

When Do the Stigmatized Stigmatize? The Ironic Effects of Being Accountable to (Perceived) Majority Group Prejudice-Expression Norms

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How do frequently stigmatized individuals feel about and respond to members of other potentially stigmatizable groups? Four studies demonstrated that perceptions of majority group norms regarding prejudice expression can shape how minority individuals respond to minority individuals from other groups. Study 1 revealed that Black and White men and women have somewhat different perceptions of Whites' norms regarding prejudice expression. Study 2 manipulated whether evaluations of Native American job candidates were to remain private or to be made public to unfamiliar Whites upon whom the evaluators were dependent: Black men used a strategy of publicly (but not privately) denigrating the minority target to conform to presumed prejudice-expression norms. Study 3, in which the authors explicitly manipulated prejudice-expression norms, and Study 4, in which they manipulated audience race, further supported the role of such norms in eliciting public discrimination against minority group members by other minority group members. The desire to avoid being targeted for discrimination, in conjunction with the perception that the majority endorses discrimination, appears to increase the likelihood that the often-stigmatized will stigmatize others.

Keywords: intergroup interaction, racial and ethnic relations, prejudice and discrimination, social norms, conformity

Victims of prejudice may, of course, inflict on others what they themselves receive. Deprived of power and status one craves to feel power and status. Pecked at by those higher in the pecking order, one may, like a fowl in the barnyard, peck at those seen as weaker and lower than oneself, or as threatening. (Allport, 1954, p. 153)

The mechanism of defense just described is entirely absent in the case of many victims of prejudice. Just the reverse happens . . . compassion is the natural response of their group toward the plight of all sufferers from oppression. Their own trials and suffering . . . make for understanding and sympathy. (Allport, 1954, pp. 154–155)

Are stigmatized individuals especially likely to stigmatize others, or are they, because of their own victimization, especially likely to refrain when such opportunities present themselves? In his influential text on prejudice, Gordon Allport (1954) considered both alternatives yet failed to provide a theoretical reconciliation. Even though numerous researchers have called for the exploration of the traditional target's role as a perceiver in intergroup relations (Shelton, 2000; Shelton & Richeson, 2006), the past five decades of prejudice research have neglected to address Allport's dueling predictions (for a similar observation, see Major & Vick, 2005).

Very little research has explored how minority group members think and feel about members of other minority groups. A few studies provide indirect evidence supporting both outcomes proposed by Allport but do little to elucidate when and why one outcome may result instead of—or more powerfully than—the other (e.g., Abwender & Hough, 2001; S. Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003; Mack et al., 1997; White & Langer, 1999). The only direct exploration of the circumstances under which often-stigmatized individuals may be especially likely (or unlikely) to stigmatize others, of which we are aware, is provided by Galanis and Jones (1986). In their study, Black participants were more likely than White participants to recommend committing to a mental institution an individual described as depressed and emotionally distressed, except when Black victimization in other contexts was made salient and when the target was clearly labeled as deviant.

The aim of the present research is to begin to address Allport's contradictory predictions by exploring one variable that should influence how often-stigmatized individuals judge members of other often-stigmatized groups: perceptions of majority group norms regarding the expression of prejudice. Our theoretical analysis has implications for understanding how Blacks and Whites may differentially evaluate members of (non-Black) minority groups, for how these evaluations will differ for Blacks and Whites as a function of whether they are made publicly or privately, and for how these patterns of evaluation may differ for men and women. The analysis also generates a particularly intriguing hypothesis—that Black men, more than White men (and more than Black and White women), will express especially strong prejudices against other minority group men, but only when they believe their evaluations will be publicly available to a White audience of their gender.

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Conforming to Social Norms

To gain the approval of others, individuals often strategically conform to salient norms and cater their opinions to the audience whose approval they seek (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Jones & Wortman, 1973; Klimoski & Inks, 1990; Pennington & Schlenker, 1999; Tetlock, 1983). Such conformity is often rewarded: Audiences tend to develop more favorable impressions of those who agree with them than of those who do not, seeing them as more likable, intelligent, and perceptive (Braver, Linder, Corwin, & Cialdini, 1977; Cialdini, Braver, & Lewis, 1974). Thus, it is not surprising that research suggests that a motivation to affiliate enhances behavioral conformity (e.g., Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Lakin & Chartrand, 2003; Williams, Cheung, & Choi, 2000).

The impetus to conform to salient societal norms may be especially compelling for readily stigmatizable individuals and members of low-power groups. Such individuals tend to experience belonging uncertainty (Walton & Cohen, 2007) and tend to be chronically aware of the potential for devaluation and negative treatment (e.g., Adams, Garcia, Purdie-Vaughns, & Steele, 2006; Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002; Monteith & Spicer, 2000; Pinel, 1999). Because of this, perhaps, they often use compensatory strategies to foster smoother interpersonal and intergroup interactions (e.g., Frable, Blackstone, & Scherbaum, 1990; Miller, Rothblum, Barbour, Brand, & Felicio, 1990; Miller, Rothblum, Felicio, & Brand, 1995; Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005). Compensatory conformity is one such strategy; that is, the desire to align oneself with the majority can lead individuals to conform to the positions of these individuals (e.g., Tafarodi, Kang, & Milne, 2002).

Prejudice-Relevant Norms

Social norms powerfully influence the expression of prejudice (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). Studies have repeatedly demonstrated that people report prejudices and stereotypes consistent with the norms most salient at the time. For example, Blanchard and colleagues have shown that explicit exposure to an antiracist norm leads participants to express significantly stronger antiracist opinions than they would otherwise, whereas explicit exposure to a pro racist norm leads participants to express more racist positions than they would otherwise (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994; Blanchard, Lilly, & Vaughn, 1991).

In contemporary American society, however, there is a pervasive presumption among Whites that nonmasked public expressions of racial and ethnic prejudices are inappropriate (Crandall et al., 2002; Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; Evans, Garcia, Garcia, & Baron, 2003; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995; Plant & Devine, 1998). As a result, White Americans tend to be concerned about appearing prejudiced to audiences of unknown beliefs (Carver, Glass, & Katz, 1978; Crosby et al., 1980; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Thus, when hostility toward minority group members is expressed, it tends to be in subtle ways (e.g., Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Devine, 2003; Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002) or in ways that can be attributed to factors other than prejudice (e.g., Castelli, Vanzetto, Sherman, & Arcuri, 2001; Snyder, Kleck, Strenta, &

Mentzer, 1979). In general, White Americans are less likely to derogate minority group members when prejudices are assessed publicly rather than privately (Evans et al., 2003). Indeed, not only is it relatively rare to find White Americans publicly derogating minority groups in social contexts in which the specific beliefs of audience members are unknown, but in such situations they sometimes publicly report more positive feelings for members of minority groups than for White Americans (Judd et al., 1995).

Members of minority groups recognize the ambivalence of White norms—that discrimination may be acceptable but that blatant, unambiguous expressions of prejudice are usually not. For this reason, perhaps, Black targets tend to be attuned not only to the verbal behaviors of their White interaction partners but also to their less controlled (and thus potentially more revealing) nonverbal behaviors (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). This sensitivity to the fact that White norms proscribe obvious expressions of prejudice does not preclude, however, a belief that Whites nonetheless discriminate against members of minority groups. Black Americans tend to believe they are discriminated against by Whites (e.g., Crocker, Luhtanen, Broadnax, & Blaine, 1999; Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991; Pinel, 1999) and that Whites stigmatize other minority groups as well (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994). Moreover, in Black–White social interactions, whereas Whites often focus on the importance of egalitarianism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, 1998) and appearing nonprejudiced (Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998), Blacks often focus on the possibility that they will be the target of White prejudice (Shelton, 2003; Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Shelton et al., 2005; Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). For members of minority groups, it appears that previous experiences as targets of discrimination may lead to perceptions that White norms support negative prejudices against minorities, even while recognizing that related norms also discourage Whites from expressing these prejudices baldly, without some covering justification.

