

DISCOUNTED, YET STILL POWERFUL: GOFFMAN'S CONCEPT  
OF THE STIGMA OF RACE RESTRUCTURED  
IN THE 21ST CENTURY

---

A Dissertation  
Submitted to  
the Temple University Graduate Board

---

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

---

by  
Rose A. Howerter  
May 2022

Examining Committee Members:

Dr. Deborah A. Cai, Advisory Chair, Temple University, Klein College of Media  
and Communication

Dr. Carolyn Kitch, Temple University, Klein College of Media and  
Communication

Dr. Kareem Johnson, Temple University, Department of Psychology

Dr. Mary J. Bresnahan, External Member, Michigan State University, Department  
of Communication

## **ABSTRACT**

In an investigation of whether Goffman's (1963) concept of the stigma of race is still relevant in understanding current social attitudes in 21st century America, this dissertation examines the link between Goffman's (1963) concept of the stigma of race and research focused primarily on racism and prejudice. Six research questions examined different aspects of social attitudes among Americans: their view of people of other races, judgments toward those of minority racial groups, intergroup communication between people from different racial backgrounds, the influence of the media and other information sources, and the extent of the relationship between stigma and racism.

The research included a between-subjects experimental design, Implicit Association Tests, and racism measures, including the social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, old-fashioned and modern racism, and blatant dehumanization scales, along with the stigma dimensions developed by Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011). Based on the findings, this study proposed new racial stigma dimensions to study the stigma of race. This study contributes to the theoretical and practical understanding around issues of stigma and race in the United States, has practical suggestions that may help guide the way to dismantle the forces that perpetuate the stigma of race, and provides encouragement to continue to seek a pathway to better intergroup communication, acceptance of diverse groups, and social equity.

Dedicated to my mom, Kazuko Howerter,  
who left everything behind to begin a new life in America.

Thank you for being there through the tough times.

And, in memory of my beautiful furry friend, Sunny,  
who brought sunshine and joy into my life.

I will always remember your warm snuggles.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many souls have helped me get to this point in my life's journey. I am thankful to each and every one for the lessons I have learned from them. I would like to acknowledge a few individuals who have been especially helpful during the writing of this dissertation.

Heartfelt thanks to my advisor Dr. Deborah Cai, whose kindness, diligence, expertise, and encouragement helped me through a maze of uncertainty and through periods of grief. She kept me focused and reminded me constantly, "You can do it!" Because of our weekly Zoom meetings, I never felt alone despite the isolations brought on by pandemic protocols.

I am grateful to the other members of my committee who generously gave of their time: Dr. Carolyn Kitch, Dr. Kareem Johnson, and Dr. Mary Bresnahan. Each had an important impact on the direction of my research. Dr. Kitch's work on social memory opened my eyes and gave me permission to see the world through different perspectives. What we know as a society is as much about what is forgotten, as it is about what is remembered. Dr. Johnson's insights into social psychology, stereotypes, and biases provided the spark that ignited into this project on racial stigma. His feedback was critical in developing the research instrument. And, Dr. Bresnahan's work on stigma provided a framework for my research. Her feedback gave me a glimpse into future possibilities.

My thanks to Dr. Joseph DuCette, whose two statistics courses and detailed handouts of SPSS procedures prepared me for the rigorous analysis of my data.

Thank you to the members of the Graduate School for their generous support to help in the completion of my dissertation. I could not have finished without that support.

I am thankful for my friends. Ann Bianchi and Mary Erhard were there for me when I broke my arm. I made it through the surgery and recovery with their friendship and support. The local librarian, Tara Aiken, cheered me on whenever I came to print out chapter drafts: there were many drafts. Jenn Kulyik White, my petsitter, looked after my fur babies whenever I was away. And, my furry friends provided companionship and distractions as I wrote late into the night.

Thanks, Mom, for the green tea, crackers, and chocolate: necessary sustenance during long, cold nights of writing. Thank you for encouraging me to continue on.

Be kind to everyone, no matter who they are. That kindness may plant a seed of hope that grows and changes the world.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT .....	ii
DEDICATION .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	iv
LIST OF TABLES .....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	x
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
2. UNDERSTANDING STIGMA: A THEORETICAL REVIEW .....	19
3. THE RISE OF RACE .....	56
4. PILOT STUDIES .....	95
5. THE MAIN STUDY .....	112
6. MAIN STUDY RESULTS .....	156
7. DISCUSSION .....	233
REFERENCES CITED .....	290
APPENDICES	
A. STIGMA DIMENSIONS .....	317
B. IRB APPROVED CONSENT FORMS .....	321
C. NEWS STORY .....	326

D. PILOT STUDY 2.....	328
E. PREJUDICE MEASURES .....	334
F. RACISM MEASURES.....	337
G. ROTATED COMPONENT MATRIX .....	339
H. PROPOSED RACIAL STIGMA DIMENSIONS .....	344

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Pilot Study 1: Questions Results.....	100
2. Pilot Study 2: Names Chosen for the Implicit Association Tests (IATs).....	108
3. Analysis Results of IATs .....	130
4. Demographic Comparison Counts by Identity .....	158
5. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Warmth of Feelings Toward Targets by Identity.....	164
6. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Black/White IAT and Asian/White IAT by Identity .....	168
7. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for OFR and MRS by Identity .....	170
8. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for SDO, RWA1, and RWA2 by Identity.....	171
9. Means, Medians, and Mean Difference Scores Compared in the Blatant Dehumanization Measure by Identity.....	177
10. Blatant Dehumanization Means, Medians, and Mean Difference Scores Compared by Participant Race Identity .....	181
11. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Outgroup Contact Questions by Identity .....	184
12. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for ECS Questions by Identity .....	187
13. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Ingroup Contact Targets Compared by Participant Race Identity .....	189
14. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Information Sources by Identity .....	192
15. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Information Sources About Participants' Own Race by Identity .....	195



16. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Information Sources About Races Other Than the Participants' Own Race by Identity .....	197
17. Means and Standard Deviations for News Story Version and Harshness of Punishment Filtered by Participant Race Identity .....	202
18. Means and Standard Deviations for News Story Version and Type of Punishment Filtered by Participant Race Identity .....	205
19. Correlations for Racism Measures by Stigma Dimensions .....	208
20. Correlation Matrix for Stigma Dimension Principal Component Scores .....	209
21. Rotated Component Matrix for Racism and Stigma Dimension Principal Component Scores.....	211
22. Correlations for Demographic Variables by Racism Measures.....	223
23. Correlations for Demographic Variables by Stigma Dimensions.....	225
24. Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Identifying Markers About Races by Participant Identity .....	228

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Screen Shots of IAT Trials .....	128
2. Screen Shot of the Ascent of Man Measure of Blatant Dehumanization .....	146

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The year 2020 ushered in twin life-altering events in the United States: the worldwide spread of the COVID-19 virus and the rise of social justice protests over race. By the end of February 2021, the United States reported more than 28 million cases of COVID-19 and more than 500,000 deaths (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], n.d.). Amid this health crisis another pandemic revealed itself, sparked by the death of George Floyd in May 2020 at the hands of a White police officer in Minneapolis. Floyd's last words, "I can't breathe," became a rallying cry for thousands of protestors (Jimenez, 2020). A *New York Times* article stated that this current protest "may be the largest movement in U.S. history" with "half a million people" involved in protest "in nearly 550 places across the United States in a single day" in June (Buchanan et al., 2020). In all, there had been almost 5,000 protests nationwide between May and July 2020 (Buchanan et al., 2020). For some, the Black Lives Matter movement brought reminders of the civil rights protests of the 1960s and feelings of disappointment over the racism, violence, and injustices toward Black Americans that continue even now 50 years later. And, some people wonder why change has been slow within the social and power structure in America (Berry, 2020).

In the heat of the 1960s civil rights movement, Erving Goffman proposed the concept *stigma*, which provided the foundation for modern perspectives on the development of social norms and categorizing of people into groups that are considered

either normal or undesirable within a society. While others were engaged in discussions and protests over race in the 1960s, Goffman looked at social disparities from a different viewpoint. He suggested that stigma was the basis for the social and racial divisions in society.

In his book, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Goffman (1963) categorized stigma into three broad types: physical, character, and tribal.

Undesirable physical traits referred to handicaps, diseases, and deformities that were considered beyond the control of individuals or groups. Character-based stigmas included mental illness, addictions, sexual dispositions, and other intentionally committed deviant acts (DeJong, 1980). Tribal-based stigmas such as race, religion, and nationality were based on birth or belonging to a particular group. An ideology, or “stigma theory,” as Goffman (1963, p. 5) called it, provided rationalization to explain the inferiority of those who fit into one of the stigma categories and justification for their exclusion from normal, accepted society.

Tribal-based stigmas classified as undesirable or tainted anyone who belonged to a race, country, or religion that was different from the socially accepted dominant group. Tribal-based stigmas combined undesirable physical, character, and behavioral traits based on the notion that people inherited less-than-desirable physical features from their families and learned different or deviant behaviors from their group (Goffman, 1963). Thus, the tribal-based stigma assigned groups of people into negative categories simply because they were born into a group (race, nation, or religion) that was considered too different from normal society. Thus, being born into a discredited tribal-based group

often created overlapping discriminations for its stigmatized members, because although the members could not control the physical features they were born with, they were perceived as having deviant character traits and engaging in unacceptable behaviors that they were unwilling to change. Perception about personal responsibility influenced the severity of the attached stigma, causing extremely negative expectations and consequences for some stigmatized groups (DeJong, 1980; Harris & Fiske, 2006; Madon et al., 1997).

Although Goffman (1963) provided a starting point in the discussion of stigma in the United States, he did not provide a framework for the scientific study of stigmatized groups (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2015). This void left researchers and scholars to find their own way through the complex concept of stigma.

Present-day research on stigma primarily focuses on mental and physical disabilities (Phelan et al., 2008). The term *stigma* is rarely used today to explain Goffman's (1963) tribal-based (race, nation, religion) category. Instead, scholars use terms such as prejudice and stereotyping to describe the negative treatment that outgroup members receive from dominant groups (Phelan et al., 2008). Goffman's tribal category appeared to have been de-coupled from the term *stigma*. Research also increased on the topic of how the dehumanizing of individuals influenced negative treatment by dominant group members. Because of this increase in work on prejudice and dehumanization that is not tied to tribal stigma, the following questions are asked in this dissertation: With modern thinking about differences in society, is Goffman's (1963) concept of stigma still relevant today? Do current social attitudes render race as an invisible and discounted, yet

powerful stigma category? These are important questions to consider, especially with the COVID-19 exposed inequities affecting minority racial groups and the unprecedented rise in hate crimes in the United States against minority group members (CDC, 2020; Arango, 2020)

Race is an identifier that is used to separate people into groups that are classified as either acceptable (normal) or devalued (stigmatized). However, prejudice and stereotyping are not enough to account for the dehumanizing atrocities that have been committed against minority racial groups. Although stigma and prejudice are both discriminatory and exploitative (Phelan et al., 2008), stigma carries with it underlying attitudes that promote the devaluing of other persons to the extent that they are considered separate from humanity (Crocker & Major, 1989). By dehumanizing individuals, societies can treat the stigmatized as objects (i.e., not human) deserving of exclusion, excessively harsh treatment, and even death (Harris & Fiske, 2011). Therefore, this dissertation examines stigma as an approach to bridge the concepts of racism, racial stereotypes, and prejudice with dehumanizing attitudes and the behaviors.

This dissertation explores Goffman's (1963) tribal stigma category, focusing especially on race. Race is a social construct based largely on physical appearance. Yet, racial minorities are often stereotyped as having certain negative character and behavioral traits that cause the groups to be stigmatized as abnormal or deviant. To examine race as a stigma category, this study examines conscious and subconscious, embedded attitudes and stereotypes that individuals might be unaware they have and considers how those attitudes and stereotypes influence behavior toward stigmatized racial groups. Although

previous studies have focused primarily on White participants and their reactions to Black people, this study includes participants from diverse racial backgrounds for an intergroup perspective on the communication and enforcement of stigma.

### **Theoretical Basis for the Study**

Researchers have agreed that stigma models are now more complex and encompass further constructs than Goffman's (1963) three categories of physical, character, and tribal stigmas. In Goffman's (1963) treatment of stigma, stigmatized individuals and groups were considered socially marked as disgraced or tainted. However, during the 1980s, stigma research began to emphasize "the situational nature of stigma" (Major & O'Brien, 2005, p. 394), indicating that an individual's socio-economic situation in life could be viewed as disgraced. For example, social statuses involving education and income could be stigmatized (Lam et al., 2006). Although Brown et al. (2003) acknowledged that stigma can take several forms—physical, characteristic, and tribal—these researchers also argued that stigma can be a social process that involved the development of perceptions that particular persons or groups violate social norms and deserve rejection. Thus, a society determined what is an acceptable condition and what is not, and labeled certain groups who deviate from what is acceptable as deviant, which then leads to prejudice and discrimination against the stigmatized groups. (Brown et al., 2003; Goffman, 1963).

Stigma researchers began to conceptualize stigma as multi-dimensional, not just a discredited mark or situation. For example, Link and Phelan (2001) defined "stigma as the co-occurrence of its [four] components—labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss

and discrimination” (p. 363). Then in 2011, Bresnahan and Zhuang examined the many stigma dimensions proposed by researchers in the early 2000s, and they developed five factors or dimensions that were “conceptually distinct from each other” (p. 424) and validated “a multidimensional model of stigma” (p. 427). The five distinct dimensions developed by Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) were labeling, negative attributions, distancing, status loss, and controllability. (See Appendix A for a list of Bresnahan & Zhuang’s five dimensions of stigma). These dimensions are explained in greater depth in Chapter 2, a theoretical review of stigma.

Scholars have further argued that stigma sprang from perceptions of threat by the minority group to the dominant group in areas of power, status, economics, order, and health (Major & O’Brien, 2005). “Dominant cultural beliefs” connected stigmatized people to negative characteristics and separated them into a category distinct from “us” (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 367). Discrimination and lowered status, therefore, resulted in inequities, rejection, and exclusion of the stigmatized groups by those with the power to label groups as deviant. Dominant groups acted on the assumption that they benefited from stigmatizing others by controlling deviant behavior, protecting themselves from perceived threats, and thus, confirming their group’s well-being (Cuddy et al., 2009; Phelan et al., 2008). Regardless of the stigma category, stigmatized groups are societal members who are outside of the dominant group (Crocker & Major, 1989). Negative outgroup identities are a form of perceived reality imposed on stigmatized members by the powerful members within a society. However, not all stigmas produce similar reactions from the dominant group.



To gain a sense of control over their social environment, people have used attributions to assign either external (situational) or internal (individual dispositions) causes to predicted behaviors (Ramasubramanian, 2011). Negative stereotypes held against a stigmatized outgroup are applied to individual members as innate dispositions regardless of whether or not they actually fit or apply to the individuals (Byrne, 2000; Caprariello et al., 2009; Harris & Fiske, 2006; Heider, 1994; Kawakami et al., 2017). In contrast, the questionable behaviors of ingroup members are viewed as responses to external situations and not as inherent character traits. Additionally, people's emotional conditions influence their attributions of others. One study showed that angry people held "more stereotypical (negative) thoughts about outgroups" (Jackson et al., 2001, p. 32), while sadness produced fewer negative thoughts and more favorable conclusions about outgroup members.

Goffman (1963) described stigmatized groups or individuals as being discredited, as "not quite human" (p. 5), and thus deserving exclusion from society. Denying people "membership in a community" is key to treating individuals "as less than human" (Bastian & Haslam, 2010, p. 107). Dehumanization "is the denial of 'humanness' to others," indicating "stigmatization and stereotyping" (Cage et al., 2019, p. 2). Through dehumanization, the dominant group in society gives itself permission to devalue certain other groups as undeserving of empathy, compassion, or aid (Bruneau & Kteily, 2017; Harris & Fiske, 2011; Haslam, 2006). Some of the attitudes and ideologies associated with dehumanization include preference to strong hierarchical societies, political conservatism, nationalism, unquestioned submission to authority, ethnocentrism, and

homophobia (Cage et al., 2019; Ho et al., 2015; Kteily et al., 2015; Pratto et al., 1994; Rattazzi et al., 2007; Zakrisson, 2005). Dehumanization as a concept has been used to inform studies on race, ethnicity, prejudice, and genocide (Haslam, 2006; Kteily et al., 2015).

### **The Problem**

Most members of any given society are socialized according to prevailing attitudes about group memberships within that society that identify some groups as normal and others as undesirable. Within each society certain attitudes about group importance, behaviors toward others, and social norms arise and become the accepted ideology for its members. These accepted cultural beliefs, which include stereotypes and prejudices, are used to define and label what is acceptable and what is not (Devine, 1989; Link & Phelan, 2001).

Stigma is considered a social mark that devalues an individual or group. Negative attitudes and biases against groups result from perceived negative attributes assigned to these groups and are often referred to as stigmas. Consequently, stigmas exist within the context of societal rules that govern and define social relationships, which are communicated throughout that society so that everyone knows how to enact their role, as either normal or stigmatized (Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009; Pescosolido et al., 2008; Smith, 2012). Social, political, and cultural values are shaped by these rules, which over time can become institutionalized within the social structure (Pescosolido et al., 2008). As a result, the stigmatizing of certain groups is built into normal social processes so thoroughly that it becomes an accepted part of the social order within a society (Goffman,

1963; Smith, 2012). Further, those who disagree with a stigma often keep silent so as not to become stigmatized themselves (Smith, 2012).

In almost every part of the globe, communities stigmatize some group or groups as abnormal. However, not every community stigmatizes the same groups. According to Yang et al. (2007), efforts to understand the concept of stigma across societies should take into account differences in culture and meanings that affect stigma practices. For example, the Chinese have no word for stigma; however, the people still deal with it in their social relationships (Li et al., 2010).

Taking into consideration theoretical, social, and cultural differences, this dissertation conceptualizes stigma as a social construct in which powerless groups are separated from normal interactions within society because of characteristics and behaviors that are considered negative or abnormal by the dominant social groups within a society. The severity of the impact of a stigma on an individual depends on the amount of negativity associated with the particular stigma, the ability to hide the stigmatized characteristic from others, and the attitudes of the dominant social groups within which the stigmas exist. Stigma has a powerful impact on the lives of those marked, limiting their opportunities for a better life, their earning power, and their access to healthcare and housing (Everett et al., 2015; Link & Phelan, 2001). Those who are stigmatized also face rudeness, insults, and discrimination in their daily contacts at work, school, and other public places (Bresnahan et al., 2020; Everett et al., 2015; Rudman & McLean, 2016). These are the same issues that racial minority groups face when dealing with prejudiced individuals. Phelan et al. (2008) concluded that stigma and prejudice referred to the same

social marginalization faced by outgroups. Stuber et al. (2008) recommended that prejudice and stigma need to be linked through research to improve intervention strategies that could get at the structural forms of prejudice as well as the social processes of stigma and devaluation of certain groups. By bridging the two research disciplines, important insights could be gained, leading to a better understanding of cultural practices and policies that discriminate against disadvantaged groups (Stuber et al., 2008).

The use of the term, *stigma*, has shifted over the past decades to focus primarily on health and disability issues, but this study examines the implications for Goffman's (1963) tribal stigma category of race and its impact on attitudes and behaviors of various racial group members and the real-world consequences for racially stigmatized groups. This dissertation contributes to understanding current social attitudes on how groups of people are categorized and stigmatized in the United States. Understanding the basis of stigma can inform strategies needed to alleviate negative attitudes and open doors to better communication among diverse racial group members (Everett et al., 2015; Rudman & McLean, 2016). When confronted with stigma-related discrimination, how do we react? Do we go along with social norms that separate people based on contrived social conditions?

### **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

There are a variety of approaches used to study and identify stigma, making it problematic in comparing the work that is done. Stigma research has covered many different social situations ranging from health issues such as diabetes (Basinger et al., 2020) and lung cancer (Bresnahan et al., 2013), HIV and AIDS stigma (Brown et al.,

2003; Khan, 2020), to mental illness (Byrne, 2000), appearance stigma (Rudman & McLean, 2016), and wearing Islamic head coverings (Everett et al., 2015). As a result, scholars find little consensus on stigma identity and dimensions across conditions (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011). Stigma has also been defined in various ways, depending of the condition or situation being researched, resulting in a lack of clarity about its application (Link & Phelan, 2001). This lack of agreement across studies hinders the ability to measure stigma across conditions, creating barriers in efforts to alleviate and dismantle social stigmas.

The term *stigma* is rarely used today to explain race and racial challenges. However, Goffman (1963) included race under the tribal stigma category, making it an important condition to study (Phelan et al., 2008; Stuber et al., 2008). This dissertation considers the implications for Goffman's (1963) tribal stigma category of race and its impact on attitudes and behaviors of various group members within the United States in the 21st century. The overarching question that drives this dissertation is the following: Do current social attitudes render race as an invisible and discounted, yet powerful stigma category? To answer this questions, this quantitative study explores the following research questions:

RQ1: How do Americans view people of other races today?

RQ2: Do dominant (White) groups and minority (non-White) group members hold similar attitudes about minority (non-White) outgroups?

RQ3: Do dominant (White) group members and minority (non-White) group members differ in their judgments toward minority (non-White) outgroup members?

RQ4: Do dominant (White) group members and minority (non-White) group members differ in their intergroup communication with those not of their own racial group?

RQ5: Do the media have a different influence on dominant (White) groups as compared to minority (non-White) group members in the reinforcement of social stigmas?

RQ6: How does racism relate to social stigma?

Based on an analysis of existing literature and theories, the following hypotheses were proposed:

H1: The majority of White participants, as compared to non-White participants, will report more traditional racial attitudes toward those of other minority (non-White) racial groups.

H2: Participants who report higher (a) social dominance, (b) authoritarian, and (c) racist attitudes will stigmatize members of minority (non-White) outgroups more than those who have lower social dominance, authoritarian, and racist attitudes respectively.

H3: White participants are more likely than non-White participants to report minority groups as less human than (dominant) White groups.

H4: Non-White participants, as compared to White participants, will report other minority (non-White) groups as less human than White groups.

H5: White participants will report (a) less outgroup communication, which is also (b) less positive or (c) less meaningful, than non-White group members will report.

H6: Non-White participants will report greater comfort than White participants in communicating with people from other racial backgrounds.

H7: Non-White participants will report more intergroup contact than White participants with other racial group members.

H8: White participants are more likely than non-White participants to report that they learned more about other races from media sources than from interpersonal sources.

H9: Participants who read a negative news story will assign greater punishment to racial outgroups than to their own groups.

H10: Measures for racism and stigma will correlate highly.

### **Research Design**

This dissertation provides insight into a little-explored category of Goffman's (1963) stigma: race. The research uses a multi-phased quantitative approach to explore the role of Goffman's (1963) stigma in today's society. The study employs a  $2 \times 2 \times 3$  between-subjects experimental design: White and non-White participants ( $N = 303$ )  $\times$  news story (with race and without race)  $\times$  racial groups (Asian, Black, and White). Participants completed two Implicit Association Tests (IAT) on race, one for Black vs.

White, and another for Asian vs. White. Then participants completed questions in a survey in which Bresnahan and Zhuang's (2011) five dimensions for measuring stigma are adapted to consider the dispositional and situational attributions for Goffman's (1963) tribal stigma category of race. (See Appendix A for a list of Bresnahan and Zhuang's five dimensions of stigma). Questions from other validated measures such as the Social Dominance Orientation scale (Ho et al., 2015), the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (Zakrisson, 2005), the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay et al., 1981), the Old-Fashioned Racism measure (McConahay et al., 1981), and the Ascent of Man measure of blatant dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2015) are included to examine the similarities between stigma and race studies. An experiment, in which race is manipulated through the reading of a news story about a crime, assesses the behavioral components of race-based stigmas.

More than 300 participants, all adults living in the United States, were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) and directed to a Qualtrics online survey. It was assumed that the participants recruited through MTurk were representative of current social attitudes in the United States, and that they would answer honestly (Robinson et al., 2019; Young & Young, 2019).

### **Implications**

The findings of this study contribute to a better understanding of the relevance of Goffman's (1963) concept of stigma as it is enacted in the racial challenges in the 21st century. By calling attention to the significance of tribal-based (race) stigmas, which have more negatively severe consequences than can be accounted for by stereotyping and



prejudice, this study opens the door to further discussion on how to address negative attitudes and behaviors toward stigmatized outgroup members, for the stigma of race is just as powerful today as it was 50 years ago.

Although the term *stigma* carries with it negative connotations, its definition has been revised over the years to include not only individual traits but also social context and power relationships within a given society. Powerful people within each community set the rules for social norms regarding acceptable characteristics, traits, and behaviors. Groups outside of the social boundaries of acceptability may be viewed as abnormal or deviant. Recent studies show that race is still salient, particularly in the criminal justice sector. This finding is in spite of the fact that race as a concept has been invalidated: There is only one race, the human race. The varying physical features are merely representations of a vast array of DNA genes that provide diversity among humans.

Despite scientific evidence to the contrary, dominant groups still assign less-than-human attributes to non-White groups of people, just as Goffman (1963) found in his analysis of stigma during his time period. The concept of race, developed centuries ago, serves as justification for the negative categorization and stigmatization of non-White minorities. These negative classifications, or stereotypes, continue to influence communication and relationships across cultures, creating barriers and inequity (Bruneau & Kteily, 2017; Costell & Hodson, 2009; Goff et al., 2014; Harris & Fiske, 2011). The stigma of race, which is based on negative stereotypes, prejudice, and dehumanization, however unacknowledged, is promoted and reinforced throughout society with the aid of the media (Ramasubramanian, 2011). Understanding the origins of the concept of race,

the stereotypes that sprang from this concept, and how race fits into the broader structural processes of stigma could help to point perceptions in a new direction.

Although most stigma studies focus on the perceptions of White subjects, further study is needed to consider how other non-dominant non-White groups conceptualize stigmas. While stigmatized themselves for one characteristic, do they themselves stigmatize others with different characteristics? Do marginalized groups share similar dominant social norms that devalue other stigmatized groups? An increased understanding of how stigmas influence negative treatment of powerless groups will pave the way for better strategies in overcoming the negative behaviors that are a result of perpetuating social norms that categorize some groups of people as abnormal and less than human.

### **Overview of Chapters**

The following chapters address the rationale, method, findings, and implications of this research. Chapter 1 introduced the reader to the importance of examining stigma as explained by Erving Goffman during the height of a civil rights movement in the 1960s, and the importance of studying how the stigma of race impacts society today.

Chapter 2 provides a detailed look at the concept of stigma as it has evolved through the decades and as explained in a review of relevant literature. Enforcing social stigmas has been a tool used to protect the power and status of privileged groups of people. It was during a time of social upheaval concerning the bodies of people of color that Goffman (1963) took up the study of stigma. He framed stigma by his own current time period, and focused on the relationship between stigma, stereotyping, and

attributions. The theoretical review presents information that explains the social process of stigma and how it becomes enacted and communicated within a society. The review of literature also reveals that although research had moved away from the tribal stigma category to focus primarily on health issues and negative character traits, recent scholars recommend combining the study of stigma and race to understand the structural underpinnings of racial challenges.

Chapter 3 addresses the rise of race ideology and the study of race and racism, reviewing the history of the concept of race and racial classification as social expressions meant to define and structure socially unequal relationships. The chapter reviews literature on the rise of modern racism beliefs. Then the literature review considers the ideology of White supremacy, which is the foundation for racism, White privilege and White spaces, as the chapter addresses similarities in concepts that link stigma and race.

Chapter 4 presents the first phase of the research for this dissertation, two pilot studies necessary to help develop the materials for the main study. Pilot Study 1 tests a fictitious news story written for the study's experiment. Pilot Study 2 tests items to be used in Implicit Association Tests. For each pilot study, the chapter details the methods used, the sample participants, the procedures and instruments, and the analyses and results, along with a discussion of why specific choices were made to facilitate the development of the main study instrument.

Chapter 5 presents the methods used in the main study to analyze the tribal stigma of race and its connections to the practice of racism. This chapter details the research questions and hypotheses specific to the study, the methods used in the Qualtrics-based

study, the sample population, procedures, and the instrumentation. The chapter also discusses in detail the various measures used to study both stigma and race, and provides the results of analyses used to verify the validity and reliability of each measure used in the study.

Chapter 6 lays out the analysis of the data captured from the Qualtrics program, starting with a summary of the stratified sample population. Detailed analyses of the data follow, providing details of the relevant findings and statistical data for each research question and hypothesis. The chapter then details the statistical analyses used to develop a set of proposed stigma dimensions to study the stigma of race further.

To conclude the dissertation, Chapter 7 starts with a discussion, interpreting the results of the analyses for each research question and hypothesis. Then the chapter highlights theoretical and practical implications, providing suggestions to help in further studies of the stigma of race and offering practical suggestions to begin to dismantle the stigma that has created a deep racial divide in this country. By understanding how deeply the embedded stigma of race, discounted yet still powerful, has disrupted attempts for social justice and obscured intergroup communication, people within this society can begin to work toward social equity.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **UNDERSTANDING STIGMA: A THEORETICAL REVIEW**

Erving Goffman's (1963) concept of stigma has shaped modern perspectives on the categorizing of people into groups considered either normal or undesirable within a society (Brown et al., 2003). However, the world has changed in significant ways since Goffman first wrote his book about stigma in 1963. At that time, the United States was in the midst of a civil rights social revolution. While men were walking on the moon, Americans were engaged in the daunting process of dismantling segregation in their academic, political, and social institutions. Since then, technology such as rotary phones, typewriters, and CRT television sets have been replaced by smartphones, computers, and the internet, with innovations in online social media providing people with easy access to new information, ideas, cultures, and global awareness at the touch of a finger. Many Americans stripped themselves of outdated products, choosing new technology and new opportunities. But, what about American social attitudes? Are ideas about other groups of people advancing along with new technology, or are centuries-old divisive attitudes and stigmas still impacting human interaction?

The 2016 presidential race in the United States opened wide the door to the resurfacing of negative stereotypes into public discourse. As television and online viewers watched well-known public figures resort to racial and misogynist degradations to garner attention (Stuckey, 2016), psychiatrists claimed, "this lack of civility has leached into the electorate" (Fuoco, 2016, p. A16). Some wondered whether this lack of

restraint had loosened the bonds of political correctness and made it more acceptable to openly disparage outgroup members, such as minorities and the disabled. A *New York Times* article suggested that “Trump era rhetoric” fueled “the upswing in hate crimes . . . and upward trend in bias-motivated crimes” during 2019 (Arango, 2020). In fact, by 2019, hate crimes reached record numbers compared to the previous 10 years (Balsamo, 2020), with almost 60 percent involving “bias toward race, ethnicity, and ancestry,” according to the FBI (2020, para. 3).

A disparity in treatment of certain groups of people was also uncovered by Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) research on exposure to COVID-19. According to a CDC (2020) report, “people in racial and ethnic minorities groups are more likely to live in areas with high rates of new COVID-19 infections” (para. 4). These high exposure rates were connected, according to the CDC (2020), to social discriminations imposed on racial minority non-White groups, who were found to live in higher disadvantaged and crowded neighborhoods with unstable housing issues, transportation issues, lower paying manual jobs, higher unemployment rates, barriers to higher education, inequities in healthcare access, and food insecurity. These findings of negative social and structural barriers of exclusion imposed on minority groups suggest that Goffman’s (1963) concept of stigma is relevant today and reveal race as an invisible and discounted, yet powerful stigma category.

More than 50 years after Goffman (1963) first explicated stigma, scholars and social scientists continue to study stigma. But, the focus of stigma-related research today is primarily on character-based stigmas (e.g., mental illness, addictions, sexual

dispositions, imprisonment) and physical-based stigmas (e.g., handicaps, diseases, deformities). Today, the term *stigma* is rarely used to explain what Goffman (1963) proposed as a tribal category, which includes race, nationality, and religion. Goffman's (1963) tribal category appears to have been de-coupled from the term *stigma*, with scholars instead using terms such as prejudice and stereotyping to describe the negative treatment that members of these tribal categories receive from dominant power groups (Phelan et al., 2008). Race is an identifier that is used to separate people into either acceptable (normal) or devalued (stigmatized) groups. Although race is a social construct in which groups of people are categorized by physical appearance, racial minorities are often additionally stereotyped as having negative behaviors and character traits. Studies on the consequences of dehumanizing individuals, especially in the context of racial disparity, have increased, yet, the term *stigma* is rarely used today to explain racism and racial challenges. Thus, with the shake-up in the modern patterns of thinking about differences within society, the question is asked: Is Goffman's (1963) concept of stigma still relevant today?

This dissertation tests Goffman's (1963) concept of stigma for its relevance in the 21st century. Although an outward acceptance of political correctness may have led to an avoidance of the use of the term *stigma* in relation to Goffman's tribal categories, people in these categories are still stigmatized, and they are treated with the behaviors predicted by stigmatization (Kawakami et al., 2017; Rudman & McLean, 2016). Thus, this dissertation investigates whether stigma is still relevant in understanding and negotiating in an intercultural environment. Does understanding Goffman's (1963) tribal stigma

category of race and its impact on attitudes and behaviors of various group members within the United States have real-world consequences for racially marginalized groups? Is stigma an important and crucial concept for understanding race relations? Is racism a form of social stigma?

To answer these questions, this research focuses on stigma as an approach to bridge the concepts of stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination, and dehumanization with race and racism. Furthermore, previous studies on race have often focused on White subjects and their reactions to Black people. This dissertation includes participants from diverse backgrounds to gain an intergroup perspective on the communication and enforcement of stigma and to contribute to understanding current social attitudes on how groups of people are categorized and stigmatized in the United States. Because of the negative consequences for stigmatized groups, including the current impact of racial discrimination within intercultural environments in the United States, understanding the basis of stigma can inform strategies needed to alleviate negative attitudes and open doors to better communication.

### **Stigma Defined**

The word *stigma* is derived from the ancient Greek word *stizein*, which referred to the “mark on slaves,” and which made it clear that “they were of less value” (Arboleda-Florez, 2002, p. 25) than other citizens. Today, stigma is considered a social mark that signifies a devaluation of an individual or group (Arboleda-Florez, 2002). Byrne (2000) defined stigma as “a sign of disgrace or discredit that sets a person apart from others” marking a person with a stigma “for adverse experiences” (p. 65). Lam et al. (2006)



referred to stigma as a “mark that distinguishes someone as discredited” (p. 269). The Cambridge Dictionary (n.d.) defined *stigma* as, “disapproval; a strong lack of respect for a person or group of people or a bad opinion of them because they have done something society does not approve of,” which is a more behavioral rather than group-focused definition.

In many cultures throughout history, certain groups of people have carried a mark, or stigma, within societies, but which groups are marked with stigma changed according to different time periods and in different cultures. For example, the mentally ill are a stigmatized group in many cultures today. However, scholars have suggested the mentally ill were not stigmatized by the Greeks in past centuries, even though they were viewed as flawed (Arboleda-Florez, 2002).

Goffman (1963) referred to stigma as a discredited attribute and the stereotype on which it was based. Goffman used terms such as discredited, disgraced, tainted, deviant, abomination, and discounted to describe attitudes toward stigmatized individuals or groups. He categorized stigma into three broad types: physical, character, and tribal. Undesirable physical traits (e.g., handicaps, diseases, deformities) were considered the products of genetics or the environment and, therefore, beyond the control of individuals or groups. Character-based stigmas (e.g., mental illness, addictions, sexual dispositions) were perceived as springing from intentionally committed deviant acts (DeJong, 1980). Although mental illness has been found to have biological or trauma-related origins, some people stigmatize mental illness because of the stereotype that the illness is the result of patients making poor choices or having irrational fears and beliefs (Byrne,

2000). Tribal-based stigmas (e.g., race, nationality, religion) in which people were born or joined a particular group, combined discredited physical, character, and behavioral traits (Goffman, 1963). For example, non-White racial groups are stigmatized in the United States for not having Western European physical features, along with having cultural values and beliefs that are misunderstood or discredited by dominant groups (Harris & Fiske, 2006; Kawakami et al., 2017).

Perception about personal responsibility influenced the severity of the attached stigma. If individuals identified as belonging to a stigmatized group were judged as willfully engaging in deviant behavior, the result was extremely negative expectations and situations, such as devaluation, rejection, and discrimination, along with lack of access to adequate housing, education, and healthcare (DeJong, 1980; Madon et al., 1997; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Pescosolido et al., 2008; Smith, 2012). Thus, one way that stigma has been defined is as a situation in which an individual is viewed by others as different, undesirable, or "tainted" (Goffman, 1963, p. 3) and is not fully accepted within society (Phelan et al., 2008). Although Goffman's (1963) stigma encompassed both the attributes and devalued situation of the stigmatized, by the 1980s, twenty years after Goffman brought the concept of stigma to the forefront, scholars began to emphasize the "situational nature of stigma" (Major & O'Brien, 2005, p. 394), which focused studies of stigma on low socio-economic status, poverty, academic underachievement, unemployment, and certain jobs like exotic dancing, to name a few situations (Link & Phelan, 2001).

Researchers began to take a multi-dimensional approach to defining stigma, moving away from Goffman's (1963) simplified concept of stigma as a discrediting attribute. Link and Phelan (2001) defined *stigma* as "the co-occurrence of [four] components—labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss and discrimination" (p. 363). According to their conception, first people labeled the differences they observed in others. Second, "dominant cultural beliefs" (p. 367) and stereotypes connected these labeled persons to negative characteristics. Third, the negatively labeled others (or "them") were separated into a category distinct from "us" (p. 370) and, therefore, were treated differently and given lower status. Fourth, discrimination and lowered status within the social hierarchy resulted in inequities and lack of access to opportunities. Finally, the labeled individuals who have little access to social or political power, experienced the weight of being rejected and excluded by those with the power to label (Link & Phelan, 2001).

The definition of stigma has evolved through the years since Goffman. Once viewed as a social mark of disgrace or a situation in which a group is devalued, stigma researchers discovered that the stigmatized condition was more complex than what Goffman (1963) had proposed, encompassing attitudes and perceptions of the dominant groups with the power to label and reject the stigmatized.

### **Stigma, Stereotypes, and Attributions**

Goffman (1963) used the term stigma "to refer to an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (p. 3). Merriam-Webster (n.d. b) defines *attribute* as "a quality, character, or characteristic ascribed to someone or something." When a person possessed a discredited

attribute or quality, according to Goffman, that person was viewed as tainted, or different from others. Goffman (1963) maintained that “a stigma was a special kind of relationship between [an] attribute and stereotype” (p. 4). Stereotypes are generalizations about features, traits, emotions, or socio-economic status that are associated with different groups of people. These characterizations can be “positive, negative, or neutral” (Kawakami et al., 2017, p. 35). Cuddy et al. (2009) found that stereotypes formed in societies based on two factors: the “basic survival need to identify friends or foes” and “status differences and competition for resources” (p. 2). Thus, stereotypes are part of a social power structure based on access to resources and status levels. According to Byrne (2000), stereotypes worked to support stigma by making it “easier to dismiss” (p. 66) those who are stigmatized. Consequently, if a group or individual possessed a particular physical or character trait, or an attribute, with an attached negative stereotype, then that group or individual was discredited or stigmatized and faced “varieties of discrimination” that “reduce his [*sic*] life chances” (Goffman, 1963, p. 5) within society.

Research has shown that “dominant cultural beliefs” connected stigmatized people to negative characteristics and separated them into a category, “them,” that was distinct from “us” (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 367). In other words, within societies, certain attitudes about importance, behaviors, social norms, and group membership arise and become the accepted ideology for its members. Shared cultural beliefs are used to define and label what is acceptable and what is not. The dominant stereotypes become “part of the social heritage” (Devine, 1989, p. 5) and are embedded within the cognitive processes of its members. These stereotypes are then associated with particular groups of people

without accounting for the individuality of each member (Caprariello et al., 2009; Kawakami et al., 2017). Then, based on societal stereotypes, certain groups are relegated to lowered status and discrimination, resulting in inequities, rejection, and exclusion of the stigmatized groups by those who have the power to label. Unfortunately, such embedded stereotypes can be subconscious, and they can be triggered when people are primed with labels related to a stigmatized group, which then activate the negative consequences (Devine, 1989; Bargh et al., 1996; Kawakami et al., 2017).

To maintain a sense of control over the social environment, dominant groups make attributions, either external (situational) or internal (individual disposition), based on negative stereotypes, which are used to predict or explain behaviors of outgroup members (Ramasubramanian, 2011). *Situational* attributions “implicate the environment” (Ybarra & Stephan, 1999, p. 718) as the mediating factor of behavior. *Dispositional* attributions “implicate the person” (Ybarra & Stephan, 1999, p. 718), or the person’s internal character, as the cause of behavior. Heider (1944) described attribution as similar to ascribing a color to a particular object as if it were an inherent quality of that object. A similar process is animism, or the personification of inanimate objects, a process in which children treat their toys as if they were human. However, when these attributional tendencies are applied to people, social perceptions can become distorted. “A bad act can become connected with a person . . . simply because he looks like he could have committed this crime” (Heider, 1944, p. 362). That person is then judged as bad simply based on looks (Rudman & McLean, 2016). Basic human physical features, such as the

face and skin color, can provoke an implicit categorizing of others and the perception of a stigma (Kawakami et al., 2017).

Negative stereotypes held against a stigmatized group are treated as internal character dispositions of individual members regardless of the fit of those stereotypes (Harris & Fiske, 2006; Heider, 1994; Kawakami et al., 2017). Stigmatized outgroup members are judged according to a dispositional characteristic, defining them as bad persons making bad choices regardless of situation. As a result, people may show less empathy toward outgroup members, or even have a sense of pleasure when outgroup members face a distressing occurrence (Kawakami et al., 2017). In contrast, the questionable behaviors of ingroup members in a similar situation are attributed to responses to an external situation and, therefore, not as an internal character flaw. Ingroup members are not defined as bad persons; rather it was the situation that caused the bad behavior. Thus, ingroup members gain more sympathy and are treated more favorably than outgroup members would be in similar situations (Kawakami et al., 2017).

Additionally, emotional conditions of the stigmatizer influenced the type of attributions assigned to others. In one study, anger led to “more stereotypical (negative) thoughts about outgroups” (Jackson et al., 2001, p. 32), while sadness led to less negative thoughts and more favorable conclusions about outgroup members. Consequently, researchers suggested that angry people were more likely to attribute negative behavior to personality, character, and disposition, but sad people were more likely to attribute negative behavior to an external situation.

## **Stigma and Dehumanization**

When Goffman (1963) described stigmatized individuals or groups as discredited, disgraced, tainted, deviant, abomination, and discounted, he also said they were considered as “not quite human” (p. 5) or as a “non-person” (p. 18). Goffman (1963) linked stigma with a “spoil[ed] social identity . . . cutting him [*sic*] off from society . . . [as] a discredited person facing an unaccepting world” (p. 19). But what impact does being cut off from normal society have?

Belonging is an important aspect of the human experience (Bastian & Haslam, 2010). When individuals or groups are excluded or cut off from society, ostracism can disrupt this sense of belonging on the part of both the stigmatized and stigmatizer; “denying others membership in a community . . . is a central aspect of treating them as less than human” (Bastian & Haslam, 2010, p. 107). Dehumanization “is the denial of ‘humanness’ to others,” indicating “stigmatization and stereotyping” (Cage et al., 2019, p. 2).

Research on dehumanization has focused on two dimensions of humanness: human uniqueness and human nature. The attributes of human uniqueness include “refinement, civility, morality” (Bastian & Haslam, 2010, p. 107), which distinguish a person from lower animals (Cage et al., 2019). Without human uniqueness, people are compared to animals and considered “child-like, immature . . . or backward” (Bastian & Haslam, 2010, p. 107; Haslam, 2006). Human nature attributes refer to “fundamental features of humanity, such as emotionality, agency, warmth and cognitive flexibility,”

which distinguish persons from “objects or machines” that are viewed as “cold, rigid, inert, and lacking emotion and agency” (Bastian & Haslam, 2010, p. 107; Haslam, 2006).

According to research, dominant individuals often associate dehumanized groups with lower creatures such as animals, so they are not entitled to certain human rights (Goff et al., 2014). This tendency to dehumanize certain groups is particularly salient in categorizing racial groups. Historically, Black people have been depicted “as apes, Jews as vermin, and American Indians as savages” (Costell & Hodson, 2009, p. 3). Thus, society looks upon certain devalued groups as unintelligent and incompetent and dehumanizes those groups, making them less than human and rendering them less likely to receive aid. Dehumanizing individuals allows societies to ignore or, worse, to treat the stigmatized as objects deserving exclusion from society (Harris & Fiske, 2011).

Dehumanizing others allows the advantaged or powerful groups to “disengage from disadvantaged group suffering” (Bruneau & Kteily, 2017, p. 1), which enables acts of atrocity such as genocide and slavery. Furthermore, blatant dehumanization is often connected with hostility and the inability to show empathy or compassion toward disadvantaged outgroups (Bruneau & Kteily, 2017). Dehumanization of others allows people to justify their own discriminatory behavior, giving them a “sense of superiority” (Haslam, 2006, p. 254) toward those who are stigmatized.

Dehumanization, along with moral outrage, has been shown to predict higher punishment for crimes (Bastian et al., 2013). For example, when Black criminals are associated with apes, they are viewed as less than human, lacking in human qualities, and more like animals or objects. As a result, in order to control them, more severe



punishment is needed, such as longer time behind bars regardless of the crime (Bastian et al., 2013). Simply possessing stereotypically Black facial features could result in longer prison sentences for a Black person than for a White person convicted of the same crime (Banks et al., 2006). Further, statistics show that Blacks are “four times more likely than Whites to die during an encounter with a law enforcement officer” (Banks et al., 2006, p. 1173).

Attitudes and behaviors that reflect a social dominance orientation (SDO) and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) have been associated with dehumanization. People with higher levels of these attitudes exhibited more dehumanization toward outgroups (Cage et al., 2019). In the mid-1990s, research began to uncover the attitudes and behaviors of those promoting inequality through dominance, or SDO, and the institutionalization of “systems of social inequality” (Ho et al., 2015, p. 1004; Pratto et al., 1994). SDO embraced a range of “group-relevant social ideologies, including political conservatism, . . . nationalism, patriotism, militarism, internal attributions for poverty, sexism, . . .” (Ho et al. 2015, p. 1004). Those with higher SDO levels tend to prefer societies with strong hierarchies to separate groups, which also promote social inequities (Costell & Hodson, 2009; Ho et al., 2015). In particular, higher social dominance orientation is correlated with higher levels of blatant dehumanization and old-fashioned racism (Ho et al., 2015).

Introduced in the late 1990s, the right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) scale measured attitudes that show unquestioned submission to authority, “aggression toward norm violators, and strict adherence to conventional norms and values” (Rattazzi et al.,

2007, p.1224). Those with higher RWA levels view the world as a dangerous place; strictly follow authority, traditions, and acceptable social norms; and are more aggressive toward those who threaten the status quo (Kteily et al., 2015). They prefer more traditional or conventional values and harsher punishment (Benjamin, 2006).

RWA tends to “focus on submission to in-group authority,” and “SDO focuses on dominance over out-groups” (Zakrisson, 2005, p. 864). Both social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism have been associated with “prejudice, ethnocentrism, homophobia” (Zakrisson, 2005, p. 864), and being more closed-minded (Akrami et al., 2006; Pratto et al., 1994). Those who measure high on both SDO and RWA tend to be “conservative, racist, ethnocentric, and prejudiced . . . with little empathy for lower status others” (Pratto et al., 1994, p. 744).

Although used to explain the exclusion consistent with stigma, dehumanization is “most often mentioned in relation to ethnicity, race, and related topics such as immigration and genocide” (Haslam, 2006, p. 252). Dehumanization was found to be “significantly associated with prejudice and perceived threat” (Kteily et al., 2015, p. 923). Through dehumanization, society is given permission to devalue certain groups of people, treating them as animals or machines and, thus, as undeserving of empathy, compassion, or aid (Bruneau & Kteily, 2017; Harris & Fiske, 2011; Haslam, 2006).

### **Stigma as a Social Process**

Brown et al. (2003), who studied AIDS stigma, argued that, while taking several forms—physical, characteristic and tribal—stigma can be a process in which negative perceptions are developed about particular persons or groups for having violated

expected social norms, resulting in their being labeled as deviant. In other words, stigma can be based on both the individual characteristic (form) that a person possesses and the development of negative attitudes (process) toward that person so that societal members label the person or group as deviant based on perceived social violations. Khan (2020) suggested that understanding this social process of stigma could provide an avenue to counteracting stigma by focusing on the social aspects rather than on individual behavior.

Yang et al. (2007) proposed that stigmas are constructed in a social context that “defines an attribute as devaluing” (p. 1525) and, thus, imposes that stigma on anyone with that attribute. Therefore, stigmas are created and enforced by dominant power groups. These dominant power groups create and institutionalize social, political, and cultural values and rules that govern and define social relationships so that stigmatizing certain groups becomes an accepted and normal part of the socialization process (Goffman, 1963; Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009; Pescosolido et al., 2008).

### **Implicit Attitudes**

Ottaway et al. (2001) defined attitudes as “favorable or unfavorable responses and/or biases to an object” (p. 99). Attitudes can be conscious or subconscious. Implicit attitudes, which are subconscious, are culturally shared and “represent introspectively unidentified traces of past experience that mediate favorable or unfavorable feeling, thought, or action toward social objects” (Dovidio et al., 1997, p. 511). Implicit attitudes surface without prior thought and are often described as “automatic affective reactions” (Smith & Nosek, 2011, p. 300) and focus more on “feelings and emotions” (Smith & Nosek, 2011, p. 308). Explicit attitudes are expressions of introspection and relate more

to “reasoned thoughts and beliefs” (Smith & Nosek, 2011, p. 308). Typically, people try to hide explicit negative attitudes under certain social situations. However, some attitudes may be internalized to the point where the individual doesn’t realize their existence until triggered and exposed by other associations (Ottaway et al., 2001).

Implicit attitudes, like subconsciously embedded stereotypes, are learned from socialization and can be triggered simply by the presence of stereotyped attributes and features, causing automatic biased responses in both dominant and stigmatized group members (Bargh et al., 1996; Devine, 1989; Stuber et al., 2008). As a result, those individuals who regard themselves as supporters of equality may still hold subconscious negative feelings or implicit attitudes about outgroups which are based on culturally shared and “unavoidable . . . sociocultural processes” (Dovidio et al., 1997, p. 512; Ottaway et al., 2001). In other words, those individuals raised in a particular society will have learned stigma categorizations through the socialization process without realizing it. Thus, subtle behaviors and negative attitudes may emerge during intergroup interactions through less than positive nonverbal cues triggered by negative stereotypes (Shelton et al., 2005).

Furthermore, political, social, and economic powers shape how stigma is distributed and displayed within communities (Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009). Powerless groups with few resources may be exploited by dominant groups, and societies that support these power imbalances develop ideologies that legitimize the inequality (Phelan et al., 2008). The dominant group defines what constitutes acceptable behavior and identity because they may benefit from stigmatizing others by controlling what is

deemed as deviant behavior and protecting themselves from perceived threats to power, status, economics, order, and health (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Phelan et al., 2008). Therefore, negative outgroup identities serve as a form of imposed artificial reality produced and maintained by powerful dominant groups.

Link and Phelan (2001) maintained that stigma can have a drastic effect on the lives of those marked by affecting their “life chances in such areas as earnings, housing, criminal involvement, and health” (p. 363). What makes stigma so persistent and powerful is the “range of mechanisms for achieving discriminatory outcomes” (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 379). Three general mechanisms include “individual discrimination, structural discrimination and discrimination that operates through the stigmatized person’s beliefs and behaviors” (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 379). These mechanisms involve many different ways in which the stigmatized are barred from resources and the ways they are “encouraged to believe that they should not enjoy full and equal participation” (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 380).

### **How Stigma is Communicated**

Goffman (1963) focused much of his work on the strategies used by the stigmatized to maneuver in a society where they find little acceptance, or what he called in the title of his book, . . . *The Management of Spoiled Identity*. Goffman (1963) divided people within a society into three categories from the perspective of the stigmatized: the normals, the wise, and the own. The *normals* are “those who do not depart negatively from the particular expectations” (Goffman, 1963, p. 5) of society. The *wise* may be related to the stigmatized or they come into regular contact with and are sympathetic to

the stigmatized. The *own* are those who share the same stigma. Because stigma is “communicated throughout a community” (Smith, 2012, p. 258), everyone understands the processes involved in order to protect the status quo.

Goffman (1963) argued that those viewed as normal, “often give no open recognition to what is discrediting” a stigmatized individual (p. 41). Yet, the normals have little problem discriminating and devaluing the stigmatized as a means to protect the community hierarchy (Smith, 2012). This non-recognition on the part of those considered normals also requires that the stigmatized act “as if the known differentness were irrelevant” (Goffman, 1963, p. 42). As a result, the burden of negotiating the social rules is placed on the stigmatized who must adhere to “advocated codes of conduct” on how they “ought to behave” (Goffman, 1963, p. 111), especially in the presence of those considered normal. Goffman (1963) suggested that “normals really mean no harm,” or they “don’t know better” (p. 116), leaving it up to the stigmatized “to act nicely” (p. 116), “to protect normals in various ways” (p. 119), and to show appreciation and to be tactful when normals are insensitive.

Goffman (1963) recommended that the stigmatized person should “voluntarily withhold himself from those situations” (p. 121) that would make a normal person uncomfortable. By doing so, everyone enacts their role in society as either normal or stigmatized, so the status quo in society is maintained, and the normal persons never have to “admit to themselves” (Goffman, 1963, p. 121) their own intolerance. With these ideas in mind, is it any wonder that Goffman did not mention in his book, *Stigma*, the civil rights movement and protests in the daily news of the 1960s.

Bresnahan and colleagues (2020) criticized Goffman for neglecting to identify “the perceptual mechanisms and communicative processes that are involved in the perception and enactment of stigma” (p. 395). They found specific strategies that people used to enforce the stigma against breastfeeding in public. Mothers who chose to breastfeed in public faced “disapproving looks, insults, and name-calling” (Bresnahan et al., 2020, p. 395) from passersby. Even though these mothers were acting within the law, they were still stigmatized. Negative attributions toward a person’s character, offensive labeling, dehumanizing, and questioning of morals were some of the communication themes Bresnahan and colleagues (2020) found in a search of comments posted on online forums. However, it is not only strangers who stigmatized others. Friends or family members, and even medical and other professionals engaged in stigmatizing discrimination, sometimes offering “unhelpful, annoying or discouraging messages” (Basinger et al., 2020, p. 45) to those with health stigmas such as diabetes.

When discussing stigma communication, Bresnahan and colleagues (2018) found that people “tend to mask their real attitudes or hold back expressions” (p. 220) that are considered politically incorrect. In their study, only 18 percent of participants voiced explicit disapproval of a college course on healthy body size representing all shapes and weights. Others used a strategy called “negative counterarguing” (Bresnahan et al., 2018, p. 225), first finding something to agree on, then providing contrasting arguments as to why the course should be rejected. Using this strategy would give the stigmatizer a “socially acceptable communication venue” (Bresnahan et al., 2018, p. 225) instead of appearing biased.

Rudman and McLean (2016) examined how people communicate and interact with outgroup members; they developed a measure called the “outgroup contact index” (p. 381) to examine the extent of contact people have with people from racial groups other than their own. Rudman and McLean (2016) asked participants three questions: “Who do you interact with most frequently; who do you have the most positive contact with; and who do you have the most meaningful contact with?” (p. 381). Participants also indicated the number of “friends, coworkers, mentors, doctors, or other healthcare professionals” (p. 381) who were from different racial groups. For the most part “White Americans reported having more contact with Whites than Blacks, but so did Black Americans” (Rudman & McLean, 2016, p. 387). This unbalanced contact had an impact on implicit attitudes. The Rudman and McLean (2016) research concluded that Whites significantly benefited from racial stereotypes, and when there is little opportunity for intergroup contact, the implicit stereotypes remain intact and help to bolster bias.

The researchers also found that minority groups who have been socialized in the United States may unwittingly judge their own members as less attractive than White people based on Western standards of beauty (Rudman & McLean, 2016). Exposure to mediated cultural messages on beauty compound this standard of attractiveness. For example, Rudman and McLean (2016) found that Black participants who “associated Whites with attractiveness . . . also showed pro-White bias” (p. 380). They concluded that some “minority group members devote considerable time, money and energy to looking White because it rewards them with social and financial benefits” (Rudman & McLean, 2016, p. 387).



Everett et al. (2015) examined the stigma faced by Muslim women in the United Kingdom, particularly when the women wore a traditional veil, or hijab, during job interviews. In their study, women who were easily identifiable as Muslim because of wearing a veil were subjected to negative emotions displayed by rudeness on the part of the participants. In fact, just looking at photos of Muslim women wearing veils provoked negative implicit bias toward the women. In the study, participants communicated how “angry, irritated and annoyed” (Everett et al., 2015, p. 93) they were toward Muslim women wearing a traditional veil. This study’s results showed “less positive emotions toward women wearing any kind of Muslim veil” (p. 93), and “more negative emotions toward veiled women” (p. 94).

