a number of the sample in detail. In the first study, 64% of respondents expressed a prejudice against a minority group.

The second study distinguished five types of prejudice:

i) Unintentional prejudice - attitudes and behaviour that the holder does not realise are prejudice. They are often based upon stereotypes or ignorance about the prejudiced group;

ii) Cathartic prejudice - attitudes and behaviour known to be prejudice, but justified by the holder to make them appear acceptable. The prejudiced view is supported by statistics or apparent facts, for example;

iii) Benevolent prejudice - the expression of a positive view which in reality is discriminatory; eg: physically disabled are helpless and need looking after (Hall 2005);

iv) Banal prejudice - prejudice that passes unnoticed in everyday conversation, either unintentional or otherwise;

v) Aggressive prejudice - open and explicit prejudice.

Prejudice and discrimination can be manifest in varied ways other than the obvious ones like hostile talk or aggression.

1. Reluctance to help

"Cross-race" helping in bystander experiments is sometimes less frequent than same-race helping, sometimes more frequent, and sometimes there is no difference (Batson 1998). The reason for bystander intervention are mainly situational, and this can explain the contradictory findings: for example, norms of helping or not in a particular situation.

2. Tokenism

Hogg and Vaughan (2005) defined this as the "practice of publicly making trivial concessions to a minority group in order to deflect accusations of

prejudice and discrimination" (p368). But the larger (or more important) moves to reduce prejudice and discrimination are ignored.

3. Reverse Discrimination

Hogg and Vaughan (2005) saw this as a more extreme form of tokenism. It involves the special effort of favouritism towards a minority group, usually publicly, which can have short-term benefits in reducing prejudice and discrimination, but probably not long term changes. It is sometimes hard to know if attempts to reduce prejudice and discrimination are genuine (affirmative action) or token, especially by politicians.

4. Social Stigmatisation

Stigmatisation is the treatment of a group in society in a devalued way because of particular characteristics that the group possesses.
The stigma is often seen as justification for the prejudice and discrimination. For example, the stigma of obesity in Western societies can be seen as originating from the belief of a lack of self control in eating by obese individuals, and thus acceptable to discriminate against. Stigmatisation allows the legitimation of inequalities (Hogg and Vaughan 2005).

5. Attributional Ambiguity

In situations of ambiguity, prejudice and discrimination will show itself in how the observer perceives and attributes the behaviour observed. Hogg and Vaughan (2002) quoted the case of an African-American lawyer trying to get into his office late at night who was assumed to be breaking in by a white observer.

Duncan (1976) showed this process at work experimentally. White US students were shown two men interacting on a video (with no sound) which ends with an "ambiguous shove" by one of the men. The ethnicity of the two men was varied as either both black, both white, or mixed. Duncan was interested in how the observers would interpret the "ambiguous shove" - playful or aggressive.
If the person shoving was black, forty-four of forty-eight students saw it as aggressive or violent, and only one as playful. But if the shover was white, eleven students perceived it as playful, and eighteen of forty-eight as aggressive or violent behaviour. The remainder, in both cases, described the shove in other terms (eg:

dramatic). Interestingly, Duncan (1979) found similar results with black observers.

More recently, Payne et al (2004) have updated a classic experiment on perception and ethnicity by Allport and Postman (1947). Payne et al showed participants a photograph of a gun or a tool for 100 milliseconds after seeing either a black or white face for 200 milliseconds. The participants had to guess immediately if it was a gun or a tool, and then they could reflect for a few moments before a second guess.

The participants were more likely to initially guess a gun, when it was a tool, after a black face was shown. However, the second guess was always correct.

6. New Forms of Racism

Traditional racism has been based upon the perceived biological superiority and inferiority of certain groups (Teo 1999). "New racism" (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies 1983), appearing in the 1970s in Britain, stressed the cultural differences between ethnic groups.

It was an attempt to play down the overt racism of the past, which is now illegal in many countries, and can be summed up in the oft heard phrase "I'm not racist but..(generalisation about particular group)".

Pedersen and Walker (1997) interviewed a sample of 223 Perth (Western Australia) whites (in 1994) about their attitudes towards Aborigines. Factor analysis of the replies produced two different (though related) categories of prejudice. The first type was "old fashioned prejudice" shown by open rejection of Aborigines, and 21.2% of the sample showed this. The second type was "modern prejudice" which involved a subtle rejection while open acceptance. This was found in 57.9% of the sample.

McConahay (1983) talked about "modern racism" as different today compared to racism in the past because it does not seem to be racism (ie: it is presented as being based on facts). For example, in the US, it is accepted that there was discrimination in the past, but now African-Americans have the opportunities to compete for equality. Yet, it is argued, they want more than just a fair share.

The belief that minorities are now asking for too much is a characteristic of "modern racism". This can be seen in the response in New Zealand to campaigns over Maori land rights: "People want special rights because Maori" (white New Zealander speaking on "Crossing

Continents" 2004; BBC Radio 4).

"Modern racism" manifests itself in different forms:

i) Ambivalent racism - A general sympathy for minorities and the discrimination they experience, but also the belief that they caused their own plight (Katz and Hass 1988).

ii) Aversive racism - Shame and negative feelings about past prejudice and discrimination leads to an avoidance of the minority now or the acceptance of overt racism today (Gaertner and Dovidio 1986). It can be "unconscious and at odds with one's self concept" (Crocker et al 1998 p515).

iii) Symbolic racism (Kinder and Sears 1981) - This is the idea that prejudice is expressed covertly by supporting certain traditional policies. For example, in the US, rather than criticising the racial desegregation of schools, white individuals would attack the policy of "busing" (which is taking black children to schools in white areas) (McConahay and Hough 1976).

iv) Dysconscious racism - King (1994) defined this as "an uncritical habit of mind..that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given" (p338). This tacitly accepts the dominant white norms and privileges. These become accepted as part of the self-identity, and thus challenges to them are seen as challenges to the self (producing feelings of guilt).

King reported research with US students answering the question: "How did our society get to be this way?" A content analysis of responses revealed three categories of explanations: (a) racial inequality as a result of slavery; (b) denial of equal opportunities for African-Americans; and (c) framework of society in which racism is normative. But few responses were classified as category (c).

7. Racism Beyond Black and White

The traditional assumption is that racism is based in skin colour (black/white). But racism can also exist between ethnic groups.
Darcus Howe, in 2004, investigated cases of racism between "blacks" (ie all non-whites) in Britain in the

Channel 4 documentary "Who You Callin' A Nigger?".

He was most disturbed to hear, what he called, traditional white racist messages being spoken by one ethnic group against another. For example, in the conflict between young West Indians and young Somalians in Greenwich, south London, the West Indians interviewed said things like "they all look the same" or "they got it good here". While the Somalians called the West Indians "niggers".

In another interview, an Asian business owner in the West Midlands, who employed West Indian staff, echoed old fashioned white prejudices by talking about how West Indians were lazy. These crude forms of racism are now no longer acceptable from the white population, but it was a concern to Darcus Howe about their appearance among different ethnic minorities.

Inter-ethnic conflict can be seen in the rioting in Lozells, Birmingham on 22nd October 2005 which left one man dead. Lozells is an inner city area with high unemployment (22%), and tensions between Pakistani and West Indian communities. The rioting was said to have been sparked by allegations of the rape of a fourteen-year-old black girl by Pakistani men.

The conflict between the two communities is evident in the comments quoted by the newspapers (eg: Syal 2005) (table 3.1).

PAKISTANI	WEST INDIAN
- rape was false allegation and perfect excuse to loot shops: "Someone has invented a story about a young girl being raped by a Pakistani to justify a smash-and-grab raid" (Abdul Hussain)	- fighting back against "predatory Pakistani men": "That lot think they can do whatever they want, including rape our women. Now they know they can't" (Maxwell)
	- allegations printed on website that rape involved nineteen Pakistani men (police struggling to find any evidence of rape - Syal 2005)
	- local radio station reminds listeners of previous (alleged) sexual assaults by Asian men (Pendlebury 2005) [1]

Table 3.1 - Examples of statements by both communities showing intergroup conflict.

FOOTNOTES

1. Radio can be very powerful in encouraging violence.

Radio campaigns in Rwanda for a "final solution" to remove the "cockroaches" (Tutsi) were implicated in massacres in 1994. In approximately one hundred days from early April onwards, over 800 000 Tutsi and moderate Hutus were massacred by Hutus (majority of population) ("Rwanda: The Genocide Fax" 2001; History Channel) (Keane 2004).