It seems, then, that Blacks and Whites might differ in their beliefs about the prejudice-relevant expressions receiving social approval from Whites: Whereas Whites believe that *nonprejudiced* expressions will generally elicit social approval, Blacks and other minority groups may believe that *prejudiced* expressions—as long as they can be minimally “justified” or “covered”—will generally elicit social approval. In the studies reported here, we explore the effects of such perceived norms in a context in which opportunities to cover and justify prejudices are readily available: evaluating job candidates possessing ambiguously favorable job qualifications.

Gender Differences in Prejudice and the Perception of Prejudice Norms

On average, White men and women differ in their levels of expressed prejudice: Men tend to express more prejudices against other social groups than do women (e.g., Altemeyer, 1988; Sidanius, Cling, & Pratto, 1991; Whitley, 1999). Additionally, compared with men, women self-report high levels of empathy (Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983; Schieman & Van Gundy, 2000) and view empathy as important to their self-concepts (e.g., Cross & Madson, 1997)—and empathy is a state related to lower levels of prejudice expression, and perhaps even lower levels of actual prejudice

(Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002; Batson et al., 1997; Clore & Jeffery, 1972; Johnson, Brems, & Alford-Keating, 1997).

Minority group members' perceptions are consistent with this gender difference in White prejudice expression. Whereas minorities commonly attribute the trait "racist" to White men, they do not as commonly attribute it to White women; instead, White women tend to be perceived as "pleasant" and "sociable" (Niemann et al., 1994). One might expect, then, that Blacks interacting with White men, in particular, would be especially likely to infer that the governing norm would be one of (nonblatant) prejudice expression. Furthermore, Black men may be particularly likely to make such an inference. Compared with Black women, Black men report having experienced higher levels of racial discrimination (Broman, Mavaddat, & Hsu, 2000; Crocker et al., 1999; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). These reports are consistent with findings suggesting that Black men indeed face greater levels of racial discrimination (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000).

If White men are particularly likely to be seen by Blacks as holding and expressing anti-Black prejudices, and Black men are particularly likely to experience and report experiencing racial discrimination, we would expect Black men interacting in a social context dominated by White men to believe that the governing norm is to nonblatantly express racial or ethnic prejudices. In contrast, Black women interacting in a social context dominated by White women should be more likely to believe that the governing norm is a relatively nonprejudiced, egalitarian one.

Current Research

The foregoing analysis suggests that Blacks and Whites (and men and women) have different perceptions of the norms governing prejudice expression within White-dominated social contexts. To the extent, then, that individuals seek acceptance and social approval in these contexts, these different perceptions will create different patterns of prejudice expressed against (non-Black) minority groups. Specifically, in a social context dominated by same-gender Whites, (a) White men should be especially likely to publicly *suppress* any negative prejudices they may privately hold against often-stigmatized minority group members, or even "bend over backward" to evaluatively benefit them; (b) Black men, in contrast, should be especially likely to publicly *express* negative prejudices against often-stigmatized groups—prejudices they may not privately possess; (c) White women should exhibit relatively few prejudices, publicly or privately, against members of often-stigmatized groups; and (d) Black women, similarly, should exhibit few prejudices, publicly or privately, against members of other often-stigmatized groups.

We test these behavioral hypotheses most directly in Study 2, in which White and Black participants' evaluations of a minority (Native American) or White target are either private or public to a group of outcome-controlling Whites. The three other studies are designed to test explicitly the mechanism hypothesized to underlie the Study 2 behavioral findings. In Study 1 we explore some of our predictions about White-Black, male-female differences in perceptions of White prejudice-expression norms and the strategies for gaining benefits from outcome-controlling White audiences. In Study 3 we explicitly manipulate these norms. And in Study 4 we manipulate the race of the outcome-controlling audience as a means of altering the perceptions of prejudice-expression norms.

Across all four studies, to examine the hypothesized importance of perceived norms, we differentiate between privately held and publicly expressed judgments. Other research has focused on the internalization of norms and the effects of norms on stable dispositional characteristics (e.g., Crandall et al., 2002; Goldstein & Cialdini, 2007; Sechrist & Stangor, 2001; Sinclair, Lowery, Hardin, & Colangelo, 2005); in contrast, our hypotheses focus on the pragmatic, short-term strategies people use to manage others' impressions and thus gain desirable tangible outcomes. By asking participants how they would respond in public situations (Study 1), by manipulating the private versus public nature of participants' judgments (Study 2), and by manipulating the local norms in a public context (Studies 3 and 4), we explore the extent to which derogating an out-group member is utilized as a public self-presentation strategy. In all, the present studies explore hypothesized differences in the perception of what matters to (powerful) others and how individuals adjust their expression of prejudice accordingly.

Study 1

To establish the foundation for Study 2, which directly explores our behavioral hypotheses, we first explored the perceptions held by Black and White individuals of the prejudice-expression norms of the majority group (Whites) and the behavioral strategies White and Black individuals think are effective for currying social favor with relatively powerful White audiences. The procedures used in this study were designed to mimic the procedures used in Study 2 so that we might better understand the normative inferences made by participants in that focal study.

Participants were asked to report how Whites of their gender respond to minority targets, and to consider the behavioral strategies they would use to be seen positively by Whites of their gender who control their outcomes.¹ On the basis of our analysis, we anticipated that (a) Black men would be especially likely to believe that Whites of their gender discriminate against Blacks and Native Americans and (b) Black participants would be more concerned than White participants that they would receive a negative evaluation from the Whites of their gender, with Black men expressing the greatest concern. As a result of these differences, we antici-

¹ In the present research, our theoretical analysis and empirical studies focus on same-gender interactions. Not only are same-gender interactions commonplace for our participants, but cross-gender interactions bring to bear a host of additional conceptual concerns related to issues of possible sexism, romantic inclinations, and the like, and we felt it important to begin studying the effects of perceptions of White prejudice-relevant norms in a less complex social context. For example, romantic motivations can be activated merely by showing participants photos of members of the preferred gender or by the prospect of interacting with members of the preferred gender (Griskevicius et al., 2007; Roney, 2003; Wilson & Daly, 2004). Even more relevant to the current investigations, men strategically *anticonform* and women strategically conform to social norms when a romantic motivation is activated (Griskevicius, Goldstein, Mortensen, Cialdini, & Kenrick, 2006). Thus, by constraining the audience to include only same-gender individuals, we are able to avoid engaging additional reasons to conform or anticonform to the audience's norms—reasons that are irrelevant to the mechanisms of interest here—thereby enabling us to more effectively test our focal hypotheses. We return to this issue when introducing Study 3.

pated that Black men and women would differentially evaluate the efficacy of various strategies that could be used to avoid White prejudice. Specifically, we expected that (c) Black men would be especially likely to report a need to conform to the norms and values of White same-gender (i.e., male) observers and (d) Black women would be especially likely to report being nicer than usual in the presence of White same-gender (i.e., female) observers.

Method

Participants

Sixty-seven students from Arizona State University participated in exchange for either introductory psychology course credit or \$10. Thirty-three Black (22 female, 11 male) and 34 White (15 female, 19 male) students participated.

Procedure

Participants were run individually using a modified version of the methodology to be used in Study 2. Upon arrival to the lab, participants were seated in a cubicle designed to resemble an office. The experimenter explained that the participants would perform a variety of tasks commonly found at work. This cover story allowed us to introduce a series of tasks as being related to a typical workday as opposed to being related to each other. Prior to the first task, the experimenter verbally explained all of the tasks and gave participants time to read written instructions for each task. After participants clearly understood the directions, the experimenter began the first assignment. The first task was a filler task designed to enhance the cover story. Participants had 3 min to make decisions on three business scenarios (e.g., which delivery service was best). The second task was a racial salience prime labeled as a proofreading task. In this task participants were given 3 min to proofread a paragraph from a review of a book on race-relevant issues. To prevent any effects due to fears of poorly performing on this task, experimenters told participants to find as many errors as possible and then assured them that most participants do not get all the way through the book review or find all the errors.

