Ulrich Klocke (Berlin) & Marc Saxler (Maastricht)
klocke@hu-berlin.de
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Institut für Psychologie
Sozial- und Organisationspsychologie

Reactions to discrimination

Devaluing other minority groups or feeling more sympathy for them?

Bochum, September 23rd 2014

With many thanks to

Elisa Hüntelmann and Vicky Wagner for conceptual input and collection of data

and Anne Bachmann for support in developing the scales measuring perceived discrimination

Overview

I. Possible effects of discrimination on outgroup attitudes

II. Social dominance orientation (SDO) as a possible moderator variable

III. Results of three studies

1. Ninth and tenth graders in schools of Berlin (discrimination due to ethnicity and religion)
2. Christians in Germany (discrimination due to religion)
3. Gays and lesbians in Germany (discrimination due to sexual orientation)

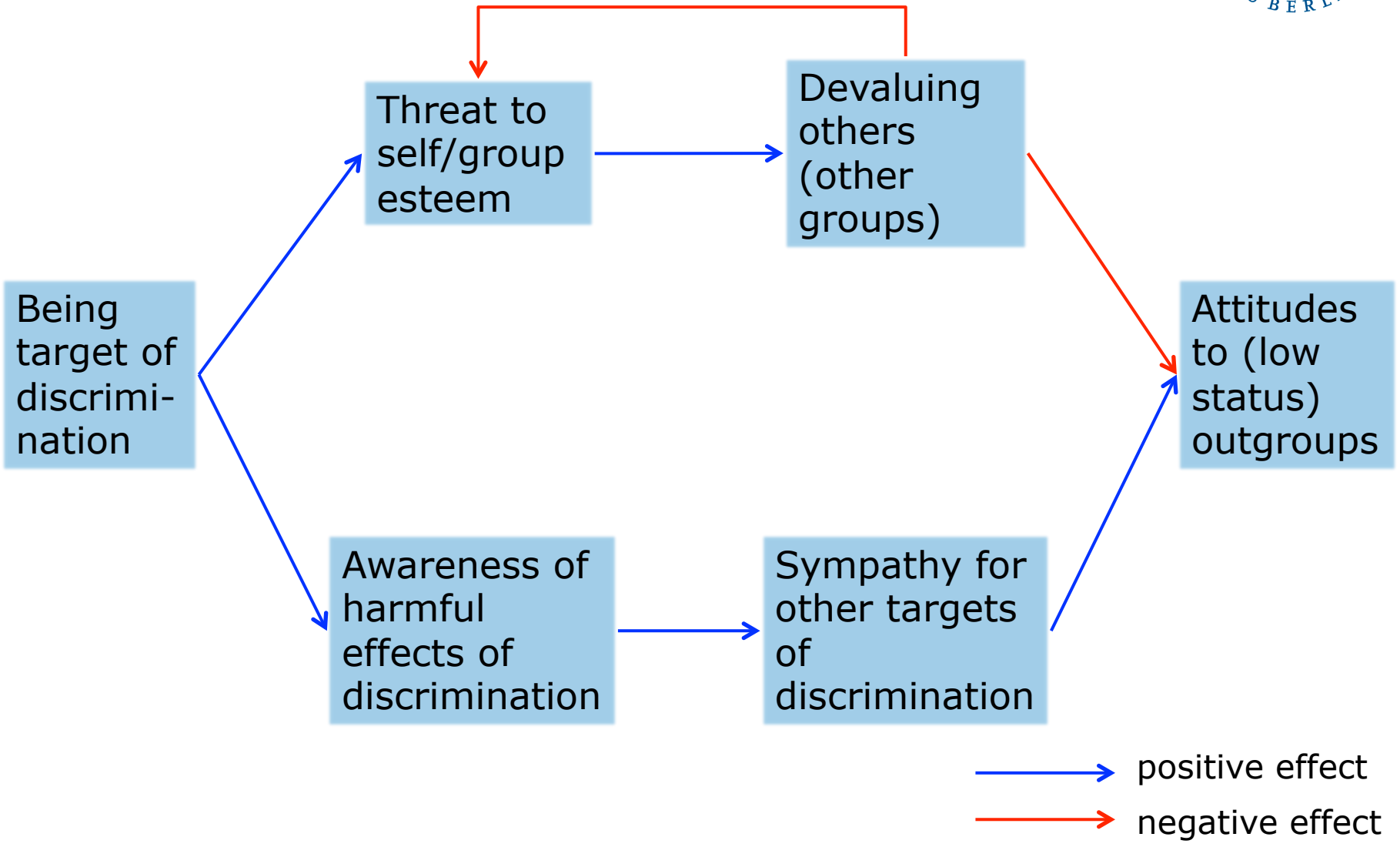
IV. Discussion

Existing research: Effects of Discrimination on Attitudes to Outgroups (Prejudice)