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4. Theories and Research on Intergroup Conflict since Tajfel

USING SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY TO EXPLAIN INTERGROUP CONFLICT

"The pervasiveness of classification into social categories as a bedrock of intergroup relations is evident in all strata of social life.." (Crisp 2002 p612). While Haghighat (2001) felt that with the increasing forms of communication and media, it "makes us codify and categorise more than ever before".

The Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979; 1986) (and minimal group paradigm) proposed that ingroup/outgroup conflicts developed from social categorisation, social identification, and social comparison of others. It focuses upon the thinking (cognitive aspect) involved in prejudice.

These ideas have been worked upon by other researchers.

1. Positive-negative asymmetry effect (PNAE) (Mummendey et al 1992)

One key aspect of the Social Identity Theory was the favouritism towards the ingroup with rewards (positive outcome) and discrimination against the outgroup. But when it is the allocation of negative outcomes (eg: unpleasant tasks, punishments), this favouritism and discrimination does not occur. Mummendey et al (1992) called this the "positive-negative asymmetry effect" (PNAE).

Support comes from Amiot and Bourhis (2005), who used 197 students from a French language college in Montreal, Canada, and a business game for their experiment. Two groups ("W" and "K") were formed by a coin toss for each participant. Part of the game was to allocate salary increases (positive outcome) or decreases (negative outcome) to both groups.
Three types of salary allocation were used (in the tradition of Tajfel): parity (P), maximum differentiation (MD), and maximum joint profit (MJP) (table 4.1).

In the first part of the experiment, pre-consensus phase, the participants decided alone about salaries. Here there was ingroup-outgroup discrimination for both positive and negative outcomes. Also individuals in those groups with more power (which was randomly allocated)

	SALARY INCREASE	SALARY DECREASE
PARITY	same amount to ingroup (eg: 5%) as to outgroup (eg: 5%)	same amount to ingroup (eg: 5%) as to outgroup (eg: 5%)
MAXIMUM DIFFERENT- IATION	large increase to ingroup (eg: 15%) and small increase to outgroup (eg: 5%)	large decrease to outgroup (eg 15%) and small decrease to ingroup (eg: 5%)
MAXIMUM JOINT PROFIT	slightly larger increase to ingroup (eg: 9%) as to outgroup (eg: 6%)	slightly less decrease to ingroup (eg: 3%) as to outgroup (eg: 6%)

Table 4.1 - Types of salary allocation used.

discriminated more.

In the consensus phase, the group members discussed their decisions, and, finally, the post-consensus phase of the experiment, the individuals made their decisions alone again. In the latter two phases, group members discriminated less on salary cuts than on salary increases, as predicted by PNAE (table 4.2).

Individuals more likely to choose:	POSITIVE OUTCOME	NEGATIVE OUTCOME	PNAE
PRE-CONSENSUS PHASE	MD	MD	opposite to predicted
CONSENSUS	MD	MJP or P	support
POST-CONSENSUS	MD	MJP or P	support

Table 4.2 - Principles of the results in Amiot and Bourhis (2005).

However, there are situations where PNAE does not apply, and discrimination occurs for both positive and negative outcomes. These situations include being a member of a minority or low status group; or in an environment that legitimates discrimination for a good cause (Amiot and Bourhis 2005).

2. Social Identity model of Deindividuation phenomena (SIDE) (Reicher et al 1995)

Reicher et al (1995) proposed the Social Identity model of Deindividuation phenomena (SIDE) as a development on the Social Identity Theory. Using the idea

of deindividuation (loss of individuality) from crowd research, SIDE argued that increasing the visibility of ingroup members or cues (like group symbols) increases immersion in the group, and thereby increases ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination.

This process is further enhanced where the outgroup has the power to sanction ingroup members. In other words, the ingroup bond together stronger when under perceived or real attack from the outgroup, and the ingroup emphasises its group norms and/or distinctiveness.

Put another way, the visibility of the ingroup increases support to each other, and encourages the expressions of aspects that draw sanctions from the outgroup.

Reicher et al (1998) undertook the first experimental studies of this theory. Fifty-eight psychology undergraduates at Exeter University were used in an experiment based on student and staff views on university activities.

A list of activities was produced that contained three categories of items:

i) Normal activities for students which staff would find acceptable (known as "A"); eg: "there is no point in being at university if one doesn't take full advantage of the social life";

ii) Normal activities for students which staff would punish ("P"); eg: "it is fine to give false excuses if one didn't prepare for a seminar";

iii) Activities not normal for students ("CN") (control condition); eg: "one should never cheat at exams".

The students rated their support for eight items on a scale of one to seven, either in booths alone ("in-group low-visibility condition") or in the presence of other students ("in-group high-visibility condition"). SIDE predicted that in the latter condition, the students would be more aware of their ingroup (students) and the outgroup (staff), and thus emphasise this by higher ratings on "P" items. For these items, when alone the mean was 2.32 compared to 3.21 in the "in-group high-visibility condition".

This was the third of three experiments by Reicher et al (1998), and the other two (using pro and anti-fox hunting as the ingroup and outgroup) did not find results that clearly supported SIDE.

USING SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY TO REDUCE INTERGROUP
CONFLICT

Brown (2000) pointed out that three main theoretical developments have occurred since the Social Identity Theory in relation to the benefits of contact and reducing intergroup conflict. They all are based around changing the salience of group identities.

1. Decategorisation: The Personalization Model (Brewer and Miller 1984)

Brewer and Miller argued that during contact between ingroup and outgroup, the salience of group boundaries should be reduced. In other words, to play down the differences between the groups. This should make individuals relate as individuals (rather than as stereotypes or group members), and reduce negative stereotypes.

Bettencourt et al (1992) created two artificial groups ("overestimators" and "underestimators") for their experiment. Then they combined individuals from both groups to do various tasks. Half the groups were instructed to focus upon the group members ("personalised" condition), and the other half to concentrate upon the task ("depersonalised" condition).
Afterwards, individual members were allowed to allocate rewards to others. Participants in the "personalised" condition showed no favouritism towards their group identity as "overestimators" or "underestimators", and no bias against the outgroup.

However, this may only apply with the majority. Minorities in such experiments showed the opposite results to above (Brown 2000).

2. Common In-Group Identity Model: Recategorisation of group identities (Gaertner et al 1993; 1999; Gaertner and Dovidio 2000)

The aim here is to subsume the previous ingroup and outgroup identities into a new "super-category". For example, "English" (ingroup) and "Scottish" (outgroup) subsumed as "British".

Gaertner et al (eg: 1989; 1990) created artificial groups in their experiments by varying the seating arrangements to produce a single group, two groups, or lone individuals. Individuals who went from two groups in the first part of the experiment to one single group in

the second part showed less bias to outgroup members (in
the first part of the experiment) compared to those
participants who remained in two groups in both parts of
the experiment (table 4.3).

	CONDITION A	CONDITION B	CONDITION C
PART 1 formation of group identity	2 groups - ingroup/ outgroup	2 groups - ingroup/ outgroup	individuals (control)
PART 2	1 group - new "super- category"	2 groups	individuals

Table 4.3 - Three types of conditions in Gaertner et al
experiments.

Both of these approaches do not necessarily
generalise to reduce prejudice towards outgroup members
outside the experiment. Also the lab experiments used
group categories which had little significance to the
participants outside the experiments (Brown 2000).

3. The Distinctive Social Identity Model: Meeting typical
outgroup members (Hewstone and Brown 1986)

This approach is different to the previous two
because it emphasised maintaining group boundaries. To
reduce prejudice against the outgroup, individuals in the
ingroup need to have pleasant encounters with
stereotypical outgroup members.

Brown et al (1999) designed an experiment involving
an individual co-operative encounter between sixty-four
British participants and a German (confederate of the
experimenter). The German was either stereotypical or
not. The participants had to rate their attitudes towards
Germans after the experiment. The most positive attitude
came from the stereotypical condition (mean 6.43 out of
7) as opposed to the non-stereotypical condition (mean
4.32).

But if the co-operative interaction fails to achieve
a common goal or becomes competitive, then prejudice will
be increased towards the outgroup (Brown 2000).

Another approach to reducing prejudice through
contact involves social categorisation along multiple
dimensions (Cross-Categorisation Model).