In their studies, Everett et al. (2015) provided participants with an “imagined contact exercise” (p. 99) to assess the quality of contact a person might imagine when communicating with a person from a stigmatized group, such as a Muslim. Participants were asked: “How easy do you think you would find it to communicate with this person?” (p. 99). Participants also indicated the level of struggle they might feel when communicating with an outgroup member. These researchers found that participants’ perspectives were determined by the presence of a veil, showing “a negative bias toward any type of common Muslim veil relative to no veil” (p. 100). These results meant that certain clothing could trigger negativity to the point where participants are both rude and hostile, not because of the person before them, but because of the participants’ own prejudices toward the subject based on the subject’s clothing. This same conclusion can also apply to race and skin color.

## **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

Based on the above literature review regarding stigma, stereotyping, dehumanization, and racial attitudes as enacted and communicated in the United States, the following research questions are proposed:

RQ1: How do Americans view people of other races today?

RQ2: Do dominant (White) groups and minority (non-White) group members hold similar attitudes about minority (non-White) outgroups?

RQ3: Do dominant (White) group members and minority (non-White) group members differ in their judgments toward minority (non-White) outgroup members?

RQ4: Do dominant (White) group members and minority (non-White) group members differ in their intergroup communication with those not of their own racial group?

The following hypotheses are predicted:

H1: The majority of White participants, as compared to non-White participants, will report more traditional racial attitudes toward those of other minority (non-White) racial groups.

H2: Participants who report higher (a) social dominance, (b) authoritarian, and (c) racist attitudes will stigmatize members of minority (non-White) outgroups more than those who have lower social dominance, authoritarian, and racist attitudes respectively.

H3: White participants are more likely than non-White participants to report minority groups as less human than (dominant) White groups.

H4: Non-White participants, as compared to White participants, will report other minority (non-White) outgroups as less human than White groups.

H5: White participants will report (a) less outgroup communication, which is also (b) less positive or (c) less meaningful, than non-White group members will report.

H6: Non-White participants will report greater comfort than White participants in communicating with persons from other racial backgrounds.

H7: Non-White participants will report more intergroup contact than White participants with other racial group members.

### **Stereotypes and the Media**

The use of stereotypes in the media exacerbate the situation for stigmatized groups. Pyke and Johnson (2003) called these media-based stereotypes *controlling images*. Generated by people from dominant groups, controlling images define subordinate group members as inferior, privilege whiteness as superior and normal, and serve to justify racial oppression. Rajgopal (2010) found that “anti-Asian propaganda” (p. 141) and other stereotypes typical in mass media presentations in the United States, and the “othering” (p. 142) of different immigrant groups, served to “brainwash the American public” (p. 150). According to Goffman (1963), stigma and negative stereotypes are fundamentally intertwined. As a component of the social power structure, stereotypes

support stigma by making it easier to discredit, disempower, and exclude a group or individual from resources (Byrne, 2000; Cuddy et al., 2009).

Ramasubramanian (2011) considered the impact on audiences of continued exposure to media misrepresentations of people of color, arguing that with few representations of African Americans and other minority characters in the media, there was little to counteract negative stereotypes, so some audience members may unconsciously accept the stereotypes as accurate. Repeated exposure to long-standing negative stereotypes could shape viewers' attitudes toward minority group members to the extent that public policies are affected and institutionalized discrimination continues unchecked.

For many people, their only acquaintance with marginalized others is through media portrayals. These portrayals shape audiences' understandings of the world around them and can serve to either legitimize discriminatory practices or promote engagement. Because racial stereotypes are so pervasive in society, "even subtle racial cues in the media are sufficient to activate racial attitudes that influence decision-making without requiring conscious effort" (Ramasubramanian, 2011, p. 499).

Network news, on television in particular, has been cited for creating a "version of the social world" (Dixon et al., 2010, p. 501) that represented Blacks as dangerous criminals, so that "Black males are widely perceived as animal-like and criminally inclined" (Parham-Payne, 2014, p. 756). Researchers found that during TV news reports, "Whites were 35 times more likely to appear as officers compared to African Americans," and "Blacks were twice as likely to be portrayed as perpetrators than as

victims and . . . 17 times more likely to appear as perpetrators than as officers” (Dixon et al., 2010, p. 512). By perpetuating a danger stereotype in its representations, the media can affect the way people perceive certain groups of people. When the negative stereotype is activated through association with a stigmatized individual, the result is an increase in “the likelihood that this knowledge will be used in subsequent judgments” (Dixon et al., 2010, p. 501).

Research has shown that when novice participants read a newspaper article in which Blacks are reported as criminals, the readers exhibited more “pronounced racial bias;” and “when they read about White criminals, the bias was eliminated” (Sim et al., 2013, p. 291; Correll et al., 2007). On the other hand, undergraduate students and police officers trained in first-person shooter tasks were not affected by the news story manipulation. But when the realities of everyday experiences brings race to the foreground, and stereotypes “reinforced the association between Blacks and danger, training did not seem to attenuate bias” (Sim et al., 2013, p. 300). Researchers concluded that “American society associates violence with Blacks (more than Whites) and showed greater behavioral bias” toward people as a group rather than taking into account individual differences (Correll et al., 2006, p. 125).

Newspapers have been found to have limitations in their reporting that is culturally bound. Choices about what is newsworthy and the generating of dramatic headlines are often precipitated by “the production and reproduction of racial and gendered stereotypes” (Shon, 2012, p. 253). With Asians, newspapers have specifically produced narratives that emphasize “their foreign-born-alien-status while deemphasizing

their status as Americans” (Shon, 2012, p. 257), thereby perpetuating the immigrant representation “constructed and exploited to vilify, criminalize, and differentiate the yellow peoples as the ‘Other’—to exclude them from becoming American” (Shon, 2012, p. 257).

Thus, negative stereotypes of Asians and Blacks continually reinforced in the media are activated so that Blacks and Asians are dehumanized during their everyday experiences with those belonging to other racial groups. Although these researchers focused specifically on racial biases, the results can be used to identify the biases of racial stigma. Based on the impact of the media on human perceptions, the following research question is proposed:

RQ5: Do the media have a different influence on dominant (White) groups as compared to minority (non-White) group members in the reinforcement of social stigmas?

And the following hypotheses are proposed:

H8: White participants are more likely than non-White participants to report that they learned more about other races from media sources than from interpersonal sources.

H9: Participants who read a negative news story will assign greater punishment to racial outgroups than to their own groups.

### **Modern Stigma Conceptualizations**

Because of the complexity of definitions, Link and Phelan (2001) claimed that the concept of stigma is “too vaguely defined and individually focused” (p. 363). Major and

O'Brien (2005) concurred that stigma needs to be conceptualized within a power situation where processes of "labeling, negative stereotyping and exclusion" (p. 395) can occur and take hold. Bresnahan and Zhuang (2015) argued that Goffman "offered no plan for studying stigma systematically" (p. 233). A single set of stigma measures had not been developed to encompass the many different types of stigma conditions.

More than 50 years ago, Goffman (1963) took a narrow approach to understanding stigma, proposing three stigma categories: physical, character, and tribal. He provided anecdotal examples of people who fit under each category. Goffman's physical stigma category examples (blindness, deformities, hearing impairment, and other health issues and disabilities) made up 43 percent of the total examples mentioned in his book. Character stigma category examples (criminals, homosexuals, mental patients, alcoholics, prostitutes, and addicts) made up 47 percent of the total, and tribal category examples (ethnic, racial, religious groups) comprised only 11 percent of the examples Goffman mentioned. Thus, almost 90 percent of the examples Goffman used to explain the concept of stigma referred to the physical and character categories.

By the 1990s, the study of stigma concentrated primarily on two of Goffman's categories: physical and character. The scope of research of the stigma concept narrowed to a health issue resulting primarily from behavioral choices (character) instead of a stigma based solely on physical characteristics that developed because of a disease.

### **Measuring Stigma**

Not all stigma researchers used the same components in their studies, choosing to develop different components or dimensions depending on the type of stigma studied.

This lack of agreement on what should be measured as part of the stigma construct has hampered stigma research (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011). But, similarities across stigma conditions showed the possibility of developing a standard framework for stigma assessment (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2015).

Noticing that researchers had independently formulated 27 different dimensions of stigma, Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) found many of the dimensions overlapped and measured the same ideas. Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) examined the many dimensions statistically for validity and reliability, and discovered five conceptually distinct dimensions for measuring HIV stigma. These five dimensions of stigma included “labeling, negative attribution, separation (distancing), status loss, and controllability” (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011, p. 421). Labeling referred to using harmful descriptions against those who were stigmatized. Negative attributions reflected tainted character traits that were displayed by poor judgments made by the stigmatized. Distancing involved others separating themselves from people who were stigmatized. Status loss referred to the assigning to a lowered social position that disempowered those who were stigmatized. Controllability assessed whether people thought the stigmatized could have avoided the condition but made bad or risky choices.

Although validating the multi-dimensional approach to studying stigma, Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) emphasized the need to develop measures that could test “an integrated theory of stigma” that could be applied across conditions to unify “this field of investigation” (p. 427). (See Appendix A for a list of the dimensions and items included in Bresnahan & Zhuang’s five dimensions of stigma).



At the start of the 21st century, stigma research began to increase and encompass further constructs, examining both the condition and the social structure that enforced the stigma (Yang et al., 2007). Brown et al. (2003) advanced Goffman's definition of stigma, but they confined their study to a specific health issue: AIDS and HIV. Brown et al. (2003) recognized the interdependency of discrimination and stigma, yet they separated stigma from "discrimination and human rights" (p. 50). They proposed that HIV stigma was a multi-layered process that included both group membership and behavior that is outside of social norms. Some health issues and controversies researched as stigma include diabetes (Basinger et al., 2020), epilepsy (Li et al., 2010), lung cancer (Bresnahan et al., 2013), mental illness (Byrne, 2000; Conner et al., 2010; Pescosolido et al., 2008), appearance stigma (Rudman & McLean, 2016), breast-feeding in public (Bresnahan et al., 2020), and HIV and AIDs in India (Khan, 2020).

Conner et al. (2010) researched depression from both a stigma and race viewpoint. However, mental illness, depression and their respective treatments were viewed as the stigmatized condition in their study. The researchers considered patients' race as a contributing factor in decision making, not as an overlapping stigma. The Conner et al. (2010) study examined how people of different races dealt with the stigma of mental illness, but did not consider that race was an additional stigma that overlapped mental health stigma and may have compounded access to treatment in more complex ways.

Some researchers have begun to consider how stigma has impacted religious affiliation. Kunst et al. (2012) studied religious stigma against Muslims in Norway and

Germany, and the effect on individuals who identified as Muslim in each country. They found that religious stigma made it more difficult for Muslims to integrate as citizens. When Everett et al. (2015) researched the stigma of wearing Muslim veils, they found that wearing a Muslim veil during a job interview could adversely affect a woman's chances of being hired. Their conclusion was that "emotions, more so than stereotypes consistently and strongly predict attitudes toward outgroups" (Everett et al., 2015, p. 93). However, their explanation throughout used the words "prejudice against Muslims" (Everett et al., 2015, p. 100), and not stigma, to describe the discriminating attitudes and behaviors against "individuals who are visibly identified as Muslim" (p. 100), because of wearing a non-Christian religious artifact.

### **Stigma and Prejudice Studies**

Noticing that research on stigma and prejudice appeared to overlap, Phelan et al. (2008) examined literature and conceptual models of stigma and prejudice beginning from 1955 to 2005. More than three-quarters of the articles were published after 1995. Phelan et al. (2008) found that stigma models focused on targets, whereas prejudice models emphasized perpetrators. The actions and attitudes of discrimination and prejudice emanated from the perpetrators. The targets of these negative actions were the stigmatized (Phelan et al., 2008). In 92 % of the 162 stigma-based articles, researchers "dealt with illness, disability or behavioral or identity deviance," with only "6% of stigma articles dealing with race, ethnicity, or gender" (Phelan et al., 2008, p. 361). On the other hand, in 62 % of the 139 prejudice articles, researchers focused on "race or ethnicity" (Phelan et al., 2008, p. 361). Phelan et al. (2008) found that race-related issues were no

longer studied as stigmas; instead they were studied as expressions of prejudice. As a result, racial issues were examined with an emphasis on the perpetrators rather than from the viewpoint of the targets.

*Prejudice* has been defined as “antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization,” and it is “felt or expressed” (Phelan et al., 2008, p. 358) toward an individual or a group. Prejudice is displayed in the levels of “nonverbal friendliness, eye contact and blinking, speaking tone, hesitations, and interpersonal distance” (Kawakami et al., 2017, p.46) when communicating with an individual. Subtle prejudice is expressed in ways considered socially acceptable to show a defense of negative attitudes toward outgroups. Blatant prejudice, on the other hand, is revealed in “open and direct rejection of outgroups” (Rattazzi et al., 2007, p. 1224). Thus, prejudice is viewed as the thought or action against someone or some group, whereas stigma is viewed as the negative social situation of the recipient of the prejudice.

Goffman’s (1963) tribal category of race has been decoupled from the concept of stigma. Research on stigma has focused on mental and physical disabilities, whereas research on prejudice has dealt mostly with race and ethnicity (Phelan et al., 2008). Prejudice studies grew out of concern with exploitation from the dominant group, whereas stigma studies followed disease avoidance and social norms that the stigmatized had to navigate (Stuber et al., 2008). However, the terms used in some ethnic-based prejudice studies to describe minority groups were Goffman (1963) stigma terms: “abnormal behavior that violated moral standards . . . and deviated from basic common sense” (Smith et al., 2013, p. 322).

After their examination of 50 years of research, Phelan et al. (2008) concluded that stigma and prejudice models referred to the same social marginalization faced by outgroup members, whether it was because of physical or mental health issues, or because of racial issues. Prejudice (race and ethnicity) and stigma (disability, disease, mental health) referred to the same social situation, suggesting that people of minority races faced stigmas that result in negative prejudicial behaviors directed toward them.

Stuber et al. (2008) concurred. They argued that stigma research focused on internalizing behavior “to the exclusion of interpersonal and structural forms of prejudice and discrimination” (p. 352), so important aspects of the stigmatization process as a whole were missing. Prejudice research has focused on the various forms of discrimination without considering the “stigma-related processes” and structural forces that contribute to negative outcomes (Stuber et al., 2008, p. 352). Stuber et al. (2008) concluded that it was important to bridge the two research traditions, to combine the study of power, discrimination, and oppression (prejudice) with the stigma processes of social devaluation.

Based on the impact of new thoughts on stigma, the following research question is proposed:

RQ6: How does racism relate to social stigma?

And the following hypothesis is predicted:

H10: Measures for racism and stigma will correlate highly.

## **Criticisms to Goffman's Stigma**

Goffman has been criticized for not providing a framework for a scientific study of stigma and for neglecting to clearly identify the social and communication mechanisms that reinforce the maintenance of stigma conditions (Bresnahan et al., 2020; Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2015; Zhu & Smith, 2016). Furthermore, research on stigma has glaring gaps. In a review of research on stigma and prejudice, Stuber et al. (2008) suggested that researchers tended to work on either stigma or prejudice, but not both. Stigma research studied people with conditions, such as deformities, HIV or AIDS, or mental challenges. Prejudice research focused on “exploitation and domination such as racism” (Stuber et al., 2008, p. 352). Thus, the two research traditions developed along different tracks. These researchers concluded that it was important to bridge the two research traditions, to combine the study of power, discrimination, and oppression (prejudice) with the stigma processes of social devaluation.

Tyler (2018) criticized Goffman's lack of engagement with the current social and political climate of his time in the 1960s, stating Goffman was “particularly interested in how social order is maintained” (p. 748). At the time of his writing his book on stigma, Goffman was a professor at the University of California at Berkley. Students at the college were protesting racial discrimination, and homes were flooded with television news reports that showed heinous racial discrimination and injustice in the South. According to Tyler (2018), Goffman apparently remained unaffected by these events of anti-Black racism, and “excludes questions of how social relations are structured through power” (p. 750) in his book on stigma. Tyler (2018) claimed that Goffman's writings on

stigma were “not informed by a concern over the plight of disadvantaged groups” (p. 752) but were meant to advise the stigmatized to cease challenges that might “discomfort” clueless “normals” (p.757) because protests disrupted the current social status quo.

A content analysis of Goffman’s book (1963) revealed that only about 11 percent of his book contained information about the tribal stigma category of race. He mentioned the “Negro” six times. Even then, the mentions were within the context of how others interacted with them, such as the “good English of an educated northern Negro” (Goffman, 1963, p. 44), or “Negros often have to act like clowns in front of the ‘superior’ white race, so that the white man shall not be frightened by his black brother” (p. 110). Asians were mentioned only once in Goffman’s book, which discussed a Chinese man without pigtails as a sign of acculturation. Missing were any mention of Japanese Americans forcibly removed from California during World War II, or the Mexican Americans and Native Indigenous Americans who also experienced discrimination in California and throughout the United States.

Tyler and Slater (2018) affirmed the influence of Goffman’s (1963) stigma concept on modern understandings. However, they also found limitations in his interpretation of this social construct and suggested that “reconceptualizing stigma might assist in developing better understandings . . . of problems of social decomposition, inequality and injustice” (Tyler & Slater, 2018, p. 721), particularly in dealing with mental health issues. Tyler and Slater (2018) explained that most stigma researchers focused on stigma as displayed in a social context and how stigmatized groups navigated

those contexts. However, they neglected to study stigma “as a means of formal social control” (Tyler & Slater, 2018, p 721) and how authorities or institutions might “activate stigma to ‘nudge’ people into desired patterns of behavior” (p. 732). For Tyler and Slater (2018) questions regarding the origination, production, and resistance of stigma attitudes, and how stigma impacts “social, political, and economic functions” (p. 736) need to be examined.

Kusow (2004) argued that stigma research needed to investigate the “role of the historical and cultural contexts” (p. 180) that work in creating stigma categorization. According to Kusow (2004), changes in a country’s racial demographics especially from non-Western immigration, requires revisiting “Goffman’s ‘tribal stigma of race’” (p. 195). Tyler (2018) argued that it was important during our time to understand “the relationship between racism, stigma and power” (p. 760). Bringing “racism and anti-racist scholarship . . . to the understandings of stigma not only enriches its utility as an analytic for understanding racism, but also other forms of dehumanization” (Tyler, 2018, p. 761).

### **Summary**

The proposed research questions and hypotheses of this dissertation are formulated to address whether Goffman’s (1963) stigma concept is still relevant in the 21st century, specifically the tribal stigma category of race. Although the term stigma carries with it negative connotations, its definition has been revised over the years to include not only individual traits, but also social context and power relationships within a given society. The powerful within each community set the rules for social norms

regarding acceptable characteristics, traits, and behaviors. Any group outside of the social boundaries of acceptability is viewed as abnormal or deviant.

Today, stigma is thought of as a social construct in which powerless groups are separated from normal interactions within society because of characteristics and behaviors that are considered negative or abnormal by the dominant social groups within a society. The severity of the impact of a stigma on an individual would depend on the amount of negativity associated with the particular stigma, the ability to hide it from others, and the attitudes of the social groups within which they exist. Negative character traits are perceived as a function of, or consequence of, choice on the part of an individual with a stigma.

Regardless of category, stigmatized groups are members of a society that are outside of the dominant group and are considered deviant or devalued (Crocker & Major, 1989). Racial minorities, people with physical deformities, the disabled, and the mentally challenged are a few of the groups that are stigmatized and often disadvantaged by institutionalized discrimination (Crocker & Major, 1989). Those with mental or physical diseases constitute a large group of stigmatized individuals (Phelan et al., 2008). Some physical stigmas, such as those associated with obesity, are perceived as originating from flawed character traits in which the individual is held responsible to creating their condition (DeJong, 1980). Thus, some individuals could be the target of overlapping stigmas that include physical, character, and tribal attributes.

Stuber et al. (2008) found that when race studies veered off from stigma research, it had “more to do with different subjects of interest rather than any real conceptual



difference” (p. 351). Thus, they concluded that the “social processes of stigma and prejudice were quite similar” (p. 352) and needed to be linked through research. Instead of focusing on the mark of negative stereotypes and the devaluing of groups, Stuber et al. (2008) recommended also researching the “dominance and oppression, and struggles of power and privilege” (p. 353) faced by marginalized groups and normally researched in prejudice and race studies.

Additionally, Tyler (2018) considered “stigma as another name for racism” (p. 753). To answer the question of race as stigma, it is necessary to consider the concept of race, its origins, and its impact on the social, economic, and political status of various groups of people as will be discussed in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER 3

#### THE RISE OF RACE

The cry for racial justice and an end to systemic racism sounded again throughout the United States in 2020 with protests over the deaths of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor, Black Americans who were killed by White police officers. Activist Samantha Rise said in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, “Not being killed by police isn’t the minimum. But actually [it’s] that Black histories and Black futures matter” (Goodin-Smith et al., 2020, para. 8). Racial discrimination in “housing, employment, education, and health” (Goodin-Smith, et al., 2020. para. 7) also needed solutions to provide racial equity. The reigniting of the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic brought new discussions on the topics of race, systemic racism, and the need for social justice for people of color (Berry, 2020). Then, hate crimes against Asian Americans became national news in 2021 with the mass shooting and murder of six Asian American women in Atlanta, Georgia (Gynn & Bajak, 2021).

Hate crimes against people of color are significant in the United States. (Kawakami et al., 2017; Rudman & McLean, 2016). The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported an increase in violent hate crimes in 2019, “with more than 7,000 hate crimes reported . . . [even with] a massive underreporting problem” (Allam, 2020, para. 2, 10). Coinciding with the increase in hate crime numbers was a 55 percent rise in the number of White nationalist groups from the year 2017 to 2019 (Arango, 2020). An FBI

(2020, para. 3, 5) report on hate crimes revealed the following statistics on victims and offenders during 2019:

[Victims]

- 57.6% were targeted because of the offenders' race/ethnicity/ancestry bias;
- 20.1% were targeted because of the offenders' religious bias.

[Offenders]

- Of the 6,406 known offenders, 52.5% were White, and
- 23.9% were Black or African American.

Although “Blacks are still the No. 1 target” (Arango, 2020) of hate crimes, the FBI (2020) report pointed to increases in hate crimes against Jews, Latinos, transgender individuals, and Asia Americans.

Because the spread of the COVID-19 virus was continually connected to China through racist rhetoric, hate crimes against Asians living in the United States skyrocketed almost 150 percent during 2020, according to an NBC News report (Yam, 2021).

Although authorities in Atlanta refused to label the March 16, 2021, mass shooting of six Asian American women as a hate crime, “experts say the killings are inextricably linked to racism and hate,” according to a *USA Today* article (Guynn & Bajak, 2021, para. 8).

Queens College (New York) sociology professor Anahi Viladrich said in the article, “Hate and stigma against Asian-American populations have gone viral during the COVID-19 pandemic” (Guynn & Bajak, 2021, para. 9), blaming social media for adding fuel to hate speech and propelling the hate into real-world consequences. Viladrich connected the racial hate to stigma, the social process which separates people into a

category of *them*, not *us*, providing justification to devalue and mistreat the stigmatized (Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009; Link & Phelan, 2001; Yang et al., 2007).

The 3,795 incidents of reported hate crimes against Asian Americans is only a small number compared to the actual discriminatory actions that go unreported, according to a Poynter Institute report (Sherman, 2021). “Verbal harassment and shunning—the deliberate avoidance of Asian Americans—made up the two largest” types of incidents (Sherman, 2021, para. 21). “Racist insults and accusations of bringing the virus to the United States [were] directed at Asian Americans while they were shopping, using public transportation or online,” according to a Stop AAPI (Asian American and Pacific Islander) Hate report (Sherman, 2021, para. 22).

Racism is more than an outdated concept that ended with the 1960s civil rights movements (Feagin, 2010). Overt and subtle discriminatory practices not only sustain the privilege and power of dominant groups, but also cause immeasurable misery for people of color in America. Discrimination creates barriers to fair housing, healthcare, education, and employment opportunities for Black Americans and other non-White groups. As indicated in some reports, experts are beginning to look at racial discord as a result of stigma (Guynn & Bajak, 2021). Tyler (2018) considered “stigma as another name for racism” (p. 753). Goffman (1963) was on the right track when including race as a tribal stigma in his conceptualization; however, he neglected to explore the implications of race and racism even while in the middle of the 1960s civil rights movement. According to Tyler (2018), Goffman’s main focus was on maintaining the current social order.

As America is again faced with another civil rights movement with race as a central component, it is important to take a closer look at Goffman's (1963) tribal stigma of race, "the historical and cultural contexts" (Kusow, 2004, pp. 179-180) surrounding race and racism in the United States, and the "relationship between racism, stigma and power" (Tyler, 2018, p. 760). The increase in racial discord and hate crimes are an indication that current social attitudes and beliefs render race as an invisible and discounted, yet powerful stigma category. This dissertation asks whether stigma is an important and crucial concept for understanding race relations. To answer this question, it is important to understand the meaning of race, racism, and related concepts.

### **Race Defined**

Struggle over the meaning of *race* matters because the welfare of diverse communities are in jeopardy in the current social climate. According to Goffman (1963), in the United States, only White bodies were deemed normal, and only if there were no physical deformities or mental issues. From this perspective, Brown and Black people could be discredited, discounted, devalued, and tainted as deviant, abnormal, non-persons excluded and stigmatized simply because they were not White (Crocker & Major, 1989; Goffman, 1963).

Today, there are different and competing ideas about the concepts of race, ethnicity, and culture, common terms used to classify humans. Merriam-Webster (n.d. c) defines *race* as "any one of the groups that humans are often divided into based on physical traits regarded as common among people of shared ancestry." In a *National Geographic* article, race is defined as "a category of humankind that shares certain

distinctive physical traits” (Blakemore, 2019, para. 1). These definitions link the word *race* to inherited physical traits that are based on biology (Bryce, 2020).

Sometimes race and ethnicity are used to describe the same human condition, however they are separate concepts (Bryce, 2020). Ethnicity is defined as “large groups of people classed according to common racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic, or cultural origin or background” (Blakemore, 2019, para. 1). This definition links ethnicity to socialization within a community, where a person is born and raised, rather than to ancestry alone.

According to Nina Jablonski, an anthropologist at The Pennsylvania State University, many people today think of race as an inherited biological combination of “physical, behavioral, and cultural attributes,” whereas ethnicity is about acquired differences based “mostly on the basis of language and shared culture” (Bryce, 2020, para. 3). Although race is often linked to biological traits and the inherited physical human form, both race and ethnicity are socially constructed ideas used to categorize people into separate groups.

The U.S. Census Bureau (2020a) follows a 1997 standard that uses a socially constructed definition of race when collecting information that identifies people into a minimum of five racial categories: White; Black or African American; American Indian or Alaska Native; Asian; and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (para. 1-6). The U.S. Census Bureau (2020b) reports Hispanic or Latino as an ethnicity, not a race.

For the U.S. Census Bureau (2020a) in the 21st century, race is not about biology or genetics, but about socially constructed identifications based on “racial and national

origin or sociocultural groups” (para. 10). Using these classifications, the U.S. Census Bureau (n.d.), separated the population in the United States in 2019 into the following racial and ethnic groups:

- White alone, 76.3%
- Black alone, 13.4%
- American Indian and Alaskan Native alone, 1.3%
- Asian alone, 5.9%
- Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, .02%
- Two or more races, 2.8%
- Hispanic or Latino, 18.5%
- White alone, not Hispanic or Latino, 60.1%. (Quick facts)

Although people who identified as belonging to the White race classification are the largest group, new estimates for the 2020 census showed a rise in numbers for racial minorities, with most of those under 16 years of age identifying with a racial minority group, but a decline in the number of Whites nationwide for the third year in a row (Frey, 2020). This population shift indicates that the United States is becoming more racially and ethnically diversified, especially among the younger age groups.

Yet how meaningful are these socially constructed classifications? The categories of races structured hierarchically in the United States have resulted in “vastly different socioeconomic realities for different groups . . . higher levels of poverty for minority groups, poorer access to education and healthcare, and greater exposure to crime, environmental injustices and other social ills” (Bryce, 2020, “More than a social

construct” section, para. 2). Thus, racial categories matter because they can have a detrimental effect on the living conditions of those categorized into non-White groups. This detrimental effect is an indication of a social stigma embedded in the social power structure in which those who are categorized as non-White are excluded from full access to resources (Byrne, 2000; Goffman, 1963; Link & Phelan, 2001).

### **Race and Biology**

Ancestry and physical traits are significant factors in determining racial groups in the United States, as indicated by current definitions. However, because of the discovery of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) in 1953, and subsequent genetic research, scientists have concluded that all humans regardless of racial category shared more than “99 percent of their genetic material” (Blakemore, 2019, “The politics of race” section; DNA Worldwide, n.d.). For example, researchers discovered that “Europeans and Asians share almost the same set of genetic variations” (Bryce, 2020, “The basis of ‘races’” section, para. 5), making any genetic comparisons between the two racial categories useless and meaningless.

Research showed that the idea of “five races” only somewhat described the distribution of humans around the earth, and was based on location, not biology (Chou, 2017, “New findings in genetics” section). A 2002 Stanford study found no evidence of distinct and separate human races with unique genetic identities (Chou, 2017). In other words, “race has no basis in fundamental human biology” (Philipsen, 2003, p. 194). As a result, skin color, hair texture, facial features are superficial, and “do not make one group



smarter or nicer than another” (Philipsen, 2003, p. 194). And, yet these visual physical cues are the factors used to identify the racial category of most Americans (Bryce, 2020).

The conclusion by biologists and social scientists today is that *race* is a constructed idea, a social reality, not a biological certainty. Instead scientists are beginning to use the term *ancestry* when talking about physical differences among humans (Chou, 2017). It is a person’s ancestry and genetic makeup that have a connection to the geographical location of their ancestors.

### **Race, Culture, and Religion**

Showing the connection between race, culture, and religion, Rana (2007) discussed the use of a multicultural “concept of culture and ethnicity” as a replacement for race in “analyzing difference and identity” (p. 149). Although the term *culture* is sometimes used as a stand-in or replacement for the term *race*, the two are different concepts. Culture is the lived experience of a group of people, their customs and collective knowledge, and may have little connection to racial category, physical traits, or ancestry (Wood, 2015). However, differences in cultural values, practices, and beliefs can sometimes be the basis for negative stereotypes and stigmas.

Religion could be used by racists in demonstrating the inferiority of Islam and Muslims, the subjects of Rana’s (2007) research. Race and religion overlapped in “the figure of the Muslim,” as “a threat to White Christian supremacy” (Rana, 2007, p. 150), much in the same way that Native Americans were a threat in the past. In other words, the taken-for-granted racial other was also considered a religious other. In this context, fear of non-Christian religions combined with racial differences creating a “complex

racial economy” (Rana, 2007, p. 158) that validated the exclusion, or stigmatization, of Muslims and other minority racial groups. And, although Muslims come from diverse locations on many continents, they are conceptualized “into one racial group” (Rana, 2007, p. 158) based on a supposed similar religious background.

### **Race as a Social Expression**

Looking at race as a social and political project, Omi and Winant (1994) defined *race* as “a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies” (p. 55). In other words, the basis for pronouncing certain human physical traits as superior, or acceptable, was found in the social and political dynamics of a society. The same was said about stigma by Goffman (1963), who stated that stigma was part of a “social reality” (p. 137). Goffman (1963) declared that “the stigmatized and the normal [were part of] a pervasive two-role social process” and neither group was confined to concrete individuals, “but rather perspectives . . . generated in social situations during mixed contacts” (p. 138). Thus, it was the social reality, and not the individuals alone, that defined who was acceptable and who was stigmatized.

Likewise, racial classifications were formulated in “historically situated projects” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 55) and embedded in the social and cultural structures of a society through power and domination. According to Leonardo (2004), “race is an organizing principle that cuts across class, gender, and other imaginable social identities” (p. 140). Thus, racial classifications are used to “structure social relationships (of power, inequality, solidarity, etc.)” (Omi & Winant, 2013, p. 963).

Almost 70 years ago biologists discovered definitive genetic evidence of the existence of one race, the human race, not multiple races of humans. However, even with scientific and biological discoveries about the human form, people in general are skeptical. “American culture in all its facets, including liberal arts education, tends to nourish . . . misperceptions about race” (Philipsen, 2003, p. 195). And, outdated ideas about race still inflame bias, prejudice, discrimination, and hate crimes against minority groups (Blakemore, 2019). People still use the outdated definition of race even though scientific evidence proved the definition to be invalid.

To understand the continued struggle over race, it is important that race be considered within the context of the historical and economic power structure (Bryce, 2020). The next section briefly discusses the history and development of racial ideology in the United States. Although significant research is available on the topics of race, racism, and theories about race, the following section provides only a short glimpse into the long contentious history of race, racial division, and oppression. The basic information provides an historical backdrop needed to understand how stigma, race, and racism are linked, and calls upon the scholarship of stigma researchers Goffman (1963), Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011), Link and Phelan (2001), and Lenhardt (2004) to provide the links between the concepts.

### **A Brief History of Race and Racism in the United States**

For millennia, race had not been a commonly used word or a topic of concern for humans, until about 400 years ago. The use of the term *race* is relatively new compared to the term *stigma*, which the ancient Greeks used as early as the 6th century B.C. to

describe the mark of a slave (Arboleda-Florez, 2002; Tyler, 2020). The term *race* has undergone a transformation in meaning since its early historical usage. The Smithsonian says the following about the concept of race in the United States:

Race is a human-invented, shorthand term used to describe and categorize people into various social groups based on characteristics like skin color, physical features, and genetic heredity. Race, while not a valid biological concept, is a real social construction that gives or denies benefits and privileges. American society developed the notion of race early in its formation to justify its new economic system of capitalism, which depended on the institution of forced labor, especially the enslavement of African peoples. To more accurately understand how race and its counterpart, racism, are woven into the very fabric of American society, we must explore the history of how race, white privilege, and anti-blackness came to be. (National Museum of African American History & Culture [NMAAHC], n.d., para. 2)

The history of race is a description of the social processes by which non-White groups of people were assigned a stigmatized status in America. The colonization of new American lands, often violently appropriated from indigenous natives, and the exploitation of slave labor were “foundational in establishing processes that separate humanity into distinct groups and in placing those groups into a larger hierarchy . . . [based on] a racialized social structure” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 721).

The terms *race* and *White* were first used in the 1500s by Western Europeans who colonized America (NMAAHC, n.d.). But, the word *race* has changed since then, when it referred to “groups of people with a kinship or group connection” (NMAAHC, n.d., para. 1). Prior to the mid-1660s, most Europeans did not call themselves *White*. Only high-born, rich English women were designated as *White* because their untanned light (white) skin was evidence of their high social status which freed them from any labor outdoors. But, with the emancipation of the African American slaves in the late 1800s, more people

of Anglo-Saxon descent started to use the term *White* to describe themselves, as a boundary that separated them from people of color (NMAAHC, n.d.).

By the late 1600s, slavery of Africans became the “primary source of forced labor” (NMAAHC, n.d., “The Historical Evolution” section, para. 4) in America, and the words *race* and *White* began to take on new meaning. It was at this time that the stigma approaches of labeling and negative attributions of the non-White Africans began to take shape (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011). European philosophy, supposedly based on reasoning and science, spread worldwide the idea that “White people were inherently smarter, more capable, and more human than non-White people” (NMAAHC, n.d., “The Invention of Race” section, para. 2). Accordingly, American colonists believed the superiority of Whites justified colonization and slavery, excluding the African slaves from free participation in society. Prior to this time, people were not classified as “White” or “Black,” but identities were “grounded in place, culture, and socioeconomic status, not skin color” (Philipsen, 2003, p. 193).

During the 18th century, *race* was conceptualized as “a set of biologically inherited physical characteristics” and became the cornerstone for separation and creation of “emotional and psychological distance between [White] Europeans and other visually” non-White groups of people (Akintunde, 1999, p. 4). Distancing is one of the stigma dimensions proposed by Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) and involves a separation of groups of people, physically and socially. At this time, 18th century Europeans used physical traits to distinguish between those who were acceptable and those who were stigmatized as less than human and kept segregated from acceptable society.

In 1740, Carolus Linnaeus, a Swiss botanist, divided people into four separate groups of humans based on geographic location: “The Americas; Europe; Asia; and Africa” (Akintunde, 1999, p. 4). Linnaeus described the four groups as follows:

- Americans [Native indigenous people]: “obstinate, merry, free, and painted with fine red lines;”
- Europeans: “white, optimistic, and muscular, gentle, active, very smart, inventive;”
- Asians: “pale, yellow, melancholy, stiff, severe, haughty, greedy;”
- Africans: “black, slow, foolish, relaxed, crafty, indolent, negligent.”

(Akintunde, 1999, p. 4)

This 18th century racial hierarchy, which used science as a guise, placed “Whites at the top, Blacks at the bottom” (Akintunde, 1999, p. 4). Other 18th century scientists viewed Whites as “the original humans” created in God’s image and the ideal for human beauty (Akintunde, 1999, p. 4). Scientists of this era associated Africans with apes and “concluded that Africans were a separate species” (NMAAHC, n.d., “Paradox of Liberty” section, para. 5) inferior to Whites, blatantly dehumanizing people of African ancestry. In fact, even today in the 21st century, images of apes trigger dehumanizing associations of Blacks with criminal behavior (Goff et al., 2014).

Likewise, other minority groups have been dehumanized with imagery that associated them with lower animals and insects. During the Holocaust, Jewish people were “represented as vermin (particularly rodents)” (Goff et al., 2014, p. 528). And, “Latinos are frequently referred to with insect-related language, such as ‘hordes of

immigrants” (Goff et al., 2014, p. 528). As Goffman (1963) said, the stigmatized person was treated “as if he were a non-person” (p. 19).

In the late 1700s, American colonists began to argue for independence from Britain and their natural “right to life, liberty and property” (NMAAHC, n.d., “Paradox of Liberty” section, para. 1), while at the same time continuing the slave economy. During this era the term *race* began to take on significance (Philipsen, 2003) as “new rationales and arguments to defend the institution of slavery” (NMAAHC, n.d., “Paradox of Liberty” section, para. 3) arose and became embedded in the social structure. To justify slavery, an ideology around social hierarchy was developed placing White men at the top of privilege, power and status. Because of being physically different than White people, Blacks were considered to belong to an inferior race and deserved to be at the bottom.

By the 1800s, “White was an identity that designated a privileged, landholding (usually male) status” (NMAAHC, n.d., “Paradox of Liberty” section, para. 3). This identity of the White male is what Goffman (1963) referred to in his stigma concept when describing the *normals* in society, the untainted, accepted person, “only one complete unblushing male in America: a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual Protestant father” (p. 128).

The idea of inferior races became the basis for the “culture of racism” in the United States (NMAAHC, n.d., “Paradox of Liberty” section, para. 3). The enslavement of Africans and the genocide of Native Americans were directly related to this ideology of race. Although the United States legally ended the slave trade and the importation of African slaves on January 1, 1808, the number of slaves already increased through

reproduction to almost 4 million slaves, according to the 1860 Census (Library of Congress, n.d.). The 1857 Supreme Court decision of *Dred Scott v. Sanford* cemented this racial ideology into law and society, declaring that “to be black in America was to be an ‘inferior being’ with ‘no rights’ which the white man was bound to respect, and that slavery was for his benefit” (NMAAHC, n.d., “Paradox of Liberty” section, para. 7).

The Supreme Court in the 19th century upheld the ideology that Blacks were property, not citizens, because of belonging to an inferior race. With the racial ideology codified into law, Blacks and other non-Whites were dehumanized, devalued as less than human, and stigmatized. The White population carried on as if this ideology were a part of the natural order of society. This situation describes the stigma dimensions of labeling with damaging designations, distancing or separation, and status loss, the disempowerment of non-Whites (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011).

When slavery ended with the Civil War in 1865, the ideology of racial hierarchy remained entrenched in U.S. society. Racist laws and segregationist policies of exclusion grounded this racial ideology into the very structure of American society and expanded to encompass not just Blacks, but other non-White groups of people. More elaborate concepts on racial differences emerged to protect and seemingly legitimize Whiteness and the “hierarchical social order of segregation called Jim Crow” (NMAAHC, n.d., “Reconstructing Race” section, para. 1). As a result, being an American became entwined with the ability to assimilate into Whiteness. Those groups of people who were viewed as White attained privileges “such as voting, education, citizenship and a share in the



nation's wealth," and "acceptance into American culture" (NMAAHC, n.d., "Reconstructing Race" section, para. 4).

### **Understanding Racism**

Racism is "a belief that race is a fundamental determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce an inherent superiority of a particular race" (Merriam-Webster, n.d. d). Omi and Winant (2013) considered racism as "a foundational and continuous part of U.S. history" (p. 962) and defined racism as follows:

[A] racial project that combines essentialist representations of race (stereotyping, xenophobia, aversion, etc.) with patterns of domination (violence, hierarchy, super-exploitation, etc.). Racism 'marks' certain visible characteristics of the human body for purposes of domination. It naturalizes and reifies these instrumental distinctions. Racism is the product of modern history: empire and conquest, race-based slavery, and race-based genocide have shaped the modern world. (p. 963)

Thus, race and racism are deeply embedded in the U.S. social structure and were born from a "drive to rule," making Whites "the greatest beneficiaries of racist practices" (Omi & Winant, 2013, p. 963). Just as a stigma marks people for a discredited "disgrace" (Goffman, 1963, p. 2) and exclusion, race and racism mark some groups of people to become objects of domination.

According to Goldberg (2009), racism presumes "inequality or inferiority . . . and warrants exclusion" of the racially different from "protection, privilege, property, or profit" (p. 5). This exclusion from important resources is often accompanied by subjugation and acts of violence. Being excluded or separated from society and its resources is one of the dimensions of stigma (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011).

Recent news reports of Black Lives Matter events highlighted the use of the term systemic racism. Feagin (2010) developed a theory called systemic racism to describe the social workings of racism which reaches to the very core of society and was “centuries long, deep-lying, institutionalized, and systemic” (p. 9). Systemic racism explained “the magnitude of racial oppression in the USA” (Feagin & Elias, 2013, p. 932). Every part of life in the United States (economic, political, social, and cultural) was framed through a racialized lens that promoted White superiority (Feagin, 2010).

Inherent in systemic racism is White discrimination against minorities, “unjustly gained resources and power” by “White controlled, institutionalized social reproduction mechanisms” (Feagin & Elias, 2013, p. 937), and representations and discourses that support White superiority. For example, after the Civil War, Southern states developed laws and “statutes called Black Codes that placed further constraints on black economic freedom” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 854). These codes cut the employment choices for Blacks, imposed segregation “not only in the workplace, but also in schools, residential areas, hospitals, recreational areas, public conveyances, taxis, and even cemeteries” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 854). Not only were these codes racist, these codes sent a clear message that Blacks were excluded from the community of Whites. In other words, they were stigmatized as “social outcast[s]” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 809) with spoiled identities. As a result, Blacks and other people from racial minority groups “lead lives that are qualitatively different from those enjoyed by Whites” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 809). Thus, according to Lenhardt (2004) the stigma of race cut deeper than just being denied some

opportunities; it barred people from full acceptance in the community, assigning them to “permanent ‘outsider’ status” (p. 810).

### **Systemic Racism and Eugenics**

Systemic racism became entrenched and normalized within the social system of the United States with the rise of the theory of eugenics, which grew out of social Darwinism and the development of a system of racial classification (identification) based on physical traits (Zuberi, 2001). Eugenics became a popular science movement at the beginning of the 20th century that maintained intelligence was determined by genetic makeup and the “existing social hierarchy simply reflected a genetic hierarchy” (Bridges, 2019, p. 462) in which non-White groups of people were considered deficient. The Nazis in Germany used eugenic reasoning to exterminate six million people of Jewish ancestry during World War II, along with “35 million non-Jews” (Schwartz, n.d., para. 3) who were of minority ethnicities (such as the Gypsies), minority religious groups (such as Jehovah’s Witnesses), those who identified as LGBTQ, and the disabled (DNA Worldwide, n.d.; Schwartz, n.d.).

Although modern scientific research disproved eugenic theories on intelligence and race, social scientists and psychologists persisted with standardized IQ tests and bell curves to generate “support for eugenics” (Zuberi, 2001, p. 53), often through a misinterpretation of statistical data. Consequently, “racial statistics used today are not biologically or demographically based,” but are a product of “the eugenics movement” (Zuberi, 2001, p. 105) that promoted the superiority of White European groups of people.

The advancement of eugenic arguments has had a profound effect on social ideology, social identity, policies, and the justification of disparities. Under this paradigm, race becomes a signpost for the future, as skin color acts as an indicator (or identity) of future prospects. Thus, remnants of the eugenics movement continue to support the negative attributes, labeling, distancing, and stigmatizing of non-White groups of people in the United States.

### **The Rise of Modern Racism**

Old-fashioned racism, according to McConahay et al. (1981), dominated before the 1960s civil rights movements and included segregation, laws against interracial marriage, and opinions about the inferiority of the intelligence of non-Whites. These attitudes are “called old-fashioned because they are no longer fashionable in the elite, trendsetting circles of our society” (McConahay et al., 1981, p. 564).

During the 1950s and 1960s, civil rights movements disrupted the old order of segregation and overt discrimination. Social change movements politicized race at the state level and influenced the articulation of race ideology at the everyday level. Politics during this period created legislation that supported an ideology of equality for minority groups (Omi & Winant, 1994).

As a result of the civil rights movement and the integration of Black Americans into society, the focus of those in political control was directed at demonstrating the superiority of the American way to the rest of the world (Melamed, 2006). With the supposed onset of formal race equality, race was made to “disappear as a referent for inequality,” and “blanket white skin privilege” was obscured (Melamed, 2006, p. 6).

Thus, White America became the universal ideal, and anything (race or culture) that deviated from the ideal could be excluded or stigmatized (Melamed, 2006).

According to McConahay et al. (1981) attitudes about race are “acquired quite early in life” (p. 563) and are difficult to change. However, today, old-fashioned racism is more easily detected, and people are incentivized “to fake being less prejudiced” (McConahay et al., 1981, p. 579). The researchers concluded that Whites understood old-fashioned racism as racist. However, because many Whites think of racism as “a thing of the past,” they do not view their discriminatory “opinions, beliefs, or actions that work to the detriment of blacks . . . as prejudice” (McConahay et al., 1981, p. 579) or racist, nor do they feel guilty about these attitudes. Similarly, according to Goffman (1963), those who stigmatize certain groups, view their categorizing of others “to be ordinary and natural . . . . The routine of social intercourse in established settings allow us to deal with anticipated others without special attention or thought” (p. 2).

Modern racist beliefs focus on issues of whether discrimination still exists, of “blacks push[ing] themselves into situations where they are not wanted, or the extent to which blacks are getting more money or attention than they deserve” (McConahay et al., 1981, p. 564). So while racial issues have evolved, negative feelings and subconscious biases remain as “modern racism goes undetected or unacknowledged” (McConahay et al., 1981, p. 579). These modern racism elements are used in research that identify and measure negative racial attitudes and racial prejudice (McConahay, 1983).

## A New Racism

Embracing the concept of race, those in power could promote assumptions that people were splintered into distinct races and hierarchies. However, with *new racism* the emphasis is not on “inferiority and biological difference, but cultural difference” (Clarke, 2008, p. 518). When this difference is exaggerated and people are categorized by who they are, or who they are not, the result is “stigmatization, marginalization and intolerance of Others” (Clarke, 2008, p. 519).

The new form of post-civil rights racism in contemporary society in the United States is different from the Jim Crow overt racism. Bonilla-Silva (2014) called this new racism, *color-blind racism*. The inequalities of color-blind racism are reproduced through “subtle, institutional, and apparently nonracial” (Bonilla-Silva, 2014, p. 3) practices embedded in the very core of society and codified into the institutional, social and political workings of everyday life. Many Whites, blind to unfair racial practices, routinely accept discourse that blamed non-White victims for causing their situations (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Because of affirmative action and the appearance of the inclusion of diversity, racial injustice was viewed as a thing of the past, and any discussion on racial inequality was considered a racial complaint. According to Crenshaw (2011), “colorblindness denied the structural reproduction of racial power” (p. 1347).

Colorblindness became the new dominant racial ideology (Haney-Lopez, 2011). During the 1960s, colorblindness was the concept used by anti-integrationists to justify “voluntary segregation” (Haney-Lopez, 2011, p. 810). The contemporary definition of colorblindness, however, has been broadened to embrace a reactionary attack on

affirmative action and to oppose structural change. Within this backdrop, new linguistic codes were developed that linked “crime” and “law and order” (Haney-Lopez, 2011, p. 812) to racial fears, resulting in disproportional imprisonment of minorities and the maintenance of society’s racial hierarchy. As an example of this realignment of meanings, civil rights activists were denigrated as “lawbreakers” (Haney-Lopez, 2011, p. 813) because of their resistance to unjust laws. On a larger scale, a disproportionate number of minority youth have been incarcerated because racial fears implicitly equated skin color with crime (Lenhardt, 2004; Smith & Levinson, 2012).

Although violent and discriminatory acts usually garner more attention from news sources, it is often the small racial microaggressions met during interpersonal encounters that have “real consequences for racially stigmatized individuals” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 838). Racial slurs and insults can come at every turn, exclusion from workplaces or events, or even being unable to hail a cab, place additional stress on everyday activities for many non-Whites and “provide racially stigmatized individuals with almost daily reminders of their devalued social status” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 839).

### **White Backlash**

In the decades after the civil rights movement, there have been steady efforts to “contain and neutralize” equity gains or “even increase racial inequality” in “employment, health, [and] education” (Omi & Winant, 2013, p. 965). Political right-wing groups “rearticulate race and racism issues to roll back some of the gains of the civil rights movement” (Omi & Winant, 2013, p. 965). Right-wing authoritarianism has been

associated with social attitudes and perspectives that promote dehumanization, prejudice and racism (Cage et al., 2019; Zakrisson, 2005).

The first rise of modern White backlash in the 1960s was marked by violence and verbal outcries (overt racial grammar) against affirmative action and other attempts to equalize racial opportunities (Hughey, 2014). The 1980s and 1990s began another phase of White backlash that was subtle and focused on individualism rather than social structuralism. Reinforcing the racial ideologies that framed minorities and non-White immigrants as “pathological or dysfunctional groups” (Hughey, 2014, p. 722), this form of backlash claimed new social laws and affirmative action for minorities were *handouts* that eventually came from the pockets of White citizens, making Whites the victims.

Members of the political right, predominately White citizens, created a climate of intense backlash. They introduced the concept of Whites as “victims of racial discrimination” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 116), decrying affirmative action policies as discriminatory. Whites were reframed as victims of reverse discrimination. Individual rights became paramount, and racism was reduced to coded language that targeted discredited individual behavior. In line with the claim that equality was finally a reality, the tendency during this era was to “submerge race in other social relations” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 3).

Thus, in this climate of White backlash, racial segregation was viewed as the natural consequence of freedom of choice. White standards constituted what was good, moral, normal, and civil. The condition of non-Whites was attributed to personal choices. The stigma dimension of controllability (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011) came to the



foreground as non-Whites were blamed for making poor choices resulting in unfavorable living conditions.

The 1990s and the Clinton presidency silenced discourse on racial issues in favor of “cultural universalism” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 147) and equality for individuals. Racial issues were rearticulated as a Black-White dichotomy, which downplayed the complexity of the multitudes of existing racial identities and voices. Political and cultural hegemony reinforced racial stereotypes and discrimination through a process of systematically enforcing ideology that categorized everyone according to pre-designated racial rules. Members of society were socialized to accept as “common sense” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 60) the dominant racial ideology and to enact the rules in everyday life. Thus, race was no longer used as a focal point for separation and stigmatization, but instead the practices and behaviors of members of particular racial groups were held up as the reasons for exclusion, a dimension of a stigma. As Goffman (1963) explained, the stigmatized were expected to “adhere to the code” (p. 111) of conduct so as not to unduly upset the normals.

The 21st century and the election of the first Black president brought a new era of White backlash, as conservative Whites decried the ability of a non-White to upset the implicit attitude that an “authentic American” (Hughey, 2014, p. 723) equated with White American. The Tea Party and the Birther movements, which were founded after the election of Barak Obama as president, were considered examples of the mobilization of White backlash and the move toward reestablishing White supremacy as the undisputed standard (Hughey, 2014; Ray, 2022). Although the Tea Party positioned its stance on

economic and conservative libertarian ideals, researchers found that racial threat and animosity were driving forces for many in the rise of membership in the Tea Party, however unacknowledged by the party's members (Xavier, 2016).

### **Racism and the Media**

Bonilla-Silva (2012) proposed there is a predominant *racial grammar* that established White supremacy as the “standard for all sorts of social events and transactions” (p. 173). This biased grammar shapes how people perceive society, race, and norms, so that Whiteness has been communicated and normalized as the universal, enlightened, and beautiful identity in the United States. News stories about Whites are framed by the media to have a universal fit to all of us, while stories about non-White victims rarely make it in the news (Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Dixon et al., 2010). White heroes dominate at the movies, while non-White minorities are under-represented and often portrayed as criminal, buffoons, or sidekicks needing saving by the White hero (Bonilla-Silva, 2012).

The media industry, in particular, perpetuated White supremacy through the use of contemporary racial grammar that framed Whiteness as normal, universal, and good while devaluing, stereotyping or denigrating racial minorities (Bonilla-Silva, 2012). The majority of newscasts, films, and TV shows have reinforced racial standards, supporting the status quo of White supremacy by the overrepresentation of White citizens and actors while minimizing and stereotyping minorities (Dixon et al., 2010; Liu, 2017; Ramasubramanian, 2011; Shon, 2012; Smith & Levinson, 2012).

Bonilla-Silva (2012) concluded that the contemporary racial grammar, or the way Americans and the media talk about racial groups, was a part of “the visible practice and mechanisms of white supremacy” (p. 173) that normalized racial domination in the United States and “the standards of white supremacy as *the* standards for all sorts of everyday transactions rendering domination almost invisible” (p. 174).

### **The Foundation for Race, White Privilege, and Stigma**

As noted in Chapter 2, Goffman (1963) divided American society into three groups. The *normals* were the people within society without a stigma and who were considered as a “human being like anyone else . . . who deserves a fair chance and a fair break” (p. 7). The group of people with a similar stigma were called the *own*. This group was cut “off from society,” and individuals within the *own* stood as “a discredited person facing an unaccepting world” (Goffman, 1963, p. 19). The third social group, called the *wise*, were “the sympathetic others who are ready to adopt his [the stigmatized] standpoint in the world” and could accept the stigmatized as “essentially normal” in spite of the stigma (Goffman, 1963, pp. 19-20).

However, in conceptualizing the groups of people within a social stigma structure, Goffman did not describe the mechanisms of the society itself, its formation, foundation, and framework in which his stigma theory was grounded. Yet it was understood that the social foundation in the United States was based on an ideology where the stigma of race could exist and flourish. Goffman (1963) called this ideology a *stigma-theory* which explained the inferiority of the stigmatized and “accounts for the danger he [the

stigmatized] represents” (p. 5). This ideology permitted the use of discrimination to “reduce” the “life chances” of the stigmatized (Goffman, 1963, p. 5).

In order to sustain a system in which non-White humans were subjected to unspeakable degradation, White elites [the *normals*] created an ideology to justify their actions and to promote their own superiority while at the same time rationalize the inferiority of dark-skinned, non-Christian, Africans. According to Feagin (2010), this “white racial frame” (p. 59) espoused by the dominant White elitist class permeated every aspect of American society in “business, the media, politics, education, churches and government” (p. 61), and was codified into the social and political system through the use of “racial stereotypes, images, emotions, and interpretations” (p. 97), justifying discrimination and dehumanizing treatment by representing those with darker skin as inferior and sinister, but those with whiter skin as superior and virtuous. And, as Goffman (1963) suggested, the dehumanized, stigmatized are asked to accept their situation to “protect normals in various ways” (p. 119) so that “normals can remain relatively uncontaminated by intimate contact with the stigmatized, relatively unthreatened in their identity beliefs” (p. 121).

Modern scholars called this ideology, White supremacy (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Embrick & Moore, 2020). Bonds and Inwood (2016) defined White supremacy as “the presumed superiority of white racial identities . . . in support of the cultural, political and economic domination of non-white groups” (pp. 719-720), and declared that “white supremacy is the defining logic of both racism and privilege as they are culturally and materially produced” (p. 720). White supremacy is the basis for the

structures, “institutions, practices, and processes that produce” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 716) and maintain White privilege and power that dominates and exploits non-Whites (Embrick & Moore, 2020; Leonardo, 2004). In acknowledging the ideological foundation of the power structures within society, it would be reasonable to conclude that Goffman’s concept of the stigma of race was also framed within the ideology of White supremacy, despite being left unspoken in the 1960s. According to Goffman (1963) the differentness of stigma “derives from society, for ordinarily before a difference can matter much it must be conceptualized collectively by the society as a whole” (p. 123).

White supremacy was born in the colonization and settling of the United States and its slave economy and “in establishing contemporary heteronormative and patriarchal social relations . . . [making it] the foundational logic of the modern capitalist system” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 720). The racial violence of the American past of genocide and slavery, brought on because of White supremacist ideology, are the foundations of the modern social and political frameworks in America. As a result, White supremacist ideology must also be the foundation of the stigma of race in the United States.

