i AM JEWISH. I was a teen-ager in the late 1930s when Hitlerism was on the rise, and I need not tell you.that it was a time of intense insecurity for Jews everywhere—even in places where justice was not a direct and immediate threat. Naturally, Jews at that time were intensely aware of the injustice of racial and religious stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. I was, too.

Once, during that period, I was listening to a discussion on the subject by a group of Jewish men and women at a summer resort. I did not participate, for I was only a youngster and they were grown people, so it would have been impolite for me to thrust myself forward. At one point, though, I could no longer restrain myself. One of the speakers had been so eloquent on the subject of the cruel treatment of Jews in Europe that I burst out, "Yes, they treat Jews the way Americans treat Negroes." At once the conversation came to a halt and all eyes turned to me. Then one woman said in a most truculent tone, "And what is wrong with the way Americans treat Negroes?"

To my horror and dismay I found that not one person in the group saw the similarity in the situations. I found that their attitude toward discrimination changed according to whether *they* were discriminated against or *someone else was*. I never recovered from that discovery. Never. To this day, when people speak against discrimination and uphold rights of one sort or another, however sincerely, I always find myself wondering if it is their own rights only that concern them or the rights of others as well? Would the women's lib advocate come to the support of a downtrodden man? Would the black activist take up the cause of an unjustly treated white? I have come to believe that however important it is to try to remove unnecessary hatreds in the world today, the key point is for each person to recognize his *own* prejudices and fight those at least as hard as he fights the prejudices of others. For we all have prejudices; no one is clean.

I am not clean, either. Out of a whole host of prejudices that I have (and try to fight), I will mention one. I am prejudiced against Germans. If I am told that someone I haven't met is a German, I am suspicious and distrustful of him or her from that moment. It is no use saying that this is "natural under the circumstances." That may be an explanation; it is no excuse.

I. A.

n the summer of 1954, a group of social psychologists headed by M. Sherif conducted an ingenious study of intergroup relations at a boys' summer camp that they had organized especially for the experiment. The camp, which offered all the usual summer-camp activities was in Oklahoma, near a famous Jesse James hideout called the Robbers Cave.

THE ROBBERS CAVE EXPERIMENT

The boys who attended the camp had no idea that they were participating in a psychological experiment; they were healthy, well-adjusted eleven- and twelve-year-olds from stable, white, Protestant, middle-class homes. From the time the boys boarded the buses for camp, they were divided into two separate groups. In the first phase of the experiment the two groups were *isolated* from each other. The boys went hiking and swimming and played baseball only with members of their own group, and friendships and group spirit soon developed. Each group chose a name—the Eagles and the Rattlers—and created special symbols, secret words, and in-jokes. By the end of the first phase of the experiment, two informal organizations, each with its unwritten norms and informal leaders, had emerged.

In the second phase, the psychologists (posing as counselors) brought the groups together in *competitive contact* situations. They set up a tournament that pitted Eagles against Rattlers in baseball, football, tugs-of-war, a treasure hunt, and other games. Sherif had hypothesized that when these two groups of normal boys were placed in competitive situations, where one group could achieve its goals only at the expense of the other, hostility would soon develop. And, in fact, although the games began in a spirit of good sportsmanship, tension mounted as the tournament continued, and name-calling and scuffles began. One afternoon, after they had lost a game, the Eagles burned a banner left behind by the Rattlers. The next morning

Figure 28.1 *(opposite)*
Photographs taken during the course of the Robbers Cave experiment. Isolation of the two groups of boys produced group identity. During the competitive contact phase (top left, a tug of war), each group showed intense feelings of hostility toward the other group. (Top right) one group raids the other's cabin. (Middle row, right and center) signs and banners express the groups' competitiveness. (Lower left) a drawing by one of the boys shows his hostility toward the other group. (This boy was a subject in another version of the study, in which the groups chose the names Red Devils and Bulldogs.) Intergroup hostility gradually lessened when the two groups collaborated on certain tasks. One of these activities involved fixing a truck. To do so, some boys in each group had to push the truck (lower right).

the Rattlers stole the Eagles' flag in retaliation, and from then on, raids became more and more common.

The competition produced several major changes *within* each group. The group's solidarity and morale and the cooperation among members increased as a result of having a common rival or enemy. Group standards changed; in one group a big boy who had been considered a bully before the tournament became a hero. At the same time, each group became less tolerant of members who failed to conform to group standards; the leader in one group was deposed because of his supposed poor showing in competition.

After having demonstrated that they could produce intergroup conflict, Sherif and his associates started the third and final phase of the experiment, which was aimed at ending the conflict and establishing harmony between the Eagles and the Rattlers. Their first attempt resembled the "good-will" dinners and activities often held for occasions like National Brotherhood Week. The Eagles and the Rattlers were brought together to see a movie or to eat a particularly good meal in the dining hall. This approach failed totally to end the conflict—as Sherif had predicted from the start. At dinner, the campers from one group shoved and pushed boys from the other group, hurled food and insults, and generally used the opportunity to continue their attacks.

Next, the psychologists tried an approach based on Sherif's belief that if competition produces conflict, working in *cooperation to achieve shared goals should produce harmony*. The psychologists deliberately contrived a series of apparent emergencies in which the boys either had to help each other or else lose the chance to do or get something they all wanted. One morning both groups took a trip to a lake. Around noon, someone discovered that the truck, which was supposed to go to town to pick up lunch, would not start. To get it to work, boys from both groups had to push and pull. Another morning, someone reported that the water pipe line to the camp had broken; the boys were told that unless they worked together to find the break and fix it, they would all have to leave camp. By afternoon the Rattlers and the Eagles had jointly found and repaired the damage. Gradually, through these cooperative activities, intergroup hostility and tensions lessened. Friendships began to develop between individual Eagles and Rattlers, and eventually the groups began to seek out occasions to mingle. At the end of camp, members of both groups requested that they ride home together on the same bus.

The Robbers Cave Experiment provides a striking example of how social factors —in this case conditions of competition or cooperation—can affect the relationship between groups. What is most impressive about the hostility and subsequent acceptance that the researchers produced between the groups is that the children were from similar backgrounds and were randomly sorted into groups; none of the results can be attributed to differences in nationality, race, class, or ability.

RACE AS A SOCIAL CATEGORY

The boys in the Robbers Cave Experiment came to identify very strongly with their group. They were proud to be Eagles or Rattlers and disdainful of members of the other group. As discussed at length in Chapter 24, group membership influenced the way each boy thought of himself, and it also affected his attitudes and behavior toward others. When a Rattler confronted an Eagle in the football tournament, his perception of his opponent was affected by his beliefs that Eagles were "stinkers," "cheaters," and "sneaks." His behavior was also affected; he was on guard for any trick his opponent might try.