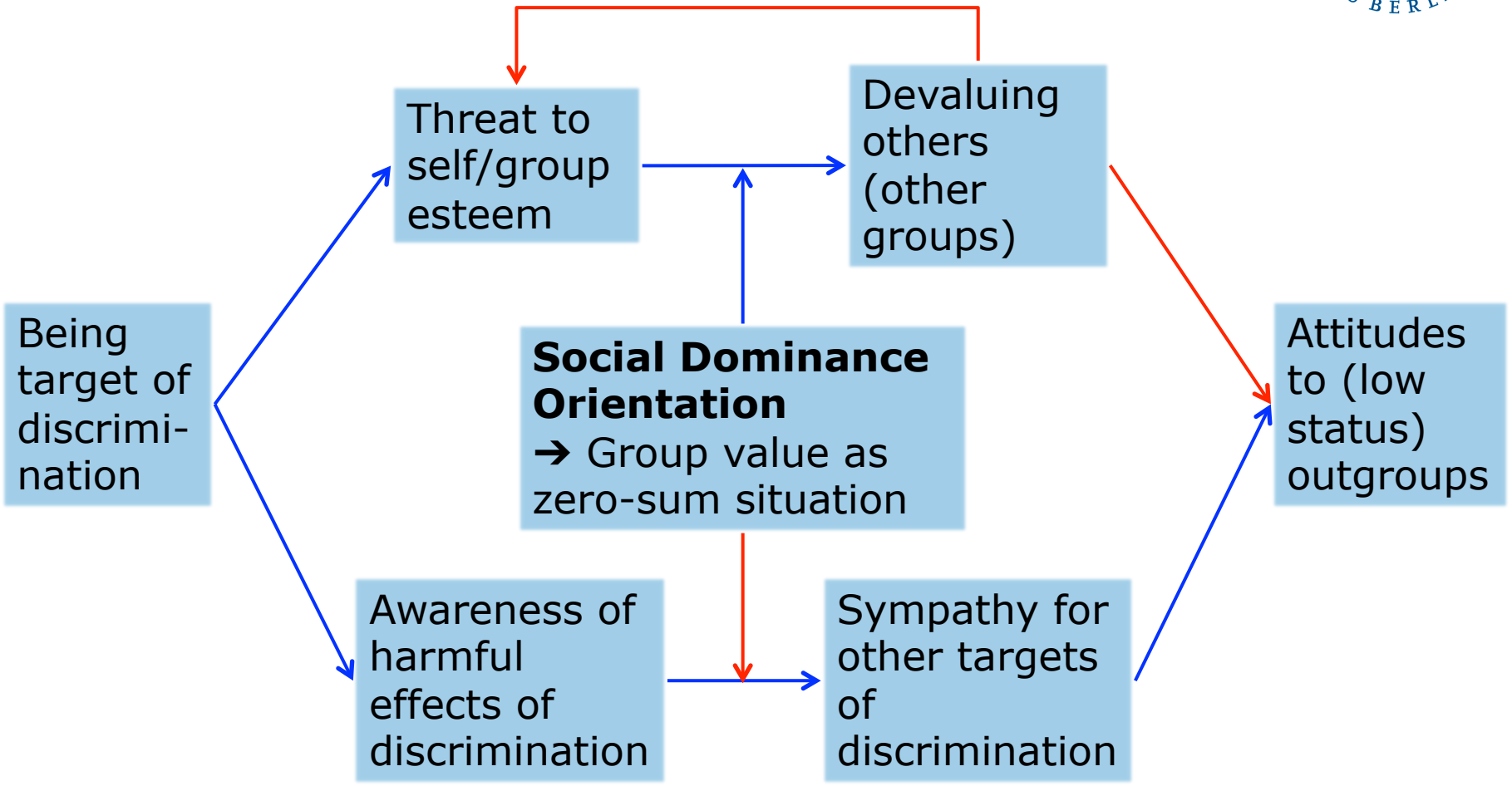
Perceived discrimination of own ethnic group

- had negative relationships with attitudes to lesbians and gays in two studies with secondary school students (Simon, 2008; Teney & Submaranian, 2010)
- and positive relationship/effect on attitudes to other ethnic minority groups in five studies (Craig & Richeson, 2012)

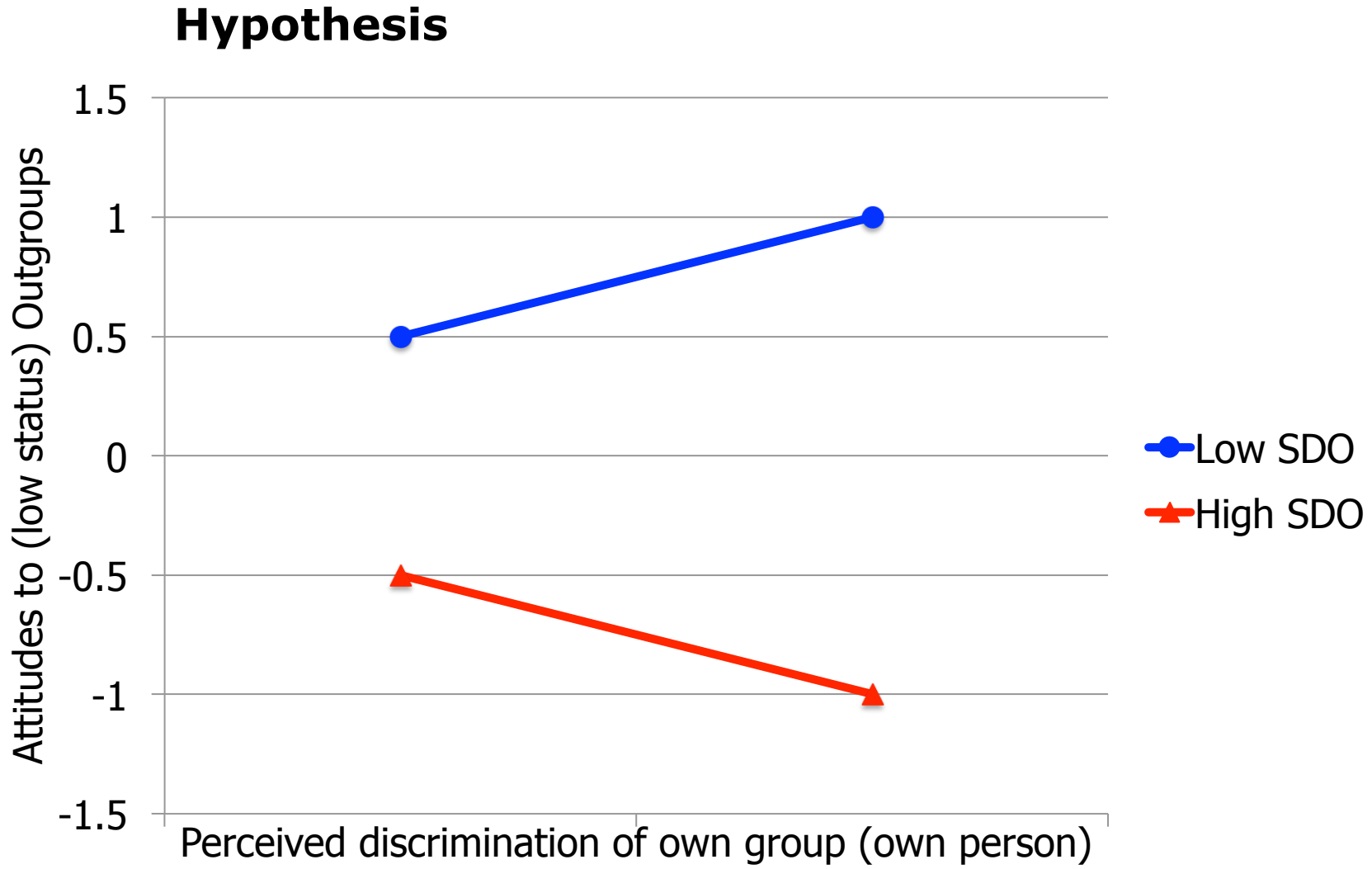
Theoretical explanations: Effects of Discrimination on Attitudes to Outgroups



Possible Moderator: Social Dominance Orientation (vs. Egalitarian Values)



Possible Moderator: Social Dominance Orientation (vs. Egalitarian Values)



Study 1: Pupils in Berlin (2011/2012)