CROSS CATEGORISATION MODEL (eg: Crisp and Hewstone 2000a)

The focus in the past was upon single categories (eg: male or female), whereas modern research has looked at social categorisation along multiple dimensions together (eg: young, black, male or old, white, female).

Experimental work has been done to show the use of multiple dimensions in social categorisation. Crisp, Hewstone and Cairn (2000) had participants in Northern Ireland "stories to read from the local newspaper" which varied the information about the characters involved and whether the events were positive or negative.

A short while later (forty-five minutes), the participants were given a surprise memory test about the articles read. Recall was linked to multiple social category membership rather than single categories. For example, single category membership would be Catholic participants remembering more positive facts about Catholics in the stories read. But awareness of multiple category membership meant that female Catholic participants recalled more information about female Catholics. This is an awareness of the interactive function of both categories - female and Catholic - rather than a separate new category of female Catholic.

"A consequence of activating more than a single basis for social classification is that 'others' can be classified as both the same as us and different from us at the same time" (Crisp 2002 p612).

Thus there are a number of possibilities for the evaluation of others by, for example, a young male:

a) Other young males share both social categories "young" and "male", and are "double ingroup members";

b) Young females are "mixed-category members" being similar (ingroup) on "young", but different (outgroup) on "female";

c) Elderly males are "double outgroup members" being different on both social categories.

But how are individuals with multiple social categories evaluated? For example, a young Welsh disabled male (four social categories) can evaluate others in three possible ways (Crisp 2002):

i) Additive model - the degree of similarity is important. Thus other young Welsh males (three categories) are perceived more favourably than Welsh males (two categories);

ii) Social inclusive model - any individual in one of the four social categories will be viewed as the ingroup; ie: anybody who is young or Welsh or disabled or male, and anybody with the opposite categories are the outgroup - not young, or not Welsh, or able-bodied or female;

iii) Equivalence model - all social categories, whether similar or not, are viewed equally.

However, the judgment of others as ingroup or outgroup is not fixed, but varies depending upon:

a) Mood

Individuals in a neutral mood showed the social inclusive pattern, but those participants put in a good mood (with positive feedback) showed the equivalence model; ie: they showed little ingroup favouritism and outgroup prejudice (Crisp and Hewstone 2000a).

b) Superordinate social categories

Some social categories are more inclusive than others (eg: "British" is more inclusive than "English", which is more inclusive than "Londoner").

Crisp and Hewstone (2000b) asked participants to recall names after a "filler" task. A "filler" task occurs between seeing the names and recall, and aims to influence which names are recalled. The "filler" task was to decide whether a personality characteristic was positive or negative, and reaction was measured.

Faster reaction times to positive traits and slower reaction times to negative traits were used as measures of the evaluation of the names. The names were either male or female, typically English or Welsh, and the participants were from the same social categories. Also sometimes on the computer screen "we" was flashed for 50 milliseconds (faster than conscious perception) (or sometimes "xxxx" or "they").

The use of "we" was meant to trigger superordinate categories, and support the social inclusion model. Reaction times were faster for positive personality characteristics (and slower for negative ones) for any name that shared at least one social category compared to the double outgroup names. For example, for English male participants, shared social category names were English male, English female, and Welsh male ones, and the double outgroup was Welsh female names.

c) The number of social categories

Crisp, Hewstone and Rubin (2001) found that, in experiments involving many social categories together (university attended - Bristol or Cardiff; psychology or non-psychology students; female or male; living in university accommodation or not; 18-21 years old or older; born in or outside the UK), led to participants not using social categories to evaluate others but treated them as individuals.

This experiment was based upon Tajfel et al's (1971) "reward matrices", and found little difference in the allocation of rewards to ingroup or outgroup members when such multiple social categories were used. This supported the equivalence model of social perception.

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5. Different Types of Prejudice and Discrimination: Individuals with Facial Disfigurement

It is estimated that up to 400 000 people in Britain have some kind of disfigurement to their face, hands or body. Some of the disfigurements are there at birth (eg: cleft lips, birthmarks) or others occur later in life through burns or cancers (Salmon 2005).

Physical appearance is very important in modern society, and no aspect more so than the face. Williams (1998) noted how "facial appearance is marketed in a vigorous manner. In this culture, the disfigured individual is highly challenged" (p20). Salmon (2005) listed the number of cliches using the word "face", like "losing face", "face value", or "put a good face on things".

This manifests itself in negative stereotypes of disfigured individuals (as opposed to the positive stereotypes of physically attractive individuals), which includes the "baddies" in popular culture having disfigurements (eg: in comics or films) [1] [2].

Historically individuals with any form of disability were viewed as less than human, and, at the extreme, murdered (eg: Hitler's "Final Solution" applied not only to Jews but also to physically and learning disabled individuals as well as homosexuals among others) (Hogg and Vaughan 2002).

Stevenson and McKay (1999) showed how multiple disability can produce even greater prejudice and discrimination. The researchers set up job application scenarios with students and personnel professionals. The scenarios involved four applicants - an individual with facial disfigurement, an individual with facial disfigurement and also a wheelchair user, a wheelchair user, and a control individual with none of the above.

The qualifications were kept constant throughout the four conditions, and the disabilities had no influence on the ability to perform the jobs. Table 5.1 gives the results which showed discrimination against the individuals with disability.

Importantly, then, there is a need to change the negative attitudes towards facial disfigurement. Bull and Rumsey (1988) summarised some of the main research.

i) Children - discussion and role play about disability generally led to significant positive changes in attitudes towards disability.

LIKELY TO RECRUIT	YES	NO	NO ANSWER
Applicant:			
Facial disfigurement	6	5	3
Facial disfigurement and wheelchair user	1	8	5
Wheelchair user	8	2	6
Control	15	0	0

(After Stevenson and McKay 1999)

Table 5.1 - Number of participants and attitudes to recruitment of different applicants.

ii) Adults - "personalisation" (giving personal information) of the individual can produce sympathy and more favourable attitudes in many cases.

iii) Media - positive role models in television programmes and adverts leads to attitude change, but not necessarily behaviour change towards individuals with disability. This is a problem in many areas, like health, that attempts to change behaviour for the good. Experiments can produce short term positive attitude changes, but no long term or actual behaviour change.
The charity "Changing Faces" attempts to present positive images through advertising with slogans like "Don't let the way I look affect the way you see me" (Salmon 2005).

FOOTNOTES

1. The baddies in "The Lion King" is called "Scar", and in "Batman Forever", "Two-Face" has facial disfigurement (Partridge 1997). McGrouther (1997) mentioned "Freddie" in "Nightmare on Elm Street".

2. McGrouther (1997) questioned the research from Evolutionary Psychology that suggests "that symmetry of body or facial form implies attractiveness" and that symmetrical men have more sexual partners and more satisfying relationships than asymmetrical people.

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6. Social Construction of Racism

INTRODUCTION

Traditional View

Miles (1989) said that racism created a system of categories by which to include and exclude individuals. The social cognitive approach assumes the creation of these categories to be bias or distorted, "which can generally be traced back to universally shared shortcomings in human cognition" (Wetherell and Potter 1992 p36).

But principally the process is an individual one - "the perceiver remains a lone individual, forming, apparently in isolation, their account of 'racial' traits on the basis of the actual similarities and differences of the individuals s/he encounters" (Wetherell and Potter 1992 p41).

The most obvious category is that of "race", though this has no biological basis. Lewontin (1987) suggested that only 7% of genetic variation exists between major "races", while 85% exists between individuals within the same "race".

Banton (1987) placed the development of the concept of "race" with the Victorians' attempt to divide the world into a hierarchy.

Social Constructionist View

Within the social constructionist explanation, racism is first and foremost a socially shared phenomena based on discourse.

Wetherell and Potter (1992) clarified that racism is not just words, but the use of words make the accepted history in which, for example, racial violence exists.

Social constructionism most importantly challenges the individual nature of the stereotyping process. The process is social in nature. Wetherell (1996) talked about "communal texts". Racism is constructed through discourse, which is based on accepted values. For example, in the 1987 Conservative Party, manifesto "race" appeared in the same section as "the fight against crime" (Condor 1988).

The discourse as always is more than just the speech an individual makes, but it is linked to the creation of identity as the individual has internalized narratives throughout their lives. A simple example would be children echoing their parent's racist statements.