### **White Spaces**

Since the framing of the U.S. Constitution, laws were enforced to protect the “white supremacist, patriarchal, capitalist subject [who] represents the standard for human, or the figure of a whole person” (Leonardo, 2004, p. 139; Liu, 2017). For example, the U.S. Census was partly created “as a form of racial surveillance (a count) of non-White people’s territorial dispersion and White racial purity and supremacy” (Liu, 2017, p. 351). The first census in 1790 was conducted to determine the number of free

people and the number of slaves (Blakemore, 2015). The count has since enabled police and other authorities to keep non-White groups of people in certain spaces through law enforcement, punishment, incarceration, and “threatened physical violence (e.g. lynching)” (Liu, 2017, p. 351).

As a function of White supremacist ideology, the selective entitlement to space maintained a racialized society and ensured “White dominion over place and space” along with “free and full enjoyment of that space and its resources” (Embrick & Moore, 2020, p. 1938). Public and residential spaces were developed to protect the security of Whites from intrusion by non-Whites. The “normalizing of White superiority” required “characterizing non-White inferiority as normal in these social spaces . . . [and to] denigrate and subjugate people of color in these spaces” (Embrick & Moore, 2020, p. 1941). It is within this social situation of segregation and exclusion that Goffman’s rules of stigma apply. He stated that a well-adjusted stigmatized person “should not test the limits of acceptance” from normals, but “voluntarily withhold himself from those situations in which normals would find it difficult to give lip service to their similar acceptance of him” (Goffman, 1963, p. 121). White spaces were considered off-limits to the stigmatized who should know their place.

Because most people think of White supremacy as radical groups “outside of the mainstream of society” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 720), the attitudes of White supremacy are often obscured. For example, the ideology of White supremacy is supported when interracial marriage is frowned upon, when housing integration is rejected, and when schools remain segregated. In this White supremacist social structure,

the stigmatization of non-Whites becomes deeply embedded and is displayed through racism and the “taken-for-granted power of whiteness” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p, 728); yet it goes unrecognized because it is considered natural and normal.

### **White Privilege**

Each society develops norms and attitudes about social group membership, defining what is acceptable and what is not, just as Goffman (1963) explained in his stigma theory. A social structure of advantage and privilege was developed at the formation of the United States to protect people based on whiteness of skin color because they believed that as a group they were better and more deserving than other groups (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Pulido, 2015). The concept of White privilege came into popular use in the 1990s to explain the advantages of being White (Pulido, 2015). Whites benefited from privilege “because they created a system of domination under which they can thrive as a group” (Leonardo, 2004, p. 148).

Although White individuals may not see their actions as racist, their decisions to “create the best opportunities for themselves and their families, which in a highly racialized society, reproduced racial inequality” (Pulido, 2015, p. 810). This situation is just as Goffman (1963) described, “Normals really mean no harm; when they do, it is because they don’t know better” (p. 116). When harmed, the stigmatized were expected to “act nicely,” (Goffman, 1963, p. 116) because the stigmatized were obligated “to protect normals” (Goffman, 1963, p. 119) from any discomfort.

Whiteness is about power, maintaining dominance, setting standards for what is acceptable and who received privilege (Nkomo & Ariss, 2014). These accepted

standards, which are often based on stereotyping and remain unacknowledged, are considered implicit attitudes. Researchers have identified negative implicit attitudes in both stigma research and racism research (Ottaway et al., 2001; Yang et al., 2007).

During the industrialization era in the 19th century, Whiteness came to symbolize “extraordinary achievement and superiority” (Nkomo & Ariss, 2014, p. 391), for it was thought that only civilized, superior White people could achieve such industrial advancement. White factory workers received higher wages and better positions compared to their Black counterparts. The benefits extended to public places, such as admittance into parks and other public functions that were off-limits to non-Whites (Nkomo & Ariss, 2014). Thus, “Whiteness became synonymous with a highly capable, ambitious and efficient worker who had the right to dominate inferior others” (Nkomo & Ariss, 2014, p 393), having attained privileges that were granted only to those categorized as White. As Goffman (1963) explained in his stigma conceptualization, sustaining the social norm “is a question of a person’s condition, not his will; it is a question of conformance, not compliance” (p. 128). In Goffman’s (1963) stigma concept, the *normals*, or the one true standard for what is normal and acceptable is “young, married, white, urban, northern, Protestant [male]” (p. 128). A person who could not “maintain an identity norm” was stigmatized, and expected to separate himself or herself from the community (Goffman, 1963, p. 129).

White privilege emphasized the benefits of being White, “while overlooking the process of taking or appropriation, including the taking of land, wages, life, liberty, health, community, and social status” (Pulido, 2015, p. 812). Thus, White skin privilege



allowed those who possessed it to be blind to race “without ever being self-consciously aware of it” (Nkomo & Ariss, 2014, p. 395). Overt and subtle discriminatory practices not only sustain White privilege and power, but also cause immeasurable misery for people of color in America through “many thousands of everyday acts of mistreatment” (Feagin, 2010, p. 138).

Hate crimes are on the rise. Police officials unfairly target African Americans. Discrimination creates barriers to fair housing, education, and employment opportunities for Black Americans and other non-Whites. For example, Blacks “are more likely than white Americans to be killed by police while unarmed; more likely to be stopped, searched, arrested and incarcerated; less likely to be hired by employers; less likely to be educated by prestigious institutions” (Bridges, 2019, pp. 456-457). However, for many Whites, these unfair practices go unnoticed, or unchallenged, and are routinely accepted within the White racial frame which blames the non-White victims for somehow causing their situations.

### **Who are Minority Groups?**

Race in the United States is not simply a “black/white paradigm [that] made more sense in the past than it does in the 21st century” (Omi & Winant, 2013, p. 967). The decline in the White population and an increase in minority racial groups and people of mixed race, has not, however, brought a decline in White dominance. Additionally, the different racial minority groups are themselves positioned within a racial hierarchy with important consequences (Omi & Winant, 2013). Little research describes how these different “racially subordinate groups interact and influence each others’ boundaries,

conditions and practices” (Omi & Winant, 2013, p. 968). In its details, the “history and experience of African Americans is quite different from that of Indigenous Americans” (Embrick & Moore, 2020, p. 1940) and other non-White groups. Although the racism and stigma experienced by different non-White groups may have different details, all non-White people “have been systematically denied access to the power and privileges that accrue to Whites” (Embrick & Moore, 2020, p. 1940).

The colonial practices of the United States necessitated either the assimilation or extermination of groups of people in territories overtaken by the United States, such as the Native Americans, native Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Puerto Ricans (Jung et al., 2011). On the other hand, White immigrant groups arriving in the United States could eventually “move up” without “threatening the position of established whites” (Alba, 2014, p. 782). Later generations of European Americans retained a sense of ethnicity through activities such as club membership, traditions, festivals, and food without it resulting in stigmatization.

Gans (2014) contended that “most LGEs (later generation ethnics) are already or will soon be like all other Americans” (p. 761), implying assimilation through Whiteness. So, while many European descendants retained some vestige of their ethnic culture, the importance of Whiteness becomes apparent in being accepted into the U.S. social structure. This is not the case with non-White immigrants.

Foner (2014) contended that “prejudice and discrimination” (p. 787) fortified barriers raised against some groups, such as Black Americans and Mexican Americans. According to researchers, those of Irish, Italian and Jewish ancestry, once vilified at their

arrival into the United States, “eventually became White” (Nkomo & Ariss, 2014, p. 392) and assimilated into a White identity along with retaining some of their ethnic identity as “white ethnics” (Foner, 2014, p. 787). However, because of the recognized rise in anti-Semitism in the United States, this finding about people of Jewish ancestry might be disputed (FBI, 2020).

Those non-White immigrants unable to cross the color barrier face discrimination no matter how long their families have lived in the United States. For example, although Asians have immigrated to the United States since the mid-1800s, they have been designated “forever foreigners” (Leonardo, 2004, p. 147) because of their inability to look White. As a result, during World War II, Asian Americans of Japanese descent (unlike Germans and Italians living in the United States) were branded traitors and sent to U.S. concentration (internment) camps simply because of their non-White ancestry.

Additionally, systemic racism pitted different non-White racial groups against each other within a racial hierarchy that puts Whites at the top and Blacks at the bottom. Whites moved some lighter-skinned races higher up the hierarchy resulting in antipathy between non-White racial groups. The terms *model minorities* and *honorary whites* were coined by White elites to describe Asian Americans and Asian-Indian Americans. However, the model minority myths in reality served to “misrepresent the condition of Asian Americans” (Feagin, 2010, p. 239) who continue to face discrimination at many levels, as is now apparent during hate-filled events illuminated by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Racial inequality continues to represent the social and political status quo despite the fact that many minorities are now citizens through birthright or naturalization (Jung et al., 2011) Because citizenship in the United States is grounded in White liberalism, racial minority non-White citizens are often blocked from the full benefits of citizenship. Consequently, citizenship in itself does not guarantee equality for people of color because of social practices that precipitate unequal treatment and give preference to White citizens (Jung et al., 2011). Thus, the social structure in the United States continues to perpetuate the stigma of race with disastrous consequences for non-White people.

### **Summary**

The seeds of the stigma of race were sown into the fabric of American society with the entry of Europeans onto this continent. Today, the stigma of race is a powerful stigma, with 40 percent of the U.S. population living under its shadow. To understand the complex social process of the stigma of race, it is necessary to combine what is known about racism with what is known about stigma (Phelan et al., 2008; Stuber et al., 2008). Goffman (1963) focused primarily on the situation of the stigmatized, the stereotypes and attributions, but left undiscussed the details of the very foundation and development of stigma, as if stigma were an arbitrary social construction. However, using the modern definition of stigma as a social process opens up the discussion to include the ideology and social circumstances that allowed the stigma of race to develop and exist in the United States (Brown et al., 2003; Khan, 2020).

The term *race* is relatively new compared to *stigma*, which was used by the ancient Greeks to signify the mark of a slave. The term *race* originated with Western

Europeans in the 1600s to justify the slavery of dark-skinned people from Africa who were branded as slaves. The term *race* was eventually used to describe non-White groups of people as inferior, less than human, and became the justification for the dehumanization and stigmatizing of non-White groups of people. Racial categories are a remnant of the disproved eugenics movement. But, having “internalized fundamental misperceptions about the idea of race” (Philipsen, 2003, p. 194), many Americans still think of race as a valid concept that explains the separation of people into groups, even when there is no scientific basis for this idea. This acceptance of inaccurate information about race, in turn, triggers bias, discrimination, and stigma.

Understanding the historical backdrop of the development of White supremacist ideology in the United States is important to understanding how groups of people became categorized and stigmatized. European colonizers displaced the native inhabitants and introduced slave labor, forcing millions of captured Africans to work in a slave economy that provided substantial wealth for White slaveholders and their descendants. The slave system resulted in economic, social, and political inequities that continue to this day to negatively impact African Americans in many areas, including employment, housing, education and health care. Slave imagery and the myth of race remain salient because it is economically profitable for Whites.

White racial ideology has permeated every aspect of American society in “business, the media, politics, education, churches and government” (Feagin, 2010, p. 61), and was codified into the social and political system through the use of “racial stereotypes, images, emotions, and interpretations” (Feagin, 2010, p. 97). As a result,

those designated as White and those designated as Black or Other “inhabit two different worlds in America, both physically and culturally” (Philipsen, 2003, p. 194). Whites are advantaged through privilege, but people of color face disadvantage, exclusion, and stigmatization (Philipsen, 2003).

To end racial injustice and inequity, Philipsen (2003) contends that the “only logical solution would be to abandon race as a meaningful explanatory concept, and instead look at the complex social processes that cause racism as a means to exclude, exploit, and oppress” (p. 200). In other words, stop using the word *race*, along with other racial terms such as Black and White. However, Zack (2016) argues that the idea of race cannot be eliminated “because it is a matter of thought, speech, writing, art, and the habits, practices and policies related to racial oppression,” and “no one knows how to eliminate oppressive practice . . . racism in people’s hearts and minds” (p. 135).

Lenhardt (2004) warns that “we should be concerned with the meanings associated with race itself,” and asserts that “racial stigma, not intentional discrimination or unconscious racism, is the true source of racial injury in the United States” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 809). Racial stigma is about “negative social meaning” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 809) which distort and obscure disparity. The continued persistence of racial inequity is the result of a stigma that denies non-White groups full acceptance, instead assigning the racially stigmatized to a position of disfavor or dishonor based on skin color, as “a kind of social outcast” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 809). Racial stigmas cement the social hierarchies and consign racial minorities to “permanent outsider status” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 810).

Because White privilege has been obscured for centuries in the White narrative of history and social construction, the challenge to end racism and racial stigma faces strong psychological barriers from those who have been “taught to ignore [White] privilege . . . and treat race as the problem of the other,” and not of the systems of domination that keep it in place (Leonardo, 2004, 143). As Goffman (1963) indicated, the challenge to end racial stigma would bring discomfort to many normals (Whites) who are content with the status quo of color-blind, unacknowledged racial inequality. However, as Leonardo (2004) said, “White domination is the responsibility of every white subject because her very being depends on it” (p. 144). This is not to ignore that some non-Whites have also participated in the devaluation of other non-White groups of people, behaving in ways that reinforce racist ideology against their own group and other racial minority groups (Leonardo, 2004).

To fully comprehend the stigma of race, the fields that study racism (prejudice) and stigma need to be combined. As Phelan et al. (2008) found, prejudice studies focused on perpetrators, while stigma studies focused on targets of negative treatment. Race and prejudice research considered the processes of power, domination, and oppression. Stigma research focused on processes involving social devaluation (Stuber et al., 2008).

The research questions and hypotheses proposed in Chapter 2 are derived to assess the current social attitudes about the stigma of race held in the United States from an intergroup perspective. The term *stigma* is rarely used today to explain the racial inequality in the United States; yet, an examination of the concepts of stigma, race, and racism show a convergence throughout American history. Although the study of race was

decoupled from the study of stigma, recent scholars are beginning to acknowledge that a fuller understanding of the complexities of stigma and race requires the merger of the two fields of study. The gaps in Goffman's (1963) concept of the stigma of race can be filled through understanding the social perspectives of racial domination, power, and oppression.

This dissertation seeks to clarify the overall question of whether race is a social stigma (Tyler, 2018), by utilizing theories and scales used in both the study of stigma and race: implicit attitudes, social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, modern racism, blatant dehumanization, measures of intergroup communication, and the dimensions of stigma. Chapter 4 presents the pilot studies used to develop the instruments for the main study to answer the overall question and the research questions.



## **CHAPTER 4**

### **PILOT STUDIES**

The overarching question that drives this dissertation is the following: Do current social attitudes render race as an invisible and discounted, yet powerful stigma category? Taking into consideration theoretical, social, and cultural differences, this dissertation tests whether Goffman's (1963) conceptualization of the tribal stigma category of race is still relevant to understanding racial challenges faced in the 21st century United States.

To answer the overarching question, this dissertation research was conducted in a multi-phased approach. Phase 1 involved conducting two pilot studies to prepare and pretest materials that were to be used in Phase 2, the main study. The results of the two pilot studies were utilized in the main study to develop Implicit Association Tests (IATs), a questionnaire survey, and an experiment bundled into an online Qualtrics program. Chapter 4 details the methods and results of the two pilot studies. The main study method is discussed in Chapter 5.

#### **Pilot Study 1**

The first pilot study considered during Phase 1 assessed a fictitious news story to be used as a manipulation instrument for the experiment in the main study. The intent of Pilot Study 1 was to discover whether participant readers viewed the news story as both believable and realistic.

The news media influence social attitudes that affect and move people often without their conscious awareness. Constant media exposure to racial stereotypes and

stigmas significantly influence individual perceptions, attitudes, and judgments about what is acceptable and what is not (Correll et al., 2007; Dixon et al., 2010; Parham-Payne, 2014; Sim et al., 2013). Based on the ability of the news media to influence perceptions and reinforce stereotypes that misinform and alienate the marginalized, a fictitious news story was developed and evaluated during the first pilot study to contribute to understanding current social attitudes about race in the United States.

## **Method**

Pilot Study 1 was designed as an online survey instrument using Qualtrics (Barinka & Milan, 2018; Carpenter et al., 2019). This design, however, limited the participant pool to only those with internet access and a computer. Because Qualtrics does not distribute participant panels to studies under 100 participants, another online service was chosen, Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), a crowdsourcing internet service which allows for smaller participant numbers. Some researchers have argued against allowing online administrators, such as Qualtrics, to pick participants because researchers are unable to effectively document the qualifications of the participant panel, thus calling into question the validity and generalizability of their research results. However, researchers can select a participant panel with certain, specific criteria on MTurk, and by providing clear, detailed instructions and researcher contact information, researchers have a higher measure of confidence that the data acquired using MTurk participant workers can be of appropriate and reliable quality instead of letting anonymous administrators make the participant selection (Young & Young, 2019).

MTurk has been used in academic and scientific research since 2005 and had more than 225,000 workers in the United States as of 2019 (Robinson et al., 2019; Young & Young, 2019). MTurk allows researchers to host surveys on the internet and offer payment to participant workers in return for completing survey questions. Additionally, MTurk workers can be recruited as research participants to complete survey instruments on other internet data collection services such as Qualtrics.

MTurk uses contracted workers who have unique IDs, with employee policies and procedures outlined in their contracts. MTurk workers must be at least 18 years old. No names of individuals are available. Once the data collection is completed, the MTurk worker IDs are removed from the data set so that participant data cannot be accessed to protect confidentiality and anonymity.

Neither Qualtrics nor MTurk use advertisements to recruit subjects. MTurk asks for a brief description of the study so people know what type of study it is before deciding whether to participate. The descriptions are in general text so as not to prime participants before they participate in a study.

### ***Participants***

In April 2019, at the beginning of Phase 1 of this research, 40 participants (males = 20; females = 20) were recruited through Amazon's MTurk for Pilot Study 1, which was hosted on Qualtrics. To gain access to the Qualtrics survey, MTurk workers were required to be at least 18 years old, citizens of the United States, and have an MTurk approval rate of at least 99 percent with 1,000 successful completions.

A quota of 20 males and 20 females was set in the Qualtrics survey to identify any differences in believability and realisticness that might be gender related. Participants were paid \$1.00 for their time and efforts for completing the pilot study. No demographic information was requested.

### ***Procedure***

After receiving Institutional Review Board approval (See Appendix B for the IRB approved consent form), the Qualtrics pilot study survey was built and launched on April 10, 2019. MTurk workers interested in participating in Pilot Study 1 were provided with a link to access the Qualtrics online survey instrument. Participants were told that the pilot study results would be used in future research that investigated attitudes about race and culture in the United States. Participants were asked to electronically consent to voluntarily participate in the research, which had no foreseeable risks or discomforts nor direct benefits for participants. After supplying their consent, participants read a negative news story of a neighborhood crime, and then answered three questions. No racial backgrounds were mentioned of the subjects in the news story.

Questions 1 and 2 used a scale of 1 to 7 (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Question 3 was an open-ended text entry question to assess what details participants remembered about the description of the two alleged robbers in the news story.

Question 1: How much do you agree or disagree that the information in the article is believable?

Question 2: How much do you agree or disagree that the information in the article is realistic?

Question 3: Describe the two people who committed the robbery with as much detail as you can recall.

After completing Question 3, participants received a message thanking them for their participation along with a unique randomized code to enter into MTurk to receive payment. In the collected data, individual MTurk worker IDs were removed so individual participants could not be identified.

### ***Instrument***

The fictitious news story was a composite story based on real news articles from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*; the *Times Leader*, Wilkes-Barre, PA; and the *Tribune-Review*, Greensburg, PA. However, the news story for this pilot study used the dateline of Philadelphia without providing an actual date or publication name. The fictitious news story and the three accompanying questions were loaded into an online Qualtrics survey. (See Appendix C for the Pilot Study 1 news story.)

### **Results**

#### ***Question 1 on Believability***

The overwhelming majority (92.5% or 37 participants) agreed that the story was believable. Some slightly agreed (8) and others strongly agreed (8) that the news story was believable. The majority (53 % or 21 participants) somewhat agreed that the news story was believable. One strongly disagreed, one slightly disagreed, and one was

neutral. Table 1 displays the mean ( $M$ ), standard deviation ( $SD$ ), and variance for both Questions 1 and 2.

### ***Question 2 on Realistic Information***

The overwhelming majority (95% or 38 participants) agreed that the story was realistic. Some slightly agreed (11) and others strongly agreed (9) that the news story was realistic. The majority (45% or 18 participants) somewhat agreed that the news story was realistic. One strongly disagreed and one somewhat disagreed that the story was realistic.

**Table 1**

#### *Pilot Study 1: Questions Results*

Question	$M$	$SD$	Variance
Question 1	5.75	1.13	1.29
Question 2	5.72	1.20	1.45

### ***Question 3 Open-Ended Answers***

In their typed comments, most participants (85% or 34) correctly identified the alleged robbers as teens aged 15 or 16, and wearing hoodies or jeans. More than half, or 22 participants, correctly identified the teens as male. Although race was not mentioned in the pilot study news story, one participant labeled the alleged robbers as “White males.”

### **Discussion**

Because the majority of participants believed the news story to be both believable and realistic, the news story was incorporated into the main study with only a slight modification: the racial identity of the alleged robbers was manipulated across conditions.

Interestingly, one participant identified the alleged robbers as “White males” in the pilot study news story. This could be an indication that when newspapers leave out the race of individual subjects, some readers assume that the subjects were White. (Appendix C explains the differences between the Pilot Study 1 news story and the Main Study news story.)

### **Pilot Study 2**

As a prelude to building the Implicit Association Tests (IATs) for the main study, names and headshot photographs of people were pilot tested for accuracy of recognition of the racial background of the names and photographic headshots.

IATs are computer generated tests that have been used in social psychology since 1998. Hundreds of studies have helped to validate the information used and collected regarding subconscious, implicit attitudes. Standard IATs have four categories. Two categories classify focal groups (i.e., Black and White). Two categories represent attributes, such as pleasant and unpleasant (Sriram & Greenwald, 2009). Typically, photographic headshots of individuals representative of a particular racial group are used for the focal groups in race-based IATs, and words such as joy and evil are used for the attribute categories. However, because this research required two separate race-based IATs, one for Black and White, and another for Asian and White, a search was conducted to find headshots of Black, White, and Asian people that were of comparable photographic quality and easily recognizable as to racial background. Based on the findings of previous studies, ethnic-sounding names were also examined as a viable

alternative to using photographic headshots of people (Ottaway, 2001; Rudman & McLean, 2016).

The purpose of the second pilot study was to discover whether participants could match the names or photographs to the correct ethnicity or racial background. There were no hypotheses for this pilot study. Pilot Study 2 was conducted as a traditional pen-and-paper survey.

## **Method**

### ***Participants***

An initial convenience sample of 15 participants was used to investigate how readily names and headshot photographs could be assigned to the correct racial or ethnic background. On March 25, 2019, a class of 12 student participants from an interpersonal communication course at a community college on the East Coast of the United States volunteered to respond to this pilot study. The students were offered extra credit to complete two worksheets printed on standard paper. Of the 12 worksheets returned to the researcher, five worksheets were eliminated from the pilot study because of missing data; however, the all of the volunteer students still received the extra credit.

Another three participants were recruited at a small local library. Permission was granted to approach each of the adult individuals in the library and to ask whether they might voluntarily participate in a pilot study for a future research project. Participants at the local library received \$1.00 for their time and efforts when they returned the worksheets. A total of 10 people participated in this informal pilot study, after the elimination of the five worksheets because of missing data.



A visual analysis of the classroom showed that the student sample was comprised of two White students (female = 1; male = 1), nine Black students (female = 5; male = 4), and one Asian male. The sample of participants from the library consisted of one Black female and two White females. The majority of the participants were Americans from two different racial backgrounds.

### ***Instruments***

The two worksheets for Pilot Study 2 were developed using Microsoft Word and were printed out as hardcopies. Names and photographs that were being considered for the IATs in the main study were included on the worksheets to test whether participants could accurately indicate a particular racial background commonly assigned to each name or photographic representation.

**Photographs.** Because photographs are typically used in race-based IATs to represent focal groups, an initial search began to find usable photographic headshots of people. Through a Google search, a research website was located that provided free grayscale photographs of cropped faces representing Black and White people to use on race-based IATs.

Tightly cropped grayscale photographic headshots of Black and White people were downloaded from the Center for Open Science (COS, n.d. b) website (<https://osf.io/jrvvg8/>), which provides free open access to materials and data to help researchers with projects. The grayscale photographs were cropped to just above the eyebrows and included only the upper lip so that only the eyes, cheeks, and nose of each person were visible. Each person in the photographs had a neutral expression.

The COS (n.d. a) website also contained a data set for Asian and White IATs to test bias against Asians; however, the images were black and white, pen and ink drawings, not photographs, of Asians and Whites (<https://osf.io/cpmfk/files/>). The images that represented what is considered “American” included photographs of the Statue of Liberty and the Washington Monument. Images that represented what is considered “Foreign” included photographs of Stonehenge (United Kingdom) and the Eiffel Tower (France). The COS materials were for an IAT that tested whether Americans considered Asians as “American” or as “Foreign.” The COS website provided no actual photographic headshots of Asians that were comparable to the headshots for the Black and White race-based IAT.

From a project he worked on, Dr. Adam Richards, an associate professor at Furman University, provided for free use in this pilot study color photographic headshots of White and East Asian males and females that were composites of an average face taken from many images, not actual individuals. The headshots were more loosely cropped than the free photographs from the COS open source data set. Richards’ headshots were cropped above the top of the hairline and included everything on the face down to the chin and between the ears. So, the entire face was visible, and each person had a neutral expression. There were no photographs representing Black individuals.

Photographs used in race-based IATs are typically grayscale tightly cropped headshots of White and Black people showing the same neutral or stoic expression (Rudman & McLean, 2016). However, researchers have also used names instead of photographs to represent different racial or ethnic groups. For example, in their research

project on appearance stigma and in an effort to reduce the variance between an attitude IAT and an aesthetic IAT, Rudman and McLean (2016) used names instead of pictures on counterbalancing IATs “to represent Black and White Americans (*Jamal, Tyrone, Shanice, Aliyah* vs. *Connor, Jake, Emily, Allison*)” (Rudman & McLean, 2016, p. 377). Their results showed that the IATs produced the same results regardless of whether they used names or photographs to represent the two racial focal groups.

Consequently, because comparable quality photographic headshots could not be found for all three racial groups (Asian, Black, and White), a search was conducted to find ethnic-sounding names typically recognizable in the United States.

**Names.** Research has shown that names can be used as racial identifiers (Ottaway et al., 2001; Rudman & McLean, 2016). Resumes with names that clearly represented Whiteness were retrieved from recruiting websites 17 percent more than resumes with names that were identified with Black people (ABC News, 2006). And, resumes with “White names received 50 percent more call backs for interviews than those with African-American names” (Nkomo & Ariss, 2014, p. 396).

For this pilot study, names were chosen to represent four main focal groups: Asian, Black, Latino, and White. Although studying stigma against Latinos was not included as part of this research, four Latino names (*Santiago, Matias, Isabella, and Gabriella*) drawn from the website Baby Center.com were included as options for identity choices on page 2 of the Photo Study worksheet (Cespedes, n.d.).

Black and White sounding names were drawn from the Levitt and Dubner (2005) book *Freakonomics* that were posted on the ABC News (2006) webpage, *Top 20*

*'Whitest' and 'Blackest' Names.* Asian names were taken from the website Baby Center.com (Lack, 2019). The list of Asian American names for girls and boys included many names, such as Amy and Bruce, that could be perceived as White (Lack, 2019). Consequently, only those names that could be recognized as Asian were selected.

Since only three names for males and three names for females were needed in a typical IAT focal group, only the top eight names in each category were chosen for the pilot test worksheets, excluding any overlapping names that might be represented in multiple racial backgrounds. The top Hispanic (Latino) names used in the United States were reviewed to make sure there were no overlaps in comparing the top Latino-sounding names with the White-sounding names (Cespedes, n.d.).

### ***Procedure***

Each participant received a packet of two worksheets that were stapled together. The first worksheet, the Names Study, contained a table with 48 names listed in separate cells, 16 each of White, Black, and Asian sounding names. The first cell contained the name “Molly” and was already correctly filled in so participants had an idea of how to proceed. The name “Molly” was not used in the main study. Participants were asked to write in each cell containing a name “the race and the sex (M/F) typically associated with that name.” Although the names were from only three racial backgrounds, participants could indicate whether they recognized the name as Asian (A), Black (B), Latino (L), Native American (N), or White (W). (See Appendix D for the two worksheets.)

The second worksheet, the Photo Study, consisted of two pages. Page one contained six closely cropped grayscale photographic headshots of two Black males, one

Black female, two White males, and one White female. Page two contained four loosely cropped grayscale photographic headshots of an Asian female, an Asian male, a White female, and a White male. On both page 1 and page 2 of the Photo Study, participants were asked to write in the race, age, sex, and the perceived emotional state of the person in each photograph. Participants were also asked to assign a name to each headshot based on whom they believed the headshot represented. The names listed as choices were Black, White, Asian, and Latino sounding names taken from lists of the top baby names for each group. Finally, participants were asked to indicate which page of photographs was easier to read: page 1 with the tightly cropped headshots, or page 2 with the more loosely cropped headshots.

Participants at the community college returned the completed worksheets and signed a separate paper to indicate they had participated in the pilot study to receive the extra credit. Participants at the local library were given the \$1.00 when they returned the completed worksheets. Although some of the student participants did not fully complete the entire worksheet, they still received the agreed upon compensation.

## **Results**

In Pilot Study 2, the names for Asian, Black, and White males and females were tested on the Names Study worksheet as to whether they were correctly identified to a specific racial background. A total of 24 names were needed to build the two IATS for the main study. On the Names Study worksheet, 13 names were 100 percent correctly identified for racial background; these names are included in Table 2. Another eight names had only one incorrect racial identification. Because a total of six male and six

female White sounding names were needed for the two IATs, three names were chosen that had two incorrect identifications (80% correctly identified for racial background): *Emma*, *Katie*, and *Luke*. One reason for the lower percentage of recognition for the White-sounding names could be that several of the student participants were immigrants and not socialized to recognize many White names.

**Table 2**

*Pilot Study 2: Names Chosen for the Implicit Association Tests (IATs)*

Sex	Black/White IAT		Asian/White IAT	
	Black	White	Asian	White
Male Names	Marquis <sup>a</sup> Trevon <sup>a</sup> Jamal <sup>a</sup>	Cody <sup>b</sup> Jack <sup>a</sup> Tanner <sup>a</sup>	Jeong <sup>a</sup> Chang <sup>a</sup> Jin <sup>a</sup>	Connor <sup>b</sup> Luke Wyatt <sup>b</sup>
Female Names	Ebony <sup>a</sup> Kiara <sup>b</sup> Imani <sup>b</sup>	Emily <sup>b</sup> Katelyn <sup>a</sup> Amy <sup>a</sup>	Ming Na <sup>a</sup> Chien <sup>b</sup> Yoshiko <sup>a</sup>	Emma Katie Madeline <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Indicates 100% correctly identified for racial background

<sup>b</sup> Indicates 90% correctly identified for racial background

The results from the Photo Study worksheet showed that participants had difficulty assigning the correct racial background to the photographic headshots. On page 1 of the Photo Study worksheet, the grayscale photographs of faces (supplied by COS) were cropped with just the eyes, cheeks, and nose clearly visible. Only two out of six headshots were correctly identified by everyone, a Black male and a Black female headshots. Photo 2 of a White female was incorrectly identified as a Latina and Native American. Photo 3 of a Black male was incorrectly identified three times as Native American, three times as Latino, and once as Asian. Photo 4 of a White male was

incorrectly identified three times as Latino. And, Photo 6 of a White male was incorrectly identified twice as Latino and twice as Asian. (See Appendix D for the worksheet photographs.)

On page 2 of the Photo Study worksheet, where the photographic headshots were more loosely cropped to show almost the entire face, two of the four headshots, the Asian female and White male headshots, were correctly identified by everyone. Photo 2 of the White female was incorrectly identified twice as a Latina. Photo 3 of the Asian male was incorrectly identified twice as Native American. Nine participants indicated that it was easier to identify the photographs on page 2 because more of the face was visible. One participant wrote that both pages were difficult to read because of the neutral expressions in the photographs.

## **Discussion**

Of the two worksheets, the Names Study and the Photo Study, the participants found it easier to link a name to a specific racial background than to identify the 10 photographic headshots to a racial background. The names that were the most incorrectly identified were Southeast Asian (Dalip and Jhumpa), which only 30 percent to 40 percent, respectively, of the participants correctly identified. As a result, only East Asian names were selected for the main study. The name Andre, which came from the top Black names list, was incorrectly identified three times as White and twice as Latino (ABC News, 2006). Although there are some names that could be considered as crossovers, the majority of the 47 names on the Names Study worksheet were identified correctly at least 70 % of the time.

Because previous studies showed that the IATs produced the same results regardless of whether they used names or photographs to represent the two racial focal groups, and because comparable and suitable photographic headshots could not be found for all three racial groups, the decision was made to use ethnic-sounding names to build the IATs for the main study (Rudman & McLean, 2016).

The top three male and female names were chosen for the Black and Asian focal groups, based on the names which received the best recognition in Pilot Study 2. Because there were two separate IATs, the top six female and six male names were chosen for the White focal groups, so that each IAT had a different group of three female and three male names, to compensate for any extra recognition for repetitive use across IATs. Table 2 above indicates the names chosen to build the IATs for the main study, and the percentages at which they were correctly identified by the participants.

The quality of the headshots used in IATs could have an impact on participant perception. As the participants in this pilot study indicated, they preferred the looser headshots that showed more of the face than the tightly cropped headshots. Only one third of the tightly cropped headshots were correctly identified by everyone, whereas half of the looser headshots were correctly identified by everyone. Although participants experienced some difficulty in correctly identifying the racial background of the people in the photographic headshots, the identification of the racial background of the written names was more precise. These results of Pilot Study 2 showed the significance of the written name as a trigger for racial identification. Thus, just having a name written on a



piece of paper that sounds Black, Asian, or other ethnic background can trigger a biased preference reaction (ABC News, 2006; Nkomo & Ariss, 2014).

The results of Pilot Study 1: the news story, and Pilot Study 2: the names and photographs worksheets, were utilized in preparing and building the main study, which is discussed in detail in the following Chapter 5, which outlines the method of the main study.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE MAIN STUDY**

This dissertation research explores Goffman's (1963) tribal stigma category with a focus on the stigma of race, a social construct based largely on physical appearance and genetic ancestry. An overarching question drove this dissertation: Do current social attitudes render race as an invisible and discounted, yet powerful stigma category?

To answer this question, research was conducted using a multi-phased approach. Phase 1 utilized two pilot studies to prepare and pretest materials to be included in Phase 2, the main study. The findings from two pilot studies, discussed in Chapter 4, were the basis for the development of two Implicit Association Tests (IATs), and a manipulation experiment for the main study. Chapter 5 discusses the method used in the main study.

The main study employed a  $2 \times 2 \times 3$  between-subjects experimental design: White and non-White participants ( $N = 303$ )  $\times$  news story (with race and without race)  $\times$  racial groups (Asian, Black, and White). The aim of the main study was to test the relationship between stigma, race, and racism, and to examine the relevance of Goffman's (1963) conceptualization of stigma for understanding 21st century racial challenges.

#### **Research Questions**

To shed light on the attitudes and beliefs about different racial groups of people held by adult Americans living in the United States, the following research questions were investigated:

RQ1: How do Americans view people of other races today?

RQ2: Do dominant (White) groups and minority (non-White) group members hold similar attitudes about minority (non-White) outgroups?

RQ3: Do dominant (White) group members and minority (non-White) group members differ in their judgments toward minority (non-White) outgroup members?

RQ4: Do dominant (White) group members and minority (non-White) group members differ in their intergroup communication with those not of their own racial group?

RQ5: Do the media have a different influence on dominant (White) groups as compared to minority (non-White) group members in the reinforcement of social stigmas?

RQ6: How does racism relate to social stigma?

### **Hypotheses**

To determine whether Goffman's (1963) tribal stigma of race significantly correlated with the concepts of races and racism, this dissertation quantitatively tested participants with measures typically used to study racism and measures used to study stigma. To assess the correlations between the concepts of stigma, race, and racism, the following hypotheses were proposed:

H1: The majority of White participants, as compared to non-White participants, will report more traditional racial attitudes toward those of other minority (non-White) racial groups.

H2: Participants who report higher (a) social dominance, (b) authoritarian, and (c) racist attitudes will stigmatize members of minority (non-White) outgroups more than those who have lower social dominance, authoritarian, and racist attitudes respectively.

H3: White participants are more likely than non-White participants to report minority groups as less human than (dominant) White groups.

H4: Non-White participants, as compared to White participants, will report other minority (non-White) outgroups as less human than White groups.

H5: White participants will report (a) less outgroup communication, which is also (b) less positive or (c) less meaningful, than non-White group members will report.

H6: Non-White participants will report greater comfort than White participants in communicating with people from other racial backgrounds.

H7: Non-White participants will report more intergroup contact than White participants with other racial group members.

H8: White participants are more likely than non-White participants to report that they learned more about other races from media sources than from interpersonal sources.

H9: Participants who read a negative news story will assign greater punishment to racial outgroups than to their own groups.

H10: Measures for racism and stigma will correlate highly.

## **Method**

This dissertation research used a stigma approach to evaluate the concepts of race, racism, and prejudice by studying dehumanizing attitudes and behaviors and using validated stigma dimensions (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011). Taking into consideration the scholarship and theoretical analyses presented in Chapter 2, stigma was conceptualized as a social construct in which powerless groups are separated from normal interactions within society because of characteristics and behaviors that are considered negative or abnormal by the dominant social groups within that society. When interacting with prejudiced individuals, racial minority groups face similar marginalizing as those who are stigmatized for other reasons such as mental illness or health issues (Phelan et al., 2008; Stuber et al., 2008). Some scholars have even claimed that stigma was “another name for racism” (Tyler, 2018, p. 753) and that racial stigma “is the true source of racial injury in the United States” (Lenhardt, 2004, p. 809).

To examine Goffman’s (1963) tribal stigma of race, the main study quantitatively examined both conscious and subconscious attitudes, including racial prejudices and stereotypes that individuals might be unaware they have and how those attitudes and stereotypes influence behavior toward stigmatized racial groups. Although previous studies focused primarily on White participants and their reactions to Black people, this study was structured to include participants from diverse racial backgrounds for an intergroup perspective on the communication and enforcement of racial stigma.

The main study was designed as an online survey instrument developed and hosted on Qualtrics, an online survey software and data collection service. Participants

were recruited through the crowdsourcing internet service Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Prior researchers determined that MTurk workers produced quality data even from the newer, more inexperienced workers (Robinson et al., 2019). (See Chapter 4 under the Pilot Study 1 Method heading for a more detailed description of Qualtrics and MTurk.) Thus, MTurk is an effective means in which to recruit research subjects. It was assumed that participants recruited through MTurk were representative of current social attitudes in the United States and that they would answer honestly.

### **Participants**

The goal of the main study was to acquire a stratified sample of 300 participants, with 150 identifying as White and 150 identifying as non-White. Because the MTurk population identifies as more than 75% White, a quota filter was set up in Qualtrics to obtain enough non-White participants to meet the participant goal (Robinson et al., 2019). After receiving Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval (See Appendix B for the IRB approved consent form), an initial sample of 377 adults (179 White identity and 198 non-White identity) was recruited during four batch runs on MTurk from July to October, 2020. To gain access to the Qualtrics survey, MTurk workers were required to be at least 18 years old, citizens of the United States, and have an MTurk approval rate of at least 99 percent with 1,000 successful completions. Participants were offered \$2 upon completion of the survey as compensation for their time and efforts.

### ***Demographics***

After eliminating 74 participants for various reasons (explained below), 303 participants (156 females, 146 males, 1 anti-binary) remained in the study, with 161

identifying as White and 142 as non-White. It is important to note here that there are different and competing ideas about the concepts of race, ethnicity, and culture, as discussed in Chapter 3. For the sake of clarity, this research used racial categories similar to those included in the U.S. Census, in which people are classified according to genetic ancestry based on physical features and skin color. Using the standard racial categories, the sample participants identified as 53.8% White, 21.1% Black, 14.2% Asian, 7.3% Latino, 2% Indigenous U.S., and 1.7% as other. The five write-ins for the “Other” category included two as “mixed,” one as “Mixed White and Pacific Islander,” one as “multiracial black white [*sic*],” and one as “Biracial Afro Caribbean American White European American.”

The majority of participants (46.9%) were from the 28-39 age group. Those over 40 years of age represented 45.9% of the participants, while only 7.3% were in the 18-27 age group. College graduates made up 64.7% of the participants. Those with some college represented 28.4%, and high school graduates were 5.6% of the sample population.

Of the participants, the majority, 52.1% identified as Democrat, followed by 23.1% Republican, 21.1% Independent, 2.6% with no political affiliation, and 1% as other. The three write-ins for the “Other” category included one as “Socialist,” one as “libertarian,” and one as “Green.”

For religious affiliation, 26.7% of the participants identified as either atheist or agnostic, 25.1% as Catholic, 19.5% as Protestant, 11.6% as other Christian, 7.6% as of no religion, 5.3% as other, 2% as Buddhist, 1.3% as Muslim, 0.7% as Hindu, and 0.3% as

Jewish. The 16 write-ins for the “Other” category included three as “Spiritual,” one as “Spiritual not religious with a belief in God,” one as “Not religious but have spiritual beliefs,” one as “theurgist,” one as Gnostic Christian and Buddhist,” one as “Protestant sp,” one as “Gnostic Satanist,” one as “Agnostic,” one as “yes,” one as “LDS,” one as “Baptist,” one as “Baha’i Faith,” one as “Taoist,” and one as “Humanist.” About 56% identified as some form of Christian group, 27% as atheist or agnostic, and 8% as belonging to no religious group.

### ***Sampling Procedure***

Of the initial sample of 377 adult participants (179 White identity and 198 non-White identity) recruited through MTurk, a total of 74 participants were eliminated after four MTurk program batch runs, leaving 303 participants (161 White identity and 142 non-White identity). Reasons for the eliminations are explained below.

Each task or assignment posted on MTurk is called a *human intelligence task*, or HIT. Prior researchers recommended breaking up the recruitment of a large sample into several batches, first, to test the program and, second, to vary the days and times the assignments are posted to access a broader MTurk population base (Buhrmester, 2018). The first batch was activated on Monday, July 20, 2020, and aimed to recruit 10 participants (5 White identity and 5 non-White identity) to assess the workability of the Qualtrics survey. The survey remained open for 7 days in MTurk. However, an issue with the MTurk link to Qualtrics required that the assignment be immediately resubmitted. Because of simultaneous resubmission issues, a final count of nine participants (5 White identity and 4 non-White identity) was obtained. Completion times for the Qualtrics



survey ranged from 30 minutes to 86 minutes, with at least five participants finishing close to 40 minutes, and all but one completed the Qualtrics survey within one hour. However, once the issue with the MTurk link was resolved and the Qualtrics survey was accessed, no problems were presented with the workings of the survey itself, including the Implicit Association Tests (IATs).

The second batch to recruit 100 participants from MTurk began Monday, August 17, 2020, and ran for 7 days without incident. The third batch to recruit 200 participants from MTurk ran on Sunday, August 30, 2020, for 3 days. A special MTurk filter was developed to block workers who had already completed the survey in the first two batches to prevent any participant from taking the Qualtrics survey more than once.

After assessing the data from 309 participants recruited during the first three batches, the decision was made to eliminate all participants who completed the Qualtrics survey in under 20 minutes (1200 seconds), those with too many neutral answers in a row, too many missing blanks, and those with invalid IATs. However, each participant who completed the Qualtrics survey received the \$2 compensation regardless of whether the data was kept or eliminated.

Seven non-White participants from the second batch were eliminated because of sloppy work, such as marking mostly neutral answers for the majority of the survey questions. Six participants from the second and third batches were eliminated for completing the Qualtrics survey in too short of time (2 White identity and 4 non-White identity). For example, one participant completed the entire survey in 13 minutes, the other five completed within 17 minutes. In considering that each of the IATs takes about

5 minutes to complete (20 minutes for four IATs) and with an additional 102 survey questions to answer, the cutoff for adequate timing at 20 minutes was quite conservative (Carpenter et al., 2019).

The rest of the eliminations were connected to the IAT results, which showed that 17 percent of participants sped too fast through the IAT frames or trials. In developing IAT programming to run on Qualtrics, researchers found as much as an 18 percent dropout rate for participants who sped through an IAT by pressing the designated computer keys indiscriminately, and labeled this action “button mashing” (Carpenter et al., 2019, p. 2204). Researchers considered ‘too fast’ to mean having more than 10 percent of the keyed responses completed in less than 300 milliseconds (a millisecond is a thousandth of a second). Based on this standard, when Qualtrics IAT data from the first three batches were loaded into and analyzed by the free open-access IAT analysis software (<http://iatgen.org/>), 36 participants did not receive an acceptable IAT score for either of the two pre-test IATs (12 White identity and 24 non-White identity) and were eliminated as recommended (Carpenter et al., 2019).

After the first three batches, a total of 49 of the 309 participants were removed as having unusable data. As a result, a fourth and final batch was run on Wednesday, October 14, 2020, to recruit another 68 participants from MTurk. Another filter was developed in MTurk to exclude those who has already completed the survey. The Qualtrics survey quota filter for White identity was reset to 174 to receive 24 extra White identities (excluding the quota of 5 from the first batch). The quota filter for non-White identity was reset to 194 to receive 44 extra non-White identities (excluding the quota of

4 from the first batch). All 68 participants completed the final batch within the expected timeframe and received compensation. The majority of the non-White participants were recruited during the third and fourth batches, as most of the White identity quota slots were filled by the second batch.

At end of the final batch, 364 participants remained of the 377 participants, because of eliminating six for too fast timing and seven for sloppy work. The IAT data for all 364 participants were uploaded into the analysis program, which found that a total of 61 participants received an unacceptable score for the IATs because of being too fast, or button mashing (16 White identity and 45 non-White identity). The decision was made to eliminate those whose two pre-test IATs had no viable *D* score, because the IATs were important covariates for use in this study. The two post-test IATs were not considered in the elimination process based on findings that prior experience affected taking the same IAT again. Greenwald et al. (2003) concluded that “posttests cannot be compared directly with pretests” (p. 211). Thus, prior research showed that less extreme IAT scores would emerge on the second taking of the same IAT because of prior familiarity with the test (Greenwald et al., 2003).

Some MTurk participants who started to take the survey could not complete the Qualtrics survey because of quirks with the quota filter in Qualtrics. At the end the third batch in August, 2020, seven participants unable to complete the survey because of quota issues, emailed the researchers through the MTurk system. A custom compensation HIT was created for these individuals so that they could receive the allotted \$2 compensation for their time and effort.

## Procedure

Potential MTurk participants were invited to take part in an academic research study about social attitudes and norms in the United States. Eligible participants were given a link that directed them to the Qualtrics online survey, and they were required to use a computer with a keyboard to take the Implicit Association Tests (IATs). After answering the filter questions about identity (*White* or *non-White*), U.S. citizenship (*Yes* or *No*), and age group (*Under 18 years of age*, *18 years old*, or *Over 18 years of age*) and meeting study parameters, participants reviewed IRB required information and the consent form. Although there were no foreseeable risks or discomforts, participants were allowed to skip uncomfortable questions.

Upon providing their consent, participants were directed to complete two IATs on race, one for Black vs. White, and another for Asian vs. White. Next, survey questions from validated measures such as the Social Dominance Orientation scale (Ho et al., 2015), the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (Zakrisson, 2005), the Modern Racism Scale and the Old-Fashioned Racism measures (McConahay, 1981), and the Ascent of Man measure of blatant dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2015) were answered.

Participants also indicated their own specific racial identity, how they recognized that people belonged to different racial groups, their exposure to informational sources from which they learned about race, the racial makeup and influence of their own social networks, and the quality of communication with people from different racial groups using the Outgroup Contact Index measure (Rudman & McLean, 2016) and the Communication Scale (Everett et al., 2015), and their own feelings toward different racial

groups (Greenwald et al., 2009). Then participants completed questions adapted from Bresnahan and Zhuang's (2011) five dimensions for measuring stigma. (See Appendix A for a list of Bresnahan & Zhuang's five dimensions of stigma).

Next, participants completed an experiment in a  $2 \times 2 \times 3$  between-subjects experimental design: White and non-White participants ( $N = 303$ )  $\times$  news story (with race and without race)  $\times$  racial groups (Asian, Black, and White). Attitudes about race were manipulated through the reading of a news story about a crime, assessing behavioral components of race-based stigmas. Participants were randomly assigned to read one news story in which one of the races of White, Black, or Asian, or no racial background were inserted into the storyline. After reading the news story, participants answered questions about their feelings toward the alleged criminals and possible punishment to discover any latent implicit dehumanization based on race (Bastian et al., 2013; Haslam, 2006).

After the experiment, two post-test IATs, which were the same as the two initial IATs, were completed. Next, participants answered demographic questions about themselves, including sex, age group, education level, marital status, employment, income level, and political and religious affiliations. Finally, subjects were thanked for their participation in the study and reminded to complete the procedure necessary to collect their compensation through their MTurk account.

### **Instrumentation**

The main study combined Implicit Association Tests (IATs), a standard survey questionnaire, and an experiment bundled into one program on the Qualtrics online data

collection service. The Qualtrics software platform allowed for the development and inclusion of multiple types of instrumentation into one program to complete this research.

### ***Implicit Association Tests (IATs)***

After the completion of the IRB consent form (See Appendix B for the IRB approved consent form), the Qualtrics survey started with two IATs to minimize priming by the explicit survey questions that followed. An IAT is a computer-based program regularly used in social psychology since 1998. The involuntary affective components of stigma and race were explored using the IATs, which assess subconsciously embedded attitudes and biases (Bargh et al., 1996; Everett et al., 2015; Greenwald et al., 1998; Rudman & McLean, 2016; Vanman et al., 1997).

Implicit tests measure unconscious, culturally shared, automatic attitudes in contrast to explicit tests which measure conscious attitudes (Dovidio et al., 1997). Internal attitudes can be very different from self-reports, as subjects try to provide expected or politically correct survey answers. IATs have been shown to produce accurate implicit associations (De Houwer, 2001; McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Greenwald et al., 2009). Thus, implicit measures can be “stronger predictors of racial bias than cognitive measures” (Vanman et al., 1997, p. 954). Studies found a direct link between IAT results and prejudice regardless of participant awareness of the purpose of the test.

IATs have four categories. Two categories classify focal groups (in this study, e.g., Black and White). Two categories represent attributes (in this study, e.g., pleasant and unpleasant) (Sriram & Greenwald, 2009). Six stimulus items (individual names) were

used per category for each racial focal group, and eight stimulus items were used for each attribute type. Research has shown that a minimum of four stimulus items were needed per category for an effective analysis (Nosek et al., 2005).

Because IATs are binary, it is possible to test for only two focal groups at a time. Therefore, participants in this study completed a Black-White IAT and then an Asian-White IAT. Based on the results of Pilot Study 2 (as discussed in Chapter 4), ethnic-sounding names were chosen to represent the three main focal groups: Asian, Black, and White (ABC News, 2006; Lack, 2019; Rudman & McLean, 2016).

Black-White IAT focal group names (stimulus items) were as follows:

Black: Marquis, Trevon, Jamal, Ebony, Kiara, and Imani

White: Cody, Jack, Tanner, Emily, Katelyn, and Amy

Asian-White IAT focal group names (stimulus items) were as follows:

Asian: Jeong, Chang, Jin, Ming Na, Chien, and Yosiko

White: Connor, Luke, Wyatt, Emma, Katie, and Madelyn [*sic*]

Attribute terms were taken from the *Journal of Open Psychology* free open-source data (Xu et al., 2014). These terms have been frequently used in standard IATs that deal with race. Attribute categories and stimulus items for both IATs were as follows:

Pleasant: joy, happy, laughter, love, glorious, pleasure, peace, wonderful

Unpleasant: evil, agony, awful, nasty, terrible, horrible, failure, hurt

**IAT Programming.** When first developed more than 20 years ago, IATs required expensive third-party software and tools. However, in 2018, a group of researchers developed computer coding to run an IAT on the Qualtrics software using HTML and

JavaScript code, thus providing a free and economical design for other researchers to develop and run their own IATs as a Qualtrics survey (Carpenter et al., 2019). The program application to create the IATs for this research was provided by IATGEN, an online free, open-source website. (Information for the IATs can be found at <http://iatgen.com> and on the Open Science Framework at <https://osf.io/jrvg8/>.)

During the IAT building phase in the IATGEN program development platform, a decision had to be made as to which focal group of names would be entered as Target A and which group would be Target B. Because prior research showed a greater preference for White sounding names by participants, by putting the White focal group into Target A, the results would likely show a positive score for preference for White sounding names (Carpenter et al., 2019; Morin, 2015). If the White focal group were entered as Target B, then the results would show a negative score for preference for White sounding names if the majority of participants preferred White sounding names over other racial names. Taking the possible results into consideration, for each of the IATs in this study, the White focal group was entered as Target A. The Black and Asian focal groups were entered as Target B in their respective IATs. Pleasant terms (stimulus items) were entered as the Positive Attribute, and unpleasant terms (stimulus items) were entered as the Negative Attribute. Once the targets and attributes were entered into the IATGEN program, a Qualtrics survey file (QSF) of the newly created IAT was downloaded, which could then be uploaded into Qualtrics as a survey.

The IATGEN format as displayed in Qualtrics followed the standard IAT practice of using seven blocks. The first two blocks were for practice and contained 20 trials each.



The third block combined focal groups for another 20-trial practice. The fourth block contained 40 trials using both target groups and attribute groups randomly. The fifth block was another 40-trial block that reversed the categories. Finally, another two blocks with 20 trials (practice) and 40 trials respectively followed to complete one IAT.

The IAT program on Qualtrics had four versions, which were randomly assigned, so that each participant completed one version of the IAT. The four versions were as follows (Carpenter et al., 2019):

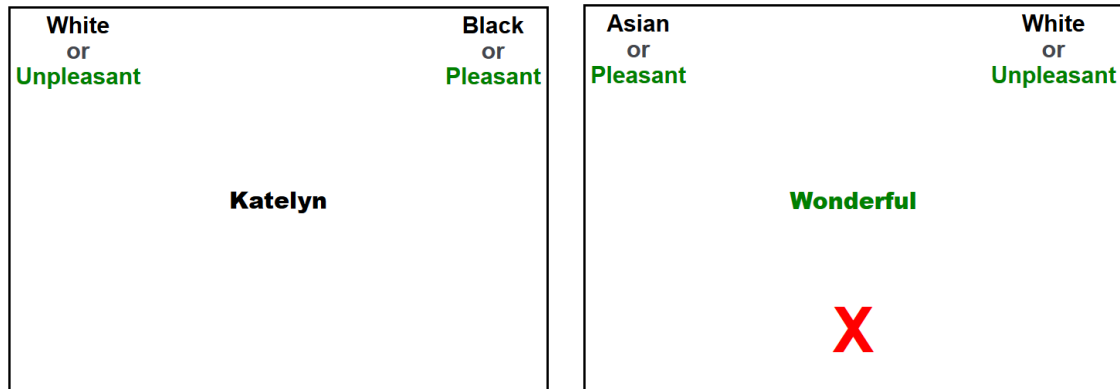
- (1) Compatible first: Target A on right initially paired with positive attribute (RP)
- (2) Incompatible first: Target A on right initially paired with negative (RN)
- (3) Compatible first: Target A on left initially paired with positive (LP)
- (4) Incompatible first: Target A on left initially paired with negative (LN)

To complete an IAT, participants were instructed to place their left and right index fingers on the ‘E’ and ‘I’ keys of a computer keyboard and to match category names with attributes as fast as possible without making mistakes by pressing the correct key. To create a visual distinction, the racial targets were represented in black font, and the attributes were in green font. The targets and attribute categories at the top of each page remained the same while separate stimulus items (names or attributes) in the center of the page changed as participants pressed either the ‘E’ or ‘I’ computer key and progressed through an IAT trial block. A red ‘X’ appeared at the bottom of the page when a mistake was made, and participants corrected the mistake by pressing the correct key before proceeding to the next stimulus item. Figure 1 shows screen shots from the

Qualtrics survey providing a view of how two trial blocks looked as participants worked through an IAT.

**Figure 1**

*Screen Shots of IAT Trials*



*Note.* The screen shot from Qualtrics on the left provides a view participants had when working on an IAT. The correct key to hit is the ‘E’ key. The screen shot on the right displays the red ‘X’ when the wrong key was pressed, placing the attribute in the wrong category. The correct key would be the ‘E’ key to place the attribute under Asian or Pleasant.

**IAT Data Analysis.** Once the IAT data were collected, the Qualtrics survey was downloaded as an Excel comma separated values (.CSV) file. Ordinarily, Qualtrics surveys can be seamlessly downloaded as .sav files to be used in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software program. However, because the special IATGEN coding for the IAT outputs displays the results in Qualtrics as a text string containing every key stroke, SPSS cannot correctly read the IAT data results. Thus, the Qualtrics data must be downloaded as a .CSV file and prepared for analysis in the IATGEN program which is online and provided without cost (<http://iatgen.org/>).