- 479 ninth and tenth graders in 26 classes of ten schools (representative for schools in Berlin)
  - assessment (mostly online) in class setting during school time
- 55% male, *M* = 15.2 years old (*SD* = 1.0)
- T1 Sept./Oct. 2011, T2 June/July 2012 (*N*= 328)

Study 1: Measures

Variable	Number of items, scale range: item examples	Cb. α	*M* (*SD*)
Perc. indiv. discriminat. due to ethnicity/religion	12 items, 0-3 scales: „Within the last 12 months, in my presence, others made negative remarks about people of my religion." „... about people of my origin or skin colour."	.80	0.2 (0.3)
Social dominance orientation	6 items, 0-4 scales: „It is probably okay that some groups are at the top of society and others at the bottom."	.76	1.4 (0.8)
Cognitive attitudes to lesbians/gays	7 items, 0-4 scales: „Lesbian couples should be allowed to marry with the same rights as in marriages between man and woman." „Gay couples ..."	.94	3.0 (1.1)
Affective attitudes to lesbians/female bis.	5 items, 0-4 scales: „How comf. would you feel in the following sit.? You learn that one of your friends is lesbian."	.81	1.7 (0.7)
Affective attitudes to gays/male bisexuals	5 items, 0-4 scales: „... one of your friends is gay."	.87	1.5 (0.8)
Implicit attitudes to lesbians and gays	Affective Misattribution Procedure with 21 lesbian and 25 gay couples as primes (Payne et al., 2005)	.92	.47

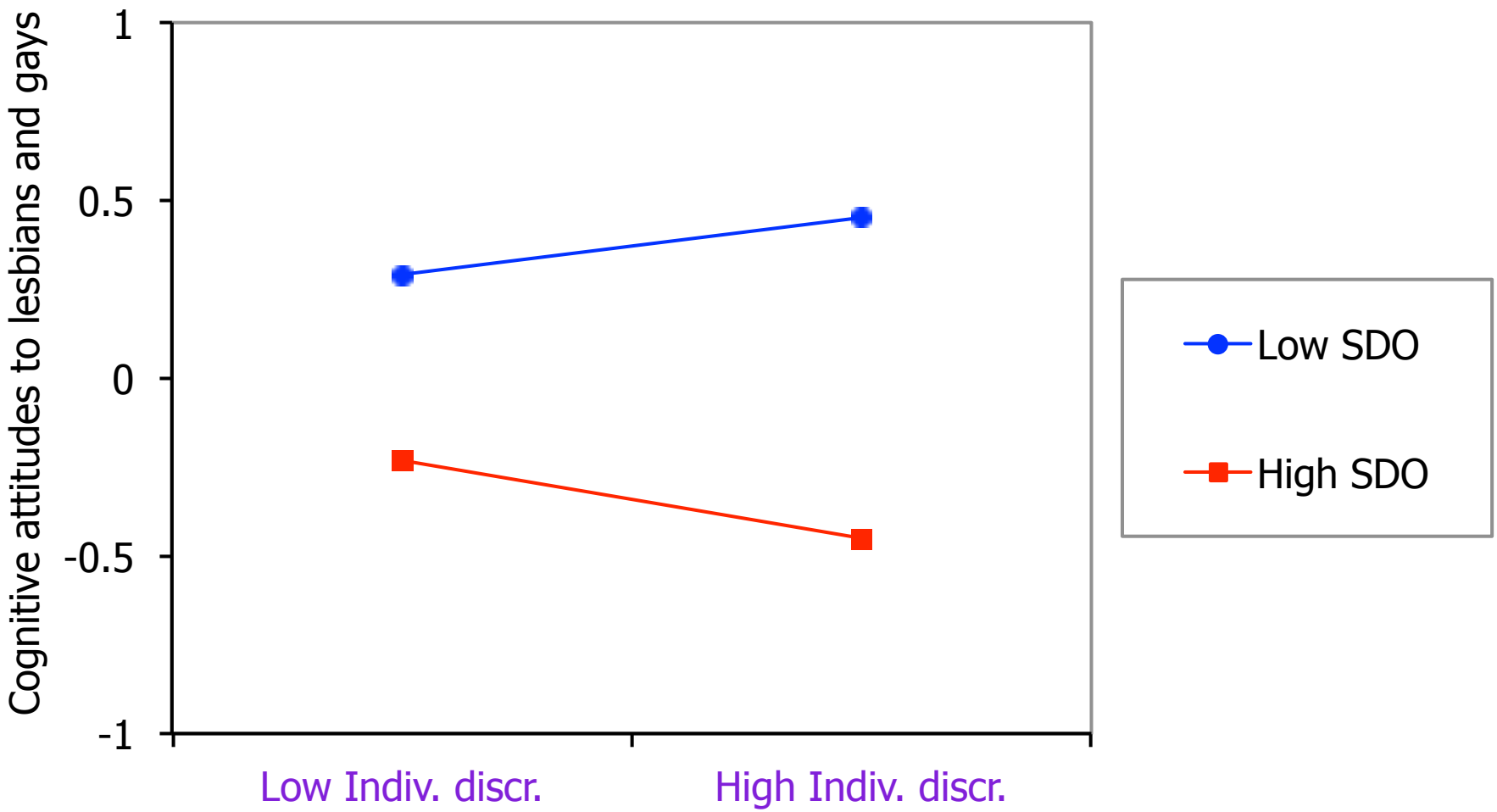
Study 1: Results

Multi-level analyses	Cognit.	Affect. Lesb./Bis.	Affect. Gay/ Bisex.	Impl.
Female (vs. male) sex	*** 0.14	*** -0.30	*** 0.49	-0.09
Turkish/arabic migrat.	*** -0.22	** -0.17	*** -0.15	-0.07
Endorsing trad. gender roles	*** -0.16	-0.10	*** -0.16	*** -0.25
Religiousness	*** -0.21	* -0.12	-0.01	# -0.13
Contact to LGB	*** 0.13	*** 0.22	*** 0.27	# 0.11
Educational level	0.04	# -0.11	0.04	0.10
Economic situation	0.03	0.07	0.06	-0.05
Indiv. discrimination	-0.01	0.03	0.02	0.07
SDO	*** -0.36	* -0.13	** -0.14	-0.06
Indiv. discr. x SDO	* **-0.09**	-0.07	* **-0.08**	0.07

Betas of standardized variables in the cells. # $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, * $p < .01$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Bold = effect also sign. ($p < .05$) for longitudinal prediction of attitudes at T2 controlling for attitudes at T1

Study 1: Interaction
Perceived Indiv. Discrimination x SDO



Study 1: Discussion

- Expected interaction SDO x perceived individual discrimination found
  - on cognitive attitudes and affective attitudes to gays
  - but not on affective attitudes to lesbians and implicit attitudes

Open questions

- Possible to replicate with different ingroups and different outgroups?
- Is the effect stronger for *group based* discrimination compared to *individual* discrimination?

