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Hostility Toward Dominant Culture Individuals and the Perceived Stability of Power

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Anne Kristine Pihl Gaddis

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Walden University
2016

Abstract

Hostility Toward Dominant Culture Individuals and the Perceived Stability of Power

by

Anne Kristine Pihl Gaddis

MS, California Coast University, 2009

BS, New Mexico State University, 1998

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Counseling Psychology

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Abstract

Racism in the United States is persistent and its negative effects are widespread. The

social hierarchy in the United States positions White people as the dominant culture and

Black people, among other races, as a minority culture. Current literature provides

insight into explicit and implicit individual expressions of racism; however, very little

research clarifies the effects racism has on the continuance and structure of the social race

hierarchy. This study utilizes social gender hierarchy research to investigate how racism-

induced hostility toward the dominant culture relates to an individual's perception of the

stability of the race hierarchy. This quantitative survey study compared a prime versus a

non-prime condition. In the prime condition, Black participants ($n = 129$) were presented

with racist statements to elicit a "hostility toward White individuals" response. A 6-

point Likert-type scale quantified participants' perceptions of the stability of the race

hierarchy. A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted by comparing the

perceived stability means as measured by the Race Hierarchy Scale. Contrary to

expectation, the prime did not produce a statistically significant change in the perceived

stability of the race hierarchy. The data did reveal a chronic individual perception of the

race hierarchy as unchanging. This study contributes to positive social change by

illuminating social structure aspects and how individual perception functions to maintain

the race hierarchy in America. This knowledge will help direct future research, policy

makers, the legal system, and the private sector. Attempting to understand the effects of

racism from the perspective used in this study, may encourage other researchers to

generate novel approaches and methods to combat discrimination.

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Dedication

        To my husband for seeing me as stronger than I am, for always believing in me, and for supporting me through this journey. I love you more!

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I would like to thank my committee Chair, Dr. Frederica Hendricks-Noble for sticking with me even when the going got tough and for her encouragement along the way. I would like to thank my committee member, Dr. Robin Oatis-Ballew for her excellent feedback. I would also like to thank Dr. Arcella Trimble for sharing her wisdom and her heart and for inspiring me to continue this marathon process.

Thank you God for seeing me through this. Thank you from the bottom of my heart to my husband and my children for sacrificing their time with me, for encouraging me, and for seeing the bigger picture. Thank you to my mother for stepping in to help when needed and for always being there with a loving and supportive motivational talk. Thank you to all my friends who have helped me, supported me, and encouraged me for the last five years. I could not have done it without you! Grazie di Cuore.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Racism is a prevalent and persistent problem in the United States, especially as it relates to discrimination against Black Americans (Dovidio, Gaertner, Pearson, & Sternberg 2005; Ikuenobe, 2011; Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007). Extensive research and government programs have attempted to extinguish ethnic bias, yet racism prevails. The consequences are detrimental to most aspects of Black individuals' lives, including decreases in the areas of opportunities for advancement, performance, social and economic status, as well as mental and physical health (Dovidio, 2001; Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006).

Racist expression has evolved over the years and the current expression is primarily implicit as opposed to the overt presentation in the past (Ikuenobe, 2011). This, however, does not mean there has been a decrease in actual racism; more information is required in order to combat this destructive force in the United States. Information from this study regarding the structural dynamics of ethnic bias illuminate previously unknown functions of racism and how these interact on the individual, group, and system levels. Ascertaining how priming hostility toward dominant culture—i.e. White—individuals, influences an individual's perceived stability of a racist social hierarchy extends the current knowledge of the structure of racism. Further, the results of this study highlight how Black individuals' adverse responses to racist expressions are inadvertently maintaining their oppressed status quo. There are presently no locatable published studies on the perceived stability of the race hierarchy in America. Attributing basic

cognitive-behavioral concepts to this gap enforces the notion that personal perception of a situation tends to guide that person's actions (Beck, 2011). Gaining insight into the stability of this perception widens our knowledge of the psychology of racism. It further highlights the importance of approaching the problem of racism from multiple directions such as from the individual, the group, and the social system levels. Moreover, effects of ethnic bias and multi-level dynamics do not function in closed systems, but interact and affect each other. According to Graff (2011), racism affects everyone in America in some way, be it through access to education and jobs, inequality in professional progression, or merely existing in a country with racial discrimination. Further, Lowe, Okubo, and Reilly (2012) confirm that racism can cause negative psychological health outcomes such as posttraumatic stress disorder and depression.

The remainder of this chapter will discuss the background of the study, the problem statement, the purpose of the study, the research questions and hypotheses, the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study, the nature of the study, the definitions, the assumptions, the scope and delineations, the limitations, and the study's significance.

Background

The amount of research on ethnic bias is vast and has been a continued area of interest, particularly within social psychology. A study by Case (2012) provided insight into the ongoing nature of racism in America, oppression blindness, and the invisible nature of privilege, which are concepts that illustrate the subtleness of today's racism in America. Case (2012) found that the development of skills to interrupt racist thoughts

and notice subtle racist behaviors enabled improved understanding of unconscious racism and thereby the ability to stand up to oppression. Further, Graff (2011) described the current and persistent status of racial inequality in America as evidenced by joblessness, lower education, the income gap, and amount of incarcerations among Black Americans. These issues are detailed further in Chapter 2.

Most racism studies have concentrated on the effects of individual expression of racism (i.e. racial attitudes, implicit bias, and stereotypes), in large part through the use of the Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Amodio & Devine, 2006; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Sinclair & Kunda, 1999). The IAT is not a specific test, but rather a general procedure that quantifies implicit bias by measuring response times related to attitudes and stereotypes (Schnabel, Assendorph, & Greenwald, 2008). The IAT measures the response time to a bipolar stimulus (i.e. racist versus nonracist) and shorter response times are correlated with higher automatic association (Nosek et al., 2007; Greenwald et al., 2002; Sriram & Greenwald, 2009). The IAT reportedly accesses primarily nonconscious bias and is generally preferred over self-report measures (Schnabel, Assendorph, & Greenwald, 2008). Yet, Oswald, Blanton, Mitchell, Jaccard, and Tetlock (2013) delineated the poor results of a meta-analysis on the predictive ability of the IAT with regard to racial prejudice and discrimination. Few studies have observed racial and social inequality from a structural perspective, but Ferber (2012) provided an awareness of oppression and privilege by utilizing an intersectional social theoretical framework. This framework highlighted how multiple social identities interact and shape the current reality of oppression and privilege on the individual, group, and systemic

levels (Ferber, 2012). Building on the structural perspective of social hierarchies, Glick

and Whitehead (2010) provided data on the perceived structural stability of male

dominance in response to a prime with hostility toward men (HM). This research

extended knowledge of the effects of gender inequality on the individual level to effects

at the structural level. It utilized individual responses to clarify connections to structural

and systemic effects, thereby approaching gender inequality from two distinct levels.

These effects have not yet been investigated in the area of racial inequality. Although

there are a limited number of recent studies that have investigated racial and social

inequality from a structural perspective, they serve as guides and have elucidated the

need for further research in this area.

Problem Statement

Since the Civil Rights movement in America (1954-1968), racist expression has

been conceptualized and re-invented with classifiers such as hostile, modern, benevolent,

symbolic, and ambivalent (Blair, 1999; Brandt & Reyna, 2012). Current forms of racism

are less obvious than in the past, which has led people to believe that we live in a

postracial era and therefore the present manifestations of patronizing, benevolent, and

tolerant racism are often misidentified (Ikuenobe, 2011; Oswald, Blanton, Mitchell,

Jaccard, & Tetlock, 2013). Also, recent research has correlated exposure to racism with

negative health outcomes such as post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, and low self-

esteem (Lowe, Okubo, & Reilly, 2012). Notably, current theories of prejudice such as

system justification theory and social dominance orientation take the position that

implicit bias, which is primarily measured by the IAT, is the crucial cause of inequality

(Oswald et al., 2013). Social dominance orientation is centered on an individual's perception of the superiority of the group to which they belong (Pratto et al., 2006). System justification theory describes the big picture of how these groups interact on a systemic level (Sidanius et al., 2004). Recent research does not support the utility of the IAT as evidence for implicit biases, thus a re-evaluation of the structure of inequality is warranted (Oswald et al., 2013).

According to Graff (2011), covert and unconscious racism in America will change when people make racially unbiased choices and are willing to stand up to ethnic inequality. However, Case (2012) points out that people with racial privileges are sometimes unwilling or unable to view their own biases, power, and racist cognitions. Accordingly, research on other dominant culture individuals such as men, has demonstrated the structural impact of hostile and benevolent sexism in the maintenance of gender inequality. Both hostile and benevolent sexism have been shown to serve maintaining functions, which preserve the traditional gender hierarchy (Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Glick et al., 2004). Moreover, Glick and Whitehead (2010) demonstrated that when participants were primed with "HM" it led to an unexpected increase in these individuals' perceived stability of the traditional gender hierarchy. Similar to Glick and Whitehead's (2010) study, participants in this study were primed with "hostility toward White individuals" by asking them to write illustrative examples of several racist statements, regardless of their personal opinions, prior to completing the questionnaires. An example of a priming statement is: "Most Black people don't have

the drive and determination to get ahead." These statements were derived from the Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

To clarify, the focus of the current study was on the priming effect of hostility toward White people, but the problem is not the hostility, it is racism. In this case the hostility expressed by Black individuals was a response to inequality and this research aims to be a piece of the puzzle in solving this injustice.

Ferber (2012) argued that there is a central ideology of oppression that is evident in prevailing systems of inequality. Given this concept of analogy in inequality systems, it may be possible that the structural dynamics of racial inequality parallels those involved in the structural maintenance of gender oppression. Social dominance theory (SDT) specifically focuses on social hierarchies and includes gender and race (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). According to the SDT, certain forces, such as the critique of women not adhering to traditional gender roles and rewarding women who do conform, maintain these social hierarchies (Sibley et al., 2007). Viewing these inequalities through a social dominance lens substantiates their similarities in structure and provides support for the utilization of SDT in studying the structure of the race hierarchy. Although this study did not focus on gender oppression, previous research in this area of inequality was utilized as a guide. This research helped fill a gap in the research by investigating if and how "hostility toward dominant culture individuals" is correlated to the "perceived stability of the ethnic biased hierarchy.".

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate how a "hostility toward dominant culture individuals (i.e. White individuals)" prime changed the level of Black individuals' perceived stability of a racist social system. Historically, racism in the United States has been centered on White people as the majority culture and Black people as the minority culture; the larger part of racism research has been conducted on this dynamic (Dovidio et al., 2005). This study examined if Black individuals' perception of living in a racist system that is unlikely to change increased when they responded to racism with hostility. This quantitative study utilized information derived from studies on the effects of priming with "hostile sexism toward men" and the effects on perceived stability of sexist hierarchies. The independent variable was defined as a prime or no-prime condition. The dependent variable was defined as the degree of perceived stability of the racist hierarchy.

Research Question

The following research question was based on a review of literature and particularly developed from Glick and Whitehead's (2010) research on perceived stability of a sexist hierarchy.

Research Question 1: How does priming with "hostility toward dominant culture individuals (i.e. White individuals)" change the level of an individual's perceived stability of a race hierarchy?

$H_0 1$: Hostility toward dominant culture individuals priming does not significantly and positively change an individual's perceived stability of a race hierarchy as measured by the stability of race hierarchy scale.

$H_1 1$: Hostility toward dominant culture individuals priming does significantly and positively change an individual's perceived stability of a race hierarchy as measured by the stability of race hierarchy scale.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework for the Study

The central theoretical framework for this study was Sidanius and Pratto's (1999) SDT. This theory focuses on the stability and maintenance of social dominance hierarchies. SDT states that all social systems contain at least two social status groups and that these social hierarchies are maintained through institutional discrimination, individual discrimination, and system dynamic shaped behavioral differences (Sidanius, Devereux, & Pratto, 1992). Social institutions discriminate through disproportionate allocation of goods in favor of the dominant group (Sidanius et al., 1992). Individuals, including the disadvantaged, support the unequal system by subscribing to system legitimizing ideologies, which provide moral and intellectual justification for inequality (Pratto et al., 2006). SDT has been extensively utilized in research on the structure of cultural inequality. Sidanius and Pratto's SDT provided an excellent platform to broaden the knowledge base of perceived stability of a social hierarchy (Pratto et al., 2006).

Due to the complexity of the structure of racism this research also utilized social dominance orientation (SDO) and system justification theory (SJT) in order to provide multi-level theoretical support. This study used individual and systemic levels of

theoretical framework to clarify and define the research. Yet it is noted that this was not a multilevel study. SDO defines the individual need to perceive one's ingroup (i.e. the group with which one identifies) as superior, whereas SJT depicts the social hierarchy from a system perspective (Pratto et al., 2006; Van der Toorn & Joost, 2014). These system dynamics involve efforts to maintain a legitimate and stable system and thereby satisfying the personal need for structure (Liviatian & Jost, 2011).

Nature of the Study

This was a quantitative survey study. Quantitative research is consistent with developing insight into the structural maintenance of systematic dominance (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost & Kay, 2005). Concentrating attention on the variable of perceived stability of the dominant culture was consistent with Glick and Whitehead's (2010) research on the perceived stability of male dominance in relation to HM. Insight was gained through self-report inventories pertaining to the perceived stability of power of the dominant culture.

Subjects who took a self-report inventory were primed with "hostility toward dominant culture individuals" and the level of their perceived stability of power was analyzed. Priming was accomplished by asking the participants to write illustrative examples of several statements, regardless of their personal opinions, prior to completing the questionnaires. These statements were developed in concordance with questions from the *Ambivalent Racism Scale* and the *Ambivalence Toward Men Inventory* (Blair, 1999; Glick & Fiske, 1999). It was anticipated that these results exposed a clearer picture of the reinforcements of racism in today's society.

Definitions

Ambivalent Racism: The belief that Black Americans have deviant characteristics while they are concurrently being disadvantaged (Katz & Glen Hass, 1988).

Aversive Racism: Discriminatory behaviors exhibited through inaction, non-interaction, or denial of opportunity in situations where responses can be justified by something other than race (Dovidio et al., 2005).

Benevolence toward Men: The outward expression characterizing men as providers and protectors who should be taken care of by women at home (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

Benevolent Racism: The belief that Black individuals should be treated justly, but that they are inherently inferior and in need of White individuals' help (Ikuenobe, 2011).