The following is an example of how one 20-trial block of an IAT appears as one long text string in one data cell in both Qualtrics and Excel:

14C1437,11C845,12C1447,11C864,9C579,6C776,7C791,4C730,16C729,12C1128,5C922,3C751,13C879,1C1059,8C1195,5C831,10C1291,4C929,2X1725,15C1429,END

The first number represents the number of the randomized stimulus item (name or attribute), the ‘C’ means that the correct computer key was pressed, and the last number represents the number of milliseconds (ms) the participant took to choose the correct key. An ‘X’ represents an incorrect computer key choice. Each one of the 20 trials is separated by a comma.

Because of the incompatibility between the IATGEN data output and the SPSS platform, once the IAT data were collected, the Qualtrics survey was downloaded as a .CSV file, and then the specific IAT data was separated into individual IAT files, one for the Black-White IAT and one for the Asian-White IAT. Each IAT file was individually uploaded into the IAT analysis and scoring algorithm program provided by IATGEN (<http://iatgen.org/>), which calculated *D* scores based on the times participants took to associate racial sounding target names with pleasant or unpleasant words (Carpenter et al., 2019). The IATGEN program automatically calculated the *D* scores and provided them in a format that could be easily uploaded into Excel or SPSS.

*D* scores are the measures necessary to understand IAT results. Participants who had at least 10 percent or more of response times that were faster than 300 ms or slower than 10,000 ms received no *D* score and were dropped (Carpenter et al., 2019; Greenwald et al., 2003; Nosek et al., 2014). Individual IAT *D* scores range from -2 to 2. Scores “less than .15 but more than -.15” reveal no preference for either target race. “Scores between

.15 and .34 (or -.15 and -.34)” show a slight preference for one race over the other, depending on which racial group was assigned as Target A. “Scores between .35 and .64 (or -.35 and -.64) reflected a moderate preference” for one race over another. “Scores of .65 and higher (or -.65 and lower) indicated a strong preference” for one race over another (Morin, 2015, p. 21).

Because the White racial group was assigned to Target A in each IAT in this study, positive outcomes represent preference for the White race. Both Black-White IAT and Asian-White IAT showed a significantly moderate preference for the White race by the participants. Both pre-test IATs also had high reliability rates. Table 3 provides the IATGEN analysis results of the four IATs after the final MTurk batch was completed.

The *D* scores retrieved from the IATGEN analysis software program were retained and then pasted back into the original data .CSV file, converted into an Excel (.xlsx) file, and then used for results analysis in the SPSS software program.

**Table 3**

*Analysis Results of IATs*

IAT	<i>N</i>	Dropped for Speed	Reliability	<i>D</i> -Score Mean	<i>D</i> -Score <i>SD</i>	<i>p</i> -value	Cohen’s <i>d</i>
Black-White Pre-test	364	53	0.82123	0.43237	0.39894	< 0.00001	1.08380
Asian-White Pre-test	363	56	0.83564	0.34752	0.38595	< 0.00001	0.90043
Black-White Post-test	363	68	0.83229	0.37833	0.37585	< 0.00001	1.00658
Asian-White Post-test	364	80	0.78178	0.30315	0.37029	< 0.00001	0.81869

### ***The Experiment: The News Story***

For the race manipulating experiment, participants were asked to read a negative news story that randomly featured different racial group members as perpetrators of a crime. The goal was to assess participant attitudes regarding race-based stigma and implicit dehumanization. Many studies use fictitious news stories representing the issues they are studying (Everett et al., 2015). However, the story still needs to appear credible. A fictional news story based on real events in the Philadelphia local area was pilot tested for believability and realisticness, as discussed in Chapter 4, and used in the main study. The news story describing negative criminal behavior served as an anger prime. Anger, according to Jackson et al. (2001), provoked dispositional attributions in negative outgroup behavior situations.

The news story was formatted in Qualtrics to resemble an online news article and was written in four versions: neutral, White, Black, and Asian races. The control news story (the neutral version) contained no racial information. The four versions of the news story remained essentially the same, except with race interjected as a qualifier when describing two criminals in a negative situation. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions. The news story was written in the news style of an inverted pyramid. The article began with a lead sentence describing details of a robbery at a convenience store. The next two paragraphs gave details of the alleged criminals and the victim. The final paragraph provided contact information for the Philadelphia police department. (See Appendix C for the complete news story.)

**Implicit Dehumanization.** Most studies on racial stereotypes focus primarily on Black and White media representations. This study added another racial dimension for comparative analysis: Asians. The media industry has been charged with misrepresenting people of color, stereotyping Black males as animal-like and criminal, and Asians as foreign threats (Correll et al., 2007; Correll et al., 2006; Dixon et al., 2010; Parham-Payne, 2014; Pyke & Johnson, 2003; Rajgopal, 2010; Sim et al., 2013). Newspapers and TV news media have limitations in their reporting that are culturally based. Choices in deciding what is newsworthy are often based on “the production and reproduction of racial and gendered stereotypes” (Shon, 2012, p. 253). As a result, research has shown that the media continually reinforce negative stereotypes of Asians, Blacks, and other minority racial groups, which are then activated during everyday contacts, resulting in dehumanizing treatment for those belonging to a minority racial group.

To measure the extent to which participants dehumanized the racial group members mentioned in the news story, most of the thirteen questions relating to the news story were adapted from the Bastian et al. (2013) study, which linked dehumanization to severity of punishment. The first question asked participants to select the race of the two alleged robbers to assess whether participants correctly remembered which version of the news story they read. In the next twelve questions, participants were asked to report how angry they felt after reading the news story, how much disgust they felt, and how much compassion they might have toward the wayward teens. Participants were also asked to indicate whether they felt the teens were acting mechanical and cold like robots, or lacking in self-restraint like animals, or were simply acting as typical teens (Haslam,

2006). Participants were then asked to choose a type of punishment for the alleged perpetrators of the crime recorded in the news story: community service, probation, some jail time, 1 to 2 years in jail, or the maximum amount allowed. Participants were then asked to indicate how harsh the punishment should be, on a scale from 1 (*Not at all*) to 10 (*Extreme*).

A principal component analysis was conducted on the twelve questions ( $N = 295$ ) to determine whether any of the questions together might be a factor component of implicit dehumanization. The analysis produced four components. The six weakest items from the component matrix were dropped, and the analysis was run again with six questions. This time the scale loaded on two components. The two weakest items were dropped, leaving four questions dealing with anger, disgust, teens lacked restraint like animals, and harsh punishment. The principal component analysis produced one distinct factor with the four questions, which explained 59.84 percent of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 2.39. Together the four questions had a good reliability as indicated by Cronbach's  $\alpha = .78$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

### ***Questionnaire Survey***

After completing the first two IATs in the Qualtrics instrument, participants answered survey questions about their attitudes on current social issues. Most questions were adapted from standard survey measures testing attitudes of bias, racism, and stigma. Most questions were formatted as 7-item Likert scales. Other questions used sliders to gauge the level of feelings the participants may have had toward a particular issue or racial group of people. And, other questions required some text entry to indicate the

number of social contacts. Participants completed demographic questions after the last post-test IAT.

## **Measures**

The questionnaire focused primarily on stigma and racial attitudes, and questions were taken from several previously validated scales. The shortened version of the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale with 8 questions was used, along with 8 questions from the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale (Ho et al., 2015; Zakrisson, 2005). Two measures were designed to assess outgroup contact and communication: the Rudman and McLean (2016) Outgroup Contact Index, and the Everett Communication Scale (Everett et al., 2015). Old-fashioned racism and modern racism attitudes were also measured, along with blatant dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2015; McConahay et al., 1981; Zakrisson, 2005). Then participants completed questions modified from the five dimensions of stigma (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011). (Appendix A explains the modifications of Bresnahan & Zhuang's five dimensions of stigma for use in this study.)

Additional identity questions were adapted from the Saperstein et al. (2016) study, which showed that people are often racially classified by skin color and other physical features. Participants were also asked to indicate through which informational sources they received their understanding about their own and other racial groups: friends, family, co-workers or classmates, social media, TV news, and newspapers. They were also asked to rate their feelings from cold to warm toward different racial groups (Greenwald et al., 2009).



### ***Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)***

Participants' levels of preference for social hierarchy, group dominance, and inequality were measured using the revised 8-question SDO scale developed by Ho et al. (2015). Introduced more than 20 years ago with 16 items, this measure plays a role in defining attitudes about intergroup contact and behaviors related to hierarchical roles (Pratto et al., 1994). Ho et al. (2015) developed a shortened SDO7(s) scale using pro-trait and con-trait dimensions of dominance and anti-egalitarianism. The shortened version contained eight questions, which are scored on a scale of 1 (*strongly oppose*) to 7 (*strongly favor*). This study used the scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The con-trait questions were reversed coded. A high score showed a "strong preference for group dominance" (Nicol & De France, 2016, p. 321).

Additionally, SDO has been shown to correlate with blatant dehumanization, "the overt and conscious denial of outgroup humanity" (Ho et al., 2015, p. 1005), which is a stigma attribute identified by Goffman (1963). SDO is also a "strong predictor of old-fashioned racism" (Ho et al., 2015, p. 1021) and prejudice against devalued groups. When space does not allow use of the full scale, the short 8-item SDO scale was recommended because of its demonstrated consistency with the full scale in its predictive validity with high reliability. Kteily et al. (2012) also recommended that the SDO scale be taken before other measures about group membership. Consequently, the SDO questions are the first in the survey questionnaire, right after the completion of the initial two IATs. The SDO questions are then followed by the questions from the Right-Wing

Authoritarianism scale (Zakrisson, 2005). (See Appendix E for the Social Dominance Orientation scale and the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale.)

To assess whether the 8 items of the SDO scale (Ho et al., 2015) constituted a single factor as used in this research, a principal component analysis was conducted on the eight questions ( $N = 291$ ). The analysis showed one component with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 57.48% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 4.60. Together the eight items had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .89$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

### ***Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)***

To assess participant level of agreement with, and adherence to, conservative and traditional principles, a modified version of questions was taken from the Zakrisson (2005) shortened version of the RWA scale. Zakrisson (2005) modified the original 30-item RWA scale into a 15-item scale as a more reliable short version untangled from SDO items to provide a “purer concept of authoritarianism” (p. 870).

The RWA scale is comprised of three factors: Conservatism, Traditionalism, and Authoritarianism. A high Conservatism score reveals a high inclination to respect and obey authority, a high Traditionalism score shows a strong liking for traditional values, and a high Authoritarianism score displays a tough position against criminals and an uncompromising enforcement of harsh laws (Nicol & De France, 2016; Zakrisson, 2005). This research focused on the authoritarianism and traditionalism questions, using eight of the 15 items from the Zakrisson (2005) shortened scale, as applicable to this research. Items were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly*

*agree*) with higher scores representing higher levels of RWA. (See Appendix E for the 15-item Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale and the questions chosen for this research.)

War, harsh punishment for criminals, and aggression are acceptable activities for those demonstrating high right-wing authority attitudes whether in government, religion or the media (Benjamin, 2006). RWA has also been found to correlate with “negative attitudes toward African-Americans, homosexuals, women and immigrants” (Ekehammar et al., 2004, p. 465) and is related to prejudice and ethnocentrism (Zakrisson, 2005).

Most humans have a basic desire to protect the safety of themselves and their families. However, those with strong beliefs about interpersonal threats were found in shooter bias research to be more likely to shoot at unfamiliar outgroup members, even if those outgroups are not typically associated with danger, such as individuals from the Asian community. In their study, Miller et al. (2012) found that White participants who believed the “world to be a dangerous place” (p. 1361), were more likely to shoot at Asians by mistake than to shoot at other Whites, simply because Asians were outgroup members. In other words, the participants were more apt to attack anyone from an outgroup, even with the lack of cultural danger stereotypes, as in the case of Asians. This finding can be applied to the situation today, where Asian Americans were attacked and blamed for creating the dangerous world of the COVID-19 pandemic (Guynn & Bajak, 2021; Sherman, 2021; Yam, 2021). As with stigma, the character of outgroup members who do not comply with dominant authority is questioned, either because of their behavior or their physical traits.

Whereas RWA is about submission to structure, tradition, and dominant authority, SDO is more about personal “preference for group based on dominance and inequality” (Ekehammar et al., 2004; Kteily et al., 2012, p. 543). The RWA and the SDO together have been shown to strongly predict prejudice and ethnocentrism (Ekehammar et al., 2004; Zakrisson, 2005). As a result, this study followed the recommendation of researchers to use both scales together for stronger predictions about prejudice, ethnocentrism, and racism (Ekehammar et al., 2004).

A principal component analysis was conducted to identify components for the eight items from the RWA used in this research ( $N = 288$ ; the number is lower because of missing data). The scale loaded onto two components. The first component explained 52.35% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 4.19. The second component explained 13.27% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 1.06. Together the eight items had high reliability, Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .87$ .

To force the measure into one factor, question 8 (good people challenge state, church) with the lowest extraction rate (.360) was dropped, and another principal component analysis was run. Again the scale loaded into two components. Question 14 (treat troublemakers with reason) with the next lowest extraction (.504) was removed, and another principal components analysis was run, which again loaded into two components. Finally, Question 4 (tolerance for the untraditional) was withdrawn, and the principal component analysis showed one clear component containing questions 3, 6, 11, 13 and 15 ( $N = 296$ ), pointing to attitudes toward an authoritarianism outlook calling for stricter laws and tougher punishments (Nicol & De France, 2016; Zakrisson, 2005). The

single component, consisting of five questions, explained 63.74% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 3.19. Together the five items had a Cronbach's  $\alpha = .86$ , indicating high reliability. The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

Finally, a principal component analysis was run on Questions 4, 8, and 14 together ( $N = 294$ ), revealing a single component with an eigenvalue greater than 1, explaining 58.97% of the variance with an eigenvalue of 1.77, and pointing to attitudes about upholding traditional values. Together the three items had a Cronbach's  $\alpha = .65$ , which is sufficiently reliable. The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

### ***Communication Measures***

**Outgroup Contact Index.** To assess participants contact with outgroup members three questions were adapted from the "outgroup contact index," which is a measure developed by Rudman and McLean (2016, p. 381). For the explicit communication measure, Rudman and McLean (2016) used questions such as, "Who do you interact with most frequently," "Who do you have the most positive contact," and "Who do you have the most meaningful contact?" (p. 381). Although, Rudman and McLean were looking specifically at Black and White interaction, the answers were modified for this study to range from 1 (*only with people from my own racial background*) to 5 (*only with people not of my own racial background*). A higher score indicated more contact with people from racial groups other than their own.

To assess whether the three questions of the outgroup contact index constituted a single factor, a principal component analysis was run ( $N = 302$ ). The analysis produced a

single component with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 64.82% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 1.945. Together the three questions were reliable, as indicated by Cronbach's  $\alpha = .72$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

In addition, participants separately “reported how many of their friends, coworkers, mentors, doctors, or other health care professionals” (Rudman and McLean, 2016, p. 381) were of the same race as the participant on scales ranging from 1 (*none*) to 5 (*all*). This report gauged whether people communicated with others from different racial groups in different settings. An unbalanced contact could indicate an impact on implicit attitudes and how outgroup members felt about their own group members (Rudman & McLean, 2016).

For this study, the Rudman and McLean (2016) question was modified so that participants answered the question about same race contact for four different groups: friends, coworkers or classmates, mentors, and healthcare professionals on a scale ranging from 1 (*none*) to 5 (*all*). To assess whether the four questions of the ingroup race contact index constituted a single factor, a principal component analysis was run ( $N = 302$ ). The analysis produced one distinct component with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 68.96% of the variance with an eigenvalue of 2.76. Together the four questions had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .85$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

**Everett Communication Scale.** To assess the ease in which participants communicated with people from an outgroup racial background, four questions were

adapted from the Everett et al. (2015) 15-item communication scale, which originally was designed to measure stigma against British Muslim women wearing religious veils.

Everett et al. (2015) suggested that emotions played a stronger role than stereotypes in predicting an individual's attitude toward outgroup members. This study modified questions 1, 10, and 12 as follows:

Question 1. How easy is it for you to communicate with someone from a racial background different from yours?

Question 10. How much do you struggle to think of what to say when you have interactions with someone from a racial background different from yours?

Question 12. How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: "I feel that if I disagreed with an individual from a different racial background, they would take it as a personal attack."

Question 1 used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all easy*) to 7 (*very easy*).

Question 10 used a similar scale ranging from 1 (*very much*) to 7 (*not at all*). And,

Question 12 used a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 7 (*strongly disagree*). A higher score indicated more ease during interactions with outgroup members.

Everett et al. (2015) also adapted a question from Plant and Devine (2003) asking about the outcome of imagined interaction with an outgroup member. This question was adapted for this study: "How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: 'When I imagine interacting with a person from a different racial background, negative stereotypes sometime come to my mind even though I wish they wouldn't'" (Everett et al., 2015, p. 95). This question used a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 7 (*strongly*

*disagree*). A higher score indicated more ease during interactions with outgroup members.

To ensure the four questions from the Everett Communication Scale constituted a single variable, a principal component analysis was conducted ( $N = 298$ ). The analysis showed one main component with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 56.93% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 2.28. Together the four questions had good reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .74$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

### ***Racism Measures***

To measure participant self-reports on race and racism, this study used both the 7-item Old-Fashioned Racism (OFR) scale and the 8-item Modern Racism Scale (MRS) from McConahay et al. (1981), which were modified for this study. This study also added the recommended question, "Deep in my heart I know I am a racist," under the OFR scale for a total of eight OFR questions (McConahay et al., 1981, p. 575). And instead of focusing on only Blacks and Whites, this study used the terms "minority people" or "minority racial groups" to include a broader range of different racial groups. Following the example set by Zakrisson (2005), who adapted a 7-item Likert scale, responses in this study range from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Higher values represent more racist attitudes. (See Appendix F for both the OFR and MRS racism measures.)

McConahay et al. (1981) developed a measure to look at racism in our modern period based on changes in how racism was viewed and displayed. Questions about old-fashioned racism were easier to detect because participants could figure out the direction



the questions are going. But, “modern racism goes undetected or unacknowledged . . . because whites tend to think of racism as a thing of the past” (McConahay et al., 1981, p. 579). Additionally, McConahay et al. (1981) suggested using both measures, because the blatant racism of the OFR scale might make modern racism appear less offensive. In other words, participants were more likely to “fake being less prejudiced” when answering the OFR questions (McConahay et al., 1981, p. 578). However, it is important to note that in previous research, low scores for both the Old-Fashioned Racism and Modern Racism scales, wherein many White participants reported not being racially prejudiced, the participants were still revealed to have unconscious, implicit negative attitudes toward racial minority groups (Dovidio et al., 1997). Consequently the explicit racism scores should be compared with the IAT results.

Modern racism predicts attitudes such as preferences about “interpersonal distance” and “antiblack feelings” (McConahay et al., 1981, p. 578). Those who scored higher on the MRS measure “engaged in different forms of discrimination” when considering job candidates, with “less willingness to hire a black than a white candidate with identical credentials” (McConahay, 1983, p. 556). High scores on the MRS scale also correlated with voting against Black candidates, and opposing busing and school desegregation (McConahay, 1983).

**Old-Fashioned Racism (OFR) Scale.** To determine whether the eight items in the OFR scale constituted a single variable, a principal component analysis was conducted ( $N = 294$ ). The analysis loaded on two components. To force the measure into one component, the principal components analysis was conducted again but without

Question 1 (favor strong open housing laws to protect minorities), which had the lowest component score (.172). A single factor emerged with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which accounted for 58.50% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 4.10. Together the seven remaining items had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .88$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

**Modern Racism Scale (MRS).** To assess whether the 8-item MRS scale used in this research measured a single factor, a principal component analysis was conducted on the eight questions ( $N = 290$ ). The analysis showed a single component with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 68.42% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 5.47. Together the eight items had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .93$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

#### ***Ascent of Man Measure of Blatant Dehumanization***

Dehumanization is the process of treating other people as if they were less than human, which is another way in which Goffman described stigmatized groups as “not quite human” (Cage et al., 2019; Goffman, 1963, p. 5). Since the 2000s, research has focused on this phenomenon of dehumanization as a separate concept (Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016). Dehumanization, along with moral outrage, has been shown to predict higher punishment for crimes and has been linked to “harsher treatment of groups” (Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016, p. 27) not viewed as fully human (Bastian et al., 2013). Kteily et al. (2015) showed that dehumanization was more than a subtle attitude and that blatant dehumanization was a better predictor of outcomes in intergroup behaviors and specifically for more extreme types of actions, like torture, against

outgroup members. Dehumanization has also been linked to higher attitudes of social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism (Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016).

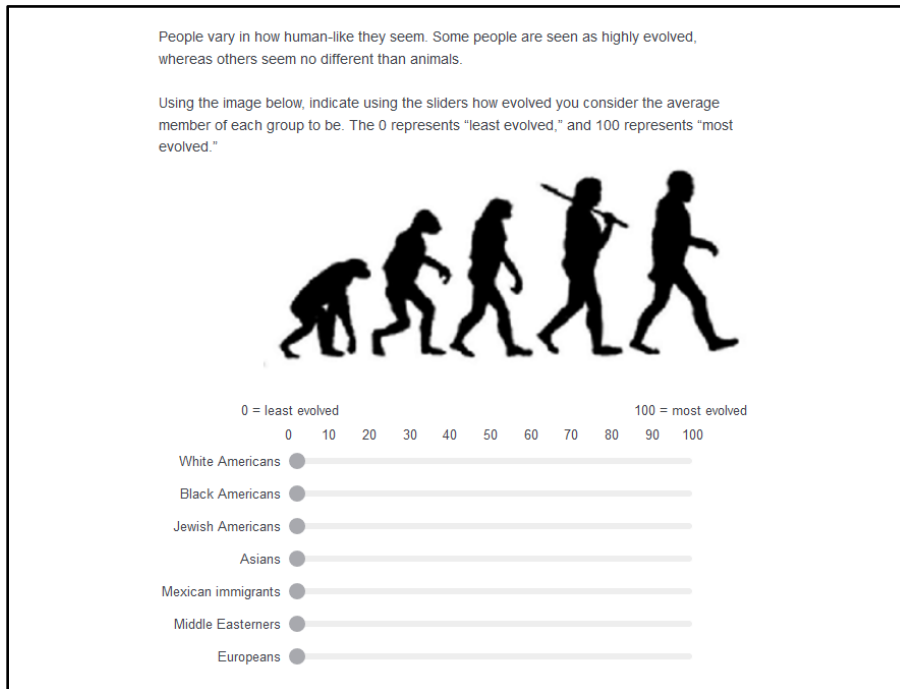
To measure participants' assessment of the level of humanness of people from different racial and ethnic groups, this study used the Ascent of Man measure of blatant dehumanization, adapted from Kteily et al. (2015). The measure uses a graphic illustration showing a linear human development using graphic silhouetted images depicting the human evolutionary process from apes to modern humanity. "The Ascent measure of blatant dehumanization," according to Kteily et al. (2015), represented a "face-valid and intuitive" representation of "the overt and direct denial of humanness" (p. 904) inherent in blatant dehumanization. Images of monkeys and apes juxtaposed with that of a fully modern human can trigger "openly held beliefs about the inherent inferiority of other groups" (Kteily et al., 2015, p. 904) and the latent stereotypes of certain racial groups as animal-like in comparison to the fully cognizant and able dominant group. A slider scale "ranging from 0 (*least evolved*) to 100 (*most evolved*)" (Kteily et al., 2015, p. 906) was used to represent how close to full modern humanity a group of people may be perceived. Researchers considered the blatant dehumanization measure to be more reliable than subtler measures (Cage et al., 2019).

For this study, seven different racial and ethnic groups were included in this measure: White Americans, Black Americans, Jewish Americans, Asians, Mexican immigrants, Middle Easterners and Europeans. Participants moved a slider scale marker for each group to indicate where on the human linear scale each group belonged. Permission was given to use the image and concept. Figure 2 is a screen shot of the

Qualtrics question used in this study showing how the blatant dehumanization measure was represented, following the example set by Kteily et al. (2015) but with different target groups.

**Figure 2**

*Screen Shot of the Ascent of Man Measure of Blatant Dehumanization*



*Note.* Participant responses were made by moving the slider button next to each group to the right, starting at '0' for *least evolved* to '100' for *most evolved*. Originally published in Kteily et al. (2015). The image was downloaded from ResearchGate.net at [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-Ascent-of-HuMan-measure-of-blatant-dehumanization-Scores-are-provided-using-a\\_fig1\\_315981814](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-Ascent-of-HuMan-measure-of-blatant-dehumanization-Scores-are-provided-using-a_fig1_315981814)

Dehumanization difference scores are "calculated by subtracting the Ascent rating of the target outgroup from the Ascent rating of the ingroup" (Kteily et al., 2015, p. 906) to consider ingroup verses outgroup distinctions. The higher the difference, the more dehumanization of other groups was perceived. On the other hand, an overall factor score

provides an overall look at people's general thoughts about the level of humanity for all groups. A principal component analysis was run to assess the reliability of the overall dehumanization factor ( $N = 300$ ). The analysis produced one distinct component with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 76.16% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 5.33. Together, the assessments of the seven racial groups had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .95$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

### ***Stigma Measures***

To measure the extent to which participants stigmatized different racial groups, the Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) five dimensions of stigma, a 27-item scale to measure stigma against HIV/AIDS, was adapted for this study. The five stigma dimensions are "labeling, negative attribution, separation (distancing), status loss and controllability" (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011, pp. 421, 424).

Most recent research on stigma has concentrated on the physical and character types by considering conditions such as disease, mental illness, and HIV. But few studies have examined race as a tribal stigma. However, Goffman (1963) suggested that stigma carried similar elements across the three different types (physical, character, and tribal), and Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) emphasized the need for "an integrated theory of stigma" (p. 427) that could be applied across conditions as a unification of the field. Because of these suggestions, the Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) scale was adapted for this research to study the tribal stigma of race, using terms referring to racial background instead of medical condition or situations based on health issues. This study used a total of 28 questions: six questions for the labeling dimension, six questions for distancing,

five questions for negative attribution, five questions for controllability, and six questions for status loss. (See Appendix A for a list of Bresnahan & Zhuang's five dimensions of stigma, and the revisions used in this study.)

Stigma statements developed for this study were general beliefs people might have about those from different racial backgrounds. Participants may agree with some, disagree with some, or have no opinion and were asked to indicate what they believed by selecting a number on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The higher the number, the greater the tendency to stigmatize others. Each stigma dimension was considered individually for reliability.

**Labeling.** To evaluate the extent in which participants used harmful descriptions and labeling against the stigmatized, six questions were modified from Bresnahan and Zhuang's (2011) stigma labeling dimension. Instead of descriptions such as "loaded gun," "vessel of disease," and "disaster" (p. 423), the questions in this study focused on assigning different values, behaviors, and moral standards to outgroups as is typically done to racial minority outgroups. To assess whether the labeling items measured a unitary dimension, a principal component analysis was conducted ( $N = 296$ ), revealing one factor with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 70.37% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 4.22. Together the six questions had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .92$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

**Distancing.** To assess the extent in which participants considered separating themselves from the stigmatized to be an acceptable behavior, six questions were modified from health concerns such as avoiding body fluids or sharing food in Bresnahan

and Zhuang's (2011) stigma distancing dimension. Instead, the questions in this study focused on distancing oneself through limited personal contact and sharing of personal items with people from different racial outgroups. A principal component analysis revealed one distinct factor ( $N = 296$ ) with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 80.36% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 4.82. Together the six questions had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .95$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

**Negative Attribution.** To assess whether participants believed racial minority individuals faced poverty and problems with the law, not because of discrimination, but instead because their situation reflected blemished character traits, five questions were modified from Bresnahan and Zhuang's (2011) stigma negative attribution dimension to represent whether the stigmatized were negatively identified as having "weak character," "no will power," took "high risks," and were considered "self-indulgent" (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011, p, 423). To assess whether the five questions measuring negative attribution constituted a single factor, a principal component analysis was conducted ( $N = 297$ ) and produced one clear component with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 81.43% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 4.07. Together the five questions had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .94$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

**Controllability.** The level of participant belief that racially stigmatized individuals could have prevented or avoided their unfortunate condition, but made bad or risky choices instead, was measured using Bresnahan and Zhuang's (2011) stigma

controllability dimension. Five questions were modified from a health issue decision such as refusing “to have unsafe sex” or “not engage in risky health behaviors” (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011, p. 423), to life choices such as being willing to work hard or being responsible instead of choosing laziness or other negative behaviors that impact life chances. In other words, if the racial minority groups of people would change their behaviors, then they would be as well off as Whites. A principal component analysis revealed one clear component ( $N = 298$ ) with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 78.56% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 3.92. Together the five questions had high reliability, Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .93$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

**Status Loss.** To assess whether participants considered the disempowerment and downward social positioning of racial minority groups as reasonable and justified, six questions were modified from Bresnahan and Zhuang’s (2011) stigma status loss dimension in which the stigmatized were “judged negatively,” “looked down upon,” and “disempowered” (p. 423). To assess whether the six questions constituted a unitary factor, a principal component analysis was conducted ( $N = 295$ ), producing one clear component with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 58.60% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 3.52. Together the six questions had a good reliability, Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .85$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

### **Additional Questions**

After completing the SDO and the RWA measures at the beginning of the survey, participants were asked questions about racial identity, information sources, and where



they learned about different racial groups. These questions asked, how do participants tell whether another person belonged to the same racial group as themselves, from which sources they learned about different races and cultures, the quality of the information they received from different sources, and whether or not they actually thought about racial differences in America.

### ***Identity Questions***

To analyze how participants identified themselves and others as belonging to different racial groups, this study modified questions proposed by Saperstein et al. (2016), Ito and Bartholow (2009), and Kawakami et al. (2017).

In 1991, Keith and Herring found that skin color was used by interviewers to classify group membership (Saperstein et al., 2016). Thus, skin color, along with eye color and hair, can influence people's lives and interaction with others. Facial features also played a part in racial categorization of other individuals: "Race perception begins with categorization, often based on physical characteristics of faces" (Ito & Bartholow, 2009, p. 528). In other words, the perception of race in facial features can spontaneously trigger attitudes and reactions toward another individual. Additionally, Kawakami et al. (2017) showed that individual faces and bodies triggered attitudes based on whether the individual viewed is an ingroup or outgroup member.

Most governmental surveys use five main racial groups that correspond with a person's identity or ancestry. This study used similar racial categorizations, with which the U.S. population should be generally familiar, to explore the impact of racialization on identity and social behavior. Participants were asked which racial group they identified

with most; and they were given nine choices: White, Black, Indigenous U.S., Asian, Latino, Middle Eastern, Jewish, other, and don't know. They were then asked to use a slider scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 10 (*always*) to rate whether any of the following items helped them distinguish people of different races: facial features, skin color, physical bodies, speech, clothing, birthplace, and ancestry.

### ***Information Sources***

To assess from which information sources participants learned about different races and cultures, participants were asked to indicate using a slider scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 10 (*always*) the use of six common sources: family, friends, coworkers or classmates, social media, TV news media, and newspapers.

To examine how participants assessed the general quality of the information and the six sources where they received their understanding about other races, participants were asked to indicate the perceived quality of the information on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*). Finally, participants were asked to indicate how positive or negative the six information sources were regarding both their own racial group and other racial outgroups on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*).

### ***Explicit Prejudice***

To measure participant prejudice, preferences, and feelings toward different racial groups, this study followed the Greenwald et al. (2009) *feeling thermometer*, using a slider scale ranging from 1 (*coldest*) to 5 (*neutral*) to 10 (*warmest*). Feeling thermometers have been used as a gauge of explicit self-report on prejudice in

conjunction with race-based IATs, which measure implicit attitudes (Kteily et al., 2015). Implicit attitudes captured from IATs reveal more spontaneous racialized behaviors, but self-reports measure more deliberate actions (Dovidio et al., 1997). Using a slider scale in Qualtrics, participants moved a marker to the right to indicate how warm they might feel toward seven different groups: White Americans, Black Americans, Jewish Americans, Asians, Latinos, Middle Easterners, and Europeans.

To assess whether the feeling thermometer was a reliable general gauge for explicit prejudice, a principal component analysis was conducted ( $N = 300$ ). The analysis produced one clear component with an eigenvalue greater than 1, which explained 62.71% of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 4.39. Together the seven items had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .90$ . The factor score was retained and used for the results analysis.

### **Data Preparation**

Because of the use of the IATGEN program file uploaded into Qualtrics, the data needed preparation and cleaning in Excel before being uploaded into SPSS. The IAT  $D$  scores were captured using the IATGEN online analysis tool and entered into the Excel file with the other captured data. All the cells containing IAT keystrokes were deleted from the final file because only the  $D$  scores were required for analysis. The Excel spreadsheet was further cleaned by removing unnecessary columns from the Qualtrics data: IP addresses, Response Set, duration, finished, and record date columns were deleted. Question names were changed in Excel to reflect what the data really represented. For example, instead of having a question label such as Q1, questions were

renamed “UScitizen,” “Adult,” “SDO1,” and other appropriate names in SPSS. Blank spaces were filled with zero where participants neglected to type in the number of family, friends, and acquaintances of different racial identities.

Because four columns in Qualtrics were used to indicate which one of the four news stories were randomly selected for each participant, one additional column was created to indicate which of the randomized news story each participant received, by combining information from the survey. Participants were assigned a number from 1 to 4 depending on which news story they received. Finally, as discussed above, once the data were uploaded into SPSS, 16 new variables were added for the factor scores produced from the principal component analyses of the different scales.

## **Discussion**

The main study was set up to examine Goffman’s (1963) tribal stigma category of race as it impacts modern social attitudes and beliefs in the 21st century. The aim was to quantitatively test the overarching question regarding the relationship of stigma and race, and to examine the relevance of Goffman’s (1963) concept of stigma to aid in understanding racial interactions during unprecedented modern challenges. As discussed above, the main study research method involved the collection of sample participants from MTurk ( $N = 303$ ), describing the procedures used in conducting the research, and detailing the instrumentation construction with three principle parts used to collect data: the Implicit Association Tests (IATs), a  $2 \times 2 \times 3$  between-subjects experimental design involving a news story with randomized racial identities, and a survey questionnaire

containing various validated and reliable scales and measures used to study stigma, racism, and dehumanization.

To bridge the concepts of race, racism, racial stereotypes, and prejudice with dehumanization and stigma, the main study used previously developed scales and measures to study these concepts: Social Dominance Orientation scale (Ho et al., 2015), the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (Zakrisson, 2005), the Old-Fashioned Racism measure and the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1981), the Ascent of Man measure of blatant dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2015), and Bresnahan and Zhuang's (2011) five dimensions for measuring stigma. Additionally, the Outgroup Contact Index, along with Ingroup Contact (Rudman & McLean, 2016) and the Everett Communication Scale (Everett et al., 2015), were modified to examine the extent and quality of communication between people from different racial groups. Additional potential measures and concepts were included: implicit dehumanization (Bastian et al., 2013), explicit prejudice (Greenwald et al., 2009), identity questions (Ito & Bartholow, 2009; Kawakami et al., 2017; Saperstein et al., 2016), and information sources.

With the principal component analyses validating the scales and measures in this study, and the preparation and cleaning of the Qualtrics data for use in SPSS completed, the analysis results are discussed in the following chapter to answer the research questions and to examine the hypotheses based on the collected data.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **MAIN STUDY RESULTS**

The goal of this dissertation is to examine the relationships between the concepts of stigma, race, and racism to determine whether Goffman's (1963) tribal stigma category of race is still relevant in the United States, as indicated by current social attitudes regarding race. Using a stigma approach, this dissertation brings together the concepts of race, racism, and prejudice, along with dehumanizing attitudes and behaviors, with validated stigma dimensions in a quantitative study incorporating these measures to analyze the implicit and explicit attitudes of a randomized sample population of adult U.S. citizens recruited through an internet resource. Chapter 6 starts with a summary description of the sample population of participants and of the collected data. Detailed analyses of the results follow, organized by research questions and the hypotheses connected to each research question respectively. Relevant findings and data are then analyzed to determine which, if any, stigma dimensions could be used to study racism as a stigma. Incidental findings from additional questions are also included. The main results are summarized after each hypothesis. The chapter ends with an overview of the findings based on research questions and hypotheses.

#### **A Stratified Sample**

This study proposed using a stratified sample of White and non-White participants who were adult U.S. citizens to determine social attitudes among Americans. As discussed in Chapter 5, a final sample of 303 participants (161 White identity and 142

non-White identity) was recruited online from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) crowdsourcing internet service to take part in an online survey hosted on Qualtrics. The initial sample of 377 participants (179 White identity and 198 non-White identity) was reduced by the elimination of 74 participants because of various reasons: sloppy work (7 non-White participants), taking too short of time to complete the Qualtrics survey (2 White identity and 4 non-White identity), and for button-mashing (16 White identity and 45 non-White identity) during the Implicit Attitude Tests (IATs) at the beginning of the survey, which resulted in no viable *D* score for 61 participants in either of the two IATs: Black and White IAT, and Asian and White IAT.

The majority of participants (47%) were from the 28-39 age group. College graduates made up almost 65% of the participants. The majority of the participants (52%) identified as Democrat, followed by 23% Republican, 21% Independent, almost 3% with no political affiliation, and 1% listed as "other." About 56% of participants identified as belonging to some form of Christian religious group, 27% as atheist or agnostic, and 8% as belonging to no religious group. The remaining 9% included Buddhists, Muslims, Hindus, and Jewish religions, as well as those who wrote in "spiritual" but not religious.

Several of the central questions in this study examined whether there were differences in attitudes between participants identifying as White or identifying as non-White. Table 4 provides the demographic comparisons between White and non-White participants in each category, along with significant differences between the two groups. To determine whether there were any demographic differences between the two groups and to evaluate the descriptive statistics of the two separate groups from the sample

**Table 4***Demographic Comparison Counts by Identity*

Demographic	Category	White Count (%)	Non-White Count (%)	Total (%)
Race Identity**	White	154 (96)	9 (6)	163 (54)
	Black	1 (.6)	63 (44)	64 (21)
	Indigenous U.S.	2 (1)	4 (3)	6 (2)
	Asian	0 (0)	43 (30)	43 (14)
	Latino	3 (2)	19 (13)	22 (7)
	Middle Eastern	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Jewish	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
	Other	1 (.6)	4 (3)	5 (2)
	Don't know	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Sex	Female	85 (53)	71 (50)	156 (52)
	Male	75 (47)	71 (50)	146 (48)
	Other	1 (.6)	0 (0)	1 (.3)
Age Group**	18-27	9 (6)	13 (9)	22 (7)
	28-39	61 (38)	81 (57)	142 (47)
	40-55	59 (37)	31 (22)	90 (30)
	over 55	32 (20)	17 (12)	49 (16)
Education Level	< High school	2 (1)	0 (0)	2 (.7)
	Some high school	2 (1)	0 (0)	2 (.7)
	HS graduate	11 (7)	6 (4)	17 (6)
	Some college	48 (30)	38 (27)	86 (28)
	College graduate	98 (61)	98 (69)	196 (65)
Marital Status*	Single, never married	50 (31)	65 (46)	115 (38)
	Married	86 (53)	65 (46)	151 (50)
	Divorced	18 (11)	9 (6)	27 (9)
	Widowed	7 (4)	3 (2)	10 (3)
Employment Status	Full time	103 (64)	109 (77)	212 (70)
	Part time	36 (23)	19 (14)	55 (18)
	Retired	8 (5)	3 (2)	11 (4)
	Unemployed	13 (8)	10 (7)	23 (8)



**Table 4***(Continued)*

Yearly Household Income**	< \$25,000	34 (21)	10 (7)	44 (15)
	\$25k to \$40k	32 (20)	30 (21)	62 (21)
	> \$40k, up to \$60k	32 (20)	36 (26)	68 (23)
	> \$60k, up to \$100k	46 (29)	43 (31)	89 (30)
	More than \$100k	16 (10)	22 (16)	38 (13)
Political Affiliation*	Republican	45 (28)	25 (18)	70 (23)
	Democrat	73 (45)	85 (60)	158 (52)
	Independent	35 (22)	29 (20)	64 (21)
	None	5 (3)	3 (2)	8 (3)
	Other	3 (2)	0 (0)	3 (1)
Religious Affiliation	Atheist or Agnostic	44 (27)	37 (26)	81 (27)
	Buddhist	5 (3)	1 (.7)	6 (2)
	Catholic	44 (27)	32 (23)	76 (25)
	Protestant	32 (20)	27 (19)	59 (20)
	Other Christian	13 (8)	22 (16)	35 (12)
	Jewish	1 (.6)	0 (0)	1 (.3)
	Hindu	0 (0)	2 (1)	2 (.7)
	Muslim	1 (.6)	3 (2)	4 (1)
	Other	10 (6)	6 (4)	16 (5)
	No religion	11 (7)	12 (9)	23 (8)

\*  $p < .05$  (2-tailed)\*\*  $p \leq .01$  (2-tailed)

population, a crosstabulation with an  $\chi^2$  estimate was conducted using the nine demographic questions, with the file split between White and non-White participants.

When answering the initial question of identity, which was asked at the beginning of the survey and used as a quota filter to stratify the sample, participants chose one of two identities: White or non-White. The descriptive statistics showed that in answering the more specific race identity question farther into the survey, some crossover occurred. Several participants who originally identified as non-White ( $n = 9$ ), later selected White

as their racial identity, and some who initially identified as White ( $n = 4$ ) selected non-White racial identities later in the survey. One person who identified as White at the beginning of the survey, later identified as Black. Those participants of Indigenous U.S. racial identity chose both White ( $n = 2$ ) and non-White ( $n = 4$ ) identities at the beginning of the survey. The majority of those of Latino background, which is considered an ethnicity, not a race, identified as non-White ( $n = 19$ ) at the beginning of the survey, with only a few Latinos ( $n = 3$ ) identifying as White. The five participants who identified as “other” for racial identity all wrote in some form of mixed racial identity; however, one of these participants had earlier identified as White, indicating that one person of mixed race ancestry selected White for their identity. There was no crossover for those participants who identified as Asian ( $n = 43$ ), who also identified themselves as non-White at the beginning of the survey. None of the participants identified themselves as Jewish or Middle Eastern as a racial identity; nor did anyone chose “don’t know” for the racial identity question. However, one White participant identified as Jewish for religious affiliation, and one White participant identified as Muslim, and three non-White participants identified as Muslim for religious affiliation.

Both White and non-White participant groups had close to 50 percent males and females, indicating there was not a significant difference in sex identity between those who identified as White and those who identified as non-White,  $\chi^2(2, N = 303) = 1.18, p = .56$ . Those identifying as White also tended to be older than those of the non-White group: more than 57% of Whites reported being 40 years old or older, whereas 66% of non-White participants identified as under 40 years of age. Significantly more of those

who identified as White identified as married compared to non-White participants,  $\chi^2(3, N = 303) = 8.32, p = .04$ . Non-White participants represented a younger group than White participants; and almost half of non-White participants (46%) were single, never married.

More than 90% of the participants, both White and non-White, had at least some college education. There was no significant difference in education level between those who identified as White and those who identified as non-White,  $\chi^2(4, N = 303) = 5.46, p = .24$ . Although slightly more of non-White participants worked full time as compared to White participants, there was no significant difference in employment status between the two groups,  $\chi^2(3, N = 301) = 6.92, p = .08$ . On the other hand, there was a significant difference in yearly household income between those who identified as White and those who identified as non-White,  $\chi^2(4, N = 301) = 13.30, p = .01$ , with more non-Whites (42%) reporting higher yearly household income than White participants (39%).

Results showed that there was a significant difference in political affiliation between participants who identified as White as compared to those who identified as non-White,  $\chi^2(4, N = 303) = 9.53, p = .05$ . The majority (52%) of both White participants ( $n = 73, 45\%$ ) and non-White participants ( $n = 85, 60\%$ ) identified as Democrat, with about 10% more White participants (28%) identifying as Republican compared to non-White participants (18%). There was no significant difference in religious affiliation between White and non-White participants,  $\chi^2(9, N = 303) = 11.80, p = .23$ , with the majority of both groups (White, 55%, and non-White, 58%) identifying with some form of Christian religion.

## **Results for Research Questions and Hypotheses**

The research questions focused on five aspects of social attitudes among Americans: their view of people of other races, their attitudes and judgments toward those of other races, intergroup communication, the influence of the media, and the overall relationship between racism and social stigma. To investigate the problem of stigma and race in America, survey questions were taken from multiple measures that study both racism and stigma: Implicit Association Tests (IATs), social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, old-fashioned racism, modern racism, an intergroup contact index, blatant dehumanization, and stigma dimensions. To consolidate the questions and assess the validity of each measure (except the IATs), a principal component analysis was conducted for each measure, and principal component scores were retained and used in the following analyses unless otherwise stated. The IATs results were analyzed separately in a special online program that produced *D* scores (The scoring algorithm program was provided by IATGEN at <http://iatgen.org/>). The analysis results are organized by research question and the corresponding hypotheses for each question.

Because one purpose of this study was to determine differences in attitudes between White Americans and non-White Americans, most of the analyses split the sample population into two groups using the Identity variable (White = 1, and non-White = 2). However, in some instances, further analysis for this study required looking at any subtleties that might exist among Americans who identified as one of three racial groups: White, Black, or Asian. To assist in these analyses, the nine categories of the Race

Identity demographic variable were recoded into a new variable (Race\_regroup) that collapsed the nine racial identities into four categories: White = 1, Black = 2, Asian = 3, and others = 4. The analyses for the first research question used the original Identity variable (White = 1, and non-White = 2).

### **Research Question 1: How do Americans view people of other races today?**

The first research question asked about American views of people from races different from their own. The term *American* can be used broadly to define individuals living in both the North and South American continents (Merriam-Webster, n.d. a). It has also been used to describe a narrow view of a White American (Melamed, 2006). On the other hand, this study used the definition that referred to people of all racial identities who were born and raised as citizens in the United States as Americans, not just those of White European ancestry (Hughey, 2014). However, hyphenated terms such as Black-American or Asian-American were used in the survey questionnaire.

#### ***Explicit Measures***

To answer the first research question on how Americans view people of other races, a *feeling thermometer* with a slider scale was used in the survey to assess how warm or cold participants felt toward different racial groups, on a scale ranging from one (*coldest*) to 10 (*warmest*). Participants moved a button to the left (colder) or right (warmer) to indicate how they felt about seven different racial groups. The feeling thermometer has been used as a gauge for explicit prejudice (Kteily et al., 2015).

Overall, both White and non-White participants expressed a measure of warmth toward all groups. White participants showed more warmth toward their own ( $M = 7.75$ ,

median = 8,  $SD = 1.98$ ) group members and toward other racial groups, than non-White participants showed for all groups, except for feelings toward Blacks. Non-White participants ( $M = 7.32$ , median = 8,  $SD = 2.40$ ) showed slightly more warmth toward Blacks than did White participants ( $M = 7.24$ , median = 7,  $SD = 1.96$ ). On the other hand, non-White participants reported feeling less warmth toward most of the targeted racial minority groups than did White participants. Non-White participants felt the least warmth toward White Americans ( $M = 6.34$ , median = 6,  $SD = 2.02$ ) and Middle Easterners ( $M = 6.08$ , median = 6,  $SD = 2.39$ ). White participants reported the least warmth toward Middle Easterners ( $M = 6.45$ , median = 7,  $SD = 2.36$ ), as indicated in Table 5.

**Table 5**

*Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Warmth of Feelings Toward Targets by Identity*

Target	Identity	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	Median	<i>SD</i>
White Americans**	White	161	7.75	8.00	1.982
	Non-White	142	6.34	6.00	2.202
Black Americans	White	161	7.24	7.00	1.955
	Non-White	142	7.32	8.00	2.401
Jewish Americans	White	161	6.95	7.00	2.190
	Non-White	142	6.63	6.50	2.152
Asians	White	161	7.04	7.00	2.070
	Non-White	142	7.02	7.00	2.175
Latinos	White	160	7.11	7.00	2.175
	Non-White	141	6.91	7.00	2.264
Middle Easterners	White	161	6.45	7.00	2.356
	Non-White	141	6.08	6.00	2.391
Europeans*	White	161	7.29	8.00	2.045
	Non-White	142	6.60	7.00	2.219

\*  $p < .05$  (2-tailed)

\*\*  $p < .01$  (2-tailed)

In some instances, a significant difference between White and non-White participants was shown in feelings toward two targeted groups. There was a significant difference between White and non-White participants for feelings toward White Americans,  $\chi^2(9, N = 303) = 44.37, p < .001$ ; and for feelings toward Europeans,  $\chi^2(9, N = 303) = 17.90, p < .04$ . Non-White participants felt significantly less warmth toward these two targeted racial groups than did White participants.

However, there was not a significant difference between White and non-White participants for feelings toward Black Americans,  $\chi^2(9, N = 303) = 14.37, p = .11$ ; nor toward Jewish Americans,  $\chi^2(9, N = 303) = 9.73, p = .37$ ; toward Asians,  $\chi^2(9, N = 303) = 6.68, p = .67$ ; toward Latinos,  $\chi^2(9, N = 303) = 4.28, p = .89$ ; nor toward Middle Easterners,  $\chi^2(9, N = 302) = 9.65, p = .38$ . The majority of both White and non-White participants reported a moderate warmth for Blacks, Asians, and Latinos, and less warmth toward Jewish Americans and Middle Easterners.

To investigate further the American view of people of other racial groups, three specific survey questions were examined: the stand-alone item, "I think very little about the racial differences in America," and one statement each from the Old-Fashioned Racism (OFR) scale and the Modern Racism Scale (MRS): the OFR item 8, "Deep in my heart I know I am a racist," and the MRS item 8, "Discrimination against minority racial group members is no longer a problem in the U.S." Three one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted using Identity (White = 1, non-White = 2) as the independent variable, and each of the three statements as the dependent variables.

For the first statement, “I think very little about the racial differences in America,” the assumption of homogeneity of variance was met,  $p = .32$ . The results showed a significant difference between White and non-White participants thinking about racial differences,  $F(1, 299) = 7.577, p < .01, \eta^2 = .03$ . Although both groups overall reported a disagreement with the statement, more non-White participants ( $n = 141, M = 3.23, \text{median} = 3.0, SD = 1.93$ ) reported that they thought about racial differences as compared to White participants, who mostly remained almost neutral (or unconcerned) about racial differences ( $n = 160, M = 3.83, \text{median} = 4.0, SD = 1.84$ ).

For the second statement from the OFR item 8, “Deep in my heart I know I am a racist,” the assumption of homogeneity of variance was met,  $p = .13$ . The results showed no significant difference in the acknowledgement of racism between White and non-White participants,  $F(1, 302) = .013, p = .91$ . Both White participants ( $n = 161, M = 2.06, \text{median} = 1, SD = 1.62$ ) and non-White participants ( $n = 142, M = 2.08, \text{median} = 1, SD = 1.80$ ) reported a strong disagreement with the statement.

For the third statement from the MRS item 8, “Discrimination against minority racial group members is no longer a problem in the U.S.,” the assumption of homogeneity of variance was met,  $p = .07$ . The results showed there was a significant difference between White and non-White participants in the acknowledgement of discrimination against racial minority groups,  $F(1, 300) = .5771, p < .02, \eta^2 = .02$ . Although overall both groups disagreed with the statement, more non-White participants ( $n = 142, M = 2.15, \text{median} = 1.0, SD = 1.80$ ) reported a stronger disagreement with the statement compared to White participants ( $n = 160, M = 2.68, \text{median} = 2.0, SD = 1.94$ ).



Overall, both White and non-White participants expressed some level of warmth toward all racial groups, but more non-White participants thought about racial differences than did White participants who mostly remained neutral. Further, more non-White participants agreed with the statement that discrimination still exists as a problem in America. However, both groups were adamant that they were not racists in their hearts.

### ***Implicit Measure***

Because explicit self-reports have often been found to contrast with results from implicit tests, which measure unconscious, automatic attitudes and which are considered “stronger predictors of racial bias” (Vanman et al., 1997, p. 954), a further test was conducted using the results of the Implicit Association Tests (IATs) to help answer the question of how Americans view people of other races than their own (De Houwer, 2001; Greenwald et al., 2009). The IATs in this study focused on three racial groups: White, Black, and Asian.

A one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, non-White = 2) as the independent variable, and the Black/White IAT pretest *D* scores and the Asian/White IAT pretest *D* scores as the dependent variables. Table 6 shows the descriptive statistics for the *D* scores for the Black/White IAT pretest and for the Asian/White IAT pretest based on the two identity groups of participants. The mean scores revealed that White participants showed a moderate preference (or bias) for Whites over Blacks and Asians, whereas non-White participants showed a slight preference for Whites over Blacks or Asians, as indicated in Table 6.

**Table 6**

*Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Black/White IAT and Asian/White IAT by Identity*

IAT Pre-test	Identity	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	Median	<i>SD</i>
Black/White**	White	161	.5202	.5247	0.3687
	Non-White	142	.3288	.3190	0.4160
Asian/White*	White	161	.4007	.4206	0.3651
	Non-White	142	.3051	.3147	0.3928

\*  $p < .05$  (2-tailed)

\*\*  $p < .01$  (2-tailed)

The results of the ANOVA revealed a significant difference in racial bias between White and non-White participants for the Black/White IAT pretest,  $F(1, 301) = 18.046$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .06$ ; and a significant difference in racial bias between White and non-White participants for the Asian/White IAT pretest,  $F(1, 301) = 4.819$ ,  $p < .03$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ . The assumption of homogeneity of variance was met for both IAT scores ( $p = .139$  for the Black/White IAT, and  $p = .137$  for the Asian/White IAT).

These results indicate racial bias exists among the participants. The findings of the IAT implicit measure provide a contrast to the findings from the explicit measure of the feeling thermometer, where White participants reported warmer feelings toward other racial groups than did non-White participants. Overall, the findings from the analyses in answer to Research Question 1 revealed that most participants claim to feel some measure of warmth toward people of other races, while at the same time hold latent biases that prefer Whiteness. There is a significant contrast, though between White participants and non-White participants. The majority of White participants think very little about racial differences in America and report that discrimination is no longer a

problem. However, the majority of non-White participants reported that they do think about racial differences and disagreed that discrimination no longer exists.

**Research Question 2: Do dominant (White) groups and minority (non-White) group members hold similar attitudes about minority (non-White) outgroups?**

Two hypotheses were tested that help to answer Research Question 2. Hypothesis 1 (H1) proposed that more White than non-White participants would hold higher traditional racial attitudes toward minority non-White racial groups. To test H1 measures of old-fashioned racism and modern racism were examined for attitudes toward racial minority groups. Hypothesis 2 (H2) predicted that participants who reported (a) higher social dominance, (b) higher authoritarian, and (c) higher racist attitudes would also stigmatize non-White minority racial groups than would those participants with lower attitudes in each measure.

***Traditional Values and Racist Attitudes***

To test H1 to determine whether more White than non-White participants held higher traditional racial attitudes toward minority non-White racial groups, a one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable, and the Old-Fashioned Racism (OFR) scale principal component (PC) score and the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) PC score as the dependent variables. Table 7 shows the means and standard deviations, using the principal component scores from the two racism scales.

**Table 7***Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for OFR and MRS by Identity*

PC Score	Identity	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	Median	<i>SD</i>
OFR	White	157	-.0482	-.4588	0.9879
	Non-White	137	.0553	-.2978	1.0364
MRS	White	154	.0742	-.1518	1.0135
	Non-White	136	-.0840	-.4336	0.9814

*Note.* OFR = Old-Fashioned Racism; and MRS = Modern Racism Scale

The results of the ANOVA examining the OFR and MRS principal component scores showed no significant difference between White and non-White participants in old-fashioned racism attitudes,  $F(1, 292) = .780, p = .38$ ; nor was there any significant difference between the two groups for modern racism attitudes,  $F(1, 288) = 1.813, p = .18$ . Thus, H1 was not supported when considering old-fashioned and modern racism.

Since social dominance and right-wing authoritarian attitudes were considered strong indicators for racism and ethnocentrism (Ekehammar et al., 2004; Ho et al., 2015), these measures were also investigated as to whether there were any differences between White and non-White participants in these two attitudes. A one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable, and the SDO principal component (PC) score, the RWA1 (Authority) PC score, and the RWA2 (Tradition) PC score as the dependent variables. Table 8 shows the means and standard deviations for the three PC scores, SDO, RWA1 (Authority) and RWA2 (Tradition).

**Table 8***Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for SDO, RWA1, and RWA2 by Identity*

PC Score	Identity	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	Median	<i>SD</i>
SDO	White	154	.0699	-.0487	1.0224
	Non-White	137	-.0786	-.4343	0.9718
RWA1	White	157	-.0613	.1071	1.0708
	Non-White	139	.0691	.2614	0.9123
RWA2	White	157	.0239	-.0246	1.0669
	Non-White	137	-.0274	-.0876	0.9205

*Note.* SDO = Social Dominance Orientation; RWA1 = Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Authority; and RWA2 = Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Tradition

The results of the ANOVA examining the three PC scores showed no significant difference between White and non-White participants in attitudes of social dominance,  $F(1, 289) = 1.603, p = .21$ . There was no significant difference between the two groups for right-wing authoritarianism attitudes toward authority,  $F(1, 294) = 1.256, p = .26$ ; nor for right-wing authoritarianism attitudes toward tradition  $F(1, 292) = .192, p = .66$ . Thus, these analyses did not support H1 for social dominance and authoritarian attitudes.