Study 2: Christians in Germany (2013)

- 146 Christians in Germany (75 Catholic, 40 Protestant, 24 Free Church, 1 Orthodox, 6 other)
  - online
  - recruited by contacting different churches and online groups (e.g. in Facebook)
- 38% male, *M* = 40 years old (*SD* = 15)
- Attitudes to
  - two exclusive outgroups (Muslims and atheists)
  - two non-exclusive/overlapping outgroups (Lesbians/gays and persons with disabilities)

Study 2: Measures

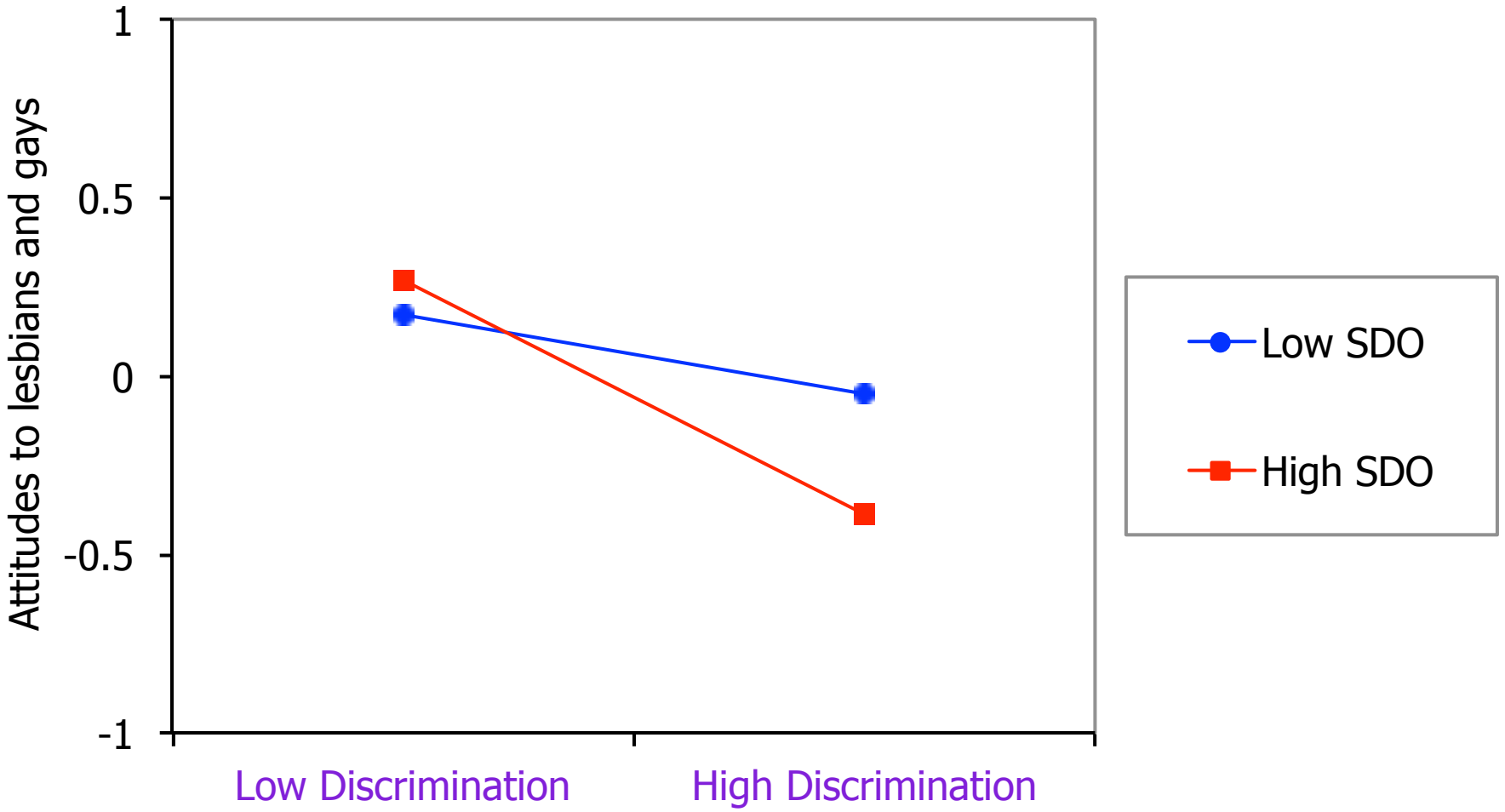
Variable	Number of items, scale range: item examples	Cb. α	*M* (*SD*)
Perc. indiv. discrimin. due to religion	9 items, 0-3 scales: „Within the last 12 months, others made derogatory remarks about me due to my religion“	.92	0.5 (0.7)
Perc. group discrimin. due to religion	7 items, 0-4 scales: „Germany prefers to care for religious minorities instead of Christians.“	.89	1.5 (1.0)
Social dominance orientation	11 items, 0-4 scales: „It would be good, if all groups had equal rights.“ (reversed)	.82	1.0 (0.6)
Attitudes to lesbians/ gays	9 items, 0-4 scales: „I would feel uncomfortable if my son tells me he is gay.“ „... daughter ... lesbian“ (reversed)	.93	3.1 (1.0)
Attitudes to atheists	8 items, 0-4 scales: „Atheists should no be allowed to practice professions in which they work with children or teenagers.“ (reversed)	.80	3.4 (0.6)
Attitudes to muslims	9 items, 0-4 scales: „The muslims belong to Germany.“	.89	2.7 (0.9)
Attitudes to persons with disabilities	7 items, 0-4 scales: „For disabled people, too much efforts are made in Germany.“ (reversed)	.77	3.5 (0.6)

Study 2: Results

	Attitudes to ...							
	Lesb./gays			Atheists		Muslims		Disabled
Age		0.03			-0.10	*	-0.17	-0.08
Educational level		0.04		**	0.21	**	0.18	0.13
Female (vs. male) sex		0.11			0.07		-0.05	0.08
Religiousness	**	-0.24			0.03	**	0.27	0.10
Relig. fundamentalism	***	-0.39		**	-0.32	**	-0.28	0.01
Relig. reflexivity		0.13			0.14		0.05	0.15
Indiv. discrim.		-0.07	** -0.22		0.02		0.03	0.12
Group discrim.	*	-0.18		*	-0.22	***	-0.38	-0.11
SDO		-0.07			-0.05	***	-0.31	*** -0.36
Indiv. disc. x SDO		-0.11	# -0.11		-0.04		0.04	0.00
Group disc. x SDO		-0.04			0.02		-0.08	0.01

