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Processes of prejudice: Theory, evidence and intervention

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Executive summary

This report reviews current knowledge about prejudice: what it is, how it might be measured and how it might be reduced. It focuses specifically on the equality groups set out in the Equality Act 2006: groups which share a common attribute in respect of age, disability, gender, race, religion or belief, or sexual orientation.

The nature of prejudice

Prejudice is defined in this report as 'bias which devalues people because of their perceived membership of a social group'.

The social psychology literature highlights four areas that we need to understand:

1. The intergroup context

This refers to the ways that people in different social groups view members of other groups. Their views may relate to power differences, the precise nature of differences, and whether group members feel threatened by others. These intergroup perceptions provide the context within which people develop their attitudes and prejudices.

2. The psychological bases for prejudice

These include: people's key values; the ways they see themselves and others; their sense of social identity, and social norms that define who is included in or excluded from social groups.

Prejudice is more likely to develop and persist where:

- groups have different or conflicting key values
- others are seen as different
- people see their identity in terms of belonging to particular groups, and
- their groups discriminate against others.

3. Manifestations of prejudice

There are many ways in which prejudice can be expressed. Stereotypes can be positive or negative, and may be linked to a fear that other groups may pose a threat. Some apparently positive stereotypes (as sometimes expressed towards older people or women, for instance) may nonetheless be patronising and devalue those groups.

Different stereotypes evoke different emotional responses. These include derogatory attitudes or overt hostility. People's use of language, behaviour, emotional reactions and media images can all reflect prejudice too.

4. The effect of experience

This has several dimensions. First, people's experiences do not always match others' views about the extent of prejudice. For instance, few people express negative prejudice towards older people, yet older people report high levels of prejudice towards them.

Secondly, contact between groups is likely to increase mutual understanding, though it needs to be close and meaningful contact.

A third factor is the extent to which people wish to avoid being prejudiced. This is based on personal values, a wish to avoid disapproval, and wider social norms. Each of these offers a means for potentially preventing the expression of prejudice and discriminatory behaviour.

Measuring prejudice

Surveys in the UK provide examples of questions that examine various aspects of the components of prejudice. However, questions have not been developed for all those components. The available questions display both strengths and weaknesses. Questions relating to equality strands have generally been fielded in relation to one or perhaps two strands: seldom in relation to all.

Ways of reducing prejudice

Given that contact between different groups is linked to increased understanding, the development of relationships, particularly between individuals, offers one means of reducing prejudice.

Using the media to reduce prejudice, for its part, requires extreme care. Evidence about the effectiveness of media campaigns is limited, and there is a danger that attempts to reduce prejudice can backfire.

Prejudice can start in childhood. Gender bias begins earlier than, say, prejudice linked to nationality, but the latter then both persists and develops. Work with children can help them understand differences and similarities between groups, and school-based contacts contribute to the promotion of positive attitudes.

The promotion of good relations more generally may help to tackle prejudice, but prejudice and good relations need to be understood and dealt with as distinct aspects of social harmony. This requires further research.

Conclusions

We need a comprehensive national picture of prejudice towards all equality groups. This will help us to understand the nature and extent of prejudice and provide a baseline against which to measure change. Having appropriate measurement tools will also enable us to establish whether policies to reduce prejudice are having the desired effect.

Not least, we need more information about the most effective practical interventions to reduce prejudice. This should involve the rigorous evaluation of a range of interventions.

1. Introduction

1.1 Context

Prejudice and discrimination can affect people's opportunities, their social resources, self-worth and motivation, and their engagement with wider society. Moreover, *perceptions* of equality and inequality are themselves drivers of further discrimination. Consequently, establishing, promoting and sustaining equality and human rights depends on understanding how people make sense of and apply these concepts in their everyday lives.

Structural inequalities pervade society, and map onto differences in social class, ethnicity and socioeconomic categorisations. To some extent legislation and the direct provision of services and resources can redress such inequalities, but they cannot on their own deal with embedded social attitudes that give rise, whether deliberately or otherwise, to discrimination. Moreover, structural interventions usually apply to particular groups or categories (as in the case of 'failing schools', or entry criteria to Oxbridge from the state sector) but potentially ignore other axes of inequality. Indeed, new social categorisations constantly arise. For example, politicians and the media regularly identify new alleged threats from, for instance, immigrants of particular types, particular practices adopted by religions, threats to 'institutions' such as marriage, and so on. Consequently, the targets of prejudice and discrimination may change faster than legislation can possibly respond.

If prejudice and discrimination are to be addressed, it is essential to provide a wider analysis of the ways that they arise as general social processes. This review sets out a framework informed largely by a social psychological perspective which identifies the elements that can increase or reduce prejudice or harmony between members of different groups. This framework identifies factors that affect and are affected by people's beliefs, stereotypes, emotions and attitudes towards their own and other groups in society. The framework can then be used to interpret any particular intergroup division (or alliance) and allow a systematic understanding of the way different interventions and courses of action will affect those relationships. This wider analysis also points to ways that society can be prepared for greater complexity in terms of the cultural and other group memberships that frame people's relationships.

The purpose of this review is to establish a cross-strand framework for understanding the causes, manifestations and ways of tackling prejudice and discrimination in the UK.

1.2 Structure of the report

This report comprises four sections.

This first section sets out the terms of reference for the review and explains how 'prejudice' and 'good relations' can and should be distinguished. Reducing prejudice does not guarantee good relations, and improving good relations may not necessarily prevent prejudice or discrimination. While several aspects of this review are strongly relevant to good relations, the primary focus is on how we can address the problems associated with prejudice against particular social groups.

Section 2 (The social psychology of prejudice) summarises current social psychological knowledge based on empirical evidence about the processes that underlie prejudice. Much of the evidence is based on experimental tests, providing a basis for generalisable conclusions about mechanisms and processes involved in prejudice. This includes the potential roots, separate elements and different forms of prejudice. It includes theory and evidence on: how intergroup conflict, status differences and differences in social values contribute to prejudice; how basic psychological processes of categorisation, stereotyping and identification with social groups set a frame for prejudice; and how prejudice arises in different forms such as attitudes and feelings. The section also examines how prejudice is manifested more subtly through language, non-verbal and unconscious or uncontrolled processes. The section considers research on factors that can reduce or inhibit prejudice, and how the different forms that prejudice takes can affect people's experiences of being a target of prejudice. It is argued that building on the insights from social psychological research can provide a firm foundation for monitoring and tackling prejudice. The section identifies what we need to measure in order to track changing prejudices in the UK and to identify the most useful avenues for intervention.

Section 3 (Measuring prejudice) provides examples of questions that illustrate aspects of the framework of prejudice that was set out in Section 2. These questions are drawn from an extensive investigation of UK surveys or European surveys that have been fielded in the UK. Not all components of prejudice have been examined in such surveys, and some have yet to be developed for use in these contexts.

Section 4 (Can prejudice be stopped?) considers the gulf between studies of the prevalence of prejudice and policy to determine interventions. There are few systematic tests of how well interventions work. This section examines examples of tests of various field experiments (intervention studies) to reduce prejudice. The purpose is partly to illustrate that it is feasible and useful to conduct such work, but also to highlight that more work is needed in this area. This section also considers

routes to intervention during childhood, before prejudices become entrenched. The scope to develop such approaches is explored.

Section 5 (Conclusions and implications) summarises the key points from the preceding sections and considers implications for future investigation, intervention and evaluation relating to the Commission's mission.

1.3 Prejudice and good relations

What is prejudice?

The premise of this review is that, in general terms, prejudice needs to be viewed as a process within a set of relationships, rather than a state or characteristic of particular people (Abrams and Houston, 2006; Abrams and Christian, 2007). That is, we need to understand the different forms prejudice might take, when it might be expressed, and what factors promote or inhibit its expression. It is as important to know about the conditions that give rise to, and can counter, prejudice, as to measure the particular amount or virulence of prejudice at a particular time. Prejudice can be directed to a wide range of groups and, and can be expressed in a wide variety of ways. Therefore, it is necessary to think broadly about the types of 'benchmarks' that will be useful for measuring change. It is also necessary to break down the concept of prejudice into distinct components and to understand how and when these fit together to produce discriminatory outcomes and inequality. Equally important, however, is to achieve these goals within a unifying conceptual framework.

Within psychology there have been numerous attempts to define prejudice. Crandall and Eshelman (2003) note that prejudice cannot always be described as irrational or unjustified and that it is therefore better to define it as 'a negative evaluation of a social group or an individual that is significantly based on the individual's group membership' (p. 414). This, unfortunately, leaves us slightly adrift in terms of policy because it neglects prejudice that does not involve negative evaluations. Therefore the approach taken in this review is to define prejudice as:

> 'bias that devalues people because of their perceived membership of a social group'.

This definition allows prejudice to arise from biases in different forms. It is not assumed that all biases are harmful or particularly consequential. Some are quite favourable (for example, the belief that Chinese people are better at maths than Europeans would be favourable towards Chinese people in Britain). Prejudice arises

when such biases are potentially harmful and consequential because they reduce the standing or value attached to a person through their group memberships. This can occur when stereotypes, attitudes and emotions towards the group are directed at an individual member of the group.

It is important to distinguish awareness of group differences from bias and prejudice. Some groups are manifestly unequal: they are poorer, less well educated, have had fewer opportunities, and visibly have lower occupational positions, worse health or engage in more crime. Some groups have more power than others in society. It is not prejudiced to be aware of, and concerned about, these differences.

On the other hand, people's knowledge is often incomplete or wrong, and they may also inappropriately generalise their knowledge, resulting in bias and prejudice. For example, it is false and clearly prejudiced to assume that every Muslim in the UK poses a terrorist threat. It is true that mothers are women, but false to assume that all women are (or should be) mothers. It is true that elderly people are generally less physically mobile than younger people but false that all people with reduced mobility are elderly. Actions or policies intended to help certain groups of people who are assumed to be dependent or needy (for example, through free bus passes or maternity leave) involve assumptions that may well result in disadvantages to other categories of people that are assumed to be independent. These assumptions are prejudices and for particular individuals may be just as damaging as direct hostility. So from a policy perspective, an important task is to identify which prejudices are consequential and which are harmful, and to target these.

Good relations

The review focuses primarily on prejudice. It also briefly considers the relationship between prejudice and good relations. These are not opposites. Either or neither can be present. It seems useful to treat good relations and prejudice as two independent aspects of social relationships. In terms of good relations people may be more or less cohesive, considering themselves to be and acting as a cooperative, mutually supportive and coherent group. In terms of prejudice people may be unconcerned about other groups and their differences or they may be highly attuned to potential differences, comparisons, threats and so on posed by external groups. Table 1.1 shows how these can combine.

Table 1.1 A typology of good relations and prejudice

		Prejudice	
		Low	**High**
Good relations	**Low**	**Benign indifference** Atomised, disengaged community, unconcerned about others	**Malign antipathy** Fragmented, discontented, disengaged community hostile to both internal and external rivals or enemies
	High	**Harmonious cohesion** Cohesive, tolerant, engaged community, open and flexible	**Rivalrous cohesion** Cohesive, engaged community but competitive towards subordinates, rivals and enemies

The notion of good relations tends to emphasise a situation in which people feel part of a cohesive group and focus on sustaining harmonious and positive relationships within that group (which may include bridges to other groups) and with a positive outlook towards members of other groups. This situation of good relations with low prejudice can be labelled as **harmonious cohesion**.

Prejudice tends to be seen as antipathy between groups, and there are people who have no great commitment to their particular community who may hold society and

various groups in contempt. This idea of the classic bigot perhaps suggests a state of high prejudice and low good relations, a situation we can call **malign antipathy**.

There are many situations in which relationships within a community are strong and cohesive but this is partially a result of, or may generate, the presence of a common enemy (either within or outside). For many people there was a strong sense of Britishness during the Falklands conflict, but because it was a conflict this was accompanied by a high level of hostility and prejudice towards Argentineans. One can imagine how a formerly ethnically homogenous community that faces substantial immigration may begin to shift from harmonious cohesion to cohesion rooted more in rivalry or potential conflict. A combination of good relations internally and rivalry can be labelled **rivalrous cohesion**.

Finally, there can be an absence of both good relations and prejudice. A set of people who hold no particular prejudices may be atomised and disconnected from one another with no strong ties even though they occupy the same geographical location. For example, wealthy residents of Kensington apartment blocks may be very diverse in terms of their group memberships and may have no axes to grind against any particular groups. But they may also have no sense of mutual commitment. This combination can be labelled **benign indifference**.

It is likely that some efforts to promote good relations may reduce prejudice indirectly, and that some efforts to reduce prejudice could indirectly promote good relations. On the other hand, building community cohesion could inadvertently increase prejudices towards immigrants or other groups that are perceived to pose a threat. To illustrate this point, consider data from Northern Ireland. Cairns and Hewstone (2005) observed that (in line with other research) people who were more positive towards their own group tended also to be more positive towards the out-group (suggesting an overall ‘good relations’ effect). But they were also relatively more biased in favour of their own group (indicating rivalrous cohesion). Only those who did not identify strongly with their in-group showed no in-group bias (a state of benign indifference). However, even this depended on whether it had been a peaceful or volatile year. In volatile years even people who did not strongly identify with their own community showed in-group bias (perhaps a state of malign antipathy). Therefore, while both reducing prejudice and building good relations are important objectives that share some features, each may pose distinctive problems for policy.

Other detailed reports consider aspects of community cohesion and good relations but do not consider the specific issues affecting the forms prejudice takes towards

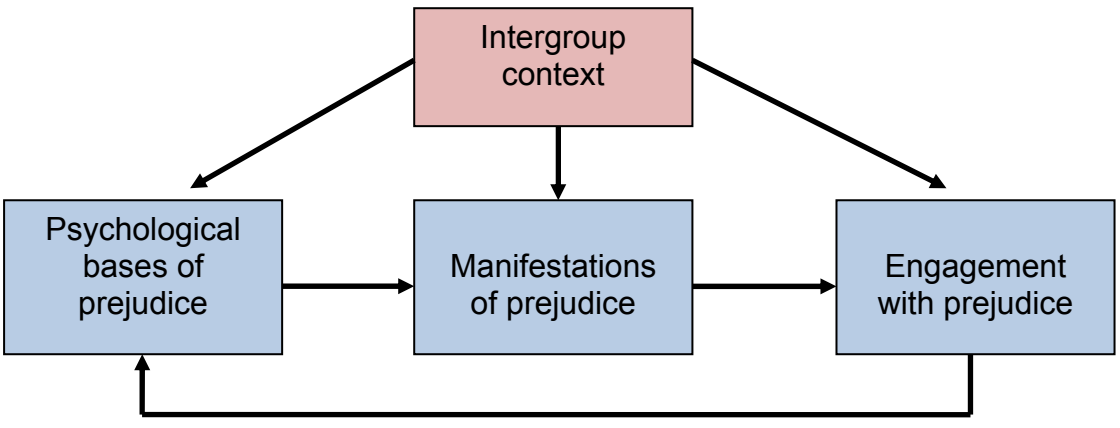
different social groups (see Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007). The potential complementarities and disjunctions between a community integration approach and a prejudice reduction strategy remain to be explored. However, research generally has not considered these two themes in a coordinated way. This review therefore includes only a brief section on good relations as a route to prejudice reduction (in Section 3) and refers readers to a separate review focusing on the social psychology of neighbourliness (Abrams, 2006).

2. The social psychology of prejudice

This section provides a summary of different components of prejudice that have been identified in social psychological research going back to the 1930s. It is not intended to provide a historical narrative of how theory and research have developed since then, but rather to set out what is known currently and therefore what may be considered key components of prejudice that could be applied to a cross-strand approach.

The approach taken here is to focus on the processes that cause and reduce prejudice rather than to view prejudice as a static phenomenon. This approach assumes that all prejudice arises in an intergroup context, a relationship between people that is framed by their membership of different social groups within a social system. People bring things into this context, such as their values, views about equality, their personality and their past experiences. These will affect how they interpret and respond to the intergroup context. As a result prejudice, or rather prejudices, can take many forms, and the same person might express prejudice in one way but not another, or towards one group but not another. This means we need to understand how prejudice is manifested and to be able to measure these manifestations. Prejudice is also a part of people's experience, and therefore they engage with prejudice in a variety of ways, including being a victim of prejudice, encountering people who challenge their prejudices, and trying to avoid being prejudiced. As a framework for describing the components of prejudice in this process-focused approach it is therefore convenient to think in terms of four broad aspects: the overarching **intergroup context**, the psychological **bases** of prejudice, **manifestations** of prejudice, and **engagement** with prejudice (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 A framework for understanding prejudice



During different periods of social psychological research, different perspectives and levels of analysis have found greater or lesser favour. Older approaches have been continually updated and incorporated into more modern theories and research methods. The result is a cumulative knowledge base in which one can have a high degree of confidence. For more extended accounts of the development of theories of intergroup relations and prejudice, see Abrams and Hogg (1990, 2001, 2004) and Hogg and Abrams (1988, 2001). The following subsections identify features of intergroup relationships that need to be evaluated when trying to assess the components of prejudice. Policy-makers or researchers may have considered these before individually, but they have not been combined within a framework that allows us to decide which is likely to be most important or relevant as a focus of interventions in particular contexts of prejudice.

2.1 Context of intergroup relations

Any analysis of prejudice must begin with an analysis of the social context within which it arises. Intergroup relations, and prejudice in particular, need to be understood using multiple levels of analysis (Abrams and Christian, 2007; Abrams and Hogg, 2004). It is beyond the scope of this review to consider the historical, sociological and political contexts of prejudice. Although they are essential for understanding the broader issues, what is important here is that prejudice is mediated psychologically, that is, through people's **interpretation** of the social context. Therefore we can incorporate the consequences of historical, cultural and societal phenomena by considering how people make sense of the intergroup relationships that affect them. More broadly, the social identity approach to intergroup relations (Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Tajfel and Turner, 1979) holds that people are sensitive to differences in status between groups and that they will try to sustain a positive in-group identity by achieving a distinctive and respected position for their in-groups. Their responses to status inequality will depend on whether they view status differences as legitimate and stable, and whether they can directly compete or may have to create new ways to accentuate positive differences, as well as whether it is feasible to move between social groups and categories easily (see Ellemers, Spears and Doojse, 2002).

Conflict

It seems mundane to start with the issue of conflict but it is often overlooked. Antipathy between groups is often associated with their belief that they have a conflict of interests. In his classic studies of boys at summer camps, Sherif (1966) showed that any two groups could be created and turned into hostile enemies simply by making them negatively interdependent. That is, if one group's gain is the other's loss, we can be sure that hostility, negative stereotypes and prejudice will follow.

Sherif also showed that intergroup relations could be improved by setting goals where the groups were positively interdependent, in other words when neither group could succeed without the other's help or contribution. This research clearly points to the need to evaluate whether groups are perceived to have direct conflicts of interests, a point that is also addressed in the later section on intergroup threat.

However, as other sections will show, the insights and conclusions from Sherif's research are insufficient to resolve the problem of prejudice. It is clear that prejudice is not always based on people's cost-benefit analysis or material self-interest. First, as described later, even when there are no direct conflicts of interest, merely assigning people into distinct categories can be sufficient to generate prejudices and discrimination between groups (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Second, with many groups in society there are either temporary or long-standing conflicts with others over resources, rights or other issues. Often we have little direct control of influence over these conflicts. Therefore we need to understand how to recognise when these are leading to dangerous prejudices and how to promote good relations even while such conflicts require long-term resolutions.

Intergroup threat

To the extent that a group is seen to pose a threat people may also argue that it is a legitimate target of prejudice and discrimination. It would be a mistake to assume that actual threat is well mirrored by perceived threat. In addition, threats can take different forms, and these can have distinct implications for the levels and forms of prejudice. Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman (1999) and Stephan and Stephan (2000) developed an 'integrated threat' theory of prejudice, focusing primarily on interethnic prejudice. The threats fall into three general types: realistic threat (safety, security, health), symbolic threat (to culture, for example) and economic threat.

Using Britain as an example, it is clear that there are substantial economic threats from the Far East 'Tiger' economies. However, it may be that people are more concerned about the economic threat from immigration, for instance. There is no reason to assume that people have a clear grasp of macro-economics, and there are good reasons to expect that they will focus on tangible simple and immediate factors. Of course, an out-group that benefits the country or one's in-group economically (such as Polish temporary workers) may also be perceived to pose a threat in other respects (for example to culture or safety). Thus, depending on the mixture of threats people may feel ambivalent, and behave inconsistently towards particular groups. Nonetheless, certain groups are largely viewed as posing threats and others less so. A fourth element in Stephan and Stephan's model is 'intergroup anxiety', which is discussed further below. The important point is that without measuring perceptions of

threat it is more difficult to anticipate how prejudice will be manifested and what forms discrimination might take.

Group size

The power threat hypothesis assumes that racial animosity increases as the proportion of the minority in the population increases (Oliver and Mendelberg, 2000; McLaren, 2003). However, recent analysis suggests that the intensity of that animosity is more likely to be a function of the immediate ratio of minority members in the situation. Specifically, the level of barbarity of lynch mobs increased as their numbers increased relative to the number of victims. The level of barbarity was not related to the proportion of minority members in the community more generally. This makes sense given that higher proportions may well increase interethnic contact, which can potentially reduce interethnic tension. However, if there is tension, victimisation of minorities is more likely if they are in a vulnerable (for example, isolated) position (Leader, Mullen and Abrams, 2007). Moreover, cross-sectional and longitudinal evidence from the Group-Focused Enmity in Europe (GFE) survey in Germany suggests that higher proportions of Turkish immigrants provide greater opportunities for positive contact with Turks. This results in more frequent contact and a higher probability of having Turkish friends. In turn, Germans who had more contact and had Turkish friends showed less prejudice (Wagner, van Dick, Pettigrew, and Christ, 2003).

Research has shown that there are substantial effects of perceiving oneself or one's group to be in a numerical minority (Mullen, Johnson and Anthony, 1994). For one thing, smaller groups are likely to be less powerful and we know that power can foster less carefully controlled or considered action (Fiske, 1993). Smaller groups attract more attention, and members of such groups regulate their own behaviour more intensively (for good or bad, depending on their goals). Consequently, situations in which particular groups are likely to be small and concentrated while also visible to larger surrounding groups (such as within a particular neighbourhood or district or school) may be those in which they are especially vulnerable.

Power

Power can have similar psychological effects to group size (Keltner and Robinson, 1996). That is to say, a person who comes from a powerful group or holds a powerful role may subjectively feel powerful and behave in a powerful way even when he or she is not in a numerical majority. A line manager is in this situation, and organisations often have rules that give line managers authority to instruct subordinates. The problem is that even when the rules (for example, laws) demand that groups be treated equally, people may still use knowledge and cues about the

relative social status or standing of different groups to treat members as if they were subordinate. It follows that measuring the perceived power or social status of different groups may be highly informative in understanding why members of some groups are not treated as equals. For example, people in powerful roles who are judging others are more likely to attend to information that confirms stereotypes than information that disconfirms stereotypes.