The focal task was third. Instead of evaluating a minority (Native American) or White target—the focus of Study 2—participants here responded to questions relevant to the mechanisms we propose underlie evaluations of such targets (i.e., questions targeting perceived norms regarding prejudice expression among Whites of their gender). The questionnaire included two sets of questions with presentation order counterbalanced across participants. In one set, participants answered questions regarding their beliefs about average White individuals of their gender; in the other set, participants answered questions regarding their beliefs about the specific group of individuals of their gender created for the Study 2 procedures (described below). Including both sets of questions allowed us to explore whether the findings regarding perceived norms would generalize beyond the particular social context created for Study 2. All responses were made anonymously. When participants finished working on the questionnaire, they sealed it in an envelope and dropped it in a box already containing a large number of questionnaires. Participants were probed for suspicion, debriefed, and dismissed.

Measures

Participants answered all questions on 9-point Likert-type scales anchored by 1 (*not at all*) and 9 (*extremely*).

Perceptions of prejudice-expression norms. Participants responded to four questions assessing the extent to which the average White person of their gender publicly discriminates against African Americans (e.g., “How likely is the average White [male/female] to discriminate against African Americans when other White [males/females] are around?”), $\alpha = .56$. They also responded to the same set of four questions with Native Americans as the target group, $\alpha = .61$. Finally, participants estimated the likelihood that a White individual of their gender would publicly favor a White job applicant over a Native American job applicant.

Perceptions of prejudice-expression norms within the imagined Study 2 experimental context. This set of questions had participants contemplate the actual experimental situation created for Study 2. Participants were asked to imagine working with the group of four students featured in photographs in the questionnaire booklet. The four pictures were of White individuals of the same gender as the participant. Participants were asked to consider working with these individuals on the tasks later used in Study 2, including a task in which they would discuss their evaluations of job candidates and a task in which they would evaluate one another for a monetary reward. Thus, prior to responding to the questionnaire items, participants were considering the situation to be faced by participants in Study 2.

As a measure of *prejudice-expression norms*, participants responded to two items assessing the likelihood that the featured individuals would publicly discriminate against a Native American job applicant (e.g., “To what extent do you think these four [males/females] would discriminate against the Native American if these evaluations were public to the whole group?”), $\alpha = .77$.

As a measure of their *perceived likelihood of rejection*, participants were asked to consider a task in which they would evaluate, and be evaluated by, the individuals in the photographs for a monetary reward. Participants then reported how they thought they would be evaluated in comparison to the White individuals featured in the photographs (“How likely is it that these [men/women] would give you a lower evaluation than they would give the other [men/women]?”).

Participants also considered *behaviors that might be useful to garner positive evaluations* from the four featured individuals. Three questions focused on the necessity of *matching the values* of the group in order to be evaluated positively (e.g., “To what extent would you need to publicly present yourself as having the same values of these [men/women] in order to get them to evaluate you positively?”), $\alpha = .70$. A fourth question assessed the extent to which they would *act nicer* than usual in order to secure a positive evaluation (“To what extent would you have to be nicer than you usually are in order to get these [men/women] to evaluate you positively?”).

Results

For the majority of the variables we had very specific predictions regarding the pattern of means across the conditions of our design. Thus, unless otherwise noted, we applied a contrast analysis strategy to test these predicted patterns (J. R. Levin & Neu-

mann, 1999; Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1985). We contrast coded each of the four cells of the design along a single dimension. For each hypothesis test, we assigned each cell a contrast weight to represent the predicted pattern of means (described below). One-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were used to test the 1-*df* *F* value for each set of contrast weights as well as the *F* value for the test of departures from the predicted pattern (expected to be nonsignificant; see J. R. Levin & Neumann, 1999).

Perceptions of General Prejudice-Expression Norms

Participants reported the extent to which they perceived that Whites of their gender discriminate against Blacks (see Figure 1, left panel). As predicted, Black men most strongly perceived that Whites of their gender publicly discriminate against Blacks: The one (Black men) versus three (White men, White women, and Black women) contrast was significant, $F(1, 63) = 6.58, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .09$; the residual contrast was not, $F_{\text{residual}}(2, 63) < 1$. However, although Black women did not perceive as much public discrimination against Blacks as Black men did, they did perceive some discrimination by White women. This suggests that Black women are aware of the possibility of being a target of prejudice and of the potential benefit of engaging in strategies to avoid this possibility.

Participants also reported the extent to which they perceived that Whites of their gender discriminate against Native Americans (see Figure 1, right panel). Similar to the above findings, Black men

also perceived the greatest amount of prejudice expressed against Native Americans; the one (Black men) versus three (White men, White women, and Black women) contrast approached significance, $F(1, 63) = 3.45, p = .07, \eta_p^2 = .05$, whereas the residual contrast did not, $F_{\text{residual}}(2, 63) < 1$.

As predicted, Black men were also especially likely to believe that Whites of their gender would publicly evaluate a Native American job applicant less favorably (see Figure 2): The predicted one (Black men) versus three (White men, White women, and Black women) contrast yielded a significant effect, $F(1, 63) = 4.26, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .06$; a test of the residual did not, $F_{\text{residual}}(2, 63) = 1.24, ns$. Consistent with predictions, Black men were especially likely to anticipate White public derogation of a Native American candidate. Note also that we expected that White men would assume a White norm of public *nonprejudicial* expressions, and the pattern of means is consistent with this, too: White men anticipated less public pro-White bias than did any of the other groups.

Perceptions of Prejudice-Expression Norms Within the Imagined Study 2 Experimental Context

Recall that participants were also shown photos of White students of their own gender and asked to imagine that they would be interacting with these White students and that these White students would eventually evaluate them after learning of their ratings of the job candidate.

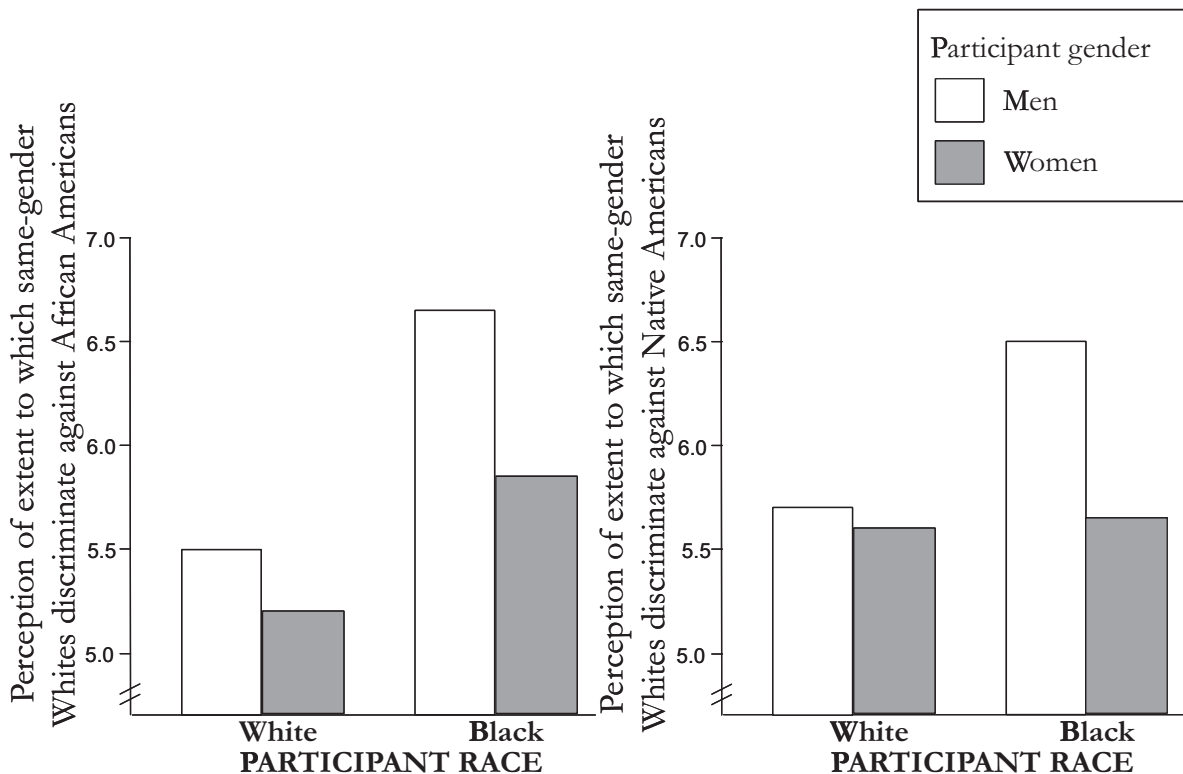


Figure 1. Left panel: Extent to which participants believe that same-gender Whites discriminate against African Americans (Study 1). Right panel: Extent to which participants believe that same-gender Whites discriminate against Native Americans (Study 1).