This is a long term process which is very much

linked to an individual's social position. But it is
never finished. Though the construction of identity (and
racism) has a history (for example, in the UK, the slave
trade), it is more than the "mere recovery of the past"
(Hall 1990 quoted in Wetherell 1996b). "It is a
continuing process rather than an already accomplished
fact" (Wetherell 1996b p225).
    The whole emphasis is on the discourse of racism -
"the structure and organisation of people's accounts,
sense-making, rationalizations and justifications"
(Wetherell 1996b p228).

    Making sense of the social world and constructing
prejudice can be seen in an example of a US Special
Forces Officer in Afghanistan. He says that there are no
good people in Afghanistan: only "good-bad", "bad-good",
and "bad-bad", and everybody is "on the take" for some
reason. He is, of course, "good-good" (Correspondent -
Special Forces: Taliban Patrol" 2003; BBC Television).
Such views construct how the officer experiences the
world, and makes it "acceptable" for him to discriminate.

RACIST DISCOURSE

    The idea of "racist discourse" concentrates on how
speakers are "trying to present an account (of the world)
in a way which seems coherent and logical.." (Wetherell
1996). In other words, it is the construction of reality
rather than simply reporting what is seen.
    Said (1981) talked of "communities of
interpretation": "No one lives in direct contact with
reality. Each of us lives in a world actually made by
human beings, in which such things as the 'nation'.. are
the result of agreed-upon convention.." (pp41-42).

    The attitudes in society towards certain ethnic
minorities can be part of "racist discourses" (Wetherell
1996). "Discourses" are the shared and accepted ideas of
the time which define reality. For example, politicians
making anti-immigration speeches set the agenda that
allows prejudice against such groups to be acceptable.
    For example, Margaret Thatcher made the classic
"swamped" speech during the 1979 General Election
campaign: "The British character has done so much for
democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the
world, that if there is any fear that it might be
swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile
to those coming in" (quoted in Cochrane 1992). Though
this speech is not overtly racist, it sets the agenda
where racism and "racial attacks" can be justified as
defending "British culture".

Immigration Debate Today

     The recent extension of these ideas relates to
immigration and asylum-seekers. Rod Liddle (2005) made a
documentary for Channel 4 Television, entitled
"Immigration is a Time Bomb", in which he argued that
"unlimited mass immigration and no imperative to
assimilate and integrate the incomers" had led to
problems. He argued against immigration because "we need
space; we need room to breathe" (ie: Britain is "full").
Over twenty years later the same arguments (in a
different form perhaps) are being presented.

     While Sir Andrew Green (2003) of Migrationwatch UK
criticised the Government's failure to stop "mass
immigration": "Clearly, we are seen as a soft touch" (1).
The writer confuses refugee with migrant worker as is the
case with many articles. The UK media used fifty-one
different terms to describe asylum seekers in 2002-3,
including "parasites" and "scroungers" (OU 2003a).
     The Press Complaints Commission (2003) issued a
statement about the coverage of issues relating to
refugees and asylum seekers:

          By way of example, as an "asylum seeker" there
          can be no such thing in law as an "illegal asylum
          seeker"..An asylum seeker can only become an
          "illegal immigrant" if he or she remains in the
          UK after having failed to respond to a removal
          notice.

     Studying Dutch attitudes, Verkuyten (2005) found
confusions over the terms "immigrants/migrant workers"
and "asylum seekers/refugees", particularly influenced by
the media's use of language like "bogus asylum seeker" or
"real refugee". Also the 147 student participants (in the
two parts of the experiment) tended to explain the
behaviour as choosing to come to Holland or forced to
(ie: fleeing persecution), irrelevant of whether
immigrants or asylum-seekers.
     An example of the former was Jan:

"You choose to, er, live in, live in (sic) a certain
country and then, well, you shouldn't moan about stuff
like your own culture and what not, you should simply
adapt and, er, and at home you can do as you please"
(excerpt 1 p229).

     Marie is an example of seeing individuals as forced
to come to Holland to flee persecution:

"But they did end up here and it wasn't out of their own

free will. They have no choice, it's that or die. See, in cases like that you've got a moral obligation to, well, when people are having a rough time or are being persecuted in their own country, to offer them shelter and a space where they can be themselves" (excerpt 4 p230).

Those participants who emphasised the choice to come were less supportive of multiculturalism (mean of 3.83 out of 7 for choice versus 4.21 for lack of choice where higher score is more supportive of multiculturalism).

National Identity

Individuals justify their prejudiced behaviour by referring to the "discourses" in society for support. One of the most common is "national identity" or "nationalism". Put simply, "local arguments may refract and reproduce historical ideologies" (Durrheim and Dixon 2001).

Cashmore (1987) interviewed eight hundred white individuals in the West Midlands, and showed how prejudiced attitudes were embedded within the logic of defending "English culture": "If we accept that people are ordinarily conservative, then we can grasp a certain logic in their response to change" and so "Racism in modern society typically arises in defence of the established order of things".

Cashmore quoted the example of a white company director who justifies his anti-immigration views through such "discourses" and ideas. The individual's prejudiced comments are embedded in arguments that link to the shared meanings that are obvious to the listeners.
The director says, for example, "..there's a lot who come in just to draw the dole. I personally think we'd be much better off if nobody could draw national assistance until they's been in a job for six months. They come here and, within a month, they're living off the state.." (Cashmore 1987 p167). Here he has linked to a number of shared meanings (Brewer 2002):

a) England cannot afford to pay everybody benefits;
b) I work hard for my money and do not want to subsidise "lazy" people;
c) "They" are trying to take advantage of our welfare system;
d) "They" are trying to take what is mine;
e) Such behaviour is not right.

Thus his prejudiced attitudes appear entirely

rational by this logic. He says in other words, I am just doing what everybody does and protecting myself, my family and my country.

This ignores the fact that the world is not a fair place and historically Britain has benefited (and still does) from the exploitation of Third World countries. But the director's views are part of a social context, which the media reinforces.

Stories of "black people as scroungers" are common in the British tabloids; eg: "Jobless Abdul.. on 470 a week" (Daily Mail 1984 quoted in Gordon and Rosenberg 1989).

In a particular ward (Newtown) in Birmingham, the "National Democrats" (formerly the National Front) have part up candidates in the 1980s concerned with takeover by "foreign" culture. All the emphasis is upon the white residents as the minority (though only one-third of the residents were non-white) (Ellis Cashmore "Us and Them" 1996; BBC Radio 5).

The debate about being "British" or "English" is often linked to being "white", yet this is clearly a multi-racial society and has been for at least half the 20th century. Yet, for example, "The Sun" in 1990 praised a black Conservative Party parliamentary candidate for describing herself as English, not black (Gabriel 1994).

Much of everyday talk links into common underlying meanings that individuals within the same group or society will understand. These are linked also to stereotypes. Politicians exploit such fears to gain votes. Mundy (1995) noted the link between "racial attacks" and British National Party support in East London.

Changing Discourses

It is important to note that the racist discourse is not static. The basis in the past was "biological inferiority", but now this is less acceptable.

Dixon (1996) uses an example from "Spearhead" (a right wing publication advocating repatriation). The article is written as if to suggest that it is not motivated by just racial prejudice. "Repatriation is portrayed as a rational and necessary, if entirely regrettable, course of action, rather than an expression of irrational hatred" (p31).

In Holland, van Dijk (1987) performed 183 open interviews between 1980-85 with "Dutch racists". These individuals communicated their views in such a way to

avoid the charge of being racist by using rhetorical devices:

     i) Credibility - reference to an expert source to back up arguments; eg: "science has shown" (whether that is true or not);

     ii) Positive self-presentation - giving good reasons for the prejudice; eg: emphasising own strength which prejudiced group does not have, like working hard;

     iii) Negative self-presentation - producing a bad picture of the prejudiced group; eg: reporting unpleasant examples of the prejudiced group.

INTERNATIONAL EXAMPLES

New Zealand

     Wetherell and Potter (1992) showed how white politicians in New Zealand justified their refusal of Maori land claims, not as prejudice, but as sensible behaviour. Phrases used include: "You cannot turn the clock backwards"; "Resources should be used productively and in a cost effective manner"; "Present generations cannot be blamed for the mistakes of past generations"; or "We have to live in the 20th century". What is important is the "social and collective nature of these maxims" (p178).