Recent work by Weick (2008) also suggests that people in powerful positions see their world in more simplistic terms, applying stereotypes not only to others but to themselves. However, another way to look at the evidence is that powerless people tend to be attentive to details and to evidence when making judgements about others, whereas powerful people have greater psychological freedom to make less systematic summary judgements. Powerful people can therefore show greater flexibility in the way they judge others and the challenge may be to prevent them from making erroneous or inappropriate generalisations. While power may 'corrupt', it tends do so only among those who are already motivated to be corrupt. Members of powerful groups tend to be more biased against members of other groups (Richeson and Ambady, 2001; Sachdev and Bourhis, 1991) but in certain situations they may be more generous for the common good (Galinsky, Gruenfeld and Magee, 2003). An important message from this research is that being placed in a powerful role may generally (and without their awareness) increase a person's propensity to act in a discriminatory way but that this can be overcome.

2.2 Bases of prejudice

Prejudice can have a variety of bases. This section considers the values people apply to intergroup relationships, the way they make use and apply categories to define those relationships, and the importance of these categories for people's sense of identity. Another basis for prejudice lies in people's personality, but as it is arguable whether this is amenable to change it is not discussed in detail in this section. It is covered briefly in the section on engagement.

Values

Values express what is important to people in their lives, such as equality, social justice, social power, achievement, respect for tradition and pleasure. Values guide attitudes (Schwartz and Bardi, 2001) and behaviour (Bardi and Schwartz, 2003). Values are related to attitudes and to a wide range of behaviours, such as consumer purchases, cooperation and competition, intergroup social contact, occupational choice, religiosity and voting (see review in Schwartz and Bardi, 2001). Schwartz (1992, 2007) has developed and validated a theory of basic values and developed a widely used measurement instrument. This questionnaire measures a system of

values, any of which can be relevant to any particular issue. The importance of measuring values is reflected by inclusion of the values instrument as a core part of the European Social Survey. The survey data allow researchers to understand differences in social value priorities at two levels – differences between the importance attached to particular values by different social groups, and also differences among the value priorities of individuals within groups. For some groups, particular values are viewed as closer to 'morals', that is fundamental societally accepted principles, such as 'fairness', that guide action. Other values (and the same ones viewed by other groups) are viewed more as priorities or choices. So for example, respect for tradition is likely to have greater prominence in some religious groups than others and than among secular groups.

Prejudice, measured in terms of disdain, disrespect or perhaps hatred, is often fuelled by a perception that an out-group (a group that one's own is compared with) holds values that are contemptible or even disgusting. Calls for 'regime change', acts of genocide and international economic sanctions reflect challenges at the level of collective values, not acts of specific retribution for particular instances of wrongdoing. Therefore, an analysis of prejudice that ignores values and instead focuses only on specific attitudes or behaviour, risks missing a crucial part of the psychological context. Measuring and comparing the priority given to particular values by different groups can provide important insight into why they may be the targets or sources of hostility and prejudice. It can, therefore, help to identify where interventions can usefully be targeted.

Egalitarianism and contrasting values

Katz and Haas (1988) proposed that egalitarianism and the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) - two strongly held values among white North Americans - were especially relevant to modern forms of prejudice, in particular what they labelled 'ambivalent racism'. Whereas higher egalitarianism was associated with more pro-black attitudes, a stronger PWE was related to more anti-black attitudes. More generally, to the extent that a group appears not to uphold an important value, there is the potential that it will be seen as a legitimate target for prejudice. For example, some white British people may feel hostile towards Muslims because the latter are not viewed as egalitarian. They may feel hostile towards Caribbean black people because they perceive them as not working hard enough. Thus, although these 'out-groups' may share some values with the majority, prejudice against them is depicted as 'reasonable' because of the group's perceived failure to adhere to other values. As described later, there are other examples where prejudices (and resultant discrimination) can occur apparently despite the presence of well-intentioned values or attitudes. Kinder and Sear's (1981) theory of symbolic racism and McConahay's

(1986) work on 'modern racism' emphasise similar points, particularly that the violation of the PWE lies at the heart of whites' antipathy to blacks, and that the special treatment given to blacks violates an individualistic interpretation of fairness.

More recent ideas about egalitarianism suggest that it may serve as a 'prejudice antidote' by encouraging positive responses to minority or disadvantaged groups (Dasgupta and Rivera, 2006). Authoritarianism only seems to relate to prejudice among people who do not have egalitarian values (Oyamot, Borgida and Fisher, 2006). Other values might actively increase prejudice towards particular groups depending on whether those groups meet the implied objectives of such values. For example, in a situation where the PWE is made more salient (relevant, noticeable or attention-grabbing), attitudes to groups that stereotypically 'fail' to adhere to that value (such as overweight people, or black people in the United States – see Biernat and Vescio, 2005) become more negative. In general, it is understandable that one reason for feelings of antipathy towards a different group is that it is perceived as prioritising different values to our own (Haddock and Zanna, 1998).

Social categorisation and stereotyping

One immediate question from the preceding statement is why people care so much about these shared values. Four decades of empirical research and enormous historical evidence demonstrates that a strong predictor of prejudice is whether, when comparing themselves with others, people perceive themselves as belonging to a social category ('in-group') rather than simply as individuals (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Social categorisation

Social categorisation, which is a highly automatic, flexible and natural process, immediately creates the potential for generalisation about members of groups. Much of the time the categories we apply to people are useful, functional and indeed essential for navigating our lives. For example, a uniform is a vital sign allowing us to know who is a member of the emergency services. We are highly responsive to whether or not people are adults or children. Toilets in public places are pre-categorised by gender.

However, such convenient distinctions can readily become not just 'descriptive' but prescriptive, and thereby can provide a socially unquestioned mechanism for discrimination. Once social categories are in place they become imbued with meaning that denotes status, power and even differences in rights. We think little of a sign on a suburban wall saying 'No Ball Games', though this is implicitly directed entirely at children. Imagine how people might react if the sign said 'no children',

or conversely how surprising it would be to read, ‘noisy children and bouncing balls will be most welcome’. The point is simply that even without malicious intent, social categorisation itself can be a vehicle for discrimination.

Categorisation can be used as a basis for much worse too. The most obvious examples are apartheid and racially segregated schooling in the US. There are also less dramatic instances such as gender-segregated sports and selective education (grammar schools) in the UK.

Stereotyping

This natural process of using social categories also brings with it a second powerful process in the form of stereotyping. There is a wealth of research into the way stereotypes are formed, maintained and can be changed, but the basic point is that we all rely on stereotypes to make subjectively ‘informed’ judgements about ourselves and others (Schneider, 2004). To take a simple example, if there are three men and three women and the task is to move a piano, the chances are that the men will be more likely to do the lifting and the women to hold the door. Why? Not because men hold women in contempt but because stereotypically, and reasonably, men are physically stronger than women, all else being equal. In most situations, generalising stereotypes enable people to make assumptions about others that oil the wheels of social interaction and are unlikely to be challenged.

Such stereotypical expectations help to make life predictable, but the problem is that, inevitably, they are often misapplied. In our example, one of the men might have a weak back, one of the women may be a regular weight trainer. Erroneous application of stereotypes may often be an innocent consequence of pragmatic use of social categorisation to apply a general image about a whole category to a particular member of that category. Of course it becomes much more consequential and important when the stereotype involves attributes that might affect life chances: for example, stereotypes that managers are usually men, carers are usually women, or boys ‘should’ be more interested in maths and science.

In addition, because people tend to treat out-groups as more homogeneous than in-groups, there are likely to be miscategorisations that make the use of stereotypes even more wide of the mark. For example, many Westerners find it difficult to distinguish visually between Chinese and Japanese Asians, or between Indian, Pakistani and other people who share a skin colour but might have extremely different cultures, beliefs and practices. Application of a general stereotype on the basis of appearance is likely to result in important errors.

Despite these natural psychological consequences of categorisation, there are strong positives too. As UK society becomes increasingly multinational, multiracial and multicultural we have opportunities to use what is known as 'multiple categorisation' to reduce prejudicial assumptions and to facilitate more open-minded orientations to a whole range of social groups. However, the fundamental problem then shifts from 'who are they?' to 'who are we'? In any case, an important way to assess society's potential for prejudice is to evaluate how people use and apply social categories when they judge one another.

Self-categorisation, social identity and stereotype application

Not only do we categorise others, but research also shows that we categorise ourselves. Decades of research using the 'minimal group paradigm' shows that the mere act of categorising people is sufficient to produce discriminatory behaviour. Even when they can make no personal gain, are unaware of the particular individuals who make up their own and other groups, and when the people they can give resources to are completely anonymous, people will still favour members of their own category over people they believe to belong to others (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). It seems that the basis for this is that people psychologically enlarge their self-concept to include the category they believe they belong to. By favouring other members of that category, people psychologically favour themselves.

Perhaps surprisingly, just as the categorisation of other people is likely to mean that we use stereotypes to judge one another, there is clear evidence that we apply social stereotypes of our in-groups to ourselves (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell, 1987). And just as stereotypes can harm or favour members of other groups, self-stereotyping can be enabling or disabling for ourselves.

Stereotype application

One way to understand how stereotypes affect behaviour is shown in Figure 2.2. Essentially, in any situation where we observe others we are likely to apply our implicit knowledge of social stereotypes relating to those people's group memberships. We then draw inferences about those people (for example, why they engaged in an action or why it had certain outcomes). This inference tends to be confirmed through two routes. First we may tend to assume the stereotype is correct and behave towards the person on that basis. Second the person may react in a way that is consistent with the stereotype to fit in with our actions.

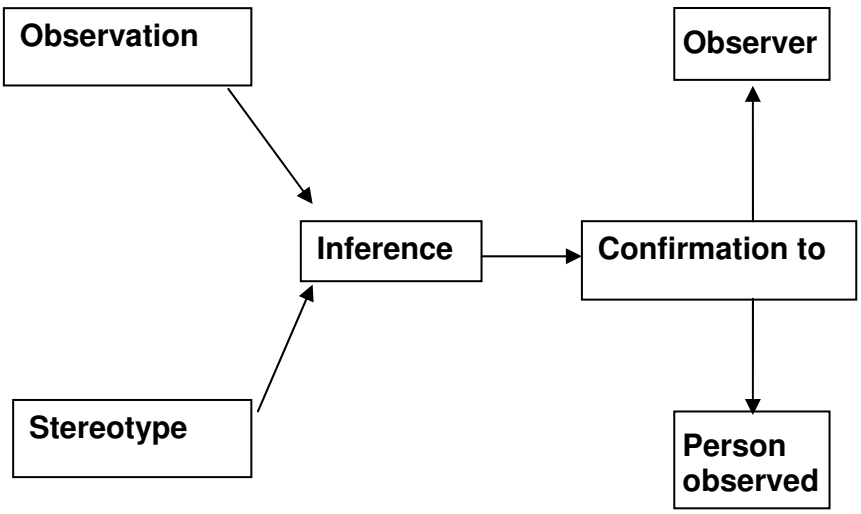
Imagine, for example, a parking accident on a rainy day in which a driver reverses into another car. If the driver is young we might assume the accident is a result of inexperience and that the driver required more practice. By advising the driver to

get more lessons we are confirming in our own minds that this is the correct interpretation, but also reinforcing in the driver's mind the linkage between youth and inexperience. In contrast, if the driver is old we might assume the accident is a result of declining ability to control the car and that the driver either needs special driving aids (for example, parking sensors) or should be prevented from driving. By offering such advice to the driver we both confirm the stereotype in our own minds but also lead the driver to wonder whether he or she is able to drive any longer.

The point here is that people are likely and willing to make such highly consequential inferences even when they lack critical information (for example, was the person drunk? How long had they been a driver? How long had they owned the car?). Stereotype-based inferences therefore have substantial potential to affect the way we treat others and how others respond to our treatment. Measuring and understanding social stereotypes can give us information about how groups may be subjected to discrimination based on biased inferences in consequential situations.

The model also illustrates that there are several points at which interventions might be effective. These could be introduced at different steps in the process. For example, we could try to prevent people relying so heavily on stereotypes when they make inferences, or we could intervene to prevent the inferences leading to confirmatory conclusions (for example, leave no room for discretion in treatment of reverse parking accidents) or we could try to prevent the negative influence of stereotypes on people's own behaviour or self-concepts. An example of such interventions is given in the stereotype threat part of the Engagement With Prejudice section (2.4) of this chapter.

Figure 2.2 Stereotype confirmation processes



Social identity

Stereotype confirmation processes are only part of the story because we play an active role in defining and defending our own social category memberships. To the extent we see ourselves as belonging to an in-group, we gain value and meaning for our own sense of identity through comparisons between that group and other groups. The more we positively identify with the group the more we will be motivated to make comparisons that bring favourable outcomes. A group that is not at the top of the pecking order may more actively compare itself with other groups that are further down rather than groups above them. This can meet people's needs for self-esteem, as well as for more mundane things such as claims to resources and power, and existentially significant things such as a sense of purpose and meaning (see Abrams and Hogg, 2001, and a very extensive literature on social identity theory from Tajfel and Turner, 1979, to Abrams and Hogg, 1988 onwards).

Like self-categorisation, social identification can be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, a sense of pride and identity can motivate pro-social behaviour, it can build group cohesiveness and cooperation, and it can provide the vehicle for influencing large numbers of people (for example, co-opting them to contribute to a charity). On the other hand, strong social identification with a category, with the resultant embedding of one's identity largely within that category, can provide the basis of protracted intergroup conflict (for example, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the Troubles in Northern Ireland), and ultimately genocide. Without an understanding of the role of social categorisation and social identification any attempt to address the question of how to promote equality and human rights is likely to run into difficulties.

The flexible use of social categorisation

Some social categories are 'apparent' and therefore structure our perceptions regardless of our attitudes or opinions. Gender is one of these. There are some plausible biological and evolutionary arguments for why gender is likely to dominate our initial impressions of other people, and to frame our subsequent relationships with them. Other manifest differences, related to race as well as to physical impairment, could also be the basis for prejudice or discrimination for evolutionary reasons (Kurzban and Leary, 2001). However, an evolutionary explanation is severely limited by its inability to explain all those (millions of) instances where other considerations override the biological imperative of defending one's genes or gene pool.

Returning to the process of categorisation itself, one of the remarkable things about it is how easily and readily we can substitute one category system for another.

For example, children may be prejudiced against others who go to a different school from their own (often denoted through uniform as well as geographical location) or adult soccer fans may feel antipathy towards those supporting an opposing team. However, these feelings can be supplanted by a strong common bond when a higher order category (for example, regional or national) is relevant because of a comparison or competition with an out-group at that same level. It is rare to find supporters of local football teams fighting one another at an international match.

Extending the football example further, supporters of teams quickly find new rivals or enemies as their team is either relegated or promoted between leagues. This point is important. People are not just generically prejudiced or unprejudiced. Prejudices have a systematic relationship to the position of oneself and one's groups in the wider social structure.

Age categories

Ageism provides a further powerful example of how the flexible use of categories creates distinctions that are sometimes largely arbitrary but that nonetheless matter greatly. There are many different possible cut-off points for the categories 'young' and 'old' (let alone 'middle aged'). Even the same person is likely to qualify their use of the terms. Artists may not be described as 'old' until they reach their seventies or eighties, whereas athletes are often described as 'old' on reaching their thirties.

Moreover, the multiple legal, educational and economic age boundaries exemplify that we tend to want to impose categories even when they do not exist in reality. It is clearly absurd to argue that the age difference between a 17-year-and-one-day-old person versus a 17-year-and-364-day-old person is less important or relevant to the ability to vote than the difference between the latter and an 18-year-and-one-day-old person. Likewise school examinations are taken in the same school year by most pupils even though a child born in September will have the advantage of a whole year's extra learning and experience compared with one born in August. However, society quite readily accepts the use of age thresholds and attaches enormous significance to them in, for instance, allowing permission to have sexual intercourse, get married, consume alcohol, drive a car, draw a pension, receive free services and benefits, and be paid less than others.

We tend to think of these thresholds more as a matter of convenience than either logic or justice. However, it can be argued that the convenience is more psychological than real – it is counterproductive to test children earlier than is fair, it is wasteful to give free bus passes to people who are still working merely because they have reached the age of 50 or 60. It is bizarre to prevent people younger than

18 from participating fully in political democracy and perverse to say the least that they are entitled to marry and have children before they are deemed capable of exercising political judgement. And there is a reasonable case for judging people on the basis of their capacity and qualifications rather than their age.

The point of these observations about age is that they show how readily people will adopt and use social categorisation for managing their relationships. The categorisations are shared points of reference that allow us to organise our acts and attitudes in a way that makes sense to us and to others. The problem is that weeds and flowers grow well in the same soil. The very same processes that allow us to navigate our social world effectively are the bedrock on which prejudice and inequality stand. Knowing how people use and apply social categorisations is therefore crucial for understanding how to prevent and tackle prejudice – as it were, how best to engage in both propagation and weeding.

Intergroup similarity and categorisation

In fact there are several theories about how categorisation can be a basis for prejudice reduction. Some of the basic ideas are depicted in Figure 2.3. It is clear that when groups are seen as very distinct and separate there is maximum potential for prejudice between them, especially if there is also some degree of interdependence, for example, when one group's gains depend on the other's losses.

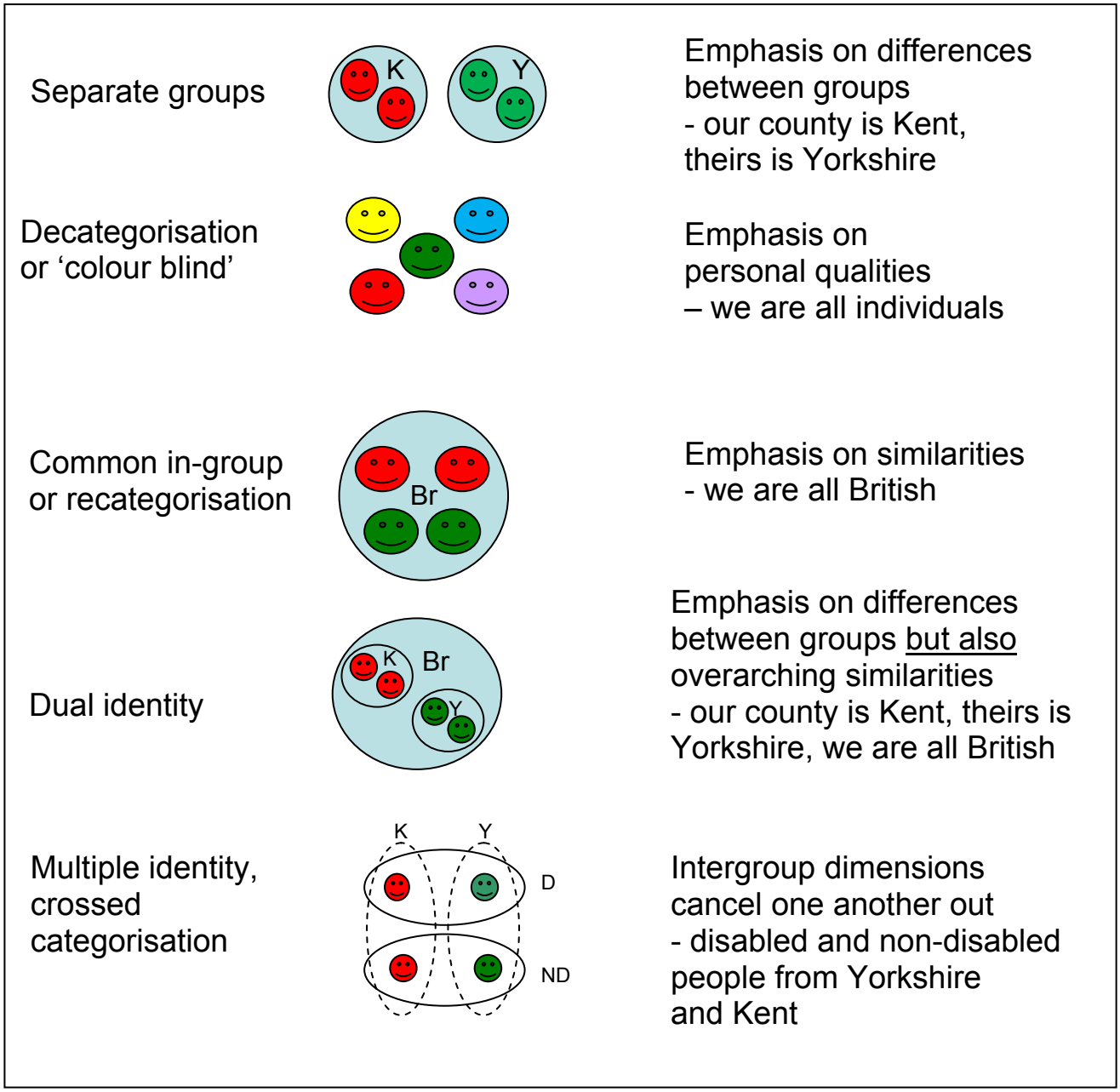
How can this categorisation problem be overcome? One powerful candidate is '**decategorisation**', namely the idea that, through encouraging people to see others purely as individuals rather than as group members, general prejudice against groups will diminish. There is little doubt that without categorisation there can be no prejudice, but the question is whether the conditions for prejudice are likely to exist when group differences can be ignored in this way. In the context of racial and ethnic relations, this approach is akin to the 'colour-blind' view. By treating all people as individuals we can see past their skin colour or ethnicity and equality should prevail.

We know that this can be achieved in principle with ad hoc groups (Brewer and Miller, 1984) but perhaps when group memberships are underscored by physical, geographical, linguistic and cultural differences they become very hard to ignore. Consequently other approaches have been developed.

The Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000) proposes that prejudice can be reduced by '**recategorisation**', specifically by highlighting that people share a larger, superordinate group, more akin to a melting-pot approach.

For example, Esses, Dovidio, Semenya and Jackson (2005) showed that people with a strong international identity had more positive attitudes to immigrants than did people with a strong national identity.

Figure 2.3 Social categorisation and prejudice reduction



Recent important work by Crisp (Crisp and Hewstone, 2007) underlines that it is possible to use **multiple category** descriptions to defuse or at least change the direction of people's prejudices. By making more than one axis of categorisation relevant in a context it is sometimes possible to offset the tendency to apply stereotypes. In principle one could offset prejudice based on ethnicity in a multiethnic

context by dividing activities according to gender, which should make ethnic stereotypes irrelevant. This sort of strategy works if none of the categories is 'dominant', that is, not more strongly embedded psychologically or supported by social pressure. There is also a risk that 'subtypes' emerge so that instead of being diffused, prejudice becomes more highly focused (for example, white people's prejudice against black people becomes focused in negative stereotypes of young black men). All else being equal, however, the more potential categorisations that are potentially relevant in a situation, the less likely it is that any one of these will predominate and frame attitudes and behaviour.