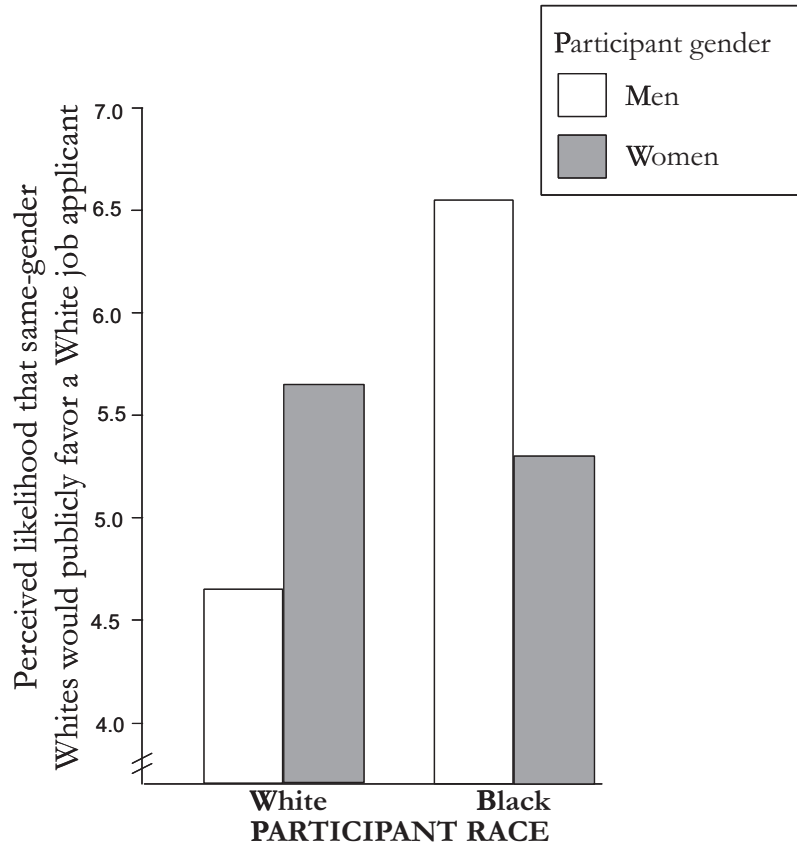


Figure 2. Participants' perception of the likelihood that same-gender Whites would publicly favor a White job candidate over a Native American candidate (Study 1).

Prejudice-expression norms. Consistent with the above findings, and our predictions, Black men were especially likely to believe that the specific group of White students they would be judged by would publicly discriminate against the Native American job applicant (see Figure 3): The one (Black men) versus three (White men, White women, Black women) contrast reached statistical significance, $F(1, 63) = 5.34, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .08$, whereas the residual contrast did not, $F_{\text{residual}}(2, 63) < 1$.

Perceived likelihood of rejection. Participants considered how the individuals featured in the photographs would evaluate each other and themselves. Participants reported whether they expected receiving a lower evaluation from the ostensible group than the other featured individuals would. As predicted, a significant main effect of race emerged, $F(1, 61) = 15.70, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .21$: Black participants were more concerned than White participants about receiving lower evaluations from their same-gender White group members.² In addition, a main effect of gender emerged that approached significance, $F(1, 61) = 2.87, p = .10, \eta_p^2 = .01$, suggesting that men were more concerned than women were about receiving a lower evaluation. However, these effects were qualified by an interaction between gender and race that approached significance, $F(1, 61) = 3.08, p = .08, \eta_p^2 = .05$ (see Figure 4): Black men anticipated, much more than did White men, receiving unfavorable evaluations from their White group members, $F(1, 61) = 14.95, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .20$; although Black women also

anticipated, relative to White women, receiving unfavorable evaluations, $F(1, 61) = 2.69, p = .11, \eta_p^2 = .04$, this effect was not as strong as the effect within men. Indeed, Black men were more likely than Black women to anticipate receiving low evaluations from their White group members, $F(1, 61) = 5.63, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .08$.

Behaviors believed necessary to garner a positive evaluation. Participants reported the extent to which they would need to engage in two types of strategies to garner positive evaluations from their White group members: matching the values of these individuals and being nicer than usual. When Black men were asked about publicly matching the values of their White group members, planned comparisons revealed that they viewed this as an important impression management strategy (see Figure 5, left panel): The one (Black men) versus three (White men, White women, Black women) contrast was significant, $F(1, 63) = 6.25, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .09$; the residual was not, $F_{\text{residual}}(2, 63) < 1$.

The strategy of being nicer than one ordinarily is revealed a very different pattern of results: Only Black women reported that being nicer than usual would help to secure a favorable evaluation from their White group members (see Figure 5, right panel): A one

² The degrees of freedom changed here because 2 participants did not respond to this question. One was a White woman and the other was a Black woman.

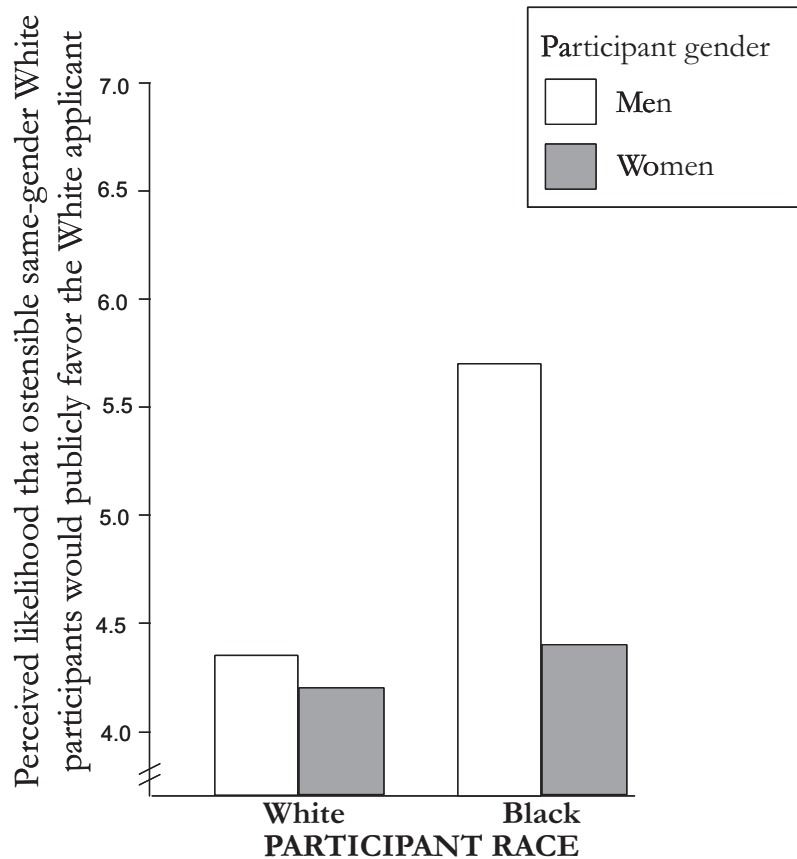


Figure 3. Participants' perception of the likelihood that the four same-gender, White ostensible other participants would publicly favor a White job candidate over a Native American job candidate (Study 1).