In social interactions, one person behaves towards another on the basis of two factors: (1) the unique attributes of the other person and (2) generalizations one makes about him on the basis of the groups or social categories he belongs to. If you, for example, were about to meet a person and you knew that he was a father

Intergroup Behavior

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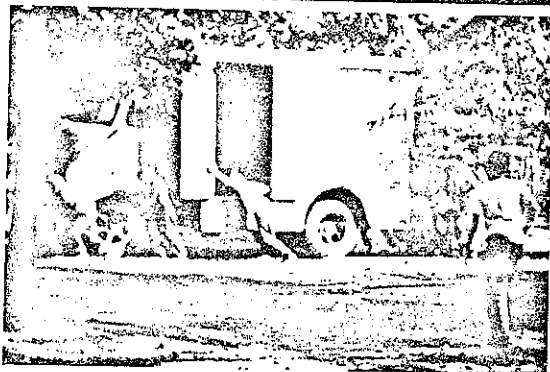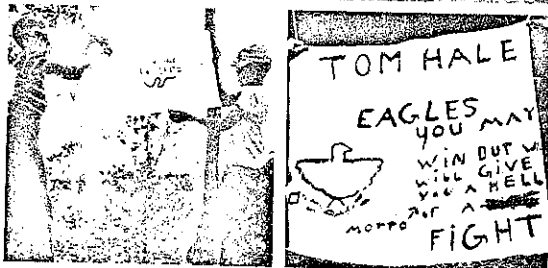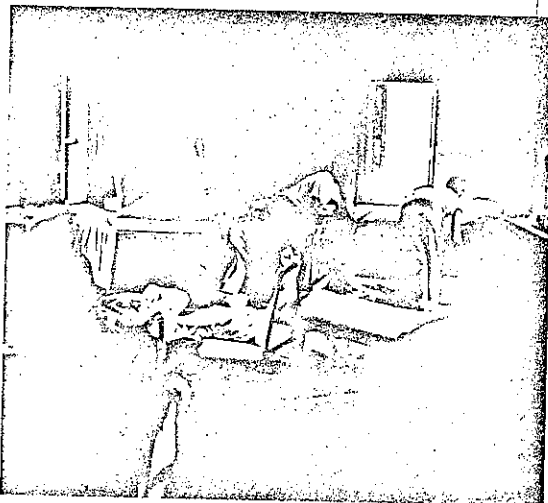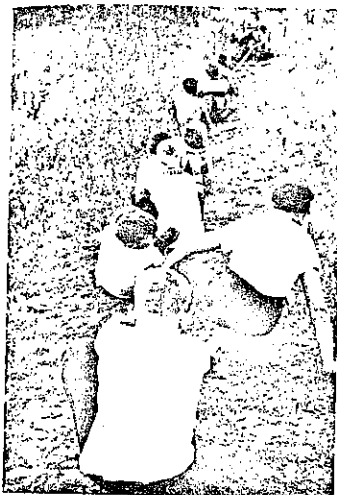
of six, a high-school football coach, a volunteer fireman, and a Catholic—the *social categories* he occupies—you could probably make fairly good guesses about how he spends his time, how he will react to your jokes, what some of his interests are. These kinds of generalized beliefs and expectations about what certain kinds of people are like and how they are likely to act may help to make our relationships more predictable and comfortable.

Race is a very important social category in America. It has major impact on how a person thinks about himself and how he acts toward others. To understand how this social category affects black-white relations in the United States, it will be necessary to discuss social stereotypes and social roles as they relate to race. First, however, one must define what is meant by the term "race."

The Social Definition of Race

It is important to realize that in American race relations, race itself is defined in social terms, not on the basis of biology. For the biologist, a race is a relatively isolated mating group with certain distinctive gene frequencies. But Americans do not decide who is "Caucasian" and who is "Negro" on the basis of gene frequencies. The child with one black and one white parent cannot decide to be "white." Typically, social convention states that any Negro ancestry, no matter how remote, constitutes grounds for being classified as black. For example, the 1960 United States Census gave the following definition of Negro:

Negro: In addition to persons of Negro and of mixed Negro and white descent, this classification, according to instructions to enumerators, includes persons of mixed American Indian and Negro descent, unless the Indian ancestry very definitely predominates or unless the individual is regarded as Indian in the community.

According to the Census Bureau, a person with *any* Negro ancestry is Negro, unless the community defines him otherwise.

The point of this discussion is not to deny that black Americans constitute a distinct group but rather to emphasize that it is a *socially defined group*, not a biological one. Group membership depends on social convention or fiat, not on absolute biological criteria. Group identity is based largely on a shared cultural heritage and on the common problems of surviving as an oppressed minority group that occupies an inferior social position and confronts a derogatory social role.

Social Stereotypes

Chapter 23 discussed the way people create their own *personal* stereotypes about people they meet. The cab drivers' stereotypes of "sports" and "blowhards"—the traits and behavior they attribute to these two types of passengers—were used as an example in the discussion of impression formation. However, many stereotypes are shared by several people—often by all the members of a particular group and sometimes by an entire society—and for this reason they are called *social* stereotypes. Social stereotypes are frequently part of the traditions of a group and are taught to new members during the process of socialization. People thus acquire many stereotypes vicariously, by hearsay, rather than through personal experience. For example, in 1933 D. Katz and K. W. Braly found that American students could describe stereotypes for Turks and Chinese, although few of the students had ever met anyone from these countries. Turks were believed to be cruel, religious, sensuous, and ignorant, and Chinese were described as superstitious, sly, traditional and reserved. It is clearly impossible for every Turk and every Chinese to possess these particular traits, although some Turkish and some Chinese individuals may have them. For those who do not, the stereotype is inaccurate. The prejudice—from the Latin for pre-judge—in stereotypes is not only that they are rigid prejudgments, but also that they are *incorrect.*

Before going on to discuss racial stereotypes, we must draw the distinction

between social roles and social stereotypes. Like social roles, stereotypes apply to a general category of persons, not to a particular individual. But stereotypes are primarily descriptive beliefs or expectations about what people in some social group or category are like. In contrast, roles involve rules, or prescriptions, for conduct. Those in the role of mother *ought* to take care of their children, and they typically do. Few would argue, however, that Turks *should* be cruel or that Chinese *ought* to be superstitious.

Stereotypes serve functions both for the group and for the individual. For the individual, such generalizations are often useful and sometimes necessary. A person's experiences are so rich and complex that he must often simplify in order to understand them and respond appropriately. In the group context, stereotypes about *out-groups* help to unite the *in-group*. One way for an Eagle to signify his group loyalty was to express his contempt for Rattlers. Even if an individual does not personally believe a particular stereotype, he may feel social pressure to express it. In some communities, for example, people may be reluctant to speak out against derogatory stereotypes about Negroes for fear of offending their white neighbors and consequently losing social approval. Thus, for many people, the expression of stereotypes may be essentially an act of conformity to group expectations. However, for a smaller number of persons, stereotypes may serve as a vital psychological crutch. T. W. Adorno and his colleagues identified these persons as "authoritarian personalities." They suggest that these people are very insecure and are so afraid of their own aggressive and sexual drives that they deny or fail to recognize them. They externalize their own negative qualities and project them onto members of some minority group, such as Jews or Negroes. A person with strong authoritarian tendencies could not easily give up derogatory ethnic and racial stereotypes, for to do so would require a major change in his personality. The conventionally prejudiced person, however, could more easily give up his stereotypes if the group beliefs changed. Fortunately for those who want to eliminate negative racial and ethnic stereotypes, the number of people who hold stereotypes to shore up their authoritarian personalities is small.