### ***Traditional Attitudes and Stigma***

Hypothesis 2 (H2) predicted that participants with (a) higher social dominance, (b) higher authoritarian, and (c) higher racist attitudes would stigmatize minority non-White racial outgroups more than those with lower attitudes respectively. Before testing this hypothesis, a median split was conducted on the PC scores for the variables SDO (social dominance orientation), RWA (right-wing authoritarianism), OFR (old-fashioned racism), and MRS (modern racism scale) to create new dichotomous variables, with low and high categories, for each of the scales (SDOmdnSplit, RWA1Auth\_MdnSplit,

RWA2Trad\_MDNsplt, OFRmdnSplt, and MRSmdnSplt). One-way ANOVAs were conducted using the newly recoded variables as independent variables and Bresnahan and Zhuang's (2011) five stigma dimensions (BZS) as dependent variables.

H2a examined the effect of social dominance attitudes on the five stigma dimensions. However, because the homogeneity of variance was violated for four of the BZS stigma dimensions (Distancing, Negative Attribution, Controllability, and Status Loss,  $p = .000$ ), the ANOVA was run again using the Welch test ( $p = .000$ , for all five dimensions), which provides the lowest rate of type 1 errors.

The results showed significant differences between those with low SDO and high SDO for each of the five BZS stigma dimensions: Labeling,  $F(1, 283) = 59.961, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$ ; Distancing,  $F(1, 283) = 116.249, p < .001, \eta^2 = .29$ ; Negative Attribution,  $F(1, 283) = 123.605, p < .001, \eta^2 = .30$ ; Controllability,  $F(1, 285) = 182.165, p < .001, \eta^2 = .39$ ; and Status Loss,  $F(1, 281) = 122.882, p < .001, \eta^2 = .30$ . Participants with high social dominance orientation (SDO) reported significantly higher stigma than those with low SDO for each dimension. The results support H2a.

H2b examined the effect of authoritarian attitudes, using the RWA1 (Authority) median split variable on the five BZS stigma dimensions. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated. The results showed significant differences between those with low RWA1 and high RWA1 for each of the five BZS stigma dimensions: Labeling,  $F(1, 288) = 71.501, p < .001, \eta^2 = .20$ ; Distancing,  $F(1, 287) = 76.233, p < .001, \eta^2 = .21$ ; Negative Attribution,  $F(1, 288) = 83.830, p < .001, \eta^2 = .23$ ; Controllability,  $F(1, 290) = 114.714, p < .001, \eta^2 = .28$ ; and Status Loss,  $F(1, 286) =$

115.387,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .29$ . Participants with high RWA1 (Authority) reported significantly higher stigma in each stigma dimension than those with lower authoritarian attitudes toward authority.

Another one-way ANOVA was conducted for H2b for authoritarian attitudes using the RWA2 (Tradition) median split variable on the five BZS stigma dimensions. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated. The results showed significant differences between those with low RWA2 and high RWA2 for each of the five stigma dimensions: Labeling,  $F(1, 286) = 15.287$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .05$ ; Distancing,  $F(1, 287) = 6.40$ ,  $p < .02$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ ; Negative Attribution,  $F(1, 286) = 12.160$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ ; Controllability,  $F(1, 288) = 38.223$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .12$ ; and Status Loss,  $F(1, 285) = 13.383$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .05$ . Participants with high RWA2 (Tradition) reported significantly higher stigma in each dimension than those with lower authoritarian attitudes toward tradition. The results supported H2b.

A one-way ANOVA was conducted for H2c for old-fashioned racism attitudes using the OFR median split variable on the five BZS stigma dimensions. However, the homogeneity of variance was violated for four of the BZS dimensions (Distancing, Negative Attribution, and Status Loss,  $p = .000$ ; and for Controllability,  $p < .03$ ). The ANOVA was run with the Welch test ( $p = .000$ , for all five dimensions), which provides the lowest rate of type 1 errors.

The results showed significant differences with high effect sizes between those with low OFR and high OFR for each of the five BZS stigma dimensions: Labeling,  $F(1, 286) = 122.598$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .30$ ; Distancing,  $F(1, 286) = 204.733$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .42$ ;

Negative Attribution,  $F(1, 288) = 175.670, p < .001, \eta^2 = .38$ ; Controllability,  $F(1, 288) = 171.510, p < .001, \eta^2 = .37$ ; and Status Loss,  $F(1, 284) = 220.232, p < .001, \eta^2 = .44$ . Participants with high old-fashioned racism (OFR) attitudes showed significantly higher stigma in each stigma dimension than those with low OFR.

Another one-way ANOVA was conducted for H2c using the modern racism (MRS) median split as the independent variable, and the five BZS stigma dimensions as dependent variables. The homogeneity of variance was violated for four of the BZS dimensions (Distancing, Negative Attribution, Controllability, and Status Loss,  $p < .001$ ). The ANOVA was run again with the Welch test ( $p = .000$ , for all five dimensions), which provides the lowest rate of type 1 errors.

The results showed significant differences between those with low MRS and high MRS for each of the five stigma dimensions: Labeling,  $F(1, 283) = 100.122, p < .001, \eta^2 = .26$ ; Distancing,  $F(1, 281) = 144.891, p < .001, \eta^2 = .34$ ; Negative Attribution,  $F(1, 282) = 201.031, p < .001, \eta^2 = .42$ ; Controllability,  $F(1, 283) = 237.677, p < .001, \eta^2 = .46$ ; and Status Loss,  $F(1, 282) = 196.598, p < .001, \eta^2 = .41$ . Participants who reported high modern racism (MRS) attitudes showed significantly higher stigma in each dimension than those with low MRS. The results supported H2c.

Participants with (a) higher social dominance, (b) higher authoritarian, and (c) higher racist attitudes reported significantly greater stigmatizing of minority non-White groups than those participants with lower attitudes respectively. Thus, H2a, H2b, and H2c were supported.



Overall, from the findings of the analyses, to answer Research Question 2, it appears that both White and non-White participants hold similar attitudes about minority outgroups. Contrary to what was predicted, H1 revealed that most participants, regardless of whether they identified with White groups or minority non-White groups, held similar racial attitudes about other minority (non-White) outgroups, with most reporting low in old-fashioned or modern racism attitudes. Both groups of White and non-White participants also held similar attitudes about social dominance and right-wing authoritarianism. On the other hand, as predicted by H2, regardless of racial identity, participants who reported higher in social dominance, authoritarian, and racist attitudes were also more likely to stigmatize minority (non-White) outgroups than those who reported lower in those attitudes.

**Research Question 3: Do dominant (White) group members and minority (non-White) group members differ in their judgments toward minority (non-White) outgroup members?**

To answer Research Question 3, two hypotheses were tested: Hypothesis 3 (H3) and Hypothesis 4 (H4). H3 and H4 explored the ideology of dominant (White) group members in dehumanizing minority (non-White) groups, or judging non-White racial groups as less than human and, thus, less deserving of resources or consideration. Being regarded as less human, or not normal, was one way in which Goffman (1963) described the stigmatized as non-persons. Although it was expected that White participants were more likely to dehumanize non-White minority racial groups, it was also important to

explore whether non-White racial group members would also dehumanize members of their own racial group or of other minority racial outgroups.

### ***Blatant Dehumanization***

The Ascent of Man measure of blatant dehumanization, developed by Kteily et al. (2015), measured the “overt and direct denial of humanness” (p. 904) of certain racial and ethnic groups. On a scale of 0 (*least evolved*) to 100 (*most evolved*), participants judged how close to full humanity each group of people were perceived to be by using a slider scale and moving a button to the right for higher humanity. The analysis for H3 used the Identity variable (White = 1, and non-White = 2) to compare the dehumanization of minority racial outgroups by White and non-White participants. Then, to look more closely at how participants from three racial groups (White, Black, and Asian) reported on blatant dehumanization toward targeted groups, H4 analysis used a recoded variable, Race\_regroup, that collapsed the nine demographic racial identity categories into four categories (White = 1, Black = 2, Asian = 3, and others = 4), to determine whether non-White participants report other minority (non-White) racial groups as less human than their own racial group and as less human than White racial groups.

**Hypothesis 3.** H3 predicted that White participants were more likely than non-White participants to report minority (non-White) groups as less human than (dominant) White groups. To assess the blatant dehumanization of different racial groups, Kteily et al. (2015) recommended determining the mean scores across each targeted racial group, then calculating the mean difference scores by taking the mean for the dominant group (White Americans) minus the means for each of the other racial groups. Table 9 displays

the means, medians, and mean difference scores for the seven targeted racial groups based on the blatant dehumanization measure split by White and non-White participants.

**Table 9**

*Means, Medians, and Mean Difference Scores Compared in the Blatant Dehumanization Measure by Identity*

Identity	Blatant Dehumanization Target Groups						
	White American	Black American*	Jewish American	Asians*	Mexican Immigrants*	Middle Easterners	European
White ( <i>n</i> )	161	161	161	160	161	161	161
<i>M</i>	90.58	85.53	86.17	88.08	84.49	81.41	89.02
Median	100	98	100	99.50	95	90	100
<i>SD</i>	13.95	20.86	20.49	16.65	20.80	23.45	16.83
Difference Score (White Amer-[target group])		5.05*	4.41	2.58*	6.09*	9.17	1.56
Non-White ( <i>n</i> )	142	142	142	142	140	142	142
<i>M</i>	83.92	83.82	83.04	85.70	83.01	77.54	83.82
Median	94	95	92	95	90.50	90	92
<i>SD</i>	23.92	22.90	22.81	21.10	21.30	27.22	22.42
Difference Score (White Amer-[target group])		.10*	.88	-1.78*	.87*	6.38	.11

Independent samples *t*-tests \*  $p \leq .05$

White participants gave the target racial group of White Americans the highest mean score followed by Europeans and Asians. However, for White participants, the median scores came in at 100 for the three White groups (White American, Jewish American, and European), but all other racial and ethnic groups were given lower median scores, and thus, were considered “less human” than the three White groups (White American, Jewish American, and European). Middle Easterners received the lowest score from both White and non-White participants. On the other hand, non-White participants

gave every other group the same level of 83, except for Asians, who received a mean score of 85.7 and Middle Easterners, who received the lowest mean score (77.54). Kteily et al. (2015) recommended using the blatant dehumanization score given to the target group White Americans as the score for being fully human. Based on this approach, non-White participants considered every racial group as fully human and similar to the White American group except Middle Easterners, who were rated 6 points below human by non-White participants. These descriptive statistics support H3, which predicted that White participants would rate minority groups as less human than White groups. But, non-White participants considered almost all groups as similar in humanity, except for Middle Easterners, which both groups dehumanized. Further analysis was conducted to determine whether the difference in the scores was significant.

**Mean Difference Scores.** A one-sample  $t$  test showed a significant difference in mean difference scores for White minus Black,  $SD = 22.20$ ,  $t(302) = 2.14$ ,  $p < .03$ ; for White minus Jewish,  $SD = 16.70$ ,  $t(302) = 2.87$ ,  $p < .01$ ; for White minus Mexican immigrants,  $SD = 19.91$ ,  $t(300) = 3.20$ ,  $p < .01$ ; and for White minus Middle Easterners,  $SD = 21.70$ ,  $t(302) = 2.14$ ,  $p < .001$ . However, when comparing the mean difference scores between White and non-White participant ratings of the various targeted racial groups in an independent samples  $t$  test using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable, three groups showed a significant difference between the reports of White and non-White participants: White minus Black,  $t(301) = 1.95$ ,  $p = .05$ ; White minus Asian,  $t(300) = 2.60$ ,  $p = .01$ ; and White minus Mexican immigrants,  $t(299) = 2.28$ ,  $p < .03$ . Although the mean difference scores for Jewish Americans between

White and non-White participants appear different, the analysis showed no significant difference  $t(301) = 1.84, p = .07$ . Thus, H3 was again supported based on the mean difference scores when comparing White and non-White participants for blatant dehumanization in their judgment of other racial groups as being less than human.

White participants were more likely than non-White participants to report Black American, Asian, and Mexican immigrant racial groups as less human than the targeted White racial groups. However, both White and non-White participants reported Middle Easterners as significantly less human than other racial groups. On the other hand, non-White participants were less likely than White participants to report Black Americans, Asians, and Latinos as less than human. Thus, H3 was supported in the case of evaluations of Black Americans, Asians and Mexican immigrants. But, there was no significant difference between White and non-White participants in their judgments of Jewish Americans, Europeans, and Middle Easterners.

**Hypothesis 4.** H4 predicted that the majority of non-White participants, as compared to White participants, would report other minority (non-White) outgroups as less human than they reported White groups. But, as shown in Table 9 above, non-White participants rated other non-White groups as close to their own racial group in level of humanity. However, because this study focused on White, Black, and Asian racial groups, a comparison of the participants from these three groups was warranted.

To assess H4, and to discover any significant differences between White, Black, and Asian participants, a one-way ANOVA was conducted using the Race\_regroup variable (White = 1, Black = 2, Asian = 3, and others = 4) as the independent variable,

and the blatant dehumanization scores for White Americans, Black Americans, and Asians as the dependent variables. The results showed a significant difference between the three racial identity groups for blatant dehumanization in the scores for White Americans,  $F(3, 299) = 3.75, p < .01, \eta^2 = .04$ . There was no significant difference between the three groups for blatant dehumanization of Black Americans,  $F(3, 299) = 1.52, p < .21, \eta^2 = .02$ ; nor was there a difference for blatant dehumanization of Asians,  $F(3, 298) = 1.20, p < .31, \eta^2 = .01$ . Based on this analysis, H4 was not supported when considering the overall blatant dehumanization scores alone.

However, when further examining the blatant dehumanization mean difference scores from the two minority groups of participants, Blacks and Asians, and how they rated their own group compared to the other racial groups, Black participants rated their own group and the Asian group as higher, or more evolved humans than White Americans. But, although Asian participants rated their own group as more human than White Americans, Asian participants rated Black Americans as lower or less human than White Americans, as indicated in Table 10.

To discover whether these comparisons represented significant differences, a one-way ANOVA with the variable Race\_regroup as the independent variable was conducted with the blatant dehumanization mean difference scores for White minus Black and White minus Asian as dependent variables. The results showed a significant difference between groups for the White minus Black mean difference score,  $F(3, 299) = 7.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$ ; and for the White minus Asian difference score with a smaller effect size,

$F(3, 298) = 3.90, p < .01, \eta^2 = .04$ . Table 10 shows the mean difference scores for the three racial groups based on participant identity.

**Table 10**

*Blatant Dehumanization Means, Medians, and Mean Difference Scores Compared by Participant Race Identity*

Identity	Blatant Dehumanization Target Groups		
	White American	Black American	Asians
White ( <i>n</i> )	163	163	162
<i>M</i>	90.06	84.38	87.10
Median	98	93	96.50
<i>SD</i>	14.99	21.61	17.48
Difference Score (White Amer-[target group])		5.67*	3.04**
Black ( <i>n</i> )	64	64	64
<i>M</i>	80.75	89.06	83.61
Median	94.50	98.50	95
<i>SD</i>	27.47	17.10	25.33
Difference Score (White Amer-[target group])		-8.32*	-2.86**
Asian ( <i>n</i> )	43	43	43
<i>M</i>	86.86	80.12	90.33
Median	91	90	95
<i>SD</i>	16.18	25.99	12.42
Difference Score (White Amer-[target group])		6.74*	-3.47**

\*  $p < .001$

\*\*  $p < .01$

In looking at the mean difference scores, White participants rated themselves as more human than Asians or Blacks. However, Black participants rated themselves and Asians as more human than White Americans. Asian participants, on the other hand, rated themselves as more human than White Americans, but rated Black Americans as

lower than White Americans on the blatant dehumanization scale. Thus, H4 was partially supported based on the blatant dehumanization mean difference scores, because only the Asian participants rated the other minority group (Black Americans) as less human than White Americans. Black participants rated Asians as higher in humanity than White Americans.

Based on the findings, in answer to Research Question 3, White participants judge non-White minority groups differently than non-White participants. As indicated by the findings of H3, the majority of White participants dehumanized minority (non-White) groups, whereas the majority of non-White participants viewed most racial groups similarly, at almost the same level of humanity. The one exception was the judgments against the Middle Easterners, who were dehumanized by both White and non-White participants. When stratifying the sample population into White, Black, and Asian participants, some unexpected differences emerged in analyzing H4. Although all three groups considered their own racial group to be higher in humanness than the other groups, both White and Asian participants rated Blacks as less human than Whites. But, the majority of Black participants rated Whites as lower in humanity than Asians.

**Research Question 4: Do dominant (White) group members and minority (non-White) group members differ in their intergroup communication with those not of their own racial group?**

To answer Research Question 4, three hypotheses were tested. Hypotheses 5, 6, and 7 evaluated several scenarios about intergroup contact between White and non-White participants. Hypothesis 5 (H5) looked at the quantity and quality of outgroup



communication for both White and non-White participants, using the Rudman and McLean (2016) outgroup contact index. Hypothesis 6 (H6) considered the comfort level of intergroup communication based on the Everett communication scale (Everett et al., 2015). And, Hypothesis 7 (H7) considered the amount of intergroup social contact both White and non-White participants have as they go about their daily lives, in their friendships and with mentors, in school or work relationships, and with contact with healthcare providers; this hypothesis was also assessed using the Rudman and McLean (2016) outgroup contact index.

### ***Hypothesis 5***

H5 predicted that the majority of White participants, as compared to non-White participants, would report (a) less outgroup communication, which would also be (b) less positive or (c) less meaningful than communication with their own group members. Three questions from the Rudman and McLean (2016) outgroup contact index (ROC), which was saved as a PC score, covered the frequency, positivity, and meaningfulness of contact with ingroup and outgroup members.

To examine H5, a one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable, and the ROC outgroup PC score as the dependent variable. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated. The results showed no significant difference between White participants and non-White participants in their outgroup interactions,  $F(1, 300) = .369, p = .54$ . The results failed to support H5 in general. However, a closer look at the three individual questions in the outgroup contact index (Rudman & McLean, 2016) was warranted to gain insight into the

nuances between White and non-White participants in their ingroup and outgroup contact.

**H5a.** The first question from Rudman and McLean (2016) asked, on a scale of 1 (*only with people from my own racial background*) to 5 (*only with people not of my own racial background*) about the frequency of outgroup contact. Higher scores meant more contact with people not of the same racial background. Lower scores indicated contact mostly with people of the same racial background. For question one (ROC1), White and non-White participants were compared to determine whether one identity group reported more frequency in outgroup contact with people from different races other than their own. Results showed a significant difference between White and non-White participants for outgroup contact,  $\chi^2(4, N = 303) = 27.94, p < .001$ , as indicated in Table 11.

**Table 11**

*Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Outgroup Contact Questions by Identity*

Question	Identity	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	Median	<i>SD</i>
ROC1 most frequent contact**	White	161	2.44	2.00	.697
	Non-White	142	2.88	3.00	.821
ROC2 most positive	White	160	2.76	3.00	.671
	Non-White	142	2.65	3.00	.715
ROC3 most meaningful	White	161	2.57	3.00	.696
	Non-White	142	2.47	3.00	.750

*Note.* Contact questions are from Rudman and McLean (2016). ROC = Rudman Outgroup Contact index.

\*\*  $p < .001$  (2-tailed)

The results for question one revealed that the majority of non-White participants (49%,  $M = 2.88$ ) reported almost equal contact with people both from and not from their own racial background, but the majority of White participants (54%,  $M = 2.44$ ) reported

their contact was mostly with people from their own racial background. Thus, the outgroup contact index question one (ROC1) supported H5a, indicating White participants reported less outgroup contact than did non-White participants.

**H5b and H5c.** H5b asked whether White participants reported less positive outgroup communication than non-White participants reported. Question two of the outgroup contact index (ROC2) asked, on a scale of 1 (*only with people from my own racial background*) to 5 (*only with people not of my own racial background*) with whom do you have the most positive contact. And, in answer to H5c, ROC3 asked, using the same scale, with whom do you have the most meaningful contact. Higher scores represented better contact with people not from the same racial background. The results showed no significant difference between White and non-White participants for positive outgroup contact,  $\chi^2(4, N = 302) = 4.96, p = .29$ ; nor for meaningful outgroup contact,  $\chi^2(4, N = 303) = 3.31, p = .51$ .

Both the majority of White participants (64%,  $M = 2.76$ ) and the majority of non-White participants (54%,  $M = 2.65$ ) reported more positive contact almost equally with both people from and not from their own racial background, as indicated in Table 11 above. Thus, the results did not support H5b, which predicted that White participants would report less positive outgroup contact than non-White participants. In fact, non-White participants reported their experience in their outgroup contact as slightly less positive than what White participants reported.

In answer to H5c, the results showed that almost half of White participants (44%,  $M = 2.57$ ) and of non-White participants (49%,  $M = 2.47$ ) reported more meaningful

contact mostly with people from their own racial background. Thus, the results did not support H5c, which predicted that White participants would report less meaningful outgroup contact than would non-White participants. Both groups reported that their contact was more meaningful with their own ingroup members.

For participants in each of the categories with (a) less outgroup communication, (b) less positive, and (c) less meaningful communication, there was a significant difference in outgroup communication, with White participants reporting less than non-White participants, which supported H5a. However, H5b and H5c were not supported because both groups reported similarly that their outgroup contact was positive, but their most meaningful contact was with their own ingroup.

### ***Hypothesis 6***

H6 predicted that non-White participants, compared to White participants, would report greater comfort in communicating with people from other racial backgrounds. Four questions from the Everett communication scale (ECS) were reduced and combined into a PC score. A one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable, and the ECS principal component score as the dependent variable. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated. The results showed no significant difference between White participants and non-White participants in their level of comfort during their outgroup interactions,  $F(1, 296) = 1.229, p = .27$ . This result failed to support H6.

However, a closer look at two of the questions from the ECS scale (Everett et al., 2015) was warranted to gain insight into the nuances between White and non-White

participants in the quality of intergroup contact. The first question (ECS1) asked, on a scale from 1 (*not at all easy*) to 7 (*very easy*), “How easy is it to communicate with someone from a different racial background different from yours.” The second question (ECS10) asked, on a scale from 1 (*very much*) to 7 (*not at all*), “How much do you struggle to think of what to say during interactions with someone from a racial background different from yours?” Higher scores on these two questions indicated more ease and less struggle during intergroup contact with people from a different racial background.

Results revealed no significant difference between White and non-White participants for ease (ECS1) during outgroup communication,  $\chi^2(5, N = 300) = 3.70, p = .59$ ; nor was there a significant difference between White and non-White participants for how much they struggled (ECS10) during outgroup interactions,  $\chi^2(6, N = 302) = 4.94, p = .55$ . Table 12 shows the means, medians, and standard deviations for these two questions from the Everett (ECS) communication scale (Everett et al., 2015).

**Table 12**

*Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for ECS Questions by Identity*

Question	Identity	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	Median	<i>SD</i>
ECS1 ease	White	158	6.03	6.00	1.052
	Non-White	142	5.87	6.00	1.162
ECS10 struggle	White	160	5.66	6.00	1.629
	Non-White	142	5.62	6.00	1.552

*Note.* Questions are from Everett et al. (2015). ECS = Everett Communication Scale

Results showed that both the majority of White participants (76%,  $M = 6.03$ ) and the majority of non-White participants (72%,  $M = 5.87$ ) reported it was mostly easy to

very easy to communicate with people not from their own racial background. More than half of White participants (66%,  $M = 5.66$ ) and non-White participants (67%,  $M = 5.62$ ) reported a little to no struggle at all to communicate when interacting with people who were not from their own racial background. These results failed to support H6.

### ***Hypothesis 7***

H7 proposed that non-White participants, compared to White participants, would report more intergroup contact with other racial group members. Based on the Rudman and McLean (2016) study question four, ROC4, participants indicated how many of their friends, co-workers or classmates, mentors, and healthcare professionals were of the same race as they were, using a scale from 1 (*none*) to 5 (*all*). Higher scores indicated more social contact with members of their own racial group. Lower scores indicated more contact with people not from their own racial group. Because this question dealt with contact with participants' own racial ingroup, an ingroup contact index PC score was produced based on the amount of contact in one's daily life with four different categories of people that were either from the same race or from different racial groups.

A one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable and the ROC4 ingroup PC score as the dependent variable. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated. The results showed a significant difference between White participants and non-White participants in their ingroup interactions,  $F(1, 300) = 100.320, p < .001, \eta^2 = .25$ . Thus, H7 was supported.

To gain a better perspective on the significant differences between White, Black, and Asian participants in their ingroup versus outgroup social contact with friends, co-

workers or classmates, mentors, and healthcare professionals, a one-way ANOVA with Race\_regroup as the independent variable was conducted on each of the individual contact groups. The results showed a significant difference between White, Black, and Asian identity groups in their contact with friends of the same race,  $F(3, 299) = 14.206, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$ ; in their contact with co-workers or classmates of the same race,  $F(3, 299) = 26.812, p < .001, \eta^2 = .21$ ; in their contact with mentors of the same race,  $F(3, 299) = 27.428, p < .001, \eta^2 = .22$ ; and in their contact with healthcare professionals of the same race,  $F(3, 298) = 39.214, p < .001, \eta^2 = .28$ . Higher means indicated more contact with members of one's own race, as indicated in Table 13.

**Table 13**

*Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Ingroup Contact Targets Compared by Participant Race Identity*

Race Identity	Contact Targets			
	Friends	Co-workers or Classmates	Mentors	Healthcare Professionals
White ( <i>n</i> )	163	163	162	163
<i>M</i>	3.72	3.43	3.44	3.55
Median	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
<i>SD</i>	.819	.853	1.144	1.072
Black ( <i>n</i> )	64	64	64	63
<i>M</i>	3.44	2.59**	2.59**	2.37**
Median	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00
<i>SD</i>	.924	.938	1.256	1.036
Asian ( <i>n</i> )	43	43	43	43
<i>M</i>	2.81**	2.33**	2.02**	2.16**
Median	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
<i>SD</i>	.932	.919	.938	.974

*Note.* Contact targets are from Rudman and McLean (2016).

\*\* $p < .001$

Participants from the three racial identity groups (White, Black, and Asian) showed a significant difference in their social contact with people of their own racial group. The results revealed that the majority of White participants reported (based on the medians) that most of their friends, co-workers or classmates, mentors, and healthcare professionals were of the same race as they were, as indicated in Table 13. On the other hand, although the majority of Black participants reported that most of their friends were either of the same race as they were or about equal between different races, their co-workers or classmates, mentors, and healthcare professionals were mostly not of the same race as they were.

Asian participants reported that most of their social contacts among the four contact target groups were with people who were not of the same race as they were. Thus, H7 was supported, because more White participants as compared to non-White participants reported that their social contact was mostly with their own racial group members. In contrast, the majority of non-White participants reported that more of their social contacts were with people not from their own racial group.

In answer to Research Question 4, the findings show that both White and non-White participants do not significantly differ in their report of positive, easy, and comfortable intergroup communication with those not of their own racial group, as indicated by H5b and H6. And, as shown by H5c, both groups reported that their most meaningful communication is with members of their own ingroup. However, there is a significant difference between White and non-White participants in their intergroup contact with other racial group members. The social networks of most White participants



include mostly people from their own race, but the social networks of most non-White participants are either equally inclusive of people from racial outgroups or primarily with people from racial outgroups.

**Research Question 5: Do the media have a different influence on dominant (White) groups as compared to minority (non-White) group members in the reinforcement of social stigmas?**

To answer Research Question 5, two hypotheses were tested. Hypothesis 8 (H8) and Hypothesis 9 (H9) investigated how different sources of information influenced Americans in their negative views toward different racial groups.

***Hypothesis 8***

H8 proposed that White participants were more likely than non-White participants to report that they learned more about other races from media sources (social media, TV news, and newspapers) than from interpersonal sources such as family, friends, and co-workers or classmates. To examine the sources of information for learning about different races, four questions were analyzed. Question one asked participants to indicate, on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 10 (*always*), the extent to which they learned about different races from six sources: family, friends, co-workers or classmates, social media, TV news media, and newspapers. Three other survey questions dealt with the quality of the information from these six sources and whether the participants reported those sources as providing either negative or positive information, based on a scale from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*).

**Information Sources.** The first question asked about the extent of information about different races and cultures that participants received from six different target information sources. A one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable and the scores, based on family, friends, co-workers or classmates, social media, TV news media, and newspapers, as dependent variables. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated ( $p > .05$ ). The results showed a significant difference between White and non-White participants in having family as an information source to learn about other races,  $F(1, 301) = 15.960, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$ . More non-White participants reported that family was their most used information source to learn about different races. Table 14 shows the descriptive statistics for the six target information sources based on participant identity.

**Table 14**

*Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Information Sources by Identity*

Sources	Identity	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	Median	<i>SD</i>
Family**	White	161	5.78	6.00	2.524
	Non-White	142	6.89	7.00	2.290
Friends	White	161	6.13	6.00	2.372
	Non-White	142	6.39	7.00	2.285
Co-workers or Classmates	White	161	5.93	6.00	2.528
	Non-White	142	5.62	6.00	2.411
Social Media	White	161	5.20	6.00	2.838
	Non-White	142	5.65	5.50	2.735
TV News Media	White	160	5.51	6.00	2.702
	Non-White	142	5.94	6.00	2.580
Newspapers	White	161	4.70	5.00	2.782
	Non-White	142	4.94	5.00	2.798

\*\* $p < .001$

However, there was no significant difference between White and non-White participants when it came to learning about other races from friends,  $F(1, 301) = .967, p = .33$ ; from co-workers or classmates,  $F(1, 301) = 1.200, p = .27$ ; from social media,  $F(1, 301) = 1.902, p = .17$ ; from TV news media,  $F(1, 301) = 1.968, p = .16$ ; nor from newspapers  $F(1, 301) = .597, p = .44$ . Thus, the results did not support H8, when considering the extent of media sources as an information source used by White and non-White participants to learn about different races, because there was no significant difference in their use of the media.

Based on the means in Table 14 above, although more non-White participants reported that family was their most used information source to learn about different races, the majority of White participants reported that friends were their most used information source to learn about other races. For both groups of participants, co-workers or classmates, social media and TV news media were sometimes used as information sources through which they learned about other races. Newspapers were the least used information source to learn about different races, as reported by both groups.

**Information Quality.** There was a significant difference between White and non-White participants in what they reported about the general quality of the information they encountered. For this question, participants were asked to indicate, in general, the quality of information they encountered when learning about different races, on a scale from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*). A one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable, and the data from the question about the general quality of information received from their sources as the

dependent variable. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated ( $p < .05$ ), so the ANOVA was run again using the Welch test ( $p = .009$ ).

The results of examining the general quality of the information on race revealed there was a significant difference between White and non-White participants in the perceived quality of information they encountered about different races,  $F(1, 301) = 7.053, p < .01, \eta^2 = .023$ . White participants ( $n = 161$ ) reported that the general quality of the information they encountered about other races was slightly positive ( $M = 5.04, SD = 1.42$ ); however, non-White participants ( $n = 142$ ) reported that the general quality of the information they received about other races was more neutral ( $M = 4.58, SD = 1.63$ ), or neither positive nor negative.

**Information About Own Group.** For the third question, participants were asked to indicate how positive or negative the information about people from their own racial background was from the six targeted information sources, based on a scale from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*). To analyze whether there was a significant difference in perceptions of how negative or how positive the six targeted information sources were, a one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable and the scores from the third question, based on sources of family, friends, co-workers or classmates, social media, TV news media, and newspapers, as dependent variables. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was met ( $p > .05$ ).

The results showed there was not a significant difference between White and non-White participants in the perceived quality of information they received from family as a source to learn about people from their own racial background,  $F(1, 301) = .362, p = .55$ ;

from friends as a source to learn about their own race,  $F(1, 301) = .808, p = .37$ ; nor from social media as a source to learn about their own race,  $F(1, 301) = 2.922, p = .09$ .

However, there was a significant difference between White and non-White participants when it came to the quality of information about their own race that they received from co-workers or classmates,  $F(1, 301) = 9.901, p < .01, \eta^2 = .03$ ; and from TV news media,  $F(1, 301) = 12.215, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$ . In addition, there was a significant difference in the quality of information from newspapers  $F(1, 301) = 14.882, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$ . Table 15 shows the descriptive statistics for the six target information sources as reported by the two groups of participants based on White and non-White identity.

**Table 15**

*Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Information Sources About Participants' Own Race by Identity*

Sources	Identity	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	Median	<i>SD</i>
Family	White	161	5.37	6.00	1.400
	Non-White	142	5.46	6.00	1.442
Friends	White	161	5.52	6.00	1.245
	Non-White	142	5.39	6.00	1.214
Co-workers or Classmates*	White	161	5.37	6.00	1.166
	Non-White	142	4.91	5.00	1.368
Social Media	White	161	4.30	5.00	1.646
	Non-White	142	3.99	4.00	1.516
TV News Media**	White	160	4.17	4.00	1.611
	Non-White	142	3.54	3.00	1.560
Newspapers**	White	161	4.32	4.00	1.511
	Non-White	142	3.67	4.00	1.428

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p \leq .001$

When examining which information sources were negative or positive in providing information about people from the participants' own racial group the means in

Table 15 above indicate that both White and non-White participants reported that family and friends were positive sources of information about their own race. However, although White participants reported that co-workers or classmates were positive sources of information about their own race, non-White participants indicated that co-workers or classmates were neutral, neither positive nor negative sources, about people from the participants' own racial background. Further, although White participants reported that social media, TV news media, and newspapers were neither positive nor negative in their information about the people from their racial background, non-White participants reported that these three sources provided negative information about people from their racial background.

**Information About Other Groups.** For the fourth question, participants were asked to indicate how positive or negative the information from the six targeted information sources was about people from racial backgrounds other than their own, based on a scale from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*). A one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable, and the scores from the fourth question, based on family, friends, co-workers or classmates, social media, TV news media, and newspapers, as dependent variables. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was met ( $p > .05$ ).

The results showed no significant difference between White and non-White participants in the reported quality of information received from family as a source to learn about other races,  $F(1, 295) = .498, p = .48$ ; from social media as a source to learn

about other races,  $F(1, 295) = 2.418, p = .12$ ; from TV news media,  $F(1, 295) = .637, p = .43$ ; nor from newspapers  $F(1, 294) = .455, p = .50$ .

However, there was a significant difference between White and non-White participants when it came to the quality of information about other races that they received from friends,  $F(1, 294) = 5.764, p < .02, \eta^2 = .02$ ; and from co-workers or classmates,  $F(1, 295) = 5.678, p < .02, \eta^2 = .02$ . Table 16 shows the descriptive statistics for the six target information sources as reported by the two groups of participants based on White and non-White identity.

**Table 16**

*Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Information Sources About Races Other Than the Participants' Own Race by Identity*

Sources	Identity	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	Median	<i>SD</i>
Family	White	158	4.92	5.00	1.558
	Non-White	139	4.80	5.00	1.495
Friends*	White	158	5.34	6.00	1.256
	Non-White	138	4.98	5.00	1.348
Co-workers or Classmates*	White	158	5.13	5.00	1.214
	Non-White	139	4.78	5.00	1.368
Social Media	White	158	4.42	5.00	1.577
	Non-White	139	4.12	4.00	1.696
TV News Media	White	158	4.15	4.00	1.567
	Non-White	139	3.99	4.00	1.730
Newspapers	White	158	4.21	4.00	1.498
	Non-White	138	4.09	4.00	1.610

\*  $p < .05$

When examining which information sources were negative or positive in providing information about people who were not from the participants' own racial group, on a scale from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*), the means in Table 16

indicate that both White and non-White participants reported that family members were slightly positive in their information about other racial groups. Social media, TV news media, and newspapers were neither positive nor negative in the quality of information about other racial groups. However, although White participants reported that friends and co-workers or classmates were more positive sources of information about other races, non-White participants reported that the information received from friends and from co-workers or classmates about races other than their own was mostly neutral. On the other hand, both White and non-White participants considered the information sources of social media, TV news media, and newspapers to provide the least positive information about other races, which may be why neither group reported the media as a primary information source.

### ***Hypothesis 9***

H9 predicted that participants reading a negative news story would assign greater punishment to alleged robbers from racial outgroups than to ones from their own racial group. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four news stories. Although the stories were essentially the same in most aspects, for three of the stories, race was inserted when describing the alleged robbers. The teens were described as either White, Black, or Asian. The fourth news story did not mention race at all and was used as the control. After reading the news story, participants used a slider scale, ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*some*) to 10 (*extreme*) to indicate how harsh the punishment should be given to the alleged teen robbers in the story. In another question, participants were asked to indicate the specific type of punishment, which ascended in level of harsh punishment (1



= *community service*, 2 = *probation*, 3 = *some jail time*, 4 = *1 to 2 years in jail*, and 5 = *the maximum amount allowed*).

**Harshness of Punishment.** A one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable, and the harshness of punishment question as the dependent variable. The results showed no significant difference between White and non-White participants,  $F(1, 301) = .726, p = .395$ , in the amount of harshness they assigned to the teen robbers. However, this analysis did not take into account the four different versions of the news story, nor did it provide the details of whether participants actually assigned harsher punishment to racial outgroups than to their own group. To examine the differences between participants from three racial groups (White, Black, and Asian), three new variables were recoded from the Race regroup variable (Race\_White, Race\_Black, and Race\_Asian) to create dichotomous variables (i.e., White–Other, Black–Other, and Asian–Other).

Four ANOVAs were conducted using Race\_White (White = 1, Others = 0) as the independent variable, and the harshness question as the dependent variable, one for each of the four news stories. The results showed a significant difference between participants who identified as White and those who did not identify as White when assigning harshness of punishment only in the case of the Asian race news story,  $F(1, 77) = 4.294, p < .05, \eta^2 = .053$ . Non-White participants were more lenient in the harshness of punishment to the Asians in the story ( $n = 41, M = 5.49$ ) than were White participants ( $n = 38, M = 6.32$ ). However, there was no significant difference between White and non-White participants when it came to assigning harshness of punishment to the neutral news

story,  $F(1, 70) = 1.433, p = .24$ ; to the Black race news story,  $F(1, 73) = .3631, p = .55$ ; nor to the White race news story,  $F(1, 75) = .412, p = .52$ .

Additionally, to examine whether participants from different racial groups assigned different harshness of punishment based on the news story version the participants read, a series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted with each racial identity group set as a filter, using the news story version (Neutral = 1, Black = 2, Asian = 3, White = 4) as the independent variable, and the harshness question as the dependent variable. The aim was to examine whether participants from a particular racial group would assign harshness of punishment differently when reading about their own racial group member compared to an outgroup member or no racial group (control) as mentioned in the news story.

Using the Race\_White variable as a filter to examine how White participants assessed different versions of the news story, the results of the ANOVA showed no significant difference between the version of news story read and the harshness of punishment assigned to the teens who allegedly robbed a store,  $F(3, 159) = .257, p = .86$ . The results were similar for the Black participants who read different versions of the story,  $F(3, 60) = 1.500, p = .22$ . Asian participants who read different versions of the news story also showed no significant difference in assigning harshness of punishment based on which race they read about,  $F(3, 39) = .349, p = .79$ . Therefore, these results did not support H9.

Additional one-way ANOVAs were conducted to examine whether there was any significant difference between racial groups (White, Black, and Asian participants) when

they read a particular version of the news story (neutral, Black, Asian, or White criminals). To do this, the NewsStory\_Version variable was recoded into four new variables (NS\_White, NS\_Black, NS\_Asian, and NS\_Neutral) to focus on one particular news story version. The recoded variable Race-regroup was used as the independent variable and the harshness question as the dependent variable, with the news story White version as a filter. The results showed no significant difference between those identifying as White, Black, or Asian in the assigning of harshness of punishment for the news story with White criminals,  $F(3, 73) = .144, p = .93$ .

The results were similar for the news story Black version. There was no significant difference between participants identifying as White, as Black, or as Asian in assigning harshness of punishment for the news story with Black criminals,  $F(3, 71) = .152, p = .93$ . Similarly, when the one-way ANOVA was filtered by the news story Asian version, the results showed no significant difference among participants who identified as White, Black, or Asian, in assigning harshness of punishment for the news story with Asian criminals,  $F(3, 75) = 1.847, p = .15$ .

Finally, when the ANOVA was filtered by the news story Neutral (control) version, the results showed no significant difference among participants who identified as White, Black, or Asian, in assigning harshness of punishment for the news story when the criminals were not identified by race,  $F(3, 68) = .554, p = .66$ . After conducting the analyses for the participants from three different racial groups and considering how each group assigned harshness of punishment based on the news story version, these results did not support H9.

Although no significance differences were found among people of different races in assigning punishment to their own or other racial group members, the means still show a subtle and interesting pattern, as indicated in Table 17. Based on the means, White participants were least harsh for the teens in the neutral news story ( $M = 6.07$ ), but more harsh for the teens in the Black news story ( $M = 6.44$ ) than they were for their own group or for the Asian group.

**Table 17**

*Means and Standard Deviations for News Story Version and Harshness of Punishment Filtered by Participant Race Identity*

Race Identity	News Story Neutral	News Story Black	News Story Asian	News Story White
White ( $n$ )	45	39	38	41
$M$	6.07	6.44	6.32	6.32
$SD$	2.093	2.125	1.509	2.184
Black ( $n$ )	11	19	17	17
$M$	6.91	6.05	5.47	6.71
$SD$	2.166	2.121	2.503	1.359
Asian ( $n$ )	9	8	17	9
$M$	6.56	6.13	5.76	6.56
$SD$	2.186	2.295	1.437	3.468

On the other hand, Black participants were more harsh for the neutral ( $M = 6.91$ ) and White ( $M = 6.71$ ) news stories than for their own group ( $M = 6.05$ ), but were least harsh for the Asian ( $M = 5.47$ ) version of the news story. Asians were least harsh for their own group ( $M = 5.76$ ), followed by the Black news story ( $M = 6.13$ ), but they assigned harsher punishment for the White and neutral ( $M = 6.56$ ) news stories. These means are an indication, although not statistically significant, that, just as White participants were more lenient for their own racial group members, non-White participants were similarly

more lenient for their own and other minority groups. For the Black and Asian participants, the story without any racial identification received a similar harshness in punishment to those of the White news story. This result could be an indication that when news stories leave out the racial identity of subjects, the assumption is that the subjects are White.

**Type of Punishment.** Analyses were conducted to see whether there was any difference in the type of punishment assigned based on participant race identity and news story version. The possible types of punishments were arranged in hierarchical order from less severe to more severe punishment types: 1 = *community service*, 2 = *probation*, 3 = *some jail time*, 4 = *1 to 2 years in jail*, and 5 = *the maximum amount allowed*.

To examine differences between White and non-White participants in their overall assessment of type of punishment the alleged robbers should receive, a one-way ANOVA was conducted using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent variable and type of punishment as the dependent variable. The results showed no significant difference between White and non-White participants,  $F(1, 301) = .435, p = .51$ , in the type of punishment they assigned to the alleged robbers. Both White participants ( $M = 2.70$ ) and non-White participants ( $M = 2.80$ ) assigned punishment based mostly on probation.

Further analysis was conducted to take into account the four different versions of the news story and whether participants actually assigned harsher punishment to racial outgroups than to their own group. A one-way ANOVA was conducted with the four versions of the news story, using Race\_White as the independent variable and the type of

punishment as the dependent variable. The results showed a significant difference between participants who identified as White and those who did not identify as White when assigning type of punishment in both the neutral news story,  $F(1, 70) = 4.289, p = .04, \eta^2 = .058$ , and in the Asian race news story,  $F(1, 77) = 4.769, p = .03, \eta^2 = .058$ .

Non-White participants were less lenient than White participants ( $n = 45, M = 2.56$ ) in the type of punishment to the neutral news story ( $n = 27, M = 3.19$ ). Non-White participants assigned some jail time, but the majority of White participants assigned probation to the teens in the neutral news story. Non-White participants were more lenient in type of punishment assigned for the Asian news story ( $n = 41, M = 2.37$ ) than were White participants ( $n = 38, M = 2.89$ ). However, there was no significant difference between White and non-White participants when it came to assigning the type of punishment to the Black race news story version,  $F(1, 73) = .020, p = .89$ ; nor to the White race news story version,  $F(1, 75) = .327, p = .57$ .

Additionally, to examine whether participants from different racial groups assigned type of punishment differently based on which news story version was read, a series of ANOVAs were conducted using each racial identity group as a filter and then using NewsStory\_Version (Neutral = 1, Black = 2, Asian = 3, White = 4) as the independent variable and type of punishment as the dependent variable. The goal was to examine whether participants from a particular racial group would assign type of punishment differently when comparing their own racial group with an outgroup or when no racial group was mentioned in the news story.

For White participants who read different versions of the news story, the results of the one-way ANOVA showed no significant difference between the version of news story read and the type of punishment assigned to the teens who allegedly robbed a store,  $F(3, 159) = .652, p = .58$ . The results were similar for Black participants who read different versions of the story,  $F(3, 60) = .495, p = .75$ . Asian participants who read different versions of the story also showed no significant difference in assigning type of punishment based on which race they read about,  $F(3, 39) = 1.338, p = .28$ . Thus, these results did not support H9.

Although there was no statistical significance among participants of different races in assigning punishment, the means show an interesting trend, as indicated in Table 18. White participants appeared less harsh in type of punishment in the neutral news story ( $M = 2.56$ ) and the White news story ( $M = 2.66$ ), than they were for the teens in the Black news story ( $M = 2.82$ ), with the harshest punishment assigned to Asians ( $M = 2.89$ ).

**Table 18**

*Means and Standard Deviations for News Story Version and Type of Punishment Filtered by Participant Race Identity*

Race Identity	News Story Neutral	News Story Black	News Story Asian	News Story White
White ( <i>n</i> )	45	39	38	41
<i>M</i>	2.56	2.82	2.89	2.66
<i>SD</i>	1.216	1.189	1.085	1.371
Black ( <i>n</i> )	11	19	17	17
<i>M</i>	3.00	2.84	2.53	2.71
<i>SD</i>	1.549	1.068	1.068	1.160
Asian ( <i>n</i> )	9	8	17	9
<i>M</i>	3.44	2.63	2.41	2.56
<i>SD</i>	1.236	1.408	1.121	1.509

Black participants showed more leniency for the Asian version ( $M = 2.53$ ) of the news story and the White version ( $M = 2.71$ ) news story than for their own group ( $M = 2.84$ ). Black participants assigned a harsher type of punishment for the neutral news story ( $M = 3.00$ ), assigning some jail time to the teens in the neutral story. Asian participants showed the most leniency for their own group ( $M = 2.41$ ), followed by the White news story ( $M = 2.56$ ), but they assigned a harsher type of punishment for the Black news story ( $M = 2.63$ ), and the harshest type of punishment for the neutral news story ( $M = 3.44$ ), assigning some jail time to the teens in the neutral story.

These means are an indication, although not statistically significant, that White participants and Asian participants were more lenient for members of their own group. White participants tended toward being more lenient for the neutral news story than for the Black version or Asian version of the news story. For both the Black participants and Asian participants, the neutral news story without any racial identification received the harsher type of punishment (some jail time) followed by those of the Black news story.

In answer to Research Question 5, the findings from H8 show that neither White nor non-White participants viewed the media as an important information source to learn about other races, reporting instead that friends and family were their most used sources. However, there was a significant difference in how each group viewed the quality of the information from the media about their own racial group. White participants reported the information from the media as neither positive nor negative about their own group, but non-White participants reported that the media provided negative information about people from their racial group. On the other hand, both groups of participants thought the



media provided information that was neither positive nor negative about other racial groups. That being said, after reading a news story, White participants assigned significantly harsher punishment to alleged teen criminals who were Asian than to other groups. In previous studies, Blacks were found to be assigned harsher punishment for crimes (Correll et al., 2007; Dixon et al., 2010; Parham-Payne, 2014). So, this result might be an indication of the current situation in the United States wherein Asians are being blamed for bring the COVID-19 pandemic to the country.

#### **Research Question 6: How does racism relate to social stigma?**

To address Research Question 6, Hypothesis 10 (H10) predicted that the measures for racism and stigma would correlate highly. To answer this question, a correlation matrix was computed using the PC scores for all of measures typically used in racism studies and PC scores for the five stigma dimensions as predictors of stigma, for a total of 17 variables. Following the correlation analysis, a principal component analysis was conducted to evaluate which variables could be reduced into one component as an expression of racial stigma.

#### ***Correlations***

The correlation matrix shows significant correlations between most of the variables with a few exceptions, as indicated in Table 19. Almost all of the variables used to measure racial bias and racism (far left column in Table 19) correlate significantly with all five stigma dimensions. The exceptions are the Implicit Association Tests (IATs) and the Ingroup Contact Index (Rudman & McLean, 2016). The Black/White IAT does not significantly correlate with the labeling and the controllability stigma dimensions.

Further, both the Asian/White IAT and the Ingroup Contact Index do not significantly correlate with the labeling stigma dimension.

**Table 19**

*Correlations for Racism Measures by Stigma Dimensions*

Variable ( <i>N</i> )	Stigma Dimensions				
	Labeling	Distancing	Negative Attribution	Controllability	Status Loss
IAT_Black/White <i>D</i> score (303)	-.097	-.167**	-.126*	-.081	-.119*
IAT_Asian/White <i>D</i> score (303)	-.113	-.254**	-.220**	-.177**	-.202**
Social Dominance Orientation (291)	.464**	.586**	.613**	.636**	.622**
Right-Wing Authoritarianism: Authority (296)	.484**	.428**	.484**	.594**	.579**
Right-Wing Authoritarianism: Tradition (294)	.310**	.238**	.262**	.422**	.329**
Outgroup Contact Index (Rudman & McLean, 2016) (302)	-.204**	-.244**	-.143*	-.118*	-.190**
Ingroup Contact Index (Rudman & McLean, 2016) (302)	.081	.264**	.153**	.153**	.195**
Everett Communication (Everett et al., 2015) (298)	-.578**	-.642**	-0.591**	-.417**	-.646**
Old-Fashioned Racism (294)	.668**	.879**	.798**	.671**	.825**
Modern Racism Scale (290)	.628**	.745**	.777**	.817**	.793**
Feeling Prejudice (300)	-.326**	-.346**	-.298**	-.232**	-.277**
Blatant Dehumanization (300)	-.470**	-.526**	-.459**	-.389**	-.452**

*Note.* Stigma dimensions from Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011.

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

Overall, the two IAT scores had negative correlations with the stigma dimensions. Because the IAT *D* scores were mostly on the moderate to lower end, this finding would mean that the lower scores predict less stigma and higher scores predict more stigma. The Outgroup Contact Index (Rudman & McLean, 2016) and the Everett Communication

Scale (Everett et al., 2015) both correlated negatively with each of the stigma dimensions. Since lower scores in both measures indicated less contact and less favorable communication with outgroups, respectively, then lower scores would correlate with higher stigma. The same situation applies to the feeling prejudice thermometer and the blatant dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2015) measures, which correlated negatively with the stigma dimensions. Higher scores on the feeling thermometer mean more warmth for other races, and higher scores on the blatant dehumanization measure mean assigning more humanity to the different races. Therefore, lower scores for these two measures would indicate more stigma.

Furthermore, those with higher social dominance orientation scores, higher right-wing authoritarianism scores, higher ingroup contact scores (indicating more social contact with people of one's own race), higher old-fashioned racism and modern racism scores were meaningful predictors for higher stigma across each of the stigma dimensions. Additionally, each of the five stigma dimensions correlated highly with each other, as indicated in Table 20.

**Table 20**

*Correlation Matrix for Stigma Dimension Principal Component Scores*

Stigma Dimension Variable (N)	Stigma Dimensions				
	Labeling	Distancing	Negative Attribution	Controllability	Status Loss
Labeling (296)	1				
Distancing (296)	.682**	1			
Negative Attribution (297)	.709**	.837**	1		
Controllability (298)	.627**	.700**	.804**	1	
Status Loss (295)	.730**	.806**	.802**	.776**	1

*Note.* Stigma dimensions from Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011.

\*\*  $p < .01$

Almost all of the variables that have been used to study race and racism, and were measured here, correlated with the five stigma dimensions; however, some relationships were much weaker than expected. As a result, Hypothesis 10 is partially supported, because six of the measures had higher correlations, and six of the measures had lower correlations to the stigma dimensions, as indicated in Table 19 above.

### ***Principal Component Analysis***

To determine whether the measures used to study racism and the five stigma dimensions represented one overall clear component, a principal component analysis ( $N = 234$ ) was conducted that included the PC scores from the 17 variables used in this study. The scores initially loaded into four components with eigenvalues greater than 1. To determine which of the 17 variables would load into each of the four components, another principal component analysis was conducted this time using the varimax rotation. The principal component analysis with a varimax rotation also produced four factors, as indicated in Table 21.

The first component had an eigenvalue of 7.485, which represented 44.03% of the variance. This component included the modern racism scale, the two right-wing authoritarianism factors, the social dominance orientation scale, the old-fashioned racism scale, and the five stigma dimensions. These 10 variables together had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .944$ , and the strongest correlations to each other.

The second component had an eigenvalue of 1.650 which represented 9.71% of the variance, and included the feeling prejudice thermometer, the blatant dehumanization scale, and the Everett communication scale. The third component had an eigenvalue of

1.385, which represented 8.15% of the variance; this component included the scores for the two IAT tests. And the fourth component had an eigenvalue of 1.188, which represented 6.99% of the variance. Component 4 included the ingroup and outgroup contact indexes, as indicated in Table 21.

**Table 21**

*Rotated Component Matrix for Racism and Stigma Dimension Principal Component Scores*

Variable (N)	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Modern Racism Scale (290)	<b>.858</b>	.245	-.139	.138
Right-Wing Authoritarianism: Authority (296)	<b>.826</b>	.007	.134	-.025
Stigma: Controllability (298)	<b>.800</b>	.289	-.159	.068
Social Dominance Orientation (291)	<b>.749</b>	.173	-.031	.105
Stigma: Status Loss (295)	<b>.730</b>	.440	-.240	.193
Right-Wing Authoritarianism: Tradition (294)	<b>.724</b>	-.155	.279	-.054
Stigma: Negative Attribution (297)	<b>.684</b>	.480	-.284	.140
Old-Fashioned Racism (294)	<b>.639</b>	.501	-.290	.267
Stigma: Distancing (296)	<b>.598</b>	.539	-.318	.286
Stigma: Labeling (296)	<b>.587</b>	.510	-.116	.105
Feeling Prejudice (300)	.014	<b>-.798</b>	-.089	.024
Blatant Dehumanization (300)	-.230	<b>-.759</b>	-.035	.040
Everett Communication (298)	-.360	<b>-.569</b>	.204	-.309
IAT_Black/White Dscore (303)	.002	.069	<b>.749</b>	-.004
IAT_Asian/White Dscore (303)	-.074	-.095	<b>.744</b>	.114
Ingroup Contact Index (Rudman & McLean, 2016) (302)	.061	.046	.057	<b>.821</b>
Outgroup Contact Index (Rudman & McLean, 2016) (302)	-.096	-.031	-.051	<b>-.762</b>

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization <sup>a</sup>

a. Rotation converged in 9 iterations

Another principal component analysis was conducted on the 10 variables from the rotated component matrix comprising Component 1. The second analysis ( $N = 244$ )

loaded into two components with eigenvalues greater than 1. The first component had an eigenvalue of 6.747, which represented 67.47% of the variance. The second component had an eigenvalue of 1.180, which represented 11.80% of the variance. However, the 10 variables as a whole high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .944$ .

In answer to Research Question 6, the correlations and principal component analysis conducted to examine H10 demonstrate a clear relationship between racism and stigma. In the correlations, the strongest relationship exists with the measures used to study racism (OFR and MRS) and the five stigma dimensions. The measures used to study prejudice (SDO and RWA) had a moderate relationship with the stigma dimensions. The principal component analysis confirmed that these three types of measures represent one component, leading to the conclusion that racism and stigma represent the same social phenomenon.

### **Proposed Stigma Dimensions to Study Racial Stigma**

One goal of this dissertation was to examine how to study racism as a stigma. As proposed by several researchers, examining racism as a stigma would include combining measures typically used to study racism with measures typically used to study stigma (Phelan et al., 2008; Stuber et al., 2008; Tyler, 2018). As indicated in the principal component analysis results for Research Question 6 and Hypothesis 10, most of the measures used to study racism are highly correlated with the five stigma dimensions used to study stigma in HIV and AIDS (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011). This result raises a question to consider in studying racial stigma, whether to use both stigma and racism scales.

**Question: Which measures and their respective questions fit into which stigma dimensions as an effective measure to study racial stigma?**

To answer this question, another principal component analysis was conducted, this time using the individual 66 items that made up the measures that significantly correlated with the five stigma dimensions, as well as the individual items from the five stigma dimensions: modern racism scale (8 questions), right-wing authoritarianism scale (8 questions), social dominance orientation scale (8 questions), old-fashioned racism scale (8 questions), and the 28 stigma questions across the various stigma dimensions (labeling, 6 questions; distancing, 6 questions; negative attribution, 5 questions; controllability, 5 questions; and status loss, 6 questions). The PC scores for the feeling prejudice thermometer and the blatant dehumanization scale were also included, along with the Everett Communication Scale (4 questions).