(Black women) versus three (White men, White women, Black men) contrast was significant, $F(1, 62) = 4.81, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .07$; the residual was not, $F_{\text{residual}}(2, 63) < 1$.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 provide initial evidence for the proposed norm-based processes hypothesized to emerge in interactions between traditionally stigmatized and traditionally nonstigmatized individuals. As predicted, Black men perceived the greatest amount of discrimination directed toward minorities from Whites of their gender. In addition, both Black men and Black women reported being concerned that they would receive negative evaluations in an interaction with Whites of their gender—although this effect was stronger for Black men—suggesting that both Black men and Black women are concerned about prejudice in interracial interaction and do consider strategies to increase the extent to which the interaction goes smoothly. We did, however, find a difference in the types of strategies that Black men and Black women acknowledge would be useful in intergroup interactions to garner a positive evaluation from White evaluators of their gender: Black men reported believing that accommodating White norms would be necessary, whereas Black women reported believing that acting nicer than usual would be needed. The female endorsement of this latter strategy is consistent with the impression management

tactics that women, in particular, use when they want to be liked. For example, women tend to engage in warmer nonverbal behaviors (Hall & Friedman, 1999) and smile more (e.g., Dovidio, Brown, Heltman, Ellyson, & Keating, 1988).

Study 1 thus presents initial evidence consistent with our analysis: Black and White (and male and female) participants perceive different White norms regarding prejudice expression, and Blacks more than Whites (and Black men, in particular) see themselves at greater risk for being discriminated against.

Study 2

Supported by the findings of Study 1, Study 2 provides a focal test of our central thesis: that there would be a differential influence of perceived local norms on Black and White and male and female evaluations of (non-Black) minority targets. Specifically, in a social setting dominated by unknown same-gender Whites who control desired outcomes, we expected the following:

1. White men should be especially likely to publicly *suppress* any negative prejudices they may privately hold against often-stigmatized minority group members, or even “bend over backward” to evaluatively benefit them.

2. Black men should be especially likely to publicly *express* negative prejudices against often-stigmatized groups—prejudices they may not privately possess.

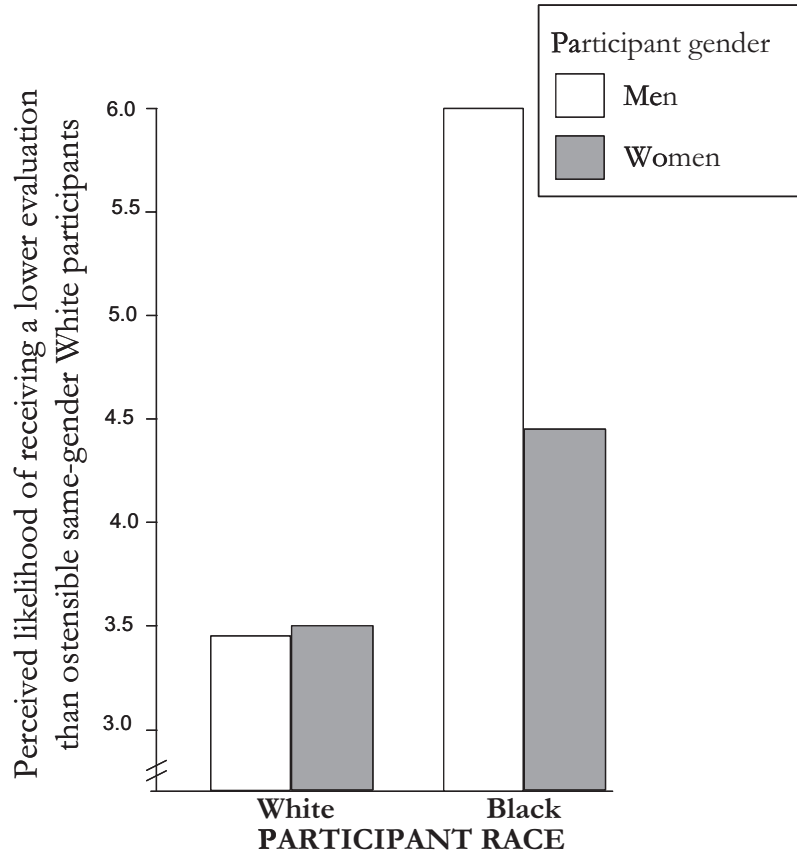


Figure 4. Participants' perception of the likelihood that they personally would receive a lower evaluation than the same-gender, White ostensible other participants (Study 1).

3. White women should exhibit relatively few prejudices, publicly or privately, against members of often-stigmatized groups.

4. Black women, similarly, should exhibit few prejudices, publicly or privately, against members of other often-stigmatized groups but should be especially likely to publicly respond more positively to both candidates than they ordinarily would as a means of gaining social approval.

To explore these hypotheses, the present study experimentally manipulated the utility of conforming to perceived social norms for self-presentation purposes by varying whether participants evaluated minority targets privately or for public consumption. Black and White participants evaluated minority (Native American) and majority (White) job candidates. Half of the participants were led to believe their evaluations would remain private (thereby sheltering the evaluations from impression management concerns); the others were led to believe their evaluations would be made public to a group of outcome-controlling Whites (thereby enabling the evaluations to serve as an impression management tactic).

Method

Participants

Two hundred thirteen students from Arizona State University were recruited across three semesters in exchange for either introductory psychology course credit or \$10. Ninety-three Black (27

male, 66 female) and 120 White (43 male, 77 female) students participated.

Design

The cleanest test of our hypotheses would involve participants evaluating just one of the two job candidates, so that the evaluations of one candidate would not bias their judgments of the other. Blacks constitute only 3.5% of our student population (and Black males only 1.5%), however. In the hope, then, of increasing statistical power otherwise limited by this small sample size, each participant evaluated both a Native American and a White American job applicant (one at a time), with the order of these evaluations counterbalanced. This provided us with the ability to test for carryover effects from evaluations of the first candidate to the second and, if no such order effects emerged, to treat the group status of the candidates as a within-participant variable. Because we were concerned about a possible carryover effect, we framed the cover story and instructions as if participants would be evaluating only one candidate; this would enable us, in the event of a carryover effect, to focus on only the first candidate and treat candidate race as a between-participants variable. Thus, only when participants had completed their evaluations of the first candidate were they told that there was a second candidate to evaluate as well.