In the study of intergroup relations, ethnic and racial stereotypes have received considerable attention. Several studies, for example those by G. Allport, D. Katz and K. Braly, and M. Karlins, T. L. Coffman, and G. Walters, have shown that many white Americans believe Negroes to be "irresponsible, superstitious, intellectually inferior, lazy, and musical." Such stereotypes affect intergroup relations in several ways. They bias our perceptions of individuals. People tend to see what they expect to see; confirmation of expectations is psychologically comfortable. Stereotypes often add fuel to intergroup conflict. In extreme cases, stereotypes may serve to dehumanize others. Soldiers, for example, are often trained to regard the enemy as a thing rather than as a person because it is psychologically easier to create hatred toward, and justify aggression against, someone if he is perceived as a "commie" or a "gook" rather than as another human being. In American race relations, Negro stereotypes have been used to justify assigning blacks to an inferior social position and denying them equal opportunities.

Because stereotypes combine fact and opinion, it is often difficult to know how to test their accuracy. Although some stereotypes can be proven untrue, many do contain a kernel of truth, or fact. The danger is that people applying stereotypes use *unfair standards* to evaluate the facts. In the case of Abe (adjacent), a *double standard* is being used. The kernel of truth here is that Abe works far into the night and does not spend money with a free hand. However, this behavior is evaluated differently depending on whether it is done by one of "us" or by one of "them."

Some stereotypes are unfair because they try to apply a single standard, the standard of one culture, to a very different group. For example, early American settlers reported that the native Indians were "irreligious heathens." The Indians,

Many stereotypes are a mixture of description and evaluation. Robert K. Merton, in *Social Theory and Social Structure*, provided the following example of how the mixture works:

The very same behavior undergoes a complete change of evaluation in its transition from the in-group Abe Lincoln to the out-group Abe Cohen or Abe Kurakawa . . . Did Lincoln work far into the night? This testifies that he was industrious, resolute, perseverant, and eager to realize his capacities to the full. Do the out-group Jews or Japanese keep these same hours? This only bears witness to their sweatshop mentality, their ruthless undercutting of American standards, their unfair competitive practices. Is the in-group hero frugal, thrifty and sparing? Then the out-group villain is stingy, miserly, and penny-pinching.

Oh, oh! This is apt to be rather sordid. It doesn't represent a family scene to me! It may be a prostitute, and I see the old bottle there. This may be a young American down in the tropics; he is dressed in white because of the temperature. As for the woman, it's difficult to say because of the shadows, but she appears of darker skin. The place has crude furnishings. (What preceded?) The natural assumption is that they had sexual intercourse. The fellow is about half drunk and is about to consume more. The fellow looks kind of "hang-dog"; perhaps he regrets his recent act or perhaps his station in life. He is down and out and liquor isn't much of a boon to him. He has sufficient depth of character to take himself out of a place like that and to genuinely regret what he did to the woman. She doesn't enter into the story, except to be the object of his lust. He is a better type than she. He can take care of himself. He finally drags himself out of

such surroundings and gradually amounts to something. Do I take too long? I get quite involved in these stories.

This is a young fellow who drinks a lot. His clothes are all messed up. In a dingy hotel room, he feels he has lost all of his friends. He thinks all of the troubles of the world are on his shoulders. He contemplates suicide. The trouble is with a woman he had an affair with. He doesn't know whether to injure her or destroy himself. To kill her or commit suicide. She isn't much good herself, and he isn't too much better. He is in a mixed up mental state. He is pausing there to make some decision. He will try to get revenge on the woman. (Revenge for what?) He has been going with her and giving her money and thinks of marrying her. She fools him and is unfaithful, going around with other men. He kills her.
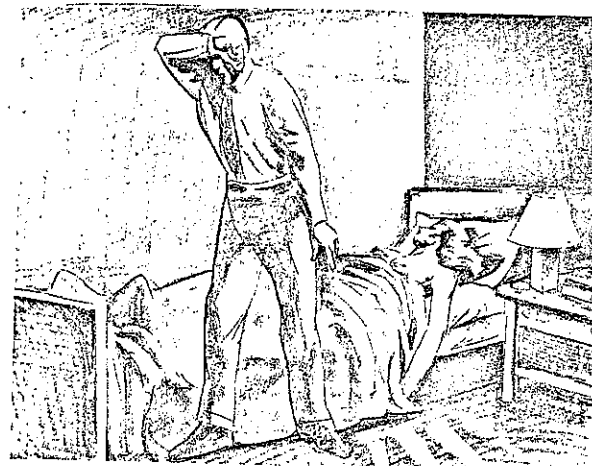
Figure 28.4
Stories written by two men in response to a TAT card similar to the one shown above. The first story, by Mack, reflects an authoritarian personality. Mack appears to be a person bound by conventional standards who attempts to ignore or deny unacceptable desires by projecting them onto others. He is unable to admit his own weakness, and he defends himself rigidly against revealing any feelings of inadequacy. With his guard up, the number of things in the environment to which he will let himself respond is severely limited. The second story, by Larry, shows that he is not an authoritarian personality. One would expect him to be sensitive to the thoughts and feelings of others. He appears to be a person who attempts to understand his own behavior, and to keep this behavior in line with a code of ethics he has set up for himself.
(After Adorno, et al, 1950.)

of course, did have their own religious beliefs, but because their beliefs did not conform to white standards, they were discounted. The evaluation of another group solely on the basis of one's own cultural standards is called *ethnocentrism*.

Racial Roles

The noted social psychologist T. F. Pettigrew has suggested that many aspects of the relations between blacks and whites in the United States can be explained in terms of social roles. Since the founding of this country, blacks have been assigned at birth to an inferior social position and whites to a superior one. This assignment has been made on the basis of race rather than on individual achievement. In addition to descriptive stereotypes based on race, then, there have also existed prescriptive expectations about how blacks and whites *should* behave toward each other. These rules and expectations constitute complementary racial roles. The Negro role obliges its occupants to be submissive, deferential, and respectful toward

whites; the white role obliges its occupants to be superior, condescending, and perhaps paternalistic. The elaboration of these roles was perhaps easiest to see in the old South, where a complicated etiquette prescribed in detail the relations between the races; these unwritten rules were bolstered by laws enforcing segregation in schools, churches, residences, and other areas of life. However, racial-role definitions have affected black-white relations in all parts of the country and continue to do so today. The Negro who failed to play his role could anticipate accusations of "not knowing his place" and was liable to lose his job or suffer verbal or physical attack. For the white, although racial-role requirements were less clearly defined, they were no less real. To treat blacks as equals was to betray oneself as a "nigger lover" and to risk losing the esteem of friends and associates.