Standardized Betas in the cells. # $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Study 2: Interaction Perceived Discrimination x SDO



Study 2: Discussion

- Perceived discrimation of whole *group* more likely to increase prejudice than *individual* discrimination
- Discrimination only increased prejudice against groups perceived as hostile/competitive (low warmth) towards own group (Muslims, gays/lesbians, and atheists, but not disabled)
- Social Dominance Orientation only increases prejudice to groups perceived as low status/competence (Muslims and disabled)
- (Marginally significant) replication of discrimination x SDO interaction on attitudes to lesbians and gays

Study 3: Gays and Lesbians in Germany (2014)

- *N* = 847: 465 self-identified as „gay", 280 as „lesbian" and 102 otherwise but involved in a gay/lesbian relationship within the past 24 months (52 „bisexual", 20 „pansexual", 13 „queer")
  - online
  - recruited by contacting different LGBT social networks (e.g. lesarion, GayRomeo)
- *M*(age) = 35 years old (range: 17 to 76, *SD* = 12)
- Systematically assessing attitudes to groups in all four quadrants of the *Stereotype Content Model* (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Asbrock, 2010)
  - Low competence / low warmth: Muslims, (Trans*?)
  - Low competence / high warmth: Elderlies
  - High competence / low warmth: Very successful people
  - High competence / high warmth: Physicians

Study 3: Measures

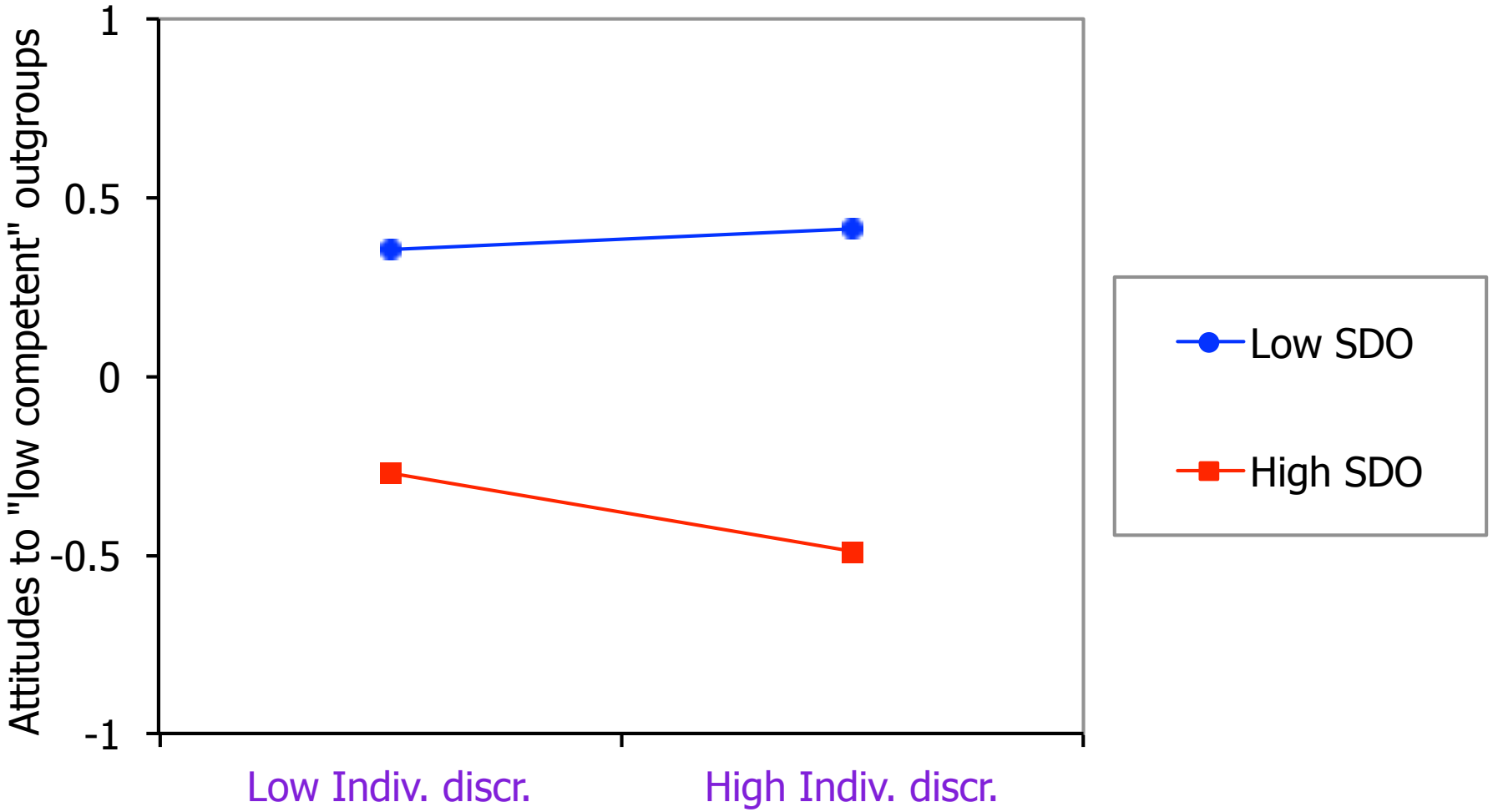
Variable	Number of items, scale range: item examples	Cb. α	M (SD)
Perc. indiv. discriminat.	11 items, 0-3 scales: „Within the last 24 months, others treated me less politely due to my (alleged) sex. orient.“	.89	0.7 (0.6)
Perc. group discriminat.	9 items, 0-4 scales: „Most people in Germany have a positive view of homosexuals.“ (reversed)	.79	2.4 (0.6)
Social dominance orientation	8 items, 0-4 scales: „It would be good, if all groups had equal rights.“ (reversed)	.70	0.8 (0.6)
Attitudes to muslims	8 items, 0-4 scales: „The muslim culture fits well into the Western world.“	.88	2.8 (0.8)
Attitudes to transgenders	9 items, 0-4 scales: „I would feel comfortable to work closely together with a trans* person.“	.83	3.0 (0.7)
Attitudes to elderlies	7 items, 0-4 scales: „I like it when old people try to start a conversation with me.“	.69	2.8 (0.5)
Attitudes to very successful people	8 items, 0-4 scales: „People who are right at the top usually deserve their high position.“	.69	2.0 (0.5)
Attitudes to physicians	6 items, 0-4 scales: „Most physicians make a good job.“	.74	2.6 (0.6)