Benevolent Sexism: The belief that women are pure and require protection from men (Christopher et al., 2013).

Explicit Bias: The conscious and intentional expression of bias (Conrey, Sherman, Gawronski, Hugenberg, & Groom, 2005).

Hierarchy-Attenuating Forces: Systemic forces working to disrupt and decrease social hierarchies (Sidanius et al., 2004).

Hierarchy-Enhancing Forces: Systemic forces working to maintain a social hierarchy and maintain group authority (Sidanius et al., 2004).

Hostile Racism: The overt expression of ethnic bias (Czopp et al., 2014).

Hostile Sexism: Hostility toward those who defy or challenge male social dominance (Sibley et al., 2007).

Hostility toward Men: The outward expression characterizing men as condescending, controlling, and not viewing women as equals (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

Implicit Bias: The unconscious and often unintended bias toward any group (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002).

Ingroup: Group membership based on social identity such as race, age, education, economic status, etc. (Czopp et al., 2014).

Outgroup: Any social group in which an individual is not a member based on their social identity (Czopp et al., 2014).

Priming: The concept of describing how individual behavior is affected by incidental stimuli exposure both consciously and unconsciously (Wheeler & Berger, 2007).

Stereotyping: Memory constructs created through social influences, which can be activated upon stimuli exposure. They are generally inflexible mental process wherein individual differences are not taken into account (Casper, Rothermund, & Wentura, 2010; Wheeler & Berger, 2007).

System Justification: The theoretical assertion that individuals strive to justify and validate the overarching social system and maintain status quo even at personal expense (Liviatan & Jost, 2014).

Assumptions

It was assumed throughout this research that (a) asking the participants to write illustrative examples of several statements, regardless of their personal opinions, prior to

completing the questionnaires would prime them with hostility toward dominant culture individuals; and (b) that the participants were a representative sample of this study. These assumptions were necessary in order to conduct this research.

Scope, Delimitations, and Limitations

The scope of this research was to investigate parallels between structural social system properties of sexist hierarchies and racist hierarchies. This study was based on the concept that minority status individuals maintain status quo when the system is perceived as stable and legitimate and further that a central ideology of oppression is evident in systems of inequality (Ferber, 2012). This study aimed to fill the gap in research on racism by focusing on the perceived stability of the racist hierarchy.

The study was delimited to a Black American sample of participants residing in the states of Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi in the United States. The geographic delimitation provided confined regional information, as it is likely that other regions in the United States would produce substantially different results. This is based on the States' location in the "South" of the United States and their substantial history of racism (Berg-Cross & Hill, 2015). The sample was a convenience sample, as those presented with the option of taking the study survey were reachable by the social network Facebook. Thus, individuals without Facebook accounts or outside of my extended Facebook network were not accessible. A limitation of the present study was the geographic location constraint.

Significance

This research was beneficial and distinctive because it investigated structural aspects within the ongoing problem of racism and social dominance in America (Case, 2012; Ferber, 2012). Priming with hostility toward dominant culture individuals was utilized to emulate the experience of subtle ethnic inequality. The results of this study added to the social psychology field's underdeveloped knowledge of the structure of social inequality, particularly as it pertains to the perceived stability of power. Obtaining knowledge specifically related to reactions to racism and the subsequent change in perceived system stability provides a foundation for further research on structural forces preserving or destabilizing dominant culture systems. Furthermore, facts pertaining to the structural foundations of social inequality informs public policy and should aid in the weakening of social discrimination and imbalances based on race in America.

Summary

Research on racism is extensive, but previous focus has primarily been on individual or group interactions. Few studies have investigated racism from a systems perspective and even fewer from an integrated, multi-level viewpoint. Racism's persistence in the United States can, in part, be attributed to its high level of intricacy and the relative simplicity of current countermeasures. Further, unexpected results in research on sexist hierarchies can be used as guidance to similar discoveries in racist hierarchies.

Social inequality systems incorporate a multitude of theories such as SJT, social dominance theory (SDT), SDO, goal setting theory, cognitive dissonance theory, group

justification theory, and social identity theory. The amount of theories applied to social inequality provides an idea of how complex these systems are. Chapter 2 provides detailed insight into the dynamics and interactions of some these theories. Chapter 3 will discuss the research design and rationale, the methodology, and any threats to the validity of the study. Chapter 4 will discuss the data collection and the results of the study. Chapter 5 examines the interpretations of the findings, the limitations of the study, future research recommendations, and provides concluding remarks.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In every social system there are those who dominate and those who are dominated. Every social system also has an endless number of subsystems (Pratto et al., 2006). Some prevalent social dominance systems in America are race and gender and each has their own structure and status groupings. The racial social system's primary division is between Black and White individuals in which White individuals are the dominant group (Ikuenobe, 2011). As for the gender social system, men are the dominant group as prescribed by traditional gender roles (Christopher, Zabel, & Miller, 2013).

The purpose of this quantitative study was to investigate how priming minority-status, Black American individuals with hostility toward dominant culture individuals influences their perception of the stability of the social system. Research on perceived stability within a sexist social system indicates that hostility toward dominant culture individuals is correlated with an increase in the perceived stability of the social system (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). This stabilizing change appears contrary to the purpose of the hostility and may be contributing to the persistence of racism and sexism. This research elucidated the distinct possibility that the status quo of the racist hierarchy in America is further maintained by hostile responses of Black individuals.

Maintenance of racism may be ongoing since it is an integrated problem in American society. The discussion of racism in the United States mainly concerns the relationship between Black Americans and White Americans and is also the most

comprehensively studied prejudice in psychology (Dovidio et al., 2005). Yet the decrease in overt and hostile expressions of racism has led many to erroneously believe that racism no longer exists (Dovidio et al., 2005; Ikuenobe, 2011). This literature review informs the reader of the current status and expression of racism in America through definitions of racial attitudes, the diverse approaches to detecting racism, and the structural concepts of the racial social system.

This literature review offers an improved understanding of racism and its dynamics by providing a discussion of the concepts of stereotyping, priming, and implicit association and bias. A discussion of SJT, SDT, and SDO is provided in order to further elucidate the research area and to provide a structural perspective. Further, parallels between racism, sexism, and other biased systems are highlighted in an effort to view correlations between social dominance systems. More specifically, the focus of this research is the discussion of hostility toward dominant culture individuals and its accompanying dynamics and structural effects. This review concludes with a discussion of the current effects of racism in an effort to emphasize the importance of continued research in this area.

Literature Search Strategy

This literature review was compiled from several databases within the library of Walden University: PsycInfo, PsycExtra, PsycBooks, PsycCritiques, SocIndex, PsycTests, and Mental Measurement Yearbook with Tests in print. The primary keywords used were: *ambivalent attitudes, ambivalent racism, ambivalent sexism, benevolent attitudes, benevolent racism, benevolent sexism, implicit and explicit bias,*

cognitive dissonance, contemporary prejudice, cultural priming, discrimination, dominance, gender stereotyping, goal setting, hostile racism, hostile sexism, Implicit Association Test, ingroup, outgroup, group justification, system justification, and *priming.*

Racism

Historically, racism in the United States was expressed through open discrimination, direct violence, slavery, and segregation (Ikuenobe, 2011). However, overt expressions of racism have declined since the civil rights legislation in the 1960s (Dovidio et al., 2005). Presently, racial integration and equality is widely supported and acceptance of segregation is rare (Katz & Glen Hass, 1988). Nonetheless, the change from obvious and overtly negative racist expressions to subtle and sometimes positive expressions of racism in the United States today has led many to falsely believe that we live in a postracial age (Ikuenobe, 2011). There is an abundance of customs and socializations maintaining and enforcing a racist culture in American society.

One of these subtle social customs is the automatic categorization of people by race in the United States, which directly creates harmful racial stereotypes (Blair, 2001; Dovidio et al., 2005). Further, grouping by race infers biological differences between races, which do not actually exist (Ikuenobe, 2011). Grouping by cultural, ethnic, or regional diversity has the prospect of eliminating racism and is centered on a scientific foundation (Ikuenobe, 2011).

The discussion of racism in America generally concerns the relationship between Black individuals and White individuals (Czopp et al, 2014; Ikuenobe, 2011). In fact,

White Americans' prejudice toward Black Americans is the most comprehensively studied prejudice within psychology (Dovidio et al., 2005). In the 1920s through the 1950s, racial discrimination was viewed as psychopathology and was therefore treated as a mental issue (Dovidio, 2001). From the 1950s until the mid-1990s racial prejudice was studied as a product of socialization and the resulting social identity (Dovidio, 2001). In the latter part of this period, racial ambivalence and subtle bias became the emphasis of study and, in the 1990s, the focus of research turned to implicit attitudes and the indirect expression of racial bias (Dovidio, 2001).

Prejudice has been defined in various ways, but generally includes cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects (Dovidio et al., 2005). It can be conscious or unconscious, yet the latter does not exclude an individual from being a racist (Ikuenobe, 2011). Furthermore, ethnic discrimination is more than an act of prejudice as it includes attempts to act as well as inaction (Czopp et al., 2014; Ikuenobe, 2011). It is important to note that outgroup prejudice (i.e. bias toward non-group members) is only classified as racism when it is combined with power and a reliance on the social structure and institutionalized racism to enforce discrimination (Ikuenobe, 2011).

Prejudice, bias, and racism are overlapping concepts. Prejudice, by definition, is related to an individual's social and personal identity (Dovidio et al., 2005; Tajfel &Turner, 1979). In other words, who people are and cognitively associate themselves with (i.e. self-conceptualization) distinguishes and forms their worldviews and defines their ingroups (Czopp et al., 2014). Bias, by definition, is an inclination to believe that some ideas or people are better than others, and generally results in unfairness (Dovidio

et al., 2005). This unfairness can be seen in individual behavior as well as in laws and distribution of wealth.

The focus of this research was racism, which is the prejudiced expression of bias toward ethnic groups or individuals who hold minority status (Wilson & Duckitt, 2007). These sociostructural characteristics and individual personalities guide personal and social worldviews as well as create social institutions (Ikuenobe, 2011; Sibley, Wilson, & Duckitt, 2007). Societies with widely accepted racist philosophies can deny minority individuals equivalent opportunities and rewards through an organized social system (Dovidio, 2001). Accordingly, socialization, education, and political power are used to perpetuate the racial power differential and disadvantages of Black individuals found today in America (Ikuenobe, 2011).

White racism toward Black individuals is based on the conviction that White individuals are superior (Czopp et al., 2014). As an example, benevolent racism is based on a belief that Black individuals should be treated justly, but that they are inherently inferior and in need of help from White individuals (Ikuenobe, 2011). Today, this belief of White superiority is viewed as immoral and disrespectful and one that fosters oppression, mistreatment, and discrimination yet it continues to exist (Czopp et al., 2014; Ikuenobe, 2011). Hence, racism is an acceptance of socialized beliefs, learned behaviors, and attitudes in a racist culture (Ikuenobe, 2011). Racists make harmful choices based on false beliefs of superiority and utilize the social structure to dominate and discriminate against those believed to be inferior (Ikuenobe, 2011).

Over the years, many efforts and much research has been directed at "solving" the

problem of racism, resulting in a multitude of theories. Theories related to contemporary

racial attitudes include, but are not limited to, the symbolic racism theory, the modern

racism theory, the ambivalent racism theory, and the aversive racism framework

(Dovidio et al., 2005; Katz and Glen Hass, 1988). These theories are all versions of

subtle racism and propose that individualism, meritocracy, and conservative ideologies

validate racist behaviors (Brandt & Reyna, 2012; Dovidio et al., 2005). They further

suggest that negative stereotypes, justifying ideologies, and interracial anxiety and

discomfort foster aversive as well as hostile discrimination (Dovidio et al., 2005).

The aversive racism framework suggests that some overtly egalitarian people

harbor implicitly negative attitudes about minority groups, which in turn produces

discriminatory behaviors (Dovidio et al., 2005). Accordingly, aversive racists attempt to

disassociate their negative racial beliefs from their nonbiased self-image (Dovidio, 2001).

According to this framework, aversive racists do not discriminate in situations where

right and wrong are clearly defined, since racist behaviors would be obvious to others as

well as to themselves (Dovidio et al., 2005). Subsequently, aversive racism is expressed

when responses could be justified by something other than race (Dovidio et al., 2005;

Dovidio, 2001). Aversive racism is highly associated with racial ambivalence, which is

the inconsistency formed between motivational, cognitive, and cultural influences versus

the desire to not be prejudiced (Dovidio et al., 2005).

Correspondingly, White Americans' racial attitudes are frequently ambivalent and

incorporate beliefs that Black Americans have deviant characteristics while they are

concurrently being disadvantaged (Katz & Glen Hass, 1988). Katz and Glen Hass (1988)

asserted that this ambivalence is based on the conflicting concepts of American core

values of humanitarianism-egalitarianism and the Protestant work ethic. The previously

stated disadvantage for Black Americans then relates to communalism and humanitarian

and egalitarian principles. The supposed "deviant characteristics" of Black Americans

diverge from American individualism, which embraces hard work, self-reliance, and

individual success as highlighted in the concept of the Protestant work ethic (Katz &

Glen Hass, 1988).

Dual or ambivalent attitudes (i.e. having conflicting opinions) can develop over

time with socialization and experiences. They create habitual reactions and are generally

difficult to change (Dovidio, 2001). Harboring explicit racial egalitarian beliefs in

conjunction with racially negative implicit attitudes creates ambivalence (Nier & Gartner,

2012). Further, explicit attitudes are commonly controlled and deliberate whereas

implicit attitudes tend to be unmonitored attitudinal expressions (Dovidio, 2001).

These implicit stereotypes and attitudes can be measured indirectly through

memory tasks, latency procedures, and attributional bias measures (Dovidio, 2001).

Research using such measures supports a link between discriminatory behavior and

implicit measures of subtle bias (Nier & Gartner, 2012). For example, Black individuals

are much less likely to receive callbacks or to be hired for jobs than similarly qualified

White individuals (Nier & Gartner, 2012).