The concept of racial role is useful because it suggests the extent to which the lives of whites and blacks are intertwined. Racial roles are reciprocal; each is defined in relation to the other. Further, the explanation of relations between blacks and whites in terms of roles emphasizes that these relations are not controlled by biological or racial factors but simply by social convention. The notion of role also helps to distinguish between overt behavior and personality, that is, between what a person does and what he would like to do. Black Americans, for example, have never been the simple, childlike creatures that their role required, although many have put on a good show. It is a serious mistake to confuse the behavior that a person must perform because of his racial role and the things that he might do if he were not hampered by role prescriptions.

Although roles and personality are distinct, roles do have important effects on personality. Chapters 23, 24, 25, and 26 explore these effects in some detail. Studies
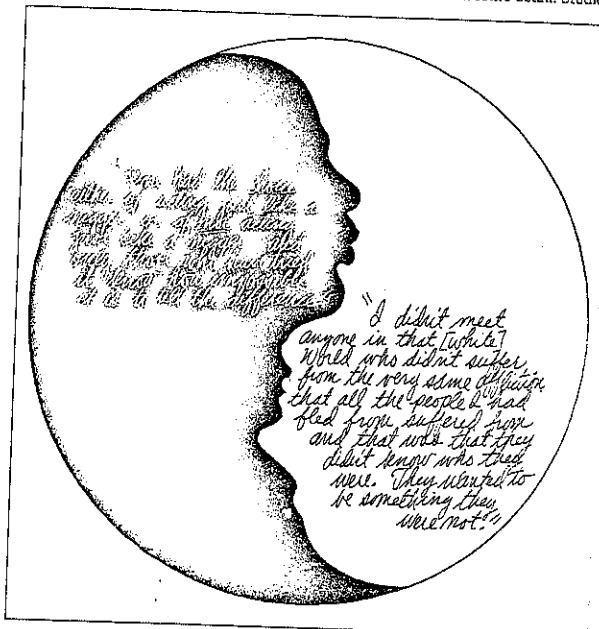

Figure 26.5
These observations by black author James Baldwin illustrate Pettigrew's theory that racial roles are reciprocal.
(From James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1969, pp. 73 and 122-123.)

552

gest that many blacks accept, at least in part, the negative racial stereotypes of culture. Further, playing an inferior role often takes its toll in loss of self-respect and the creation of unconscious self-hatred.

In recent civil-rights' demonstrations, black Americans have once again demanded "Freedom! Now!" Today it is not freedom from legal slavery that is the goal but freedom from social and economic oppression. In part this means escaping from racial-role definitions and stereotyped images. Black Americans have, with increasing speed and determination, been rejecting the traditional racial roles. "Black power," "black pride," and "black is beautiful" are expressions of this striving by blacks to change their social position, to redefine racial roles, to raise self-esteem and eliminate self-hatred. Because the old racial roles are complementary, changes in one require changes in the other. As black Americans seek to redefine their role, the role of whites must also change. For some whites, racial roles have provided a sense of self-esteem and importance based on being better than some other group. Such feelings of superiority may be difficult to give up as racial roles change. Clear-cut new roles have not yet emerged, but it appears that social expectations and racial roles remain important for determining black-white relations, even though the content of racial roles is changing.

DETERMINANTS OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS
Sometimes the relations between groups are peaceful, productive, and pleasant. In other cases, they are characterized by tension, ill will, open hostility, or even bloodshed. At one campus, college students and faculty work together on an ecology teach-in; at another, students take over the administration buildings and halt classes. During World War II America considered the "Japs" enemies, placed Japanese Americans in internment camps, and dropped atomic bombs on two Japanese cities; lay, Americans consider Japan an ally, visit the country as tourists, and equip their homes with Japanese-made products. In a coal-mining town, black and white American men may work together in the mines in a friendly, cooperative, sometimes joking atmosphere; above the ground they live in separate neighborhoods, attend separate churches, and would not think of visiting each other's homes.

The effects of social roles and stereotypes help give some insight into why such situations exist, but social psychologists have isolated a number of other factors that may explain why relations between groups are sometimes harmonious, sometimes filled with discord.

Conditions of Contact
Chapter 27 discusses the effects of proximity on one person's liking another. Studies of the relationship between proximity of groups and harmony between them are called studies of intergroup contact. Y. Amir recently reviewed several dozen studies of intergroup contact and found that increased interaction between groups sometimes lessens hostility and tension but sometimes increases them. A study conducted by V. Sims and J. Patrick in the 1930s indicated that when Northern whites went South to college, their contact with Negroes increased and so did their anti-Negro prejudice. However, research by M. Deutsch and M. Collins, which compared integrated and segregated housing projects, showed that residential contact can lead to more favorable attitudes and to cross-racial friendships.

To make sense of these contradictory results, it seems clear that one must know more about the specific nature of the contact situation. G. Allport and others have suggested several aspects of the interaction that are important.

Cooperation to Achieve Shared Goals A crucial factor in the Robbers Cave study as cooperation to achieve shared goals. Sherif demonstrated that similar goals were not adequate. In the sports tournament, both Rattlers and Eagles strove for the same
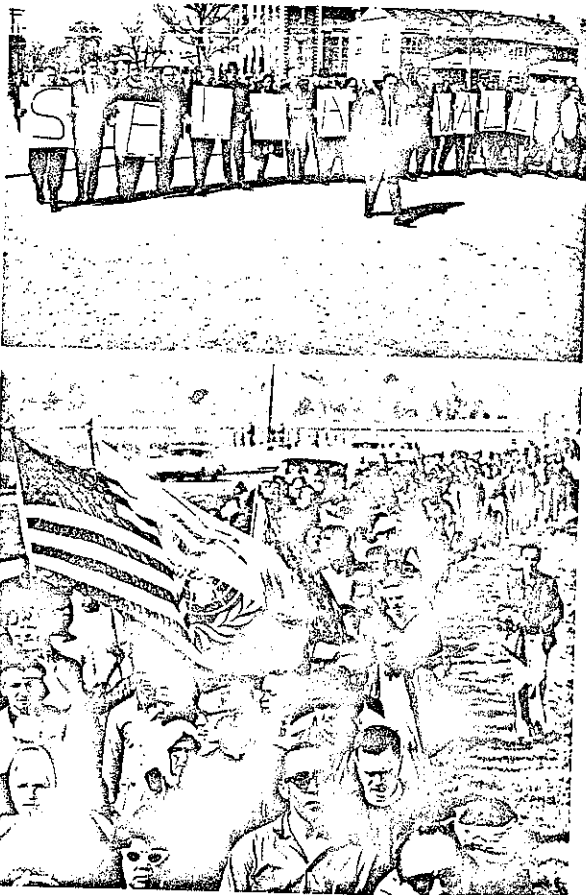
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Figure 28.6
Intergroup hostilities can be reduced if the groups share a common goal on which they can cooperate. These photographs show blacks and whites marching together for civil rights in Selma, Alabama. Although it is likely that both the whites and blacks who participated in the demonstration held similar attitudes about civil rights, it should be noted that the issue of civil rights is not necessarily a racial one—it is a matter of justice, a legal matter. One can work toward equal rights without any close contact with members of another race. The conditions of contact, however, in working together to organize and carry through a project like this one can let people from each race get to know each other and—more than simply reducing hostilities—can result in people becoming friends.