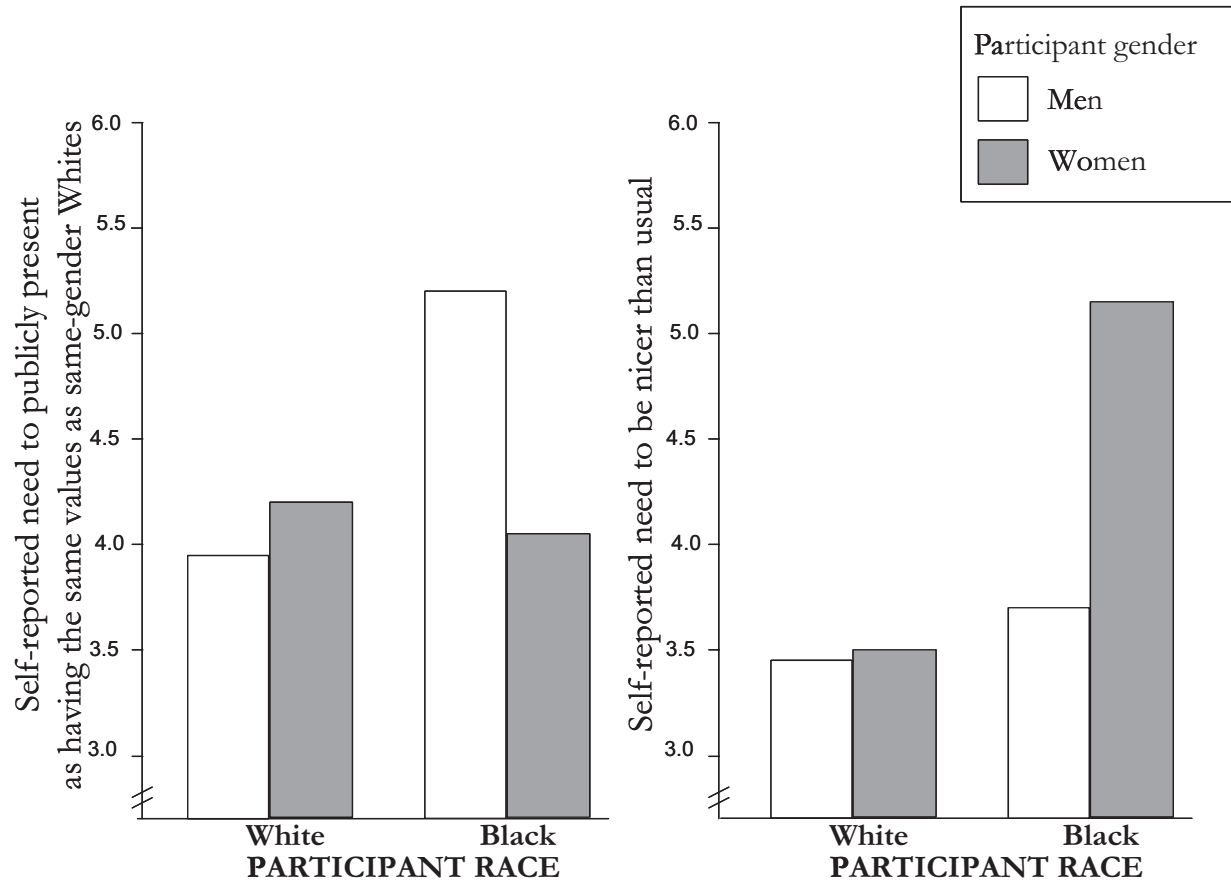


Figure 5. Left panel: Extent to which participants believe that matching the values of the same-gender, White ostensible other participants will increase the likelihood of garnering a favorable evaluation from these individuals (Study 1). Right panel: Extent to which participants believe that acting nicer than usual will increase the likelihood of garnering a favorable evaluation from the same-gender, White ostensible other participants (Study 1).

Participants were randomly assigned to believe their evaluations would either be made public to a group of White participants of their gender or remain completely private. Hence, the overall experimental design was a 2 (candidate race: Native American or White) \times 2 (participant race: Black or White) \times 2 (participant gender: male or female) \times 2 (accountability for evaluation: public or private) \times 2 (candidate order: Native American first or White first). Participant race, participant gender, accountability, and candidate order were between-participants variables; candidate race was a within-participant variable.

Procedure

Participants were run individually. Upon arrival to the lab, the participant was seated in a cubicle designed to resemble an office. The cover story was the same as that used in Study 1. Participants were led to believe that four other, same-gender students were recruited into the same time slot and that all five students would eventually work together on a group task; in reality, no other participants existed. Before beginning the tasks, the participant completed a personal information sheet requesting first name, race, age, and gender, and the experimenter took a Polaroid picture of

the participant to accompany this information. The experimenter then left the room, purportedly to photocopy the participant's information for distribution to the other participants and to retrieve their information. The experimenter returned 4 min later with copies of these information sheets and pictures, which described the ostensible others as White male or female (with gender matching the gender of the participant) freshmen between the ages of 18 and 20. To keep the group members salient in the minds of participants throughout the session, the experimenter pinned the four photocopied photographs and the participant's own photograph in front of the participant on the cubicle wall.

Prior to the first task, the experimenter verbally explained all of the tasks and gave the participant time to read written instructions for each task. After the participant clearly understood all of the directions, the experimenter began the first assignment. The first and second tasks (business scenario decision task, proofreading task) were the same tasks used in Study 1. As in Study 1, the focal task was third. Participants received a job description and one of the two job candidate packets. Each application packet contained materials purportedly completed by the candidate, a résumé, and a form for evaluating the candidate. The two résumés and applica-

tions were counterbalanced such that the only substantive difference between the applications was the candidate's name and race: One candidate was labeled as Native American (Hoskie Yazzi) and the other as White American (Mark Jennings).³ Before participants began this task, the accountability manipulation was introduced and the descriptions of the fourth and fifth tasks (described below) were repeated.

In the high-accountability (public) condition, participants were instructed to write their first names on each page of the evaluation. Participants were led to believe their evaluations would be photocopied for public review by the ostensible others during the fourth task, which was described as involving a meeting in which all five participants would convene to discuss and defend their candidate evaluations. In the low-accountability (private) condition, participants were led to believe their candidate evaluations would be anonymous and confidential. To maintain anonymity, participants were instructed not to write their names on the evaluations and to seal them in an unmarked envelope and drop the envelope in a box labeled "completed forms." This box was filled with other envelopes purportedly containing evaluations completed by previous participants. In the private condition the only information about the fourth task was that it would be a discussion task; there was no mention of the group discussion topic or of any relationship between that task and the evaluation task.

In both the public and the private conditions, the fifth task was described as an evaluation task in which all participants—the actual participant and the four others—would return to their private rooms and evaluate each other. Participants learned that the group member who received the highest evaluations from the others would be entered into a \$50 raffle. The evaluation task and raffle were included to make salient to the participants that the others—all White—controlled their chance to receive the desirable payment. Once this information was clear, participants were given the first candidate evaluation packet. Upon completion of the first evaluation, participants were given the second candidate evaluation packet. After evaluating both candidates, participants were probed for suspicion and thoroughly debriefed. The fourth task (group discussion) and fifth task (participant evaluations of one another) did not occur. All participants were entered into the raffle.

In the suspicion probe and during the debriefing, participants reported believing that the ostensible group members (portrayed by photographs and personal information) were real participants and were surprised to learn that they would not be interacting with them. It was the case, however, that the second candidate provoked suspicions as to the true nature of this study. Participants reported that encountering a second candidate whose only clear difference from the first candidate was his race highlighted that race was a variable of interest to the researchers and suggested that the researchers were interested in issues pertaining to prejudice and discrimination. Once we realized that participants were consistently reporting these suspicions, we administered the suspicion probe to a subsample of participants after the first candidate evaluation to make sure that these suspicions were in fact a result of the race of the second candidate. In this subsample, all participants reported that they thought the study had to do with different independent and group tasks found in the workplace; not one participant mentioned that they believed the study had to do with prejudice and discrimination.

Measures

A measure of candidate competence was created to elicit evaluations that would be presumed by participants to communicate their personal beliefs about the characteristics of the candidate; this measure thereby potentially held social approval implications for participants. This 11-item composite ($\alpha = .95$) was measured by items assessing the extent to which the candidate was qualified for the job; the extent to which the participant would recommend the candidate for the job; the candidate's skill, competence, capability, and motivation; and the extent to which the candidate would be hard working, be a productive contributor, make a good boss, keep his coworkers on task, and take on a leadership role in the organization. Participants answered all questions on 9-point Likert-type scales anchored by 1 (*not at all*) and 9 (*extremely*).

Results

Preliminary analyses revealed that competence evaluations of both candidates were influenced by the order in which they were judged, as revealed by Candidate Order \times Participant Race \times Participant Gender \times Accountability interactions (White candidate, $p = .03$; Native American candidate, $p = .06$); there was also a significant main effect ($p = .006$) of order for the competence judgments of the Native American candidate. In light of our initial concerns, corroborated by the suspicions held by participants upon encountering the second candidate, this was not surprising. Thus, all analyses below focus on participant evaluations of the first candidate encountered—the methodologically cleanest (albeit less statistically powerful) test of our ideas—and treat candidate race as a between-participants variable.

A Candidate Race \times Participant Race \times Accountability \times Participant Gender ANOVA on competence evaluations revealed a significant four-way interaction, $F(1, 197) = 7.27, p = .008, \eta_p^2 = .04$, such that, as hypothesized, the predicted three-way interaction among participant race, candidate race, and accountability emerged on evaluations made by male, $F(1, 197) = 9.49, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .05$, but not female ($F < 1$) participants (see Figure 6).

Male Participants

When evaluations of the candidate's competence were to be public, we predicted that White men would temper their privately held antiminority prejudices and rate the candidates equivalently, or even rate the Native American candidate more favorably, to conform to a perceived norm frowning upon public expressions of prejudice. In contrast, we predicted that Black men would temper their privately held egalitarianism and rate the Native American candidate less favorably than the White candidate in order to conform to a perceived norm encouraging the expression of prejudices.

³ A separate sample of students ($N = 20$) pretested the résumés used in the current study. Students received the job description used in the current study and were randomly assigned to evaluate one of two résumés. The names on the résumés were removed. Participants evaluated the candidate on all of the dependent variables used in the current study. There were no differences between the resumes for any of the dependent variable (all ps between .33 and .77).