The analysis loaded into nine components. The first component had an eigenvalue of 29.376, which accounted for 45% of the variance. The second component had an eigenvalue of 4.788, which accounted for 7.25% of the variance. The third component had an eigenvalue of 2.810, which accounted for 4.26% of the variance. And the fourth component had an eigenvalue of 2.000, which accounted for 3.03% of the variance. The rest of the components had eigenvalues from 1.715 to 1.135, which together represented 10.42% of the variance. (See Appendix G for the full table containing the rotated component matrix with the items in rank order of factor loading derived from the principal component analysis.)

### ***Developing the Racial Stigma Dimensions***

The following analyses show the process of integrating the original stigma dimensions with the racism measures, combining and modifying measures, or renaming and creating new dimensions to study racial stigma, for a total of 47 items. There are seven proposed dimensions to study racial stigma as follows, and a recommendation to study a characteristic of stigma, blatant dehumanization, which did not load into a real factor. (See Appendix H for the complete list of items for each of the proposed racial stigma dimensions.)

Component 1 included 29 items, incorporating questions from the stigma distancing dimension (questions D2, D3a, D1b, D1c, D3b, and D1a), from old-fashioned racism (questions 6, 2, 4, 8, 3 and 7), from the Everett Communication (ECS) scale (questions 10 and 12), the stigma status loss dimension (questions SL2b, SL1, and SL4a), the stigma negative attribution dimension (questions NA1, NA3a, NA2, NA7, and NA3b), the modern racism scale (questions 7, 5, 8, 6, 2, and 4), and social dominance orientation (question 2 pro dominance). The 29 items comprised three main themes of racial stigma: distancing, negative attribution, and backlash (See Appendix A for the original stigma dimension items, Appendix E for the social dominance orientation items, and Appendix F for the racism measures.)

**Distancing.** The original Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) stigma distancing dimension adapted for this study had six items. The following questions also loaded to the first component: Struggle to interact (ECS10); fair to judge by race (SL2b); no



interracial marriage (OFR2); don't move next door (OFR4); racist in my heart (OFR8); segregation (OFR3).

The ECS10 question on struggle to interact with people from a different race is similar to the stigma distancing question (D3a) that minorities are too different, so best to eliminate contact. The old-fashioned racism measures fit well with the stigma distancing questions, being similar conceptually. The OFR2 item on opposing interracial marriage is similar to the stigma distancing questions on not dating (D1c) or marrying (D3b) someone from another race. The OFR4 question is similar to the stigma question (D1b) on preferring all neighbors to be of the same race as myself. After eliminating the questions that were similar, nine questions remained: the original six stigma distancing questions, one stigma status loss question (SL2b) about fairness in judging people by race, and two old-fashioned racism questions on being racist at heart (OFR8) and not outlawing segregation (OFR3). The distancing questions from Component 1 revolve around the theme of segregation or separation.

To assess whether the nine items comprise one racial stigma dimension (distancing), a principal component analysis was run ( $N = 294$ ). The analysis produced one distinct component with an eigenvalue of 6.44, which explained 71.53% of the variance. Together the nine questions had a high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .95$ . However, the original stigma distancing dimension had a slightly higher reliability indicated by Cronbach's  $\alpha = .95$ . The reliability analysis suggested that the OFR3 question could be deleted. So, another principal component analysis was run without the OFR3 question. The analysis produced one distinct component ( $N = 297$ ) with an

eigenvalue of 5.24, which explained 74.85% of the variance. Together the eight questions had strong reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .95$ . Thus, this proposed stigma dimension, racial distancing, was modified from the original stigma distancing dimension by adding two questions (OFR8 and SL2b).

**Negative Attribution.** The original Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) negative attribution dimension adapted for this study had five items. The following questions also loaded to the first component: Minorities not smart (OFR6); good reason to look down on minorities (SL1); and some groups simply inferior (SDO2).

The one old-fashioned racism question (OFR6) on minorities being not as smart as Whites, the one status loss stigma dimension question (SL1) on good reason to look down on minorities, and the one social dominance question (SDO2) of inferior groups closely correlated in Component 1 to comprise eight items for this modified racial stigma dimension. The negative attribution aspect of racial stigma carried the theme of assigning negative character flaws in lower intelligence, weak character, lack of will power, poor upbringings, and inferiority in general simply because of belonging to a minority racial group.

To assess whether the eight items comprise a newly modified racial stigma dimension of negative attribution, a principal component analysis was run ( $N = 294$ ). The analysis produced one distinct component with an eigenvalue of 5.93, which explained 74.09% of the variance. Together the eight questions had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .95$ . As a result this modified negative attribution racial stigma dimension added three questions (SL1, OFR6, and SDO2).

**Backlash (Too Demanding).** Seven items from the Component 1 loadings comprise a new racial stigma dimension of backlash: Minorities not push where not wanted (MRS7); getting more economically than deserve (MRS5); discrimination not a problem (MRS8); more respect than deserve (MRS6); too much influence on school desegregation (MRS2); too demanding for equal rights (MRS4); and more rights than deserve (SL4a). (See Appendix F for the questions from the modern racism scale.)

The modern racism items in Component 1 together had the theme of minorities being too demanding or having more than they deserve. These questions are reflective of the fact that more minority group members are vocal about their unilateral denial of equal rights, social status, and thus, many demand change. The six modern racism questions and one stigma status loss dimension question (SL4a) together comprise a new racial stigma dimension of backlash that occurs from the dominant racial group when racial challenges are made more prominent.

To assess whether the seven items comprise a new racial stigma dimension of backlash, a principal component analysis was run ( $N = 291$ ). The analysis produced one distinct component with an eigenvalue of 5.38, which explained 76.79% of the variance. Together the seven questions had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .95$ . This new backlash racial stigma dimension was slightly more reliable than the original 8-item modern racism scale: Cronbach's  $\alpha = .931$ . As a result, this new backlash racial stigma dimension, which combined six questions from the modern racism scale with one status loss stigma dimension question (SL4a) can be added to study the stigma of race.

**Controllability.** Component 2 incorporated the five original items, modified for this study, from the stigma controllability dimension (questions C3, C4, C1b, C2, and C1a), plus one stigma status loss dimension (SL2a, minorities don't follow accepted behaviors). The original stigma controllability dimension examined the blame placed on minority group members for their unequal access to resources. The stigma controllability dimension items reflect the belief that, with hard work, racial minority group members could succeed. But this dimension does not take into account social barriers put in place by those with privilege and power.

To assess whether the six items comprise one modified racial stigma dimension of controllability, a principal component analysis was performed ( $N = 295$ ). The analysis produced one distinct component with an eigenvalue of 4.423, which explained 73.71% of the variance. Together the six questions had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .928$ . However, the original five stigma controllability dimension questions had a slightly higher reliability rate as indicated by Cronbach's  $\alpha = .931$ . Because the original controllability stigma dimension was good and had slightly better reliability, it was not necessary to make modifications. The original 5-item controllability stigma dimension was retained unchanged as a racial stigma dimension, without the one stigma status loss question. However, adding that one question back into the dimension also would not seriously hurt the reliability.

**Social Inequality (Oppression and Social Dominance).** Component 3 loaded with seven items from the original 8-question social dominance orientation scale (questions 7, 3, 8, 6, 4, 1, and 5). This component presents another new racial stigma

dimension that is not included in the original five stigma dimensions. These seven items make up a new social inequality racial stigma dimension that examines the current social structure as maintained within a system of inequality and dominance over the racially stigmatized.

To assess whether the remaining seven social dominance orientation questions comprise one new racial stigma dimension of social inequality, a principal component analysis was performed ( $N = 291$ ). The analysis produced one distinct component with an eigenvalue of 4.045, which explained 57.79% of the variance. Together the seven questions had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .87$ . Although the original 8-item social dominance orientation scale had a higher reliability as indicated by Cronbach's  $\alpha = .885$ , the exclusion of SDO2 (inferior groups) seemed reasonable, as this question originally loaded into Component 1, and when added to the modified negative attribution racism stigma dimension increased that dimension's reliability. As a result, the modified seven items from the social dominance orientation scale are included in a new social inequality racial stigma dimension.

**Social Control (Authoritarianism).** Component 4 loaded with five items from the right-wing authoritarianism scale (questions 13, 11, 15, 8, and 3), and one modern racism scale item (MRS3 about unsafe streets). These questions dealt with crime and punishment and the fueling of rage over perceived evil and immorality. Right-wing extremism has revealed a theme indicating that the racially stigmatized are viewed as criminal elements and deserve harsher punishment and stricter control because they are poisoning and ruining society.

To assess whether the six items comprise one new racial stigma dimension of social control, a principal component analysis was run ( $N = 291$ ). The analysis produced one distinct component with an eigenvalue of 3.637, which explained 60.61% of the variance. Together the six questions had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .87$ . This newly proposed 6-item social control racial stigma dimension proved more reliable than the original 5-item Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (Authority portion with questions 3, 6, 11, 13 and 15), which had a lower reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .86$ . As a result, this new social control racial stigma dimension combined five questions from the RWA scale (questions 13, 11, 15, 8, and 3), and one question from the modern racism scale (MRS3 unsafe streets) to study the stigma of race.

**Labeling.** Component 5 included five questions from the stigma labeling dimension (questions L1b, L3a, L1a, L2, and L4). The sixth question (L3b) loaded into Component 1, but the loading was under .500, so it was eliminated. Labeling accentuates the difference between races by assigning negative descriptions that people of other races have different values, behaviors, and moral standards that are difficult to understand and could cause trouble. These perceived differences act as barriers to social justice and create a perception in which racial others are stigmatized for being different, or not normal.

To assess whether the five items comprise one modified stigma dimension of labeling, a principal component analysis was run ( $N = 297$ ). The analysis produced one distinct component with an eigenvalue of 3.640, which explained 72.79% of the variance. Together the five items had high reliability, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .91$ . However, the original

six questions in the stigma labeling dimension had a higher reliability rate as indicated by Cronbach's  $\alpha = .915$ . Because the original stigma labeling dimension was good and had better reliability, it was not necessary to make modifications. The original 6-item labeling stigma dimension was retained as a labeling racial stigma dimension.

**Dehumanization, a Stigma Characteristic.** Component 6 contained the blatant dehumanization PC score (-.592) and the feeling prejudice thermometer PC score (-.530), which negatively correlated with the other factors. The negative correlations resulted because higher scores represented more humanity and more warmth of feeling, respectively. In the other measures, higher scores represented just the opposite, more racism and stigma. Blatant dehumanization and prejudice are explicit attitudes in which people from different racial groups are looked down upon and treated as less than human and less deserving to be warmly accepted. These two scales should be considered as additional characteristics that aid in the study of racial stigma.

This stigma characteristic of dehumanization is supportive of the first seven racial stigma dimensions, and it is recommended that researchers use the Ascent of Man measure of blatant dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2015) and the feeling prejudice thermometer (Greenwald et al., 2009) as slider scales rather than Likert scales to assess participants on their explicit attitudes when it comes to assigning humanity and warmth to different racial groups. Using the slider scales may produce a closer alignment to participants' attitudes.

### **Incidental Findings from Additional Questions**

Additional questions came to mind when conducting the analyses for the research questions and hypotheses. These questions are considered here.

#### **Question 1: Which demographic variables predict SDO, RWA, OFR, and MRS, and the five stigma dimensions?**

To answer this question and discover whether demographic identifications could predict racism and stigma, correlations were examined between the demographic variables and the Race\_regroup variable, individually with each of the PC scores for the racism and stigma measures.

##### ***Social Dominance Orientation***

Three demographic variables had significant and meaningful correlations to social dominance orientation: sex, employment status, and political affiliation. Sex ( $M = 1.49$ ) was positively correlated to social dominance ( $r = .126$ ). Those who have higher social dominance attitudes tended to be male. In addition, employment status ( $M = 1.49$ ) and political affiliation ( $M = 2.06$ ) were negatively correlated to social dominance,  $r = -.143$ ,  $r = -.174$  respectively. Those who worked full time, along with being Republican, tended to show higher social dominance, whereas Democrats and Independents, along with those who worked part time or not at all, were less likely to have attitudes of social dominance toward other racial groups. Table 22 shows the correlations of the demographic variables with the PC scores for social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, old-fashioned racism, modern racism, and blatant dehumanization measures.



**Table 22***Correlations for Demographic Variables by Racism Measures*

Demographic Variable (N)	Principal Component Scores (N)				
	Social Dominance Orientation (291)	Right-Wing Authoritarianism (296)	Old- Fashioned Racism (294)	Modern Racism (290)	Blatant Dehumanization (300)
Race Identity Regroup (303)	-.071	-.048	-.056	-.121*	.001
Sex (303)	.126*	-.009	.105	.152**	-.049
Age Group (303)	-.090	.065	-.181**	-.060	.085
Education Level (303)	.019	-.078	-.016	-.079	.018
Employment Status (301)	-.143*	-.048	-.173**	-.123*	.091
Household Income (301)	-.079	-.026	-.122*	-.118*	.052
Political Affiliation (303)	-.174**	-.238**	-.237**	-.240**	.095

\*  $p < .05$  level\*\*  $p < .01$  level***Right-Wing Authoritarianism***

Political affiliation ( $M = 2.06$ ) had a significant and negative correlation to right-wing authoritarianism, as indicated in Table 22. Republicans tended to show higher right-wing authoritarianism, while Democrats and Independents were more likely to have lower right-wing authoritarianism attitudes.

***Old-Fashioned Racism***

Age group ( $M = 2.55$ ), employment status ( $M = 1.49$ ), yearly income ( $M = 3.05$ ), and political affiliation ( $M = 2.06$ ) were significantly and negatively correlated to old-fashioned racism. Those in the 28 to 39 age group or younger, were employed full time, made from \$40-60,000 a year or less, and were Republican were more likely to have higher old-fashioned racism attitudes.

### ***Modern Racism***

Race Identity ( $M = 1.82$ ), employment status ( $M = 1.49$ ), household income ( $M = 3.05$ ), and political affiliation ( $M = 2.06$ ) had significant and negative correlations to modern racism. Further, sex ( $M = 1.49$ ) had a significant positive correlation, where female = 1, male = 2, and other = 3. Participants who identified as White, male, employed full time, made from \$40-60,000 a year or less, and were Republican tended to have higher modern racism attitudes. However, none of the demographic variables had any significant or meaningful correlation to the blatant dehumanization measure.

### ***Stigma Labeling Dimension***

Age group ( $M = 2.55$ ) employment status ( $M = 1.49$ ), and political affiliation ( $M = 2.06$ ) had significant and negative correlations to the stigma labeling dimension, as indicated in Table 23. Those in the 28 to 39 age group or younger, who were employed full time and were Republican ( $M = 2.06$ ), were more likely to have higher stigma labeling attitudes.

### ***Stigma Distancing Dimension***

Age group ( $M = 2.55$ ), employment status ( $M = 1.49$ ), and political affiliation ( $M = 2.06$ ) had significant and negative correlations to the stigma distancing dimension, as indicated in Table 23. Those in the 28 to 39 age group or younger, who were employed full time and Republican, were more likely to have higher stigma distancing attitudes. On the other hand, sex ( $M = 1.49$ ) had a significant and positive correlation to stigma distancing. Those who held higher stigma distancing attitudes tended to be male.

**Table 23***Correlations for Demographic Variables by Stigma Dimensions*

Demographic Variable (N)	Stigma Dimensions Principal Component Scores (N)				
	Labeling (296)	Distancing (296)	Negative Attribution (297)	Controllability (298)	Status Loss (295)
Race Identity Regroup (303)	.031	-.111	-.017	-.088	-.023
Sex (303)	.051	.150**	.141*	.120*	.101
Age Group (291)	-.172**	-.140*	-.161**	-.072	-.111
Education Level (296)	-.040	-.001	-.058	-.085	-.032
Employment Status (302)	-.143*	-.209**	-.201**	-.150**	-.209**
Household Income (302)	-.059	-.090	-.061	-.096	-.080
Political Affiliation (298)	-.184**	-.220**	-.207**	-.156**	-.221**

*Note.* Stigma dimensions from Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011.

\*  $p < .05$  level

\*\*  $p < .01$  level

***Stigma Negative Attribution Dimension***

Age group ( $M = 2.55$ ), employment status ( $M = 1.49$ ), and political affiliation ( $M = 2.06$ ) had significant and negative correlations to the stigma negative attribution dimension. Those in the 28 to 39 age group or younger, employed full time, and Republican were more likely to have higher stigma negative attribution attitudes. On the other hand, sex ( $M = 1.49$ ) had a significant and positive correlation to the stigma negative attribution dimension. Those who held higher stigma negative attribution attitudes tended to be male.

***Stigma Controllability Dimension***

Employment status ( $M = 1.49$ ) and political affiliation ( $M = 2.06$ ) had significant and negative correlations to the stigma controllability dimension. Those who were employed full time and Republican were more likely to have higher stigma controllability

attitudes. On the other hand, sex ( $M = 1.49$ ) had a significant and positive correlation to stigma controllability. Those who held higher stigma attitudes of controllability tended to be male.

### ***Stigma Status Loss Dimension***

Employment status ( $M = 1.49$ ) and political affiliation ( $M = 2.06$ ) had significant and negative correlations to the stigma status loss dimension. Those who were employed full time and Republican were more likely to have higher stigma status loss attitudes.

Overall, employment status and political affiliation were the two demographic variables that had significant, negative correlations to most of the racism measures and all of the stigma measures. Age group and sex identity had significant correlations with most of the stigma dimensions. Those who were younger, Republican, and worked full time were more likely to have negative racial attitudes and higher stigmatization of racial groups. Those with more racist and higher stigma attitudes tended to be male.

### **Question 2: What identifying markers do participants use to decide which race someone belongs to?**

To examine how participants identified themselves and others as belonging to a particular racial group, participants were asked to indicate using a slider scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 10 (*always*), whether they used any of the following seven identifying markers: facial features, skin color, physical bodies, speech, clothing, birthplace, and ancestry. To answer this question a one-way ANOVA was conducted for each of the identifying markers using Identity (White = 1, and non-White = 2) as the independent

variable and the scores based on the seven individual markers as dependent variables.

The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated ( $p > .05$ ).

The results of examining the scores for each identity marker showed there was a significant difference between White and non-White participants in using facial features,  $F(1, 301) = 4.793, p < .03, \eta^2 = .016$ ; and ancestry,  $F(1, 301) = 6.515, p = .01, \eta^2 = .021$ , as identity markers to decide which race a person belongs to. Non-White ( $M = 6.84$ ) participants rated facial features higher as an identifying marker than did White ( $M = 6.33$ ) participants. Non-White ( $M = 7.56$ ) participants also rated ancestry higher as an identifying marker than did White ( $M = 6.86$ ) participants.

However, there was no significant difference between White and non-White participants when it came to using skin color,  $F(1, 300) = 1.299, p = .26$ ; physical bodies,  $F(1, 299) = 2.939, p = .09$ ; speech,  $F(1, 299) = .426, p = .51$ ; clothing,  $F(1, 298) = .197, p = .66$ ; or birthplace,  $F(1, 300) = 1.044, p = .31$ , as identifying markers to decide which race people belong to.

The identifying marker almost always used by both White ( $M = 7.48$ ) and non-White ( $M = 7.73$ ) participants to identify a person's racial background was skin color. Ancestry was the second identifying marker mostly used by both White ( $M = 6.86$ ) and non-White ( $M = 7.56$ ) participants; however, non-White participants rated this marker significantly higher than did White participants. Facial features ranked third as an identifying marker by both White ( $M = 6.33$ ) and non-White ( $M = 6.84$ ) participants, as indicated in Table 24; however, non-White participants rated this marker significantly higher than did White participants.

**Table 24**

*Means, Medians, and Standard Deviations for Identifying Markers About Races by Participant Identity*

Markers	Identity	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	Median	<i>SD</i>
Facial Features*	White	161	6.33	6.00	1.955
	Non-White	142	6.84	7.00	2.089
Skin Color	White	160	7.48	8.00	1.846
	Non-White	142	7.73	8.00	1.982
Physical Bodies	White	159	3.92	3.00	2.376
	Non-White	142	4.39	4.00	2.438
Speech	White	159	5.74	6.00	2.564
	Non-White	142	5.54	6.00	2.573
Clothing	White	159	3.88	3.00	2.586
	Non-White	141	4.01	3.00	2.627
Birthplace	White	160	4.95	5.00	2.701
	Non-White	142	5.27	5.50	2.816
Ancestry*	White	161	6.86	7.00	2.502
	Non-White	142	7.56	8.00	2.286

\*  $p < .05$

Non-White participants rated almost every identifying marker higher than did White participants, except for speech. Non-White participants ( $M = 5.54$ ) rated this marker as of less use than did White ( $M = 5.74$ ) participants. Clothing as an identifying marker received the lowest rating by both White ( $M = 3.88$ ) and non-White ( $M = 4.01$ ) participants. Physical bodies as an identify marker received the second lowest rating by both White ( $M = 3.92$ ) and non-White ( $M = 4.39$ ) participants, revealing that clothing and physical bodies in general were almost never used as identifying markers to decide which race a person belongs to. Speech and birthplace were sometimes used by both White and non-White participants as identifying markers for deciding a person's race. On the other hand, skin color, ancestry, and facial features were mostly used as identifying markers for

race by both White and non-White participants, with skin color rated highest as an identifying marker by both White and non-White participants.

### **Summary**

The analyses of the research questions and hypotheses produced interesting findings. Some were expected; others were not. The findings are summarized here. The next chapter will delve more fully into the theoretical and practical implications of the findings, as well as discuss their importance.

Research Question 1 revealed some significant differences between White and non-White participants in their expressed feelings toward White Americans and toward Europeans, with non-White participants reporting less warmth toward these two racial groups. Overall, non-White participants thought more about racial differences than did White participants who remained neutral about racial differences. Neither White nor non-White participants thought of themselves as racist. However, the Implicit Association Tests revealed racial bias, with a preference for Whites by both White and non-White participants, although not indicated in the self-reports.

In analyzing the answer to Research Question 2 regarding whether any difference in traditional attitudes existed between White and non-White participants, Hypothesis 1 was not supported. Both White and non-White participants shared similar negative racial attitudes toward minority racial groups. On the other hand, Hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c were supported, because participants who reported higher social dominance, authoritarian, and racist attitudes would also likely stigmatize members of racial minority outgroups.

Research Question 3 asked whether White and non-White participants differed in their judgments of racial minority outgroup members. Hypothesis 3 was supported by the results that found White participants were more likely than non-White participants to report Black Americans, Asian, and Mexican immigrants as less human than the targeted White racial groups, except in the case of Middle Easterners. Both White and non-White participants gave Middle Easterners the lowest rating on the blatant dehumanization measure, indicating that they thought of Middle Easterners as less human than any other group. On the other hand, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported based on the blatant dehumanization measure, because only the Asian group of participants rated the other minority group (Black Americans) as less human than White Americans. Black participants rated themselves and Asians as higher than Whites on the humanity scale.

Research Question 4 considered intergroup communication between White and non-White racial group members. Only Hypothesis 5a was supported by the findings, which indicated White participants reported less outgroup contact than did non-White participants. However, neither Hypotheses 5b nor 5c was supported by the analysis. In fact, non-White participants reported their experience in their outgroup contact as only slightly less positive than White participants reported. Both groups reported that their contact was more meaningful with their own ingroup members. Additionally, Hypothesis 6 was not supported by the findings. Both the majority of White participants and the majority of non-White participants reported that it was mostly easy to communicate with people not from their own racial background. On the other hand, Hypothesis 7 was supported: Findings revealed a significant difference between White and non-White



participants in their social interactions. More White participants, as compared to non-White participants, reported that their social contact was mostly with their own racial group members. In contrast, the majority of non-White participants reported that most of their social contacts were with people not from their own racial group.

Research Question 5 asked about the influence of the media on both White and non-White participants. Hypothesis 8 was not supported by the findings. Neither group reported learning about different races from media sources. More non-White participants reported that family was their most used information source to learn about different races. However, White participants reported that friends were their most used information source. Both White and non-White participants considered the information sources of social media, TV news media, and newspapers to provide the least positive information about other races.

Hypothesis 9 was also unsupported by the findings. Although White participants assigned significantly more harsh punishment to Asians in a news story, non-White participants were more lenient in punishing Asians. However, there was no statistical significance among participants of different races in the assigning of less harsh punishment to their own racial group members after reading a negative news story.

Research Question 6 asked, how does racism relate to social stigma. Hypothesis 10 was partially supported in the prediction that measures for racism and for stigma would correlate highly. Most, but not all, measures used to study race highly correlated with the stigma dimension measures. And, because of this high correlation, seven racial stigma dimensions emerged from the analyses that can be used for future research on race

and stigma. The implications of these dimensions will be discussed in the next chapter, along with further details of the data analyses.

Additional questions and analyses revealed that among the participants, demographically, employment status and political affiliation had significant correlations to most of the racism and stigma measures. Participants who worked full time and who were Republican tended to have more negative racial attitudes and higher stigmatization of other racial groups. Further, the top three identifying markers used to determine which racial group someone belonged to were skin color, ancestry, and facial features.

The next chapter will further interpret the findings and discuss the theoretical and practical implications of this research, as well as give recommendations for future research on racial stigma and suggestions to work toward better intergroup communication and a more equitable society.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **DISCUSSION**

In an investigation of whether Goffman's (1963) concept of the stigma of race is still relevant in understanding current social attitudes in America, this study proposed that an important link existed between Goffman's (1963) concept of the stigma of race and modern research that has focused primarily on racism and prejudice. This combining of two research fields could serve as an answer to understanding the complex, negative intergroup communication behaviors between Americans of different racial backgrounds. To investigate this relationship between stigma and racism, this study focused on six research questions that examined different aspects of social attitudes and behaviors among Americans: their view of people of other races, the judgments toward those of minority racial groups, intergroup communication between people from different racial backgrounds, the influence of the media and other information sources, and the extent of the relationship between stigma and racism. Overall, this study contributes to the theoretical and practical understanding around issues of stigma and race in the United States, along with offering practical suggestions that may help guide the way to dismantle the forces that perpetuate and support the stigma of race.

One significant contribution of this study is that it bridges research on stigma and research on race into one study to provide empirical data that supports the argument that stigma and racism represent the same phenomenon (Phelan et al., 2008; Stuber et al., 2008; Tyler, 2018). This approach varies from recent stigma research, which has focused

mostly on character-based stigmas (e.g., mental illness, addictions, sexual dispositions, imprisonment) and physical-based stigmas (e.g., handicaps, diseases, deformities) to the exclusion of tribal-based stigmas (e.g., race, nationality, religion). Goffman (1963) originally proposed all three of these types of stigma.

One important difference in the results of this study, as compared to previous studies on race and stigma, was the deliberate focus on intergroup perspectives from the sample population. This study recruited a stratified sample of participants to include the perspectives of those who identify as non-White along with those who identify as White. The sample population ( $N = 303$ ), retrieved online from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), was divided into almost equal numbers of participants who identified as White ( $n = 161$ ) and who identified as non-White ( $n = 142$ ) to ascertain differences in attitudes between Americans who identified as White and Americans who identified as non-White. This attempt to recruit equal numbers of participants based on White and non-White identity makes this study stand out from what is typically done in both stigma and race-based studies, which often include predominately White participants (Bresnahan et al., 2018; Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011; Cage et al., 2018; Everett et al., 2015; Ho et al., 2015; Kteily et al., 2012; Kteily et al., 2015; Ottaway et al., 2001; Smith, 2012; Zakrisson, 2005).

This chapter begins by addressing each research question and the hypotheses related to the respective research question. Major findings are discussed in their relationship to the current literature on stigma, race, and racism. Based on the findings, this study proposes new and revised stigma dimensions to study the stigma of race. The

chapter concludes with a discussion of limitations as well as recommendations for future research, along with encouragement to continue to seek a pathway to better intergroup communication and social equity.

### **Interpretation of the Main Study Results**

The main study findings provide an understanding of how Americans in general view people of other races. Results support the hypothesis that those who have higher, more restrictive social dominance, authoritarian, and racist attitudes are more likely to hold stigmatizing attitudes as well. In most cases, significant differences were found in the way the majority of White participants and non-White participants perceived minority racial groups, especially in the context of racial bias toward non-White Americans and dehumanization of people who are non-White. There were also significant differences between the majority of White and non-White participants in their level of intergroup contact and communication, such that Whites were more likely to have social networks composed almost entirely of other Whites. But, non-White participants had more diverse social networks, some mostly with people not from their own racial groups. There were some differences in the sources each group used to receive information to learn about people from other races. The findings support the hypothesis that stigma and racism are closely related, are similar attitudes held toward other racial groups, and thus can be measured similarly.

However, when it came to holding traditional attitudes in general about race, social dominance, and authoritarianism, there was no real significant difference between the majority of White and non-White participants. Neither was there a significant

difference in how comfortable each group reported that they felt when engaging in intergroup communication, in their attitudes toward the media as a source for learning about race, nor in how they reacted to a negative newspaper story that depicted people from their own racial background.

The data were collected using Implicit Association Tests, a survey questionnaire, and an experiment. These methods were built into the online Qualtrics platform, and responses were collected from July through October, 2020, right after the COVID-19 pandemic shut-down nationwide. At that time, Black Lives Matter protests and anti-Asian hate crimes were covered almost daily on TV broadcast news and by online media sources, providing a backdrop that has similarities to the time of civil and racial unrest in the 1960s when Goffman was writing about stigma.

Although both White and non-White samples included close to 50 percent males and females, gender had little to no significance in attitudes about stigma and race. On the other hand, significantly more White participants identified as Republican than did non-White participants, and 60% of non-White participants identified as Democrats. There were no significant differences in religious affiliation, with the majority of both White and non-White participants identifying as being some form of Christian religion.

### **Research Question 1: How do Americans view people of other races today?**

To answer Research Question 1, both explicit self-report answers and the results of the Implicit Associations Tests revealed an agreement with historical literature that indicates a deep, but unacknowledged, racial divide (Bryce, 2020; Feagin, 2010; Omi & Winant, 2013).

As expected, the majority of both White and non-White participants expressed some measure of warmth toward people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds. Prior research has shown that explicit measures often reveal a conscious effort to express what is considered politically and socially correct attitudes while withholding true feelings (Dovidio et al., 1997; Greenwald et al., 2009; McConnell & Leibold, 2001). Therefore, it was expected that the majority of participants would not express coldness toward any group of people. On the other hand, although White participants expressed warmth toward everyone, the majority of White participants showed greater warmth for their own White-based groups than for non-White groups. Similarly, non-White participants showed greater warmth toward other non-White groups than toward White-based groups (White Americans and Europeans). These findings indicate a higher measure of good will of people toward those of the same racial background. Notably, the majority of the participants, regardless of their identity, denied being racist.

Concerns about racial differences and discrimination were expressed by the majority of non-White participants, more significantly so than by White participants, who explicitly reported that they were mostly unconcerned (or neutral) about racial differences and didn't regard racial discrimination to be an issue in the United States. These findings are consistent with prior research in which racism and discrimination were found to be so deeply imbedded within a society's social structure that they are recognized as part of the natural order by those in the dominant group (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Crenshaw, 2011; Embrick & Moore, 2020; Ottaway et al., 2001). When not having to face discrimination in their daily lives, many White

participants rarely have to think about racism and discrimination: White privilege gives the advantage of being able “to live and do race without ever being self-consciously aware of it” (Nkomo & Ariss, 2014, p. 395). As Goffman wrote about stigma, “Normals really mean no harm; when they do, it is because they don’t know better” (1963, p. 116). Thus, that the dominant group does not have to face discrimination, as Goffman (1963) suggested, is one aspect of stigma.

To counterbalance the explicit self-reports, this study included the use of Implicit Association Tests (IATs) to get at deeper unconscious and automatic expressions of racial bias (De Houwer, 2001; Greenwald et al., 2009; Ottaway et al., 2001; Smith & Nosek, 2011; Vanman et al., 1997). Consistent with previous studies, the IATs revealed significant racial preferences not indicated by the self-reports. A significant difference emerged between the two groups of participants (White and non-White) in implicit racial bias. The majority of White participants showed a moderate preference (or bias) for Whites over Blacks and Asians, whereas the majority of non-White participants showed only a slight preference for Whites over Blacks or Asians. These IAT results indicate racial bias continues to exist, although not openly acknowledged, despite what was indicated by the self-report answers. Consistent with prior IAT research, these findings suggest that, although the majority of White participants have an understanding of what constitutes racism and can provide self-report answers that appear to be non-biased, they still hold implicit racial bias against Blacks and Asians. The results also indicate that some who identify as non-White American also hold embedded unconscious racial bias against people of other non-White racial backgrounds.



An automatic ingroup preference is typically stronger in White samples. Prior studies using IATs have found that about “80 percent of White participants showed evidence of pro-White bias, whereas only 40 percent of Black respondents showed evidence of pro-Black bias” (Rudman & McLean, 2016, p. 375). Further, in some prior studies, the majority of Black Americans showed a pro-White preference, indicating their preference for Whiteness rather than for their own ingroup. Latinos and Asian Americans have also shown “less automatic ingroup bias than Whites” (Rudman & McLean, 2016, p. 375). Prior studies have concluded that an outgroup preference may be based more on stigma-related low self-esteem or social conventions that suggest that one group is more attractive than another (Rudman & McLean, 2016). As a result, it is conceivable that non-White participants in this study who showed a slight preference for Whites may be unconsciously affected by the social stigma of race predominant in the United States. Researchers have concluded that the negative “implicit racial stereotypes largely benefit Whites” (Rudman & McLean, 2016, p. 387), who in turn have more reason to favor their own ingroup members.

In this study, the majority of participants, both White and non-White, expressed warmth toward all racial groups and strongly denied being racist. Nonetheless, implicit racial bias exists in America, and news reports continue to show racial discrimination and hate crimes against people of non-White racial backgrounds. Exclusion from social and economic resources, which are part of systemic racism, can hardly be considered acts of warmth, neither can the racial slurs and insults that non-White individuals face in

everyday activities be considered acts of warmth (Feagin, 2010; Feagin & Elias, 2013; Lenhardt, 2004).

Although the majority of non-White participants in this study reported thinking about racial differences and that racial discrimination continues to exist in America, the majority of White participants reported less concern about racial discrimination, despite this study being conducted at a time of heightened racial concerns expressed in public and in the media. This finding is in agreement with McConahay et al. (1981), who concluded that many people of White identity think of racism and discrimination as “a thing of the past” (p. 579). This denial of racism and discrimination eliminates the need to feel guilty about racist “opinions, beliefs or actions” (p. 579) or about receiving certain privileges simply for being born of White ancestry (Feagin & Elias, 2013; Lenhardt, 2004; Melamed, 2006; Omi & Winant, 2013).

During the data analysis, the following additional question was considered:

***What identifying markers do participants use to decide which race someone belongs to?***

Study participants were asked to indicate which of seven identifying markers they used to distinguish one racial group from another: facial features, skin color, physical bodies, speech, clothing, birthplace, and ancestry. As expected, the majority of both White and non-White study participants indicated that skin color was the most commonly used identifying marker to determine whether an individual belonged a specific racial background (Saperstein et al., 2016). As previous researchers have indicated, “visible characteristics of the human body” (Omi & Winant, 2013, p. 963) are used to divide and

mark people for exclusion (Goffman, 1963; McConahay et al., 1981; Melamed, 2006; Zuberi, 2001). Thus, in keeping with the ancient definition of stigma, “the mark on slaves,” (Arboleda-Florez, 2002, p. 25), skin color is one of the social marks that distinguishes—as well as discredits or devalues—groups of people.

Ancestry was the second identifying marker used, with facial features ranked third by most White and non-White participants. However, non-White participants used ancestry and facial features as identifying markers for race significantly more than did White participants, who relied more on skin color. That facial features are used for race perception is consistent with previous findings that the physical characteristics of a person’s face could trigger racial stereotypes (Ito & Bartholow, 2009; Kawakami et al., 2017). This finding supports the idea that some non-White minority racial groups, such as Asians, are not identified by skin color, which can be the same tone as White groups, but by facial features, which can be markedly different than White Western European features. Therefore, it is logical to conclude that an individual’s ancestry may be assumed by skin color and facial features, rather than by birthplace or where the individual lives, because ancestry is based on inherited genes, not the geographic location of a person’s birth or residence. On the other hand, physical bodies, speech, clothing, and birthplace were not reported as used often by participants to identify a person to a specific racial background.

This finding on how people identify different races, accentuates the possibility that many Americans may be unfamiliar with the science of human genetics and biology. Instead, they continue to espouse notions of race classifications developed centuries ago

in support of slavery. It has been suggested that confusion exists over the tangled meanings of race and ancestry. Race is a social construction developed as a way to divide humans into arbitrarily separate groups using “things like skin color, hair texture, and skull shape” (Gates & Curran, 2022, para. 7) that have come to be associated with race, despite scientific evidence which makes these racial categories meaningless. Ancestry is “a biological reality” (Gates & Curran, 2022, para. 2) based on inherited genes that point the way to family origins. Thus, skin color, facial features, and ancestry are biological indicators of inherited genes, not of race, which is a social construction (Blakemore, 2019; Bryce, 2020; Omi & Winant, 1994). Modern scientific findings have shown there is only one race, the human race. Therefore, identifying markers such as skin color and facial features should be irrelevant in identifying who is human. It is the entire physical body that distinguishes humans from other species (Blakemore, 2019; Bryce, 2020; Chou, 2017; Philipsen, 2003). Skin color and facial features should be viewed as physical manifestations of the human variations of inherited genes received from ancestors.

Misconceptions about race continue despite scientific, biological findings that point to only one human race (Philipsen, 2003). These misconceptions, which result in people judging others based on their skin color and facial features, serve to promote the stigma of race and divide people into groups that are marked for inequality and exclusion (Goldberg, 2009). Thus, racism that discredits and taints people of non-White skin color or facial features is a facet of the stigma of race.

**Research Question 2: Do dominant (White) groups and minority (non-White) group members hold similar attitudes about minority (non-White) outgroups?**

When studying racism, some researchers have used measures that focus on both old-fashioned racism (OFR) and modern racism (MRS) (McConahay, 1983; McConahay et al., 1981; Omi & Winant, 1994; Zakrisson, 2005). Old-fashioned racism is more overt and more easily identified. Modern racism focuses on attitudes that non-White group members are “push[ing] themselves into situations where they are not wanted” (McConahay, et al., 1981, p. 564). Many people are unaware of the subtle modern racist practices embedded in society that are routinely accepted as normal behavior (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Crenshaw, 2011; Haney-Lopez, 2011; Lenhardt, 2004).

Researchers have added social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism measures to their studies on both stigma and racism. Social dominance orientation (SDO) focuses on personal preferences for group inequality and a social hierarchy that values group dominance (Ho et al., 2015; Kteily et al., 2012; Nicol & De France, 2016; Pratto et al., 1994). Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) focuses on submission to structure, conservative tradition, and dominant authority (Ekehammar et al., 2004; Nicol & De France, 2016; Zakrisson, 2005). Harsh punishment and aggression are acceptable to those with high RWA (Benjamin, 2006).

In an attempt to combine the study of stigma with the study of race, this study examined whether these four measures (OFR, MRS, SDO, and RWA) represent participants’ attitudes in dealing with the stigma of race. The answer to Research Question 2 is based on the analyses of Hypotheses 1 and 2, which investigated these four

measures as they applied to traditional values and racist attitudes, along with discovering how these attitudes and values related to the enforcement of the stigma of race.

### ***Traditional Values and Racist Attitudes***

Hypothesis 1, which predicted that the majority of White participants, as compared to non-White participants, would have more traditional racial attitudes towards minority groups, was not supported. Instead, the majority of both White and non-White participants shared similar racial attitudes toward other minority racial groups. From old-fashioned racism and modern racism to social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism, there was not much difference between White and non-White participants. The majority of both groups (86% of White participants, and 70% of non-White participants) scored low on both types of racism. Additionally, attitudes about social dominance and right-wing authoritarianism were not significantly different between White and non-White participants, with both groups scoring low on each measure. Thus, for traditional values and racial attitudes, there were no significant differences between White and non-White participants.

This finding is confirmed by prior research that suggests it is the lived experience within a particular society rather than ancestry or racial background that determines personal attitudes (Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Crenshaw, 2011; Foner, 2014; Haney-Lopez, 2011; Jung et al., 2011; Nkomo & Ariss, 2014). Society socializes its citizens to accept as “common sense” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 60) the ideology and rules of everyday life. Thus, in answering the self-report questions, the majority of participants, regardless of

being of White identity or of non-White identity, were likely to answer according to what is socially learned in a society where acceptance of diversity appears to be important.

### ***Traditional Attitudes and Stigma***

Hypothesis 2 (H2) predicted that participants with higher (a) social dominance, (b) authoritarian, and (c) racist attitudes would also stigmatize minority non-White outgroups more, compared to those who scored low in these measures. H2 was supported. Participants who scored higher in SDO and RWA, and scored higher in racist attitudes (OFR and MRS), also reported more negative stigma attitudes toward racial minority outgroups. They also reported significantly higher stigmatizing attitudes in all five stigma dimensions that were adapted for this study (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011). Thus, participants who reported stronger social dominance and more imposed inequality, who reported conservative values and tradition, and who measured higher on old-fashioned and modern racist attitudes, also scored higher on the five dimensions of the stigmatization of minority outgroups (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011).

These results reflect new findings that conceptually link stigma to the study of racism. Research using SDO and RWA and the two racism measures (OFR and MRS) have been typically tied to studies on racism, prejudice, ethnocentrism, and dehumanization (Ekehammar et al., 2004; Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016; Ho et al., 2015; Zakrisson, 2005). This research went further to show a significant relationship between the racism measures and the stigma measures when participants reported more negative attitudes on each of the measures.

These findings precipitated the following additional question about the demographic characteristics of those with higher social dominance, right-wing authoritarianism, and racism attitudes:

***Which demographic variables predict SDO, RWA, OFR, and MRS, and the five stigma dimensions?***

Demographics were correlated with these four measures (SDO, RWA, OFR and MRS). Those who were younger, Republican, and worked full time at lower paying jobs were more likely to have more negative old-fashioned racism (OFR) attitudes and higher stigmatization of racial groups, regardless of racial identity, sex, or education level. Those with more modern racist (MRS) attitudes tended to be White, male, employed full time at lower paying jobs, and Republican. Those with higher social dominance attitudes tended to be male, employed full time, and Republican. Those with higher right-wing authoritarian attitudes tended to be married or divorced, Christian, and Republican.

And, for the five stigma dimensions, participants with higher stigma attitudes tended to be younger, males who worked full time, and Republican. Race identity, education level, marital status, household income, and religious affiliation had no significance in determining higher levels in the five stigma dimensions. Education level had no significant correlation to racism or stigma. This could be because more than 90 percent of the sample population had at least some college education. So, there was not enough data for lower levels of education.

Younger males who worked full time and were affiliated with the Republican political party showed tendencies toward have higher racist attitudes and more negative



stigma attitudes in general. This finding is consistent with Goffman's (1963) description of those considered *normal* in the social hierarchy. They may be motivated to maintain the current social status of inequality and group dominance that comes with stigmatizing those not part of their own group. Race identity was only significant in the modern racism measure, which indicated that White males showed more modern racist attitudes.

**Research Question 3: Do dominant (White) group members and minority (non-White) group members differ in their judgments toward minority (non-White) outgroup members?**

To stigmatize certain members of society is to judge them as “not quite human” (Goffman, 1963, p. 5), and, as not fully belonging to the human experience (Bastian & Haslam, 2010; Cage et al., 2019). Being regarded as less than human, or not normal, was one way Goffman (1963) described those who were stigmatized. Prior research on dehumanization focused on this phenomenon and linked dehumanization to moral outrage and harsher punishment for crimes (Bastian et al., 2013; Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016). Dehumanization has also been linked to greater attitudes of social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism, which are typically used to study racism (Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016). This study examined the relationship between dehumanization and stigma.

Hypotheses 3 and 4 explored the relationship between dehumanizing outgroup members as less than human and the impact on resources or consideration. In other words, when groups of people are dehumanized, it may be a part of the stigma process that discredits the humanness of a group of people, as described by Goffman (1963).

The Ascent of Man measure of blatant dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2015) measured the “overt and direct denial of humanness” (p. 904) of certain racial and ethnic groups. Prior research found that dehumanized groups of people were historically linked to lower creatures such as animals (Costell & Hodson, 2009; Goff et al., 2014). The blatant dehumanization measure uses graphic images to represent human development from apes to modern humanity, thus triggering latent stereotypes of certain non-White racial groups of people as being animal-like in comparison to White groups (Kteily et al., 2015). In their study, Kteily et al. (2015) found that non-White groups were rated as less than human compared to White groups. The results of this study using the blatant dehumanization measure produced similar results. One difference in this study is the analysis from different identity perspectives.

Hypothesis 3, which predicted that White participants were more likely than non-White participants to report minority (non-White) groups as less human than (dominant) White groups, was supported. Consistent with prior studies, the majority of White participants assigned full humanness to only the White-based groups, while assigning non-White groups (Black Americans, Asians, Mexican immigrants, and Middle Easterners) as less than fully developed humans, or less human than the targeted White groups (White American, Jewish American, and European). Also similar to the Kteily et al. (2015) study, the one exception was the value assigned to Middle Easterners. Both White and non-White participants reported Middle Easterners as lower in humanity than all the other groups.

As predicted, non-White participants assigned almost equal levels of humanity to other non-White groups, with the exception of the Middle Easterners group, which was rated considerably lower than any group. Thus, although White participants tended to rate White groups as more fully human than other groups, non-White participants viewed almost every racial and ethnic group as equally human, with the exception of Middle Easterners.

Hypothesis 4 (H4) predicted that non-White participants, as compared to White participants, would report other minority (non-White) groups as less human than White groups. H4 was only partially supported. This study further stratified the sample population into White, Black, and Asian participants to gain an understanding of any differences based on participant racial identity. Because this level of comparison of the three racial identity groups had not been done in prior research, there were no comparisons with prior results. Some unexpected results surfaced.

As expected, White participants tended to rate every non-White group as less human than White groups (Kteily et al., 2015). The majority of Asian participants and Black participants also rated their own groups as higher in humanness than the other groups. However, in general, Asian participants rated White Americans as higher in humanity than Black Americans. In contrast, Black participants tended to rate Asians as significantly higher in humanity than White Americans. This result shows that not all minority non-White racial groups consider other non-White outgroups similarly. Although as expected, Asian participants reported other minority groups as less human than White groups, Black participants unexpectedly rated White groups as lower than

both Blacks and Asians, rating Asians higher in humanity than White Americans. This finding could be an indication that many Asian Americans hold similar racial biases and stereotypes perpetuated against Black Americans, but that many Black Americans do not have the same biases against Asians that White Americans hold.

**Research Question 4: Do dominant (White) group members and minority (non-White) group members differ in their intergroup communication with those not of their own racial group?**

In the Rudman and McLean (2016) study which examined “appearance stigma in implicit racial ingroup bias” (p. 374), White participants reported more ingroup contact with other Whites, while Black participants reported more outgroup contact with Whites than with people of their own racial background, resulting in “asymmetrical social networks” (Rudman & McLean, 2016, p. 387). This study produced similar results overall. However, this study considered the four outgroup questions separately to discover any nuances into whether there were differences between White and non-White participants as they reported the quantity and quality of their outgroup contact. Also, this study compared White and non-White (Black, Asian, Latino) participants.

Hypothesis 5a, which predicted that White participants would report less outgroup communication than non-White participants, was supported, and is a confirmation of Rudman and McLean (2016). White participants, as compared to non-White participants, had significantly less outgroup communication with people not of their own racial background. However, non-White participants reported about equal contact with people from and not from their own background. Because White Americans still make up the

majority of the population in most places in the United States, non-White participants may have a more difficult time and less access to resources if they limited their contact to only those of their own racial background.

On the other hand, Hypotheses 5b and 5c predicted that White participants would report outgroup communication as (b) less positive and (c) less meaningful than non-White participants would report. H5b and H5c were not supported. Both White and non-White participants reported positive intergroup communication. Although the first question (amount of outgroup contact) showed a significant difference in the amount of outgroup communication, there was no real difference when it came to reporting whether outgroup communication was positive. Both groups reported positive communication with people from and not from their own racial background; however, both groups indicated that communication was more meaningful with people from their own racial background. These results are supported by Goffman (1963), who stated that those considered normal (here, White) often don't recognize their own stigmatizing behaviors and the effects on others as long as the stigmatized act as if nothing is wrong. Consequently, each group could report positive outgroup communication as long as everyone adheres to expected social rules of behavior. Yet, meaningful communication was limited to members of one's own racial ingroup.

Hypothesis 6, which predicted that non-White participants would report greater comfort than White participants in communicating with people from other racial backgrounds, was not supported. Two questions were based on the Everett et al. (2015) communication scale: how easy was it to communicate with people from a different

racial background, and how much struggle would there be to think about what to say during outgroup interactions? In the Everett et al. (2015) study, these questions were used to test “imagined contact” (p. 99) with Muslim women wearing a “full-face veil” (p. 99). Their study found a significant difference in participant reaction to contact with Muslim women wearing religious head coverings.

In this study, however, the two Everett et al. (2015) questions were modified to assess outgroup contact with people from different racial backgrounds. More than 75% of White participants and 72% of non-White participants reported that it was easy to communicate with people not from their own racial background. And about 66% of both White and non-White participants reported little to no struggle interacting with people from different racial backgrounds. Although these findings were somewhat surprising, when people of different racial backgrounds follow acceptable forms of social interaction and norms, communication should be easier.

Although it was unexpected that White participants would report more positive or easy outgroup contact, this finding aligns with Goffman (1963) who indicated that normal (White) individuals were happiest when they are unaware of any tension with the people who are stigmatized. This conclusion is supported by the findings from Research Question 1, in which the majority of White participants did not believe that discrimination still exists in America. According to Goffman (1963), the stigmatized are blamed for creating discomfort for the non-stigmatized by calling attention to disparities. When disparities are not reported, then a happy unawareness can continue. Pyke and Johnson (2003) found that Asian Americans in the workplace often chose to keep silent

when biased treatment occurred because they didn't want to be labeled as troublemakers or for fear of retribution. Thus, Goffman's (1963) observations are supported in these findings.

Hypothesis 7, which predicted that non-White participants would report more intergroup contact than White participants, was supported. This study showed a significant difference between White and non-White participants in their social interactions with outgroup members. White participants reported that their social contact was mostly with their own racial group members. In contrast, non-White participants indicated that most of their social contacts were with people not from their own racial group. This finding is consistent with the Rudman and McLean (2016) study, which found that both Whites and Blacks had "significantly more contact with Whites than with Blacks" (p. 383).

In contrast to Rudman and McLean's (2016) research, this study included the social contacts of those identifying as Asian. For White participants, most of their friends, co-workers or classmates, mentors, and healthcare professionals were of the same racial background as they were. Although Black participants reported that most of their friends were either from their own race or equally from different races, most of their co-workers or classmates, mentors, and healthcare professionals were from racial groups different from their own. Asian participants, however, reported that most of their social contacts were with people who were not of the same race as they were. In other words, fewer of Asian participants' friends, classmates or co-workers, mentors, or healthcare professionals were also Asian. This reduction in the number of social connections with

ingroup members may help to explain why some non-White participants showed a preference for Whites than for their own race. As Rudman and McLean (2016) suggested, some “minority group members devote considerable time, money, and energy to ‘looking White’ because it rewards them with social and financial benefits” (p. 387). This need to fit in when there are few people of a similar background may cause some minority group members to lose sight of their own cultural identity and of the real issues of division and exclusion (Pyke & Johnson, 2003).

Additionally, when social contacts are mostly with members of one’s own racial background, there is reinforcement of expectations, ideology, and social norms that may serve to stigmatize and exclude those belonging to racial outgroups (Rudman & McLean, 2016). Thus, stigmatizing certain outgroups of people may be perceived as acceptable and normal because everyone in the group, or social network, shares the same attitudes and beliefs that support negative racial stereotypes (Goffman, 1963; Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009; Major & O’Brien, 2005; Pescosolido et al., 2008; Phelan et al., 2008). However, if both White and non-White participants report that they are at ease and comfortable when interacting with outgroup members, why do White participants limit their social network to mostly other Whites?

**Research Question 5: Do the media have a different influence on dominant (White) groups as compared to minority (non-White) group members in the reinforcement of social stigmas?**

In prior studies, the news media have been found to influence social attitudes and perceptions, reinforce stereotypes, and misinform people without their conscious



awareness (Correll et al., 2007; Dixon et al., 2010; Shon, 2012; Sim et al., 2013). For example, network television news broadcasts have been cited for creating a “version of the social world” (Dixon et al., 2010, p. 501) that represents Blacks as dangerous criminals and increasing “the likelihood that this knowledge will be used in subsequent judgments” (Dixon et al., 2010, p. 501). Thus, negative stereotypes reinforced by the news media help to sustain a society in which Black, Asian, and other non-White groups of people are dehumanized and stigmatized during everyday encounters with those belonging to more dominant racial groups (Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Correll et al., 2007; Pyke & Johnson, 2003; Rajgopal, 2010; Ramasubramanian, 2011). One researcher went so far as to describe the news media as serving to “brainwash the American public” (Rajgopal, 2010, p. 150).

To investigate the influence of the media and other sources of information as mechanisms for learning about different racial groups, participants were given six sources to rate. Three sources were media related: social media, TV news media, and newspapers. The other three sources were interpersonal: family, friends, and co-workers or classmates. This scope is different from other studies, which limited their research to one facet of influence.

### ***The Media as Information Sources***

Hypothesis 8, which predicted that White participants are more likely than non-White participants to report that they learned about other races from media sources than from other interpersonal sources, was not supported. Both White and non-White participants indicated that they only sometimes learned about race from the media. Thus,

participants in general did not consider the media as important sources for learning about people from other races. This finding supports previous research that indicated participants were often unaware of the influence of the media when it comes to reinforcing and perpetuating negative racial stereotypes (Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Correll et al., 2007; Dixon et al., 2010; Parham-Payne, 2014; Pyke & Johnson, 2003; Rajgopal, 2010; Ramasubramanian, 2011; Shon, 2012; Sim et al., 2013).

Although neither group of participants rated the news media as important sources of information to learn about other races, there were significant differences in their attitudes about how positive or negative the information from the news media was about their own racial group. White participants reported that the TV news media and newspapers were neither positive nor negative in their information about people from their own racial background and about people from other racial backgrounds. They did not see anything bad in the TV news media or newspapers about any racial group. As indicated by Goffman (1963), the dominant group “often give no open recognition to what is discrediting” (p. 41) a stigmatized individual and act “as if the known differentness were irrelevant” (p. 42). In other words, the information in the media confirms and reinforces what they already believe about other racial groups. This conclusion aligns with prior research that reveals the information from the media about minority races reinforce stereotypes and misinform people without their conscious awareness (Correll et al., 2007; Dixon et al., 2010; Shon, 2012; Sim et al., 2013).

In contrast, non-White participants were able to recognize the negativity of information from the news media when it came to members of their own racial group, but

not when the information was about those from different racial backgrounds. They viewed the news media as neutral when providing information about people from other racial backgrounds. This is an interesting finding, indicating that non-White participants are aware when their own group members are negatively portrayed in the media. But, like White participants, they were not aware that other racial minority groups are also negatively portrayed in the media.

Social media and newspapers were rated by both groups as the least important sources for learning about race. Thus, although the effects of the media in reinforcing racial stereotypes has been thoroughly studied for decades, people from both groups did not view any type of media as an important information source to learn about race. These findings support prior research that most people are often unaware of the unconscious influence of the media on their understandings and perceptions about other races (Correll et al., 2007; Dixon et al., 2010; Shon, 2012; Sim et al., 2013). Instead, most participants in this study said they look to family and friends as primary sources for knowledge about the social world and about people of different races. Because this finding was unexpected, further analysis and discussion was warranted on the importance of interpersonal contacts as information sources to learn about people of other races.

### ***Interpersonal Information Sources***

As Goffman (1963) indicated, stigmas are constructed and reinforced through social interactions and relationships, which produce rules of behavior that define what is acceptable and what is not (Pescosolido, et al., 2008). However, this interpersonal form of social communication has not been a focus in recent research (Yang et al., 2007; Zhu

& Smith, 2016). Consequently, this study contributes to understanding the reliance on interpersonal contacts as important sources for information about other races, which could help in improving intergroup communication.

Both White and non-White participants indicated that their main information sources for learning about race were interpersonal: friends, family, and co-workers or classmates, with one significant difference. White participants identified friends as their main information source when learning about other races, whereas non-White participants identified family as their main information source. This finding could be an indication that non-White families have more conversations about race and racism, in support of the findings for Research Question 1, which indicated that non-White participants think about racial differences and discrimination, whereas White participants do not. Instead, White participants reported relying more on friends to confirm their beliefs about other races.

Another significant difference involved the perception of the general quality of the information about other races that participants encountered from all sources. White participants revealed that, in general, the information about other races was slightly positive, whereas the majority of non-White participants were neutral about the general quality of information, indicating that it was neither positive nor negative. There was also a small significant difference when it came to the quality of information about other races provided by friends and co-workers or classmates. White participants viewed friends and co-workers or classmates as positive sources of information about other races. But non-

White participants said the information they received from friends and co-workers or classmates about other races was neither positive nor negative.