goal—to win—but a win for one group meant a loss for the other. It was only when the boys had to work together to reach a joint goal that relations improved. In a cooperative situation, members are interdependent. The efforts of each person help himself and others at the same time. Sherif emphasized the point that *groups must perceive their shared goal as superordinate*, as sufficiently important to override other differences between them. When the Rattlers and Eagles cooperated to fix the water pipe line, their goal of staying at camp was strong enough for them to put aside their differences.

One major kind of superordinate goal involves the threat of a common enemy. Often rival groups can unite as allies in the face of a shared external danger. This point has not escaped science-fiction writers, who often depict the nations of the

554

world uniting at last to fight an enemy from outer space. In Sherif's study what served as the enemy was not another group but the undesirable prospect of having to leave camp. The general principle seems to be that competition tends to produce conflict, and cooperation tends to reduce it. It may be that cooperation between groups creates, at least momentarily, a new, combined group and establishes new bonds and identification with the larger unit. When Rattlers and Eagles worked together, their separate allegiances became less salient, and they may have viewed themselves as part of one group, the camp.

Intimacy of the Contact The relationship between intimate contact and liking is something of a chicken-and-egg problem. One can reasonably ask which comes first, liking or contact. Both common sense and psychological research suggest that the relationship can work in either direction. If people like each other and are friendly, they are more likely to seek each other out and spend time together. If people interact frequently and intimately, they often come to form friendships and to see each other more favorably. The second process is the more interesting one for the study of intergroup contact. In the Robbers Cave Experiment it is clear that cooperative contact preceded liking. The boys did not decide to work together because they liked each other. Rather, circumstances forced them to cooperate, and in the process of working on a series of joint tasks, the groups gradually developed friendliness.

Studies of residential contacts demonstrate similar effects. Shortly after World War II, public-housing projects began to spring up in metropolitan areas. Some of them were racially integrated, whereas others maintained racial segregation. Deutsch and Collins capitalized on this "natural" social experiment. Although they could not control the situation as much as Sherif had, they carefully selected four biracial projects, two *integrated* ones, in which blacks and whites occupied adjoining apartments, and two *segregated* ones, in which blacks and whites lived in the same project but in separate buildings. In order to qualify for public housing, the families in both projects had consented to live in a biracial project, but they had no choice about whether they were assigned to live in an integrated or a segregated one. That is, they could not predetermine their pattern of residential contact.

Deutsch and Collins conducted lengthy interviews with housewives after their families had lived in the project for a while. The results of the study show clearly that the two types of contact situations had different effects on racial attitudes. In the integrated projects over 60 percent of the white housewives reported having "friendly relations" with Negroes; in the segregated projects, less than 10 percent reported friendships, and over 80 percent reported no contact at all. In the integrated project two out of three white women expressed a desire to be friendly with blacks; in the segregated projects, only one in eleven expressed such a desire. Similar effects occurred in the attitudes of black women toward whites. Many women in the integrated projects came to like the interracial aspect of their apartment buildings, whereas in the segregated projects many women disliked being in even a segregated biracial development.

The Deutsch and Collins study illustrates not only the effects of contact on liking but also the *importance of informal opportunities for interaction*. In the segregated projects, the actual physical distance between black and white families was not great, but functionally, the distance was considerable. One white woman reported:

I used to be good friends with a colored woman who worked with me at the factory before I moved here. She lives in the other side of the project, but I never have her over to my side of the project—it just isn't done. Occasionally, I go over and visit her.

This woman could not casually meet her friend in the laundry-room or elevator; for her a meeting entailed a deliberate effort. In the segregated projects, the group

555

norms would have held such an action suspect. In the integrated projects, contacts could occur spontaneously and casually. Housewives had many opportunities to meet, and they often took advantage of them. The result of these frequent and increasingly intense meetings was dramatic. One white housewife described her experience this way:

> I started to cry when my husband told me we were coming to live here. I cried for three weeks . . . I didn't want to come and live here where there are so many colored people. I didn't want to bring my children up with colored children, but we had to come; there was no place else to go . . . Well, all that's changed. I've really come to like it. I see they're just as human as we are. They have nice apartments; they keep their children clean, and they're very friendly. I've come to like them a great deal. I'm no longer scared of them.

Contacts like those in the integrated project, which permit people to get to know each other well as individuals and not in formal social roles, enable people to test their stereotypes against reality. Deutsch and Collins do not deny that old attitudes die hard and that people tend to distort their perception and recall of events to complement their existing attitudes. But they maintain that when contact continues over time, it becomes psychologically too costly and difficult to retain beliefs that are inconsistent with experience. Interracial contacts are often uncomfortable at first for both blacks and whites, but if other conditions are favorable, intimate contact over time frequently leads to a reduction in negative attitudes and tension.

Social Climate In the Robbers Cave Experiment, friendly contacts were approved by the counselors and other camp officials. Friendships between Eagles and Rattlers might not have developed if they had been discouraged by the important adults in the camp. The outcome of interracial contact also depends in part on whether the social climate is one of acceptance or disapproval. Besides the opinions of authorities, like the adults at the camp, the crucial factors in determining a social climate and thus the outcome of interracial situations are the force of formal law and the impact of social norms. In the projects that Deutsch and Collins studied, the social climates differed enormously. In the segregated developments, whites and blacks hesitated to mix because they believed it "just isn't done." The authorities who built the projects had apparently intended that the races be separated, and the informal social norms of the project supported this view. In the integrated projects, the expectations were quite different. Here the housing officials supported integration, and informal social norms developed that made interracial contacts appropriate.

Status When a man goes to lunch with a friend, the situation is one in which both persons have equal status; when that man meets in conference with his boss, he has a lower rank, and the situation is one of unequal status. In any particular interaction, relative status may be determined by the individuals' social roles, their personal characteristics, or their achievements. Doctors have higher status than nurses (occupational-role status); adults have higher status than children (status based on age); the skilled athlete outranks the rookie (status based on achievement). Contacts between blacks and whites in which blacks have *lower* status do little to challenge or change attitudes and behavior. For example, contact between an upper-middle-class white housewife and her black maid may actually serve to confirm the white's stereotype of blacks as "not too bright and suited for menial jobs." So as not to jeopardize her job, the black maid may try to be pleasing and to superficially conform to the housewife's stereotype. At the same time, this unequal-status contact may reinforce her own negative or hostile attitudes toward whites.