     Taylor and Wetherell (1999) interviewed forty-one New Zealanders resident in Britain, and found similar discourses used about Maori land claims, including:

     a) The Maori do not have special claims because they were not the first settlers, but the Morioris were: "..they only just got there 900 years before the Europeans.. So I don't think there's anyone who's a true New Zealander except perhaps the tuatara lizard" (interviewee K; p53).

     b) Maori "are not authentic because they have intermingled with white New Zealanders": "..you'd be hard-pressed to find one Maori in New Zealand now that is full Maori blood.." (interviewee H; p53).

     How New Zealanders make sense of their national identity is what matters here, and racism is within this context. Racist comments are about countering the claims of Maori as much as racism based on hatred. This can be seen in the contradictory position of pride about the Maori: "If you ask a New Zealander to perform some sort

of action or song or thing that identifies themselves as
New Zealand the only thing they really do is Maori"
(extract 22; Taylor and Wetherell 1999 p55).

South Africa

Dixon and Reicher (1997) referred to the "social
construction of the foreign". This is done by defining
"normality" in a particular way, and then showing how the
other group violates these norms. This can be seen in the
following example from South Africa.
Overt racist comments are no longer acceptable in
post-apartheid (new) South Africa, but discourses of
segregation and exclusion based on race, without
necessarily using that term, still exist.
Durrheim and Dixon (2001) did a qualitative analysis
on four hundred newspaper articles between 1982 and 1995
about the segregation of beaches. The discourse of "it is
obvious that blacks spoil things" was used to continue
segregation even after apartheid ended.
The manifestations of this discourse varied during
apartheid (black militants spoiling family fun) to post-
apartheid ("unmannerly and uncivilised conduct" spoiling
family fun).
The first type can be seen in a report in the
"Mercury" newspaper (3/1/87): "..a group of about 60
young black men and women.. created a hostile atmosphere
when they started chanting ANC songs.." (extract 5 p442).
A letter to the same newspaper in 1991 showed the second
type of use of the discourse: "..During that time we
witnessed the township dwellers' manners and dress codes
- loud music, naked breasts, men's skimpy underpants.."
(extract 11 p445).

FOOTNOTE

1. The UK was ranked eighth in the EU in asylum
applications received at the time Green wrote his article
(Open University 2003a). Furthermore, the Confederation
of British Industry (CBI) confirmed that migrant workers
neither took jobs from native Britons nor drain public
expenditure. Migrants contributed £2.5 billion a year to
the UK economy in 2002-3, it was estimated (Open
University 2003b).

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7. Individuals with Mental Illness, Stigmatization, and Problems of Reducing Prejudice

INTRODUCTION

Prejudice and discrimination can manifest themselves as the stigmatization of certain individuals. A stigma is:

(A) "mark" that sets the person out from others because they have undesirable characteristics. This leads to rejection. If a person is hospitalised for mental illness, they are thus labelled and stigmatised as "dangerous, incompetent and untrustworthy" (Brewer 2001 p21).

Stigmatization shows itself in the negative perception of mental illness, particularly that sufferers are dangerous or unpredictable.

A MORI survey, as part of the BBC's "Don't Fence Me In" (1996) campaign, found that seven in ten respondents felt an increased risk of violence from individuals with mental illness with "Care in the Community". This figure varied between 55% of 18-25 year-olds, and over 80% of over 65s.

This perception is very different to the reality of violence by individual with mental illness which "account for a minute proportion of society's violence" (Taylor and Monahan 1996). "Individuals are more likely to be attacked by someone they know or, if the attacker is a stranger, the stranger is unlikely to be suffering from schizophrenia" (Brewer 2001 p53).

In a US study of 622 adults in 1996, Phelan et al (2000) found a significant increase in concern about violence compared to data from 1950. In 1950, 7.2% of respondents spontaneously mentioned violence relating to mental illness compared to 12.1% in 1996.

For Haghighat (2001), the process of stigmatization is made worse by the increase in the number of television, radio, and "cyberspace news stations":

If in the mid-20th century the word "schizophrenia" brought to mind the stereotype of a 'mad' person to the exclusion of their other qualities, now it is likely to have a real-time translation into a visual stereotype that is more concrete and more immediate than the semantic stereotype because "cameras don't lie" (p207).

ORIGINS OF STIGMATIZATION

Haghighat (2001) saw a number of factors in the origins of stigmatization of mental illness:

i) Constitutional origins

These are aspects of how the brain processes information about the social world. Perception is selective, and tends to make use of categories and shorthands in making sense of the world.

This is sometimes called the "cognitive miser" model (Taylor 1981), and views the brain "as a kind of overworked bureaucrat whose filing system was not keeping up with all the paperwork.., and who, as a result, uses all manner of shortcuts to keep up with the flow of information" (Wetherell 1996 p194).

For example, "..repeated episodes of violence by one or a few people with mental illness are likely to be interpreted as individual episodes of violence committed by the category of patients with mental illness" (Haghighat 2001 p207). Thus develops the stereotype that people with mental illness are violent and dangerous, and so become stigmatized.

Furthermore, the brain tends to notice (and thus emphasise) rare and negative events in perception. Two stories, for example, about mental illness and violence in one month will be noted and linked as mental illness and violence "all the time".

ii) Psychological origins

Haghighat believed that "stigmatisers benefit from the presence of the stigmatised" because it helps the former make sense of the social world. For example, derogating others helps to bolster self-esteem - "I am not as bad as them". (This can be linked to the Social Identity Theory).

Also there is the "just world hypothesis" (Lerner 1980) which is the belief that individuals get what they deserve. By blaming the individual for their misfortune, we are able to psychologically protect ourselves against random events (Lipkus et al 1996). Believing that we would not do that, we feel that we are safe from such misfortunes. But this is an attribution process, it is not necessarily how the world is.

iii) Economic origins

In a competitive (and self-seeking) situation, like modern society, stigmatization of others reduces their threat. For example, competition for highly paid jobs can be reduced by accusing the mentally ill of not being fit to have such jobs (only menial or low-paid ones).
From a Marxist point of view, stigmatization (as part of prejudice and discrimination) is an inevitable part of modern capitalism (eg: Cox 1970).

iv) Evolutionary origins

This explanation sees the genetically "weaker" individuals being stigmatized because they will not succeed in the "survival of the fittest". In evolutionary terms, mental illness is seen as genetic, and these are evolutionary non-adaptive genes. Thus exclusion from resources helps the "evolutionary strongest" to succeed (eg: Stevens and Price 1996 and depression). This argument is very controversial, and limited in evidence (Brewer 2003).

REDUCING STIGMATIZATION

"The breadth and depth of mental illness stigmatization make challenging it appear to be an overwhelming task" (Watson and Corrigan 2005).
Dealing with stigmatization of individuals with mental illness does not have a simple solution, but, for Haghighat (2001), any programme of destigmatisation must have a number of levels:

a) Educational intervention

For example, "enhanced social desirability induced by campaigns of public education". Education can help individuals to "consciously override the initial stereotype and replace their reaction with one based on more accurate information that most people with mental illness are not violent" (Watson and Corrigan 2005 p284).

Read and Law (1999) made use of the design of persuasion experiments to produce positive attitude changes, among 126 first year psychology undergraduates (average age 20.6 years old) in New Zealand, towards aspects of mental illness. Attitudes were measured before the experiment, and then immediately after the fourth lecture, using a semantic differential scale.
The experiment was based upon four lectures by clinical psychologists challenging the negative

stereotypes of mental illness, and emphasising
psychosocial contributions like child abuse. There was
also an emphasis on understanding causes; ie: mental
illness as reaction to life events (1).

The undergraduates showed significant changes in
perception of "safe-dangerous", "unpredictable-
predictable", and in total attitudes score after the
lectures (table 7.1). However, the greatest positive
change was for undergraduates who had had contact with 1-
2 people with mental illness. The study did not measure
behaviour change in the longer term.

MEAN SCORES	BEFORE LECTURE	AFTER LECTURE
safe (1) - dangerous (7)	4.33	3.93
unpredictable (1) - predictable (7)	2.69	3.06
Total attitude score	29.26	27.94

(After Read and Law 1999)

Table 7.1 - Most significant (p = 0.001) attitude changes
before and after the lectures.

Factual education campaigns, like the actual level
of violence by individuals with mental illness, can have
some benefits. Corrigan et al (2002), on behalf of the
National Alliance for the Mentally Ill (NAMI) in the US,
compared education on dangerousness to education of
causes of mental illness using factual information.
Attitude changes were measured in a number of ways -
perceptions of dangerousness, social distance (eg:
willingness to meet or work with individuals with
mental illness), willingness to donate money to NAMI, and
whether individuals are to blame for their condition.