There could be unexpected consequences of directing an intervention at prejudice towards a general category (such as 'women') if people actually tend to use subcategories such as 'career women' and 'mothers', and hold different attitudes towards each subcategory. Conversely, a specific goal of an intervention might be to encourage people to use subcategories rather than applying a general stereotype. Consequently, approaches to multiculturalism (and good relations) that opt for a single strategy (such as colour-blind or melting-pot approaches to multiculturalism) may work well under some circumstances but not others.

Optimal distinctiveness

As well as the cognitive effects of multiple categorisation, its effectiveness as a solution to intergroup prejudices also depends on other factors. Importantly, people are often motivated to sustain their subgroup identities – people from Yorkshire are as, if not more, attached to their Yorkshire identity as they are to English or British identity. Gaertner and Dovidio, as well as others (Brewer, 1991; Hewstone and Brown, 1986; Hornsey and Hogg, 2002), have recognised that perhaps an ideal outcome is that of 'nested identities', namely that people can view themselves as belonging to a group that is different from an out-group but that shares a common identity at the same time. One of the challenges is how to maintain the focus on the common identity without seeming to deny the importance of the subordinate identity. Brewer (1991) has shown that people prefer to feel they are part of a group that is sufficiently large or inclusive that it is meaningful but not so large that anybody could be a member. Attempts to assimilate people into a large superordinate group may therefore provoke a counter-reaction where they attempt to make their own particular group more distinctive. Given that people may gravitate towards identities that provide them with an optimal level of distinctiveness, strategies to build cohesion across different communities need to be considered in terms of how they might avoid undermining cohesion and identities within communities.

Category norms

A further strategy is to focus people's attention on 'in-group' norms that highlight tolerance and equality (Abrams and Hogg, 1988; Jetten, Spears and Manstead, 1997). Instead of trying to change stereotypes about particular out-groups, the idea here is to change what people believe other in-group members do and expect. This is because when people identify with a social category they also embrace the norms of that category as the standards and reference points for their own views and actions. This offers the intriguing scenario of finding ways that groups can enhance their members' identity by demonstrating that they are, for instance, more open, kind and tolerant than contrasting groups.

Research on the way groups regulate the actions of their members shows that when attitudes based on core values of equality are framed as in-group norms, individuals who visibly challenge such norms are likely to be put under pressure to come into line and to be disliked. Moreover, this phenomenon is stronger if the person is an in-group member than an out-group member (see Abrams, Marques, Bown and Henson, 2000, in the context of attitudes towards immigration). This suggests that strategies to reduce prejudice towards particular groups may be open to influence by highlighting people's shared membership of a group that has tolerant norms.

What does seem clear is that, depending on the complexity of the social context and other factors, the different ways that people categorise their own and other groups has important implications for levels of prejudice towards those groups. Therefore, tracking the changing ways categories are applied can provide useful insights into the changing nature of prejudices.

2.3 Manifestations of prejudice

One of the important lessons from social psychological research is that prejudice can take many forms. These are not random though. Particular manifestations of prejudice depend on how a group is perceived and its status in society, or the intergroup context and bases for prejudice. Any attempt to gauge prejudice therefore needs to attend to both the degree to which it is being expressed and the way it is manifested.

Stereotype content and benevolent prejudice

Recent research has indicated that prejudice and stereotyping are not based only on negative perceptions. Rather, some apparently positive stereotypes can be used to justify the exclusion or oppression of certain groups in society. For example, sexism has traditionally been treated as unwarranted hostility and animosity towards women. However, it is clear that sexism actually has several distinct components.

Broadly these can be characterised as traditional hostile attitudes (for example, that women are demanding too much equality) and ‘benevolent’ attitudes. Benevolent sexism is not imbued with negative emotion, indeed it has quite the opposite tone, regarding women as important, to be valued, and indeed cherished. The reason that these attitudes are sexist is that they are conditional: only if women adhere to their traditional place as home-maker, carer and showing devoted loyalty to their men will they be treated with respect and protection.

Many media images and social customs reinforce this idea (such as holding a door open for a woman, allowing women to go first, etc) in the form of etiquette and courtesy. But these attitudes and practices also reinforce the legitimacy of a social system in which men appear to have the right to dominate in terms of power and resources. Thus, benevolent prejudice is often highly patronising. As an example, Abrams, Viki, Masser and Bohner (2003) showed that when mock jurors were asked to rate the culpability of rape victims, those who had highly benevolent sexist attitudes were significantly more likely to blame a victim of rape by an acquaintance than rape by a stranger. For a benevolent sexist, a victim of stranger rape is ‘innocent’ whereas a victim of acquaintance rape has, by allowing an acquaintance to be that close, violated her social role.

Fiske and colleagues have extended this research on sexism into a more general theory of how groups are stereotyped. Social groups and categories that are of lower status are more likely to be stereotyped as warm but not competent (for example, home-makers and older people), resulting in ‘paternalistic prejudice’ (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu, 2002). Majority and usually high-status groups have a collective interest in sustaining these stereotypes because they form an important part of the ideologies that justify the social dominance of their group over others. Jost and Banaji (1994) referred to such beliefs as ‘system-justifying’ because, while serving to enhance the self-esteem of low-status group members, these beliefs also serve to maintain and justify the system that oppresses them.

Based on these ideas Fiske and colleagues developed a ‘Stereotype Content Model’, which sets out the basic elements of all stereotypes. While the absolute comprehensiveness of the model could be challenged, there seems little doubt, based on substantial survey and experimental evidence, that it captures the major territory of many important and consequential stereotypes. For example, Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu (2002) asked nine varied samples containing male and female participants to say to what extent a large set of groups (including gender, race, class, age and ethnic groups) displayed particular traits. Contrary to the idea that prejudice is based purely on antipathy, Fiske, Cuddy, Glick and Xu (2002) found that groups

were generally classified along the two dimensions of warmth and competence. Prejudice can take different forms. For example most of the groups were classified as either high in competence but low in warmth ('envious prejudice') or low in competence but high in warmth ('paternalistic prejudice'). This is shown in Table 2.1.

The way people depicted each group was determined by the socio-structural relationships among the groups. High-status groups were often perceived as competent but cold (for example, men and Jews), whereas low-status groups were perceived as warm but incompetent. As discussed below, these perceptions are also conditioned by the extent to which groups are perceived as competitive, and the extent to which they are seen as gaining unjust benefits. These perceptions also pave the way for strong emotional and behavioural responses to members of different groups. In general, however, the stereotype content model provides a powerful framework for mapping how groups are perceived at any point in time, and allows cross-strand comparisons. Therefore it would seem a very useful tool for any cross-strand approach to prejudice.

Table 2.1 The stereotype content model

Stereotype	Warmer	Colder
More competent	Emotion: Admiration Example: Majority	Emotion: Envy Example: Jews
Less competent	Emotion: Pity Example: Disabled people	Emotion: Contempt Example: Gypsies

Based on Fiske et al. (2002)

Intergroup emotions and infrahumanisation

Over the last 60 years or so social attitude researchers have tended to view prejudice as a system of beliefs. Recently, closer attention has been paid to the emotional basis of people's orientation towards one another. Put simply, a person's feelings of anger, fear, sympathy or disgust towards someone else may be more important than all the particular reasons why he or she has those feelings. We know from basic categorisation that people already have a tendency to view out-groups

less favourably than in-groups even when the membership of those groups has been temporarily or arbitrarily created. Both prejudice and good relations are likely to have important emotional bases which cannot easily be explained as rational responses to particular beliefs. Indeed, people can generate beliefs (that may become shared stereotypes) about a particular individual or group as a way of justifying emotions rather than being the cause of the emotions.

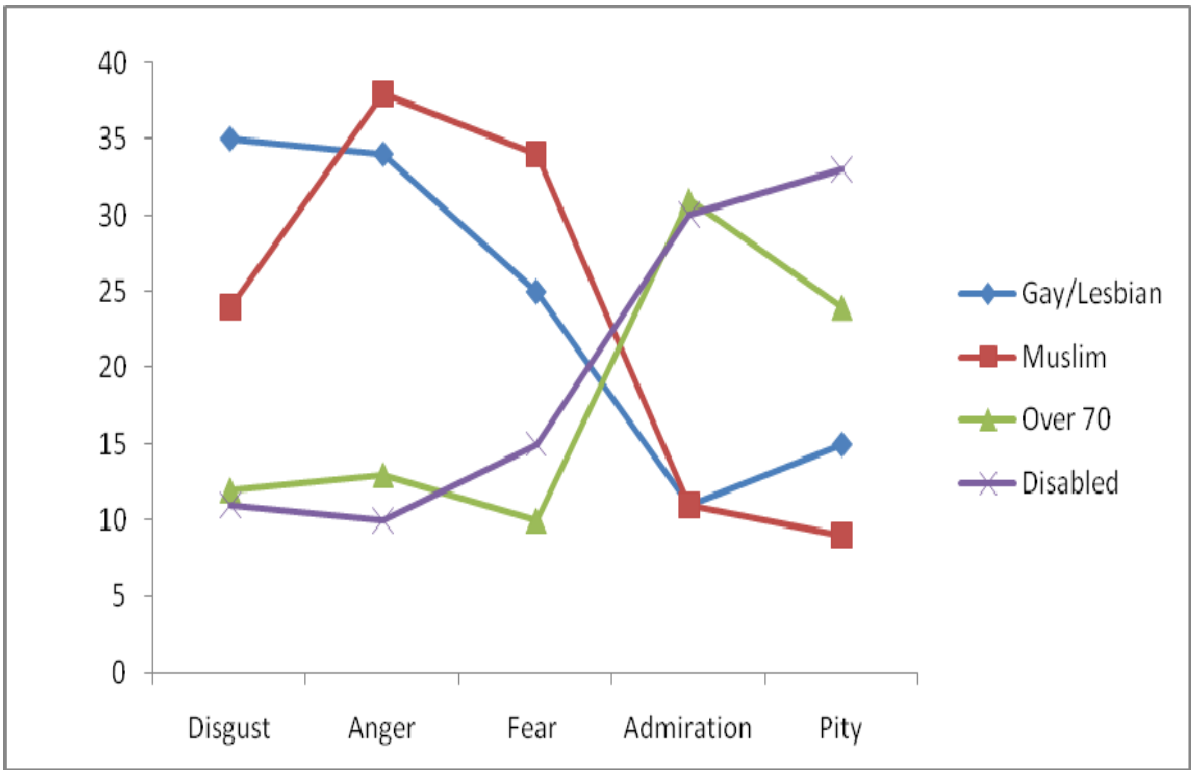
Intergroup relations researchers, particularly Mackie and Smith (2002), have proposed that people who identify with a group **share** distinct emotions with their own groups and towards other groups. Whereas prejudice can be measured simply as liking versus disliking, intergroup emotions are both stronger and more specific in their implications. Specific emotions towards social groups are thought to arise from people's appraisals (or evaluations) of the meaning of the group's characteristics or actions. For example, in the UK, some majority white people might view immigrant populations as taking an unjustifiably large share of the cake, leading to anger and resentment. In contrast, homophobic attitudes may reflect uncertainty or moral or religious convictions, and these may be more associated with feelings of fear or disgust.

An example of how prejudices can be based on quite different emotional profiles is shown in Figure 2.4 from evidence in the National Survey of Prejudice (Abrams and Houston, 2006). Both Muslims and gay men and lesbians were thought likely to evoke anger, but disgust was more likely in relation to gay men and lesbians and fear more likely in relation to Muslims. Both people over 70 and disabled people were somewhat admired, but at the same time they were likely to attract pity.

Different emotions in turn motivate different actions. For example, people who feel anger are likely to act aggressively or punitively whereas people who are fearful are likely to avoid contact with the group. Both anger and fear reflect a negative attitude, but with distinctly different implications for action. Similarly, contempt will produce very different actions from guilt. It is also true that emotions that arise when thinking about a group can affect other important phenomena. For example, when people feel angry their decisions are more risky, whereas when people feel fearful their decisions tend to become more cautious. As noted when discussing stereotype content earlier, we also need to recognise that appraisals and emotions can be complex and mixed resulting in constellations that have different implications for prejudice and discrimination. Of course, attitudes, stereotypes and emotions do not fully account for prejudiced behaviour because other constraints and forces come into play (including rules, norms and other personal or collective priorities), but of

these three it seems that emotions are the best predictor (Maitner, Mackie and Smith, 2007).

Figure 2.4 Emotions associated with different social groups (percentage agreeing) in the 2005 National Survey of Prejudice



Based on Abrams and Houston (2006)

Infrahumanisation

Social psychology research has not only focused on emotions we feel towards other groups, but also on emotions we expect from other groups. Leyens and colleagues (Vaes, Paladino and Leyens, 2002) showed how our assumptions about emotionality within out-groups is a subtle but real part of prejudice. Leyens distinguishes between 'primary emotions' such as anger and fear that are experienced by both humans and animals, and 'secondary emotions' that are unique to human beings, such as guilt, melancholy and embarrassment (Ekman, 1992). There is a large volume of evidence showing that people tend to view in-groups as having uniquely human emotions more than out-groups (Leyens, Rodriguez, Rodriguez, Gaunt, Paladino, Vaes and Demoulin 2001; Paladino, Leyens, Rodriguez and Rodriguez, 2002).

This 'infrahumanisation' has important implications. If we consider ourselves to be complex, subtle and perhaps sensitive people, it may serve our psychological and

social motives to view out-groups as somehow less so. In fact, if out-group members express secondary emotions they may be viewed especially negatively (Vaes, Paladino and Leyens, 2002). Why does an attack on the culture or values of an out-group member seem so easy? Perhaps because we tend to believe that the victims are not psychologically capable of being offended. Why does an attack on our own culture seem so offensive? Perhaps because the attackers seem so oblivious to its importance and significance to ourselves. Like the stereotype content model, work on intergroup emotions and infrahumanisation is at the leading edge of prejudice research in the UK, elsewhere in Europe and North America.

Guilt and 'pro-social' emotions

Finally, what are the prospects for so-called 'prosocial' emotions such as guilt, shame, compassion and forgiveness in reducing the effects of prejudice? Experimental research shows that when people feel guilty about their own group's actions against another group, they are motivated to make amends (Branscombe, 2004). Unfortunately, making people feel guiltier about inequality seems unlikely to be a useful solution. One reason is that people tend to avoid self-critical emotions such as guilt and shame. For example, the stronger people's sense of national identity, the more resistant they become to feeling guilty about past national wrongdoing (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears and Manstead, 1998). Other evidence shows that raising people's awareness of collective responsibility for injustice against another group may result in people judging that group as less human (Castano and Giner-Sorolla, 2006). On top of these risks, compared to other emotions such as shame, anger and compassion, guilt is relatively weak and self-centred, and more likely to lead to inaction than action (Iyer, Schmader and Lickel, 2007; Leach, Iyer and Pedersen, 2006). By contrast, evidence shows that positive feelings such as responsibility, forgiveness, compassion and empathy are associated with more positive intergroup relationships and greater humanisation of other groups (Galinsky and Moskowitz, 2000; Tam, Hewstone, Cairns, Tausch, Maio and Kenworthy, 2007).

The language of prejudice

Infrahumanisation is an example of 'implicit prejudice' because it tends to arise without conscious awareness and is less subject than blatant expressions of prejudice to pressures for social desirability and political correctness. Prejudice can be expressed in many ways. There is substantial literature on 'ethnolinguistic vitality', or the ways in which identity is expressed through language and linguistic cues. People can include or exclude others from their interactions by subtle use of, for example, accents or idioms that are exclusive to an in-group (Giles and Johnson, 1987). Linguistic separateness between communities also reflects whether there are opportunities, capacity and motivation to engage in communication with out-groups.

Language is also used more directly to attack or undermine out-groups. For example white supremacist groups on the internet create a discourse that claims whites are the disadvantaged group (Douglas, McGarty, Bliuc and Lala, 2005). Although 'hate speech' against minorities is easy to detect, it may not be the most dangerous form of linguistic attack. As it is explicit, hate speech can be challenged and countered. But more subtle, implicit, forms of prejudice are also manifested through language. Research by Mullen and colleagues (Mullen, 2001, 2004; Mullen and Johnson, 1993, 1995; Mullen and Leader, 2005; Mullen, Leader and Rice, 2005; Mullen and Rice, 2003; Mullen, Rozwell and Johnson, 2000, 2001) shows that the ascription of names to in-groups and out-groups can vary in relation to both the positive or negative character of an emotion (valence) and the degree of complexity (high or low).

Experiments and analyses of extensive archival evidence show that people tend to describe minority ethnic groups with ethnic slurs (ethnophaulisms) that are more negative and also simpler than those used to describe majority groups. More importantly, this research shows that the complexity, rather than the negativity, of these terms is most strongly associated with whether the group suffers from discrimination and disadvantage. A group that is commonly described using more complex language is less likely to be discriminated against. The combination of both negativity and simplicity in the way people describe minority groups is clearly predictive of whether these groups are targets of intergroup hostility (Mullen, 2005; Mullen and Rice, 2003). More recent research (Mullen, Calogero and Leader, 2007) has also shown that when people use simpler names for their ingroups they are more likely to engage in hostile ways to relevant out-groups. Thus, echoing the points made earlier about categorisation, ascribing simplistic generalisations such as 'axis of evil' or 'infidel' to a whole group or nation is dangerous because simplification makes prejudice both more likely and more widespread.

Broadly speaking, people are prone to a 'linguistic intergroup bias'. People change the form, not just the content, of their language as a way of favouring their in-groups. They are more willing to use abstract terms and adjectives to describe positive things about their own group (such as 'we are great', 'we are clever') but concrete descriptions of behaviours or states to describe positive things about out-groups (such as 'they performed well yesterday'). The reverse tendency applies when describing negative features ('our economy is underperforming this year', 'their economy is weak'). These linguistic intergroup biases (Maass, Salvi, Arcuri and Semin, 1989) are not fixed features of communication: people vary from time to time and group to group. However, it can be highly informative to have an objective measure of language use as a way of understanding which groups are becoming subject to prejudice and are liable to be targets of discrimination.

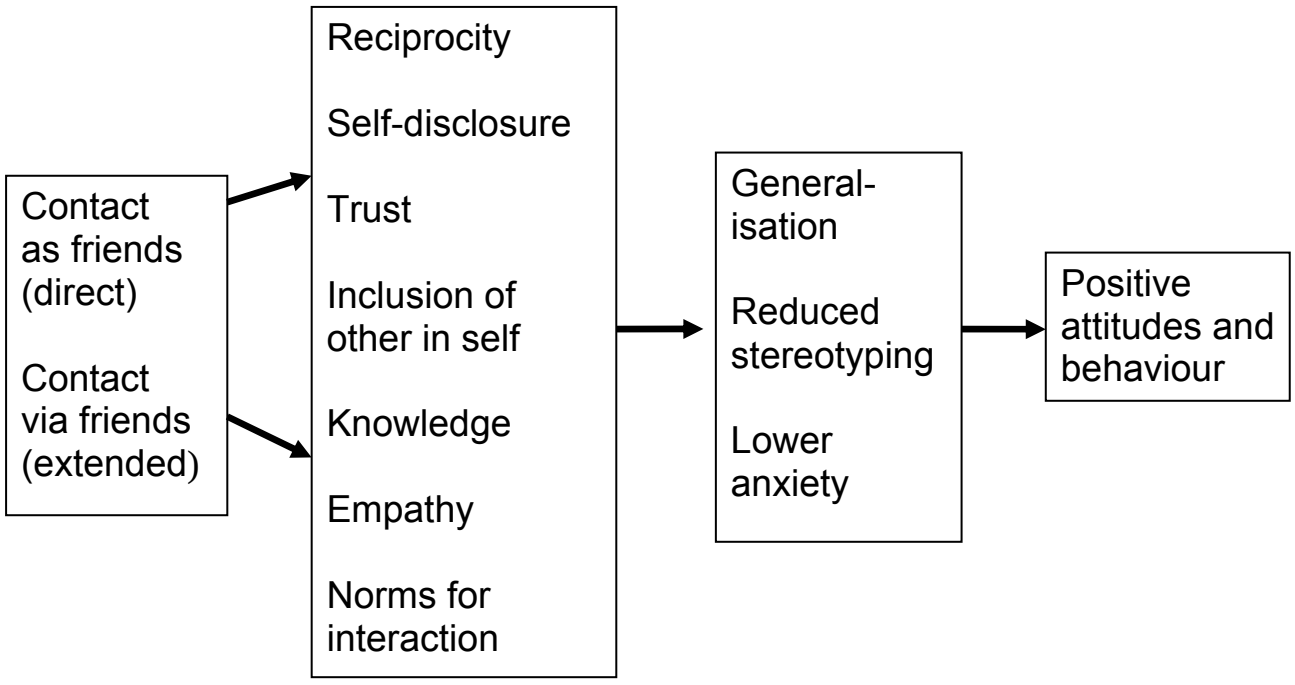
People are often unaware of these ways of using language – those who want to make another group look bad spontaneously use more abstract and negative ways of describing them (Douglas and Sutton, 2003) and, equally important, linguistic intergroup biases are an insidious way of passing on prejudice and negative stereotypes over generations (Franco and Maass, 1999). On the other hand, raising people's awareness of how these biases work can enable people who want to be unprejudiced to know how to use language in an unbiased manner (Douglas, Sutton and Wilkin, 2008).

2.4 Engagement with prejudice

Intergroup contact

The extensive literature on intergroup contact (see Pettigrew, 1998, and Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006, for a meta-analysis of over 500 studies) demonstrates that early theorising by Allport (1954) has largely been supported. Contact between members of different groups fosters positive intergroup attitudes if the contact also involves similarity, common goals, institutional support and equal status. However, research has also highlighted a number of important caveats. First, we note that these optimal conditions for contact rarely exist. Second, it is important to distinguish between the frequency (or quantity) of contact and the quality of that contact. Frequent unpleasant contact is hardly likely to promote harmony. Figure 2.5 summarises current research evidence on the routes from contact to reduced prejudice.

Figure 2.5 Routes from intergroup contact to lowered prejudice



Direct contact

Further research suggests that a critical type of contact is contact 'as friends', but here again there are potential problems. If the friend is not seen as generally typical of their group it is unlikely someone will generalise their positive attitude to their friend towards the group as a whole. In any case, there is a question of what it is about friendship that helps to generate positive intergroup attitudes. Recently, Hewstone and colleagues (Brown and Hewstone, 2005) have highlighted that reciprocal self-disclosure seems to play an important role. This suggests that structured situations that promote mutual sharing of experiences and views can provide an important route for ensuring intergroup friendships form and generalise.

Friendship is likely to build trust, reduce anxiety about interacting with out-group members (an element of the Stephan and Stephan integrated threat model referred to earlier), facilitate the taking of out-group perspectives and increase empathising with the out-group. All of these are ways of linking a person, psychologically, to an out-group and thus reducing the likelihood that prejudicial attitudes will be sustained.