Interracial contacts in which blacks have *higher* status do not always produce changed attitudes either. Some people find it easy to dismiss the good impression made by a few outstanding minority group members as "exceptions." In fact, some may perceive the achievements of Negro athletes and entertainers as confirming
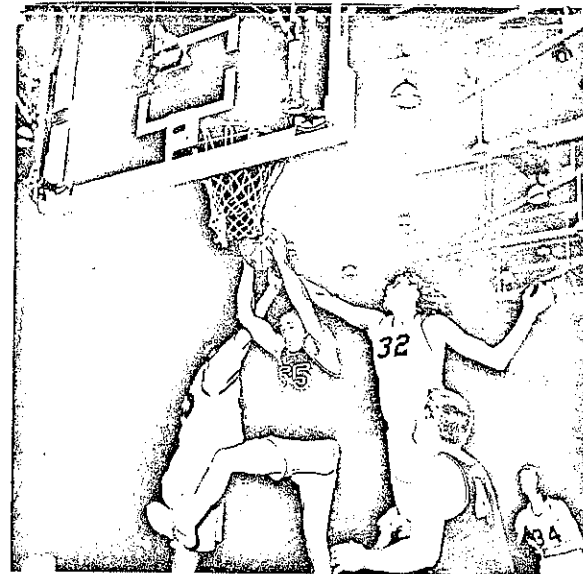
Figure 28.7
This basketball game was a fund-raising event, jointly sponsored by the long-haired players (students) and the short-haired ones (highway patrolmen). The two groups planned and organized the game, besides playing in it. The long-haired team (no member of which could have hair less than two inches below his collar) was dubbed "the Heads," and the patrolmen's team was called "the Feds." Their game netted $450 for a local antipollution project. This kind of cooperation to achieve shared goals is a strong means of reducing intergroup hostility.

racial stereotypes. To effect attitude change, the Negroes of higher status in interracial contacts must enact roles not associated with racial stereotypes, for example such occupational roles as chemist, airplane pilot, or French teacher. One study conducted in England by H. E. O. James looked at African women who taught white schoolchildren. These teachers were in a high-status position that permitted the breaking of stereotypes. In addition, their contact with students was prolonged and relatively intimate. The children they taught came to like their teachers personally and developed more favorable attitudes toward Africans generally.

Equal-status contacts stand the best chance of leading to improved intergroup relations. Numerous studies, such as those by R. H. Gundlach, H. E. O. James, R. D. Minard, and J. Harding and R. Hogrefe, have shown that when blacks and whites work together as equals, in the army or as coal miners or as merchant seamen, intergroup liking and friendships often develop. The status of the black and of the white women in the integrated housing projects studied by Deutsch and Collins was much the same; the family incomes were roughly comparable, all were housewives, and their living quarters were virtually identical. This equal-status contact over a long period made it possible for members of each group to realize that the others are "people just like us."

The four factors that have been suggested as important for effective intergroup contact are summarized in the adjacent margin.

These factors work jointly, and if any one is missing, an interaction may not have positive results.

The effects of interracial contact in one situation often do not generalize to new situations. The Deutsch and Collins study provides an example of this limitation. Children from all the housing projects attended desegregated elementary schools, and some children from both integrated and segregated projects formed cross-racial

1. Participants must cooperate to achieve a shared goal.

2. Contact should be relatively intimate and long lasting.

3. Contact should take place in a social climate of acceptance.

4. Participants in the situation should have equal status.

friendships at school. However, only those children who lived in an integrated project brought their cross-racial friends home from school. Children in the segregated project only saw their friends of a different race away from home. One Negro girl who lived in a segregated project commented, "I play with them (white children) at school and go to the movies with them. In the project, I have nothing to do with them." Children in segregated projects learned that cross-racial friendship was acceptable in school but inappropriate at home. Behavior is strongly affected by the social norms, expectations, and opportunities of the particular situation, and so the effects of contact in one situation—at school—do not necessarily carry over to another—the home.

Group Processes and Contact

Some of the basic processes described in earlier chapters of this unit may serve to explain how contact between groups can, under the conditions just described, produce changed attitudes. First, contact may provide opportunities for members of different groups to *reward each other*. For example, the cooperative efforts to start the broken truck and fix the pipe line enabled Eagles to help Rattlers and Rattlers to help Eagles obtain a desired reward.

Cooperative contact may also help to *destroy derogatory stereotypes*. A joint activity forms a temporary bond between people of different groups, and they begin to think of themselves as members of the same team. These people, then, would be less likely to employ the unfair standards for evaluation used in stereotypes because it would be difficult to apply one standard to oneself and a different standard to the other members of the team.

A third explanation for the effects of contact is based on the *theory of cognitive dissonance* described in Chapter 24. When an experience contradicts a long-held belief, sometimes the belief must change. Working with someone, for example, and perhaps coming to like him a little, should be psychologically inconsistent with negative attitudes about him or his group. Such an imbalance should be psychologically disturbing and might motivate the person holding the negative attitudes to change them, especially if he cannot gracefully escape from the interaction.

Fourth, it has been suggested that contact is effective because it helps to *uncover the basic similarities* that exist between members of different groups. As one of the housewives in the Deutsch and Collins study said, she had learned that blacks are "just as human as we are."

Effects of Similarity

Chapter 27 stresses the importance of similarity of backgrounds and beliefs for the development of friendship between individuals. One might, then, hypothesize that the more similar two groups are, the better the chances of positive intergroup relations. In 1960, M. Rokeach and others made the controversial assertion that belief may be just as important as race—or even more important—in determining social discrimination and prejudice. In other words, Rokeach suggested that *whites reject blacks primarily because they perceive the blacks as having beliefs dissimilar to their own*.

Rokeach argued, for example, that the Ku Klux Klanner is less interested in whether a person is black or white than in whether the person agrees with the Klan's prosegregation views on race. From the Ku Klux Klan's perspective, there are four kinds of people, as indicated adjacent.

Of the two categories a Klan member uses to sort people, beliefs are more salient than race. Cognitively, the "nigger lover" (white) is just as bad as the "uppity nigger" (black) for him. (On this basis Rokeach suggested that the recent civil-rights struggles were a conflict not between whites and blacks but between those who supported integration and those who favored segregation.) To test his general hy-

Figure 28.9
According to Milton Rokeach's hypothesis, interracial hostility derives more from a perception that the "other" race holds different beliefs than from the fact of race alone. If this is true, a Klansman would like a black who shared his views on segregation more than he would like a white man who strongly supported integration.