Furthermore, subtle racism develops from antiegalitarian and Black individualism

attitudes where the latter refers to anti-Black affect in combination with beliefs that Black

individuals are not hard working or self-reliant (Brandt & Reyna, 2012). These beliefs, joined with traditional economic individualism, form a politicized and legitimizing ideology of White superiority (Brandt & Reyna, 2012). The concept of "American values" is utilized in an effort to legitimize the racial hierarchy and maintain inequality (Brandt & Reyna, 2012). Furthermore, according to the Protestant work ethic and meritocratic beliefs, hard work invariably leads to success. Hence, the belief that Black individuals do not value hard work (i.e. Black individualism) counteracts American core values and in turn legitimizes subtle racism (Brandt & Reyna, 2012).

One of the keys to solving the problem of racism lies in predicting who is racist. Theories on how to predict individual prejudice and discrimination include SDO and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) (Sibley et al., 2007). Social Dominance Orientation has been shown to increase when the perception of a high level of resource scarcity and inequality fosters a view of society as competitive (Sibley et al., 2007). RWA has been shown to increase when the motivational goal for ingroup security and conformity rises based on a view of the world as a dangerous and immoral place (Sibley et al., 2007). According to research by Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt (2007) SDO and RWA display high levels of stability and are reliable predictors of prejudice and negative outgroup attitudes.

According to Dovidio et al. (2005), racial bias functions as social control and affects achievement of the individual, financial, and political goals of the dominant group. These effects are propelled by people's basic need for status and power both for themselves and for their ingroup (Dovidio et al., 2005; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

According to Greenwald and Pettigrew (2014), ingroup favoritism, as opposed to outgroup hostility, is the main promoter of racism in America. This ingroup categorization tends to minimize members' differences whereas outgroup categorization leads to exaggerated differences between "us and them" (Dovidio et al., 2005). Additionally, aspects of ingroup members are positively elevated whereas outgroup members' attributes are devalued and they are treated more unfairly (Dovidio et al., 2005). Similarly, attitudes toward ingroup members tend to be more positive than attitudes toward outgroup members (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014).

Moreover, according to research, people find it fair to favor an ingroup member over an outgroup member, which consequently legitimizes ingroup favoritism and its associated outgroup discrimination (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). Limited intergroup contact allows perceived differences to intensify outgroup stereotypes and intergroup threat (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). This rift and great delineation between in- and outgroup members perpetuates bias and justifies discrimination. According to Dovidio et al. (2005), a solution lies in cooperative intergroup interactions and interdependence, which are necessary and needed in order to reduce racial bias and prejudice.

Subtle discrimination can be difficult to detect on a case-by-case basis, as each instance is rationalized and justified by something other than racist bias. Biased employment decisions, for example, are difficult to ascertain for an individual, but when groups are examined for patterns the discrimination becomes more evident (Nier & Gartner, 2012). Correspondingly, societal effects become clearer as measures of subtle racism predict individual opposition to affirmative action, opposition to government

assistance to Black individuals, and opposition to federal assurance of equal opportunity (Brandt & Reyna, 2012). Broadly speaking, subtle discrimination weakens the social capital of Black people and generates health-related, social, and financial inequality (Nier & Gartner, 2012).

Stereotyping and Priming

Stereotyping is generally seen as an inflexible mental process wherein individual differences are not taken into account (Casper, Rothermund, & Wentura, 2010). These memory constructs or stereotypes are created through social influences and can be spontaneously activated upon stimuli exposure (Wheeler & Berger, 2007). According to Casper, Rothermund, and Wentura (2010), stereotypes are activated by a combination of both category and context information. Following this reasoning, stereotypic content activation occurs only when it is relevant to the context (Casper et al., 2010; Wentura & Brandtstädter, 2003).

Cognitive heuristics (i.e. the cognitive process of stereotyping) aid people in their daily functions, but can have negative effects such as the results of *stereotype threat* (Schwikert & Curran, 2014). Stereotype threat occurs when cognitive resources are utilized in an effort to not confirm a personal stereotype (McGlone & Aronson, 2007). This cognitive effort detracts from task performance due to minimized cognitive resources. Research shows that elimination of the stereotype threat (making the stereotype inapplicable, or non-salient) for Black Americans during testing conditions demonstrated increases in test performance and further revealed equal performances for those not associated with the stereotype (i.e. White Americans) (McGlone & Aronson,

2007). This research highlighted the great effects stereotypes, identity, group affiliation, and evaluative contexts can have on intellectual ability and performance (McGlone & Aronson, 2007).

Highly related to stereotypes is priming, which is the concept of describing how individual behavior is affected by incidental stimuli exposure both consciously and unconsciously (Wheeler & Berger, 2007). Accordingly, action-relevant constructs or primes in an individual's environment are linked to primed memory concepts, which then shape individual behavior (Wheeler & Berger, 2007). Hence, events occurring around people continuously affect them, and their reactions are based on previous experiences preserved in memory.

The relationship between primes and effects is not as linear as one might think. Wheeler and Berger (2007) posited that due to differences in a person's associations to a prime (i.e. personality characteristics, group membership, etc.) the result is unconscious divergent behaviors in response to the same prime. That is to say, two people will, for example, exhibit different responses to the same TV commercial based on their previous experiences and personalities. Further, personality characteristics and situations moderate the power of the priming effect (Wheeler & Berger, 2007). Chiao et al. (2010) utilized a specific prime-stereotype activation to show that bicultural individuals are able to use distinct cultural self-concept schemas in order to behave and think congruently with their current cultural context.

 Chiao et al. (2010) demonstrated that priming with cultural values activated a culturally congruent self-representation. Hence people's self-definition, cultural values,

and their relation to others shape psychological processes (Chiao et al., 2010). For example, people who are raised in different cultural settings or different parts of the country, such east and west coast, will likely respond differently to similar situations. This context-dependent and adaptable view is likely to yield more useful predictions than the historically rigid understanding of stereotype activation (Casper et al., 2010).

Implicit Association and Bias

Overt racism has declined with the Civil Rights Act and other legislative mediations over the past 50 years (Dovidio et al., 2005). Racism is now often subtle, unconscious, uninformed, and results in diverse outcomes for different races (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). Self-report prejudiced attitudes have also changed greatly over the last century in America following social standards of appropriate expressions (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002). Yet, Black American stereotypes are prevalent in the United States and people's behaviors and cognitions are at times influenced by automatic activation of these stereotypes (Amodio et. al, 2004). Moreover, intergroup relations between Whites and Black Americans in the United States are negatively affected by contemporary biases, which create distrust and miscommunication (Dovidio et al., 2002).

Prejudice has generally been studied with implicit measures such as the Implicit Association Test, the Modern Racism Scale, and feeling thermometers (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993). The commonalities of these methods indicate that implicit measures are associated with automatic processes and explicit measures with controlled processes (Conrey, Sherman, Gawronski, Hugenberg, & Groom, 2005). According to Conrey et al.

(2005), automatic processing utilizes an existing neural path whereas controlled processes uses temporary pathways. Conrey, Sherman, Gawronski, Hugenberg, and Groom (2005) suggest that implicit and explicit processes are not simply controlled or automatic, but are instead intertwined.

Additionally, implicit stereotyping is linked to cognitive processes whereas implicit evaluation is associated with affective processing, which then leads to different expressions of implicit race bias (Amodio & Devine, 2006). Affective and cognitive systems use separate neural pathways for memory and learning (Amodio & Devine, 2006). Accordingly, implicit evaluation tends to predict affective and non-verbal behaviors while implicit stereotyping predicts biased cognitive processing (Amodio & Devine, 2006).

According to Amodio et al. (2004) efforts to gain control over race bias expression are frequently ineffective. Neuroscience research posits that an unconscious conflict detection system alerts a regulatory system when a conflict between prejudiced intentions and an intended response exists (Amodio et. al, 2004). Low-prejudice people tend to regulate automatic race bias by detecting a conflict between racial stereotypes and non-prejudiced intentions (Amodio et al., 2004). For example, low-prejudice individuals aim to not exhibit racist actions, thus they identify a conflict when confronted with harmful racial stereotypes such as Black people are less intelligent, more dangerous, or lazy (Amodio et al., 2004). Recent research indicates that implicit measures are highly contextual and are influenced by availability heuristics (i.e. activated stereotypes) (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2005). Yet, peer pressure to respond without prejudice

appears to only be effective if the individual is susceptible to such pressure (Amodio,

Kubota, Harmon-Jones, & Devine, 2006).

A particular type of contemporary ethnic bias is aversive racism. Aversive racists

are those who exhibit discriminatory behaviors while conserving a non-prejudiced self-

image through explicit egalitarian behaviors and implicit negative positions (Dovidio et

al., 2002). This prejudiced ambivalence generates diverse perspectives for White and

Black individuals in an interaction. Research supports that since biases are often subtle

and unconscious, White people and Black people have different perceptions of

discrimination even on a case-by-case basis (Dovidio et al., 2002). White individuals'

capacity to justify racially biased behaviors with non-racial factors diminishes the

perceived effect of the behavior on Black individuals (Dovidio et al., 2002). Further,

according to research, social economic status (SES) moderates implicit racial bias (i.e.

low-SES White individual primes facilitated more negative associations than did low-

SES Black individual primes) and further neutral-SES Black individual primes led to

more negative associations than did neutral-SES White individual primes (Klonis,

Devine, Amodio & Cunningham, 2004).

Social Bias

Many theories have been developed in an effort to analyze social bias.

Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance Theory from the 1950's has provided critical elements

even for current theories (Greenwald et al., 2002). The prevailing approach in the 1970's

was kelley's attribution theory (Greenwald et al., 2002). Self-report measures were

initially the norm, but mounting critique of these measures lead to an increased interest in

indirect measures such as the implicit association test (IAT) (Greenwald et al., 2002).

Evidence supports that self-report and the IAT measure distinct psychological concepts

(Nosek et al., 2007). The IAT measures implicit social cognitions by quantifying

strengths of associations between between two concepts and two attributes and measures

implicit bias via response times (Greenwald et al., 2002; Nosek et al., 2007). The IAT is

currently available for evaluation of association strengths for attitudes, stereotypes, self-

concepts, and self-esteem (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlman, & Banaji, 2009; Sriram &

Greenwald, 2009). The IAT is a highly popular measure due to adaptability, ease of

administration, large effect size, and strong reliability. Further, it is used as a general

method rather than a specific assessment (Schnabel, Asendorph, & Greenwald, 2008;

Nosek et al., 2007). The IAT reliably predicts interracial and intergroup behavior better

than self-report measures (Greenwald et al., 2009).

The IAT is not flawless as it generally shows high internal consistency yet test-

retest reliability have been less impressive and IAT measures have been shown to not be

completely free from automatic bias reduction via controlled efforts (Schnabel et al.,

2008). Further, there is a significant tendency for first tested associations to seem

stronger than those tested second (Sriram & Greenwald, 2009.

Responding without prejudice has been shown to be difficult even for proclaimed

egalitarians. Guilt serves as a self-regulatory mechanism to inhibit prejudiced behavior

and to increase corrective behaviors. This guilt is particularly pronounced in low-

prejudice individuals (Amodio et al., 2007; Devine et al., 2002). Studies show that

externally motivated egalitarians are less able to respond with non-prejudice in situations,

which allow for little or no deliberation (automatic responding) as compared to internally motivated egalitarians (Amodio, Devine, & Harmon-Jones, 2008). Contrasting, low-prejudice individuals with high internal motivation and low external motivation are strongly able to regulate their non-judgmental responses across situations (Amodio et al., 2008; Devine et al., 2002). Consequently, it appears that self-determined goals, as opposed to externally motivated goals, of non-prejudice evidence higher efficacy for goal attainment (Devine et al., 2002).

System Justification

It is confounding why people often work hard at maintaining social systems, which come at a high personal price. Researchers have investigated why this occurs and according to group justification theory, (Jost et al., 2004; Jost et al, 2003), group members show ingroup preferences, outgroup hostility, and generally work toward strengthening group interests. For the advantaged, system justification aligns with ingroup preferences, but reversely it is incongruent for the disadvantaged (Jost et al., 2015). Prejudice then is a direct outcome of ingroup ethnocentrism and motivations and further drives institutionalized oppression and discrimination (Jost et al., 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 1993). Current group and ego justification theories do not adequately explain why minority status individuals frequently accept inequality (Jost et al., 2004). Within a system of inequality there is a tendency for individuals belonging to low-status groups to reinforce and adhere to the status quo. According to Jost, Banaji, and Nosek (2004), disadvantaged group members implicitly justify an existing social order and thereby internalize their inferior status. Similarly, recent research has supported the notion that

group members rationalize and accommodate for the status quo and further partake in outgroup favoritism in an effort to decrease discomfort and guilt (Chen & Tyler, 2001; Jost et al., 2004).

Likewise, motivation for and engagement in social change behaviors are depressed for disadvantaged groups when system justification motives are more salient than those related to ego or group justification (Jost et al., 2004; Major et al., 2002). People tend to sanction social policies, which benefit themselves or their ingroup, but this is not always true (Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003). System Justification Theory aims at illuminating the underlying forces, which guide or maintain states of disadvantage (Jost, et al., 2003; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

One of these forces is outgroup favoritism, which is a preference for a group of individuals of which one is not a member (Jost et al., 2004). Outgroup favoritism has been shown to be elevated for individuals of lower social economic status (SES), which agrees with SJT and contradicts the concept that low-status individuals evaluate outgroups more negatively than high-status individuals (Jost et al., 2004). According to Van der Toorn and Jost (2014), low-status minority groups tend to exhibit explicit ingroup favoritism yet implicit outgroup favoritism. This tendency exposes ingroup favoritism as impression management (Jost et al., 2004). According to SJT, disadvantaged groups may implicitly judge and behave inconsistently with their explicit perceptions and actions and thereby insidiously sustain status quo (Jost et al., 2004; Van der Toorn & Jost, 2014). The perception of belonging to a relatively low ingroup SES fosters increased levels of ingroup derogation paired with outgroup elevation and the

opposite when the ingroup was perceived as relatively high SES (Jost et al., 2004). SJT poses that adaptive capacities such as implicit outgroup favoritism and unconscious internalization and rationalization of inferiority serve to justify status quo and that these motives are increased among low-status groups (Jost et al., 2004; Kay, Jimenez, & Jost, 2002; Van der Toorn & Jost, 2014).