Extended contact

Unfortunately, opportunity for contact is often restricted or non-existent. How many British people have ever met an Iraqi? How many Muslims socialise with Christians? In any intergroup divide, we are likely to find inner circles that have almost no contact with out-groups. Recent research has also begun to address this question. Two methods seem especially promising. One of these is indirect or 'extended' contact (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe and Ropp, 1997). The mechanism for extended contact is through awareness that another in-group member (ideally an in-group friend) is the friend of an out-group member; this reduces one's own psychological distance from the out-group member and can promote positive attitudes. There are more concrete consequences of extended contact too, such as the in-group member passing on relevant information about the out-group, perhaps dispelling inaccurate stereotypes.

Imagined contact

Even extended contact may not be feasible under some circumstances. Either there are too few members of an in-group who are friends with out-group members, so that experiences cannot be shared and generalised, or the particular out-group members may be viewed as very atypical. For example, in the UK white Christians may regard their Asian Muslim friends as very unusual and unrepresentative of their group, which may actually reinforce prevailing stereotypes about 'most' Muslims.

Recently, a further technique has been developed to simulate the potentially positive effects of contact. Surprisingly, this technique calls only for people to be able to imagine positive contact with out-group members. There might be a variety of reasons why this 'works', including the possibility that, by mentally preparing for a potential interaction, people have to humanise and individualise the out-group member that they imagine (Turner, Crisp and Lambert, 2007). This in turn weakens negative attitudes that might have been acquired through other means such as exposure to media scare stories or stereotypes, or hearing other people's prejudices.

Contact and social exclusion

Contact has a further implication, however, which is that it can serve as an index of a group's risk of discrimination or social exclusion. For several reasons group isolation (or segregation, whether voluntary or not) restricts opportunities to engage with other networks and individuals. Just as personal isolation puts individuals at risk of individual exclusion, group isolation has similar effects at the group level. Moreover, effects of segregation seem likely to be compounded because people who feel included within a group may be unaware that their group as a whole is disadvantaged in significant ways (see Abrams, Christian and Gordon, 2007).

Exclusion can also happen through the distribution of people within social settings. Concretely, children are excluded from the school staffroom, a rule with which most children and teachers are comfortable. More subtly, boardrooms and senior committees often have a conspicuous absence of women and members of ethnic minority groups. And in many sectors there is substantial sex and age segregation in the workplace (for instance, most nurses are women, most consultants are men, in most universities the senior positions are filled by older men). These imbalances have both structural and psychological effects. In particular, they give rise to tokenism (for example, presumptions that senior women are somehow a) atypical of women as a whole and b) of sufficient number to prove that the system is fair). Age Concern England's research shows that intergenerational contact might have similar effects. Younger people with more friends over 70 years of age had significantly more positive expectations about ageing, particularly in not believing that competence declines with age (Age Concern England, 2008).

Prejudice as a general phenomenon, and prejudiced individuals

Focusing on either good relations or prejudice could imply different objectives. A good relations approach suggests it could be effective to encourage unprejudiced and positive relations across groups and communities in general (see Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007). A focus on prejudice might imply it would be more effective to tackle specific aspects of prejudice and conflict between

particular sets of groups. This review advocates analysing prejudice using a common framework, but deriving specific and distinctive strategies for tackling specific prejudices.

The good relations objective raises the question of whether it is practical or useful to treat prejudice as a general phenomenon. That is, we need to consider whether a) some people are generally more prejudiced than other people, and b) whether a generic strategy might reduce prejudice of any kind, wherever or for whatever reason it occurs.

There have always been researchers interested in explaining prejudice through personality differences. Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford's (1950) classic work on the authoritarian personality sought to establish a personality syndrome that could explain fascist beliefs. More recently, research on right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1981) and on 'social dominance orientation' (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999) suggests that some people believe more strongly than others that society should be arranged in hierarchies, with more power and control in the hands of dominant groups. Researchers tend to argue that there are both individual differences in people's tendency to have such ways of dealing with the world, but also strong situational differences that can affect people's approach to one another.

As an example, people with a high need for closure – the need to reach decisions quickly and finally without ambiguity – are likely to show more favouritism towards in-groups, more exclusion of non-conformists, and more prejudice against out-groups (Kruglanski, 2006; Kruglanski, Pierro, Mannetti and De Grada, 2006; Kruglanski, Shah, Pierro and Mannetti, 2002; Kruglanski and Webster, 1991; Shah, Kruglanski and Thompson, 1998; Van Heil, Pandelaere and Duriez, 2004; Webster and Kruglanski, 1998). Some people do have a higher need for closure than others (Webster and Kruglanski, 1994), but there is little that can be done about this. On the other hand, situational factors such as a noisy environment or time pressure are known to increase need for closure (Dijksterhuis, van Knippenburg, Kruglanski and Schaper, 1996; Ford and Kruglanski, 1995; Kruglanski, 2006; Kruglanski and Freund, 1983), meaning that these types of situation will also increase prejudice and increase the exclusion of non-conformists. As we have much readier control over situational things than we do over people's personality, it is arguable that day-to-day management of situations in which people have to make choices and decisions about others (such as hiring decisions) are ones in which we need to be very careful to avoid pressures to reach closure.

The idea that some people have generalised prejudice, or ‘pan prejudice’ as Allport (1954) termed it, is important because it raises the possibility that education, particularly education targeted at these individuals, might be a cost-effective way to militate against prejudicial influences within society. Not all sexists are racists, and vice versa, but there is a tendency for prejudices to be clustered and thematic, and may have common underpinnings. A belief that differences between people are innate and cannot be changed (Haslam, Rothschild and Ernst, 2000) can underpin both racism and sexism. When considering educational interventions it is probably useful to think of which prejudices go together and tackle the underlying assumptions that support the prejudices. This way, programmes targeting racism may also help to diminish sexism, or prejudice against disabled people may be tackled in conjunction with ageism.

Crandall and Eshelman (2003) proposed that really there are just two aspects to the expression of prejudice. First is the extent to which people feel or believe prejudice is justified (for example, because of something bad or wrong about the target group). Countering this is the extent to which people suppress their prejudices, either consciously or not. There can be multiple reasons why prejudices could be subjectively justifiable and why they may be suppressed, so the key to reducing prejudice is knowing which justifications to attack, and which suppressors to activate (for example, egalitarianism). The reason that prejudices towards related groups tend to go together is because similar justifiers or suppressors are at work. For example, prejudices against a variety of groups might be linked through the justification that people who live in the UK should speak English and adopt a ‘British way of life’. But prejudices against some of these groups might be suppressed because people fear that they are not supposed to express prejudice.

Crandall and Eshelman’s approach is attractively simple, but it does not really address the question of whether we can tackle ‘genuine’ prejudice, and it holds that ‘all measures of prejudice are affected by processes that amend, cover, divert, obscure, stymie and falsify the underlying emotional state’ (p. 437). However, this seems an unnecessarily sceptical position. Expressions of prejudice are generally purposeful, or at least meaningful, and it seems unlikely that most people who do express prejudice are acting under false pretences. Therefore, while it is of intense interest to psychologists to unearth the privately held prejudices that people often suppress, the greater interest for policy is how to counter, or ideally remove, prejudices themselves.

Self-control over prejudice

As governments and organisations increasingly attempt to promote equality, there are at least two likely consequences. First, people may feel resistant to such policies as affirmative action on the grounds that these contravene the idea that all individuals should be treated in the same way. Second, these policies highlight in people's minds the relevance and importance of not being discriminatory. Yet research shows that motivation to be egalitarian does not always trump prejudice, and this happens for a variety of reasons. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) identified a phenomenon known as 'aversive racism'. They suggested that emotional reactions to some minority groups or out-groups can be deeply embedded in consciousness and cultural stereotypes. Because most people want to be fair most of the time, they will generally try to avoid letting such feelings affect how they treat people. However, when a situation is ambiguous, either because it is not obvious if they are being prejudiced or for other reasons, people's feelings become manifested through choices. As one of many examples, when white people received a 'misdirected' phone call from a stranded motorist, asking them to call the breakdown services, they were more likely to help someone who was apparently white than someone who was apparently black.

The aversive racism phenomenon raises the problem that people may not be able to control their prejudices. Indeed a significant line of research demonstrates that people hold strong 'implicit associations' (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz, 1998) between particular social categories and evaluative reactions. These associations, which can be measured readily using computer-based tasks, seem to be quite robust and people are not easily able to control them. However, the relationship between measures of implicit prejudice and more overt prejudices is not always a strong one and research is currently directed to establishing whether the two aspects of prejudice have distinct effects on behaviour. As noted in Chapter 3, on interventions, it can be problematic to use implicit associations as an index of prejudice.

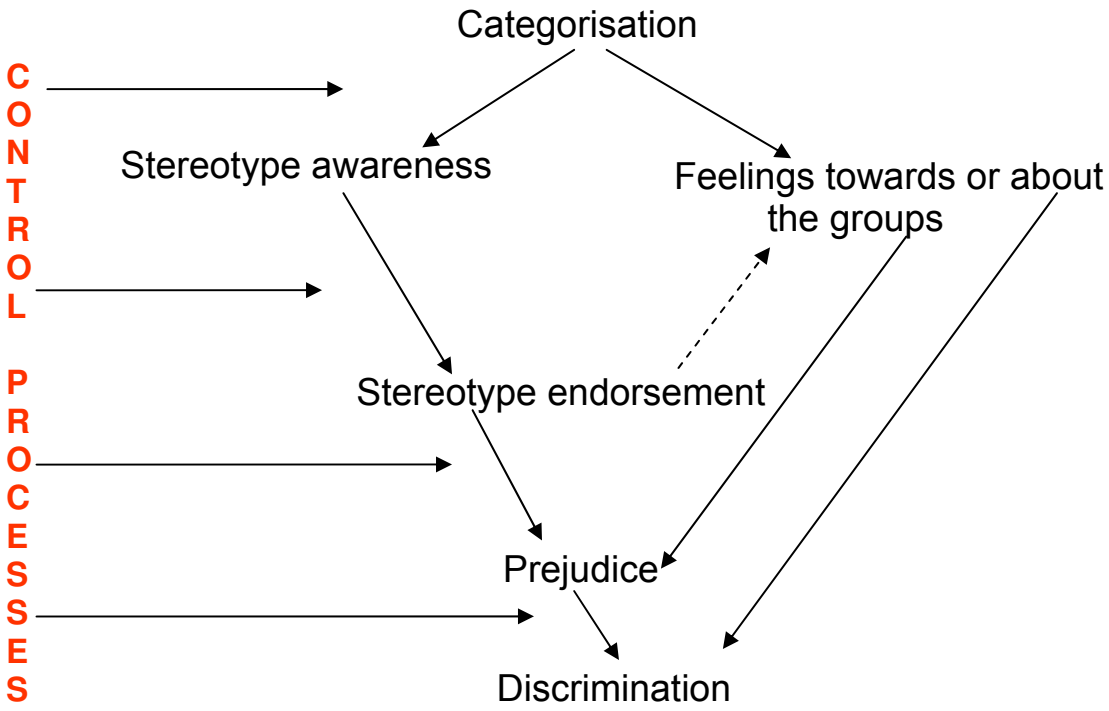
In many surveys (such as the British Social Attitudes Survey) there are questions that ask people whether or not they are prejudiced. The meaning of answers to this type of question is difficult to interpret and the question itself places strong social desirability pressures on respondents. Instead it may be useful to ask whether people are motivated to avoid being prejudiced. Plant and Devine (1998) have shown that it is valuable to distinguish two elements of people's self-control over prejudice. First, a person may genuinely aspire to be unprejudiced (or not). Second, a person may be concerned to avoid being perceived as prejudiced (or not). There are surprising numbers who are unprejudiced but do not care how they are viewed, or who are prejudiced but are concerned to avoid being viewed as such. Measuring

these aspects of motivation can help to identify where useful interventions should be targeted. The point is simply that the expression of prejudice and discrimination can be tackled at both levels: the level of shifting people's fundamental values and goals to avoid being prejudiced, and the level of shifting their behaviour so that they behave in a non-prejudiced way, regardless of their beliefs. Arguably, working on the latter is a good way to influence the former. When the social environment has a pervasive norm of non-discrimination it is much more likely that people will internalise that norm.

If education is a key, we need to consider what kinds of intervention might be useful. One approach is to try to find ways to raise people's consciousness of their prejudices and get them to actively challenge their own stereotypes. This has been proven effective, at least in relation to anti-black prejudice among white Americans (Kawakami, Dovidio and Dijksterhuis, 2003). However, there are limitations. People might not be happy to volunteer for such education if they are already prejudiced. Also it is unclear whether 'saying no to stereotypes' is practical across all social groups. As noted earlier, stereotypes serve the functions of simplification and explanation, and in many situations they serve us well. Therefore, the challenge is more specific, namely to get people to challenge stereotypes that are, or others believe to be, unjustified and discriminatory. Targeting these requires research to identify what they are.

Taking the preceding discussion together, Figure 2.6 summarises how a social psychological approach can be used to identify areas for intervention. This shows that prejudice necessarily begins with categorisation, which may have resultant stereotypes and emotions associated with it. People may endorse these images to a lesser or greater degree, which can also feed back to prompt further emotions. Both stereotypes and emotions can independently foster prejudice which in turn can lead to discrimination. Importantly, understanding how each of these features is operating can lead one to intervene at different stages. By introducing additional or alternative categories within the relevant context it may be possible to prevent the activation and application of problematic stereotypes. By introducing new knowledge and images of a social group it may be possible to disrupt or change the stereotype content or emotions that follow from the categorisation. By focusing on particular social values it may be possible to motivate people to avoid acting on the basis of stereotypes, even if they believe the stereotype is correct. Moreover, how or where the 'control' process happens can vary. For example control could be instigated by the person themselves (by being made aware there is a risk they may do something prejudicial) or by external social norms or rules, or by direct social pressure from other members of that person's group.

Figure 2.6 From categorisation to discrimination



Experiences of prejudice and stigmatisation

There is a large literature on the way people experience prejudice, much of which is concerned with why it is that people may deny the discrimination that affects them (Abrams and Emler, 1992; compare Branscombe, 2004; Jost and Banaji, 1994; Major, Quinton and McCoy, 2002; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The different themes in this literature emphasise different reasons why people might deny such disadvantage. It is painful to accept that one's fate is in someone else's hands. It may equally be comforting to sustain a belief that one has opportunities, should one wish to avail oneself of them. A further interpretation is that because of group insularity and possibly segregation, members of some disadvantaged groups mainly compare their situation with that of others within, rather than outside, their own group. As a result, the extent of disadvantage and difference is not their most pressing concern. One thing, however, is certain, and that is the importance of understanding the perspective of the individuals and groups who are subject to discrimination. This need to view both sides of the equation is highlighted by findings from surveys by Age Concern England (ACE) showing that, although the majority of people do not express negative attitudes about different age groups, ageism is the most commonly experienced form of prejudice against oneself (Ray, Sharp and Abrams, 2006; ACE, 2008).

Figure 2.7 shows the percentage of people in the National Survey of Prejudice (NSP) who (regardless of their own group membership) said they felt negative towards each of the equality strand categories and other groups. Respondents reacted most negatively towards illegal immigrants, with 61 per cent expressing negative feelings towards them. It is illuminating to compare this with Figure 2.8, which shows the proportion of respondents who reported experiencing prejudice against themselves, based on any of the six equality strand categories.

Figure 2.7 Percentage of respondents who expressed negative feelings towards different groups in the 2005 National Survey of Prejudice

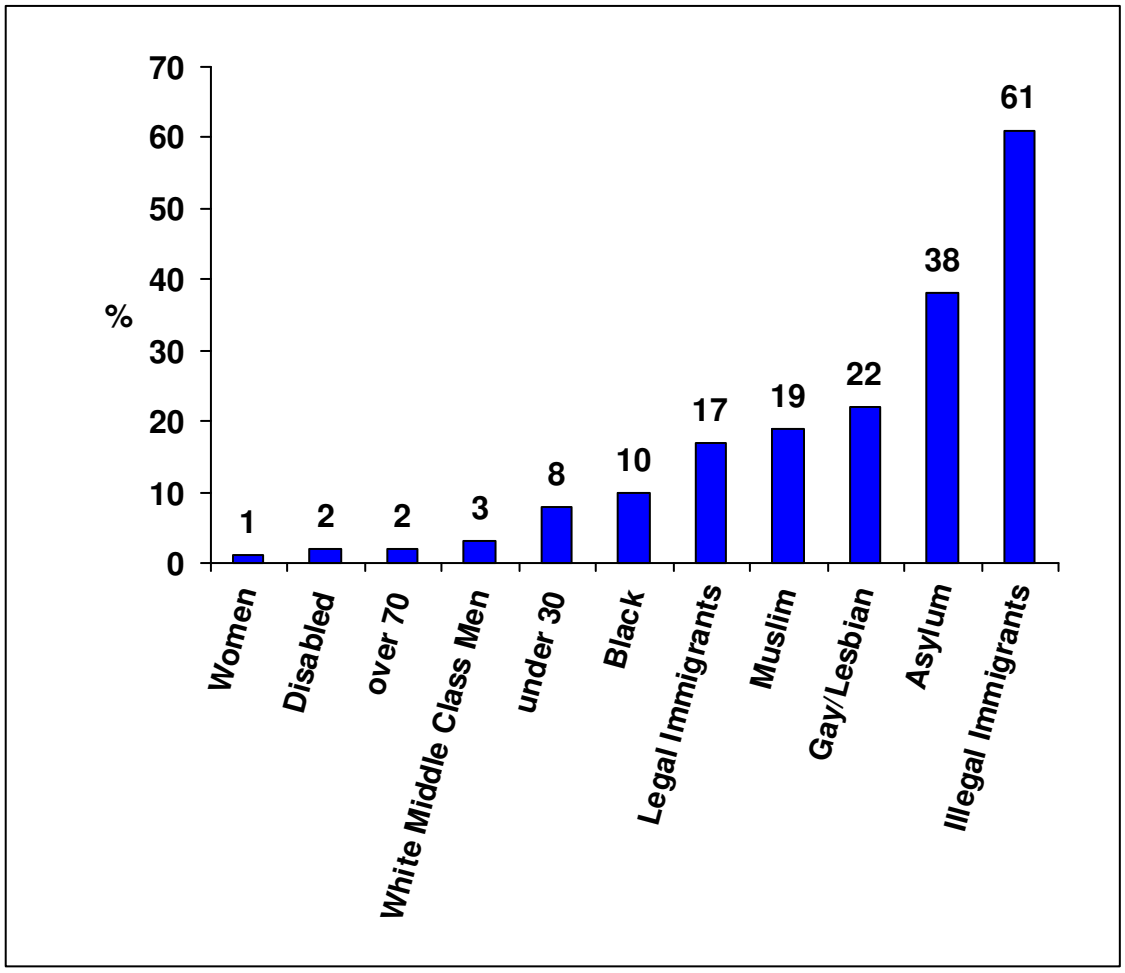
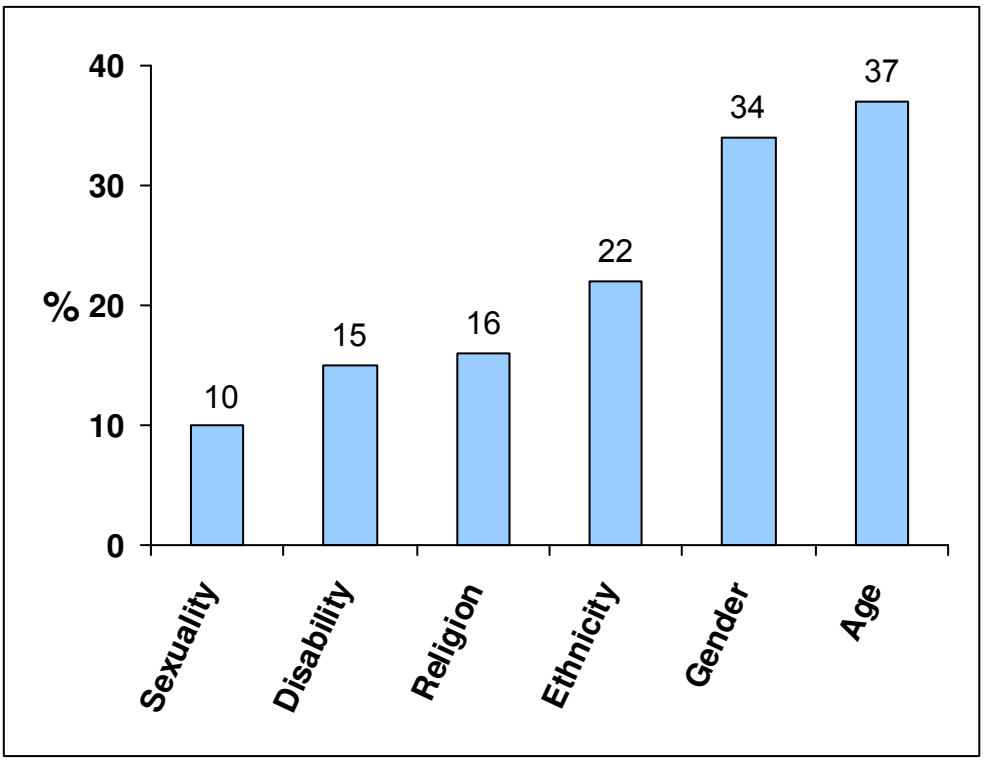


Figure 2.8 shows that, of the six strand groups, older respondents reported experiencing the most prejudice (at 37 per cent). Prejudice based on gender was second highest (34 per cent). The least prejudice was reported in respect of disability and sexuality (15 per cent and 10 per cent respectively). Disparities between the levels of prejudice acknowledged by perpetrators and perceived by victims represent significant domains for potential conflict. However, these disparities do not necessarily result from 'denial' on one side or the other. Much research on the micro-dynamics of interracial interaction shows that minority group members detect quite well when majority group members have prejudicial implicit attitudes. Majority members may either be unaware of their own attitudes, or may be working hard to ensure they appear non-prejudiced. This in turn is detected by the person from a minority group who comes away from the situation feeling more stressed and devalued, whereas the one from the majority group may well believe the episode went well (see also Richeson and Shelton, 2007). One of the implications of this evidence is that it is important to tackle prejudice at both the explicit and the implicit levels of measurement or, more simply, to target as separate phenomena the way people feel they can behave and also the actual content of their stereotypes and negative assumptions about groups.

Figure 2.8 Percentage of respondents in the 2005 National Survey of Prejudice who experienced prejudice in the last 12 months, based on membership of any equality strand



Stereotype awareness and stereotype threat

Stereotypes are not just images of groups but images that people believe are widely shared. This means that stereotypes can have an effect on our judgements and behaviour even if we do not agree with them. The way we use stereotypes can result in them becoming 'confirmed' both in our own minds and in the behaviour of the people to whom we apply them.