Study 3: Results on „Low Competent" Outgroups

	Attitudes to ... Muslims		Trans*		Elderlies		**Average**	
Age	*	-0.06	***	-0.13	***	0.23		**0.02**
Male sex (vs. female and other)		0.01	***	-0.24	#	-0.07	*	**-0.08**
Cisgender (vs. trans*)		-0.04				0.02		
Educational level	***	0.19	**	0.09		-0.01	***	**0.15**
Right-wing political orient.	***	-0.30	***	-0.16	#	-0.06	***	**-0.25**
Personal success	***	0.11	**	0.09		0.07	**	**0.10**
Religious affiliations		-0.01	**	-0.09		0.06		**-0.01**
Indiv. discrim.	*	-0.08	#	0.06		-0.05		**-0.04**
Group discrim.		-0.05		0.03		0.02		**-0.02**
SDO	***	-0.30	***	-0.36	***	-0.25	***	**-0.38**
Indiv. disc. x SDO		-0.06		-0.01		-0.04	#	**-0.07**
Group disc. x SDO		0.00		0.02		0.01		**0.03**

Standardized Betas in the cells. # $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Study 3: Interaction
Perceived Indiv. Discrimination x SDO



Study 3: Results on „High Competent" Outgroups

	Attitudes to ...					
	Very successful		Physicians		**Average**	
Age		-0.06	#	-0.07	*	**-0.08**
Male sex (vs. female and other)	**	-0.11	*	0.09		**-0.01**
Cisgender (vs. trans*)		0.05		0.01		**0.04**
Educational level	***	0.14		-0.02		**0.04**
Right-wing political orient.	**	0.13	*	0.08	**	**0.12**
Personal success	***	0.19	**	0.11	***	**0.19**
Religious affiliations		-0.02		0.05		**0.00**
Indiv. discrim.	***	-0.23	***	-0.21	***	**-0.25**
Group discrim.		-0.05	**	-0.11	*	**-0.10**
SDO		-0.03	*	-0.09	*	**-0.09**
Indiv. disc. x SDO	#	0.08		-0.01		**0.06**
Group disc. x SDO		0.04	*	0.09	#	**0.08**

Standardized Betas in the cells. # $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Summary and Discussion

Devaluation of outgroups is triggered by

- a perception of group value as a zero sum situation (SDO)
  - especially for outgroups perceived as incompetent/low status (pupils ➔ lesbians/gays; Christians and gays/lesbians ➔ muslims; Christians ➔ disabled; gays/lesbians ➔ trans* and elderlies)
- being a victim of discrimination
  - only for outgroups perceived as cold/hostile (Christians and gays/lesbians ➔ Muslims; Christians ➔ lesbians/gays) or as competent/high status (i.e. responsible) (gays/lesbians ➔ very successful people and physicians)
  - as hypothesized, egalitarian values (vs. SDO) reduce/ reverse this effect for low status outgroups (pupils and Christians ➔ gays/lesbians; gays/lesbians ➔ muslims and elderlies)
    - precondition for sympathy with discriminated outgroups triggered by own discrimination

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR ATTENTION!

QUESTIONS?
COMMENTS?

Further Research

- Manipulate discrimination (and SDO) experimentally
- Proceed with other groups
- Control for perceived group membership of discriminator
  - Devaluation of outgroups even if they are not perceived as discriminators?
- Moderator: Perceived similarity of outgroup to ingroup

Study 2: Measures:

Input Bernd Simon (personal communication, April 2014)

- Perceived discrimination and SDO might have stronger (interaction) effects when outgroup is legitimized for equality (e.g. because group is not perceived as threat).

➢ Effects might be moderated by religious fundamentalism.

  - Lesbians/gays and muslims are a threat for fundamental Christians

Religiositäts-Struktur-Test (Huber, 2008)

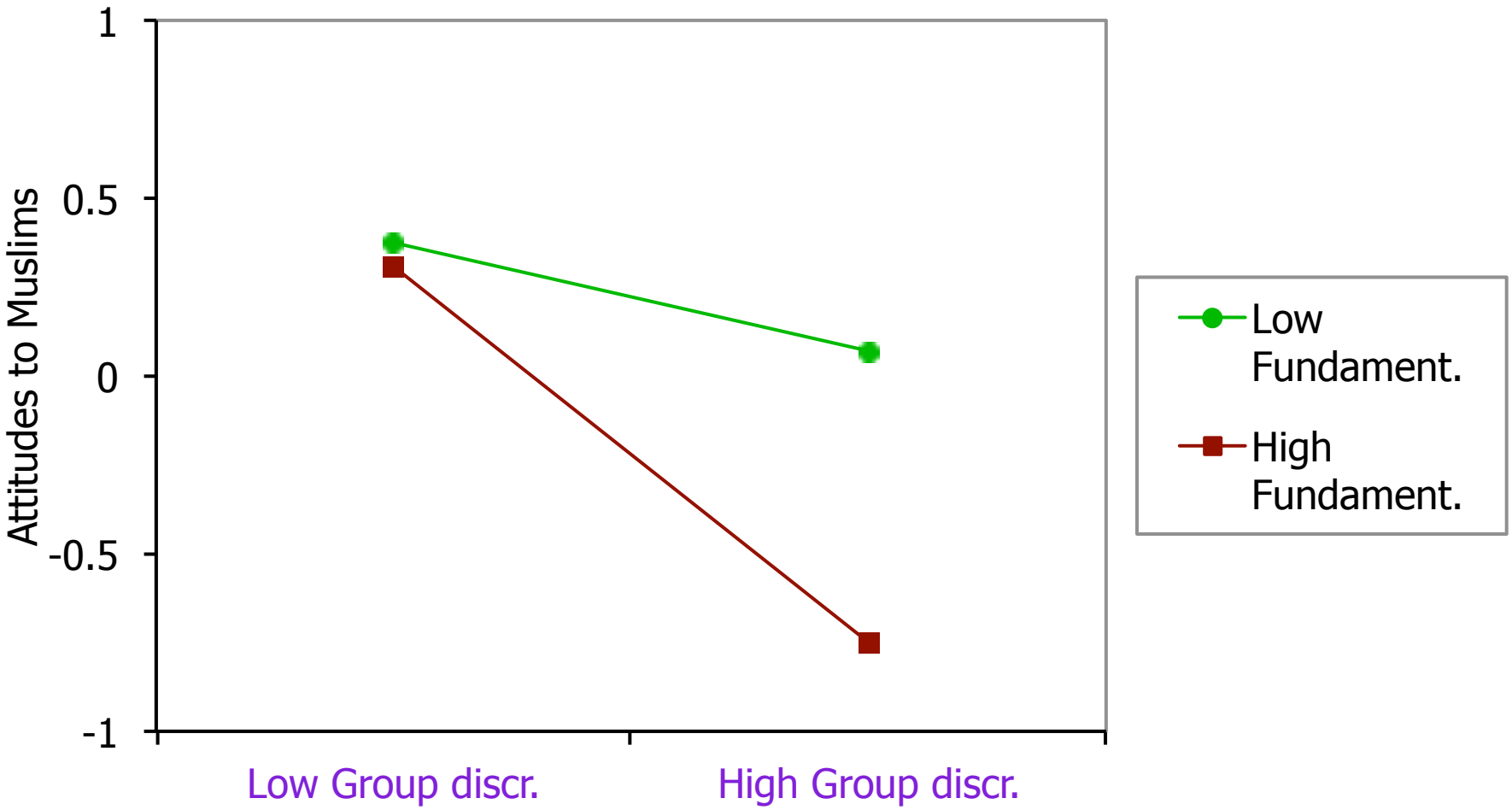
Variable	Number of items, scale range: items examples	Cb. α	*M* (*SD*)
Religiousness (centrality)	8 items, 0-4 scale: „How strongly do you believe that god exists"?	.87	2.6 0.9)
Religious fundamentalism	8 items, 0-4 scales: „Only those who completely follow my religion's commandments will experience luck and salvation."	.88	0.7 (0.9)
Religious reflexivity	6 items, 0-4 scales: „How important is it for you to consider different views on religious questions?"	.78	2.6 (0.7)