SJT further prescribes that increases in the perception of legitimacy and justification of status quo increases outgroup favoritism in low-status groups (Jost et al., 2004). Jost et al. (2003) and Kay, Jimenez, and Jost (2002), found factors affecting system-justifying behaviors to include group identification, having part in choosing an outcome (such as in a democracy), and belonging to a system with perceived fair and deserved social and economic consequences (i.e. meritocratic ideology). Similarly, according to Social Identity Theory, the level of acceptance of lower status corresponds with the perceived legitimacy and stability of the social system. System Justification Theory enhances this by depicting members of society as active participants in proponents and maintainers of status quo (Jost et al., 2003; Spears, Jetten, & Doosje, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Political conservatism encourages resistance to change, rationalizes inequality, and intellectually and morally supports the status quo. Concurrently, explicit outgroup favoritism in low-status groups and explicit and implicit ingroup favoritism in high-status groups tend to increase when political conservatism increases (Jost et al., 2004; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Levin, Sidanius, Rubanowitz, & Federico, 1998).

Interestingly, increases in system criticism and threat are positively related to defensive efforts to justify the system (Kay & Jost, 2003; van der Toorn, Liviatan, & Jost, 2007). Likewise, individuals often mediate their sense of an unjust world by cognitive adjustments as opposed to social action (Wakslak, Jost, Tyler, & Chen, 2007). System-serving assumptions justify social systems as meritocratic and thus validate the presence of inequality (Jost et al., 2015). Similarly, system justification ideologies rationalize the economic, political, and social environment and increase satisfaction with status quo (Jost et al., 2004; Kay & Jost, 2003; Wakslak et al., 2007). Moral outrage is an outward expression of emotional distress and is a key motivator for social action (Wakslak et al., 2007). Yet, system justifying cognitions are positively related to reductions in psychological distress, moral outrage, feelings of guilt, and desires to help those less privileged (Wakslak et al., 2007).

The desire to view a social system as legitimate and stable is an unconscious human need and motivates individuals to reinforce their political, social, and economic structures and thereby negate related negative affect (Liviatan & Jost, 2011). Research shows that when the underlying need for structure is satisfied, such as by simply completing a puzzle then system justification motivation declines (Liviatan & Jost, 2011). Further, research indicates that unconscious self-stereotyping mediates stressful reactions to discrimination and thereby maintains status quo and decreases social change motivations (Liviatan & Jost, 2011). Correspondingly, system justification motivation is mediated by situational factors such as the perception of independence, the ability to avoid the situation, the saliency of inequality, level of system threat, and the situation as

longstanding (Jost et al., 2015). Consequentially, system justification goals are attained by discrimination, stereotyping, denial, rationalizing, legitimizing authorities, and by minimizing system problems (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2015, Jost & Hunyady, 2005). According to research by Jost and Hunyady (2005) and Jost et al. (2003), disadvantaged members of a society experience short-term benefits such as lowered psychological distress, but endure long-term costs in response to these system justifying behaviors.

Structure of a Social Dominance System

Group-based social hierarchies appear to be a consistent construct for humans. These hierarchies provide greater social status and desirable resources (i.e. wealth, power, health care, etc.) to the dominant group while offering subordinate group members means and assets of negative social value (i.e. underemployment, disproportionate punishment, stigmatization, etc.) (Pratto et al., 2006). For an unequal social system to survive, both benefiters and the disadvantaged must view the system as legitimate and justified (Dovidio et al., 2005; Jost & Major, 2001). Change then requires a rejection of social ideology and norms. Most social-psychological theories of prejudice focus on individual psychological values or needs as opposed to systemic group oppression, structural inequality, and group power differentials (Sidanius et al., 2004). Divergently, SDT focuses both on individual as well as structural factors (i.e. systematic institutional discrimination) of oppression and analyses the systemic effects of processes in interdependent social systems (Pratto et al., 2006; Sidanius et al., 2004).

According to Sidanius, Devereux, & Pratto (1992), social dominance is maintained by institutional discrimination, individual discrimination, behavioral disproportionateness, and legitimizing traditions. SDT asserts that social institutions distribute goods (i.e. power, wealth, food, health care, etc.) disproportionately in favor of privileged groups, thereby constructing and maintaining a group-based hierarchy of social inequality (Sidanius et al., 2004). According to Pratto, Sidanius, and Levin (2006), discrimination across institutional and individual levels is coordinated by consensually and mutually shared cultural beliefs and values also known as legitimizing myths. These myths provide intellectual and moral justification for oppression and support the argument that inequality is natural, fair, and legitimate (Pratto et al., 2006). Subordinate groups indirectly support the power differential by endorsing system legitimizing ideologies and ascribing to a high level of SDO as evidenced in SJT (see previous section) (Sidanius et al., 2004). Interestingly enough, legitimizing myths have been shown to control individual behavior whether or not the individual endorses the beliefs or view them as helpful (Pratto et al., 2006).

SDT states that all social systems consist of at least two groups, one dominant and one minority group (Sidanius, Devereux, & Pratto, 1992). Both dominant and subordinate groups endorse system-legitimizing beliefs, which further exacerbate institutional discrimination (Sidanius et al., 2004). According to Sidanius et al. (2004) SDT conceptualizes social system oppression balance as affected by hierarchy-enhancing forces as well as hierarchy-attenuating forces such as through institutions, groups, and individual actions. Correspondingly, hierarchy-enhancing institutions include the

criminal justice system, financial organizations, and secondary schools, as they tend to maintain group authority (Sidanius et al., 2004). Hierarchy-attenuating institutions work toward decreasing social hierarchies and include public defender offices, human rights, civil rights organizations, religious, and welfare organizations, which generally do not support discriminatory legitimizing myths (Pratto et al., 2006; Sidanius et al., 2004).

SDT builds on historical theoretical precedents such as social identity theory, evolutionary psychology, feminist theory, and social orientation theory in an attempt to provide an integrated approach (Pratto et al., 2006). The fundamental concept of SDO is individual aspiration and acts in favor of group-based inequality and supremacy (Pratto et al., 2006). Additionally, SDO refers to a need to view one's ingroup as superior. Thus people with high SDO are naturally anti-egalitarian and support legitimizing myths of unequal distribution of social value (Sidanius et al., 1992). Experimental evidence has shown a positive correlation between high SDO and individual support of legitimizing myths and social policies, which reinforce the social hierarchy (Pratto et al., 2006). High levels of SDO has additionally been associated with a higher level of discriminatory behaviors as compared to those with low SDO and is highly contingent on social group saliency and situational context (Pratto et al., 2006; Sidanius et al., 2004).

According to Sidanius et al. (2004), the distribution of SDO is generated by institutional selection, socialization, disparate rewards, and attrition. In general, individuals working in hierarchy-enhancing institutions have higher SDO scores than individuals in hierarchy-attenuating organizations (Sidanius et al., 2004). Correspondingly, the amount of ingroup bias is positively related to power and status as

demonstrated by outgroup favoritism among subordinate groups (Pratto et al., 2006).

SDT additionally incorporates social identity theory, which describes how individual

motivations interact with situational perceptions to form intergroup behaviors and

attitudes (Sidanius et al., 2004).

SDT is a conceptual integration of social theories, which addresses the dynamics

of intergroup relations with regards to social identity, individual dispositions to be

prejudiced, legitimizing ideologies, and effects of social institutions in conjunction with

culture, history, and individual motivations and interests (Sidanius et al., 2004).

Ethnic Prejudice and SDO

According to many recent studies, SDO is the best universal predictor of ethnic

prejudice, discrimination, and sexism (Guimond et al., 2013). Moreover, SDO strongly

predicted individual support for assimilation and opposition to multiculturalism. Yet it

did not correlate with perceived societal norms aligned with pro-diversity stances

(Guimond et al., 2013).

Guimond et al., (2013) found that certain social-psychological determinants

operate universally while others are country specific. For example, pro-diversity policy

appears to be operating universally as research shows positive correlations between

assimilation (low pro-diversity) policies and prejudice and correspondingly positive

correlations between multicultural (high pro-diversity) policies and positive intergroup

mindsets (Guimond et al., 2013). Consequently, cultural assimilation standards are likely

to impact personal multicultural supportive beliefs and thereby negatively affect

previously positive views of ethnic diversity (Guimond et al., 2013).

Guimond's theory is supported by research, which suggests that shared beliefs are perceived as more valid and thus become more predictive of individual behavior (Guimond et al., 2013). Furthermore, research supports that assimilation and multicultural ideologies (i.e. perceived norms) are precursors of prejudice as opposed to results (Guimond et al., 2013). Sociocultural standards are enforced and maintained by personal acquaintances, public leaders, and the media (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007). Media is particularly successful in shaping racial stereotypes for outgroups with which an individual has little contact or does not have first-hand knowledge of (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007).

According to the stereotype content model, feelings toward outgroups are based on perceptions of competence and warmth, which determine their competitive level and threat to the ingroup (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007). Consequently, Black Americans, as an outgroup, are treated hostilely when viewed as rebellious and troublesome and benevolently when viewed as passive and helpless by White Americans (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007). Individuating information, which suppresses prejudice, as opposed to stereotypical group related information is dependent on personal attentional resources and motivation for accuracy (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007).

As evidenced in the previous discussions, factors correlating with increases in prejudice are prevalent, yet some counter-prejudice measures have been exposed. Accordingly, stereotype disconfirming information and exposure to egalitarian beliefs have shown to decrease prejudice in public settings, but this is counteracted but the fact that racial minorities are underrepresented in the media and are portrayed in negative

stereotypical manners (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007). Consequently, this continued stereotype exposure produces automatic stereotype activation during highly salient social category situations (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007).

Gender Prejudice and SDO

Contemporary forms of racial and sexist prejudice exist in both obvious and subjectively negative forms (hostile) as well as in indirect and subjectively positive forms (benevolent) (Christopher, Zabel, & Miller, 2013). Benevolent sexism is stereotypically restrictive and gender role fortifying by supporting the belief that women are pure and require protection from men (Christopher et al., 2013). What may look like a positive or advantageous attitude toward women such as benevolent sexism in fact sustains inequality and is prejudicial (Jost et al., 2004). Across cultures, men tend to be employed in institutions and roles, which enhance the social hierarchy such as business executives, law enforcement, and judges contrary to women who hold the majority of positions as charity workers, teachers, etc. (Pratto et al., 2006). Thus, system justifying ideologies maintain the power differential and hiearchy in dominative paternalism via gender stereotypes and roles (Lee, Fiske, & Glick, 2010).

SDO reflects an individual's preference for social equality or a hierarchical social system (Christopher et al., 2013). According to Pratto et al. (2006), high SDO has been correlated with prejudice based on race, gender, religion, immigrant status, and sexual preference and is additionally associated with right-wing political party membership. RWA signifies support of traditional values, submissiveness to authority, and authority approved hostility toward outgroups (Christopher et al., 2013). According to

Christopher, Zabel, & Miller (2013) high levels of SDO correlate positively with hostile

sexism and high levels of RWA correlate with Benevolent Sexism (BS). Additionally,

women's endorsement of benevolent sexism correlates with endorsement of hostile

sexism, but only for women high in RWA. Thus, saliency of collective security, as

indexed by RWA, leads women to view non-conforming women to be violating

patriarchal standards and consequently express support for an unequal social system

(Sibley et al., 2007).

Furthermore, research has linked personality with prejudice due to their link with

SDO and RWA. The personality factor "agreeableness" is composed of six subfactors

(i.e. trust, straightforwardness, altruism, compliance, modesty, and tender-mindedness) of

these only trust was shown to have a negative relationship with SDO, a positive

correlation with BS, and a negative relationship with hostile sexism (HS) (Christopher et

al., 2013). Likewise, the personality factor openess is composed of six subfactors (i.e.

fantasy, aesthetics, feelings, action, ideas, and values) of these only "values" was linked

to both SDO and RWA (Christopher et al., 2013).

B) is a positive, patronizing, paternalistic ideology, which views women as

virtuous, caring, fragile, warm and in need of protection by men (Napier, Thorisdottier, &

Jost, 2010; Sibley, Overall, & Duckitt, 2007). Likewise, benevolent sexist ideology

presents women as homemakers, caregivers, nurturing, warm, likeable, and low in

competence of non-domestic skills, which corroborates the need for protection by and

appreciation from men as well as legitimizes the system (Sibley et al., 2007). Further,

women are characterized as weak and in need of protection while cherished as caretakers

and romantic partners whereas men are characterized as agentic and well suited for power and control (Lee et al., 2010). Consequently, BS provides a disarming funtion for women's resistance to sexism by assuring that men's power will be advantageous for women (Sibley et al., 2007). Moreover, support of BS decreases women's access to status, resources, and social mobility and further supports the sexist system as legitimate (Sibley et al., 2007).

HS is defined as hostility toward those who defy or challenge male social dominance (Sibley et al., 2007). HS incorporates a view of women as manipulative and using fabricated claims of discrimination in an effort to control men and obtain power (Napier, Thorisdottier, & Jost, 2010).

As with sexist ideology, SJT posits the phenomenon that disadvantaged societal groups accept dominant group ideology even at the cost of maintaining inequality (Sibley et al., 2007). Surprisingly, highly egalitarian settings have been shown to have high levels of system justification as evidenced by both men and women strongly supporting sexist ideologies (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost et al., 2004). Ambivalent sexism theory as proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996) is an integration of interdependence and social dominance. It encompasses both HS and BS and further posits that both of these integrate to perpetuate a male dominant social structure (Sibley et al., 2007). According to Sibley, Overall, & Duckitt (2007) research supports that in nations with high levels of gender inequality HS and BS are most strongly accepted and supported by both women and men. Yet, according to Napier, Thorisdottier, and Jost (2010) hostile but not benevolent justification was related to gender inequality as seen on the national level.

Consequently, when equality is socially valued benevolent expressions of prejudice (as opposed to hostile prejudice) become more prevalent and operative in maintaining system inequality (Napier et al., 2010). Research shows that women high in BS express increased support for HS as opposed to women low in BS who did not (Sibley et al., 2007). Reversely, women high in HS did not correlate with endorsement of BS (Sibley et al., 2007).

A less researched concept is HM, which encompasses women's rejection of paternalism, male aggressiveness, and higher social status for men (Lee et al., 2010). The institutional control held by men generates HM as well as admiration due to their higher status (Lee et al., 2010). Unfortunately, viewing men as dominant, competitive, and arrogant reinforces the view of men as agentic and thus stabilizes the unequal system (Lee et al., 2010). Reversely, benevolence toward men (BM) is women's endorsement of men as their protectors, providers, and men's suitability to be in power as well as women's incompetence in being the authority (Lee et al., 2010).