Both groups in the experiment showed improvements on
the first three measures, but the education on
dangerousness produced an increased blame of the
individual (while the other group showed a decrease).

But:

        (T)he pressure involved in counterstereotyping
        messages given to people in anti-stigmatization
        protests.. might make people comply on the surface,
        while surpressing their stigmatized attitudes,
        so the overt acts of discrimination are either
        converted into subtler forms or inhibited, with
        the possibility of strong rebound..
                        (Haghighat 2001 p210).

Haghighat pointed out that lecturing at people that individuals with mental illness are not dangerous is like telling a person with flight phobia that aeroplanes are safe. One way of dealing with such phobias is to use classical conditioning to remove the negative associations with flying and aeroplanes. Applied to stigmatization of the mentally ill, contact with sufferers would be the equivalent.

b) Contact between stigmatiser and stigmatised

Contact can both succeed and fail in reducing stigma and prejudice. It is effective where the contact person is "typical" of the stereotype (but with an extra positive characteristic; Wilder 1984), and when contact is equal-status co-operation. But sometimes the contacted individual is viewed as an exception and the stereotype remains. Also guilt and discomfort can prevent positive attitude changes in the long term (Monteith 1996).

Meeting positive examples of the stereotype has to be seen in the context of other factors, like negative news reports, and economic factors. A failure to generalise any reductions in prejudice can also occur.

Wolff et al (1996) looked at contacts between local residents and individuals in a hostel (as part of "Care in the Community") in south London with the closure of Tooting Bec Hospital, and a campaign to encourage contact. The researchers found a general improvement in attitudes towards the mentally ill among the residents from a mean of 2.25 to 1.97 on a five-point scale for "fear and exclusion", but no change in "social control" or "goodwill".

More residents moved out of the street over the next two years (37% of 102 residents studied) compared to the control street (25% of 113 residents). Concern about a "drop in house prices" was voiced to the researchers at initial interviews by 20% of residents. It is not clear whether these were the individuals who subsequently moved out. Furthermore, the nature of the area did have a relatively transient population.

There is a situation of conflicting attitudes - positive ones about the mentally ill individuals met against the price of property. In such situations, the stronger attitude will win out.

Haghighat suggested that providing forums for residents to voice their concerns (fears and anxieties) could help in situations like the Wolff et al study.

In a US study, Corrigan et al (2001) found that contact with a person with mental illness led to positive attitude changes greater than education, protest, or

control group.

c) Legislation

Watson and Corrigan (2005), as part of their "targeted model of stigma change", proposed legal programmes against, for example, employers for failing to employ individuals with mental illness or landlords to lease property.

However, simply having laws that punish discrimination can be of limited benefit in one sense, in that "the public would choose the easiest route: holding onto their pre-existing attitudes while justifying their new behaviour with the necessity to avoid the sanctions in force" (Haghighat 2001 p212).

As with the principles of operant conditioning, the use of legal rewards (eg: for having employee quotas) as well as the legal punishment can be better to change attitudes and behaviour.

d) Political level

Work by Sherif (eg: 1966) showed that co-operation on joint goals can reduce intergroup conflict. But this has to be seen in the context of the political ideology of the society. Co-operation at a local level has to be reinforced by co-operation at a societal level, and encouragement by political leaders. Modern Britain does not tend to have politicians producing messages of co-operation (rather the opposite - lots of "them" and "us").

Research from the US showed that organised protest can influence media representations of mental illness, but not necessarily change individual's attitudes. Concerning the former, in 2000, NAMI set up "Stigma Busters" which campaigned against a fictional portrayal of a person with mental illness as a dangerous killer in "Winterland". Through targeting the television company, ABC, and its sponsors, the programme was cancelled (Watson and Corrigan 2005).

However, for individuals, protests may not change attitudes and leave the possibility of the rebound effect (ie: a worsening) through resistance (Watson and Corrigan 2005).

CONCLUSIONS

Stigmatization of individuals with mental illness is like all forms of prejudice, difficult to remove

completely, and any attempts at reducing it must make use of multiple techniques together. One set of techniques, often overlooked, is those used against mental illness itself, namely therapies. Prejudice and discrimination can be addressed by behaviour therapies, for example, in the same way as they are applied to mental illness. Why not see stigmatization, prejudice and discrimination as mental illness?

FOOTNOTE

1. Studies which emphasised the opposite (ie: the biological origins of mental illness) have found mixed results - there is less blame on individuals with mental illness for their condition, but there is more belief that they are "innocent and childlike", and need looking after. Furthermore, biological explanations could imply that individuals with mental illness have no control over their behaviour, thus making them unpredictable (Watson and Corrigan 2005).

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8. Prejudice and Crime: Physical Attacks and Harassment

INTRODUCTION

Allport (1954), in the classic psychology text, "The Nature of Prejudice", described five levels of prejudice behaviour:

1. Anti-locution - hostile talk about/towards the prejudiced group;

2. Avoidance - keeping a distance and not mixing with the prejudiced group;

3. Discrimination - unfair treatment of group members;

4. Physical attack;

5. Extermination - the ultimate level of prejudice is to want to remove the prejudiced group from existence. This has sometimes been called "ethnic cleansing" in recent years.

Physical attacks, then, are a more extreme form of prejudice. It is often assumed that such prejudiced behaviour only exists in extreme situations, like Nazi Germany in the 1930s. But this is far from the case.

A term sometimes used is "hate crimes" [1]. The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Rights was one of the first to attempt to collect data for racial, religious, and sexual orientation-based incidents. For example, in 1989, there were 167 racial-based incidents reported (of which 31.8% were assaults or attempted assaults), 125 religious-based incidents (8.8% assaults), and 86 sexual orientation-based (62.8% assaults) (Nardi and Bolton 1991).

Nationally, in the US, for 2002, the FBI recorded 7462 "hate crimes": 48.8% racially motivated, 19.1% religious, 16.7% sexual orientation, and 0.6% motivated by mental and physical disability bias (quoted in Hall 2005).

RACIAL INCIDENTS

Racial harassment and attacks are a depressingly common occurrence in Britain, and around the world. Organisations, like the Newham Monitoring Project (NMP), attempt to record the amount as well as offer help and

advice to victims (Mundy 1995).

Establishing whether an attack is "racially motivated" (in legal terms) can be difficult to prove. It is usually based on what is said. Thus a racist who says nothing during an attack would be found "not guilty" of the crime as "racially motivated" ("Law in Action" 2003; BBC Radio 4).

There are also problems in measuring the number of "racially motivated attacks". Thus, for example, the European Commission figure of three hundred and fifty incidents of "anti-Semetic attacks" reported in 2002 (BBCi 31/3/04) must be taken with caution.

These figures are official statistics based on incidents reported to the authorities, and official crime figures are generally viewed as underestimates (Brewer 2000) (table 8.1).

- Crime not reported by victims
- Victim withdraws charge
- Police do not act through lack of evidence
- Appearance of police may resolve issue and no charges pressed

Table 8.1 - Some of the main reasons why official crime figures are viewed as underestimates.

The data can also be contradictory. For example, the British Crime Survey established that possibly only one-twentieth of "racist attacks" are reported (Wetherell 1996). While official police figures for 1998-2000 showed racial incidents increasing, and the British Crime Survey that they were falling (Donnellan 2001).

Police figures for 2002-3 recorded 48 525 racist incidents in England and Wales compared to 206 000 incidents reported to the British Crime Survey [2] (Home Office 2004 quoted in Hall 2005).

What the official figures do show is that the distribution of racial incidents is not even across the country. There are more likely to be racist incidents in areas where the ethnic minority population is smaller (table 8.2).

Key events will influence the amount of racial incidents. For example, after the London bombings in July 2005, Metropolitan Police Service recorded 269 crimes "motivated by religious hatred" in the following three and a half weeks (compared to forty for the same period in 2004). These figures included minor assaults, abuse, and property damage. The nature of the attacks showed the irrationality of prejudice. Not only were Muslims or

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           CONSTABULARY        SIZE OF ETHNIC        % AFFECTED BY
                               MINORITY POPULATION   RACIST INCIDENTS

           Northumbria         14 700                7.88
           Durham              3 900                 4.56
           Cumbria             2 000                 4.25

           Met (London)        1 189 300             1.97
           Greater Manchester  135 500               1.72
           West Yorkshire      145 300               1.46
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(After Donnellan 2001)

Table 8.2 - Selected figures for racial incidents in 2000 based on size of ethnic minority population.