For example, Abrams, Eller and Bryant (2006) conducted an experiment in which older people took a cognitive test. Half of the participants simply took the test, while the other half were informed that their performance would be compared with that of younger people. This reminded them indirectly of the stereotype that older people are less cognitively capable. The performance in the second group was substantially worse. The mechanism behind this phenomenon, stereotype threat (Steele, 1997), involves a combination of awareness of the negative stereotype of one's group **in contrast** to that of another group, plus the anxiety and intrusive thoughts that interfere with performance. Self-stereotypes can also provide a boost (Rosenthal, Crisp and Suen, 2007; Walton and Cohen, 2003). For example, performance was enhanced among black athletes in the United States who thought they were being compared with white athletes, or whites who thought their maths ability was being compared with that of blacks (Stone, Lynch, Sjomeling and Darley, 1999). Therefore, it is not just the stereotype of one's own group that matters but the expectations it produces when one's group is **compared** with another group.

Different aspects of engagement with prejudice can combine in different ways. For example, intergroup contact can help to prevent stereotype threat from happening. In Abrams, Eller and Bryant's (2006) research the stereotype threat of a comparison with younger people only damaged the performance of older people who did not have positive intergenerational contact. Contact was also associated with less perceived difference between younger and older people. Encouragingly, Abrams, Crisp, Marques, Fagg, Bedford and Provias (2008) showed that merely asking older people to imagine pleasant contact with a younger person can eliminate stereotype threat. This evidence shows how engagement with prejudice can feed back into the bases of prejudice (for example, by changing how people view the social categories) to create a positive feedback cycle.

2.5 Prejudice and the different equality strands

The stereotype content model, as well as more traditional approaches to intergroup relations, highlights that specific intergroup relationships have unique histories and therefore unique problems underpinning prejudice within those relationships. This means that if we are to understand and evaluate the prevalence and causes of

prejudice in modern UK society we need to understand both what characterises prejudices towards different groups and how these prejudices might manifest themselves differently in forms of discrimination.

Until recently, most researchers - as well as policy-makers - have tended to study each axis or strand of prejudice as a distinct phenomenon. Thus, the Equal Opportunities Commission prioritised equality issues relating to gender, and other commissions had their own priority strands. Organisations representing other strands (such as Stonewall and Age Concern England) also have their own priorities. Important though these different emphases are, they reflected and sustained a structural barrier to an integrated approach. Academia reflects these different emphases too, with specialisms in forms of prejudice (for example, women's studies, international relations, ethnicity, religion).

The difficulty from both a research and a policy point of view is that these separate approaches do not help to capture the balance among different aspects of identity and group membership that each of us, as individuals, embodies. The author is a non-disabled, middle-aged, heterosexual, white male atheist of multiple East European Jewish and Anglo-Saxon heritage. His day-to-day dealings with others involve similarly complex combinations (and more). It would seem inefficient to have to address each potential axis of prejudice and discrimination in a completely unique way.

Practically speaking we would want to know what it is that promotes and prevents prejudicial attitudes based on various social category memberships, and how widely shared these expressions and experiences of prejudice are. In taking this approach we need first to focus on the major categories of group membership, namely those that others recognise and use to frame their interactions and relationships. Second we need to find a common set of indicators and metrics that tap into expressions and experiences of prejudice. Then we need to investigate in more detail the forms that these take and the circumstances in which they arise.

Based on the preceding review, Table 2.2 sets out the likely bases of prejudice, the forms in which it often arises, and some of the factors that should moderate or alter levels of prejudice. The list is not exhaustive but is intended to capture some of the key variables that would need to be measured (in bold in the left hand column) in an effort to monitor and predict prejudice towards various groups in society.

Table 2.2 Components, potential measures and relevance of prejudice

Components and influences on prejudice	Examples of types of measures			Example of relevance
Overall context				
Perceived intergroup relationships	Realistic, and cultural threat	Perceptions of group status, permeability, power, legitimacy of political system	Intergroup anxiety	Dealing with social change, immigration, normative foundations for prejudice attitudes
Likely bases for prejudice				
Values	Value priorities	Value conflicts	Perceived differences in groups' values	Ambivalent racism, symbolic racism, complex prejudice
Social categorisation	Number of categories	Hierarchy of categories	Complexity and homogeneity of categories	Common in-group, dual identity, good relations and cohesion
Social identity	Groups that contribute to identity	Desire for distinctiveness	Desire for positivity	Motivation to support in-group and be negative to out-group
Personality and individual differences	Authoritarianism, social dominance orientation	Need for cognitive closure	Automatic associations	Identifying areas for direct (such as rule-based) or indirect (such as learning-based) intervention
Likely forms of prejudice				
Stereotypes	Warmth competence dimensions	Category-based inferences	Self-stereotypes	Stereotype threat, stereotype confirmation, stereotype change, identifying 'hostile' and 'benevolent' prejudices
Direct prejudices	Positive-negative feeling	Social distance	Attitudes and evaluations	Tapping the publicly 'acceptable' manifestations of prejudice in its blatant (hostile) forms
Emotions	Intergroup emotions	Perceived emotionality (infrahumanisation)	Action orientation	Likely forms of discrimination or harm
Language and media representations	Abstractness and attributions	Complexity of language	Valence (positivity) of language	Mapping social use of categories, formulating counter-measures and messages
Implicit	Automatic or uncontrolled attitudes	Non-verbal, involuntary actions	Non-verbal, voluntary decisions etc	Understanding manifestations of prejudice
Engagement with prejudice				
Experiences of prejudice	In daily life	In terms of different self-categories	In different forms	Perceptions and misperceptions, differences in perspective between majority and minority groups
Intergroup contact	Opportunity and frequency of contact	Quality of contact	Extended and imagined contact	Evaluate the practical potential for prejudice reduction
Control over prejudice	Legal	Normative	Self-control	Identifying which motives may be tapped most easily for intervention

2.6 Overall summary and conclusions

Prejudice arises in an intergroup context. Many prejudices arise from the conflicting goals or demands that different groups have. Differences in social power and in the perceived legitimacy of economic and social status differences affect whether people see inequalities as discriminatory or unfair. Members of disadvantaged groups may either not be aware of their disadvantage or may be motivated to deny or ignore it. Similarly, members of advantaged groups may feel more comfortable with the belief that society is equal and each person achieves the status they deserve by dint of effort or ability. For this reason, understanding prejudice and its implications requires attention to the bases, manifestations and forms of engagement with prejudice. It cannot be assumed that, just because a group considers itself to be treated fairly or others regard it positively, it is actually escaping prejudice.

Several powerful bases of prejudice have been identified through extensive research. When certain values are regarded as important this can focus people's prejudices towards particular groups that appear to challenge or undermine those values. Discriminatory actions are sometimes 'justified' by claiming they uphold key values, such as security or meritocracy.

Being viewed, and viewing oneself, as a member of a social category can be sufficient to generate biased perceptions and attitudes. Social categories are then imbued with meaning and people tend to focus on how their own and other categories differ in terms of values or behaviour that are important to them. Categorisation can create discrimination by reinforcing differences between people, and these can be manifested through physical as well as psychological segregation. Categories can be associated with powerful stereotypes which then affect the way members of those categories are judged. People also apply category-based stereotypes, including negative stereotypes, to themselves. This can affect their self-image, or social identity, as well as their behaviour. Awareness of the role of categorisation in prejudice also highlights that prejudice can be reduced or redirected by either adding more complex categories or finding more widely shared categories to frame the way people judge one another. However, because people prefer to belong to groups that give them both a degree of distinctiveness (from other groups) as well as similarity (to others within their own group), strategies to redefine social categories to produce a simple common in-group are problematic.

The role of identity is central in any analysis of prejudice. People generally feel positive and protective towards their own groups, and under some circumstances they may also feel negative or hostile towards out-groups. A potentially viable

approach to reducing prejudice is to promote in-group norms of tolerance and equality while also providing scope for distinctiveness.

There are multiple manifestations of prejudices. Prejudices are not all the same. Some can be more directly blatant or ‘hostile’; others more subtle, implicit or even paternalistic. Likewise stereotypes that emphasise a group’s lack of warmth give rise to different prejudices from stereotypes that emphasise a group’s lack of ability. Stereotypes can then provide a basis for specific emotions towards particular groups, and these in turn are likely to motivate different behaviour. Groups that are stereotyped as low in competence and high in warmth are likely to attract sympathy but to be devalued in terms of what they can contribute to society. Part of tackling prejudice is identifying the types of emotions people feel towards a particular group and working on these. Some emotions are likely to be more counterproductive than others. For example, making people feel guilty about their group’s discriminatory behaviour might provoke defensive reactions rather than encouraging them to engage positively with the out-group.

It is not the case that sheer group size determines how threatening that group appears to be or the prejudice directed against it. In many cases large groups of different backgrounds can share a space quite happily. Incidents such as racist murders may be more likely to reflect much more local situations that are specific to times and places. But one reason why such attacks and conflicts happen might be that people tend to view out-group members as less fully ‘human’ than in-group members. This indicates that an emphasis on perspective-taking and empathy might help to reduce prejudicial and discriminatory acts that are based on lack of insight.

As well as being manifested through stereotypes, emotions, attitudes and direct evaluations of out-group members, prejudice is expressed powerfully through language. The level of complexity of the language used to depict, describe and explain the behaviour of out-groups tends to be simpler and more conditional than for in-groups.

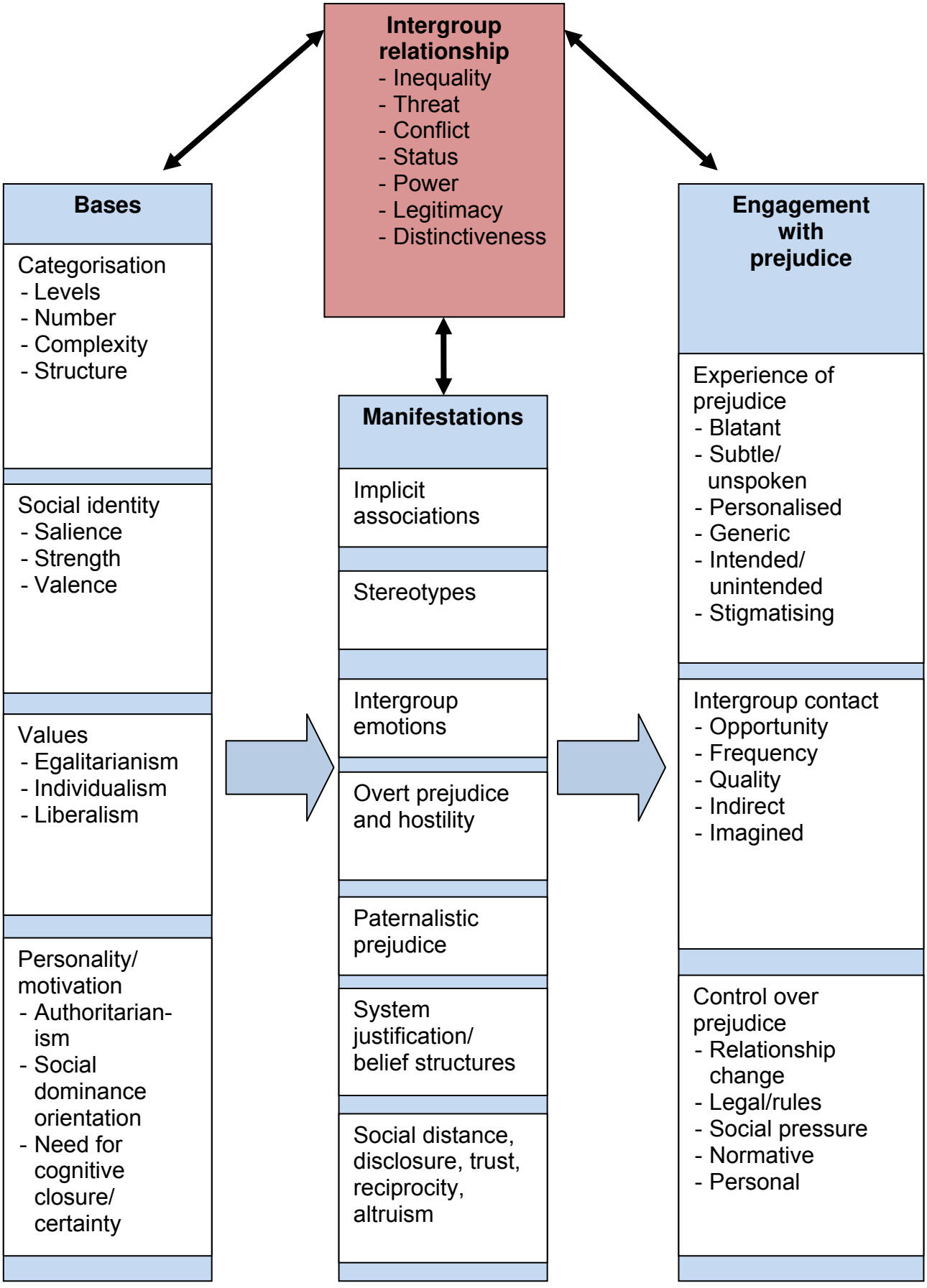
Engagement with prejudice takes several forms, too. The levels of people’s experiences of prejudice (such as ageism) can be very different from the prejudices they express directly. It also seems that majority and minority group members are likely to experience the same situation differently. Majority members may be comfortable with the idea that everyone is part of the same group. Minority members may experience this attitude as a form of prejudice or rejection of their own group. However, research has shown convincingly that contact between members of different groups, ideally in the form of friendships, can reduce prejudice. Contact is

often difficult to achieve but, promisingly, the research also shows that the effect of contact can be reproduced through largely psychological means.

Prejudice is also amenable to social control and self-control. Social control (sometimes associated with political correctness) can either increase or inhibit prejudice by indicating to people whether it is 'legitimate' to hold and express negative views about a social group. Self-control can affect prejudice either because people want to receive social approval from others or because they have strongly held beliefs that they should not be prejudiced.

Prejudice can be understood as a phenomenon involving a common set of social psychological processes. By understanding these processes we can measure, predict and perhaps prevent prejudice from occurring. Figure 2.9 summarises the preceding review. The intergroup context, or at least how people perceive the relationships among different groups in society, affects and is affected by the bases, manifestations and engagement with prejudice, but these also influence one another. In particular, the way people engage with prejudice can affect the bases of prejudice as well as the manifestations of prejudice. However, this is most likely to happen because of changes in the way people perceive intergroup relationships. If government, local authorities and organisations want to develop coherent and systematic approaches to tackling prejudice across equality strands, it would be advantageous to ensure that a common framework is employed within which these components of prejudice are routinely assessed for all the strands.

Figure 2.9 Components and processes of prejudice



3. Measuring prejudice

This chapter provides examples of questions that address the components of prejudice in Figure 2.9, drawn from surveys in the UK. Not all of those components, however, have been included in survey questions.

3.1 Context of intergroup relations

Knowing about the intergroup context is essential for understanding prejudice. Intergroup context involves the degree of inequality between groups, threat and conflict, status and power differences, and whether these have any legitimacy, as well as the extent of difference between groups.

Some features of the intergroup context can be established from objective measures such as income and employment inequalities, or the legal basis for differences (for example, in employment rights, retirement or parental leave). Others lie more in the realm of people's perceptions and beliefs, such as whether their own groups are at risk of losing their distinctive values, culture or status, and whether there are perceived conflicts of interests between groups. In principle, questions about intergroup context should focus on the comparative situation of specific groups (for example, Muslims and non-Muslims), a common technique in social psychological research. In practice, surveys have not generally asked for direct comparisons, and context has been measured more tangentially: for example, by asking respondents to evaluate one group in relation to society as a whole or through questions that focus on other components of prejudice, such as its manifestations.

A recent example of a type of question that examines intergroup context in broad terms is the 2009 British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS), which included items regarding perceptions of public respect for people in five equality groups:

> *How much do you agree or disagree that, in Britain, people generally treat each other with respect and consideration in public?* (Scored on a scale of 1 to 6; 1 being 'agree strongly' and 6 being 'disagree strongly'.)
>
> *Do you think there are particular groups of people in Britain who tend to treat others with a lack of respect and consideration in public?*
>
> *Which groups do you think tend to treat others in Britain with a lack of respect and consideration in public?* (Young people, Middle-aged people, Old people, White people, Minority ethnic groups, People born in Britain, Immigrants, People in work, Unemployed people, Retired people, Rich people, Poor

people, Well educated people, Less well educated people, Men, Women, Other, Many groups/no particular group.)

Respect is also an element of social stereotypes (for example, it is measured in the 2008 European Social Survey (ESS) Round 4 module on Age Attitudes). However, aside from the ESS, surveys have not made systematic efforts to gauge perceptions of the relative power, status or distinctiveness of different social groups. The issue of people's views of the legitimacy of differences between groups is sometimes picked up through indirect measures of prejudice, such as whether a more equal situation is desirable. For example, attitudes to employment equality for particular groups were examined in the National Survey of Prejudice (NSP) in 2005, which asked whether there should be greater employment equality for people in each of the six equality groups. This question implies a comparison with society as a whole and with other strands in particular:

We want to ask your personal opinion about some changes that have been happening in this country over the years: Have attempts to give equal employment opportunities to: women/lesbians and gay men [Version A]; people over 70/Muslims [Version B]; disabled/black [Version C] people *in this country gone too far or not far enough?*

1 Gone much too far
2 Gone too far
3 About right
4 Not gone far enough
5 Not gone nearly far enough

Perceived threat has also been measured in various surveys, although it should be noted that threats can be both economic and symbolic. For example, Age Concern England (ACE)'s 2004 survey included an item looking at symbolic intergroup threat:

How are people over 70 affecting the customs, traditions and way of life of other people...? (Scored on a six-point scale: much worse, slightly worse, has no effect, slightly better, much better, don't know.)

The ACE 2006 survey included another question examining economic threat:

> *People who live in this country generally work and pay taxes at some points in their lives. They also use health and welfare services. On balance, how much more or less do you think that people over 70 take out from the economy than they have put in over their lifetime?*
>
> 1 Take out a lot more than they have put in
> 2 Take a bit more than they have put in
> 3 Put a bit more in than they have taken out
> 4 Put a lot more in than they have taken out
> 5 None of these

3.2 Bases of prejudice

Psychological bases of prejudice include the way people apply categories to divide others into different social groups, how people identify themselves with certain groups, the values that people apply to their judgements about differences between groups, and individual personality and motivations that can affect people's views on diversity and inclusion of others from outside their own social groups.

Categorisation

Most surveys collect some demographic information about categories to which people belong, such as gender, age, ethnicity, disability or religion. However, we cannot take it for granted that these different categories carry equal weight in people's attitudes and perceptions of one another, nor that census-based categories map closely with the way people apply categories in their everyday lives.

As an example of how to measure people's use of categorisation, ACE's 2004/2006 surveys and the 2008 ESS employed items exploring how people categorise age groups. Respondents were asked the following open-ended questions:

> *When (at what age) do people stop being young?*
>
> *When does old age start?*

A further aspect of categorisation is how people classify *themselves*. Note that, psychologically, self-categorisation is not necessarily the same as 'identity'. People can be aware that they belong to a social category but not have a strong sense of attachment to that category. The BSAS uses items relating to nationality to explore self-categorisation.

> *Some people think of themselves first as British. Others may think of themselves first as English. Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?* (Scored on a 1 [English not British] to 5 [British not English] scale.)

However, such items need to be interpreted with caution. The example above assumes that 'British' and 'English' fall on opposite ends of a single continuum, whereas one category (English) is actually subordinate to the other (British). It is perfectly possible that a person might think of themselves as fully English and fully British at the same time.

Social identity

The BSAS 2005 focused on British and regional identity. Items related to a large number of social categories, including, for instance, self-defined religious or ethnic in-groups. Some measures focused on perceptions of similarity between the respondent and various groups.

> *How much do you feel you have in common with…?*
> (Range of social categories)

Conceptually, this type of measure of perceived similarity falls somewhere between self-categorisation and identification because it is possible to have much in common with a group without either belonging to it or identifying with it. However, empirically, it is also true that when people identify with a group they are likely to feel they have much in common with other members.

More direct measures of identification focus on the feeling of attachment to a group. For example, the ESS 2008 included an item about age identification that asked how strong a sense of belonging people had with their age group:

> *Please tell me if you have a strong or weak sense of belonging to this age group. Choose your answer from this card where 0 means a very weak sense of belonging and 10 means a very strong sense of belonging.*

Values

The values individuals hold relate to the things that they consider important in their lives, such as equality, respect for tradition and social justice. Both actual and perceived difference in values held by different groups can be a basis for intergroup prejudice because people generally consider their own values to be correct.

A question in the 2007 Eurobarometer (EB) survey focused on cultural values.

> Participants were given a list of nine values and asked to '*choose which – up to a maximum of three – they would prefer to preserve and reinforce in society'.* The values included: social equality and solidarity; freedom of opinion; tolerance and openness to others; cultural diversity.

The NSP 2005 included a reduced version of the Schwartz Values Scale (Schwartz, 1992, 2007), presenting items on beliefs about equality and differences between groups. For example, regarding the value of obedience and conformity, participants were asked the following questions:

> *I think people should follow rules at all times, even when no one is watching.* (Scored on a scale of 1 to 6; 1 being 'not at all like me' and 6 being 'very much like me'.)
>
> *I think it is best to do things in traditional ways.*

Personality and personal motivation

Personality is rarely measured in general surveys, in part because of the considerable number of items required for reliable assessment. Thus it is not surprising that personality does not appear in the surveys covered in this review. There are numerous personality characteristics that may be linked to various prejudices, of which the perhaps most well-known is authoritarianism, likely to be measured with the Right Wing Authoritarianism scale. However, some areas of psychological assessment cross between personality and attitudes. As an example, social dominance orientation (SDO) describes a personal preference for hierarchies which leads to discrimination. Those that score high on SDO tend to favour social dominance and may in turn condone discriminatory practices that maintain these social hierarchies. SDO can also be regarded as a manifestation of prejudice when it is applied to a specific group. For example, when a society is under strain, some people might react by expressing a higher social dominance orientation. Although the full measurement scales for SDO are too long to be of practical use in surveys, psychologists are developing short versions.

3.3 Manifestations of prejudice

Manifestations of prejudice include the use of stereotypes, overt prejudice and hostility, social distance, disclosure, trust and reciprocity, and the expression of paternalistic attitudes. Prejudice can be direct (explicit and controlled) or indirect (implicit and automatic).

Stereotypes

Stereotypes derive from the process of using social categories and are used to make judgements about ourselves and others based on group membership. They can include both 'personal' and 'social' stereotypes.