According to Napier et al. (2010) women's internalized justifying beliefs about their disadvantaged status promote subjective well-being and positive affect in women. These beliefs are grounded in the need to maintain status quo, which decreases uncertainty and threat (Napier et al., 2010). In support of internalizing status quo, disadvantaged group members (i.e. women) as compared to members of advantaged groups (i.e. men) for example perceive their work as worth less money even when studied in egalitarian environments (Jost et al., 2004; Pelham & Hetts, 2001). Moreover, women reacted with HS toward non-traditional women and Benevolent Sexism directed at

traditional women demonstrating a reaction to nonconformity to the societal norm (Lee et al., 2010). Notably, life satisfaction for men and women in the U.S. was lower for those ascribing only hostile explanations for gender inequality as compared to those who also included benevolent reasons (Napier et al., 2010).

Research has demonstrated that women's self-efficacy was weakened, their relational self was emphasized, and their task oriented self was deemphasized by exposure to BS (Dumont et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2010). BS interferes with cognitive performance by creating intrusive thoughts of incompetence, decreasing response time, and activating autobiographical memory (Dumont et al., 2010). Moral outrage over economic and social inequality is moderated by ascribing to system justifying beliefs and further increases individual subjective well-being (Napier et al., 2010). Additionally, negative psychological effects of system wide injustice and inequality are counteracted by system justifying ideologies and provide increased life satisfaction (Napier et al., 2010). Providentially, research has demonstrated that both men and women's experience of well-being and happiness is positively correlated with the level of gender equality in a nation (Napier et al., 2010).

Hostility Toward Dominant Culture Individuals

Previous discussion has illuminated that society is divided into many groups based on artificial and biological factors and creating inequalities. According to Tajfel (1981), social change is sought when individuals perceive social inequalities to be both unstable and illegitimate (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). Collective action has to overcome collective belief that people comply with current standards even in the face of perceived

illegitimacy (Glick et al., 2004). As reviewed in previous sections, group inequality exists in many forms based on social economic status, gender, ethnicity, etc. In general, high-status groups, based on status and roles, are viewed as agentic (competent) and low-status groups are seen as communal (not competent) (Jost & Kay, 2005). Accordingly, men's competence is assumed whereas women's is not. Correspondingly, White people are viewed as competent and Black people are not.

Social groups are often defined by stereotypes, which have been proven to unconsciously affect behavior, feelings, and thoughts without an explicit level of awareness and at times producing non-beneficial results (Jost & Kay, 2005). For example, traditional stereotypes such as women are kind, helpful, and empathetic undercut women's competence (Jost & Kay, 2005).

Benevolence Toward Men and Hostility Toward Men

Male traits are commonly associated with achieving power and status (i.e. potency, instrumentality, agency, competence) as well as related to selfishness and ambition at the cost of others (Glick et al., 2004). Stereotypically, men are viewed as competent versus women who are perceived as not competent (Glick et al., 2004). Men's stereotypical positive traits such as their ability to lead are well aligned with their stereotypically negative traits (i.e. dominant) (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

BM praises men as protectors of and providers to women, who in turn should take care of the men (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). It promotes the notion that men are created for high-status roles and should not have many domestic obligations (Glick et al., 2004).

Further, BM celebrates traditional sex roles and legitimizes inequality similar to Hostile Sexism, which delegitimizes complaints about inequality (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

HM as demonstrated by a less favorable evaluation of men as compared to women tends to reinforce the inevitability of male dominance (Glick et al., 2004). It portrays men as bad but bold in the sense that men are aggressive and arrogant yet powerful and destined for dominance (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). Inopportunely, HM not only criticizes male dominance and aggressiveness but also denigrates men's ability in the domestic domain (Glick et al., 2004).

According to Glick et al. (2004), HM scores for both men and women correlated positively with national gender inequality and with traditional gender beliefs. Similarly, Thomas (2002) showed that HM negatively correlated to feminist beliefs among women. Thus, HM appears to be more prevalent in societies high in gender inequality. Further, women who endorse traditional gender roles more often experience interactions with men who act domineering and they experience an amplified inferior status, both of which generate HM (Glick et al., 2004). Not surprisingly, research showed that HS correlated with HM (Glick et al., 2004). That is to say, the more aggressively men behaved toward women the more hostility women returned to men.

Looking at the structure of the gender hierarchy, Jost & Kay (2005) demonstrated that exposure to traditional, complimentary gender stereotypes generated support for the status quo as well as the gender hierarchy in general. More specifically, Glick and Whitehead (2010) showed that priming individuals, male and female, with HM correlated strongly with perceived stability of the gender hierarchy. Likewise, stereotype exposure

as opposed to endorsement was shown to correlate with increased system justification (Jost & Kay, 2005). Additionally, hostile and benevolent attitudes toward either gender have been shown to predict structural inequality providing HM is based on men's natural ability to obtain and retain power (Glick et al., 2004).

HM distinctively predicts the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy and is hierarchy stabilizing based on the positive correlation between HM and BM for women in traditional gender role nations and the relative higher HM scores for men in gender traditional nations (Glick et al., 2004; Glick & Whitehead, 2010). Consequently, HM reinforces the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy and thus can be viewed as a form of traditionalism (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

Traditional stereotypes have created the "men are bad but bold whereas women are wonderful but weak" concept (Glick et al., 2004, p. 714). The traditional gender system portrays an image of equal and fair dispersion of benefits and it is likely that these stereotypes become automatically accepted through activation without consideration of their merit (Jost & Kay, 2005). As an example, early socializing of boys as evidenced in the saying "boys will be boys" establishes that boys are allowed to misbehave in order to shape dominant traits (Glick et al., 2004). Men trade being well liked for an image of being powerful and competent, which reinforces the stability of the gender hierarchy (Glick et al., 2004). Further, by viewing agency and competence as biologically male traits the gender hierarchy is reinforced and presumed stable (Glick et al., 2004).

In light of the previous research, hierarchy-stabilizing effects appear to be far reaching and change unlikely. Moreover, once stereotypes become engrained in society,

only activation is required in order to evoke psychological and social consequences (Jost & Kay, 2005). According to Tajfel (1981), subordinate groups will only contest inequality when it is perceived both as illegitimate and unstable thus HM's proposition that the power differential is inevitable undermines collective action. These stabilizing effects are likely to not only occur in the gender hierarchy. For example the burden for men to have to provide for women can be correlated to "the White man's burden" thus extending the theoretical hierarchy dynamics to ethnic hierarchies (Glick et al., 2004). Further, group dynamics such as outgroup favoritism, or at least lowered in-group favoritism, occurs in low-status groups as compared to high status groups based on social class, ethnicity, and even laboratory-manipulated groups (Glick et al., 2004).

Societal Awareness and Effects of Racism

Many theories and ideologies have attempted to explain the tenacity and prevalence of oppression and discrimination, but as of yet none have been able to entirely complete this task (Sidanius et al., 2004). Racial expression has changed in America, but racism persists in academia, in law enforcement, in the work place, and throughout society (Nier & Gartner, 2012). Racism, as it is based on phenotype, has become an increasingly more obviously flawed categorization as research has shown the pronounced effects of context and environment on genetic expression (Sidanius et al., 2004).

Statistical evidence of ethnic inequality is predominant. For example, more than six times the amount of Black Americans are imprisoned as compared to White Americans and Black American men have a 33 percent chance of going to prison in their lifetime (Pratto et al., 2006). Relatedly, according to the U.S. Department of Labor

(2013), unemployment rates for Black Americans is more than twice as high as for White

Americans. Moreover, the unemployment rate for Black American males is 2.6 times as

high as for White American males (U.S. Department of Labor, 2013). These statistics are

the product of persistent institutional-based ethnic discrimination and result in negative

effects on wages, trust in public institutions, life expectation, employment rates, health

care, housing, and education (Pratto et al., 2006). Institutional biases are sustained by

negative stereotypes ascribed to Black Americans such as low intelligence, poverty,

criminal behavior, aggressiveness, and laziness (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007).

This social ethnic hierarchy is enforced and stabilized in part by staffing the

justice system with prejudicial individuals, public tolerance of the justice system, and

increased inequality in regions where the social hierarchy is most strongly enforced

(Pratto et al., 2006). Dominant groups tend to rationalize their dominance by providing

for the helpless, inferior, incompetent groups for whom they feel pity and sympathy

(Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007). This concept is also known as benevolent

prejudice. The detrimental effects of benevolent prejudice have been shown to serve

similar adverse functions as hostile prejudice (Ramasubramanian & Oliver, 2007).

Aversive racism

Implicit biases have profound effects on interactions between Black and White

individuals (Dovidio, 2001). Aversive racism is a type of implicit bias and can be

defined as non-selection for opportunity or non-interaction based on an ethnic bias

(Dovidio et al., 2005). Its delivery is so subtle that consequences often go unnoticed and

are dismissed by rationalization (Dovidio, 2001). Individual discrimination is

accomplished through disadvantaged decisions in hiring, promotions, access to housing, and criminal charges (Pratto et al., 2006). Aversive racism restricts the opportunities of and adversely affects performance of black individuals (Dovidio, 2001). Ways to combat particularly aversive racism include reinforcing policies against discrimination, informing the public about aversive racism as well as its expression of bias, and changing the general social categorization from a race basis to membership of another shared superordinate group (Dovidio et al., 2005). New approaches are critically needed in order to battle these contemporary presentations of racial bias and to better racial relations in America (Dovidio, 2001).

A large amount of research has been conducted in order to elucidate the effects of implicit race bias. The following are examples of the far-reaching effects of implicit racial bias in America. Research focusing on diffusion of responsibility during an emergency situation showed that when bystanders believed there were other people available to help a black individual they helped only 38% of the time versus 95% of the time when they believed they were solely responsible for helping (Dovidio, 2001). When this research was performed with white individuals needing help the percentage of people helping dropped only a little from 83 to 75% (Dovidio, 2001). In a study investigating police officers' implicit racial bias as evidenced by deciding when to shoot a target, Black Americans and White Americans shared a bias of faster decisions to shoot Black unarmed targets and faster decisions to not shoot White unarmed targets (Jost et al., 2004). Relatedly, a recent study showed that more black individuals than white individuals were stopped while driving and searched yet a lesser proportion of the

searches produced drugs or weapons as compared to searches of white people

(Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). Thus, this imbalance of searches was not justified by

actual possession of weapons or drugs.

The type of job and the amount of salary directly dictates SES, hence bias in these

areas results in economic inequality. Accordingly, research on employment

demonstrated that when it is uncertain whether applicants' credentials qualify them for a

job, White individuals were recommended 76% of the time versus 45% of the time for

black individuals (Dovidio, 2001). Similarly, research showed that White taxi drivers

and White waiters received substantially larger tips (22 to 51%) than their Black

counterparts (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). Further, job performance generally relates

to advancement and salary thus decreases in effectiveness will have negative effects

(Dovidio, 2001). Research illustrated that task effectiveness for groups containing Black

and White individuals was greatly diminished by aversive racism (Dovidio, 2001). This

supports the expression that minority status individuals have to work twice as hard as

others to achieve success. Moreover, Black Americans, women, and individuals

belonging to lower social classes have been shown to underperform on intellectual tasks

when under stereotype threat (Pratto et al., 2006). Reversely, research supports that

individuals belonging to dominant groups at times experience "stereotype lift" (i.e. better

performance) when primed by subordinate stereotypes and increasingly so with high

levels of SDO (Pratto et al., 2006). This research highlights some of the numerous and

critical effects of implicit bias on individual performance and progress.

The biases discussed in the previous section are maintained in a system.
According to SJT, members of disadvantaged groups prospectively defend the status quo
to a greater extent than members of advantaged groups (Jost et al., 2004). Research
demonstrated that when low-status individuals oppose egalitarian social restructuring this
is related to decreased self-esteem (Jost et al., 2003; Jost & Thomson, 2002). The
ideological dissonance between ego justification and system justification creates a need
for rationalizing which in turn causes psychological stress (Jost et al., 2004). Similarly,
economic system justification has been linked with decreased self-esteem, increased
neuroticism, and increased levels of depression among low SES groups. The opposite
was evident in high SES groups (Chen & Tyler, 2001; Jost et al., 2004). Economic
inequality further correlates with decreases in life spans, physical health, psychological
health, and happiness (Jost et al., 2015; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009).

Racism in America is presently expressed primarily in pro-White as opposed to
anti-Black attitudes and actions (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). The continued social
segregation of Black and White individuals in academic settings, workplaces, and home
communities perpetuates pro-White hiring for jobs and thereby decreases Black
individuals' access to job openings (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). Black people are
discriminated against in employment, housing opportunities, and access to jobs by the
nonoccurrence of an accommodating act (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014). In other words
racism's harmful effects are evidenced by Black people not being given a chance to apply
for a job, not being shown a better apartment or house, and not being given the

opportunity to excel at their job. The goal in all of this is not to be a tolerant racist but to not be a racist at all (Ikuenobe, 2011).

Summary

Racism is a long-standing and severe problem in the United States especially as it pertains to relations between Black and White people. It impacts every aspect of life to include social economic status, individual performance, mental and physical health, access to opportunities, etc. (Dovidio et al., 2005; Pratto et al., 2006). In the 1950's a great focus was put on this issue in America, which in part led to a relabeling of hostile racism as socially unacceptable (Czopp et al., 2014). The decrease in hostile racism unfortunately proliferated other more subtle expressions of racism such as aversive and benevolent racism (Dovidio, 2001; Ikuenobe, 2011). Racism is not a simple problem. It is multifaceted and is shaped by individual personality and choices as well as social ideology and norms (Sibley et al., 2007; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). To further complicate the issue, ethnic bias dynamics operate on the individual, group, and institutional levels (Ikuenobe, 2011). The magnitude of the dynamic intricacies of racism has encumbered equality progress and has allowed racism to continue to exist in America in spite of the massive amounts of research on this topic.

Research on sexist prejudice can assist in providing information about prejudice systems in general as well as utilized for correlations to other systems of social inequality. In the last couple of decades there has been a large focus on conceptualizing sexist bias as hostile or benevolent sexism and these concepts have also proven valuable in racist prejudice research (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Sibley et al., 2007). The focus in this

study is the perceived structural stability of a racist social system. Previous research

demonstrated that HM increased the perceived stability of a sexist social system thus

counteracting the intention of the hostility (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). It is plausible that

hostility toward dominant culture individuals (i.e. White people) unveils a similar effect

and thus is contributing to the maintenance of a racist culture in the United States.