Muslims' property attacked, but also Sikhs, and a Sikh temple in south London (Dawar 2005). Remember that the "suicide bombers" were claiming to be Muslims [3] .

The "Community Security Trust" (a Jewish community organisation) reported 532 "anti-Semetic attacks" in the UK in 2003-4. This figure was a 42% increase on the previous one, while the Metropolitan Police Service's recorded crime figures showed a two percent drop for the same period ("A War Against Prejudice" 2005; BBC Radio 4) [4].

"Min Quan" (a Chinese community organisation) produced the report "Racial Attacks on Chinese People" in 2005 in Britain. It included details of the murder of Mi-Gao Chen, in Wigan, which received little media coverage, but for the Chinese community, it was the equivalent of the murder of Stephen Lawrence for the Afro-Caribbean population (Pai 2005).

Hickman and Walter (1997) produced a report for the "Commission for Racial Equality" on the experiences of the Irish community in Britain in the mid-1990s. Racial harassment by neighbours was reported by 19% (17 of 88) respondents, and 25% of those (13 of 51) who had had contact with the police felt that the police had been anti-Irish.

Racial incidents are not just a problem in Britain. Kundnani (1999) reported work from Germany showing clear differences in the rates of "racist attacks" on non-Germans. In the former West Germany (FDR), it was 2.5 per 100 000 of the population compared to sixty-one in the former East Germany (GDR).
It was suggested that the former authoritarian system of the GDR made individuals rigid in thinking, threatened by anything alien, and thus susceptible to racist attitudes. Adorno et al (1950) saw this rigidity

of thinking as the basis of the "authoritarian personality", but, for them, the origin was a "hierarchical authoritarian, exploitative parent-child relationship" (p971).

From the side of the offender, Ray et al (2004) interviewed "racist offenders" in Greater Manchester, and found out about the role of unacknowledged shame being transformed into fury and violence against South Asians "who are perceived as more successful, but illegitimately so" (p350).
For these researchers, racism is an emotional process rather than a cognitive one. From the thirty-two interviews, four themes emerged as the offenders:

> (C)onstructed themselves as the "real" victims
> in the incidents of violence in which they had
> been involved; how they expressed a sense of
> unfairness and grievance when they compared their
> social position with that of south-Asians; how
> they contrasted their own weakness and powerlessness
> with what they perceived as the power, privileges
> and success of their victims; and how they spoke
> of being disparaged and despised by their victims
> (Ray et al 2004 p357).

Here are some examples from the interviews of the four themes:

i) Sense of victimization - "Black people and Asian people are also racist towards us, and that does get looked over a lot.. There's Asian lads beating up white lads.. but as soon as a white man beat an Asian man up, straight away it comes down to racism.." (p358);

ii) Unfairness and injustice - "I've been to the social to try to get a loan and there's totally No. And there's black people and Asian people in there and they are giving them loans, hundreds they are.." (p361);

iii) Power, success and solidarity - "They are going to be owning everything, and they are just going to take over and we will be pushed aside" (p362);

iv) Arrogance and contempt - "But they don't seem to mix the-erm-Pakistanis, they don't seem to mix with our English people, British people. Because if you speak to them they don't answer" (p364).

Disturbingly, these offenders lived in and around the areas where the British National Party (BNP) put up candidates for the 2001 General Election and local elections in 2002 and 2003 (after the riots in Oldham in

2001). The BNP was obviously attempting to exploit the shame and rage of these and other individuals in deprived parts of Greater Manchester.

ATTACKS ON SEXUAL MINORITIES

The phenomenon of "gay-bashing" has been something that LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) individuals have lived with for many years. In the US, a survey by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) found that 94% of lesbians and gay men had experienced some type of victimization, including verbal abuse, physical assault, and property vandalised, related to their sexual orientation (Herek and Berrill 1992).

Human Rights Watch (2001) interviewed LGBT teenagers at US schools in 2000. A number of respondents reported physical abuse from "mild" attacks (eg: "hit in the back of the head with an ice scraper") to more serious ones (eg: attempted strangling with fishing line). While a Vermont study from 1995 found that gay teenagers were more likely to have needed medical treatment for a fight, and to have been threatened or injured with a weapon at school than heterosexual peers (DuRant et al 1998).

Any suggestions that such attacks no longer exist, as British society today is more tolerant of homosexuality, is false, as shown by the murder of gay barman, Jody Dubrowski, on Clapham Common, on 15th October 2005 (Butt 2005). Furthermore, the Metropolitan Police Service recorded 1536 homophobic incidents in 2003-4.

Worldwide and historically, homosexuals have been attacked and killed on a regular basis. For example, Al Fatiha (Muslim gay rights organisation) estimated that around 4000 lesbians and gays have been killed in Iran between 1979 and 2000 (Baird 2001).
While in the US, anti-gay violence was increasing at the end of the last century, especially aimed at people with AIDS. This was in the context of general violence declining (Baird 2001).Masters et al (1995) noted the outgrowth of physical attacks against homosexuals from groups like the Ku Klux Klan in the US.
Religious-based criticisms related to AIDS have not helped. For example, Whitam and Mathy (1986) described how some religious groups regard homosexuals as "sinners deserving to be put to death" which is "a view reminiscent of the Inquisition". While the New York Times on 31st October 1986 quoted the Vatican which said that "when civil legislation is introduced to protect behaviour to which no one has any conceivable right", it

is not surprising if "irrational and violent reactions increase" (quoted in Masters et al 1995 p386).

Elsewhere, Amnesty International (1997) reported the case from Brazil in 1993, where local councillor, Renildo Jose dos Santos, was kidnapped from his home and murdered. His headless body was found later with signs of torture. This had happened in Alagaos state after the public denunciation of his bisexuality by a rival politician. Generally Brazil is seen as having the highest "sexual minority" murder rate in the world (eg: 170 in 1999; Baird 2001).

In Colombia, "death squads", as part of "social cleansing" killed hundreds of gay men and transvestites (as well as other "undesirables" like streetchildren) (Kitznger 1999).

What is disturbing is that few killers are convicted. One reason being that police officers are sometimes the perpetrators or know who the perpetrators. For example, Dayana (Jose Luis Lieves), a transgender activist, was shot by the police in 2000 in Valencia, Carobobo state, Venezuela (Baird 2001).

FOOTNOTES

1. There is no agreed definition of "hate crime", but one researcher defined it as "an illegal act involving intentional selection of a victim based on a perpetrator's bias or prejudice against the actual or perceived status of the victim" (Craig 2002 p86).

2. The British Crime Survey is based upon sampling nearly 14 000 addresses based on parliamentary constituencies, and a sample of adults from each household (Brewer 2000).

3. Official figures for 2001-2 to 2002-3 showed varying degrees of increase and decrease in racial incidents. Table 8.3 lists the three largest increases and decreases (Hall 2005).

POLICE FORCE AREA	% CHANGE
INCREASE	
Dorset	277
Humberside	250
Wiltshire	174
DECREASE	
North Yorkshire	75
Staffordshire	59
Cheshire	55

Table 8.3 - Largest increase and decrease in racial incidents reported to the police 2001-2 to 2002-3.

4. Between 1st January 2001 and 31st December 2004, 1296 Anti-Semetic incidents were to the Metropolitan Police Service. The most common incident was low level criminal damage (15.7% of incidents) (Iganski et al 2005).

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9. Reducing Prejudice: Some Recent Ideas

1. Contact between ingroup and outgroup members

Traditionally contact between ingroup and outgroup members has been suggested as a means to reduce prejudice and discrimination. But the nature of the contact is important: equal status, co-operative, common goals, and with the support of the authorities (Pettigrew 1998).

Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) undertook a meta-analysis (sophisticated statistical re-analysis) of 200 studies of intergroup contact to reduce prejudice. Of the studies, forty-four involved the four criteria mentioned above, and these studies showed significant reductions in prejudice. Contact was most effective in face-to-face interactions, and in work settings. The importance of contact that countered negative stereotypes was also established.

But often contact is under less than ideal conditions in reality: for example, desegregated housing projects do not "meet all the conditions of the equal status contact hypothesis enunciated by Allport" (Cagle 1973 p273), "and even when it occurs, it generally produces only casual interactions rather than intimate acquaintances" (Amir 1969 p337).