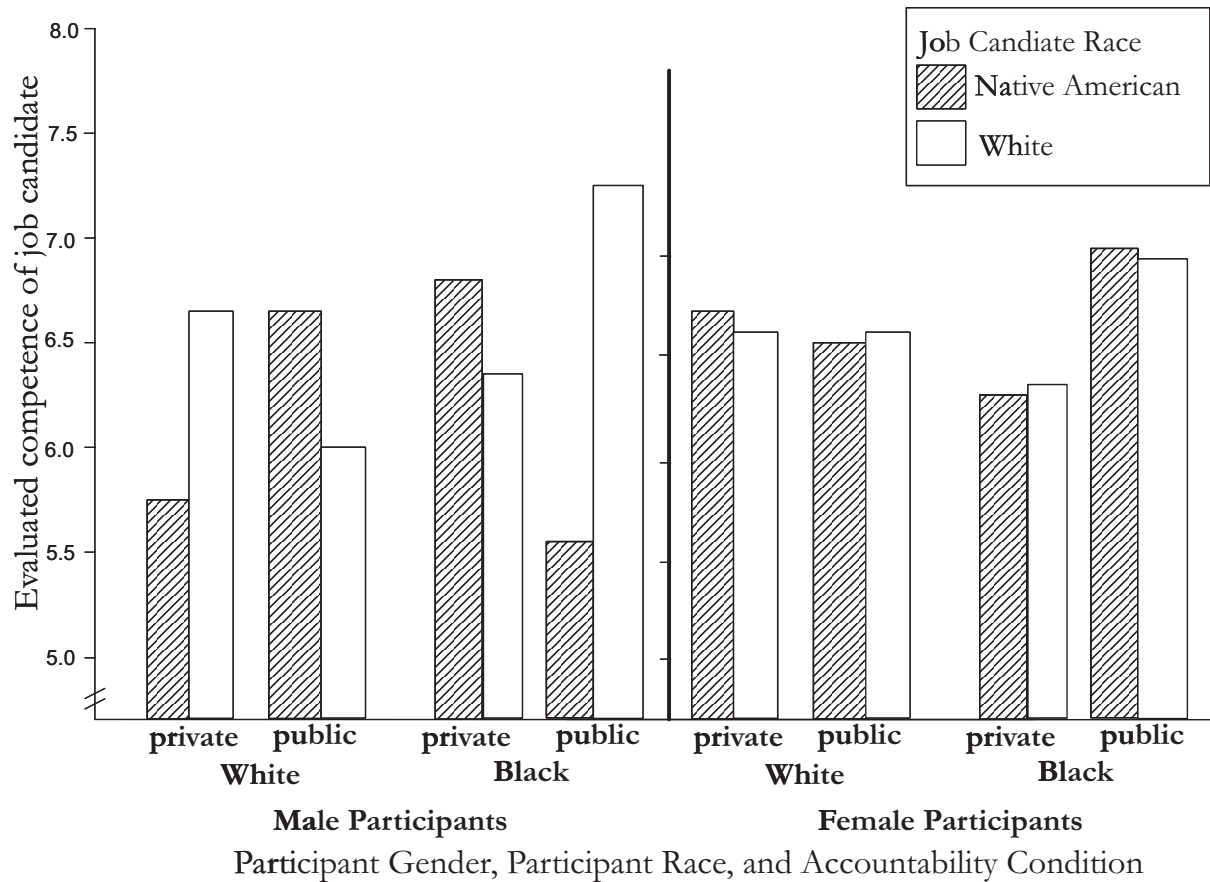


Figure 6. Black and White (male and female) participant evaluations of the White and Native American candidates' competence as a function of the perceived public-private nature of these evaluations (Study 2).

Replicating previous research and consistent with our predictions, White men exhibited a Candidate Race \times Accountability pattern of findings, $F(1, 197) = 3.97, p = .05, \eta_p^2 = .02$ (e.g., Evans et al., 2003; Judd et al., 1995). When their competence evaluations were to remain private, White men tended to rate the White candidate more favorably ($M = 6.64, SD = 0.75$) than the Native American candidate ($M = 5.75, SD = 0.79$). When their evaluations were to be public, however, they exhibited the opposite pattern: White men tended to evaluate the White candidate less favorably ($M = 6.02, SD = 0.82$) than the Native American candidate ($M = 6.63, SD = 0.75$). This pattern was driven primarily by differences in how the Native American candidate was rated: White male participants rated the Native American candidate as more competent when the ratings were to be public than when they would remain private, $F(1, 197) = 2.76, p = .05, \eta_p^2 = .01$ (one-tailed).⁴ Although the White candidate was reported to be more competent when evaluated privately as compared with publicly, this difference did not approach statistical significance ($F < 1$).

Black men also exhibited the predicted (albeit different) Candidate Race \times Accountability pattern of findings, $F(1, 197) = 5.96, p = .015, \eta_p^2 = .03$. When their competence evaluations were to remain private, Black men exhibited no significant bias in their ratings (Native American applicant: $M = 6.82, SD = 0.60$; White

candidate: $M = 6.35, SD = 1.02; F < 1$). When their evaluations were to be public, however, they did exhibit a bias, heavily favoring the White candidate ($M = 7.25, SD = 0.89$) over the Native American candidate ($M = 5.55, SD = 1.92$), $F(1, 197) = 7.18, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .04$ (one-tailed). Further examination reveals that Black male participants significantly lowered their competence evaluations of the Native American candidate when these evaluations were to be public (as opposed to private), $F(1, 197) = 4.77, p = .015, \eta_p^2 = .02$ (one-tailed). Although they tended to raise their evaluations of the White candidate in the public condition, this did not reach conventional levels of significance ($p = .125$, one-tailed).

Female Participants

As discussed earlier, we did not expect women to exhibit the same pattern of evaluations, because (a) White women tend to be less prejudiced than White men and (b) prejudice and prejudice expression does not tend to be perceived, by White or Black women, as the governing norm for White women. Indeed, our

⁴ We report one-tailed p values when testing simple effects that we hypothesized a priori and two-tailed p values when testing simple effects for which we made no specific predictions.

White female participants evaluated the competence of the Native American and White candidates equivalently, both in public ($M_s = 6.51$ and 6.56 , respectively; $SD_s = 1.30$ and 0.98 , respectively) and in private ($M_s = 6.66$ and 6.57 , respectively; $SD_s = 0.92$ and 1.35 , respectively), all $F_s < 1$. Similarly, consistent with the findings of Study 1 that suggest that Black women are likely to interpret a norm of egalitarianism from White women, Black female participants evaluated the Native American and White candidates' competence equivalently, both in public ($M_s = 6.96$ and 6.89 , respectively; $SD_s = 1.03$ and 1.50 , respectively) and in private ($M_s = 6.27$ and 6.28 , respectively; $SD_s = 1.45$ and 1.73 , respectively), all $F_s < 1$. There was, however, an interesting main effect of accountability for the Black women: Consistent with the findings of Study 1 indicating that Black women facing a group of White evaluators believe it especially important to present themselves as nice, Black women evaluated *both* applicants as more competent when their evaluations were to be public rather than private, $F(1, 197) = 4.31$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$.

Discussion

Are members of often-stigmatized groups especially likely or unlikely to stigmatize other often-stigmatized groups? Study 2 examined one variable that may influence the extent to which, and for whom, each of these alternatives may occur: accountability to perceived majority group norms. Results were highly consistent with our hypotheses.

White male responses replicated existing research on normative egalitarian or "political correctness" pressures (e.g., Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Evans et al., 2003; Judd et al., 1995): When evaluations of candidate competence were to remain private, White men tended to favor the White candidate, but when evaluations were to be public they exhibited the opposite bias, tending to favor the Native American candidate.

Black male participants, however, appeared to operate as if they possessed a very different conception of White prejudice-expression norms—that Whites believe it is socially acceptable to express prejudices against members of minority groups. When responses were to remain private, Black men did not differentiate between the two candidates; if anything, they tended to favor, albeit nonsignificantly, the Native American candidate. However, when responses were to be made public to four White men ostensibly possessing the ability to control an important outcome, the Black male participants not only strongly derogated the Native American target but also enhanced their evaluations of the White candidate. The marked difference between their evaluations in public and private reveals that their public evaluations did not reflect an internalization of the White norms or something about the Black men's own stable attitudes toward Native Americans and Whites. Instead, their public evaluations are in line with Black men's belief that Whites not only hold negative biases against minorities but also hold positive biases toward other Whites. Taken together, these public responses likely reflected the use of a short-term pragmatic strategy of matching the perceived norms of the dominant social context.