Asking about personal stereotypes may require large sets of items (for example, a wide array of characteristics that different people might believe to be linked with a particular group). Because the detailed stereotypes of different groups are very distinct, it is unlikely to be practical to measure these for more than two groups in one survey. However, all stereotypes have some common elements and it is possible to examine these elements across multiple groups. This has been done for measurements of social stereotypes. Social stereotypes are those that people believe are held widely. For example, based on Fiske et al.'s (2002) stereotype content model (which can be generalised for use with any societal group), the ACE surveys used the following items relating to ageing stereotypes:

> *To what extent do you think that other people in this country view people over 70 as*:
> *friendly*
> *moral*
> *capable*
> *with admiration*
> *with pity*
> *with envy*
> (Scored on a scale of 1 to 5; 1 being 'extremely unlikely to be viewed this way' and 5 being 'extremely likely to be viewed this way'.)

Note that these items can detect both traditionally 'hostile' prejudiced stereotypes (such as that a group is viewed as unfriendly and incapable, and is not admired but might be envied) and more 'benevolent' or paternalistic aspects (such as that a group is viewed as friendly but incapable and deserving of pity).

Social distance

Another commonly used measure of prejudice is that of social distance, which is the idea of how positively or negatively respondents react to varying levels of closeness and intimacy with members of a particular group (Bogardus, 1933). This is frequently measured by asking people how they would feel about members of particular groups being, for instance, their boss, doctor or neighbour, or being married to a close relative of theirs.

For example, a Stonewall survey (2003) employed the following item directly measuring social distance in terms of ethnicity, sexuality and disability:

> *How comfortable, or uncomfortable, would you personally feel if your 1) GP, 2) teacher or teacher of a close relative, 3) boss in a new job, 4) partner of a close relative or friend, or 5) pub with customers were...*
> *from a different ethnic group to your own*
> *gay or lesbian*
> *disabled*

Ray, Sharp and Abrams' 2006 survey for ACE included an item focusing on age:

> *How comfortable or uncomfortable do you think you would feel if a suitably qualified person [over 70/under 30] was appointed as your boss?* (Scored on a five-point scale: very comfortable, comfortable, neither, uncomfortable, very uncomfortable.)

The Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey asks respondents extensively about political, interdenominational and related social attitudes. This survey provides detailed coverage of social distance.

> *If you had a choice, would you prefer to live in a neighbourhood with people of only your own religion, or in a mixed-religion neighbourhood?* (Response options of 'own religion only', 'mixed religion neighbourhood', 'other' or 'don't know'.)

The European Social Survey included a similar item:

> *Would you prefer to live in an area where nobody / some / many were of a different race or ethnic group from most people in that country?*

More indirectly, the BSAS 2003 employed an item indirectly relating to social distance at work.

> *Do you think most white people in Britain would mind if a suitably qualified person of black or West Indian origin were appointed as their boss?*

While social distance measures have been around for over 70 years, they only assess one aspect of prejudice. They do not enable us to know why people desire distance, and whether the underlying reason is prejudice. For example, there may be

aspects of unfamiliarity, fear, cultural or religious reasons, or social conventions and norms that might affect people's responses to social distance measures. Therefore, these alone do not constitute a sufficient index of prejudice.

Overt prejudice and hostility

Measures of direct or overt prejudice require people to report their attitudes towards various groups. These measures assume that people are aware of their attitudes and are willing to disclose them (Olson, 2009). The explicit nature of these measures does, however, make them vulnerable to social desirability concerns, because people may be reluctant to express a prejudiced attitude that they know to be socially undesirable. This makes it difficult to distinguish between people who are genuinely low in prejudice and people who are prejudiced but are motivated not to appear so. There are, nonetheless, advantages to using overt measures of prejudice. They are easy for respondents to understand and easy for researchers to interpret.

For example, the NSP 2005 employed an item relating to overt, direct prejudice towards various groups in Britain, including people in various equality groups.

> *How negative or positive do you feel towards*:
> *Women*
> *Men*
> *People under 30*
> *People over 70*
> *Muslims*
> *Black people*
> *Disabled people*
> *Lesbian women or gay men*
> *Illegal immigrants*
> *Legal immigrants*
> *Asylum seekers*
> (Scored on a scale of -2 very negative to +2 very positive.)

A commonly used approach is that adopted by the BSAS, which asks people to describe their own level of prejudice.

> *How would you describe yourself? As…* (Scored using one of five options: 'prejudiced against people of other races', 'a little prejudiced', 'not prejudiced at all', 'other', 'don't know', and 'refusal'.)

The typically low levels of people who say they are prejudiced illustrates a drawback of this type of measure, namely that it confuses actual prejudice with whether or not people want to label themselves as prejudiced. It also does not permit respondents an opportunity to provide any caveats (for example, that they feel prejudiced against only one particular race, or that they feel prejudiced in *favour* of one race but not against any). For this reason the measure seems unlikely to be sufficiently sensitive.

Subtle and implicit forms of prejudice

Using more subtle measures can help to avoid some of the social desirability problems of direct measurement. Subtle questions can focus on perceived cultural differences or differences in traditional values (see Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995), and more generally they will assess the idea that any inequalities that disfavour a group are acceptable or are the responsibility of that group in an otherwise fair system. One manifestation of this is system justification. For example, the ESS contains the following item:

> *It is better for a country if almost everyone shares the same customs and traditions.*

Another example of subtle prejudice is in the ACE (2006) survey, which used a question relating to views and attitudes towards equal opportunities for people over the age of 70:

> *Have attempts to give equal employment opportunities to people over 70 in this country gone too far or not far enough?* (Much too far, too far, about right, not far enough, not nearly far enough, don't know.)

Like system justification, this item partially involves the intergroup context, but it also indirectly measures prejudice because the view that equality has gone 'too far' implies that the respondent would prefer a greater degree of inequality.

An alternative approach would be to employ measures that evaluate prejudiced attitudes by tapping into spontaneous cognitive processes. Measuring *implicit attitudes* towards prejudice using computer-based timed response tasks is technically more complex than measuring explicit attitudes, but is certainly achievable using computer-assisted interviews or online surveys. Such techniques can help to bypass a person's motive to express only those attitudes that they think are socially acceptable (for example, to an interviewer). They can give an accurate picture of attitudes that may have discriminatory implications but which the respondent may not even be aware of. However, it is also important to be aware

that such implicit measures are likely to predict distinct types of behavioural manifestations of prejudice (for example, non-verbal and spontaneous reactions to members of particular groups) whereas more overt verbal measures of prejudice are likely to predict manifestations over which people have a degree of control or that are influenced heavily by social norms. Therefore, implicit measures offer an additional rather than alternative means of assessing prejudice. The inclusion of implicit measures of prejudice is an avenue yet to be developed in UK surveys.

3.4 Engagement with prejudice

Engagement refers to the forms in which people believe they may experience and react to prejudice as well as whether and when they might express it. It also refers to their active connection with groups in society that might be the targets of their own and others' prejudices. Engagement with prejudice includes experiences of prejudice in social interactions (explicit and unspoken, personal and generic, and intended and unintended), as well as people's intergroup contact and their self-conscious efforts to avoid being prejudiced.

Experience of prejudice

The subjective experience of prejudice is diverse and complex. People may perceive their experiences of prejudice differently depending on whom they compare themselves with, the circumstances under which these comparisons occur, and perceptions of fairness. Understanding the perspective of those who are subject to prejudice is of key importance given that there appears to be incongruity between the groups that people believe are the victims of prejudice and the self-reports of people's experiences of prejudice against themselves.

Measures have varied in how they assess experiences of prejudice. Some ask respondents directly whether they have been the targets of prejudice. The measure shown here is taken from ACE 2006.

> *In the past year, how often, if at all, has anyone shown prejudice against you or treated you unfairly...*
>
> *because of your gender (male or female)*
> *because of your age*
> *because of your religion*
> *because of your race or ethnic background*
> *because of any disability you may have*
> *because of your sexual orientation (being gay, lesbian or heterosexual – straight)*

The Home Office Citizenship Survey asked, similarly:

> *Have you been turned down for a job in the last five years? If so was your gender, age, race, religion or colour, or area of residence the reason?*

The 2007 Eurobarometer asked respondents whether, during the past two years, they felt they had been discriminated against (and on what grounds), whether they had witnessed someone else being discriminated against, whether they felt such discrimination could be right or wrong, and whether they would expect other people to feel such discrimination could be right or wrong:

> *at work (including seeking work and opportunities for promotion)*
> *in education (separately for experiences in primary, secondary and university level)*
> *seeking housing*
> *accessing services (restaurants, shops or insurance companies)*

The wording of general questions of experiences of prejudice is crucial. Specifically, the wording in the ACE and NSP research - which asks whether prejudice has been experienced 'because of your [age, sex etc]' - gives much higher prevalence rates than questions in surveys such as the European Social Survey, which ask whether the respondent belongs to 'a group' that experiences prejudice.

The Home Office Citizenship Survey included the even more specific question:

> *Have you been turned down for a job in the last five years? If so, was your gender, age, race, religion or colour, or area of residence the reason?*

Other surveys have sometimes taken a less direct approach, asking instead about awareness of prejudice being expressed against others (who may or may not share a social group membership with the respondent). An example of people's views about prejudice towards others is in BSAS 2003:

> *In the last five years have you been aware of your employer treating an employee unfairly because of their…*
> *age*
> *disability*
> *race or ethnicity*
> *religion or belief*
> *sexual orientation*

> (Respondents had the option to indicate 'yes' or 'no'. If yes, they were asked to specify in which aspects of the work experience this had occurred.)

In 2008 Stonewall asked young people from Great Britain who are lesbian, gay or bisexual (LGB), or think they might be, to complete a survey about their experiences at school (Hunt and Jensen, 2008). The following question is about prejudice towards LGB people in general:

> *How often do you hear anti-gay remarks used in school?* (Never, rarely, sometimes, often, frequently.)

The direct and indirect questions have different advantages but they also measure distinct things. The direct approach relies on respondents having insight into whether a social group, or category, membership was the reason why they were subjected to prejudice (for example, being turned down for a job). Arguably, people may either lack the necessary information or simply be inaccurate when making such judgements. However, experimental research suggests that members of groups that are lower in status or power are likely both to be vigilant and relatively more accurate than are members of groups that are higher in status or power. Additionally, it can be argued that people's perceptions are just as important as objective reality in terms of the implications for their reactions to such experiences. The indirect approach may make it easier for people to report instances of prejudice that involve themselves without having to admit openly to victimisation. However, the indirect approach does not distinguish between people who are simply accurate observers of prejudice and those who are subjected to prejudice.

Intergroup contact

Intergroup contact has been shown to promote positive intergroup attitudes, provided certain optimal conditions are met (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). Contact can arise in many different forms, which creates a challenge when formulating questions that are sufficiently inclusive but also sufficiently precise. It is also important to distinguish between measures of the quantity of contact and those that measure its quality.

Quantity measures indicate whether people have an opportunity to observe directly or learn about other groups. For example, the Stonewall 2003 survey used an item asking about quantity of intergroup contact.

> *Do you know anyone who is in [various out-groups].*

Quality measures indicate the existence of positive or close relationships with people from other groups. It has been argued that any such high-quality contact is likely to promote more positive intergroup attitudes. For example, the ESS has included questions about friends from other countries and related social distance measures about areas in which respondents would prefer to live.

> *Do you have any friends who have come from [a relevant foreign country]?*

ACE 2006 included items asking about intergroup contact that take into account the degree of quality of contact.

> *Indicate whether you…*
> *have a close friend*
> *have a friend*
> *personally know at least one person*
> *meet people but don't know any personally*
> *rarely or never meet people*
> *…in the age group over 70 [and under 30].*

Control over prejudice

The fact that prejudices can be manifested in a variety of ways, including implicit and indirect forms, suggests that there may be times when people are not able to control their prejudices, even when the social climate motivates them to do so. Because people experience social pressure to be egalitarian and not to appear prejudiced, we cannot assume that answers to direct questions about prejudice should be taken at face value. For this reason it is useful to evaluate how motivated people are to *appear* unprejudiced, and whether this motivation stems from a desire to be socially acceptable or from a genuine aspiration to be unprejudiced.

Measures of control over prejudice help to reflect current social norms and expectations. For example, the NSP 2005 survey measured both the personal aspiration and socially desirable aspects of people's motivation to control their prejudice generally:

> *I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways towards other groups because it is personally important to me.*
>
> *I try to appear non-prejudiced towards other groups in order to avoid disapproval from others.*
> (Both scored on a scale of 1 strongly disagree to 5 strongly agree.)

Perhaps surprisingly, answers to these two questions are not highly correlated, which confirms that people do regard their private views about being prejudiced to be distinct from their compliance with social norms about prejudice. Changes over time in people's responses to these questions can shed light on how social norms and private attitudes about prejudice may be converging or diverging. These items can readily be adapted to focus on particular groups (for example, in the ESS Round 4 age module).

Some survey questions focus on people's likely tolerance for legislation or practices to tackle prejudice. The Scottish Social Attitudes Survey had a section tapping into social pressures to control prejudice on a national level.

> *Should Scotland do all it can to get rid of prejudice?*

The ESS also explored views about institutional controls over prejudice.

> *Would it be good or bad to have a law against promoting racial or ethnic hatred?*

3.5 Overall coverage of components

Table 3.1 summarises the extent to which each of the components of prejudice have been examined in the various surveys that were included in this review.

Whereas surveys generally cover some aspects of the context of intergroup relations, this tends to be more thorough when multiple equality strands are also being compared (indicated in the second and third columns). Surprisingly few of the surveys provided substantial measurement of the bases of prejudice, exceptions being the ACE 2004/6 surveys and NSP. In future research, greater attention needs to be paid to this component.

Although manifestations of prejudice have been measured in all but two of these surveys, the measurement has been relatively superficial and leaves important gaps in our capacity to describe British people's prejudices. A similar pattern emerges for the measurement of engagement with prejudice. Although all but three of the surveys examined explored some aspect of engagement, the measures have been limited in number and depth.

With the exception of the NSP, the majority of surveys have focused only on specific strands or pairs of strands, resulting in very little evidence that is directly comparable across the six strands.

Table 3.1 Breadth and depth of coverage of prejudice towards equality groups in recent UK surveys

Survey	Main equality strand focus*	Coverage of multiple equality strands*	Depth of coverage of different components**			
			Intergroup relationship	Psychological bases	Manifestations	Engagement
Age Concern England 2004/6	A	GSERAD, A	√√	√√	√√	√√
British Crime Survey	ER	ER, A	√		√	√√
British Household Panel Survey / UK Household Longitudinal Survey / Understanding Society	ER	ER	√	√		√
British Social Attitudes Survey	GSEAD	Typically 2, varying between years	√	√	√	
Euro-barometer	ER, GSERAD	ER	√	√	√	√
European Social Survey	E/R, A	GSERAD	√√	√	√	√
Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance 2004	ER	ER	√	√	√√	√√
Home Office Citizenship Survey	ER	SERA	√√		√	√√
National Survey of Prejudice (NSP) 2005	GSERAD	GSERAD GS, ER, AD	√√	√√	√√	√√
NSP Follow-up	RA	GSERAD	√√	√√	√√	√√
Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2002	GSED	GSED	√√	√√		√
Stonewall 2003	SEAD	GSERAD			√	√
Stonewall 2008	S	GSERAD	√√	√	√	√√

Notes to Table 3.1:

** G = Gender, S = Sexuality, E = Ethnicity, R = Religion, A = Age, D = Disability. If different rounds or versions of the survey focused on different equality strands, these separate instances are separated by commas.*

*** An empty box indicates no coverage of that component, one tick indicates some coverage, two ticks indicate more extensive (though not necessarily full) coverage.*

3.6 Conclusions

This brief summary shows that prejudice has been researched using a range of different measures, applied in different formats and orientated towards different groups in society. There are significant gaps in coverage of the different components of prejudice (context, bases, manifestations and engagement). There is also inconsistency and incompleteness concerning equality strands: even when there has been sufficient depth of measurement, it has rarely encompassed more than one or two equality strands. When taken together, the surveys provide a very patchy evidence base for benchmarking prejudice or evaluating change. This is primarily because there has not been an overarching conceptual framework for measuring prejudice. At present, the available evidence severely limits the conclusions that may be drawn about changes over time.

A reliable and practical measurement of the components of prejudice and in relation to the different equality strands is needed to analyse the status and development of prejudice in Britain, and also as a tool to predict and prevent prejudice. Establishment of a systematic measurement framework will make it easier to develop policies and interventions within and across strands, and to justify priorities attached to prejudice reduction for different equality strands and other groups. This is not to argue that a common measurement framework will be a complete solution. Clearly, detailed evidence is required to properly understand any particular axis of prejudice. However, it will be easier to develop such detailed analyses with a well-structured frame of reference as a starting point.

4. Can prejudice be stopped?

What hard evidence is there for ways of reducing prejudice among people in the UK? This section considers recent work that has employed social psychology-based methods to identify the causes of prejudice and intervene to reduce prejudice. Because much of the relevant UK research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and because some of that research is not yet published, grant numbers are given for reference purposes. This work tends to consider the intergroup context and aspects of engagement as critical; the studies either manipulate engagement or measure it longitudinally to see how it affects the bases and manifestations of prejudice.

4.1 Longitudinal evidence

Generally, there is a dearth of good-quality longitudinal research on prejudice or prejudice reduction. The ESRC has recently funded some important studies, mainly conducted within schools. A good deal of this work has concentrated on racism and interethnic attitudes, though some has considered other equality strands. No cross-strand longitudinal evidence has been identified.

Brown and colleagues (ESRC R000-23-0041, see Binder et al., unpublished) assembled samples of high school students from Belgium, England and Germany and examined how the amount and quality of contact with various majority or minority out-groups (for example, Turkish people in Germany) was related to prejudice over a six-month period. The research showed that contact reduced prejudice but prejudice also inhibited contact. The effects of contact were stronger when the out-group members were seen to be typical of their group. This and other work has also shown that contact has a stronger effect on the prejudices held by members of majority groups than on those of minority groups (see Eller and Abrams, 2003, 2004, on studies of Mexican/American contact). Also, consistent with previous research findings, contact reduced prejudice in part because contact reduced intergroup anxiety.

Brown, Rutland and Watters (ESRC RES-148-25-0007) examined acculturation among children using Berry's bi-dimensional acculturation model (Berry, 1994). This model encompasses two orientations: the degree to which children value their own ethnic culture and the worth they place on maintaining relationships with the majority ethnic group. Children can be classified as 'high' or 'low' on each orientation, resulting in the acculturation orientations of 'integration' (high on both), 'assimilation' (low, high), 'separation' (high, low) and 'marginalisation' (low, low).

Participants were 218 British South-Asian children aged between five and 11 years, recruited from low (less than 20 per cent ethnic minority) and high (20 per cent ethnic minority, or higher) ethnically diverse schools in semi-urban lower-middle-class areas within the south east of England outside a major metropolitan city. The children were interviewed individually with structured questionnaires at three time points six months apart. The research measured acculturation orientation, ethnic and national identification, peer rejection, cross-group friendship, experience of discrimination, self-esteem and teachers' ratings of children's emotional and behavioural problems. Over time, greater school ethnic diversity was associated with increases in children's self-esteem, more balanced cross-group friendships, and fewer emotional and behavioural problems. Children with more 'integrationist' acculturation orientations at the start showed higher peer acceptance and self-esteem over time but also showed more social-emotional problems and experience of discrimination. The findings suggest a positive effect of school ethnic diversity and 'integrationist' acculturation orientations for the social-emotional adaptation of ethnic minority children, but also highlight the need to provide additional social support to ethnic minority children (Cameron, Rutland, Brown, Hossain, Landau, Le Touze, Nigbur and Watters, 2009).

Longitudinal evidence is important but rare. However, such evidence is often limited by the fact that samples are not representative, being drawn from particular schools rather than the population as a whole. Longitudinal research with representative samples has been conducted in Germany by Wagner and colleagues, through the GFE (Group-Focused Enmity in Europe) project. This examined the attitudes of non-immigrant German adults (samples ranging from 2,700 to 1,760) between 2002 and 2007. The research also examined a longitudinal panel of 521 between 2002 and 2006. Analyses of these data showed a clear causal path from prejudice towards immigrants to approval of violence towards them, though the item measuring this was slightly strange: 'If others take too much space, one should show them by the use of violence who is master in one's house' (Wagner, Christ and Pettigrew, 2008). Moreover, between 2002 and 2006, there was a clear effect of positive contact on reduced intergroup bias.

Summary

Longitudinal research provides a clear picture: intergroup contact and school diversity tend to be associated with improved intergroup understanding and positive attitudes.

4.2 Persuasive messages

The potential for media campaigns to reduce prejudice has been reviewed by Sutton, Perry, Parke and John-Baptiste (2007). This review drew extensively on mainstream social psychological research to derive principles for effective campaigning but, perhaps more importantly, highlighted that such campaigns are always embedded in a social context, which means their effects may be difficult to determine. A methodology for judging the potential for 'realist evaluations' is proposed in the review. A further important observation is that there is little evidence that media campaigns can be effective. The lack of evidence is as much due to poor methodology as inadequate media strategies.

Social psychologists have come up with several other methods for influencing people. Indeed, media messages are probably not the most efficient. Instead, based on the extensive literature on intergroup relations and group processes, it is worth reminding ourselves that normative pressure can be incredibly effective. There are at least two general mechanisms for this: informational and normative influence. Essentially these boil down to being genuinely persuaded and being prepared to go along with what others say or do. Importantly, once a public consensus is apparent, people are likely to become persuaded. That is, group rationality replaces logic or individual rationality. This is why extremist groups are able to inculcate radical agendas and perspectives. However, exactly the same persuasion mechanisms should be able to work in reducing prejudice. Indeed, groups become more persuasive if we identify with them and less persuasive if we see them as out-groups (see Abrams and Hogg, 1990, for a review). For this reason, if an attempt at persuasion comes from outside our own group, we are likely to challenge or reject the ideas out of hand. As with prejudice generally, a key to progress is to find a connection with the people we want to persuade. Space does not permit a detailed exploration of intergroup attitude change research, but some examples of this and other intervention experiments demonstrate that there is a variety of means at our disposal for combating prejudice and promoting good relations.

ESRC-funded research by Maio and colleagues has investigated how people respond to anti-racist messages presented in either print or audio-visual media. People with ambivalent attitudes to ethnic minorities take more time to read messages about the group (Maio, Greenland, Bernard and Esses, 2001), but the consequences of this greater attention can be unexpected. When people were exposed to messages that supported ethnic minorities, people who started with ambivalent attitudes expressed more prejudice whereas those who did not hold ambivalent attitudes became less prejudiced. These experimental studies show that such messages can sometimes work and sometimes backfire, particularly among

people who are ambivalent in the first place. Moreover, even when people are explicitly more positive towards ethnic minority people (suggesting public compliance with such messages) measures of implicit attitudes show that these messages result in more negative rather than positive attitudes. It also seems that positive shifts in overtly expressed attitudes are not always matched by shifts in implicit attitudes.