Agree with KKK	Disagree with KKK
"Good White"	"Bad White" ("nigger lover")
"Good Negro"	"Bad Negro" ("uppity nigger")

pothesis, Rokeach conducted a study of white college students. The subjects read such descriptions of hypothetical people as "a white who is for socialized medicine" and "a Negro who is anticommunist." They rated each person on a nine-point scale ranging from "I can't see myself being friends with such a person" to "I can very easily see myself being friends with such a person." In analyzing these data, Rokeach found that there was a small *race effect;* white students did tend to prefer whites to blacks, even when the blacks had beliefs similar to their own. However, there was a much larger *belief effect;* regardless of race, students preferred persons with beliefs similar to their own.

Rokeach's subjects rated hypothetical persons in only one situation, acceptability as a friend. However, is it always true that belief similarity is more important than race? More recent studies by H. C. Triandis and E. E. Davis and by D. Stein suggest that the relative weights assigned to race and belief vary depending on the relationship or situation involved. Stein found that for white teen-agers, race had little effect on selecting a person as a close personal friend or on sitting next to him in class. However, race was the major factor in three situations: inviting a person home for dinner, living in the same apartment house, or having him date a sister or brother. Stein was puzzled by the seeming paradox that a white student might be glad to have a Negro as a friend but be unwilling to have him as a neighbor. This finding appeared to violate the common-sense idea that the more intimate or personal a relationship, the more important race would be. Stein suggested that the relative importance of race and belief does not depend as much on intimacy as on the influence of social norms. In some situations, such as marriage and housing, social prohibitions about cross-racial contact are typically very strong and may override considerations of belief. In other cases, such as friendships at school or on a sports team, cross-racial contact may not violate social norms. However, Triandis and Davis have found that for some highly prejudiced people, race is consistently a more important determinant of acceptance than is belief similarity, regardless of the situation.

Another important finding of Stein's study was that when a subject was not explicitly told the beliefs of some hypothetical persons, he tended to assume that members of his own race shared his views and that members of another race held different views. In making this *assumption of dissimilarity*, the subject was generalizing about categories of persons, apparently solely on the basis of race. However, it is possible that other factors, say, the hypothetical person's social class, also contribute to guesses about his beliefs. A study by J. A. Bayton, L. B. McAlister, and J. Hamer found that students (both black and white) make very different assumptions about the characteristics of upper- and lower-class blacks. The students described lower-class blacks according to the typical derogatory stereotype as superstitious, lazy, physically dirty, and ignorant, but they described upper-class blacks in a much more favorable light as intelligent, ambitious, industrious, and neat. These data suggest that people in general might make different assumptions about the beliefs of Negroes depending on the Negroes' social class. When a person is told only that an individual is black, it appears that he assumes that the black is from the lower class. Knowledge that a black is from the middle or upper class might temper or eliminate the assumption of belief dissimilarity based on race alone. Finally, in a more recent study than Stein's, C. E. Hendrick and others found that when beliefs are not known, *only* highly prejudiced subjects tend to assume that blacks and whites have different attitudes.

Similarity and the Value of Diversity

The perception of similarity plays an important role in race relations. Liking and tolerance between members of different groups may be affected by differences in many characteristics, including race, social class, and beliefs. When one person does
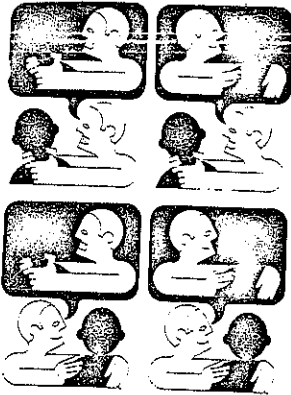
Figure 28.10
In analyzing racism, one must distinguish between prejudice (derogatory attitudes) and discrimination (racist behavior). A person's behavior toward blacks, for example, may be either consistent with or contradictory to his attitudes toward them. The drawings show (top left) a prejudiced discriminator, that is, one who both thinks and acts anti-black. (Top right) a nonprejudiced discriminator: for example, a white person who thinks favorably of blacks but refuses to hire them so as to avoid his community's criticisms. (Bottom left) a prejudiced nondiscriminator: for example, a racist politician who courts black voters. (Bottom right) a nonprejudiced nondiscriminator.

not know another person's beliefs about an issue, he tries to infer them from other characteristics, like race or social class; so, for example, whites who have no information but race to go by tend to assume that blacks have beliefs dissimilar from their own. One implication of this finding may be that as social norms change and interracial contact increases, blacks and whites may become more aware of their actual similarities. At least within social classes, similarity of belief may replace race as a major determinant of social acceptance.

In Chapter 27, it was suggested that differences between individuals can serve to make their relationship more interesting and stimulating. The same may be true of intergroup relations. The perception of similarities can pave the way for appreciation of differences in intergroup relations, and, in fact, the perception of certain basic areas of similarity may be essential to cross-racial acceptance. The housewives in the Deutsch and Collins study might not have made friends with neighbors of a different race who had very dissimilar attitudes about child rearing and neighborliness or different standards of cleanliness and morality. However, once such basic similarities are established, the distinct cultural traditions of black and white Americans may prove a source of welcome diversity.

Effects of Social Evaluation

Chapter 27 noted that people often compare themselves to others; the standards for comparison are frequently the norms of a group the person belongs to or aspires to join—a reference group. If a person finds that others in the group are more advantaged than he, more popular or more successful, he feels himself to be *relatively deprived*. He may be envious. He may even undertake a campaign of self-improvement. However, if he also believes that the advantages held by the others are somehow unjust, his response is more likely to be one of indignation, frustration, anger, or even aggression. Similarly, if a person finds that he is more advantaged than others in his reference group, he is *relatively gratified*. He may be pleased, satisfied, even proud. However, if he suspects that his good fortune is based on injustice, he may also feel guilty. The related concepts of social comparison and relative deprivation can offer insight into group and particularly race relations.

Since World War II black Americans have made great strides in education, employment, health care, and other areas of life. J. Davis and R. Fein report that the percentage of blacks in white-collar jobs has doubled since 1940, and the median years of schooling for young black adults has risen from six and a half to eleven years in the same period. When black civil-rights protests gained in numbers in the early 1960s, the economic and educational situation of Negro Americans had never been better. The explanation for the increased black protest lies partly in the fact that people do not assess their gains in absolute terms but rather evaluate them in comparison with other groups. For black Americans, the major standard for social and economic progress is white America. It is the life style of middle-class white America that is displayed on television, in magazines, and in store windows, and when the gains of blacks since World War II are compared to those of whites, the black gains begin to pale. Davis reports that although the proportion of black homeowners today is a sizable 38 percent, whites had already surpassed that figure twenty years ago. In 1960, nearly 65 percent of whites lived in homes they owned. Although the percentage of blacks in white-collar jobs has doubled in recent years, in 1960 the white-collar category included only 13 percent of black workers but 44 percent of white ones. Although blacks have made substantial gains, their increase do not compare with those of whites. In several areas, such as infant mortality and income, the gap between black and white achievement and standards of living has actually widened slightly since 1940.