Study 2: Results: Interactions with religious Fundamentalism

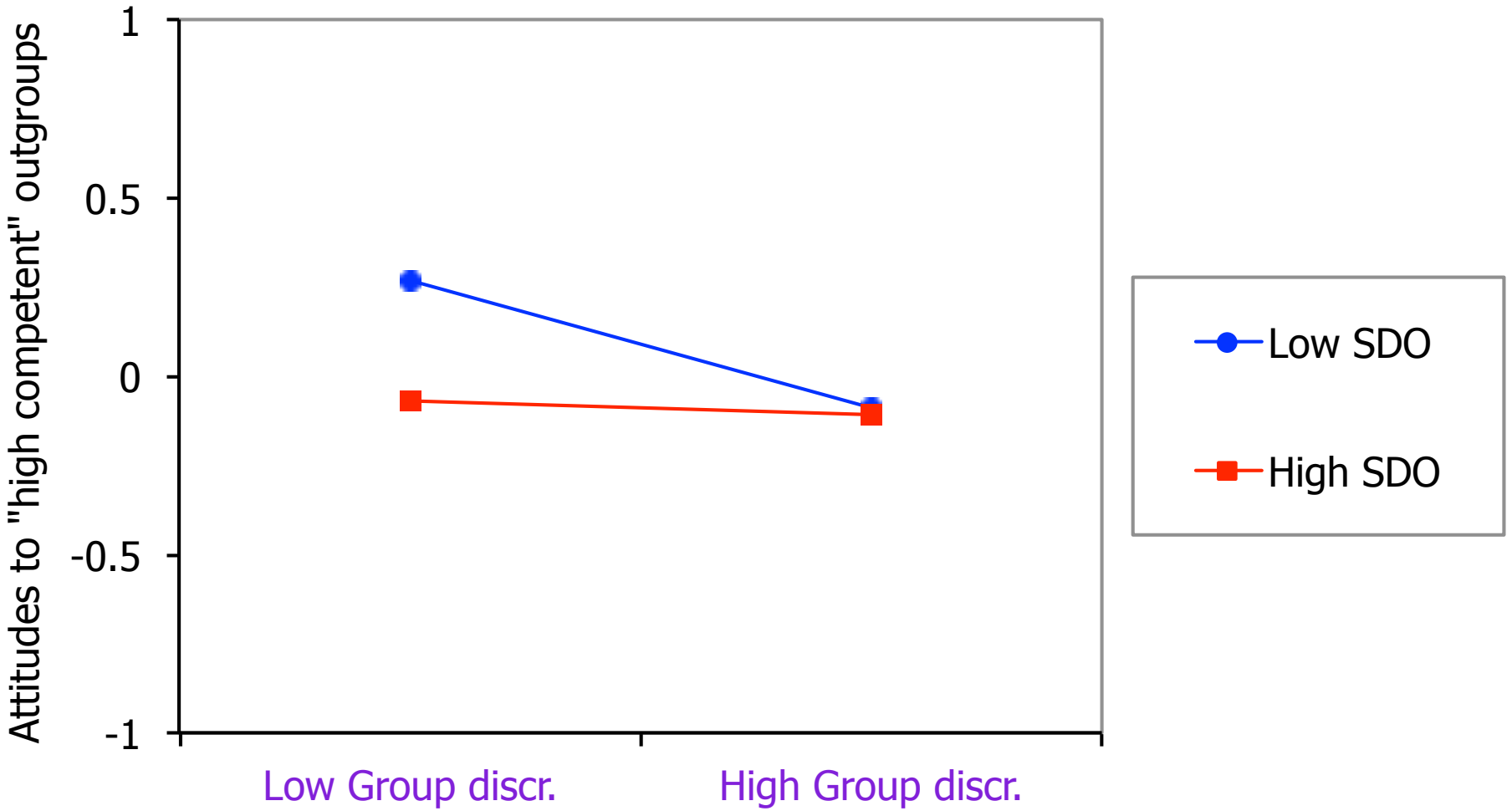
	Attitudes to …			
Regression analyses	Atheists	Muslims	Les./ gays	Disabled
Fundamentalism	** -0.30	** -0.24	*** -0.39	0.01
Group discrimination	-0.17	*** -0.36	* -0.18	-0.11
SDO	-0.04	*** -0.33	-0.07	** -0.36
Group disc. x fund.	-.11	** -.19	* -.16	-.06
Fundament. x SDO	-.02	* .19	.04	.04
GD x fund. x SDO	.04	-.10	-.12	-06

Standardized Betas in the cells. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Study 2: Results: Interactions with religious Fundamentalism



Study 3: Interaction
Perceived Group Discrimination x SDO



Study 3: Measures: Coping with discrimination (Wei, Alvarez, Ku, Russell, & Bonett, 2010)

„Please think of situations in which you felt discriminated as a lesbian / gay person. How much do the following statements describe your reaction to discrimination."