The paradigms used in these studies tended to ask participants for views about 'ethnic minorities' and it is not clear whether people were ambivalent because they felt differently about different minorities, or whether they were ambivalent because they had a mixture of positive and negative attitudes towards all minorities. These studies are a useful start, but the results are complex and do not seem easily generalisable at this point. For example, in an experiment conducted after the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center, participants read an editorial that advocated increased or reduced immigration of Muslims, or a neutral editorial on a different topic. After reading the pro-immigration article, those who had previously been favourable towards Muslims showed more implicit prejudice, whereas those who had previously been unfavourable showed reduced implicit prejudice (Maio, Watt, Hewstone and Rees, 2002). However, the available evidence is not sufficiently focused to provide a clear answer as to whether media-based persuasion is likely to be an effective tool for reducing prejudices.

Maio and Olson (1998) proposed that values that are widely accepted are treated as 'truisms', in that they are rarely questioned and people lack clear lines of argument to justify them. As a result values have stronger affective (emotional) than behavioural implications. Maio's work showed that when people are asked to articulate reasons for holding their values it becomes more likely that they will also behave in accordance with them. From this it can be inferred that getting people to explain and justify values such as equality will also lead them to behave in more egalitarian and less prejudiced ways. Research remains to be conducted to test this possibility, but many theories and related evidence in social psychology would point to this conclusion.

Summary

Aiming persuasive messages at people is potentially risky because those with different values or attitudes at the start are liable to respond quite differently to the same message. The lesson from this research is that before persuasive campaigns are rolled out it is essential to be clear who they are aimed at and what effects are intended, as well as what effects are to be avoided. These potential effects need to be tested carefully on a pilot sample before full campaigns are launched.

4.3 Diversity training

Pendry, Driscoll and Field (2007) conducted a review of diversity training effectiveness. They argue that adherence to the principles of established social psychological theory can guide the development of diversity initiatives and make it more coherent, and that the evaluation of such initiatives can also inform theory and research. As they point out, the difficulty is that impacts of interventions under controlled conditions (for example, in the laboratory and when university students are the research participants) can be overwhelmed or transformed in the much 'noisier' and more complex situations in which people conduct their daily lives. However, research does show how and why diversity training runs the risk of backlash. Confronted with their own prejudices, people are likely to become defensive and angry, or if they become guilty they may merely decide to avoid the issue. Nonetheless, some strategies seem more promising than others.

Pendry, Driscoll and Field (2007) consider several different approaches to diversity training. One is the informative/enlightenment approach – the idea that telling people about inequalities or injustices between groups and about the advantages of diversity will naturally lead to more positive attitudes. Unfortunately this approach ignores the fact that prejudice is underpinned by emotions that are frequently resistant to rational argument (Dovidio, Gaertner, Stewart, Esses and ten Vergert, 2004; Shavitt, 1990). Indeed, as mentioned in the discussion of emotions earlier, people who identify strongly with their group are likely to react by identifying even more strongly and to feel more hostile towards an out-group if they are being made to feel guilty about their own group's actions or position (Doosje, Spears and Ellemers, 2002; Mackie, Devos and Smith, 2000). Another approach is to argue that people should be 'colour-blind', and effectively treat everyone as individuals. But this can also be problematic as it poses a threat to important identities.

The use of empathy and perspective-taking seems to hold some promise. For example, Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000) found reduced stereotyping of elderly people by students if those students were asked to take the perspective of an elderly person. Other more direct approaches have questionable outcomes. Pendry, Driscoll and Field (2007) discuss the 'Walking Through White Privilege' approach (McIntosh, 1988) which makes majority group advantages manifest, but risks causing increased separation and resentment between groups. Pendry, Driscoll and Field (2007) state that 'what we have commonly found is that participants with no prior exposure to such diversity issues will often get "stopped" by their anger and / or guilt response, and such defensive responses make it difficult to progress' (p16). Moreover, among minority group participants the exercise may simply reinforce the level of inequality and discrimination in society.

Along similar lines, the Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes method developed by Jane Elliot, which divides people according to eye colour and then simulates arbitrary prejudices that are introduced by the session facilitator, also risks backfiring. An analysis by Stewart, LaDuke, Bracht, Sweet and Gamarel (2003) of the effects of this eight-hour process showed that, while the exercise heightens emotions, the reactions are generally negative rather than positive, and there is no long-term impact. Pendry, Driscoll and Field (2007) suggest that the method is too brutal and potentially unethical, and that subtler approaches such as simpler perspective-taking exercises, or even watching a dramatisation of the exercise, may be more fruitful. In particular, it seems likely that methods that induce anger rather than guilt or responsibility are unlikely to have lasting positive effects (Tatum, 1997). A recent exercise conducted by Jane Elliot in the UK, screened as part of a Channel 4 2009 series on race, showed that some individuals strongly challenged the premise that they might be prejudiced (Abrams, 2009). However, as the outcomes have not been systematically evaluated, further research is required to be confident about which methods will work best.

Another approach is to make people aware of their unconscious or automatic biases, for example by having them take an Implicit Association Test (IAT), which can be taken via a website. However, according to Pendry, Driscoll and Field (2007), this becomes problematic because people find the method difficult to understand and are likely to challenge the interpretation of the results. One way to circumvent such reactions is to put participants in the role of trainers: that is, to stand back from the results and articulate what the IAT demonstrates. This author believes the downside of such a method is that it also allows the person to put themselves ‘above’ their prejudices. A further, more serious, problem is that there is still substantial debate within psychology as to what the IAT actually measures.

A simpler method is the ‘father-son exercise’ in which people are asked to explain how the parent of an accident victim can be the surgeon treating the son, given that the father was killed in the accident. A proportion of people erroneously seek complex explanations for this situation, overlooking the possibility that the surgeon could be the son’s mother. As a group exercise this illustrates how easily people automatically make stereotype-based assumptions and raises in a non-threatening way the importance of holding such stereotypes in abeyance. An additional method is to ask people to consider positive and negative behaviours and ask how often in-group or out-group members engage in them. People typically come up with more positives for in-group members, and when this is demonstrated in a group exercise it shows powerfully how intergroup biases operate.

Although the translation of social psychological experiments into group demonstrations offers promise as a method for diversity training, there is a potential pitfall. According to Pendry, Driscoll and Field (2007), unless participants are motivated to embrace diversity, 'such programmes are likely to fail, or even heighten existing intergroup tensions' (p. 43). Such motivation can be increased in various ways, particularly through social norms or institutional backing. If an organisation is seen to be strongly supportive of diversity, it is easier to motivate its members to pursue this as an objective.

Summary

As argued elsewhere in this review, the fundamental difficulty with deciding how to implement programmes for change is that, despite the huge investment and effort in promoting such programmes, there is almost no adequate evaluative research. There are several reasons for this, all of which relate to the incentives and motivation for conducting such work. One is that organisations themselves lack the skills to conduct evaluations, another is that researchers (for example, psychologists) can publish faster, more easily and in more respected journals by carrying out experimental studies in controlled conditions and where adequate sample sizes are assured. A third is that people are too busy. They want to conduct the programme and proceed to other work rather than mull over the effects and implications. Or the people funding the programmes have moved on by the time such results might appear and they are more concerned to be able to say the programmes happened than to worry about their effects. Finally, there is the risk that effects are trivial, brief, null or negative, which nobody wants to be associated with, so better not to know. These issues will need to be tackled head-on if we are to make serious progress. Thus, diversity training can be effective but it needs to be informed by clear objectives and definable outcomes.

4.4 Prejudice in childhood

An alternative approach is to consider how prejudice develops in the first place. First, we have to remember that prejudice can fluctuate from situation to situation and, as new intergroup comparisons and conflicts occur, so prejudice shifts. However, it is probably also true that childhood offers a period during which deeply rooted prejudices can be avoided, challenged or changed. Psychologically the basis for this is that children have not laid down strong associations and memory traces, they are able to learn and unlearn more readily than adults, and it is easier to build up both good and bad habits in childhood.

It is not uncommon to hear people describe young children as 'innocent', as if this might imply they are without prejudice. In fact, years of research in developmental

psychology show that prejudice appears early in childhood (see Aboud, 1988; Levy and Killen, 2008; Nesdale, 2001; Quintana and McKown, 2008; Rutland, 2004). This body of research has studied the development of prejudice in its many multifaceted forms and shown both age-related and contextual influences on children's prejudice. These findings are important since they suggest that understanding the origins, functions and moderators of prejudice in children should be a high priority if we are to establish effective policy and combat its negative consequences. Given that stereotypes and prejudice are hard to change in adulthood, most psychologists agree that interventions must be implemented early in life to be successful (Aboud and Levy, 2000).

Because of the changing nature of prejudice in childhood, developmental scientists employ a variety of methods to study children's prejudice. Three of these are: children's explicit preferences for members of their own versus other groups, sometimes reflected in biased judgements about the characteristics of group members; implicit biases; and the exclusion or rejection of individual peers in intergroup contexts.

Explicit prejudice in childhood

Research on children's explicit preference for one social group over another has largely focused on racial or ethnic preference, with fewer studies on gender and national groups. Clark and Clark (1947) showed that Black American children in segregated schools preferred white dolls to black dolls, evidence that was influential in the Supreme Court case that outlawed school segregation in the United States. More recent techniques, including the Preschool Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM; Williams, Best, Boswell, Mattson and Graves, 1975) and the Multiple-response Racial Attitudes measure (MRA; Doyle, Beaudet and Aboud, 1988) ask children to attribute positive (such as 'clean', 'smart') and negative (such as 'mean', 'dirty') characteristics to a white child or a black child or, in the MRA, to both children. Ingroup biases on these measures emerge from four to five years of age among ethnic majority children (for example, Aboud, 1988, 2003; Augoustinos and Rosewarne, 2001; Doyle and Aboud, 1995), but the biases tend to decline from approximately seven years of age (for example, Black-Gutman and Hickson, 1996; Doyle and Aboud, 1995). It is worth noting that much of this research was carried out in the US or Australia, but the pattern of findings is the same in the UK (for example, Rutland, Cameron, Bennett and Ferrell, 2005; Rutland, Cameron, Milne and McGeorge, 2005).

An important limitation of all this research is that the evidence is typically based on small numbers of children (fewer than 200) within particular schools in specific

regions. There is very little evidence about the generality or context-sensitivity of children's racial prejudice across the UK. Rutland, Cameron, Bennett and Ferrell (2005) conducted a small-scale national survey of children's racial attitudes funded by the BBC. They found that children living in multi-ethnic and diverse areas showed more positive racial attitudes.

Children's attitudes to the opposite sex are usually negative between four and five years of age (Bigler, 1995), and this is also shown in regionally based UK research (Yee and Brown, 1994). However, gender biases generally do not decline from middle childhood onwards (Powlishta, Serbin, Doyle and White, 1994) but, rather, gender bias transforms and is modified by shifts in peer group activity, physical maturation and ideas about complementarity between genders (Abrams, 1989). Understanding children and young people's gender-role assumptions (for example, about caring and working) should be fundamentally important for tackling various forms of social exclusion for both men and women.

Developmental research on national prejudice, mostly conducted in the UK, also shows that explicit national intergroup biases appear later in childhood than racial or gender bias but then persist throughout middle childhood and early adolescence (for example, Barrett, 2007; Abrams, Rutland and Cameron, 2003; Bennett, Lyons, Sani and Barrett, 1998; Rutland, 1999; Rutland, Cameron, Milne and McGeorge, 2005; Rutland, Killen and Abrams, 2010; Verkuyten, 2001). Therefore, explicit gender and national prejudice seems pervasive and there is a real need to understand the development and durability of these biases in a national sample of children of different ages. However, it is unclear whether (and no one has tested this) an all-out assault on prejudice would be a more effective strategy than dealing with each type of prejudice separately. Given that prejudices towards different groups appear to have different developmental trajectories, it seems likely that the latter approach might work better.

Children's implicit biases

A few recent studies have shown that implicit biases - that is those that children cannot control and are not necessarily aware of - emerge early in childhood (see, for example, Baron and Banaji, 2006; McGlothlin and Killen, 2006; Rutland, Cameron, Milne and McGeorge, 2005). For example, Rutland, Cameron, Milne and McGeorge (2005) found that, using a child-friendly pictorial-based Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz, 1998), six- to eight-year-old white British children showed implicit racial and national biases. The IAT measures the relative strength of association between concepts (for example, 'white British' or 'black British') and attributes (for example, 'good' or 'bad'). Implicit bias was present if the

children show faster reaction times for stereotypical (for example, 'white British' and 'good') than counter-stereotypical (for example, 'black British' and 'good') associations.

McGlothin and Killen (2006) examined another indirect form of bias. They found that six- to nine-year-old European American children were more likely to believe there were negative intentions when shown an ambiguous situation where an African American was a potential perpetrator (for example, standing behind a swing) and a European American a possible victim (for example, sitting on the ground in front of a swing) than vice versa. Use of these indirect measures is informative because it can often get around language and other barriers. If we are to gauge the extent of children's prejudices across equality strands it seems likely that these types of methods will be useful. At present there are hardly any studies of this sort globally, and especially in the UK. Future research should examine the relationship between explicit and implicit prejudice at a national level, and their respective roles in influencing children's behaviour (for example, racist bullying/victimisation).

Social exclusion of peers

Another way of understanding children's prejudices is to examine how children make decisions about who to include and exclude from their social relationships in everyday intergroup contexts (Abrams and Rutland, 2007; Killen and Stangor, 2001; Nesdale, 2007). Recent UK research has shown that children, adolescents and adults all have strong negative reactions to being excluded by peers (Abrams, Weick, Colbe, Thomas and Franklin, 2010) and, as children get older, they use more systematic strategies to enhance their group identity by psychologically embracing supporters and rejecting those who threaten or challenge their groups. This means that sometimes members of out-groups are welcomed, and sometimes members of in-groups are rejected. What seems especially important to children is that their own group's norms are defended (Abrams and Rutland, 2008; Abrams, Rutland and Cameron, 2003; Abrams, Christian and Gordon, 2007; Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier and Ferrell, 2009. So whereas five- to seven-year-old young children prefer 'good' people over 'bad' people and in-group members over out-group members, older children prefer people who show support for their group over people who do not, sometimes regardless of which group those people belong to. In short, their groups become more than just flags of convenience: instead they become part of an identity to be defended.

As Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier and Ferrell (2009) have shown, what seems to be happening is that older children have learned to expect social pressure from others if they do not conform, and have learned that group loyalty is valued by their peers.

As they get older, children increasingly place the pressures and needs of the group above other considerations when making judgements about who it is right or wrong to exclude. This is a relatively new line of research that has primarily considered children's attitudes to members of out-group nationality or schools. Thus, there is much to explore (for example, whether it applies in the same way across all six equality strands). However, it opens many doors for intervention. For example, the fact that it is possible to get children to be enthusiastic about individual out-group members shows that it should also be possible to transform their views of those out-groups as a whole. Future studies should include larger national samples and look at multiple forms of social exclusion (for example, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, body image, disability).

Preventing prejudice in childhood

In the UK, practitioners, educators and community workers have been very active in designing and implementing educational interventions to reduce prejudice in children. There are a number of resources available to teachers to help them plan and deliver classes relating to prejudice (for an example of anti-racism resources see www.citizenship-pieces.org.uk; for an example of lessons in the history of ethnic groups see www.realhistories.org.uk/). While there is a vast array of resources available to teachers in the UK, the content of prejudice-reduction interventions is often based on 'common sense' and intuition rather than psychological evidence (Stephan, 1999). By ignoring psychological theories regarding the causes and underlying mechanisms of prejudice and prejudice reduction, this could lead to poor interventions (Vrij and Van Schie, 1996) and in some cases may bring about an increase in prejudice and stereotyping (Vrij and Smith, 1999; Vrij and Van Schie, 1996).

Unfortunately, many prejudice-reduction interventions are being implemented or have been implemented without any evaluation at all (Paluck and Green, 2009). In cases where interventions have been assessed, the evaluation techniques used are often inadequate, which limits the conclusions that can be drawn regarding the benefits of the intervention (Bigler, 1999). In order to ensure the interventions are effective and reduce prejudice in childhood, it is essential that they are based on psychological theory and findings and are evaluated systematically.

What interventions are most successful?

The majority of research evaluating prejudice-reduction interventions has been conducted in the US. Four approaches to prejudice-reduction interventions for children that have received the most attention are (1) multicultural curricula,

(2) intergroup contact, (3) cooperative learning and (4) empathy and role-playing/perspective-taking.

Multicultural curricula

Multicultural curricula can include stories featuring characters from a diverse range of racial groups (known as multiethnic readers) or stories depicting children from minority racial groups in a counter-stereotypical way. There are mixed findings regarding how effective multiethnic readers are in reducing prejudice among children in the US (Levy, Troise, Moyer, Aboud and Bigler, 2003). One successful intervention was examined by Litcher and Johnson (1969) in the US. They evaluated a four-week multicultural programme that involved reading stories featuring African American characters. Teachers did not draw children's attention to the ethnicity of the story characters and there was no discussion of race or ethnicity.

Litcher and Johnson (1969) found prejudice levels were lower in the experimental conditions, compared to control conditions. On the other hand, a number of researchers have shown that multicultural interventions are ineffective and may indeed have a detrimental effect on intergroup attitudes. For instance, Koeller (1977) found that exposing 11-year-old children to stories about Mexican Americans did not lead to more positive racial attitudes. Furthermore, McAdoo (1970, cited in Bigler, 1999) implemented a 'Black Consciousness' programme that included various activities, including learning songs and stories about black heroes, and reading stories that depict African American women and men in a positive light. This intervention actually led to an increase in racial stereotyping (McAdoo, 1970, cited in Bigler, 1999). Indeed, in their reviews of multicultural education programmes in the classroom, Williams and Moreland (1976) concluded that attitude modification in the classroom is difficult to achieve; Bigler (1999) noted that the effects of these types of interventions are often non-significant and are inconsistent across populations. While Salzman and D'Andrea (2001) found that multicultural interventions led to significant improvements in social interaction according to teachers' ratings, this was not reflected in children's own self-ratings. Thus, even apparently successful interventions can also have mixed findings.

Recent research in the UK has shown that multicultural readers can be effective in improving white English children's attitudes towards disabled people, refugees and Asian children (Cameron, Rutland, Brown and Douch, 2006; Cameron and Rutland, 2006; Cameron, Rutland and Brown, 2007). In a series of studies, Cameron and colleagues found that multicultural readers can effectively improve children's attitudes towards other groups if the stories focus on cross-race friendships. This research has also shown that reading stories about cross-group friendships

improves social norms for cross-group friendship, and reduces anxiety about interacting with members of other groups. Multicultural books are also thought to be more effective if presented frequently. This is thought to increase children's identification with the characters in the stories, and improve their memory for the stories (Slone, Tarrasch and Hallis, 2000). It also seems that multicultural readers may be more effective in contexts in which children have little or no other opportunity to meet and form friendships with actual members of other groups (Cameron, Rutland and Brown, 2007).

Turner and Brown (2008) evaluated the impact of the Friendship Project, a programme in Kent designed to improve primary school children's attitudes towards refugees. The programme, which consisted of four weekly classes, had three objectives: 1) to develop knowledge about refugees; 2) to encourage positive values of open-mindedness, respect for others and empathy, and 3) to develop new skills, for example the ability to identify similarities between people of different nationalities, and to detect biases, stereotypes and egocentric attitudes in oneself and others. Children aged between nine and 11 either received four weekly lessons based on the programme, or they received no lessons. All participants completed attitude measures before and after implementation of the programme. Half completed the post-test one week after completion of the programme while the other half completed the post-test seven weeks after its completion. The programme led to more positive attitudes towards refugees in the short term, but not in the long term. Moreover, although it did not increase empathy, the programme increased the proportion of participants who supported a strategy of integration (whereby refugees maintain aspects of their own culture, while also adopting aspects of the host culture); it also reduced the number of participants whose views on this conflicted with those of refugees.

An alternative approach to classroom-based multicultural interventions involves the direct discussion of prejudice and discrimination (Bigler, 1999). According to this approach children should be encouraged to discuss racism and are taught ways in which to recognise and confront racism and discrimination, such as through the Teaching Tolerance project in the US (Aboud and Levy, 2000; Bigler, 1999; Derman-Sparks and Phillips, 1997; Sleeter and Grant, 1987). Like multicultural interventions, these interventions are based on the theoretical principle that prejudice is a result of ignorance, and when children are taught about prejudice, this will lead to its reduction. These types of interventions are often 'TV spots' in the form of extended, informative adverts, or advertisements on billboards or in newspapers and magazines. There is conflicting evidence regarding the effectiveness of anti-racist interventions. Research suggests that these interventions may actually have a

negative effect on out-group attitudes among adults (Kehoe and Mansfield, 1993). On the other hand, research with young adults suggests that alerting individuals to the need for improved interracial relations and increased harmony between racial groups leads to a reduction in in-group favouritism (Wolkso, Park, Judd and Wittenbrink, 2000).

Intergroup contact

As described earlier, psychological research suggests that intergroup contact is an important factor in reducing prejudice. Due to segregation within our communities, it is at school that children are most likely to come into contact with, and have an opportunity to form friendships with, people from different ethnic or racial backgrounds. However, children's friendships do not always reflect the mix of racial groups in the classroom. Instead, children often select friends on the basis of social group membership, such as ethnicity or race (Aboud, 2003).

Research, mainly conducted in North America, has shown that, from the age of six years, children and adolescents show a preference for same-race as opposed to cross-race friendships (for example, Aboud, 2003; Graham and Cohen, 1997). This preference intensifies with age; as children move through middle childhood into adolescence, cross-race friendships continue to decline (Aboud, 2003; Graham and Cohen, 1997; DuBois and Hirsch, 1990). In the US, preference for cross-race friendship typically begins to show a rapid decline from around age 10-12. There has been comparatively little research examining this issue in the UK; however, recent findings suggest that preference for same-race friendship appears to become particularly intense when children start secondary school at the age of 11 or 12 years (Hill, Graham, Caulfield, Ross and Shelton, 2007). This gradual decline in cross-group friendships is particularly concerning given the potential benefits of cross-group friendship for increasing social cohesion and promoting good community relations (Laurence and Heath, 2008) and reducing prejudice (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006; Turner, Hewstone and Voci, 2007). Indeed, encouraging cross-group friendship may be one of the most effective methods by which prejudice in children and adults can be reduced. Further research is required to systematically examine (1) friendship patterns among children in the UK, and (2) what factors are driving this decline in cross-race friendships among adolescents in the UK.

Intergroup contact interventions

Research has shown that intergroup contact can also be used as an educational tool to improve children's attitudes towards other groups. Intergroup contact interventions typically involve bringing together children from different social groups, for example white and Asian British children, or disabled and non-disabled children, who do not

normally get an opportunity to interact with each other (Maras and Brown, 1996, 2000). One type of intergroup contact intervention is bilingual education programmes. In their review, Genesee and Gandara (1999) outlined two different types of bilingual education: 'Dual-Language Education' and 'Immersion'. The former is found in the US, including the Amigos Two-Way Immersion Programme (Genesee and Gandara, 1999). In this model of bilingual education, children whose primary language is the majority language (that is, English) are educated alongside those for whom the primary language is the minority language. Children attend lessons taught in both languages. Dual-language education allows direct contact with out-group members and the opportunity for close intergroup cooperation in the classroom. Research has shown that children attending dual-language schools are less prejudiced towards those who speak another language, compared to all-English speaking schools (Cazabon, 1999, cited in Genesee and Gandara, 1999).