Optimistically, progress on this critical issue of ethnic inequality will be further

illuminated through this interdependent social system research approach.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

This study was designed to increase current knowledge in the social psychology field of social system dynamics. This investigation examined if "hostility toward White individuals" affects Black individuals' perceived stability of a race-biased social system. This study utilized information derived from studies conducted on the effects priming with "hostile sexism toward men" has on individuals' perceived stability of gender hierarchies.

This quantitative study was designed to investigate the effect, if any, priming Black individuals with "hostility toward dominant culture individuals (i.e. White individuals)" has on the participants. In this study it was presumed that the hostility toward White people exhibited by Black individuals was a direct result of priming. Outside of this study, this hostility may be a response to continued racism in America. It was hoped that the results of the study would further illuminate the structural aspects and forces related to the race hierarchy in the United States. This chapter identifies the research design, the methodology, the instrumentation, threats to validity, and any ethical concerns.

Research Design

This quantitative survey study was designed to investigate a possible priming effect of Black individual's hostility toward dominant culture individuals on their perception of the stability of the race hierarchy. The priming condition for hostility toward dominant culture individuals (i.e. White individuals) was achieved by asking

participants to complete illustrative examples of statements related to the concept of "hostility toward White individuals". These statements were gained from Blair's (1999) ambivalent racism scale. The items representing hostility toward White individuals were those identified by Blair (1999) as "anti-Black" or "Protestant work ethic" statements. The dependent variable was the perceived stability of race hierarchy. After the participants had completed the illustrative sentences they completed the stability of race hierarchy scale, which was a six-point Likert scale. The items on the stability of race hierarchy scale were translated from the stability gender hierarchy scale and were rephrased to represent racism (see Appendices A & B) (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

Social psychology studies investigating biased social systems have been extensive and have highlighted the necessity for a multi-level approach in order to confront the pressing issue of racism (Pratto et al., 2006; Sidanius et al., 2004). This study attempted to clarify how individual expression of hostility due to priming changes perceptions of structural stability. This research design was consistent with other social structure research conducted on unequal social hierarchies such as sexist hierarchies. Specifically, Glick and Whitehead (2010) showed that priming with HM caused an increase in perceived stability of the sexist hierarchy. This study helped illuminate the effect hostility toward White people has on the perceived stability of a race hierarchy. It further highlighted the nonfunction of hostility toward White people as a hierarchy enhancing or attenuating force and thereby provided increased clarity of the structural aspects of racism.

Methodology

Population

The research question, which investigated the effect of hostility toward White people, naturally indicated that the study population would be non-White individuals. The focus of this study was on Black and White individuals' group dynamics and did not include other minority ethnicities. Hence the sample contained only Black individuals. Further, the study concentrated on the adult population, which was defined as 18 years old or older. Additionally, this study included only individuals currently residing in the states of Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi in an effort to gain a regional impression of the results. To summarize, the target population was Black, adult individuals living in Alabama, Georgia, or Mississippi who were reachable by social media or via word of mouth and had access to the Internet. The target population size (i.e. the number of Black adults living in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi), according to the 2010 United States census, was close to four milllion individuals (census.gov, 2010).

Sampling, Recruitment, and Data Collection

The study survey was available via a SurveyMonkey link. SurveyMonkey is a free, online survey tool, which allowed for easy survey completion as well as aided in collection of data. An explanation of the purpose, the participant requirements, and a link to the survey was distributed via a publically accessible post (i.e. timeline post) on Facebook. Readers of the post were encouraged to share the post with others who fit the criteria for study participants. This distribution method provided ample survey responses due to the extensive reach of Facebook.

According to an a priori power analysis using GPower 3.1.2, the appropriate sample size for this study using a two-tailed *t*-test was 128 participants with 64 individuals in each priming condition. This sample size was based on a medium effect size (Cohen's $d = 0.5$), an alpha $= 0.05$, and a statistical power of 0.8. A medium as opposed to a large effect size was chosen in order to increase the chances of the results having statistical significance with a larger sample size. The alpha of 0.05 was chosen based on its conventionality in psychological research. Statistical power was established based on a four-to-one beta to alpha risk weighting, which is commonly considered a reasonable measure (Ellis, 2010).

Participants were provided with an informed consent form on the SurveyMonkey link prior to entering the priming portion of the survey and were given the option to discontinue at any time . Information about how to reach me or Walden University was also provided. The participants then randomly entered either the priming or the control non-priming conditions. Subsequently, all participants completed the same stability of race hierarchy scale. The survey contained two statements for the participants to illustrate, followed by five Likert scale questions. The survey took 5 to 10 minutes to complete. Participants who took the survey but did not match the criteria for the study were able to continue the survey, but their data was not utilized for analysis. Most demographic information was deliberately placed at the end of the survey in order to circumvent the possible priming effects of this data. Demographic questions included: (a) race (Black, White, Hispanic, Asian, or Other), (b) ethnicity (fill in the blank), (c) gender (female or male), (d) age (18 and over or younger than 18), (e) educational level,

(f) state in which participants reside and for how long (Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, or other), and (g) household income (<$20K, $20-50K, $50-80K, $80-110K, or >$110 per year).

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in order to obtain concept validity for the "hostility toward White individuals" priming statements as well as the translated perceived stability race hierarchy scale. The pilot study was a replica of the main study, but was conducted on a smaller scale (i.e. 20 to 25 individuals). The pilot study additionally provided instrument validity and highlighted any difficulties with the survey construction, participant instruction, or question comprehension. The pilot study differed from the large-scale study by having an additional comment box at the end of the survey to provide helpful information about the survey.

Instrumentation

The prime for this study utilized items related to "anti-Black" or "Protestant work ethic" extracted from the hostile domain on the ambivalent racism scale (ARS) to form the construct of "hostility toward White Individuals" (Blair, 1999). The items were nominally altered as the words "Blacks" and "Whites" were replaced with the more appropriate wording "Black people" and "White people." Reliability and validity for the ARS was originally established with 73 college students ages 18 to 24. The ARS as a whole demonstrated a Crohnbach's Alpha coefficient of 0.7127 (Blair, 1999). The hostile domain (N=7) evidenced a Spearman-Brown equal of 0.6410 and unequal of 0.6445 (Blair, 1999). The remaining items on the ARS represent the benevolent domain

(i.e. "pro-Black" and "humanitarian egalitarian" attitudes) and were not applicable to this study (Blair, 1999). The participants were asked to write one or two sentences regardless of their personal opinions illustrating two priming or nonpriming sentences. Similar to Glick and Whitehead's (2010) research, the participants were asked to provide an example of the statements as opposed to a personal reaction. This method of priming was employed in order to ensure sufficient processing of the primes and concurred with previous research (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

The participants were provided with the following instructions:

Please write an example of the following statements.

Sample statement: "Crows are intelligent"

Sample answer: "I have heard that crows will drop nuts on a road so that cars will crush the shell so the crow can eat what's inside."

The participants were subsequently asked to write an example of two statements. Participants in the priming condition were presented with two of the following randomly selected statements.

1. Black people exaggerate the problems they have at work.

2. Discrimination against Black people is no longer a problem in the U.S.

3. Most Black people are no longer discriminated against.

4. When Black people lose jobs to White people, they typically complain of racism.

5. Most Black people don't have the drive and determination to get ahead.

Participants in the non-priming control condition received the same samples and were presented with the following statements:

1. Elephants have good memories.

2. The grass is always greener on the other side.

After completing the illustration of the two examples, the participants completed the translated stability of race hierarchy scale (see Appendix B). Items 1, 2,3, and 6 on the stability of gender hierarchy scale were translated by exchanging the words "women" and "female" with "Black people" and the words "men" and "male" with "White people". Item 4 was excluded due to inapplicability. Item 5 was altered to maintain the original intent of representing racial inequality in governance and thereby maintaining the focus of the original item on the gender scale (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using SPSS version 21. Data from incomplete surveys or from participants not fitting the demographic criteria were excluded from analysis. Analysis was conducted in order to answer the following question:

Research Question 1: What is the effect of "hostility toward dominant culture individuals (i.e. White individuals)" priming on an individual's perceived stability of a race hierarchy?

$H_01:$ Hostility toward dominant culture individuals priming has no effect on an individual's perceived stability of a race hierarchy.

$H_11:$ Hostility toward dominant culture individuals priming has an effect on an individual's perceived stability of a race hierarchy.

A single-factor ANOVA was used to assess for statistical significant difference between the means of the dependent variable in the priming condition versus the control condition. Significance level was set at $\alpha = 0.05$.

Ethical Considerations

Avoidance of harm to all participants was paramount in this study. Participants were presented with an informed consent form prior to initiating the survey, they were notified of their right to discontinue the study at any point, and they were given the opportunity to contact either myself or Walden University with any concerns. Participants were not fully informed of the purpose of the study prior to completing the research, but a clear statement of the research purpose was presented following completion of the survey (see Appendix C).

<div align="center">

Summary

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Chapter 3 provided detailed information about the research design, the methodology, the instrumentation, the data analysis, and any ethical considerations. Chapter 4 will provide an analysis of results and a discussion of the findings in relation to the research questions and hypotheses. How to apply these study conclusions to social change and future research will be covered in chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate the impact of a hostility prime on Black Americans' perception of the stability of the race hierarchy in the United States. This study utilized a quantitative survey design. The research question and hypothesis were follows:

Research Question 1: What is the effect of "hostility toward dominant culture individuals (i.e. White individuals)" priming on an individual's perceived stability of a race hierarchy?

$H_0 1$: Hostility toward dominant culture individuals priming has no effect on an individual's perceived stability of a race hierarchy.

$H_1 1$: Hostility toward dominant culture individuals priming has an effect on an individual's perceived stability of a race hierarchy.

This chapter presents the analyses and results as related to the research question and hypotheses. The obtained survey data was statistically analyzed via a one-way ANOVA and the results are presented. The chapter concludes with a summary of the research findings.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was completed in order to obtain concept validity for the study instruments. The pilot study was completed over 7 days in May 2016. This validity evaluation was based on 20 valid survey responses. The "hostility toward White individuals" priming statements, as well as the translated perceived stability race

hierarchy scale, were assessed and deemed to be representative of their concepts. Further, generalizations based on these instruments were reasoned to be valid. This assessment was based on survey responses as well as participant feedback.

The pilot study additionally provided information related to the study instrument, instrumentation, and usability. It was noticed early in the pilot study that participants were able to skip certain questions. This error was resolved immediately and only resulted in one invalid response. The pilot study proceeded without any further difficulties. The pilot study did not impact the main study instrument, procedure, or instrumentation.

Data Collection

Data were collected according to the plan described in Chapter 3. Data were collected over a period of 37 days in May and June of 2016. Respondents were reached through daily Facebook posts and shares (i.e. survey invitation was posted daily on researcher's timeline and the invitation was distributed via "shares" by Facebook friends) according to the initial plan. The Facebook applicant invitation is shown in Appendix D.

Response rates varied from one to 30 per day. In total, 164 respondents initiated the survey within the stated timeframe. Data cleaning was accomplished by removing incomplete responses and responses from participants who did not fulfill the demographic requirements. Thirty-five responses were excluded from analysis due to being incomplete (21), individuals not identifying themselves as Black (5), or for residing in states other than Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi (9). Data were analyzed for outliers using the z score method. The review did not reveal any outliers. In all, 129

Black Americans completed the survey. The gender distribution was 108 female and 21 male. The geographical participant distribution comprised 78 participants from Alabama, 23 from Mississippi, and 28 from Georgia. The participants had resided in their state an average of 27.2 years. Fifty-five percent of the participants identified as African American, 39% as Black, 3% as mixed race, and 3% as another representation of African American. These demographics are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographics of Survey Participants

Demographic	N	%
Preferred Identification		
African American	71	55
Black	50	39
Mixed race	4	3
Other	4	3
Gender		
Female	108	84
Male	21	16
State		
Alabama	78	61
Georgia	28	22
Mississippi	23	18

Note. *N* = number of participants, % = percentage of participants, *M* = mean, *SD* =

standard deviation.

The sample consisted of an acceptable representation of age group (see Figure 1),

education level (Figure 2), and annual household income groups (Figure 3). A majority

of the survey responses originated from participants living in Alabama (61%), but

Georgia and Mississippi were well represented with 22 and 18 percent of participants

respectively. The sample received a disproportionate amount of responses from women

(84%) versus men and was not representative of the Black population in the states of
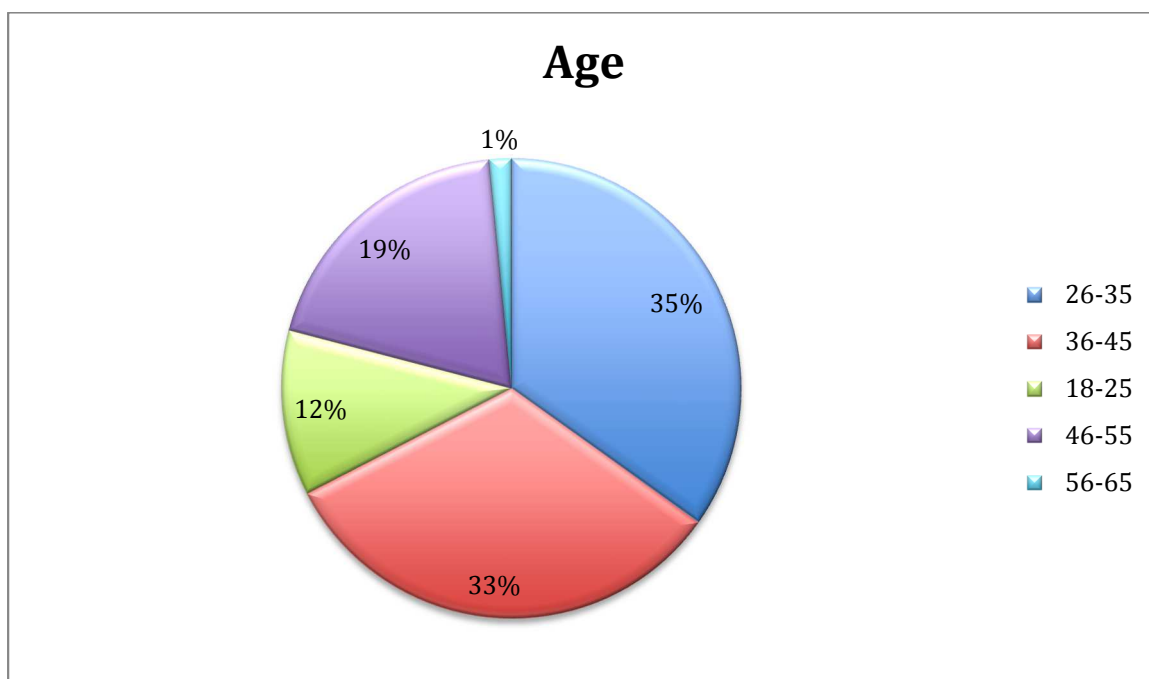
Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi.