For example, in 1950, Negro infant mortality was 1.7 times as high as the white rate; in 1960 the Negro rate was 1.9 times the white rate. This relative lag in black

progress occurred despite the fact that in absolute terms, black infant mortality had decreased. The white rate had also decreased—and at a relatively faster pace. So the relative gap widened.

Black Americans live in the world's richest nation, yet they are relatively deprived. Not only do they see the inequality of their situation, but they perceive it as unjust. Blacks have been treated unfairly by laws and social customs for centuries. The frustration and indignation based on this injustice makes the protests of black Americans understandable.

The principle of relative deprivation has also proven useful in explaining the behavior of some white Americans. In the fall of 1968, T. F. Pettigrew and R. T. Riley surveyed the supporters of George Wallace in his bid for the presidency. The site for the survey was Gary, Indiana; in this and other Northern cities, Wallace's main support came from blue-collar workers who belong to unions and identify with the working class. Those interviewed had substantial incomes; nearly half the Wallace supporters in Gary earned between $7,500 and $10,000 a year. Most of them had graduated from high school. Pettigrew and Riley hypothesized that Wallace's support was based at least in part on feelings of relative deprivation. To test the hypothesis, they asked both Wallace supporters and other Gary workers whether they agreed with the statement: "In spite of what some say, the condition of the average man is getting worse, not better." Not all the Gary workers felt relatively deprived; only about half the men surveyed agreed with the statement. But at every income level, men who did feel deprived were more likely to support Wallace. Of those who agreed with the item, 42 percent supported Wallace. Among those who disagreed, only 18 percent favored Wallace. Of those who said they had actually voted for Wallace, 68 percent indicated feelings of relative deprivation. Although the wages of Gary workers had increased in recent years, some workers believed that their profits were being eaten up by inflation and by taxes to pay for welfare programs for minority groups. Although other factors undoubtedly played a part, such feelings of relative deprivation help to explain Wallace's popularity.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND AMERICAN RACISM

In 1967, following racial disorders in major American cities, President Johnson appointed a Commission on Civil Disorders. The Commission reported that:

White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture that has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively and it now threatens to affect our future. . . . What white America has never fully understood, but what the Negro can never forget, is that white society is deeply implicated in the (black) ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.

Racism in a major social problem in America today. Although this chapter has illustrated the discussion of social-psychological processes underlying all kinds of intergroup relations with examples of black-white relations in America, the phenomenon of racism and what it entails has not yet been investigated in detail.

The investigation first requires that one distinguish between racist beliefs (attitudes) and racist actions (behavior). Feelings of ill will toward blacks as a group and derogatory stereotypes of Negroes are examples of *prejudice* (attitudes). Barring members of minority groups from restaurants, paying blacks lower wages than whites for equal work, enacting zoning laws to prevent any blacks from living in a particular area are all acts of *discrimination* (behavior). The relationship between attitudes and behavior was discussed in Chapter 26 and is relevant to the distinction between prejudice and discrimination. Although the two often go together, they do not always coincide. When there were laws demanding separate seating for blacks and whites on buses, even people who were not prejudiced against blacks typically complied. In order to avoid causing an embarrassing scene or possibly going to jail,

they ignored their personal convictions and engaged in discriminatory behavior. Today, the laws have changed and the situation is reversed. There are undoubtedly prejudiced individuals who continue to ride buses and even to sit next to blacks despite their personal feelings. They do this to comply with social norms and formal laws, to avoid being conspicuous or incurring social disapproval, and because compliance is necessary if they are to continue to use public transport.

It is commonly believed that behavior reflects attitudes and that in order to change discrimination, one must first eliminate prejudice. The notion that "laws can't change the hearts and minds of men" contains the assumption that although laws might change overt behavior, they cannot reach deeply held attitudes. However, the discussion of intergroup contact in this chapter and of the link between behavior change and attitude change in Chapter 26 suggests that this common-sense notion may be wrong. In situations where whites and blacks are forced to associate because of laws, social convention, or the desire to achieve some valued goal, their attitudes frequently do improve. In the Deutsch and Collins study, many white housewives were initially upset about living with blacks. They had moved to the biracial project because it offered the best available housing and because they valued having a comfortable apartment more than maintaining racial separation. After living in integrated housing, many came to enjoy their interracial contacts. Studies of the desegregation of department stores and hospitals, of housing, public transportation, and schools all demonstrate that when behavior is changed, the "heart and mind" are often subsequently affected. In fact, this strategy may be more effective than trying to eliminate prejudice in the hope of ultimately reducing discrimination. However, for the attitude change to take place, the *conditions of contact must be favorable;* they must follow the guidelines set down earlier in this chapter.

A distinction should be made between individual and institutional racism. *Individual racism* includes both personal prejudice and individual acts of discrimination. *Institutional racism* refers to institutional practices that maintain racial inequality and limit opportunities for blacks and other minorities. Discriminatory hiring practices, restrictive zoning codes, and segregated schools are instances of institutional racism. Although practices such as these are often carried out by a particular

Figure 28.11
An important contributor to recent prison unrest and riots is institutional racist practices. These black inmates of Attica State Prison in New York rebelled in protest of unfair and abominable conditions; one of their complaints was that the institution did not permit them to practice the Black Muslim religion. The institutional racism practiced by prison authorities is only the last instance in a long string of such instances that led to the almost solid mass of black faces in this photograph. Discrimination in many institutions—in schools, in employment practices, in law enforcement, and in the legal system—all contributed to the disproportionate numbers of black men in prisons.

individual, they are controlled by the norms and traditions of some social system, whether an informal group, a city council, a trade union, or the federal government. The person who carries out a racist policy may not always like his task, but he often accepts it because he believes "it's my job to do it," "we've always done it this way," or "you can't buck the system."

Institutional racism is not always intentional. For example, many large universities have adopted objective criteria for hiring professors, an important one being the number of books and articles that the candidate has published. These policies were instituted to ensure fairness and to raise the standards of the university, but they often serve to prevent capable blacks from joining a faculty. For a long time, many black professors taught at small colleges, where they had enormous teaching loads and little, if any, time or resources to conduct research. Thus, even the most competent black professor might not be able to meet criteria considered objective for white professors. Because the perpetuation of institutional racism does not depend on individual prejudice or on deliberate intentions to discriminate, the institutional practices may prove the most difficult barriers to the achievement of racial equality in the United States.

In the field of intergroup relations, the study of social-psychological theory and of social problems like racism often go hand in hand. By applying general principles to the case of American race relations, psychologists can test the validity and usefulness of their theories. In seeking to understand particular social problems, psychologists not only may be able to formulate new principles, they may be able to use theory in suggesting effective strategies for change.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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