So despite contact, prejudice is not necessarily reduced in some situations. For instance, Dixon and Durrheim (2003) found continued informal segregation on open beaches (eg: Scottburgh) in post-apartheid South Africa either through spacing of families on the beach or through going to the beach at different times (eg: white withdrawal on public holidays like Boxing Day). This study was an observation between 23rd December 1999 and 2nd January 2000.

The nature of the contact (ie: forced or by choice) becomes key. Hamberger and Hewstone (1997) used questionnaires with over three thousand respondents in four European countries. They were interested in the relationship between the ingroup (white population) and the outgroup (ethnic minorities) (table 9.1).

COUNTRY	OUTGROUP
Germany	Turkish
France	Asians; North African
Holland	Turkish; Surinamese
Great Britain	Asians; West Indians

Table 9.1 - Ingroups and outgroups in Hamberger and Hewstone's research.

Through statistical analysis of the questionnaire results, Hamberger and Hewstone were able to find significant associations between prejudice and certain behaviours (figure 9.1). From their research, contact at work with outgroup members did not reduce prejudice, but contact as friends did. More education predicted friendship with outgroup members, and less education was association with prejudice.
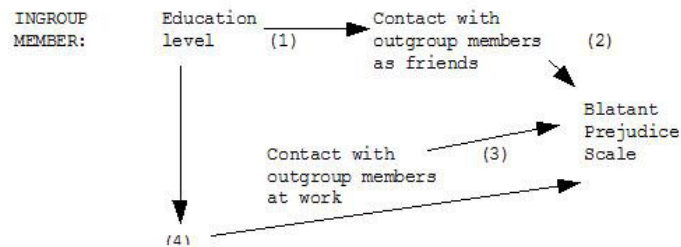
1. Significant positive correlation - higher education = more contact.
2. Significant negative correlation - more contact = less prejudice.
3. Non-significant positive correlation.
4. Significant negative correlation - less education = more prejudice.

Figure 9.1 - Developed path model of Hamberger and Hewstone.

2. Pursuit of common goals

The pursuit of common goals by ingroup and outgroup members is seen as very important in reducing prejudice.

London Weekend Television set up an "experiment" ("The Blame Game" 2002) to see how four Catholics and four Protestants from Northern Ireland would respond to spending five days and nights together at an isolated outdoor activities centre on the Isle of Man. The eight people had to live and work together all the time. Activities included a map reading exercise and a gorge walk. These tasks deliberately made the two groups depend on each other.

By the end of five days, there were positive feelings between the two groups, and attempts at understanding the others. What was most striking was how the two groups had never met outgroup members outside of conflict situations.

This "experiment" is not the same as a psychology experiment, but it is an interesting case study. However, there was no information about whether the individuals reverted back to old habits when returning home. In other words, was the reduction in prejudice from the outdoor activities centre generalised to other situations?

3. Combating dehumanisation

At the extreme levels of prejudiced behaviour, the key is that the prejudiced group is dehumanised. The psychological erasure of human qualities in others: misperceiving them as "sub-human" or "non-human". Thus violence towards that group is so much easier if they are not "truly human".

Increased aggression against dehumanised groups and less aggression against humanised ones has been shown in a lab experiment (Bandura et al 1977). Participants had the opportunity to give electric shocks to male students during a decision-making task. Beforehand, the participants overheard the experimenter talk about the male students as intelligent ("humanising condition"), or as rotten ("dehumanising condition"). The average number of electric shocks given in the "humanising condition" were 2.5 compared to 6.0 in the "dehumanising condition".

Building empathy also reduces prejudice and aggression. Richardson et al (1994) set up a competitive reaction-time game between male students. The faster student was able to give an electric shock (of the level of their choice) to the loser. Half of the students were encouraged to think about the feelings of the loser as they gave the electric shock. This group gave an average weaker level of shocks compared to the group not encouraged to empathise.

4. Group pressure

Group pressure to conform can increase prejudice as well as reduce it depending on the norms of the group. The classic example of the white Virginian coalminers showed both of these together. Below ground the white miners worked with black colleagues as the norms were working together, but on the surface, the norms were racial desegregation (Minard 1952).
Group pressure on behaviour has limitations as with minority group studies (eg: Maass et al 1982: single and double minorities), and the role of personality factors. One personality characteristic is self-monitoring (Snyder 1987). This is the sensitivity to situational norms. High self-monitors adapt their public appearance to fit the situation, whereas low self-monitors are more influenced by consistency to internal norms and tend not to change their public appearance to fit the situation.

Klein et al (2004) set up an experiment to see how self-monitoring would be influenced by situational norms of prejudice or not towards homosexuals. Eighty-nine

undergraduate psychology students at the University of Minnesota were used (who reported being heterosexual). Attitudes towards homosexuality, and level of self-monitoring were measured before the experiment began.

Three weeks later, the participants were asked to prepare a speech to join a discussion group about "Gays" which was either favourable or unfavourable towards homosexuality, or the individual was to be interviewed alone (control condition). The results showed, as predicted, that the attitudes of low self-monitors were relative unaffected by the audience, whereas the high self-monitors expressed less prejudice with an audience said to be favourable towards homosexuality and more prejudice when audience said to be unfavourable (irrelevant of individual's level of prejudice before the experiment). Table 9.2 shows the results for high and low self-monitors.

	AUDIENCE SAID TO BE FAVOURABLE TO HOMOSEXUALITY	AUDIENCE SAID TO BE UNFAVOURABLE TO HOMOSEXUALITY
Low self-monitors	attitudes tend not to change much whether audience favourable or unfavourable to homosexuality	
High self-monitors	attitudes become more favourable	attitudes become more unfavourable

Table 9.2 - Behaviour of high and low self-monitors.

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10. Sexism and Female DJs

Sexism is discrimination based on an individual's sex or gender. It tends to be less overt today, partly because of legislation. However, sexism still exists in a covert form. One way to show this is through an analysis of the justifications for discrimination. In other words, the reasons by an individual given for why their performance of such behaviour is not discrimination. Wetherell et al (1987) called these the "practical ideologies".

Gill (1993) was interested in the lack of female DJs on two Independent Local Radio (ILR) stations in the early 1990s. She interviewed two male DJs, and three programme controllers about why this was the case. The method of research was discourse analysis of the interviews.

Gill found four types of argument used to justify why women were not employed: "..what they produced were accounts which justified the exclusion of women..(and).. also provided justifications for the continued absence of women in the future".

1. "Women just don't apply"

Four of the five interviewees referred to this idea in some way. Either women were not interested or it was a difficult environment for them: "It's also very much a man's world so they're picked on if they are here.." (Extract 7: Programme Controller Lightfoot).

Thus the argument is presented that the lack of women DJs is not a problem of the men at the radio station itself, but it is the fault of women. Blaming the victim for prejudice and discrimination is an often used technique; eg: "if they integrated more, then there wouldn't be the problems" used against immigrants.

2. Audience objections: "It's a bit strange to have a woman talking to you"

> Research has proven and this is not mine but it's
> echoed by many surveys throughout the years that
> people prefer to listen to a man's voice on the
> radio rather than a woman's voice
> (Extract 8: DJ Dale).

One way for individuals to justify their behaviour (not employing female DJs), but, at the same time, to counter accusations of sexism, is through reference to

independent sources (like surveys). In other words, they distance themselves from their arguments.

This is part of "dilemmas of stake" (Potter 1996), and is where "people struggle to establish their accounts as factual and stable representations of the world and to deconstruct other accounts as the product of personal or group interests" (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002 p113).

3. Women lack the skills

One Programme Controller listed all the skills necessary to be a DJ, and then said: "..those things are not as advanced in my view as far as women are concerned as with men" (Extract 9: Programme Controller Chapman). But this could be seen as sexism, so the speaker added: "..Those things in education and social process are not as advanced..".

This is known as "mitigation". This is an explanation for the individual's view, and in this case, it is a failure of society and education to prepare women to be DJs.

4. Problems with women's voices

This idea is a variation of number two: "..if a woman's voice sounds grating or high, shrill, then that will switch them off" (Extract 11: DJ Goodman). The DJ was able to present himself as regretfully just "going along with the consensus".

Discourse analysis is able to show how prejudice and discrimination can be implicit in individual's arguments. This can be seen, for example, in "racist discourse" (Wetherell 1996).

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