In response to Research Question 4, the social networks for most White participants are almost exclusively inhabited by other White individuals, with little social contact with people from other races. This could mean that the friends and co-workers or classmates of the White participants serve to validate what they already know: the negative racial perspectives in the broader society that are subconsciously reinforced by the media. As indicated by Smith (2012), stigma is “communicated throughout a community” (p. 258), with everyone in line with the processes needed to protect the status quo. Consequently, these findings also suggest the possibility that the media and interpersonal sources combine to “reinforce negative stereotypes against a certain group, creating an environment in which stereotype-consistent messages dominate and the beliefs of devaluing the group are normalized” (Zhu & Smith, 2016, p. 1356). This process could account for the findings from Research Question 1 in which racial bias continues to exist in America, but many participants are unaware of its extent.

### ***Negative News Story and Punishment***

To further examine the role of the news media as an influence in attitudes about race, an experiment was conducted using a negative news story that described teens involved in a robbery of a convenience store. The news story was written in four versions. One version did not mention race, but the other three versions mentioned either White, Black, or Asian teens. Participants were randomly assigned to one version. After reading the news story, participants were asked how harsh should the punishment be for

the teens. In another question, participants were asked to assign an actual type of punishment (community service, probation, some jail time, 1 to 2 years in jail, and the maximum amount allowed). Besides race, little to no information was given about the teens other than the fact that they were male, their age range (about 15 or 16 years old), what they wore (jeans and hoodies), and their alleged actions as described by the victim. This lack of information allowed participants to rely on their own perceptions and draw from their own knowledge about people from other racial groups. As indicated by previous researchers, negative stereotypes against stigmatized groups are often considered as innate dispositions regardless of individual fit (Harris & Fiske, 2006; Heider, 1994; Kawakami et al., 2017).

It should be noted here that the news story experiment followed the blatant dehumanization measure and stigma questions, which served as primers for the experiment. The blatant dehumanization measure used graphic images of apes, and the stigma questions evoked common attitudes that justify negative attitudes and exclusion of the stigmatized. As prior research discovered, simply possessing stereotypically Black facial features could result in longer prison sentences for a Black person than for a White person convicted of the same crime (Banks et al., 2006). Further, dehumanizing others allows people to “disengage from disadvantaged group suffering” (Bruneau & Kteily, 2017, p. 1), which enables harsher treatment or punishment for crimes (Bastian et al., 2013; Haslam, 2006).

Hypothesis 9, which predicted that participants who read a negative news story would assign greater punishment to racial outgroups than to their own groups, was not

supported. In contrast to previous studies, no significant statistical difference was found among participants of different racial groups in this study in assigning harsher punishment to teens from other racial groups. However, there was an unexpected significant difference in one aspect, White participants assigned harsher punishment in general to Asians; in contrast, non-White participants were more lenient in punishing the Asian teens. This assigning of harsher punishment to Asians by White participants could be a reflection of the current times, with COVID-19 being blamed on Asians, and wherein racial stereotypes continue to exclude Asian Americans as foreign and untrustworthy (Guynn & Bajak, 2021; Shon, 2012; Yam, 2021). As indicated by Rajgopal (2010), “anti-Asian propaganda” (p. 141) typical in the media serves as misrepresentations that become pervasive in society and “activate racial attitudes that influence decision-making” (Ramasubramanian, 2011, p. 499).

In any case, this finding is consistent with the results shown in Research Question 3, in which White participants dehumanized all non-White groups, but non-White participants rated all groups as essentially equal in level of humanity. Thus, this finding of Asians receiving harsher punishment from White participants is consistent with studies on dehumanization, which showed that groups of people who are dehumanized are targets for harsher punishment regardless of whether the individual crime warrants the punishment (Bastian et al., 2013; Haslam, 2006).

Although not significantly different overall, some interesting statistical differences emerged when participants were divided into three racial groups: White, Black, and Asian. White participants were less harsh in assigning punishment to the teens

when the story did not mention race ( $M = 6.07$ ) but more harsh when the teens were described as Black ( $M = 6.44$ ). In contrast, Black participants were more harsh in assigning punishment in the neutral story ( $M = 6.91$ ) and White story ( $M = 6.71$ ) than for their own group ( $M = 6.05$ ). Asian participants showed the most leniency when the news story mentioned teens from their own racial group, but they assigned harsher punishment for the White race and neutral ( $M = 6.56$ ) news stories. The smaller sample size, when the three groups of participants (White, Black, and Asian) were randomly divided among four different news stories, may have contributed to the insignificance of the findings. However, these trends indicate that, just as the majority of White participants were more lenient for teens from their own racial group, non-White participants were similarly more lenient for their own and for other minority racial group members. These findings indicate an important direction to pursue in future research.

When participants were asked to assign a specific type of punishment to the teens in the news story, there was a significant difference between White participants and non-White participants when it came to the neutral news story and the Asian race news story. For the neutral news story, whereas White participants assigned probation to the teens, non-White participants assigned some jail time to the teens. But, when it came to the teens in the Asian race story, non-White participants assigned probation to the Asian teens, but White participants assigned the harshest punishment of some jail time. This was an unexpected finding, and it contrasts with previous studies in which Blacks are treated more harshly than other groups (Banks et al., 2006; Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Correll et al., 2007; Dixon et al., 2010; Parham-Payne, 2014; Sim et al., 2013). However, this



finding, in which the Asian teens were more harshly punished with jail time by the majority of White participants could be a manifestation of the recent increase in anti-Asian hate because of COVID-19 rhetoric. These findings are consistent with prior research that shows that harsher treatment can be a product of negative stereotypes, dehumanization, and stigma (Banks et al., 2006; Bastian et al., 2013; Bruneau & Kteily, 2017; Correll et al., 2007; Haslam, 2006).

As expected, although not statistically significant, White participants and Asian participants were more lenient for members of their own group when assigning the type of punishment to the teens in the news story. In an interesting contrast, however, Black participants showed more leniency for both the Asian teens ( $M = 2.53$ ) and the White teens ( $M = 2.71$ ) than for Black teens ( $M = 2.84$ ) when assigning type of punishment. Further research could investigate why Black participants gave their own group members a harsher type of punishment than they assigned to other racial groups.

Further, although Asian participants assigned the Asia teens in the news story the more lenient type of punishment, probation, they assigned a somewhat harsher type of punishment to the Black teens than to the White teens. This trend is confirmed by the findings from Hypothesis 4, in which Asian participants rated themselves and Whites as higher in humanity than Black Americans. This finding indicates that not all minority racial groups view outgroups similarly when it comes to level of humanity and harshness of punishment and warrants further research into how White, Black, and Asian Americans differ in their perspectives on the stigma of race and dehumanization.

### **Research Question 6: How does racism relate to social stigma?**

An important goal of this study was to determine whether stigma and racism were describing the same phenomenon, as prior scholars have suggested (Lenhardt, 2004; Phelan et al., 2008; Stuber et al., 2008; Tyler, 2018). The five stigma dimensions proposed by Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) in their study on HIV stigma, were used as a basis for this study: “labeling, negative attribution, separation (distancing), status loss, and controllability” (p. 421). In their study on mothers who breast fed in public, Bresnahan et al. (2020) generated new themes around the stigma of breast feeding in public that included, “objectification and depersonalization, moral criticism, counterarguing, nonverbal sanctioning behaviors, and challenging stigma” (p. 397), which indicated that different stigmas may involve themes, or dimensions, specific to the type of stigma being studied.

Hypothesis 10, which predicted that the measures for racism and stigma would correlate highly, was partially supported. Most, but not all, of the measures used to study race and racism correlated significantly with all five stigma dimensions. The two Implicit Association Tests and the Rudman and McLean (2016) outgroup contact index had only partial correlation with some, but not all, five stigma dimensions.

Because of the strong relationships between eight of the racism measures and the five stigma dimensions, a further principal component analysis was conducted. Nine of the measures loaded into one clear component: modern racism, right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, old-fashioned racism, stigma: controllability, stigma: status loss; stigma: negative attribution, stigma: distancing, and

stigma: labeling. These nine measures became the basis for developing dimensions to study race as a stigma. Analyses showed a clear relationship between the study of stigma and the study of race, leading to a logical conclusion that racism is a form of social stigma. The nine stigma and racism measures are the basis for developing dimensions to study race as a stigma, as discussed in further detail in the next section.

### **Proposed Dimensions to Study Racial Stigma**

Examining racism as a stigma should include combining measures typically used to study racism and prejudice with measures typically used to study stigma (Phelan et al., 2008; Stuber et al., 2008; Tyler, 2018). As indicated in the analysis for Research Question 6, four of the measures used to study race and racism formed one component along with the five stigma dimensions adapted from Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011). This result raised the following question to consider in developing a framework to study the stigma of race:

**Which measures and their respective questions fit into which stigma dimensions as an effective measure to study racial stigma?**

To answer this question a principal component analysis was conducted on the 66 individual items that made up the nine stigma and race measures that loaded as a single component in the analysis for Research Question 6.

In a principal component analysis using the 66 items from the nine measures, with a varimax rotation with Kaiser normalization, seven separate components were revealed; each was valid and reliable. Together, these seven dimensions provide the basis for a multi-dimensional model to study the stigma of race (See Appendix G for the rotated

component matrix of the 66 items). Four of the seven dimensions are modifications of Bresnahan and Zhuang's (2011) stigma dimensions: distancing, negative attribution, controllability, and labeling. Three new dimensions are formulated from the racism measures: backlash, social inequality, and social control. One closely associated characteristic of stigma is also recommended to be used when studying the stigma of race: dehumanization. (See Appendix H for a concise list of the seven proposed racial stigma dimensions.) The dimensions are presented below.

### **Dimension 1: Distancing**

Separation, segregation, limiting contact with people from minority races, judging people by their racial background, limiting neighborhoods to one racial background, and discouraging interracial relationships are addressed in the dimension of distancing. As prior scholars have attested, race has become the “organizing principle” that overshadowed “class, gender, and other imaginable social identities” (Leonardo, 2004, p. 149). Race has allowed for segregated social structures and discredited relationships—or distancing—that justified limiting personal contact with the stigmatized and limiting access to needed resources, thus preserving White spaces (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011; Embrick & Moore, 2020; Goffman, 1963; Omi & Winant, 2013).

### **Dimension 2: Negative Attribution**

As a modification of the original stigma dimension from Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011), this theme with eight items includes the negative judgments in which the stigmatized are blamed for character flaws such as weak character, risk-taking, and self-

indulgence from a poor upbringing, and a lack of will power that results in poverty or getting into trouble with the law. Additionally, this dimension includes the ideas that minority people are not as smart as Whites (OFR), are simply inferior (SDO), and thus, there are good reasons to look down on those who are stigmatized (status loss). That minority groups of people are viewed as inferior is a remnant of the eugenics movement, which sought to justify social disparities (Zuberi, 2001). The negative attributions that attacked character and culture made it possible to blame non-White groups for their own horrible situation while ignoring the structures that enforced racial stigma (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Clarke, 2008; Crenshaw, 2011; Haney-Lopez, 2011). Thus, the negative attribution dimension can be used to study the stigma of race.

### **Dimension 3: Backlash**

A new 7-item racial stigma dimension draws on the modern racism theme that the stigmatized are considered too demanding and don't know their place. The individual items focus on the attitudes that many at the top of the social hierarchy believe minority people are pushing themselves into where they are not wanted, that they have gotten more rights, and educational and economic advancement, then they deserve (McConahay et al., 1981). These items form around the theme of backlash, both overt and subtle outcries, which stigmatized racial groups face as they strive to gain access to essential resources within society (Hughey, 2014; Lenhardt, 2004; Omi & Winant, 2013).

### **Dimension 4: Controllability**

The original 5-item controllability stigma dimension adapted from Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) was retained unchanged as a racial stigma dimension. The theme of

controllability puts the blame of stigma on minority group members for their unequal access to resources. It promotes the erroneous idea that minority people could have prevented their condition, suggesting that their own negative behaviors, unwillingness to take responsibility, unwillingness to try harder, and unwillingness to work are the cause of their poverty and trouble with the law. Prior scholars have noted that the severity of a stigma is based on perceptions about personal responsibility (DeJong, 1980; Harris & Fiske, 2006; Madon et al., 1997). If the stigmatized could be blamed for their own negative situation because of their own bad choices and behaviors, then others are exempt from feelings of guilt for not intervening or helping. Blaming the stigmatized allows people at the top of the social hierarchy to overlook the institutional and social barriers put in place to enforce the stigma of race that are the real obstacles to unequal access (Lenhardt, 2004; Phelan et al., 2008; Tyler & Slater, 2018).

#### **Dimension 5: Social Inequality**

Another new racial stigma dimension emerged from the analysis, comprising seven social dominance orientation questions (Ho et al., 2015). This theme focuses on the oppression, domination, and inequality that the stigmatized face and contains elements of the rationalizations those in power use to stay on top and maintain the status quo of group inequality and dominance over the racially stigmatized (Ho et al., 2015; Pratto et al., 1994). The ideology of racism presumes that one group is superior and deserves privilege and protection through domination and oppression of those considered inferior (Goldberg, 2009). Social dominance orientation is strongly related to both racism and

dehumanization, and the measure fits well in this racial stigma dimension of social inequality (Ho et al., 2015).

Another term was considered for this dimension: exploitation, which has been used by other researchers in prejudice studies (Phelan et al., 2008). However, the term does not meet the full magnitude that non-White minority groups face. These stigmatized racial groups are not just exploited economically, but rather they are oppressed and face struggles over privilege and power in almost every aspect of American life and livelihood because of the social inequality that remains enforced by normalized stigma expectations (Stuber et al., 2008).

#### **Dimension 6: Social Control**

A third new, racial stigma dimension emerged from the analysis, which comprises five right-wing authoritarianism questions and one modern racism question (McConahay, 1981; Zakrisson, 2005). This dimension emerges from the need to control and repress the stigmatized, who are regarded as criminal, immoral, radical, evil, and ignorant of the normal rules of behavior. This theme captures the idea that those in power would use law and order and harsh punishment to stop the stigmatized from ruining society (Benjamin, 2006; Nicol & De France, 2016; Zakrisson, 2005). Right-wing authoritarianism has been associated with social attitudes and perspectives that promote dehumanization, racism, and ethnocentrism, and is a fitting measure to include as a dimension to study the stigma of race (Cage et al., 2019; Ekehammar et al., 2004; Kteily et al., 2012; Zakrisson, 2005).

### **Dimension 7: Labeling**

Labeling accentuates the difference between races by assigning negative, harmful descriptions to people of non-White races as having different values, behaviors, and moral standards that are difficult to comprehend and cause trouble within a society (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011). These perceived differences act as barriers to social justice and create a perception in which racial others are stigmatized for being different, or not normal (Harris & Fiske, 2006; Link & Phelan, 2001; Ramasubramanian, 2011). The original 6-item labeling stigma dimension derived from Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011) was retained unchanged for this stigma dimension.

Prior scholars have concluded that misconceptions about race, negative stereotypes, and exaggerating differences serve to stigmatize and exclude non-White groups while making many Whites blind to unfair racial practices (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Byrne, 2000; Clarke, 2008; Lenhardt, 2004; Link & Phelan, 2001; Philipsen, 2003). As Goffman (1963) explained, negative stereotypes and labeling have served to discredit the stigmatized and reduce their chances for a better life (Kawakami et al., 2017). Thus, the modifications of the labeling dimension can be used to study the stigma of race.

### **Summary of the Seven Racial Stigma Dimensions**

Together the seven proposed dimensions focus on separate aspects of the stigma of race, using a total of 47 questions, or items, adapted from both stigma measures and racism measures, which were then validated through analysis. These seven dimensions provide a useful direction for moving forward in studying race as a stigma (Phelan et al. 2008; Stuber et al., 2008; Tyler, 2018).



### **Characteristic of Stigma: Dehumanization**

Dehumanization is often studied in conjunction with social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism, as a component of racism (Bastian et al., 2013; Cage et al., 2019; Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016; Ho et al., 2015). Furthermore, Goffman (1963) argued that stigmatized groups are treated as less than human, or as “non-persons” (p. 18). Although the blatant dehumanization measure did not emerge as a primary factor in the analysis, nonetheless, this characteristic of dehumanization is supportive of the first seven racial stigma dimensions, and it is recommended that researchers use the Ascent of Man measure of blatant dehumanization as designed, with slider scales rather than Likert scales (Kteily et al., 2015).

The blatant dehumanization measure assesses participants’ attitudes about the level humanity they assign to different racial or ethnic groups and reveals whether certain groups are looked down upon and treated as less human and less deserving, thus meeting one feature of Goffman’s (1963) stigma concept. By dehumanizing certain groups, people treat those in the stigmatized groups as objects deserving exclusion from society while justifying discrimination (Bruneau & Kteily, 2017; Harris & Fiske, 2011; Haslam, 2006). Thus, in studying the stigma of race, examining dehumanization attitudes provides valuable evidence of attitudes that stigmatize others.

### **Implications**

The results of this research contribute to a better grasp of Goffman’s (1963) concept of stigma by bringing the tribal stigma category of race to the foreground, and it provides valuable theoretical and practical contributions to the study of stigma and

racism. Although decoupled from the study of stigma in past decades, Goffman's (1963) stigma of race is still powerful and viable for examination in the 21st century, as confirmed by this study's results. The proposed seven dimensions to study the stigma of race can be used as a framework to further investigate race as a stigma. These dimensions encompass stigma themes and racism themes to provide a broader look at the complex issue of racial stigma facing the United States today. Thus, the results of this dissertation help to restructure Goffman's (1963) concept of the stigma of race in the 21st century.

### **Theoretical Implications**

This dissertation demonstrates empirically that stigma and race can be studied together and provides a valuable theoretical and methodological resource to advance new insights into the problem of the stigma of race, as enacted in the 21st century. By combining measures used to study stigma and measures used to study race, the findings show how both concepts together provide a more complete picture of racial stigma.

The research questions and hypotheses proposed in Chapter 2 assess current social attitudes about the stigma of race held in the United States from an intergroup perspective. To fully address the challenges of the stigma of race, the issue must be studied from different perspectives, as confirmed by the results of this study which provided interesting variances of attitudes among participants from different racial groups, thereby providing significant findings that enhance the study of the stigma of race. When studying stigma, most studies rely upon a sample that is comprised of more than three quarters of White Americans. By stratifying the sample population into participants who are representative of different racial backgrounds, this study provides a

better understanding of how social stigma has seeped into the consciousness of both those who profit from the stigma and those who are excluded by the stigma, regardless of the type or category of stigma being researched.

Phelan et al. (2008) and Stuber et al. (2008) recommended bridging the study of stigma and the study of race into one study to get at the social processes and power forces that produced marginalization of racial outgroups. In previous studies, researchers found the study of stigma to encompass several components, depending on the type of stigma studied (Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2011; Link & Phelan, 2001). The findings of this research reveal seven dimensions that can be used to study the stigma of race. These results confirm the findings of earlier scholars that racism and Goffman's (1963) tribal stigma of race are the same social phenomenon (Lenhardt, 2004; Phelan et al., 2008; Stuber et al., 2008; Tyler, 2018).

The two Implicit Association Tests (IATs) in this study yielded valuable information on latent attitudes not captured by the survey self-reports. Implicit tests measure subconscious latent biases that participants may be unaware that they have, as was found in this study, wherein many of the participants showed pro-White bias while at the same time denied being racist (Bargh et al., 1996; Dovidio et al., 1997; Ottaway et al., 2001; Smith & Nosek, 2011). Because of new computer programming resources, it is now cost effective and easy to include an IAT in any survey on the Qualtrics online platform. In fact, an IAT program can be easily designed and then uploaded into the Qualtrics online platform using a free programming resource (Carpenter et al., 2019). This free website also provides a program for the analysis of the IAT data once it is

retrieved from Qualtrics. The program application to create the IATs and analyze the data for this research was provided by IATGEN, an online free, open-source website.

(Information for the IATs can be found at <http://iatgen.com> and on the Open Science Framework at <https://osf.io/jrvg8/>.)

The seven dimensions for the stigma of race proposed by this study could provide a new direction in the study of race as stigma and aid in gaining a better understanding of the racial divide that exists in this country. Also recommended in this approach is the inclusion of IATs to counterbalance the results of self-report surveys. Additionally, comparing this study's results with the blatant dehumanization concept, findings showed that dehumanization plays a fundamental role in the stigmatization of groups of people, as indicated by Goffman (1963). Thus, it is also recommended that the Ascent of Man measure of blatant dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2015) be used to assess perceived levels of humanity and to trigger latent attitudes about people of different racial backgrounds (Banks et al., 2006; Bastian et al., 2013; Bruneau & Kteily, 2017; Costell & Hodson, 2009; Haslam, 2006). The blatant dehumanization measure provided useful insights into the bias held by the study participants based on their racial or ethnic backgrounds. Understanding the role of dehumanization in the exclusion of certain groups of people will help to advance understanding in stigmas of different types.

This study also provides evidence that both White and non-White Americans are unwittingly affected by the social rules meant to exclude any group of people who are not of White, Western European ancestry, confirming the results of prior research (Devine, 1989). Although most participants rated low on the racism scales, there was ample

evidence of pro-White bias from the IATs. As prior scholars suggested, these social rules appear to be a “social heritage” (Devine, 1989, p. 5) embedded within the subconscious and passed down by family members and reinforced by friends, as indicated by the findings of this study (Bargh et al., 1996; Devine, 1989; Kawakami et al., 2017). The arbitrary identifying markers, such as skin color and facial features, that are used to assign individuals into either the acceptable group or the excluded group, serve as social discrediting marks that bar acceptance into “normal” society: In other words, having certain physical features can result in a person’s being stigmatized (Arboleda-Florez, 2002; Goffman, 1963; Lam et al., 2006). Thus, it is essential to continue to analyze the unchallenged social attitudes within a society that serve to stigmatize and exclude different groups of people based on their inherited physical features, something for which they have no control.

This study contributes to understanding the reliance on interpersonal contacts as important sources for information about other races, which could help in improving intergroup communication. It also provides insight into how stigma and knowledge of different races are communicated. In understanding racism as part of a broader, more complex social stigma, researchers should look closer at communication mechanisms, such as interpersonal channels that perpetuate racial stigmatization (Khan, 2020; Zhu & Smith, 2016). As Goffman (1963) noted, stigma is part of a “social reality” (p. 137) in which perspectives are determined by the dominant group. This perspective is especially important to consider, because White participants inhabited social networks that mostly included other White people, to the exclusion of racial minorities. This study, however,

did not ask about the specifics of what they were learning from their social networks, which most likely serve to reinforce and validate perspectives about race.

Although this study asked basic questions about the media and interpersonal contacts as information sources used to learn about different racial groups, much more needs to be studied. The role of educational and governmental institutions as information sources were not included in the survey, but these could be powerful forces in perpetuating misconceptions about race, as indicated by the fact that most of the participants had some college education, yet they still held misconceptions about race. Further, recent news events have confirmed that some in higher education continue to perpetuate misinformation about minority races (Ebrahimji, 2022; Kaur, 2022). Consequently, future research could evaluate the information on different races that is transmitted by family and friends, along with what people are learning from educational institutions and government programs. Perhaps qualitative research, with focus groups and personal interviews, is necessary to get at the anecdotal data for information transmission.

One purpose of this research was to investigate the role of the media as an information source that influences people into making stigma-related decisions. However, neither the survey questionnaire nor the experiment produced any significant results about the use of the media by both White and non-White participants, who indicated that the media was not an important information source to learn about people from other races. Instead, most participants reported they get their information on race from friends and family, who may serve to pass on and instill long-held values and rules

for social relationships, although this aspect of communication was not explored in this study (Basinger et al., 2020; Everett et al., 2015; Goffman, 1963; Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009; Pescosolido et al., 2008; Rudman & McLean, 2016).

As Goffman (1963) stated, those viewed as normal “often give no open recognition to what is discrediting” (p. 41) a stigmatized individual. Thus, for the participants in this study, the media were not openly recognized as a potent influencer, and participants gave no indication that they were aware of the negative images generated that subordinate certain racial groups as inferior (Pyke & Johnson, 2003; Ramasubramanian, 2011). This study indicates that many of the participants do not recognize that the social rules, as displayed as normal by the media, are subtly creating and sustaining racial divide. Further, although many non-White participants recognized the information in the media as negative when it came to their own race, they did not consider the information as negative when it came to other races. This finding shows the importance of discovering which sources are providing what type of information on race. Thus, the effects of the media need to be further explored. This study does, however, contribute to understanding the reliance on interpersonal contacts, such as family and friends, as important sources for information about other races, which could help in improving intergroup communication with further research into these interpersonal information sources.

### **Practical Implications**

The stigma of race may be foundational to the inequities that undermine the opportunities for minority groups of people to advance socially and economically. The

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics showed that Black Americans had the highest jobless rates nationally for the months of April to June 2021, despite improvements in the economic recovery, while Whites had the lowest jobless rates (Broady & Romer, 2021). Further, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics for 2020, Americans of Black, Asian, and Latino ancestry were affected more by the recession attributed to the COVID-19 pandemic, partly because the occupations they worked in were among the hardest hit industries. Some consider this gap in employment to be the result of racism in the labor market, which consistently favors discrimination and inequity (Ajilore, 2020). During this time, hate crimes against Black and Asian Americans skyrocketed, according to a 2020 FBI report (Carrega & Krishnakumar, 2021).

The results of this study point to the stigma, racism, dehumanization, and bias that still exist in America and continues to affect American attitudes about race, despite the insistence that discrimination is no longer a problem. One finding in this study showed that White participants are not thinking about race and racial differences, in spite of recent broadcast news that featured Black Lives Matter protests, the murder of George Floyd, and the increase of anti-Asian hate crimes. As Goffman (1963) indicated, during another time of civil rights unrest, most of those in the dominant power group, the *normals*, don't give open recognition to stigma, preferring to have the stigmatized unquestioningly follow the social rules and keep themselves out of situations that would make a normal person uncomfortable. However, this line of action has not helped to change the processes that contribute to and cause racial stigma.



Another challenge this study addressed was that some minority racial group members have perpetuated racial stigma against other non-White groups based on skin color, even though they themselves suffer from being stigmatized. This lack of acknowledgement in their own contribution to the unequal social hierarchy could lead different minority groups to work at odds with each other, because of not understanding the social structure that serves to discriminate.

On a practical level, this study shows the need to openly discuss the larger social issues and structures revolving around the stigma of race. The stigma of race must become part of an active and meaningful conversation within circles of power before advancements toward racial and ethnic equality can be attained. As indicated by this study, most participants look to family and friends for their information on race, not the media. However, this study did not look at the educational system as a source for information, although 90% of the participants had some college education. But, the findings confirm that many of these college-educated participants understood little about the stigma of race. This conclusion supports the thinking that our educational system is missing the mark when it comes to issues of diversity and race. This is not a surprising conclusion: Almost a dozen states, such as Tennessee, Idaho, Texas, and New Hampshire, are passing laws that ban the teaching of racism and slavery in schools and ban books to repress references to slavery (Associated Press, 2021; Romero, 2021). As stated by one Texas senator, the goal in banning the books was to eliminate information that showed that White supremacy was the source for racism in his state (Associated Press, 2021; Romero, 2021).

Thus, what is being taught in schools needs to be reexamined, so that the instruction plainly reveals the facts about race and stigma, with the hope that the information may counteract what is being consumed from interpersonal sources and from the media. As noted by Harvard professor, Dr. Henry L. Gates Jr., when writing about the need to start talking about race and racism, “at the very least . . . teach that in our classrooms” (Gates & Curran, 2022, para. 16).

It is hoped that the findings of this study may inspire educators to think about diversity issues from a practical standpoint and infuse educational institutions into taking a real stand against the stigma of race. It is important to get to the root of the problem of stigma and racism: lack of knowledge and understanding. For example, when University of Pennsylvania Law professor Amy Wax perpetuated negative Asian stereotypes, saying that America would be “better off with fewer Asians,” she received only a rebuke for her hate speech, despite having demonstrated a pattern in racist hate speech (Ebrahimji, 2022; Kaur, 2022).

Additionally, more educators of color are needed to introduce students to learning from people who are not of White identity. Based on the findings of this study, the majority of Black participants were more keenly aware of the issues of the stigma of race than other non-White groups, understanding that negative information about race came from both the media and from co-workers or classmates. Further, Black participants showed more compassion and more humanity toward racial groups other than their own, indicating an understanding of the debilitating effects of discrimination, dehumanization, and misinformation. Because Black participants in this study showed a better

understanding of what divides the different races, one practical recommendation would be to have more people of Black ancestry serving as advocates for diversity, equity, and inclusion, in an effort to rectify the lack of diversity in many institutions.

However, it is not enough to just hire people of color. It is just as important to give people from minority racial groups a voice, creating an environment in which they are not afraid to speak up about the challenges to diversity they see around them. Pyke and Johnson (2005) discovered that Asian Americans enacted racial stereotypes of being submissive and silent because they were afraid that speaking up would jeopardize their jobs. So, making it safe for people to speak up against discrimination is an important step in eliminating the stigma of race.

Another practical recommendation would be to eliminate the word *race*, especially from our institutions and government forms, when describing Americans from different ancestral backgrounds. Philipsen (2003) contends that the “only logical solution would be to abandon race as a meaningful explanatory concept,” (p. 200). However, Zack (2016) argued that the idea of race cannot be eliminated “because it is a matter of thought, speech, writing, art, and the habits, practices and policies related to racial oppression” (p. 135). In other words, race is at the center of misconceptions about humans as a species. Although the concept of race is thoroughly embedded within our society, it does not mean that things cannot change. As Gates and Curran (2022) admonished, the genetic discoveries of the 21st century “promises to reveal just how meaningless [racial] categories are,” propelling the need to “develop new language for discussing . . . identity, ancestry, history and science” (para. 13, 14).

Lenhardt (2004) said that “we should be concerned with the meanings associated with race itself,” (p. 809) because these meanings are tied up in stigma. The term *race* originated in the 1600s to justify the enslavement of people from Africa, and it still bears all the connotations and insinuations used to describe non-White groups of people as inferior, less than human, and undeserving of benefits, and it triggers bias, discrimination, and dehumanization (Philipsen, 2003). The continued persistence of racial inequity is the result of a stigma that denies non-White groups full acceptance (Lenhardt, 2004). Eliminating the stigma of race would then require giving attention to institutions and power structures, along with openly acknowledging and discussing the meanings and concepts behind the stigma of race and the ways to eliminate them (Leonardo, 2004; Nkomo & Ariss, 2014).

### **Limitations**

Although this study was a step in expanding the research on the stigma of race, there were some limitations that need to be acknowledged. First, perhaps a mixed methods approach, with either open-ended questions or focus groups and interviews, might contextualize the data and lend a more nuanced understanding, especially in what participants were specifically learning about race from their information sources. The findings indicated that people look to family and friends for information about other races, but the research did not look at what specifically were they learning.

Second, even with the efforts to recruit equal numbers in both White and non-White participants, there were challenges based on individual racial backgrounds within the non-White sample that could not be fully explored, because there too few Black (64),

Asian (43), Latino (22), and Indigenous (6) participants as compared to the White (163) participants. In the future, because of the availability of recruiting participants from MTurk using quotas in Qualtrics, it may be possible to get a more equal representation of people from different racial backgrounds, although it would take longer to accomplish.

Additionally, the sample population taken from MTurk were mostly college educated participants, with more than 90% with at least some college education. With a college education, participants may be more aware of what comprise socially acceptable responses regarding race and discrimination. This could be one reason that the self-report responses from many participants were less negative than expected, especially when it came to responding to measures of racism. The findings, therefore, don't account for segments of the American population who have not attended college or don't have access to more advanced scientific and social knowledge. This was one disappointment in recruiting from the MTurk worker population: that a broader range of education-level among participants was not available. On the other hand, MTurk has been shown to be a reliable source for participants in many academic and scientific research projects (Robinson et al., 2019; Young & Young, 2019). However, because many studies on stigma and racism rely on college students as participants, it is possible to compare the results of this study with findings from previous studies.

Another limitation of this study, is that it could not fully address the relationships among stigma, race, and the current political climate. The survey instrument and experiment were developed prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, but they were approved and released at the height of the pandemic rhetoric. In the news story used for the

experiment, White participants gave harsher punishments to Asians, when it was anticipated that Blacks in the news story would receive the harsher punishment. This result could be an indication that the current political climate influenced the participants as anti-Asian hatred surged to the surface because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, political affiliation was the one participant demographic that was consistent in people who showed higher scores across most of the measures for stigma and racism. The influence of political affiliation needs to be further probed especially in our current social and political climate.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

In achieving the overall goal of this dissertation, this study formulated seven dimensions of racial stigma that could be used to study racism from a stigma perspective (Phelan et al., 2008; Stuber et al., 2008; Tyler, 2018). Adding the aspects of social domination and authoritarianism, that are part of the social structure that controls and oppresses the stigmatized, would bring the study of Goffman's (1963) stigma of race into modern times.

One important recommendation for future studies is to include more participants of non-White racial backgrounds. America is not just a Black and White society. There are people from other racial groups whose voices matter. Racial stigma is not just about discrimination against Blacks, Asians, and Latinos, but it is also about people's efforts to protect Whiteness. Although most studies on race and stigma rely on a participant sample that is mostly White, by stratifying the participant sample into equal parts of White and non-White identity participants, important nuances of information can be retrieved. This

study was limited because there were too few Asians and Latinos to get a significant understanding of their attitudes on stigma and race. However, with more time and effort it would be possible to recruit equal numbers of participants from different racial backgrounds using MTurk.

One finding indicated that not all minority racial group members view outgroups similarly when it comes to blatant dehumanization and punishment. This topic warrants further research into how White, Black, and Asian Americans differ in their perspectives on the stigma of race and dehumanization. Further research would be needed to investigate why Black participants gave their own group members a harsher type of punishment than they gave other racial groups. This research would be accomplished by having a more diversified sample.

Future research should look into the meaning of the word *American*. At one time being American was synonymous with being White. Has this misconception faded? Are there other shared social attitudes and behaviors that link people from different ancestry to a common American citizenship? With this perspective in mind, particular focus could be on people whose ancestors are Mexican or Middle Eastern. This study did not address these two ethnic groups; however, interesting findings showed that both Middle Easterners and Mexican immigrants faced higher levels of dehumanization than other racial and ethnic groups. This should be explored further.

The study of the stigma of race could be further advanced by examining how participants' political affiliation affects views on the stigma of race. One significant finding of this study was that the majority of participants who held stronger social

dominance, authoritarian, racist, and negative stigma attitudes were also more likely to be Republican. As a result, political affiliation is a demographic variable that deserves further examination, especially in the current social climate where political parties are transforming their positions on long-held issues, and some political parties seem to be reverting back to a time when discrimination and segregation were acceptable practices (Arango, 2020; Fuoco, 2016; Stuckey, 2016).

Another recommendation for future research is to use a mixed method approach. Quantitative approaches using survey questionnaires and valid measures provide credibility to the data collected. Focus groups and interviews may provide more depth to understanding how the stigma of race is displayed and enacted in the community.

### **Conclusion**

As this conclusion is being written, a new COVID-19 variant has emerged, and there have been more than 800,000 deaths in the United States. Further, in a trial for the murder of George Floyd, the jury found the police officer guilty of murder, making history by convicting a White police officer for the death of a Black man (Wamsley, 2021). However, the nation as a whole has changed its conversation about race, with few Black Lives Matter or anti-Asian hate protests recently, and more censorship of books and textbooks that discuss race.

Back in 1963, Goffman mapped out social stratifications inherent in stigma, but did not provide recommendations on how to change or alleviate the social stigmas. Nor did Goffman assess the power structures and communication processes that enforce stigma (Bresnahan et al., 2020; Kusow, 2004; Smith, 2012; Stuber et al., 2008; Tyler,



2018). Although mentioning the tribal stigma category of race, Goffman provided about 10% of his analysis on race, even during a time of civil rights turmoil, and, he did not comment in his book on the situation that caused the racial unrest. Goffman's only suggestions were on how to maintain the current social hierarchy and suppress unrest. Kusow (2004) and Tyler (2018) have criticized Goffman for his lack of engagement with the civil rights movement of the 1960s, his lack of acknowledgement of Blackness as a stigma, and his silence on the power structures enforcing stigma.

However, another author, James Baldwin, a contemporary and associate of Martin Luther King, Jr., looked at the situation in 1963 differently. In an interview, he said he realized that the real issue facing the civil rights movement was not about race, but rather the issue centered around a moral apathy on the part of White Americans, who simply wanted to ignore what was happening in places like Birmingham and around the country (Peck et al., 2016). In the interview, Baldwin said the real problem was ignorance, apathy and emotional poverty, which allowed White Americans to view Black Americans not as human, not as their own brothers and sisters (Peck et al., 2016). Baldwin understood the deep social power structure that held his group of people in bondage, not because Black Americans did anything to warrant it, but because White Americans were safeguarding their privilege and prosperity.

From the perspective of stigma theory, only those who are considered White are viewed as normal and deserving of access to opportunities and resources (Goffman, 1963). However, although Baldwin was speaking from a Black perspective, he contended that the stigma of race impacts all groups, including White Americans. Thus, it was

particularly important that White Americans begin to grasp the significance of the part they played in maintaining racial disparity (Peck et al., 2016). This viewpoint also means that Asians, Latinos, Native Indigenous peoples, and other mixed-race individuals are being stigmatized for not being White, and thus they meet with similar barriers to equity and justice. As a result, all groups need to assess their role in the stigma process.

One important finding from this research revealed that the majority of the White participants are not discussing or acknowledging that racial discrimination exists in America, even though the Implicit Association Tests clearly showed a pro-White bias for both White and non-White participants. Although most participants reported their intergroup communication was positive, most also reported that their more meaningful conversations were with members of their own groups. Further, the majority of White participants admitted that their social networks were almost exclusively inhabited by other Whites, indicating a tendency to keep separate from minority groups. And most participants revealed that they received much of their information about other races from friends and family members, which can explain why the stigma of race endures.

The findings of this dissertation suggest that stigma and race are intertwined into one complex concept that revolves around seven dimensions: distancing, negative attributions, backlash, controllability, social inequality, social control, and labeling. Efforts to successfully address the stigma of race should address each of the dimensions and the negative effects described in each dimension.

Without acknowledging a problem, there can be no solution, as Baldwin suggested more than 50 years ago (Peck et al., 2016). Therefore, there is a need to start

having meaningful discussions about the stigma of race, like people do with AIDS. The stigma of race is based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the biology of the human body and the invalid concept of race. Non-White skin color or facial features are not a defect or disease, but rather are among the many amazing genetic differences within the human species (Gates & Curran, 2022).

Discord has long plagued our society from its inception. The United States is a vast country of immigrants who came from other continents and supplanted the native indigenous people already living on the landmass centuries ago. The current social circumstances makes it clear that the way society has been dealing with issues of race for the past 150 years has not brought effective social justice for all. But, perhaps with courageous efforts, the voices of those who understand the ramifications of the stigma of race can be heard. In understanding racism as a broader social stigma, we can begin to dismantle the social institutions and communication vehicles that perpetuate the erroneous notion of a superior White race and build in their place a more equitable society. Diversity challenges us to find the best in others and the best in ourselves, as we all belong to the one human race.

## REFERENCES CITED

- ABC News. (2006, September 21). *Top 20 'Whitest' and 'Blackest' names*. Retrieved March 25, 2019, from <https://abcnews.go.com/2020/top-20-whitest-blackest-names/story?id=2470131>
- Ajilore, O., (2020, September 28). *The persistent Black-White unemployment gap is built into the labor market*. Center for American Progress.  
<https://www.americanprogress.org/article/persistent-black-white-unemployment-gap-built-labor-market/>
- Akintunde, O. (1999). White racism, white supremacy, white privilege, and the social construction of race: Moving from modernist to postmodernist multiculturalism. *Multicultural Education*, 7(2), 2-8. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ600574>
- Akrami, N., & Ekehammar, B. (2006). Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation: Their roots in Big-Five Personality factors and facets. *Journal of Individual Differences*, 27(3), 117-126. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1614-0001.27.3.117>
- Alba, R. (2014). The twilight of ethnicity: What relevance for today. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(5), 781-785. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.871051>
- Allam, H. (2020, November, 16). *FBI report: Bias-motivated killings at record high amid nationwide rise in hate crime*. NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/2020/11/16/935439777/fbi-report-bias-motivated-killings-at-record-high-amid-nationwide-rise-in-hate-c>

Arango, T. (2020, November 16). Hate crimes in U.S. rose to highest level in more than a decade in 2019. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/16/us/hate-crime-rate.html>

Arboleda-Florez, J. (2002). What causes stigma? *World Psychiatry*, 1(1), 25-26.

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1489829/>

Associated Press. (2021, May 25). Tennessee bans teaching critical race theory in schools. *U.S. News & World Report*.

<https://www.usnews.com/news/us/articles/2021-05-25/tennessee-bans-teaching-critical-race-theory-in-schools>

Balsamo, M. (2020, November 16). Hate crimes in the US reach highest level in more than a decade. *AP News*. [https://apnews.com/article/hate-crimes-rise-fbi-data-](https://apnews.com/article/hate-crimes-rise-fbi-data-ebbcadca8458aba96575da905650120d)

[ebbcadca8458aba96575da905650120d](https://apnews.com/article/hate-crimes-rise-fbi-data-ebbcadca8458aba96575da905650120d)

Banks, R. R., Eberhardt, J. L., & Ross, L. (2006). Discrimination and implicit bias in a racially unequal society. *California Law Review*, 94(4), 116-1190.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20439061>

Bargh, J. A., Chen, M., & Burrows, L. (1996). Automaticity of social behavior: Direct effects of trait construct and stereotype activation on action. *Journal of*

*Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(2), 230-244. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.71.2.230>

- Barinka, A., & Milan, M. (2018, November 12). How one Utah family built Qualtrics, a tech startup they sold for \$8 billion – & 7 billion they get to keep. And they still run the company. *The Salt Lake Tribune*. <https://www.sltrib.com/news/nation-world/2018/11/12/how-one-utah-family-built/>
- Basinger, E. D., Farris, M., & Delaney, A. L. (2020). Investigating the experience of diabetes stigma in online forums. *Southern Communication Journal*, 85(1), 43-57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1041794X.2019.1655662>
- Bastian, B., Denson, T. F., & Haslam, N. (2013). The roles of dehumanization and moral outrage in retributive justice. *PLoS ONE*, 8(4), e61842. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0061842>
- Bastian, B., & Haslam, N. (2010). Excluded from humanity: The dehumanizing effects of social ostracism. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(1), 107-113. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.06.022>
- Benjamin, A. J. (2006). The relationship between right-wing authoritarianism and attitudes toward violence: Further validation of the attitudes toward violence scale. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 34(8), 923-926. <https://doi.org/10.2224/sbp.2006.34.8.923>
- Berry, D. B. (2020, July 3). They overcame police dogs and beatings: Civil rights activists from 1960s cheer on Black Lives Matter protester leading new fight. *USA Today*. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2020/07/03/civil-rights-black-lives-matter-protesters-build-1960-s-movement/5356338002/>

- Blakemore, E. (2015, November 9). How the U.S. Census defines race. *Smithsonian Magazine*. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/how-us-census-defines-race-america-180957189/>
- Blakemore, E. (2019, February 22). Race and ethnicity: How are they different? *National Geographic*. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/article/race-ethnicity>
- Bonds, A., & Inwood, J. (2016). Beyond white privilege: Geographies of white supremacy and settler colonialism. *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(6), 715-733. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515613166>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2012). The invisible weight of whiteness: The racial grammar of everyday life in contemporary America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(2), 173-194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.613997>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2014). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America* (4th ed.). Rowman & Littlefield.  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com>
- Bresnahan, M. J., Silk, K., & Zhuang, J. (2013). You did this to yourself! Stigma and blame in lung cancer. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 43,(S1), E132-E140. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12030>
- Bresnahan, M., Zhu, Y., Zhuang, J., & Yan, X. (2020). “He wants a refund because I’m breastfeeding my baby”: A thematic analysis of maternal stigma for breastfeeding in public. *Stigma and Health*, 5(4), 394-403. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sah0000208>

- Bresnahan, M., & Zhuang, J. (2011). Exploration and validation of the dimensions of stigma. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 16(3), 421-429.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105310382583>
- Bresnahan, M., & Zhuang, J. (2015). Stigma. In D.Y. Kim & J. W. Dearing (Eds.), *Health Communication Measures*. (pp. 233-246). Peter Lang.
- Bresnahan, M., Zhuang, J., Zhu, Y., Nelson, J., & Yan, X. (2018). How is stigma communicated? Use of negative counterarguments to communicate stigma. *Stigma and Health*, 3(3), 219-228. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sah0000091>
- Bridges, K. M. (2019). White privilege and White disadvantage. *Virginia Law Review*, 105,(2), 449-482. <https://www.virginialawreview.org/articles/white-privilege-and-white-disadvantage/>
- Broady, K., & Romer, C. (2021, July 2). *Despite June's positive jobs numbers, Black workers continue to face high unemployment*. Brookings.  
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2021/07/02/despite-junes-positive-jobs-numbers-black-workers-continue-to-face-high-unemployment/>
- Brown, L., Macintyre, K., & Trujillo, L. (2003). Interventions to reduce HIV/AIDS stigma: What have we learned? *AIDS Education and Prevention*, 15(1), 49-69.  
<https://doi.org/10.1521/aeap.15.1.49.23844>
- Bruneau, E., & Kteily, N. (2017). The enemy as animal: Symmetric dehumanization during asymmetric warfare. *PLoS ONE* 12(7), e0181422.  
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0181422>



- Bryce, E. (2020, February 8). *What's the difference between race and ethnicity?* Live Science. <https://www.livescience.com/difference-between-race-ethnicity.html>
- Buchanan, L., Bui, Q., & Patel, J. K. (2020, July 3). Black Lives Matter may be the largest movement in U.S. history. *The New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/03/us/george-floyd-protests-crowd-size.html>
- Buhrmester, M. D. (2018, October). *M-Turk guide: Can I screen participants who fit my specific criteria?* Retrieved March 11, 2019, from  
<https://michaelbuhrmester.com/mechanical-turk-guide/>
- Byrne, P. (2000). Stigma of mental illness and ways of diminishing it. *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment*, 6(1), 65-72. <https://doi.org/10.1192/apt.6.1.65>
- Cage, E., Di Monaco, J., & Newell, V. (2019). Understanding, attitudes and dehumanisation towards autistic people. *Autism, the International Journal of Research and Practice*, 23(6), 1373-1383.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1362361318811290>
- Cambridge University Press. (n.d.). Stigma. In *Cambridge Dictionary*. Retrieved January 26, 2021 from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/stigma>
- Caprariello, P. A., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Fiske, S. T. (2009). Social structure shapes cultural stereotypes and emotions: A causal test of the stereotype content model. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 12(2), 147-155.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430208101053>

- Carpenter, T. P., Pogacar, R., Pullig, C., Kouril, M., Aguilar, S., LaBouff, J., Isenberg, N., & Chakroff, A. (2019). Survey-software Implicit Association Tests: A methodological and empirical analysis. *Behavior Research Methods*, 51(5), 2194-2208. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-019-01293-3>
- Carrega, C., & Krishnakumar, P. (2021, October 26). *Hate crime reports in the US surge to the highest level in 12 years, FBI says*. CNN. Retrieved February 16, 2022, from <https://www.cnn.com/2021/08/30/us/fbi-report-hate-crimes-rose-2020/index.html>
- Center for Open Science. (n.d. a). *Project implicit demo website datasets/Asian American IAT 2004-2020*. Open Science Framework. <https://osf.io/cpmfk/files/>
- Center for Open Science. (n.d. b). *Race IAT 2002-2020/Experiment materials*. Open Science Framework. <https://osf.io/jrvg8/>
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2020, December 10). *Risk of exposure to COVID-19: Racial and ethnic health disparities*. Retrieved February 24, 2021, from <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/community/health-equity/racial-ethnic-disparities/increased-risk-exposure.html>
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (n.d.). *United States COVID-19 cases and deaths by state*. CDC COVID Data Tracker. Retrieved February 24, 2021, from <https://www.cdc.gov/covid-data-tracker/#cases>
- Cespedes, C. (n.d.). *100 most popular Hispanic baby names of 2011*. BabyCenter.com. Retrieved March 25, 2019, from [https://www.babycenter.com/0\\_100-most-popular-hispanic-baby-names-of-2011\\_\\_10363639.bc](https://www.babycenter.com/0_100-most-popular-hispanic-baby-names-of-2011__10363639.bc)

- Chou, V. (2017, April 17). *How science and genetics are reshaping the race debate in the 21st century*. Harvard University, Science in the News.  
<https://sitn.hms.harvard.edu/flash/2017/science-genetics-reshaping-race-debate-21st-century/>
- Clarke, S. (2008). Culture and identity. In T. Bennett & J. Frow (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of cultural analysis* (pp. 510-529). SAGE.
- Conner, K. O., Copeland, V. C., Grote, N. K., Koeske, G., Rosen, D., Reynolds, C. F., & Brown, C. (2010). Mental health treatment seeking among older adults with depression: The impact of stigma and race. *The American Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry*, 18(6), 531-543. <https://doi.org/10.1097/jgp.0b013e3181cc0366>
- Correll, J., Park, B., Judd, C. M., & Wittenbrink, B. (2007). The influence of stereotypes on decisions to shoot. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 37(4), 1102-1117.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.450>
- Correll, J., Urland, G. R., & Ito, T. A. (2006). Event-related potentials and the decision to shoot: The role of threat perception and cognitive control. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 42(1), 120-128.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2005.02.006>
- Costell, K., & Hodson, G. (2009). Exploring the roots of dehumanization: The role of animal-human similarity in promoting immigrant humanization. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 13(1), 3-22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430209347725>

- Crenshaw, K. W. (2011). Twenty years of critical race theory: Looking back to move forward. *Connecticut Law Review*, 43(5), 1253-1354.  
[https://opencommons.uconn.edu/law\\_review/117](https://opencommons.uconn.edu/law_review/117)
- Crocker, J., & Major, B. (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological Review*, 96(4), 608-630.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295x.96.4.608>
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., Kwan, V. S., Glick, P., Demoulin, S., Leyens, J., Bond, M. H., Croizet, J., Ellmers, N., Sleebos, E., Htun, T. T., Kim, H., Maio, G., Perry, J., Petkova, K., Todorov, V., Rodriguez-Bailon, R., Morales, E., Moya, M., Palacios, M., Smith, V., Perez, R., Vala, J., & Ziegler, R. (2009). Stereotype content model across cultures: Towards universal similarities and some differences. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 48(1), 1-33.  
<https://doi.org/10.1348/014466608x314935>
- De Houwer, J. (2001). A structural and process analysis of the Implicit Association Test. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 37(6), 443-451.  
<https://doi.org/10.1006/jesp.2000.1464>
- DeJong, W. (1980). The stigma of obesity: The consequences of naïve assumptions concerning the causes of physical deviance. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 21(1), 75-87. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2136696>
- Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(1), 5-18.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.56.1.5>

- Dixon, T. L., Azocar, C. L., & Casas, M. (2010). The portrayal of race and crime on television network news. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 47(4), 498-523. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem4704\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem4704_2)
- DNA Worldwide. (n.d.). *The history of DNA timeline*. Retrieved March 16, 2021, from <https://www.dna-worldwide.com/resource/160/history-dna-timeline>
- Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B., & Howard, A. (1997). On the nature of prejudice: Automatic and controlled processes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 33(5), 510-540. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jesp.1997.1331>
- Ebrahimji, A. (2022, January 5). Penn Law's dean calls professor's comments 'anti-intellectual' and 'racist' after she said the U.S. is 'better off with fewer Asians.' CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2022/01/05/us/amy-wax-penn-law-anti-asian-comments-trnd/index.html>
- Ekehammar, B., Akrami, N., Gylje, M., & Zakrisson, I. (2004). What matters most to prejudice: Big Five Personality, social dominance orientation, or right-wing authoritarianism? *European Journal of Personality*, 18(6), 463-482. <https://doi.org/10.1002/per.526>
- Embrick, D. G., & Moore, W. L. (2020). White space(s) and the reproduction of White supremacy. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 64(14), 1935-1945. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764220975053>

- Everett, J. A. C., Schellhass, F. M. H., Earp, B. D., Ando, V., Memarzia, J., Parise, C. V., Fell, B., & Hewstone, M. (2015). Covered in stigma? The impact of different levels of Islamic head-covering on explicit and implicit biases toward Muslim women. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 45(2), 90-104.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12278>
- Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2020, November 16). *FBI releases 2019 hate crime statistics*. Retrieved March 3, 2021 from <https://www.fbi.gov/news/pressrel/press-releases/fbi-releases-2019-hate-crime-statistics>
- Feagin, J. R. (2010). *Racist America: Roots, current realities, and future reparations* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Feagin, J., & Elias, S. (2013). Rethinking racial formation theory: A systemic racism critique. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(6), 931-960.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2012.669839>
- Foner, N. (2014). Reflections on reflections about the future of ethnicity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(5), 786-789. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.871052>
- Frey, W. H. (2020, July 1). *The nation is diversifying even faster than predicted, according to new census data*. The Brookings Institution.  
<https://www.brookings.edu/research/new-census-data-shows-the-nation-is-diversifying-even-faster-than-predicted/>
- Fuoco, M. A. (2016, October 16). Campaign is hitting national psyche hard. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sunday edition, A15.