Cooperative learning

Maras and Brown (1996) evaluated a cooperative learning intervention that involved non-disabled children taking part in regular activities with disabled children. These activities were carefully structured so that children had to collaborate in order to complete the tasks. Using a sociometric preference measure, Maras and Brown (1996) found that children who took part in the programme expressed greater liking for the out-group compared to a control group. Thus, intergroup contact that involves cooperative learning appears to lead to positive out-group attitudes. Furthermore, in interventions in which the contact between the two groups was not controlled and cooperative interaction could not be ensured, intergroup contact interventions have been unsuccessful (Maras and Brown, 2000).

Empathy and role-playing/perspective-taking

Role-playing and perspective-taking are probably some of the earliest intervention techniques to be employed by education professionals (Aboud and Levy, 2000). This technique was first used with children around 50 years ago (Culbertson, 1957). Although it has been used as part of a number of intervention programmes (for example, Hill and Augustinos, 2001; Salzman and D'Andrea, 2001), it has received little empirical evaluation.

Role-playing or perspective-taking typically involves the participant adopting the role or perspective of a member of a stigmatised group. Essentially, individuals imagine themselves in the situation of a member of the discriminated group. It is thought that, through this experience, individuals will adopt the perspective of a member of the other group and experience at first hand how it feels to be a member of that group and be discriminated against. The argument is that this will lead the individual to

empathise with members of the discriminated out-group and see themselves as being similar to that group: this will then lead to a reduction in prejudice because individuals will want to alleviate the pain and hurt of discrimination as if it were their own (Aboud and Levy, 2000).

Perhaps the most well-known perspective-taking prejudice-reduction intervention was the Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes experiment (Aboud and Levy, 2000). This intervention was devised by Jane Elliot, an elementary school teacher in the US in the 1960s. She wanted to teach the children in her class how it felt to belong to a stigmatised group and experience discrimination. One day she told her class that students with blue eyes were superior to students with brown eyes and she favoured the blue-eyed students over the brown-eyed students. The next day she reversed the roles and favoured brown-eyed students. This gave students an insight into how it feels to be discriminated against, albeit for one day only.

More recently, Byrnes and Kiger (1990) assessed the effectiveness of the Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes paradigm with non-black students and found the simulation significantly improved participants' attitudes towards black people. Those who took part in the intervention were significantly more likely than a control group to confront discriminatory acts. However, there was no significant difference in participants' social distance scores. This led Byrnes and Kiger (1990) to conclude that the intervention's effects on out-group attitudes may be limited to responding to discriminatory acts.

This finding has been replicated with children aged nine years. Weiner and Wright (1973) found that, compared to a control group who received no intervention, children who took part in a version of the Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes simulation expressed greater willingness to engage in an activity with the out-group (Weiner and Wright, 1973). Breckheimer and Nelson (1976) also found that, following role-playing interventions, adolescents expressed a greater willingness to engage in cross-race activities. Furthermore, the ability to take another's perspective and also the ability to reconcile their own and others' perspectives (that is, to see others' perspectives as legitimate) are linked to lower levels of prejudice in children (Abrams, Rutland and Cameron, 2003; Doyle and Aboud, 1995; Quintana, 1994). This evidence suggests that interventions based on role-playing and perspective-taking could be effective with young children.

Very little systematic research has been conducted examining the effect of empathy-inducing interventions, although the above findings suggest this may be a promising technique.

Summary

Prejudices emerge towards different groups during different periods of childhood and adolescence. There are well-developed methods for measuring children's attitudes towards members of their own and other groups, both in terms of their explicit choices or statements and in terms of developing implicit associations or learning of stereotypes. The evidence shows that children learn negative evaluations of various social groups at a surprisingly young age, suggesting that combating prejudice in society requires early and continuous efforts to intervene. Children may exhibit prejudice not just through overall feelings and evaluations about groups as a whole but also by selectively including or excluding individual members of different groups from their social networks. This group-based aspect of exclusion may be especially worthy of attention in schools.

Various intervention techniques for reducing prejudice have been tried with children but rarely have they been properly evaluated. There is some evidence that multicultural curricula can be effective, but the results are not conclusively positive. In the UK, multicultural readers have been found to be effective in promoting positive attitudes towards different ethnic groups and children with disabilities. However, direct discussions of racism and prejudice do not always produce the desired effects.

Research shows that children in mixed-group environments do not always sustain intergroup contact, and may begin to self-segregate as they get older. It seems that the contact must involve activity that ties the groups together, such as learning one another's languages or engaging in cooperative learning tasks.

There is some hope that encouraging empathy and perspective-taking could reduce prejudice among children. However, the evidence here is not yet well established, and there is some evidence that children with better perspective-taking ability may actually be more adept at knowing how to exclude as well as include other children from their social networks. As well as being able to take the other's perspective, prejudice reduction may depend on children being motivated to ensure members of other groups have a positive relationship with them.

4.5 Good relations, communities and neighbourliness

Another approach is not to worry about who is more prejudiced or less prejudiced, and instead to actively promote general community cohesion and generally good relations. For tackling salient but 'irrelevant' social category distinctions, this seems likely to be a good approach. Thus, a mixed community can best achieve shared goals if people do not restrict their help, or receipt of help, to those of their own ethnicity, gender or religion. On the other hand, the goal of simultaneously fostering

interindividual and intercommunity altruism may be difficult to achieve. Social psychological theories and evidence all point to the idea that people require a certain level of distinctiveness in order to experience a clear identity. This means differentiating their own groups and categories from others. While it might be feasible to get people to pull together within a community (such as a neighbourhood or city), it is likely to be more difficult to sustain unprejudicial responses to people from other communities, neighbourhoods, cities and countries if those others pose a threat or are in conflict. Some of the same social psychological forces that bind people together also serve to put them in opposition to other groups.

The scope of the present review does not permit extensive discussion of community cohesion research. However, a review of theory and evidence on the psychology of neighbourliness included a definition of neighbourliness, and suggested there are six characteristics that need to be considered for strengthening good relations and neighbourliness (Abrams, 2006). Parts of these conclusions are reiterated here because similar principles can be applied to the concept of good relations more generally by substituting the geographical neighbourhood with the psychological concept of community. According to this idea, good relations involve:

> 'non-obligatory willingness to take social and practical responsibility for others… It may also involve the implicit presumption that there is a set of people who have the same willingness toward oneself. It is likely to be founded on a sense of common interest, common purpose and common identity… [it] …depends on recognition that oneself and the other person are part of the same entity… [it] is part of what people do concretely to establish and maintain that entity.' (Abrams, 2006, p. 25).

The six propositions about neighbourliness can be extended to good relations. First, it is useful to understand that good relations involve an **orientation** that may or may not be manifested behaviourally, depending on people's circumstances and opportunity. Second, good relations are a key aspect of **social inclusion** and exclusion, and therefore will be affected by things that increase or decrease exclusion. Third, good relations will depend on the extent to which the participants are understood to be part of a **meaningful entity***,* such as a neighbourhood, community, social group or network. Factors that increase the tangibility of that entity will also lay the ground for increased good relations. Fourth, membership of an entity can provide a **social identity** which people will value and protect through good relations within the entity. Fifth, groups and communities with different characteristics have different potential for **socialisation** of their members, and therefore will manifest good relations to different degrees. Sixth, good relations are **generative**.

For example, while neighbourly people make places neighbourly, neighbourly places will encourage people to be more neighbourly and to thrive as a result of stronger engagement with a meaningful social community.

It was not possible to locate any well-evaluated intervention studies of community cohesion for inclusion in this review (though see earlier comments on evidence from Northern Ireland). It is possible to track changes in attitudes and social capital through surveys but it is not always easy to distinguish whether any changes reflect interventions in the specific community being surveyed or wider social changes. A project by People United, a charity that uses the arts and creativity to promote social cohesion, is assessing the impact of an arts-based intervention to build pro-social motivation across communities. However, this project is small-scale and still in progress. Scaling-up of such evaluated intervention projects would seem a desirable direction for establishing effective policy and practice.

Similarly, there are substantial efforts by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and others to build intergenerational practice (see the Beth Johnson Foundation, London Intergenerational Network and others). However, the focus again tends to be on running projects rather than evaluating their efficacy or wider impacts. There is very little research that examines the bi-directional effects of intergenerational contact and activities on either intergenerational attitudes (see Abrams, Eller and Bryant, 2006; Kenworthy, Turner, Hewstone and Voci, 2005) or community relations. Therefore, it would seem useful to conduct evaluative research to test what works. The framework described earlier offers a system for deciding what should be measured.

A relevant question is whether we should expect good relations to affect all prejudices equally. That is, whether building good relations will be a panacea for all prejudices, or whether it might reduce some but not others. As suggested in the introductory section, there are potential risks as well as advantages in building cohesive communities. Such communities can potentially be more exclusive and prejudiced. It may also be that larger cohesive communities will naturally fragment, resulting in potential schisms. Similarly, we need to consider whether a good relations approach might risk obscuring important axes of prejudice or inequality. That is, we may need to remain attentive to the different issues and forms of prejudice that might bear on different equality strands.

Summary

Good relations seem likely to revolve around a sense of mutual respect and common identity. Good relations could contribute to increased support for equality, respect for

human rights and reduced prejudice. While there are theoretical reasons for expecting this to be the case, there is little solid evidence of cause and effect and it is unclear how sustainable good relations might be in the face of other pressures for group identity, distinctiveness and threat. This remains an avenue for future investigation.

4.6 Overall summary and conclusions

This section has reviewed research that explores ways to reduce prejudice. Longitudinal evidence shows that intergroup contact does reduce prejudice, with positive effects of diversity on prejudice among majority group members. The evidence for minority group members is less clear. Evidence of the effectiveness of persuasive media campaigns is in short supply (but see Abrams, Leader and Rutland's 2009 work on testing the impact of role models for black young men). Such campaigns risk backfiring, depending on the initial attitudes held by the people viewing the messages. Diversity training is also rarely well evaluated. Evidence suggests that it is necessary to secure a basic commitment to the goals of such training prior to the training.

A promising avenue for interventions is to work with children and through schools. Prejudices towards different groups emerge at different points during childhood, but there is scope to influence prejudice early on. As well as focusing on broad prejudice it may be useful to consider instances of peer inclusion and exclusion that are based on group memberships. Four intervention approaches have been explored: multicultural curricula, intergroup contact, cooperative learning and empathy or perspective-taking. There is good evidence that the first two of these techniques work well. Evidence for cooperative learning is less clear, and there is not yet sufficient evidence of the effectiveness of empathy interventions to reach clear conclusions.

Finally, the question of how good relations might fit with prejudice reduction was considered. Although there are some aspects of good relations that should positively affect prejudice, research evidence is not yet available to be sure about the mutual influences of these two phenomena. In sum, although there are promising prospects for interventions to reduce prejudice, there is a lack of systematic studies to test the effectiveness of such interventions and more research is required.

The single clearest conclusion from this review of ways to reduce prejudice is that there is still very little high-quality research on the effectiveness of intervention techniques. Although schools, organisations and government agencies have many strategies for reducing prejudice and increasing good relations, the tendency is to

assume these will be effective simply because they have been implemented. But just as having a good syllabus does not ensure good learning, well-intentioned policies do not necessarily have the intended effects.

There is strong indicative evidence that a wide range of potential techniques for intervention can be effective under certain conditions. However, there is insufficient evidence and on an insufficient scale to be able to assert what will work best and when. To establish this, it will be necessary to test multiple intervention strategies against non-intervention baselines and carefully evaluate the effects. Moreover, whereas much of the existing intervention work with children has tested effects relating to just one group or equality strand, there is very little evaluated intervention work that has used a cross-strand approach. It remains to be seen whether this would be feasible with children, or whether it will be more effective to use a strategy of continual interventions that rotate among equality strands. Similarly, for both children and adults the connection between a good relations strategy and a prejudice reduction strategy remains unclear.

5. Conclusions and implications

This review has set out what we know and do not know about prejudice in the UK, based on the social psychology research literature, and what we know about interventions to reduce prejudice, particularly among children. Despite covering over 200 reports and reviews of (mostly experimental) academic research and theory, it must be acknowledged that this is not a complete record and that there is plenty of scope for additional focused empirical reviews. However, the present review is probably the most comprehensive attempted in the UK to date.

The following are the major conclusions and implications from this review:

1) Prejudice and good relations are not opposites. Strategies to influence prejudice will not necessarily affect good relations, and vice versa. In particular, prejudice emerges and declines as a function of changes in intergroup contexts and relationships. Therefore, tackling prejudice must begin with a coherent analysis of the intergroup context within which it arises.

2) It is useful to separate prejudice into different components. These include the bases of prejudice in people's value systems, ways of categorising the social world, and their group-based identities. Prejudice can also be manifested in a variety of ways and it is useful to distinguish between different sorts of stereotype, different emotions, overt and more implicit or indirect prejudices, and prejudice that is expressed behaviourally, through language and through images and non-verbal means. Beyond this, people engage with prejudice in different ways: as a target of other people's prejudices, by having contact with members of groups that might be disliked or distrusted, and through self-motivated or normative controls over prejudiced thoughts and actions. Evaluating these components provides a sound basis for assessing the nature and degree of prejudices relating to any equality strand. Therefore this framework provides a basis for a cross-strand approach to tackling prejudice.

3) Efforts to understand prejudice across equality strands do not imply that prejudice is a generic phenomenon. Although some people may generally be more prejudiced than others, it is more often the case that some groups are targets of prejudice much more than others, or that prejudices take different forms depending on the group towards which they are directed. Prejudice can be understood as a set of common but dynamic processes that reflect people's understanding of their various intergroup relationships.

4) Questions are currently used in UK surveys to measure some components of prejudice. There is a need to develop further questions for survey use, perhaps based on more detailed social psychology measurement scales and approaches. In the meantime, existing surveys need to take account of the strengths and weaknesses of current question wording.

5) At present there is substantial laboratory-based evidence but relatively little field research testing the efficacy of different interventions to reduce prejudice. There is little informative intervention research because the outcomes of most interventions to reduce prejudice are rarely evaluated adequately, and most often they have no comparison or control conditions against which to judge change. If we are to tackle prejudice effectively it will be necessary to conduct interventions at local, regional and national levels that are evaluated against non-intervention baselines and comparison conditions.

6) Researchers are developing promising tools for reducing prejudice, particularly among children. It is also known that various commonly used techniques can be counterproductive if applied inappropriately. These include direct attempts at persuasion and diversity training. On the other hand, facilitating positive intergroup contact, empathy and role-taking, and the use of multicultural curricula all offer positive prospects. Much larger longitudinal and intervention studies will be required before we can be confident about what will work best, where and when.

7) To link research evidence more directly to policy formulation it is essential to pursue an integrated approach to prejudice and discrimination, with better coordination in terms of what is measured, how and when. This will allow firmer conclusions to be drawn about the scale, focus and nature of prejudices, and whatcountermeasures may be required. An integrated approach needs to accommodate the distinctive features and issues that affect different equality strands, but sustain coherence across strands in the way this is done.

8) The framework set out in this review points towards developing a systematic set of measurement objectives and tools, both for evaluating prejudice across strands at a national level and for gauging the effects of interventions at much more specific local or organisational levels. These tools will need to include evaluation methodologies as well as common sets of measures that will enable firm comparisons against benchmarks and baselines. One of the dangers of developing such tools is that mistakes become as apparent as

successes. Efforts to tackle prejudice within a cross-strand framework may produce both, but only if we conduct high-quality evaluation can we learn from mistakes and build on successes.

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Appendix 1: Glossary

Authoritarianism	Belief in absolute authority, reflected by obedience to superiors but tyrannical behaviour towards subordinates.
Categorisation	Assigning objects or people who vary along a continuum or dimension into discrete categories (for example, groups).
Egalitarianism	Belief in the principle that people should be treated as equals and that procedures and distributions of benefits should apply to all people in the same way.
Decategorisation	Disregarding the groups or categories with which people may be labelled and instead treating them each as unique individuals.
Infrahumanisation	The perception that a person or group is less than human, for example that they do not experience complex and subtle emotions but only basic emotions such as animals might experience.
In-group	A group to which a person perceives themselves as belonging.
Minimal group	A group that people treat as an in-group but in which no members are identifiable and there are no prior relationships among the members. The group is created psychologically purely by categorising the person as belonging to it.
Out-group	A group of which one is not a member and which is being compared with an in-group.
Recategorisation	Encompassing an in-group and out-group within a larger category that may include both groups.
Prejudice	Bias that devalues people because of their perceived membership of a social group.
Social distance	The extent to which a person feels able to have a relationship with another person; for example, ranging from feeling comfortable in sharing a neighbourhood to feeling comfortable having as a prospective romantic partner.
Social identity	The knowledge that one belongs to a social group together with the value and emotional significance of that membership.
Stereotype	A generalisation about the characteristics of a category of people (for example, a group).

Appendix 2: Acronyms

ACE	Age Concern England
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BSAS	British Social Attitudes Survey
EB	Eurobarometer
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
ESS	European Social Survey
GFE	Group-Focused Enmity in Europe
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NSP	National Survey of Prejudice
PRAM	Preschool Racial Attitudes Measure

Appendix 3: Summary of surveys that have asked questions on prejudice, as mentioned in this review

Evidence source	Frequency or date	Brief description of survey
Age Concern England (ACE)	2004/6	ACE has conducted surveys, with fieldwork carried out by TNS (Taylor Nelson Sofres plc), to explore discrimination against older people. Two of these were directed by the author of this paper (see Ray, Sharp and Abrams, 2006; Abrams, Eilola and Swift, 2009). The 2004 survey was the first national survey to use a coherent social psychological framework for examining age-related prejudice. Both surveys used face-to-face computer-aided personal interviews with representative samples of around 2,000 adults across England, Scotland and Wales.
British Crime Survey (BCS)	Annual	The BCS assesses perceptions and experiences of crime. It has a core sample size of around 46,000 interviews per year, based on the random selection of one adult in each selected household.
British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) / UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS) / Understanding Society	Annual	The BHPS was an annual survey of over 5,000 households repeated in successive years, and children included once they reached the age of 16. An additional survey of 11-15 year olds began at wave 4. The BHPS was incorporated into the UKHLS, itself now subsumed within the Understanding Society survey. This has a total target sample size of 40,000 households and 100,000 individuals, with an ethnic minority booster sample of 1,000 individuals within each of five ethnicity groupings.
British Social Attitudes Survey (BSAS)	Annual	The BSAS includes both one-off modules and questions that monitor change over time. It involves responses from up to 3,500 randomly selected adults within selected households in Great Britain. It uses a combination of face-to-face interviews and self-completion questionnaires.

Eurobarometer (EB)	Annual	The 2000 EB survey focused on attitudes to minority ethnic groups and included a sample of 1,070 in Great Britain. Respondents are drawn at random within selected households.
European Social Survey (ESS)	Biennial	The ESS monitors social attitudes, social beliefs and values across Europe and how they change over time. It aims to achieve random probability samples based on full coverage of the household population aged 15+ and has a sample size of 1,500 per participating country. The ESS consists of a core that is repeated on each occasion, plus additional modules.
Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance (GARA) 2004	Longitudinal	Heim, Howe, O'Connor, Cassidy, Warden and Cunningham (2004) produced a report for GARA, describing a longitudinal investigation of the experiences of racism and discrimination by young people in Glasgow. This followed 271 white and ethnic minority young people in three cohorts aged 14, 17 and 20 over four waves from 2001 to 2004.
Home Office Citizenship Survey (HO Citizenship)	Biennial	The HO Citizenship Survey began in 2001. Questions cover a range of issues, including race equality, faith, feelings about respondents' communities, volunteering and participation.The achieved sample consists of around 10,000 adults in England and Wales (plus an additional boost sample of 5,000 adults from ethnic minority groups).
The National Survey of Prejudice (NSP) 2005	2005	The NSP was commissioned by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and subsequently reported (Abrams and Houston, 2006) as part of the Equalities Review (Cabinet Office, 2007). The survey was delivered through the TNS Omnibus Survey over a two- week period, achieving a sample of 2,895 adults across Great Britain.
National Survey of Prejudice (NSP) Follow-up	2005	This repeated the Muslims variant of the NSP that had been conducted between 27 of May and 1 June 2005. The survey provided an exact comparison one month either side of the London bombings in July 2005.

Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (NILT)	Annual	NILT has been running since 1998 and was originally based on the Northern Ireland Social Attitudes Survey, itself a variant of the BSAS. It includes different modules each year. In 2008, 1,215 adults were interviewed.
Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (SSAS) 2002	Annual	In 2002, the SSAS included a 40-item module that represented the best effort up to that point to apply a cross-strand approach to measuring prejudice and discrimination. It adopted many of the principles recommended in this review. Respondents were selected at random within selected households, with an achieved sample of 1,665 across Scotland.
Stonewall 2003	2003	Stonewall conducted two substantive pieces of research on prejudice. The first, 'Profiles of Prejudice' (2003) was a nationwide poll (England only) of 1,693 people aged 15+, conducted by MORI (Market and Opinion Research International, Ltd).
Stonewall 2008	2008	In 2006, Stonewall asked young people from Great Britain who are lesbian, gay or bisexual (or think they might be) to complete a survey about their experiences at school (Hunt and Jensen, 2008). The survey received 1,145 responses from young people at secondary school. In 2006 Stonewall also commissioned a YouGov online poll of just over 2,000 adults to ask about perceptions of homophobia and attitudes towards gay, lesbian and bisexual people (Cowan, 2008).

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Helpline opening times:

Monday to Friday: 8am - 6pm

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www.equalityhumanrights.com

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This report reviews current knowledge about prejudice: what it is, how it might be measured and how it might be reduced. It focuses specifically on the equality groups set out in the Equality Act 2006: groups which share a common attribute in respect of age, disability, gender, race, religion or belief, or sexual orientation.

WHAT IS ALREADY KNOWN ON THIS TOPIC:

- Many studies have examined particular aspects of prejudice and the forms it takes.
- Some surveys have included questions on the prevalence of prejudice towards people from different groups. However, the extent to which questions have covered the relevant aspects of prejudice has varied.
- Many initiatives have sought to reduce prejudice. Few, though, have been systematically evaluated.

WHAT THIS REPORT ADDS:

- This report draws together a wide range of social psychology literature on prejudice. It takes account of: perceptions of different groups within society; the psychological bases for prejudice; how prejudice is expressed, and the effects of experience.
- The report provides examples of survey questions that seek to measure prejudice towards people from different equality groups. It discusses the value of different questions and highlights areas where appropriate questions have yet to be developed.
- It also sets out promising ways of addressing prejudice.