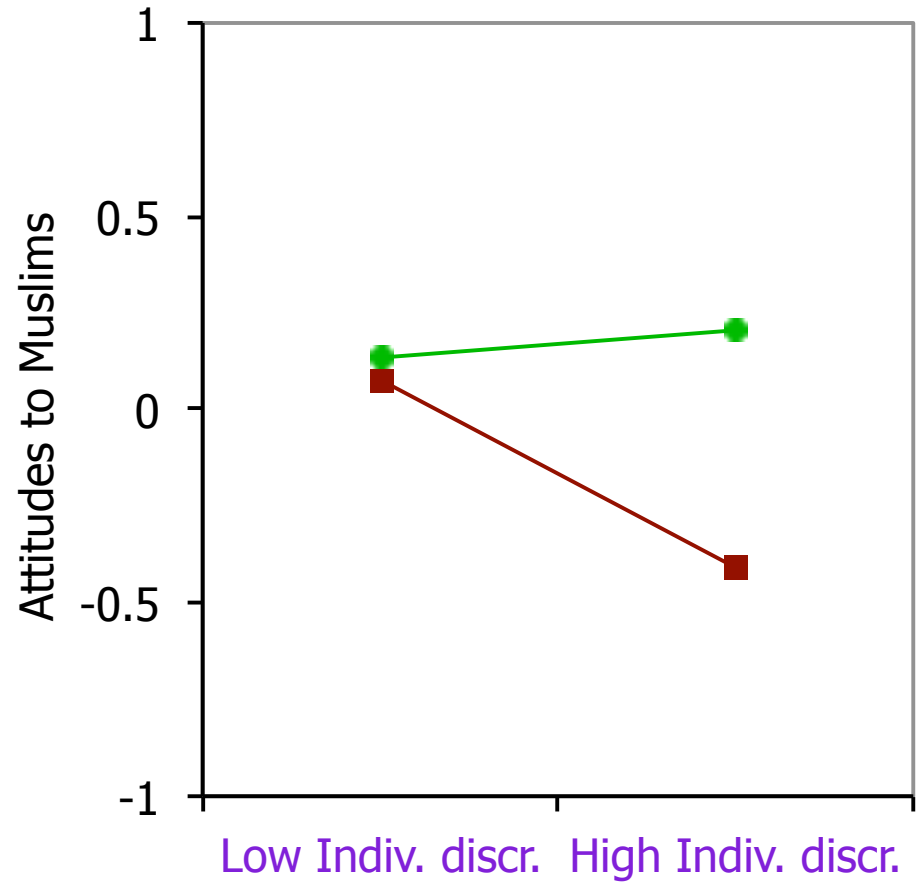
Variable	Number of items, scale range: items examples	Cb. α	*M* (*SD*)
Internalization	4 items, 0-4 scale: „I wondered if I did something to provoke this incident."	.89	0.9 (1.0)
Resistance	5 items, 0-4 scales: „I showed the person that I do not put up with that."	.80	1.8 (1.0)
Seeking support	3 items, 0-4 scales: „I called upon emotional support from other people."	.78	2.0 (1.1)
Education/Advocacy	4 items, 0-4 scales: „I tried to stop discrimination at the societal level."	.84	2.0 (1.1)

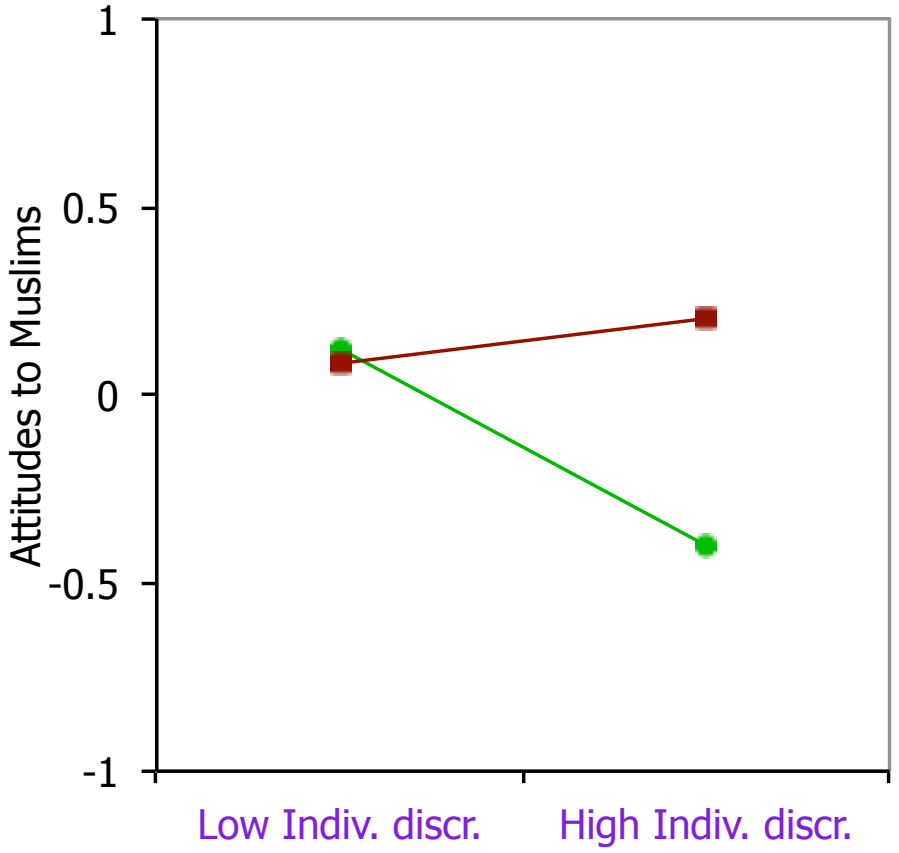
Study 3: Results: Effects of different Coping with Discrimination

Regression analyses	Attitudes to … Ph./succ.	Elderlies	Trans*	Muslims
Indiv. discrimination	*** -0.20	-0.07	0.02	* -0.10
Internalization	-0.05	0.05	* -0.09	-0.07
Resistance	-0.03	0.00	-0.03	** -0.17
Seeking support	0.00	0.10	0.02	0.08
Education/Advocacy	0.03	0.03	*** 0.20	* 0.14
Indiv. disc. x Intern.	0.06	0.08	0.04	0.08
Indiv. disc. x Resist.	0.08	0.03	-0.05	* -0.14
Indiv. disc. x Supp.	-0.06	0.02	0.04	0.00
Indiv. disc. x Educat.	-0.08	0.00	0.01	** 0.16

Standardized Betas in the cells. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Study 3: Results: Interactions with Coping





Low Resistance High Resistance

Low Education/Adv. High Education/Adv.