- Gans, H. J. (2014). The coming darkness of late generation European ethnicity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(5), 757-765.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.827796>
- Gates, H. L., & Curran, A. S. (2022, March 3). We need a new language for talking about race [Letter to the editor]. *The New York Times*.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/03/opinion/sunday/talking-about-race.html>
- Goff, P. A., Jackson, M. C., Allison, B., Di Leone, L., Culotta, C. M., & DiTomaso, N. A. (2014). The essence of innocence: Consequences of dehumanizing black children. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 106(4), 526-545.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035663>
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Simon & Schuster.
- Goldberg, D. T. (2009). *The threat of race: Reflections on racial neoliberalism*. Blackwell.
- Goodin-Smith, O., Orso, A., & Hardnett, R. (2020, October 21). ‘We’re not going to disappear’. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.  
<https://www.inquirer.com/news/philadelphia/a/philadelphia-defund-police-black-lives-matter-20201021.html>
- Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The Implicit Association Test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1464-1480.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.6.1464>

- Greenwald, A. G., Nosek, B. A., & Banaji, M. R. (2003). Understanding and using the Implicit Association Test: I. An improved scoring algorithm. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85(2), 197-216. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.85.2.197>
- Greenwald, A. G., Smith, C. T., Sriram, N., Bar-Anan, Y., & Nosek, B. A. (2009). Implicit race attitudes predicted vote in the 2008 U.S. presidential election. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 9(1), 241-253. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1530-2415.2009.01195.x>
- Guynn, J., & Bajak, A. (2021, March 24). Asian Americans report biggest increase in serious incidents of online hate and harassment during COVID-19 pandemic. *USA Today*. <https://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/2021/03/24/asian-american-hate-crimes-covid-harassment-atlanta-google-facebook-youtube/6973659002/>
- Haney-Lopez, I. F. (2011). Is the “post” in post-racial the “blind” in colorblind? *Cardozo Law Review*, 32(3), 807-831. <https://lawcat.berkeley.edu/record/1124585?ln=en>
- Harris, L. T., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Dehumanizing the lowest of the low: Neuroimaging responses to extreme out-groups. *Psychological Science*, 17(10), 847-853. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01793.x>
- Harris, L. T., & Fiske, S. T. (2011). Dehumanized perception: A psychological means to facilitate atrocities, torture, and genocide? *Journal of Psychology*, 219(3), 175-181. <https://doi.org/10.1027/2151-2604/a000065>



- Haslam, N. (2006). Dehumanization: An integrative review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 10*(3), 252-264.  
[https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1003\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1003_4)
- Haslam, N., & Stratemeyer, M. (2016). Recent research on dehumanization. *Current Opinion in Psychology, 11*, 25-29. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2016.03.009>
- Heider, F. F. (1944). Social perception and phenomenal causality. *Psychological Review, 51*(6), 358-374. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0055425>
- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Kteily, N., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Pratto, F., Henkel, K. E., Foels, R., & Stewart, A. L. (2015). The nature of social dominance orientation: Theorizing and measuring preferences for intergroup inequality using the new SDO<sub>7</sub> scale. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 109*(6), 1003-1028.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000033>
- Hughey, M. W. (2014). White backlash in the 'post-racial' United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 37*(5), 721-730. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2014.886710>
- Ito, T. A., & Bartholow, B. D. (2009). The neural correlates of race. *Trends in cognitive sciences, 13*(12), 524-531. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2009.10.002>
- Jackson, L. A., Lewandowski, D. A., Fleury, R. E., & Chin, P. P. (2001). Effects of affect, stereotype consistency, and valence of behavior on causal attributions. *Journal of Social Psychology, 141*(1), 31-48.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00224540109600521>

- Jimenez, O. (2020, July 15). *New police body camera footage reveals George Floyd's last words were 'I can't breathe'*. CNN.  
<https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/15/us/george-floyd-body-cam-footage/index.html>
- Jung, M.-K., Costa Vargas, J. H., & Bonilla-Silva, E. (2011). *State of white supremacy: Racism, governance, and the United States*. Stanford University Press.
- Kaur, B. (2022, January 4). *Penn Law rebukes professor who said U.S. would be 'better off with fewer Asians.'* NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/penn-law-rebukes-professor-said-us-better-fewer-asians-rcna10905>
- Kawakami, K., Amodio, D. M., & Hugenberg, K. (2017). Intergroup perception and cognition: An integrative framework for understanding the causes and consequences of social categorization. In J. M. Olson (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, (Vol. 55, pp. 1-80). Academic Press.
- Khan, S. (2020) Examining HIV/AIDS-related stigma at play: Power, structure, and implications for HIV interventions. *Health Communication*, 35(12), 1509-1519.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2019.1652386>
- Kleinman, A., & Hall-Clifford, R. (2009). Stigma: A social, cultural and moral process. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health*, 63(6), 418-419.  
<https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2008.084277>
- Kteily, N., Bruneau, E., Waytz, A., & Cotterill, S. (2015). The ascent of man: Theoretical and empirical evidence for blatant dehumanization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 109(5), 901-931. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000048>

- Kteily, N., Ho, A. K., & Sidanius, J. (2012). Hierarchy in the mind: The predictive power of social dominance orientation across social contexts and domains. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(2), 543-549.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2011.11.007>
- Kunst, J. R., Tajamal, H., Sam, D. L., & Ulleberg, P. (2012). Coping with Islamophobia: The effects of religious stigma on Muslim minorities' identity formation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 36(4), 518-532.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.12.014>
- Kusow, A. M. (2004). Contesting stigma: On Goffman's assumptions of normative order. *Symbolic Interaction*, 27(2), 179-197. <https://doi.org/10.1525/si.2004.27.2.179>
- Lack, E. (2019). *Baby names inspired by Asian American leaders*. BabyCenter.com. Retrieved March 25, 2019, from [https://www.babycenter.com/0\\_baby-names-inspired-by-asian-american-leaders\\_10305446.bc](https://www.babycenter.com/0_baby-names-inspired-by-asian-american-leaders_10305446.bc)
- Lam, C. S., Tsang, H., Chan, F., & Corrigan, P. W. (2006). Chinese and American perspectives on stigma. *Rehabilitation Education*, 20(4), 269-279.  
<https://doi.org/10.1891/088970106805065368>
- Lenhardt, R. A. (2004). Understanding the mark: Race, stigma and equality in context. *New York University Law Review*, 79(3), 802-931.  
[https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/faculty\\_scholarship/458](https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/faculty_scholarship/458)
- Leonardo, Z. (2004). The color of supremacy: Beyond the discourse of 'white privilege.' *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 36(2), 137-152.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-5812.2004.00057.x>

- Levitt, S. D., & Dubner, S. J. (2005). *Freakonomics: A rogue economist explores the hidden side of everything*. HarperCollins.
- Li, S., Wu, J., Wang, W., Jacoby, A., de Boer, H., & Sander, J. W. (2010). Stigma and epilepsy: The Chinese perspective. *Epilepsy & Behavior*, 17(2), 242-245.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yebeh.2009.12.015>
- Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Slavery, United States*. Retrieved March 28, 2021, from  
[https://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/placesinhistory/archive/2011/20110318\\_slavery.html](https://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/placesinhistory/archive/2011/20110318_slavery.html)
- Link, B. G., & Phelan, J. C. (2001). Conceptualizing stigma. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27(1), 363-385. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.363>
- Liu, W. M. (2017). White male power and privilege: The relationship between White supremacy and social class. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 64(4), 349-358.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000227>
- Madon, S., Jussim, L., & Eccles, J. (1997). In search of the powerful self-fulfilling prophecy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72(4), 791-809.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.72.4.791>
- Major, B., & O'Brien, L. T. (2005). The social psychology of stigma. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 56(1), 393-421.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.56.091103.070137>
- McConahay, J. B. (1983). Modern racism and modern discrimination: The effects of race, racial attitudes, and context on simulated hiring decisions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 9(4), 551-558. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167283094004>

- McConahay, J. B., Hardee, B. B., & Batts, V. (1981). Has racism declined in America? It depends on who is asking and what is being asked. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 25(4), 563-579. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200278102500401>
- McConnell, A. R., & Leibold, J. M. (2001). Relations among the Implicit Association Test, discriminatory behavior, and explicit measures of racial attitudes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 37(5), 435-442. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jesp.2000.1470>
- Melamed, J. (2006). The spirit of neoliberalism: From racial liberalism to neoliberal multiculturalism. *Social Text*, 24(4), 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-2006-009>
- Merriam-Webster. (n.d. a). American. In *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*. Retrieved Sept. 27, 2021, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/American>
- Merriam-Webster. (n.d b). Attribute. In *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*. Retrieved March 3, 2020, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/attribute>
- Merriam-Webster. (n.d. c). Race. In *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*. Retrieved March 16, 2021, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/race>
- Merriam-Webster. (n.d. d). Racism. In *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*. Retrieved March 27, 2021, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/racism>
- Miller, S. L., Zielaskowski, K., & Plant, E. A. (2012). The basis of shooter biases: Beyond cultural stereotypes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38(10), 1358-1366. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212450516>

- Morin, R. (2015, August 19). *Exploring racial bias among biracial and single-race adults: The IAT*. Pew Research Center, 4-41. <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2015/08/19/exploring-racial-bias-among-biracial-and-single-race-adults-the-iat/>
- National Museum of African American History & Culture. (n.d.). *Historical foundations of race*. Smithsonian. Retrieved March 16, 2021, from <https://nmaahc.si.edu/learn/talking-about-race/topics/historical-foundations-race>
- Nicol, A. A. M., & De France, K. (2016). The Big Five's relation with the facets of Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 98, 320-323. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2016.04.062>
- Nkomo, S. M., & Ariss, A. A. (2014). The historical origins of ethnic (White) privilege in U.S. organizations. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 29(4), 389-404. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jmp-06-2012-0178>
- Nosek, B. A., Bar-Anan, Y., Sriram, N., Axt, J., & Greenwald, A. G. (2014). Understanding and using the Brief Implicit Association Test: Recommended scoring procedures. *PLoS ONE* 9(12), e110938. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0110938>
- Nosek, B. A., Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). Understanding and using the Implicit Association Test: II. Method variables and construct validity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31(2), 166-180. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167204271418>

- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. Routledge.
- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2013). Resistance is futile?: A response to Feagin and Elias. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(6), 961-973.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2012.715177>
- Ottaway, S. A., Hayden, D. C., & Oakes, M. A. (2001). Implicit attitudes and racism: Effects of word familiarity and frequency on the implicit association test. *Social Cognition*, 19(2), 97-144. <https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.19.2.97.20706>
- Parham-Payne, W. (2014). The role of the media in the disparate response to gun violence in America. *Journal of Black Studies*, 45(8), 752-768.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934714555185>
- Peck, R. (Director), Grellety, R. (Producer), Peck, H., Baldwin, J., Adebajo, H., Ross, B., Ross, T., Aïgi, A., Strauss, A., Jackson, S. L., Belafonte, H., Brando, M., Cavett, D., Bush, G. W. I., & Baldwin, J. (2016). *I am not your Negro*. [Motion picture]. Magnolia Pictures.
- Pescosolido, B. A., Martin, J. K., Lang, A., & Olafsdottir, S. (2008). Rethinking theoretical approaches to stigma: A framework integrating normative influences on stigma (FINIS). *Social Science & Medicine*, 67(3), 431-440.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2008.03.018>
- Phelan, J. C., Link, B. G., & Dovidio, J. F. (2008). Stigma and prejudice: One animal or two? *Social Science & Medicine*, 67(3), 358-367.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2008.03.022>

- Philipsen, D. (2003). Investment, obsession, and denial: The ideology of race in the American mind. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 72(2), 193-207.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3211169>
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L., & Malle, B. (1994). Social Dominance Orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67(4), 741-763. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.67.4.741>
- Pulido, L. (2015). Geographies of race and ethnicity 1: White supremacy vs. White privilege in environmental racism research. *Progress in Human Geography*, 39(6), 809-817. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132514563008>
- Pyke, K. D., & Johnson, D. L. (2003). Asian American women and racialized femininities: "Doing" gender across cultural worlds. *Gender & Society*, 17(1), 33-53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243202238977>
- Rajgopal, S. S. (2010). "The daughter of Fu Manchu": The pedagogy of deconstructing the representation of Asian women in film and fiction. *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism*, 10(2), 141-162.  
<https://doi.org/10.2979/meridians.2010.10.2.141>
- Ramasubramanian, S. (2011). The impact of stereotypical versus counterstereotypical media exemplars on racial attitudes, causal attributions, and support for affirmative action. *Communication Research*, 38(4), 497-516.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650210384854>



- Rana, J. (2007). The story of Islamophobia. *Souls*, 9(2), 148-161.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10999940701382607>
- Rattazzi, A. M., Bobbio, A., & Canova, L. (2007). A short version of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 43(5), 1223-1234. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2007.03.013>
- Ray, M. (2022, February 7). *Tea Party movement*. Britannica.com. Retrieved March 8, 2022, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Tea-Party-movement>
- Robinson, J., Rosenzweig, C., Moss, A. J., & Litman, L. (2019) Tapped out or barely tapped? Recommendations for how to harness the vast and largely unused potential of the Mechanical Turk participant pool. *PLoS ONE* 14(12), e0226394.  
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0226394>
- Romero, S. (2021, May 20). Texas pushes to obscure the state's history of slavery and racism. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/us/texas-history-1836-project.html>
- Rudman, L. A., & McLean, M. C. (2016). The role of appearance stigma in implicit racial ingroup bias. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 19(3), 374-393.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430215583152>
- Saperstein, A., Kizer, J. M., & Penner, A. M. (2016). Making the most of multiple measures: Disentangling the effects of different dimensions of race in survey research. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 60(4), 519-537.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764215613399>

Schwartz, T. P. (n.d). *The Holocaust: Non-Jewish victims*. Jewish Virtual Library.

Retrieved March 16, 2021, from <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/non-jewish-victims-of-the-holocaust>

Shelton, J. N., Richeson, J. A., Salvatore, J., & Trawalter, S. (2005). Ironic effects of racial bias during interracial interactions. *Psychological Science*, 16(5), 397-402.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40064237>

Sherman, A. (2021, March 19). *Hate crimes against Asian Americans: What the numbers show, and don't*. Politifact, The Poynter Institute.

<https://www.politifact.com/article/2021/mar/19/hate-crimes-against-asian-americans-what-numbers-s/>

Shon, P. C. H. (2012). "Asian really don't do this": On-scene offense characteristics of Asian American school shooters, '91-07. *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 7(3),

251-272. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-011-9109-8>

Sim, J. J., Correll, J., & Sadler, M. S. (2013). Understanding police and expert performance: When training attenuates (vs. exacerbates) stereotypic bias in the decision to shoot. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39(3), 291-304.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212473157>

Smith, C. T., & Nosek, B. A. (2011). Affective focus increases the concordance between implicit and explicit attitudes. *Social Psychology*, 42(4), 300-313.

<https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000072>

Smith, P. B., Fischer, R., Vignoles, V. L., & Bond, M. H. (2013). *Understanding social psychology across cultures*. Sage.

- Smith, R. A. (2012). Segmenting an audience into the own, the wise and normals: A latent class analysis of stigma-related categories. *Communication Research Reports*, 29(4), 257-265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2012.704599>
- Smith, R. J., & Levinson, J. D. (2012). The impact of implicit racial bias on the exercise of prosecutorial discretion. *Seattle University Law Review*, 35(795), 795-826. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2045316>
- Sriram, N., & Greenwald, A. G. (2009). The Brief Implicit Association Test. *Experimental Psychology*, 56(4), 283-294. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1618-3169.56.4.283>
- Stuber, J., Meyer, I., & Link, B. (2008). Stigma, prejudice, discrimination and health. *Social Science & Medicine* 67(3), 351-357. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2008.03.023>
- Stuckey, M. E. (2016). Stability and change in the rhetoric of the 2016 Presidential primaries. *Spectra*, 52(3/4), 10-16. <https://www.natcom.org/publications/spectra/septembernovember-2016>
- Tyler, I. (2018) Resituating Erving Goffman: From stigma power to Black power. *The Sociological Review Monographs*, 66(4), 744-765. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118777450>
- Tyler, I. (2020). The ancient penal history of stigma. In *Stigma: The machinery of inequality* (pp. 31-90). Zed Books. <https://stigmamachine.com/2020/01/20/the-ancient-penal-history-of-stigma/>

- Tyler, I., & Slater, T. (2018). Rethinking the sociology of stigma. *The Sociological Review Monographs*, 66(4), 721-743. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118777425>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2020a, October 16). *About race*. U.S. Department of Commerce. Retrieved March 16, 2021, from <https://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2020b, October 16). *About Hispanic origin*. U.S. Department of Commerce. Retrieved March 22, 2021, from <https://www.census.gov/topics/population/hispanic-origin/about.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (n.d.). *Quick facts*. U.S. Department of Commerce. Retrieved March 16, 2021, from <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045219>
- Vanman, E. J., Paul, B. Y., Ito, T. A., & Miller, N. (1997). The modern face of prejudice and structural features that moderate the effect of cooperation on affect. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73(5), 941-959. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.5.941>
- Wamsley, L. (2021, April 20). *Derek Chauvin found guilty of George Floyd's murder*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/sections/trial-over-killing-of-george-floyd/2021/04/20/987777911/court-says-jury-has-reached-verdict-in-derek-chauvins-murder-trial>
- Wood, J. T. (2015). *Interpersonal communication: Everyday encounters*. (Eighth Ed.). Cengage Learning.

- Xavier, J. (2016, July 15). *How racial threat has galvanized the Tea Party*. Stanford Business. <https://www.gsb.stanford.edu/insights/how-racial-threat-has-galvanized-tea-party>
- Xu, K., Nosek, B., & Greenwald, A. G. (2014). Psychology data from the Race Implicit Association Test on the Project Implicit Demo website. *Journal of Open Psychology Data*, 2(1), e3. <http://doi.org/10.5334/jopd.ac>
- Yam, K. (2021, March 9). *Anti-Asian hate crimes increased by nearly 150% in 2020, mostly in N.Y. and L.A., new report says*. NBC Universal News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/anti-asian-hate-crimes-increased-nearly-150-2020-mostly-n-n1260264>
- Yang, L. H., Kleinman, A., Link, B. G., Phelan, J. C., Sing, L., & Good, B. (2007). Culture and stigma: Adding moral experience to stigma theory. *Social Science & Medicine*, 64(7), 1524-1535. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2006.11.013>
- Ybarra, O., & Stephan, W. G. (1999). Attributional orientations and the prediction of behavior: The attribution-prediction bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76(5), 718-727. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.76.5.718>
- Young, J. A., & Young, K. M. (2019). Don't get lost in the crowd: Best practices for using Amazon's Mechanical Turk in behavioral research. *Journal of the Midwest Association for Information Systems*, 2019(2), 7-34. <https://doi.org/10.17705/3jmwa.000050>
- Zack, N. (2016). Why I write so many books about race. *Journal of World Philosophies*, 1(1), 131-137. <https://doi.org/10.2979/jourworlphil.1.1.09>

Zakrisson, I. (2005). Construction of a short version of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 39(5), 863–872.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2005.02.026>

Zhu, X., & Smith, R. (2016). Advancing research on the spread of stigmatizing beliefs with insights from rumor transmission. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 60(11),

1342-1361. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764216657382>

Zuberi, T. (2001). *Thicker than blood: How racial statistics lie*. University of Minnesota Press.

## APPENDIX A

### STIGMA DIMENSIONS

#### Part 1

Bresnahan and Zhuang's (2011) five dimensions of stigma are "labeling, negative attribution, separation (distancing), status loss, and controllability" (p. 421, 424). The following factors are from Table 2 (p. 423):

**Negative Attribution** (character flaws and bad judgment)

- Weak character
- Self indulgent
- No will power
- Instant gratification
- Brought consequences on self
- Took path of least resistance
- Take high risks

**Labeling** (assigning detrimental descriptions)

- Loaded gun
- Death sentence
- Ticking time bomb
- Vessel of disease
- Thief stealing life
- Disaster
- [*Adapted for this study*]
  - Not like us*
  - Abnormal behaviors*
  - Morally deviant*
  - Disaster waiting to happen*

**Controllability** (condition could be prevented)

- Refuses to have unsafe sex
- Know what needs to be done
- Disease is controllable
- Not engage in risky health behaviors
- [*Adapted for this study*]
  - Lazy*
  - Knows what needs to be done*
  - Not engage in negative behaviors*
  - Refuses to take responsibility*

**Distancing** (separation, tendency to distance oneself)

Stay away from

Avoid body fluids

Avoid tears

Avoid saliva

Avoid sharing food

Avoid blood

[*Adapted for this study*]

*Stay away from*

*Don't share personal items*

*Avoid physical contact with*

**Status Loss** (downward social placement)

Others look down on

Judged negatively

Disempowered

Suffer status loss

## **Part 2: Stigma Dimensions Revised for This Study**

Stigma statements developed for this study are based on general beliefs people may have about those from different racial backgrounds as those beliefs appeared to fit into the five stigma dimensions. Participants may agree with some, disagree with some, or have no opinion and were asked to indicate what they believed by selecting a number on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The higher the number, the greater the tendency to stigmatize others.

**Labeling** (assigning detrimental descriptions)

1. I am very different from people of other racial backgrounds.
2. I have very different values than people of other racial backgrounds.
3. People of other racial backgrounds have different values that I don't understand.
4. People of other racial backgrounds have different behaviors that I don't understand.



5. People from other racial backgrounds do not have the same high quality of moral training that I learned.

6. Because people from other racial backgrounds do not have the same moral standards, they often get into trouble.

**Distancing** (separation, tendency to distance oneself)

1. People from other races should stick with members of their own racial groups.

2. People from minority races are too different from the rest of society, so it's best to limit contact with them to only what's necessary.

3. People should not share personal items such as a pencil or work tool with a person from a different racial background.

4. I would prefer that all my neighbors be of the same racial background as myself.

5. It's best not to date a person from a different racial background.

6. Marrying a person from a different racial background will only cause problems.

**Negative Attribution** (character flaws and bad judgment)

1. When a person from a minority racial background gets into trouble with the law, it's because that person has a weak character as a result of their racial upbringing.

2. People from minority racial backgrounds live in poverty because they have no will power.

3. People from minority racial backgrounds get into trouble with the law because they have a tendency to take high risks as a result of their racial upbringing.

4. People from minority racial backgrounds get into trouble with the law because they are self-indulgent as a result of their racial upbringing.

5. People from my racial group have stronger will power than people from other racial groups.

**Controllability** (condition could be prevented)

1. Because success is a matter of how hard a person is willing to work, many people from minority racial backgrounds are poor.
2. Some people think that persons from minority racial backgrounds live in poverty because they are unwilling to take responsibility for themselves and their families. How much do you agree or disagree with this belief?
3. When some people see a person from a minority racial background get into trouble with the law, they assume it's because the person is not willing to work for what they want. How much do you agree or disagree with this belief?
4. Some people think that persons from minority racial backgrounds (non-Whites) who live in poverty need to change their negative behaviors before they can succeed. How much do you agree or disagree with this belief?
5. Some people think that if persons from minority racial backgrounds (non-Whites) who live in poverty would just try harder, they could be just as well off as Whites. How much do you agree or disagree with this belief?

**Status Loss** (downward social placement)

1. Some people think that people from minority racial backgrounds (non-Whites) have more rights than they deserve. How much do you agree or disagree with this thought?
2. It makes me really mad when I see a person of another race get a job that my friend applied for, and I believed my friend was more qualified.
3. Some people believe that many in the U.S. have good reason to look down upon people from minority racial backgrounds (non-Whites). How much do you agree or disagree with this?
4. Some people believe that many in the U.S. negatively judge people from minority racial backgrounds (non-Whites) because the minority groups do not follow socially accepted behaviors. How much do you agree or disagree with this?
5. Some people believe that racial background will always be a determining factor in who gets ahead and who doesn't. How much do you agree or disagree with this conclusion?
6. It is fair to judge people by their racial background.

## APPENDIX B

### IRB APPROVED CONSENT FORMS

Reproductions of the IRB approved forms for Pilot Study 1 and the Main Study.

#### Pilot Study 1: IRB Consent Form, Page 1

Rose Howerter: Consent for Minimal Risk Research Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study	Page 1 of 2
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"><b>Temple IRB Approved</b> <b>1/29/2019</b></div>	
<b>Title of research:</b> Current social attitudes and how they move us Pilot study: News story	
<b>Investigator and Department:</b> Principle Investigator: Professor Deborah Cai, PhD, Department of Communication and Social Influence  Student Researcher: Rose Howerter, Media & Communication doctoral candidate	
<b>Why am I being invited to take part in this research?</b> We invite you to take part in a research study because you are a participant on Qualtrics and you are an adult over the age of 18.	
<b>What should I know about this research?</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Someone will explain this research to you.</li><li>• Whether or not you take part is up to you.</li><li>• You can choose not to take part.</li><li>• You can agree to take part and later change your mind.</li><li>• Your decision will not be held against you.</li><li>• You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.</li></ul>	
<b>Whom can I talk to about this research?</b> If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, contact the research team at (215) 204-1882, or email <a href="mailto:debcai@temple.edu">debcai@temple.edu</a> , or contact by mail at the following address:  Dr. Deborah Cai, Klein College of Media and Communication, Temple University, 334 Annenberg Hall, 2020 N. 13th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19122.  You may also contact Rose Howerter by email at <a href="mailto:rose.howerter@temple.edu">rose.howerter@temple.edu</a> .  This research has been reviewed and approved by an Institutional Review Board. You may talk to them at (215) 707-3390; or e-mail them at: <a href="mailto:irb@temple.edu">irb@temple.edu</a> for any of the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.</li><li>• You cannot reach the research team.</li><li>• You want to talk to someone besides the research team.</li><li>• You have questions about your rights as a research subject.</li><li>• You want to get information or provide input about this research.</li></ul>	
Document Revision Date: January 31, 2019	

## Pilot Study 1: IRB Consent Form, Page 2

Rose Howerter: Consent for Minimal Risk Research  
Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study

Page 2 of 2

### ***Why is this research being done?***

This study investigates participants' attitudes about race and culture in the United States. We are conducting this pilot study to evaluate one article that will be used in future research. The purpose of the pilot study is to assess whether the article is realistic and believable.

### ***How long will I be in this research?***

We expect that you will be in this research for less than 15 minutes.

### ***What happens if I agree to be in this research?***

If you consent to participate in this study, you will click on the CONTINUE button. Clicking on the CONTINUE button indicates your consent to take part in the study. You will be asked to read a news story, after which you will be asked questions about how you assess the news story as being realistic and believable. You will then answer questions about your attitude toward the story. You can expect to read the story and complete the questionnaire in about 15 minutes.

### ***What happens if I agree to be in this research, but change my mind later?***

Participants may voluntarily withdraw from participation at any time by closing the browser. Withdrawal from the study will not result in forfeiture of compensation.

### ***What happens to the information collected for this research?***

Once we have completed the data, any identifying information from Qualtrics that could be linked back to participants will be deleted from the data that are collected. The data set may be retained for comparative use in future research, in which case it will be stored securely in the researcher's office for up to five years.

### ***What will I be paid for taking part in this research?***

If you agree to take part in this research, we will pay you \$1 for your time and effort through Qualtrics. Federal tax law requires you to report this payment as income to the Internal Revenue Service. If you earn more than \$599 this year through research compensation, federal tax law requires you to report this payment as income to the Internal Revenue Service.

By clicking on the CONTINUE button below, I indicate my consent to participate in this study:

CONTINUE

Document Revision Date: January 31, 2019

## Main Study: IRB Consent Form, Page 1

Rose Howerter: Consent for Minimal Risk Research  
Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study

Page 1 of 3

**Temple IRB Approved**

**05/18/2020**

### ***Title of research:***

Communicating Current Social Attitudes

### ***Investigator and Department:***

**Principle Investigator:** Deborah Cai, Ph.D., Department of Communication and Social Influence, Klein College of Media and Communication, Temple University

**Student Investigator:** Rose Howerter, Doctoral Program in Media and Communication, Klein College of Media and Communication, Temple University

### ***What is this research about?***

We invite you to take part in research that studies current social attitudes held by adults living in the United States. In this study we are interested in finding out your opinions on prevailing attitudes about social norms, race, culture, and group membership.

### ***What should I know about this research?***

- Taking part in this research is voluntary. Whether you take part is up to you.
- If you don't take part, it won't be held against you.
- You can agree to take part now and later drop out, and it won't be held against you.
- If you don't understand, ask questions.
- You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.

### ***What happens if I agree to be in this research?***

If you consent to participate in this study, you will click on the "I Consent" button below. Clicking on the "I Consent" button indicates your consent to take part in the study. If you decide to take part in this research, the general procedures include the following. First, you must use a computer with a keyboard. You will be asked to take an initial set of attitude tests, which will require the use of a computer with a keyboard. The attitude tests cannot be completed on a mobile phone. Next, you will answer questions in a survey, read a news story and provide your opinion about the outcomes related to the story. Then, you will take another set of attitude tests at the end of the program. Finally, you will answer some general demographic questions. Expect to take from 30 minutes to one hour to complete this research study. You can complete this online study at your convenience from any computer with a keyboard and with access to the internet.

### ***What will I get by participating?***

There will be no direct benefits to you from your participation. If you agree to take part in this research, we will compensate you with \$2 for your time and effort through Mechanical Turk. At the completion of the survey, you will receive a unique completion code to enter into Mechanical Turk for compensation approval. We ask you to please read and respond to each section carefully and thoughtfully.

Document Revision Date: May 18, 2020



## Main Study: IRB Consent Form, Page 2

Rose Howerter: Consent for Minimal Risk Research  
Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study

Page 2 of 3

### ***What happens if I agree to be in this research, but change my mind later?***

Participants may voluntarily withdraw from participation at any time by closing the browser. However, only those who complete the survey, receive a unique completion code and enter that code into their Mechanical Turk task account will receive compensation upon approval.

### ***What happens to the information collected for this research?***

Once we have completed the data, any identifying information from Qualtrics and Mechanical Turk that could be linked back to participants will be deleted from the data that are collected. The data set may be retained for comparative use in future research, in which case it will be stored securely in the researcher's office for up to five years.

### ***Is there any way being in this research could be bad for me?***

There will be minimal risks for participating. Only the principal investigator and the student investigator will have access to the information you provide. The connection between your identity and your answers will be removed immediately after your responses to the survey are recorded. To the extent allowed by law, we limit the viewing of your personal information to people who have to review it. However, we cannot promise complete secrecy. The Temple University IRB (Institutional Review Board), and its affiliates, and other representatives of these organizations may inspect and copy your information.

Participants can skip questions if they feel uncomfortable answering, without loss of compensation.

You can withdraw from the study at any point. There are no other reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts associated with this study.

Because no identifying information is collected with this study, once you have completed the study, you will no longer be able to withdraw from the study.

### ***What else do I need to know about this research?***

The investigators can remove you from this research without your approval. Possible reasons for removal include failure to follow the instructions of the survey.

### ***Whom can I talk to about this research?***

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, contact the research team at Deborah Cai, 334 Annenberg Hall, 2020 N. 13th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19122.  
Email: debcai@temple.edu. Phone: 215-204-1882.

You may also contact Rose Howerter by email at rose.howerter@temple.edu.

This research has been reviewed and approved by an Institutional Review Board. You may talk to them at (215) 707-3390, or e-mail them at: irb@temple.edu for any of the following:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research subject.

Document Revision Date: May 18, 2020

### Main Study: IRB Consent Form, Page 3

Rose Howerter: Consent for Minimal Risk Research  
Permission to Take Part in a Human Research Study

Page 3 of 3

By clicking on the “I Consent” button below, I indicate my consent to participate in this study:

I Consent

Document Revision Date: May 18, 2020

## **APPENDIX C**

### **NEWS STORY**

A fictitious news story was developed based on real news articles from several newspapers in Pennsylvania. The news story was pilot tested before being used in the main study. The news story used in the main study is on the next page.

#### **Pilot Study 1 News Story**

The following news story was pilot tested as to whether participants viewed it as both believable and realistic.

#### **Copy-cat robbers sought in Wawa attack**

Philadelphia -- Two teens are being sought by police for allegedly attacking the cashier at the Wawa Store on the corner of 15th and Main, Saturday night, and getting away with more than \$100 and 12 cartons of candy.

The teens appear to be copy-cats of recent convenience store robberies in which one robber buys a hot coffee and then tosses the drink into the face of the unsuspecting cashier while the partner grabs money.

The cashier suffered second-degree burns on his face and arms before going to the hospital emergency. The cashier told police that the teens appeared to be young males about 15 or 16 years old, wearing jeans and green hoodies. The cashier said the teens entered the store around 11:30 p.m. Saturday night when there were no other customers. After the attack, the teens ran from store laughing as they headed down Main Street, said the cashier.

Police have released surveillance videos of the two robbers. Anyone who recognizes them is advised to call Philadelphia Police detectives at 555-123-4567.



## **Main Study News Story**

Based on the findings from Pilot Study 1, the above news story was used in the main study almost word for word. As it is neutral, without racial background information for any of the subjects, the news story served as the control for the manipulation experiment in the main study. Three other versions of the news story had a racial background inserted to describe the alleged robbers, to change the dynamics of engagement with the story. The racial backgrounds were Black, Asian, or White. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four versions of the news story.

The following news story without any racial identification served as the control. The remaining three versions of the news story had a racial background inserted at the indicated place.

### **Copy-cat robbers sought in Wawa attack**

Philadelphia -- Two teens are being sought by police for allegedly attacking the cashier at the Wawa Store on the corner of 15th and Main, Saturday night, and getting away with more than \$100 and 12 cartons of candy.

The teens appear to be copy-cats of recent convenience store robberies in which one robber buys a hot coffee and then tosses the drink into the face of the unsuspecting cashier while the partner grabs money.

The cashier suffered second-degree burns on his face and arms before going to the hospital emergency. The cashier told police that the teens appeared to be young [*race inserted: Black, Asian, or White*] males about 15 or 16 years old, wearing jeans and green hoodies. The cashier said the teens entered the store around 11:30 p.m. Saturday night when there were no other customers. After the attack, the teens ran from store laughing as they headed down Main Street, said the cashier.

Police have released surveillance videos of the two robbers. Anyone who recognizes them is advised to call Philadelphia Police detectives at 555-123-4567.

## APPENDIX D

### PILOT STUDY 2

Pilot Study 2 was conducted to discover whether names or headshots of people of various racial backgrounds could be accurately recognized. Two worksheets using the names from the lists below, and headshots of people were used for this test and are included on the page following the lists of names. Results from Pilot Study 2 were instrumental in building the Implicit Association Tests (IATs) for the main study.

#### Lists of Top Names

***Black and White Sounding Names.*** The lists of top White and Black sounding names were taken from the ABC News (2006) website featuring the book *Freakonomics*, by Levitt and Dubner (2005).

#### Black Names

##### Girls

- Imani\*
- Ebony\*
- Shanice
- Aaliyah
- Kiara\*
- Nia
- Deja
- Diamond

##### Boys

- DeShawn
- DeAndre
- Marquis\*
- Jamal\*
- Terrell
- Malik
- Trevon\*
- Andre

#### White Names

##### Girls

- Molly
- Amy\*
- Claire
- Emily\*
- Katie\*\*
- Madeline\*\*
- Katelyn\*
- Emma\*\*

##### Boys

- Jake
- Connor\*\*
- Tanner\*
- Wyatt\*\*
- Cody\*
- Dustin
- Luke\*\*
- Jack\*

*Note.* Names with the highest percentages of correct identification in the pilot study were chosen for the main study IATs.

\* Indicates the names chosen for the IAT for Blacks and Whites.

\*\* Indicates White sounding names chosen for the IAT for Asians and Whites.

***Asian Sounding Names.*** The list of names inspired by Asian American leaders was taken from BabyCenter.com (Lack, 2019). Names such as Amy or Bruce were not included because they could be mistaken for White sounding names. Only those names that could be recognized as Asian-inspired were included in the pilot study.

### **Asian Names**

#### **Girls**

- Chien\*
- Jhumpa
- Keiko
- Kimiko
- Ming-Na\*
- Sook
- Toshiko
- Yoshiko\*

#### **Boys**

- Ang
- Chang\*
- Dalip
- Jin\*
- Han
- Jeong\*
- Sanjay
- Seiji

*Note.* Names were chosen for the main study Asian-White IAT based on the highest percentages of correct identification in the pilot study.

\* Indicates names that were chosen for the IAT for Asians and Whites.

### **Name Study and Photo Study Worksheets**

The two worksheets used in Pilot Study 2 are included on the following pages. Because the original worksheets were in landscape format, the following are printed screenshots (photographs) of the worksheets to fit in this appendix.

<p><b>Name Study:</b> Names are words that can represent an individual's personal identity.</p> <p>After each name on the list, write in the <u>race</u> (from the list) and <u>sex</u> (M/F) typically associated with the name.</p>					
<div> A = Asian  B = Black  L = Latino  N =Native Am.  W = White </div>					
1. Molly WF	9. Jake	17. Imani	25. DeShawn	33. Chien-Shiung	41. Ang
2. Connor	10. Ebony	18. Amy	26. Jhumpa	34. DeAndre	42. Aaliyah
3. Marquis	11. Katelyn	19. Keiko	27. Tanner	35. Shanice	43. Kimiko
4. Kiara	12. Ming-Na	20. Jamal	28. Claire	36. Chang-Lin	44. Wyatt
5. Emily	13. Dalip	21. Cody	29. Nia	37. Terrell	45. Jin
6. Sook	14. Dustin	22. Katie	30. Han	38. Toshiko	46. Malik
7. Jeong	15. Deja	23. Sanjay	31. Seiji	39. Luke	47. Madeline
8. Jack	16. Trevon	24. Diamond	32. Emma	40. Yoshiko	48. Andre

**Photo study:** Physical appearance sends nonverbal messages without our even realizing it.

**Step 1:** Please look at the following photos and consider what messages you are receiving

**Step 2:** Write the race, age, sex, and emotional state of the person in each photo.

**Page 1**



**Photo 1**

race \_\_\_\_\_

age \_\_\_\_\_ sex \_\_\_\_\_

emotions \_\_\_\_\_

name \_\_\_\_\_



**Photo 2**

race \_\_\_\_\_

age \_\_\_\_\_ sex \_\_\_\_\_

emotions \_\_\_\_\_

name \_\_\_\_\_



**Photo 3**

race \_\_\_\_\_

age \_\_\_\_\_ sex \_\_\_\_\_

emotions \_\_\_\_\_

name \_\_\_\_\_



**Photo 4**

race \_\_\_\_\_

age \_\_\_\_\_ sex \_\_\_\_\_

emotions \_\_\_\_\_

name \_\_\_\_\_



**Photo 5**

race \_\_\_\_\_

age \_\_\_\_\_ sex \_\_\_\_\_

emotions \_\_\_\_\_

name \_\_\_\_\_



**Photo 6**

race \_\_\_\_\_

age \_\_\_\_\_ sex \_\_\_\_\_

emotions \_\_\_\_\_

name \_\_\_\_\_

**Step 2: RACE**

A = Asian

B = Black

L = Latino

N = Native Am.

W = White

**Step 3: Choose a name**  
from this list.

DeShawn

Trevon

Imani

Ebony

Dustin

Connor

Emily

Molly

Santiago

Matias

Isabella

Gabriella

Ang

Dalip

Chien-Shiung

Ming-Na

**Photo study:** Physical appearance sends nonverbal messages without our even realizing it.  
**Step 1:** Please look at the following photos and consider what messages you are receiving  
**Step 2:** Write the race, age, sex, and emotional state of the person in each photo.

**Page 2**

**Step 2: RACE**

A = Asian  
 B = Black  
 L = Latino  
 N = Native Am.  
 W = White

**Step 3: Choose a name**  
 from this list.

DeShawn  
 Ebony  
 Dustin  
 Connor  
 Emily  
 Molly  
 Santiago  
 Matias  
 Isabella  
 Gabriella  
 Jin  
 Han  
 Dalip  
 Chien-Shiung  
 Ming-Na  
 Kimiko



**Photo 1**

race \_\_\_\_\_  
 age \_\_\_\_\_ sex \_\_\_\_\_  
 emotions \_\_\_\_\_  
 name \_\_\_\_\_



**Photo 2**

race \_\_\_\_\_  
 age \_\_\_\_\_ sex \_\_\_\_\_  
 emotions \_\_\_\_\_  
 name \_\_\_\_\_



**Photo 3**

race \_\_\_\_\_  
 age \_\_\_\_\_ sex \_\_\_\_\_  
 emotions \_\_\_\_\_  
 name \_\_\_\_\_



**Photo 4**

race \_\_\_\_\_  
 age \_\_\_\_\_ sex \_\_\_\_\_  
 emotions \_\_\_\_\_  
 name \_\_\_\_\_

**Step 4: Which page of photos was easier to read? Check the best answer.**  
 Why?

\_\_\_\_\_ Page 1 photos were easier  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Page 2 photos were easier  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Both pages were easy  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Both pages were not easy

*Note.* The tightly cropped grayscale photographic headshots for the Photo Study worksheet, page 1, were provided by the Center for Open Science (n.d. b), an open-access website for materials and data to help researchers with projects (<https://osf.io/jrvvg8/>).

The color photographic headshots for the Photo Study worksheet, page 2, were provided free of charge from Dr. Adam Richards, an associate professor at Furman University. He developed the composite images for a previous project he was working on.

Because the worksheets were printed onto standard paper, all photographs appeared as grayscale photographs for the pilot test.

## **APPENDIX E**

### **PREJUDICE MEASURES**

Researchers have recommended using two measures to study prejudice and inequality: the Social Dominance Orientation Scale and the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale. Both scales have been associated with dehumanization. Each measure is explained below.

#### **Social Dominance Orientation**

The revised, shortened Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale developed by Ho et al. (2015) divides preference for social hierarchy into two dimensions: dominance and anti-egalitarianism. All eight items were used in the research. The con-traits were reversed coded. High scores indicate a strong preference for dominance and inequality.

##### **SDO7(s) Short Scale**

Items were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly oppose*) to 7 (*strongly favor*) and were averaged so that higher scores represented higher levels of SDO.

Pro-trait dominance:

1. An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.
2. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

Con-trait dominance:

3. No one group should dominate in society.
4. Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.

Pro-trait antiegalitarianism:

5. Group equality should not be our primary goal.
6. It is unjust to try to make groups equal.

Con-trait antiegalitarianism:

7. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
8. We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.



## Right-Wing Authoritarianism

The revised, shortened Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale with 15 items developed by Zakrisson (2005) provides a more focused analysis of submission to authority and conservative and traditional principles. Only eight questions (3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, and 15) were used in this research, as indicated by the asterisks.

### Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale

Items were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) and were averaged so that higher scores represented higher levels of RWA.

Items in the revised, short version of the RWA scale (counter-balanced items in italics).

1. Our country needs a powerful leader, in order to destroy the radical and immoral currents prevailing in society today.
2. *Our country needs free thinkers, who will have the courage to stand up against traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.*
- \*3. The “old-fashioned ways” and “old-fashioned values” still show the best way to live.
- \*4. *Our society would be better off if we showed tolerance and understanding for untraditional values and opinions.*
5. God’s laws about abortion, pornography and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, violations must be punished.
- \*6. *The society needs to show openness towards people thinking differently, rather than a strong leader, the world is not particularly evil or dangerous.*
7. It would be best if newspapers were censored so that people would not be able to get hold of destructive and disgusting material.
- \*8. *Many good people challenge the state, criticize the church and ignore “the normal way of living.”*
9. Our forefathers ought to be honored more for the way they have built our society, at the same time we ought to put an end to those forces destroying it.

10. *People ought to put less attention to the Bible and religion, instead they ought to develop their own moral standards.*
- \*11. There are many radical, immoral people trying to ruin things; the society ought to stop them.
12. *It is better to accept bad literature than to censor it.*
- \*13. Facts show that we have to be harder against crime and sexual immorality, in order to uphold law and order.
- \*14. *The situation in the society of today would be improved if troublemakers were treated with reason and humanity.*
- \*15. If the society so wants, it is the duty of every true citizen to help eliminate the evil that poisons our country from within.

## APPENDIX F

### RACISM MEASURES

The Old-Fashioned Racism (OFR) Scale and the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) were taken from McConahay et al. (1981) and modified for this study.

#### Old-Fashioned Racism Scale

Originally, the OFR had six items. McConahay et al. (1981, p. 569) added two more questions. “Deep in my heart, I know I am a white racist” was added as a filler in McConahay et al. (1981, p. 575), but this study adapted it (eliminating the word “white”) and included it in the OFR measure. Items were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) and were averaged so that higher scores represented higher levels of OFR.

1. I favor strong open housing laws that permit minority persons to rent or purchase housing even when the owner does not wish to rent or sell. (disagree and reverse coded)
2. It is a bad idea for blacks and whites to marry one another. (agree) (*This study used “people from different racial backgrounds” instead of “blacks and whites.”*)
3. It was wrong for the United States Supreme Court to outlaw segregation in its 1954 decision. (agree)
4. If a black family with about the same income and education as I have moved next door, I would mind it a great deal. (agree) (*This study used “if a family from a different racial background” instead of “black family.”*)
5. Generally speaking, I favor full racial integration. (disagree and reverse coded)
6. Black people are generally not as smart as white. (agree) (*This study used “Minority people” instead of “Black people.”*)
7. I am opposed to open or fair housing laws. (agree)
8. Deep in my heart, I know I am a [white] racist. (agree)

### Modern Racism Scale

The MRS originally started with six items. McConahay et al. (1981, on page 569) added two more questions. Responses viewed as racist were labeled in parentheses. The responses labeled as “disagree” were reverse coded in this study. Items were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) and were averaged so that higher scores represented higher levels of MRS.

1. It is easy to understand the anger of black\* people in America. (disagree and reverse coded)
2. Blacks\* have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have. (agree)
3. The streets are not safe these days without a policeman around. (agree)
4. Blacks\* are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights. (agree)
5. Over the past few years blacks\* have gotten more economically than they deserve. (agree)
6. Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks\* than they deserve. (agree)
7. Blacks\* should not push themselves where they're not wanted. (agree)
8. Discrimination against blacks\* is no longer a problem in the United States. (agree)

\* *This study used the terms “minority people” or “minority racial groups” instead of “Blacks” or “Black people.”*

## APPENDIX G

### ROTATED COMPONENT MATRIX

#### Principal Component Analysis, Rotated Component Matrix for 66 Items Relating to Stigma

Rotated Component Matrix <sup>a</sup>									
	Component								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BZS_D2 not share personal items, pencil or work tool, with other races	<b>.855</b>	.151	.121	.015	.216	.092	-.031	.059	-.071
OFR6 minorities not as smart as Whites	<b>.837</b>	.151	.194	.062	.169	.020	.056	.138	.069
BZS_D3a minorities too different, so best to limit contact	<b>.812</b>	.234	.157	.072	.266	.145	-.017	.035	.021
BZS_D1b prefer all neighbors be same race as myself	<b>.755</b>	.261	.124	.043	.139	.304	.136	.032	.007
ECS10 Struggle to interact with different race, rev	<b>-.752</b>	-.060	-.044	-.087	-.169	.007	.075	-.171	-.232
BZS_SL2b It is fair to judge people by race	<b>.752</b>	.136	.155	.119	.230	-.029	.073	.190	.110
BZS_D1c best not to date different race	<b>.747</b>	.226	.077	.121	.084	.332	.273	.100	-.117
OFR2 interracial marriage is bad idea	<b>.740</b>	.201	.098	.126	.114	.237	.251	.173	-.065
OFR4 greatly minds if different race next door to me	<b>.732</b>	.159	.156	.116	.166	.002	-.164	.067	.084
BZS_D3b marrying different race only cause problems	<b>.720</b>	.210	.066	.125	.142	.352	.243	.127	-.100
OFR8 "Deep in my heart I know I am a racist"	<b>.715</b>	.119	.162	-.010	.109	.025	.148	.348	.001
BZS_NA1 minorities trouble with law because weak character from upbringing	<b>.695</b>	.430	.122	.055	.203	.190	.016	.046	.078
BZS_D1a other races should stick with own group	<b>.690</b>	.245	.088	.134	.205	.343	.073	.068	-.002

BZS_SL1 have good reason to look down on minorities	<b>.676</b>	.399	.165	.183	.215	.145	.039	.129	.130
OFR3 wrong to outlaw segregation	<b>.664</b>	.100	.140	.322	.110	.035	-.238	.007	.106
BZS_NA3a minorities live in poverty because no will power	<b>.652</b>	.531	.222	.126	.173	.140	-.049	.000	.048
BZS_NA2 minorities trouble with law because self-indulgent from upbringing	<b>.626</b>	.547	.203	.104	.208	.187	-.033	.016	.061
MRS7 minorities should not push to where not wanted	<b>.620</b>	.324	.259	.275	.161	.077	.094	-.104	.121
MRS5 minorities gotten more economically than deserve	<b>.613</b>	.485	.336	.156	.157	-.062	.160	-.087	.128
MRS8 discrimination of minorities no longer a US problem	<b>.608</b>	.314	.343	.123	.084	-.128	.335	-.188	.081
BZS_NA7 minorities trouble with law because take high risks from upbringing	<b>.599</b>	.542	.185	.107	.248	.157	-.022	.050	.074
SDO2 ProDom some groups inferior	<b>.596</b>	.237	.458	.273	.128	.019	-.067	.040	.023
MRS6 government, media show more respect to minorities than deserve	<b>.585</b>	.403	.392	.193	.159	-.070	.177	-.110	.079
BZS_SL4a minorities have more rights than deserve	<b>.578</b>	.411	.181	.240	.229	.030	.156	-.039	.181
MRS2 minorities have too much influence on school desegregation	<b>.550</b>	.412	.250	.283	.220	-.011	-.058	-.067	.152
MRS4 minorities too demanding in push for equal rights	<b>.531</b>	.493	.369	.224	.162	-.066	.226	-.074	.121
BZS_NA3b corrected my race group has stronger will power	<b>.501</b>	.309	.054	.116	.341	.216	-.140	.162	-.066

BZS_L3b other races do not have same high quality moral training	<b>.491</b>	.281	.074	.201	.480	.257	-.028	-.013	.026
ECS12 "If I disagreed with different race, think it a personal attack", rev	<b>-.436</b>	-.008	.103	-.207	-.294	-.048	-.143	-.379	-.312
OFR7 oppose fair housing laws	<b>.419</b>	.172	.281	.221	.155	-.056	.015	.049	.214
BZS_C3 minorities in poverty need to change their negative behaviors to succeed	.231	<b>.717</b>	.179	.173	.112	.065	.183	.125	-.055
BZS_C4 minorities live in poverty because unwilling to take responsibility	.457	<b>.711</b>	.157	.217	.189	.079	.096	-.014	.016
BZS_C1b if minorities in poverty try harder, could be as well off as Whites	.327	<b>.710</b>	.207	.283	.096	.007	.068	-.029	-.021
BZS_C2 minorities trouble with law because not willing to work for what want	.408	<b>.649</b>	.209	.194	.186	.116	.016	.139	-.039
BZS_C1a success is being willing to work hard, so minorities are poor	.535	<b>.609</b>	.189	.191	.181	.136	.096	-.025	-.026
BZS_SL2a negatively judge minorities because they don't follow accepted behaviors	.327	<b>.540</b>	.185	.241	.179	.124	-.021	.346	.033
BZS_SL3 I'm really mad when another race gets job but my friend more qualified	.296	<b>.463</b>	.065	.275	.210	.072	.161	.188	.004
SDO7 ConAnti should equalize conditions, rev	.113	.153	<b>.807</b>	.077	.046	.092	.233	-.028	.034
SDO3 ConDom no one dominate, rev	.155	.158	<b>.744</b>	.153	.032	.007	-.079	.049	-.034
SDO8 ConAnti give all equal chance, rev	.271	.088	<b>.704</b>	.058	.025	.160	.142	-.003	.111

SDO6 ProAnti unjust to make equal	.435	.278	<b>.606</b>	.104	.105	-.075	.302	.014	-.126
SDO4 ConDom bottom as deserving, rev	.194	.109	<b>.596</b>	.125	.035	.232	-.086	-.001	.188
SDO1 ProDom ideal society top v bottom	.511	.261	<b>.540</b>	.258	.132	-.072	.007	.099	-.059
SDO5 ProAnti equality not primary goal	.271	.116	<b>.526</b>	.031	.178	-.048	.346	.054	-.359
OFR1 favor strong open housing laws to protect minorities, rev	-.112	.276	<b>.347</b>	.122	.064	.051	.248	-.137	.335
RWA13 be harder against crime to uphold law and order	.160	.218	.082	<b>.815</b>	.170	-.031	.074	.045	.041
RWA11 radical immoral ruin things, stop them	.239	.162	.097	<b>.754</b>	.158	-.012	.106	.053	.104
RWA15 citizens duty to end evil poisoning country	.183	.160	.040	<b>.730</b>	.110	-.078	-.074	.125	-.037
RWA8 good people challenge state, church, rev	.011	.037	.118	<b>.615</b>	.027	.180	.040	-.131	.051
RWA3 Old- fashioned values best way	.278	.345	.188	<b>.579</b>	.048	-.002	.302	.027	-.046
MRS3 streets not safe without policemen	.283	.319	.119	<b>.507</b>	.208	-.064	.175	.125	-.106
RWA14 treat troublemakers with reason, humanity, rev	-.143	.185	.297	<b>.468</b>	.149	.213	.318	-.186	-.035
BZS_L1b I have very different values than other races	.358	.146	.051	.106	<b>.782</b>	.131	.029	.047	.031
BZS_L3a other races have values that I don't understand	.330	.173	.051	.195	<b>.741</b>	-.024	.100	.102	.123
BZS_L1a I am very different from other races	.365	.152	.112	.097	<b>.722</b>	.151	-.016	.063	.015
BZS_L2 other races have behaviors that I don't understand	.245	.220	.099	.206	<b>.706</b>	.099	.066	.157	.083



BZS_L4 other races not have same moral standards, so get into trouble	.491	.410	.113	.235	<b>.499</b>	.196	.043	.029	.079
REGR factor score for Blatant Dehuman Scale	-.367	-.104	-.070	-.063	-.224	<b>-.592</b>	.013	-.081	-.011
OFR5 favor full racial integration, rev	.240	.115	.219	.334	-.015	<b>.567</b>	.096	-.030	.261
REGR factor score for Feeling Prejudice	-.171	-.062	-.089	.181	-.247	<b>-.530</b>	-.102	-.186	-.133
RWA6 open to difference, world not dangerous, rev	.005	.114	.327	.414	.105	.112	<b>.558</b>	.013	.007
RWA4 tolerance for untraditional better, rev	.068	.198	.262	.402	-.025	.162	<b>.529</b>	.019	.128
MRS1 easy to understand anger of minorities, rev	.139	.387	.394	.223	.025	.017	<b>.399</b>	-.355	.191
BZS_SL4b race always a determining factor in who gets ahead	.154	.099	.020	.009	.139	.166	-.106	<b>.726</b>	-.039
ECS1noe "Imagine interacting with different race, negative stereotypes", rev	-.387	-.093	.059	-.029	-.132	.037	-.166	<b>-.532</b>	-.333
ECS1 Ease of communication with different race	-.276	.057	-.120	-.010	-.177	-.220	-.011	-.104	<b>-.699</b>

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.  
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 16 iterations.

## APPENDIX H

### PROPOSED RACIAL STIGMA DIMENSIONS

The following dimensions proposed to study the stigma of race are based on principal component analyses of items from various measures and adapted from Bresnahan and Zhuang (2011), Ho et al. (2015), Kteily et al. (2015), McConahay et al. (1981), and Zakrisson et al. (2005). The seven proposed racial stigma dimensions consist of 47 items, which are arranged starting with the highest factor loadings.

**Distancing** (segregation, separation, tendency to distance oneself; modified with two additional questions)

1. People should not share personal items such as a pencil or work tool with a person from a different racial background. (D2)
2. People from minority races are too different from the rest of society, so it's best to limit contact with them to only what's necessary. (D3a and ECS10)
3. I would prefer that all my neighbors be of the same racial background as myself. (D1b and OFR4)
4. It is fair to judge people by their racial background. (SL2b)
5. It's best not to date a person from a different racial background. (D1c)
6. Marrying a person from a different racial background will only cause problems. (D3b and OFR2)
7. Deep in my heart, I know I am a [white] racist. (OFR8)
8. People from other races should stick with members of their own racial groups. (D1a)

**Negative Attribution** (character flaws and bad judgment; modified with three additional questions)

1. Minority people are generally not as smart as Whites.\* (OFR6)
2. When a person from a minority racial background gets into trouble with the law, it's because that person has a weak character as a result of their racial upbringing. (NA1)
3. Some people believe that many in the U.S. have good reason to look down upon people from minority racial backgrounds (non-Whites). How much do you agree or disagree with this? (SL1)
4. People from minority racial backgrounds live in poverty because they have no will power. (NA3a)
5. People from minority racial backgrounds get into trouble with the law because they are self-indulgent as a result of their racial upbringing. (NA2)
6. People from minority racial backgrounds get into trouble with the law because they have a tendency to take high risks as a result of their racial upbringing. (NA7)
7. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups. (SDO2 Pro-trait Dominance)
8. People from my racial group have stronger will power than people from other racial groups. (NA3b)

*\* This study used the terms "minority people" instead of "Black people" from the original Old-Fashioned Racism Scale.*

**Backlash\*\*** (too demanding, and don't know their place; a new racial stigma dimension)

1. People from minority racial groups should not push themselves where they're not wanted.\* (MRS7)
2. Over the past few years minority racial groups have gotten more economically than they deserve.\* (MRS5)
3. Discrimination against minority racial group members is no longer a problem in the United States.\* (MRS8)

4. Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to minority racial groups than they deserve.\* (MRS6)
5. Some people think that people from minority racial backgrounds (non-Whites) have more rights than they deserve. How much do you agree or disagree with this thought? (SL4a)
6. Minority racial groups have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.\* (MRS2)
7. Minority racial groups are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.\* (MRS4)

*\* This study used the terms “minority people” or “minority racial groups” instead of “Blacks” or “Black people” from the original Modern Racism Scale.*

**Controllability** (condition could be prevented; original stigma dimension retained)

1. Some people think that persons from minority racial backgrounds (non-Whites) who live in poverty need to change their negative behaviors before they can succeed. How much do you agree or disagree with this belief? (C3)
2. Some people think that persons from minority racial backgrounds live in poverty because they are unwilling to take responsibility for themselves and their families. How much do you agree or disagree with this belief? (C4)
3. Some people think that if persons from minority racial backgrounds (non-Whites) who live in poverty would just try harder, they could be just as well off as Whites. How much do you agree or disagree with this belief? (C1b)
4. When some people see a person from a minority racial background get into trouble with the law, they assume it’s because the person is not willing to work for what they want. How much do you agree or disagree with this belief? (C2)
5. Because success is a matter of how hard a person is willing to work, many people from minority racial backgrounds are poor. (C1a)

***Social Inequality\*\**** (oppression and social domination; a new racial stigma dimension modified from the social dominance orientation scale)

1. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups. (SDO7 con-trait, reverse)
2. No one group should dominate in society. (SDO3 con-trait, reverse)
3. We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed. (SDO8 con-trait, reverse)
4. It is unjust to try to make groups equal. (SDO6 pro-trait)
5. Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top. (SDO4 con-trait, reverse)
6. An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom. (SDO1 pro-trait)
7. Group equality should not be our primary goal. (SDO5 pro-trait)

***Social Control \*\**** (authoritarianism; a new racial stigma dimension modified from the right-wing authoritarianism scale)

1. We have to be harder against crime and sexual immorality in order to uphold law and order. (RWA13)
2. There are many radical, immoral people trying to ruin things; the society ought to stop them. (RWA11)
3. It is the duty of every true citizen to help eliminate the evil that poisons our country from within. (RWA15)
4. Many good people challenge the state, criticize the church, and ignore “the normal way of living.” (RWA8 reverse)
5. The “old-fashioned ways” and “old-fashioned values” still show the best way to live. (RWA3)
6. The streets are not safe these days without a policeman around. (MRS3)

**Labeling** (assigning detrimental descriptions; original stigma dimension retained)

1. I have very different values than people of other racial backgrounds. (L1b)
2. People of other racial backgrounds have different values that I don't understand. (L3a)
3. I am very different from people of other racial backgrounds. (L1a)
4. People of other racial backgrounds have different behaviors that I don't understand. (L2)
5. Because people from other racial backgrounds do not have the same moral standards, they often get into trouble. (L4)
6. People from other racial backgrounds do not have the same high quality of moral training that I learned. (L3b)

### **Characteristic of Stigma**

***Dehumanization*** (less than human; a new secondary racial stigma dimension)

This stigma characteristic is supportive of the first seven racial stigma dimensions, and it is recommended that researchers use the Ascent of Man measure of blatant dehumanization (Kteily et al., 2015) and the feeling prejudice thermometer (Greenwald et al., 2009) as slider scales rather than Likert scales to assess participants on their explicit attitudes when it comes to assigning humanity and warmth to different racial groups.

**\*\* Italics designate new labels for the stigma dimensions.**