Figure 1. Participant age group distribution. There were no participants in age groups

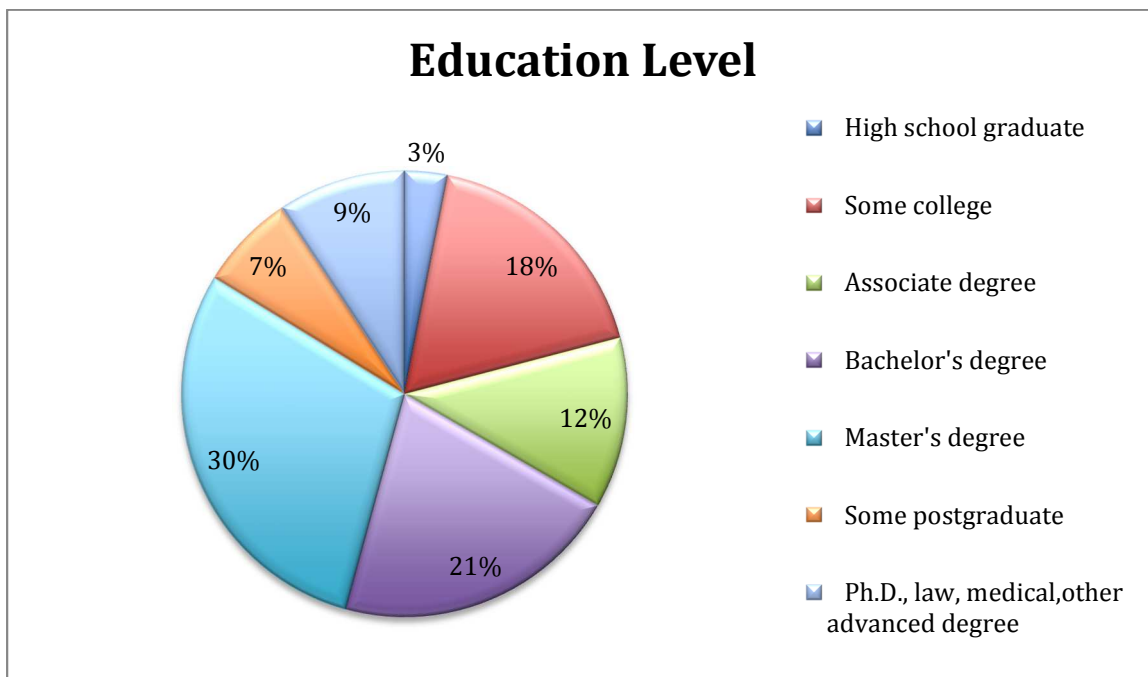66-75 and 75+.

Education Level

Figure 2. Participant educational level distribution. There were no participants in the "some high school" group.

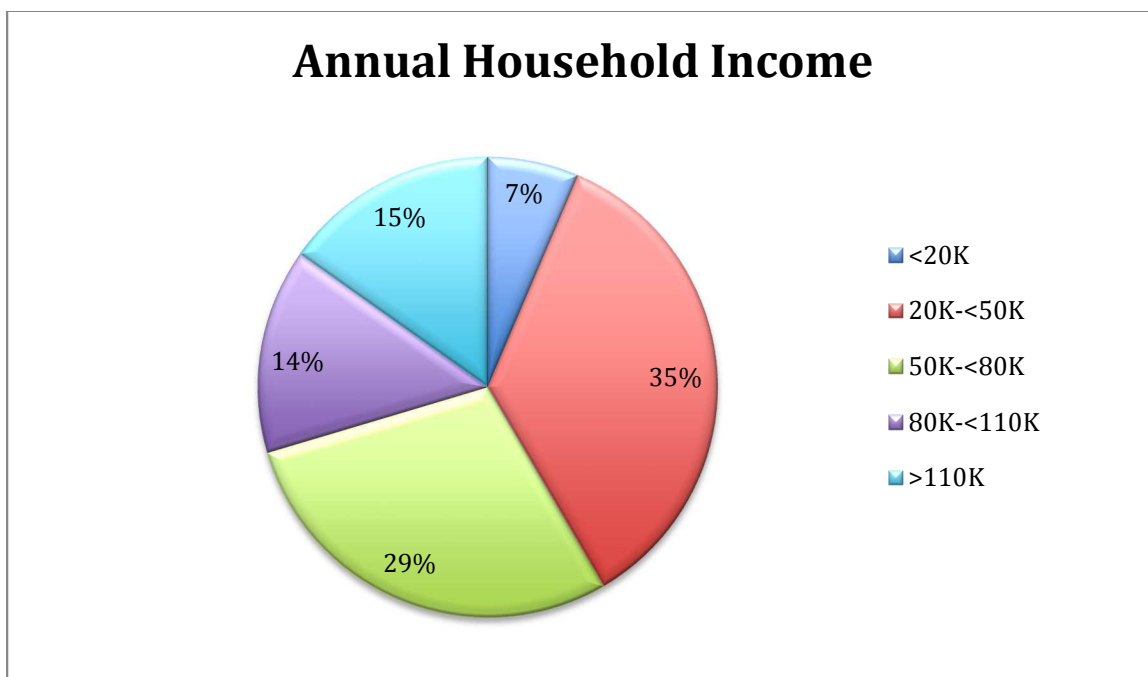## Annual Household Income

Figure 3. Participant annual household income group distribution.

Results

Statistical assumptions for the one-way ANOVA were appropriate for the study as each sample was an independent random sample, the distribution of the perceived stability variable followed a normal distribution, and the population variances were equal across responses for the group levels (Pennsylvania State University, 2016).

Research Question 1: What is the effect of "hostility toward dominant culture individuals (i.e. White individuals)" priming on an individual's perceived stability of a race hierarchy?

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the mean effect of a hostility prime on perceived stability of the race hierarchy in prime and no-prime conditions. The independent variable included two levels: prime and no-prime. The dependent variable was the average accumulated score attained on the race hierarchy scale. The results showed that the hostility prime did not have a statistically significant effect on perceived stability of the race hierarchy at the $p<.05$ level as measured by the stability of race hierarchy scale, $F(1, 127) = .78, p = .38$. The stability scale score for the prime was $M = 4.00$ and $M = 3.83$ for non-prime conditions. The overall effect of the one-way ANOVA was small ($\eta^2 = .006$). These results suggest that even though the stability scale scores did show an increased mean in response to the hostility prime, the effect was not statistically significant.

Further analysis according to demographics revealed that the effect of the hostility prime resulted in an increased stability scale score mean for women (mean no prime (MNP) = 3.8, Mean Prime (MP) = 4.1, $F(1, 106) = 2.37, p = .13$) versus a decreasing

effect for males' stability scale scores (MNP = 4.2, MP = 3.6, $F(1, 19) = 1.35$, $p = .26$).

The priming effect caused an increase in stability scale scores in the states of Alabama

(MNP = 3.8, MP = 4.0, $F(1, 76) = 1.04$, $p = .31$) and Georgia (MNP = 3.7, MP = 4.1, $F(1,$

$26) = 1.00$, $p = .33$). Whereas in Mississippi the priming effect resulted in a decrease in

stability scale scores (MNP = 4.3, MP = 3.8, $F(1, 21) = 1.79$, $p = .20$). Given the

previously mentioned inverse effect for men and women, it is noted that the decrease in

stability scale scores in Mississippi was not related to a higher proportion of men as the

gender distribution in Mississippi was similar to the overall gender distribution (i.e. 13%

male in MS and 16% male in overall sample).

With these positive and negative effects in mind, an analysis of data for only

women in the states of Alabama and Georgia revealed a statistically significant positive

priming effect on the stability scale scores (MNP = 3.6, MP = 4.1, $F(1, 88) = 4.01$, $p = <$

$.05$).   The priming effect was negative for participants residing in their respective states

10 years or less (MNP = 3.8, MP = 3.7, $F(1, 22) = .002$, $p = .96$) and positive for those

having lived in their states for more than 10 years (MNP = 3.9, MP = 4.0, $F(1, 103) =$

$.82$, $p = .37$). Further, the hostility prime effect on the stability scale scores showed no

significant difference for participants 35 years old or younger (MNP = 3.7, MP = 3.9,

$F(1, 58) = .77$, $p = .38$) as compared to participants older than 35 (MNP = 4.0, MP = 4.0,

$F(1, 67) = .07$, $p = < .79$). Level of education did not impact the hostility prime effect

(See Table 2).

Table 2

Hostility Prime Effect with Level of Education

Demographic	MNP	MP	*df1*	*df2*	*F*	*p*
Bachelor or Less	3.7	3.9	1	68	.61	.44
Graduate Level or Above	3.9	4.2	1	57	.81	.37

Note. *M*NP = Mean of Stability Scale Scores for non-prime, *M*P = Mean of Stability Scale Scores for prime, *df1/df2* = degrees of freedom, *F* = F-ratio, *p* = probability

Finally, with regard to annual household income, the effect of the hostility prime on stability scale scores was most evident in scores from participants with an annual household income of $50,000 to less than $80,000, but revealed no statistical significance (See Table 3).

Table 3

Hostility Prime Effect with Annual Household Income

Demographic	*M*NP	*M*P	*df1*	*df2*	*F*	*p*
<$50K	4.1	4.0	1	50	.26	.87
$50K-<$80K	3.5	4.1	1	34	2.47	.13
>$80K	3.8	4.0	1	35	.44	.51

Note. *M*NP = Mean of Stability Scale Scores for non-prime, *M*P = Mean of Stability Scale Scores for prime, *df1/df2* = degrees of freedom, *F* = F-ratio, *p* = probability

Noteworthy selections of participants' responses to the hostility prime are listed in Appendix E.

Summary

The results of the one-way ANOVA were reported. According to these results, hostility created in Black Americans as a response to stimuli, which were constructed to be perceived as racist, did not prompt a statistically significant change in their perception of the stability of the race hierarchy as compared to when not affected by a racist stimulus. Therefore, the null hypothesis was supported. Chapter 5 will provide an interpretation of the findings and offer future recommendations and implications.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the findings of the analyses and results presented in

Chapter 4. First, the results will be discussed in reference to possible explanations of the

findings and their divergence from or conformity to previous literature related to the

concept of hostility toward dominant culture individuals. This section includes a

contextual analysis of the results as related to priming, system justification, and structural

aspects of social dominance systems. Next follows a review of the limitations of the

study. Finally, recommendations for future research and a discussion of theoretical and

research implications of the study with regards to social change and practical applications

will be reviewed.

The purpose of this quantitative survey study was to investigate if Black

Americans' perception of the stability of the race hierarchy in America would change in

response to a racist stimulus. The racist stimulus was accomplished by a "hostility

toward White individuals" prime. This research paralleled a study by Glick and

Whitehead (2010), which investigated the effect of a HM prime on perceived stability of

the gender hierarchy.

Interpretation of the Findings

The research question for this study was, "What is the effect of "hostility toward

dominant culture individuals (i.e. White individuals)" priming on an individual's

perceived stability of a race hierarchy? The alternate hypethesis investigated whether

hostility toward dominant culture individuals priming has an effect on an individual's

perceived stability of a race hierarchy. Although this hypothesis was not supported by the results, other findings related to the stability of individual perception of the race hierarchy revealed vital information related to the current state of racial inequality in the U.S.

Individuals in a society are unlikely to act to create change unless they believe the social system is unjust and unstable (Ferber, 2012). Thus a system that is perceived as legitimate and stable tends to be left unchallenged and the status quo remains. Studies of systems of inequality have revealed a central ideology (i.e. inequality system parallels), which has commonly been investigated through a social dominance lens (Ferber, 2012). Social hierarchies in America, such as those related to gender and race, seem to have many similarities with regard to functions and controls. Social dominance theory highlights these similar effects of ingroup, outgroup, and minority mechanisms in social hierarchies (Sidanius et al., 1992). .

Although, the results of this study did show an overall increase in stability scale scores, this increase was not statistically significant. It was interesting to find that the female sample revealed an increase in stability scale scores while the male sample showed a decrease in stability scale scores in response to the hostility prime. A possible reason for these opposite effects could be related to diverse life experiences and racism exposure based on gender. Further, the Mississippi sample revealed a decrease in stability scale scores while both Alabama and Georgia showed an increase. Isolating the scores from only women in the states of Alabama and Georgia did uncover a statistically significant increase in stability scale scores in response to the hostility prime. This

isolated sample mirrored the results from Glick and Whitehead's (2010) research where the hostility prime increased the stability scale scores, but the overall sample did not show this significance.

According to social dominance theory, the perception of stability of the race hierarchy influences the motivation of individuals to try to change the system. When the social system is seen as stable this effect is inhibitive (Tajfel, 1981). The stability of race hierarchy scale is a one to six point Likert scale. The overall mean for the scaled scores both primed and non-primed equated to a perception of "slightly agreeing" that the race hierarchy is stable and not going to change. According to these results, the efforts of Black Americans living in the states of Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi to seek racial equality are inhibited and individuals are demotivated in relation to their perceptions of the permanence of the race hierarchy in America.

This discovery is particularly emphasized in one particular qualitative response to the demographic question: "How do you prefer to be identified"? The response was clarified under the option "other" and stated, "It doesn't matter because all anyone will see is NIGGER." Other qualitative responses to the priming statements such as "discrimination is no longer a problem for Black people in the U.S. only if you're not Black," "discrimination is a global problem," and "people who are unaware or who aren't involved in interracial social situations might believe that Black people are no longer discriminated against" speak to the individual perception and understanding of present racial inequality. These responses portray the Black American experience of living in the southern United States and the continued oppression and occurrence of racism.

According to system justification theory (Jost et al., 2004), belief in a system as stable and legitimate can be a function of increasing subjective well-being and decreasing uncertainty (Napier et al., 2010). Thus the results of this study may reflect an interest in managing personal well-being.

The literature supports the concept that racism is a chronic and persistent negative force in the United States (APA, 2016; Berg-Cross & Hill, 2015; Black Lives Matter, 2016; Dovidio et al., 2005; Guimond et al., 2013; Nier & Gaertner, 2012). This small-scale study did not reveal a statistically significant effect on changes in personal perception of the stability of the racist social system in response to racism. It did, however, confirm the existence of a general perception of an unchanging racist hierarchy. This finding should invoke great concern both within the psychology community and beyond. The achievement in 2008 of electing a Black president was momentous, but may in some ways, along with other factors have muted the collective racial inequality voice by falsely demonstrating an end to racial discrimination.

The general perception of a persistent unequal racial social system varied little by education and age, which illuminates a widely spread incorporation of this impression of system stability. The existence, even if not statistically significant, of a contrasting effect on men versus women is likely linked to the gender hierarchy and its accompanying discriminatory effects on women. Gender system enforcing dynamics teach women to value conformity and the personal need for protection. Reversely, men are generally socialized to be agentic and bold (Glick & Fiske, 1996). These socializing effects could explain the diverse affects the study prime had on women versus men. The general

response to the prime for women in this study was an increased perception of the stability of the race hierarchy. This response could be viewed as aligned with gender socialization and the associated nonconfrontational and conforming gender role. Reversely, the general response from men to the prime was a decrease in the perception of the stability of the race hierarchy. This response is well affiliated with being aggressive and courageous as prescribed by the male socialized gender role. It is essential to view the results of this study as operating in conjunction with and within other social systems and further to realize that racism, as well as other discriminatory social hierarchies, do not function in a vacuum.

Limitations of the Study

The sample data utilized in this study was obtained from social media (i.e. Facebook); it is possible that response quality was reduced due to being associated with content generally viewed for entertainment value. Further, because the survey was administered in an online, unsupervised environment, it is likely that some participants did not complete the survey due to anger induced by the hostility prime (21 of 164 responses were incomplete). This is unfortunate as these responses were central to the study.

Additionally, the survey invitation included the criteria that participants be African American. According to McGlone and Aronson (2007), a demographic question such as race is likely to increase saliency of racial identity and to activate stereotypes related to ethnic group inclusion. Hence, it is probable that the survey invitation in fact primed the participants and increased saliency of their ethnic identity.

Also, as mentioned earlier, the sample was disproportionally distributed regarding gender and state of residence. The male sample was very small (i.e. 21) and 61 percent of the participants resided in Alabama, thus the results are not generalizable to these contexts.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study utilized a researcher developed hostility prime and race hierarchy scale. Both of these instruments proved to be valid and reliable and would be valuable in further research. The race hierarchy scale would likely be improved by expansion and inclusion of more questions to yield a more accurate reflection of the individual perception of the stability of the race hierarchy.

This study investigated only prime effects on the perceived stability of the race hierarchy, yet both the perceived stability and the perceived legitimacy of social systems are factors affecting individual acceptance of status quo. Hence a future study, which includes both of these concepts, would generate critical information related to the persistence of racial inequality in the United States. Further, the data obtained in this study showed regional inconsistencies (i.e. Alabama and Georgia versus Mississippi), thus data gained from replication of this study in other geographical areas of the United States would highlight regions of individual and systemic motivational boundaries as related to the perception of an inflexible race hierarchy.

Previous research has shown the essential influence of both prime category and an individual's environment (Casper et al., 2010; Wheeler & Berger, 2007). This study utilized a category prime (i.e. racial inequality), but due to the social media application I

was unable to control for the environment and overall context of the participant. Future research would greatly improve informational significance and value by increased attempts to control for these factors.

Additionally, this research indicated a persistent perception of the improbable achievement of racial equality in the United States. This research finding corresponds with system justification theory, which defines the individual perceptions that encourage system-justifying behaviors and maintain status quo. These system-justifying behaviors are enhanced by an individual's sense of belonging to a democratic system, a system that is perceived as fair, and an environment where social and economic consequences are deserved (Jost et al., 2003; Kay et al., 2002).

Moral outrage is a key motivator for social action, yet system justifying cognitions have been shown to reduce moral outrage (Wakslak et al., 2007). Consequently, individual motivation for social change is greatly diminished when affected by system justifying behaviors and likely supports the persistence of the race hierarchy. Therefore, future investigations aimed at further defining factors that maintain a chronic, high level of perceived stability would contribute to the overall social system knowledge.

Implications for Practice and Social Change

It is essential to understand the issue and interaction of racism on the individual, group, and systemic levels. Individual experience consistently affects perception of group belonging and identity, as well as the stability and legitimacy of social systems.

Research reliably shows that an individual's environments and experiences provide persistent stimuli, which prime individual perceptions and actions. This study did not show a statistically significant increase in the individuals' perception of the stability of the race hierarchy in response to the study prime, but it did reveal a general perception of the race hierarchy as stable and unchanging. According to previous research on the perception of the permanence of a social hierarchy, the general perception of stability positively relates to a decrease in action to change said system (Ferber, 2012).

The general perception of an unchanging race hierarchy is critical knowledge in understanding the Black experience of living in the United States. As much as this is useful information for every American, it is particularly important for psychologists, counselors, and therapists, etc. Understanding how individual perception of stability affects motivation can be used as an instructional tool to increase self-awareness and remove barriers for optimal life quality and progress. The educational system could also greatly benefit from incorporating instruction about the stability of the race hierarchy and the consequences of individual perception both for teachers and for students in a didactic format.

Research indicates that individual awareness of the effects of priming and subtle racism, as well as developing internal goals of nonprejudice can mediate or reverse priming effects (Devine et al., 2002). Thus, it is probable that increasing the knowledge of priming effects in the general public, particularly within minority groups, would diminish this inhibiting effect and create more movement toward racial equality and

social change. This in no way blames minority groups for their minority status, but merely highlights a factor that could be employed to promote equality.

In recent years there have been several high profile murder cases of Black individuals (i.e. Trayvon Martin, Freddie Gray, and Michael Brown) in which their perpetrators were acquitted or not tried at all (Black Lives Matter, 2016). These murders, in particular the murder of Trayvon Martin in 2012, led to the birth of the Black Lives Matter movement (Black Lives Matter, 2016). Even more recently, police brutality and murders followed by aggression toward and murders of the police have emphasized the persistent systemic oppression and existence of State violence (Akkoc, 2015; Black Lives Matter, 2016; Seelye 2016). The Black Lives Matter movement reaches not only the Black population in the United States, but also a large part of the general population through its social media approach. Thus, the Black Lives Matter platform and other similar programs are well suited to utilize information about priming, perceived stability of the racial hieararchy, and the subsequent effects on motivation for social change.

Similarly, the knowledge gained from this study and other similar studies can have a profound effect on the stability of the race hierarchy when utilized by all ethnicities to further racial equality and create positive social change.

Conclusion

As this study and many others have confirmed, the current state of racial inequality in the United States affects Black Americans on an everyday basis (APA, 2016; Berg-Cross & Hill, 2015). Even though innumerable efforts have been made in order to change status quo the race hierarchy remains. In the latest American

Psychological Association report (APA, 2016) on stress in America, 61 percent of adults reported to experience daily stress from discrimination due to incidents ranging from receiving less courtesy to being threatened and harassed.

The race hierarchy remains due to multi-level interactions of individual, group, and social system goals. People's actions are guided by individual goals and action toward these goals are propelled or halted by both internal and external factors (Smith, 2009). The decision-making process for creating individual goals reflects an individual's incorporation of the past, present, and future (Fried & Slowik, 2004). Thus, status quo will persist as long as personal and group goals do not include the need to change social inequality.

Correspondingly, goal related information is mentally more readily available (Liviatan & Jost, 2014). Thus, when system justification goals (i.e. validation of the system) are salient then cognitive accessibility for information related to system stability and fairness is heightened and system congruent cognitive heuristics are prominent (Liviatan & Jost, 2014). Reversely, when these goals are not salient then neither is information related to system justification. Additionally, threats such as social or economic instability lead to increases in personal insecurity and a lack of personal meaning as well as decreases in trust and cooperation (Liviatan & Jost, 2014). The human mind works hard to decrease the cognitive dissonance related to personal insecurity and systemic oppression, which subsequently maintains status quo and reduces individual efforts to change society for the better (Festinger, 1957). Clearly, these system dynamics do not encourage goals of unification and equality.

The extensive research, the multitude of theories underlying the concept of racial discrimination, and the amount of progress in changing status quo emphasizes nonetheless the deficiency of this social psychology area of study. Status quo of ethnic equality in the United States is unacceptable as an end state. Further research is needed to inform both policy and the public in order to create change, better quality of life, and racial equality.

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Appendix A: Stability of Gender Hierarchy Scale

1. A few decades from now, the number of female (as compared to male) chief executive officers of major corporations is likely to be about equal. (reverse-coded)

2. A few decades from now, the average salary for women will continue to be significantly lower than the average salary for men.

3. A few decades from now, women will be treated as equals to men in all areas (e.g. socially, politically, and economically). (reverse-coded)

4. A few decades from now, it will still be rare for husbands (as compared to wives) to put their careers on hold to stay at home and raise the kids.

5. A few decades from now, there is likely to have been at least one female President of the United States. (reverse-coded)

6. Over the next few decades, the current differences in the positions of men and women in society are likely to remain stable.

Scoring instructions: Reverse-code items 1, 3, and 5, then average all items.

Glick and Whitehead (2010)

Appendix B: Stability of Race Hierarchy Scale

(Converted from gender version in Appendix A)

1. A few decades from now, the number of Black (as compared to White) chief executive officers of major corporations is likely to be about equal. (reverse-coded)

2. A few decades from now, the average salary for Black people will continue to be significantly lower than the average salary for White people.

3. A few decades from now, Black people will be treated as equals to White people in all areas (e.g. socially, politically, and economically). (reverse-coded)

4. A few decades from now, there is likely to have been at least one Black Governor of Alabama. (reverse-coded)

5. Over the next few decades, the current differences in the positions of White people and Black people in society are likely to remain stable.

Rated on a 0 (*strongly disagree*) to a 5 (*strongly agree*) scale. Scoring instructions: Reverse-code items 1, 3, and 5, then average all items.

Appendix C: Post-Survey Study Purpose Statement

Prior to taking this survey you were informed that the purpose of this study was to investigate the cognitive aspects of illustrative examples. This information was misleading in order to minimize preconceived or primed answers in the survey. This study was designed to increase current knowledge in the social psychology field of social system dynamics. The purpose of this study was to utilize information derived from studies on the effects priming with "hostile sexism toward men" have on perceived stability of gender hierarchies. This quantitative study was particularly designed to investigate the effect, if any, priming Black individuals with "hostility toward White individuals" has on the participants' perceived stability of a racist social system. This study was inspired by the lack of progress in racial equality in America. The researcher attempted to approach the issue of race hierarchy from a new angle in an effort to provide information, which can change status quo. The results of this study will further illuminate the structural aspects and forces related to the race hierarchy in the United States.

If you feel that your participation in this study has created unmanageable distress please consider contacting a mental health professional. The website www.alabamacounseling.org provides a list of counselors in the state of Alabama. Further, it may be helpful to acquire more information on ongoing initiatives combating racism in America. The Equal Justice Initiative is one of many organizations providing these services. They can be located at www.eji.org. Thank you for your time.

Appendix D: Survey Invitation

My name is Anne Kristine Gaddis and I am doctoral student at Walden University. Please

help me complete my research for my PhD dissertation. You are invited to take part in a

research study of social systems. The purpose of this study is to investigate how people

read and describe sample sentences. This research invitation is for African American

adults (age 18 or older) who live in Alabama, Georgia, or Mississippi. If you would like

to participate the survey should take you no longer than 10 minutes. Please click the

following link: https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/UCanMakeADifference

Thank you for your time and please feel free to share this invitation.

If you have already taken this survey, please do not take it again. Thank you.

Appendix E: Participant Responses

Participant Responses to Hostility Prime

Priming Questions	Response
Black people exaggerate the problems they have at work.	
	My boss gives me a hard time but constantly show up late to work.
	African Americans make issues in the workplace complicated.
Discrimination against Black people is no longer a problem in the U.S.	
	African-Americans have enjoyed great social and political success over the years; however, institutionalized discrimination is still problematic in the U.S.
	It is a problem. I have been followed in stores still. I have trained employees that make much more than I, with addressing the issue I am required to do more work to prove myself. (with equal experience and education. Discrimination is a global problem.
Most Black people are no longer discriminated	

against.

This is usually what society says who generally aren't

affected by racism.

Most black are still discriminated against.

People who are unaware or who aren't involved in

interracial social situations might believe that black people

are no longer discriminated against.

When Black people lose

jobs to White people, they

typically complain of

racism.

Racism has been around for a very long time; that is why

we as black people think in this matter.

Racism is usually the main decision factor when you have

job candidates of different races.

I've heard that black people are lazy

Due to ongoing racism, it is not uncommon for African-

Americans to be overlooked for jobs in favor of their

Caucasian counterparts

Black people with the same or more experience required

for a promotion are not given the job because a white

person is more intelligent for the job.

I have heard Black People complain that the "White Devil" stole ther job to give to someone in that "good ole boy" network. Damn crackers don't want us to get ahead.

Yea they because most of the time that's just what it is.

They are mad when u can do their job better than them.

Most Black people don't have the drive and determination to get ahead.

I see more black people content to live off of welfare and food stamps than I see going to college to get a degree for a good job.

Dominate cultures believe black people are lazy.

Some black people don't have the want to better themselves.

Black people have been oppressed for so many years most have only been taught to wait for direction and not use their voice.

That is an unfair racist statement. Most Black people aren't afforded the luxury and resources privileged White folks have had

Most black people find themselves oppressed by society and allow themselves to fit in the box that was built on the

backs of their ancestors

Many blacks feel they will always be in the background no matter how intelligent they are.

I need even more. I have been in gifted programs my whole life, yet have been on probation because of cultural differences not test scores. I need to be even better not to be flagged.

Generations of African American poverty, discrimination, and mal treatment has resulted in a defeated perspective amongst some African Americans.

I have heard most black people contribute to their own demise through laziness and inconsistency.