Finally, as predicted, female participants exhibited quite different patterns of evaluation. Neither Black nor White women displayed private or public bias, in either direction: They evaluated

the Native American and White candidates equivalently. Of note, Black women evaluated both Native American and White candidates as more competent when these evaluations were to be public. This pattern of responses is consistent with a strategy of both matching the perceived norms of the social context (i.e., egalitarianism) and presenting oneself as generally nice in order to garner positive evaluations from White group members.

Study 3

Studies 1 and 2 provide indirect evidence that strategic norm adherence mediated responses to the minority job applicant: Study 1 did so by placing participants in the Study 2 situation and showing that Black and White men and women report somewhat different perceptions of Whites' prejudice-expression norms, and differentially believe that they need to alter their public behavior in order to be viewed favorably by Whites. Study 2 manipulated the public versus private nature of participant responses and showed that the predicted pattern of evaluations, presumably driven by perceived norms, occurred only when participants expected these evaluations to be publicly available to outcome-controlling others. Study 3 extends our examination by explicitly manipulating the local norms regarding the evaluation of a minority target.

As in the public condition in Study 2, participants were led to believe that their evaluations of a Native American job candidate would be public to four outcome-controlling White individuals of their gender. However, in contrast to Study 2, we provided participants with explicit information about how their White group members evaluated the candidate: Participants were led to believe that the others had evaluated the job applicant either positively (suggesting a norm that condemns prejudice expression) or negatively (suggesting a norm that condones prejudice expression). We also included a condition in which participants received no information about the others' evaluations; this served as a replication of Study 2's condition in which participants publicly evaluated the Native American target. Thus, as in Study 2, participants in this condition would need to infer the norms of their group.

Given our theorizing that people's evaluations of minority individuals would follow from their perceptions of the norms governing the local context, and the supportive findings of Studies 1 and 2, we expected that all participants, regardless of race or gender, would evaluate the candidate in a manner consistent with the salient norms. This would strongly suggest that the race and gender differences observed in Study 2 did not result from any fundamental differences between Blacks and Whites and men and women but rather were driven by the different prejudice-expression norms such individuals believed to exist.

Study 3 serves an additional function. Recall that we intentionally confounded race and gender in Studies 1 and 2, such that male participants believed they would be evaluated by male group members and female participants believed they would be evaluated by female group members. We did this to avoid the theoretical complexities raised by considering cross-gender groups and the implications of this for conformity processes (e.g., Griskevicius et al., 2006). Nonetheless, our design choice makes it difficult, in particular, to tease apart alternative explanations for why Black women (unlike Black men) did not publicly exhibit biases against the minority candidate: Did Black women, as we argued, fail to differentiate between the two job candidates because, unlike Black

men, they perceived the White (female) norm to be one of relative egalitarianism? (Indeed, White women did not differentiate between the two candidates.) Or were Black women just less willing than Black (and White) men to adapt their public evaluations to public norms of prejudice expression (or to any distasteful norm, for that matter)?

The procedures of this study are useful for disentangling these alternatives. If the Black women in Study 2 were indeed norm followers but were following White norms they perceived to be more egalitarian than the White norms perceived by the Black men, we would expect them, like the Black men, to match their own public evaluations to the explicit norms manipulated here; they should publicly evaluate the Native American candidate favorably when the evaluation norm is presented as favorable (i.e., as condemning prejudice) and evaluate him unfavorably when the evaluation norm is presented as unfavorable (i.e., as condoning prejudice). Alternatively, if the Study 2 Black women were merely unwilling to adapt their own views to match anticipated candidate evaluations by their White group members, then one would expect the candidate evaluations by the Black women in this study to show an insensitivity to the manipulated explicit norms, such that they would evaluate the Native American candidate relatively positively even when a negative-evaluation norm is made salient.

Method

Participants

One hundred fifty-two students from Arizona State University were recruited to participate in exchange for either introductory psychology course credit or \$15. One White male participant's computer froze at the start of the focal task, and he subsequently could not respond to the dependent measures. He was fully debriefed and dismissed, reducing the sample size to 151 participants, consisting of 61 Black (27 male and 34 female) and 90 White (55 male and 35 female) participants.

Design

Participants were randomly assigned to (a) a condition in which no explicit normative information was provided regarding the ostensible participants' evaluations of the Native American job applicant, (b) a condition in which explicit information was provided that the ostensible participants had evaluated the Native American applicant positively (a norm apparently condemning prejudice expression), or (c) a condition in which explicit information was provided that the ostensible participants had evaluated the Native American applicant negatively (a norm apparently condoning prejudice expression). Hence, the overall experimental design was a 2 (participant race: Black or White) \times 2 (participant gender: male or female) \times 3 (normative information: evaluatively favorable, evaluatively unfavorable, or no explicit normative information), all between-participants variables.

Procedure

Participants were run individually through a procedure that mirrored the public condition from Study 2. Upon arrival to the lab, participants were seated in a cubicle designed to resemble an office. The cover story was the same as in Studies 1 and 2. In

contrast to Study 2, some of the tasks were presented on the participant's computer. As in Study 2, participants learned that four (ostensible) same-gender students were participating at the same time and would join them for the group tasks (participants received pictures of the same individuals from Studies 1 and 2). The tasks were the same as those in the public condition from Study 2.

New to this study were the observable responses to the job applicant made by the ostensible other participants. We employed a computer interface to create a realistic-looking chat room in which participants would be able to see the ostensible group members' evaluations of the applicant before the participants themselves began evaluating the applicant. To create a realistic situation in which the ostensible group members finished their evaluations before the actual participants began their evaluations, and to eliminate any potential concerns by participants that they could be evaluated negatively by their group members for working slowly, we informed participants that each member of their group might engage in different individual tasks before the group task. Furthermore, participants were informed that although these tasks were equivalent in difficulty, they varied on the amount of time they would take to complete.

The public evaluation of a Native American job applicant was the focal task. When participants were ready to begin the focal evaluation task, the experimenter advanced their computer screen to a summary of the instructions. After reading the summary, participants typed their first names into a computer prompt and they were advanced into the chat room. In the chat room there were five boxes, labeled "Coworker A" through "Coworker E." Each box also contained the first name of each group member (these corresponded to the pictures the participant had received earlier). The participant was always "Coworker C," and his or her name appeared in his or her respective box. Participants learned that these boxes would eventually contain each person's average evaluation of the job applicant as soon as he or she finished this evaluation. That is, each person would answer the questions on the computerized candidate evaluation form, and then the computer would purportedly calculate a summary score and post it in that person's box for all of the group members to see. Participants were instructed to take their time and were told that all group members were aware of the different durations of the individual tasks.

In the two conditions in which the normative information was explicit, the computer was programmed such that when the participant entered the chat room, the evaluations of the Native American job applicant made by two out of the four ostensible participants were already posted in their boxes. The instructions in the chat room informed the participants to read the job application materials before advancing to the job applicant evaluation portion of the task. Participants received the job description, résumé, and job application used in Study 2.⁵ The research assistant made sure that the participant did not immediately advance to the job evaluation questions. Although participants were led to believe that they controlled the advancement of the computer, the computer was programmed such that after 15 s, the third ostensible participant's evaluative score appeared. When the participant was done

⁵ Both applications from Study 2 were used and counterbalanced across participants.

reading the job materials, he or she advanced the computer to the candidate evaluation questions. After the participant answered the first question—a filler question—the last ostensible participant's score appeared on the screen, thus providing the participant with all four evaluation summary scores before the participant began his or her evaluation. These scores remained on the screen throughout the entirety of the task.

In the condition in which prejudice expression was normatively condemned, the evaluations of the Native American job applicant supposedly made by the ostensible participants were all above 7 (7.5, 7.2, 8.4, 8.3). In the condition in which prejudice expression was normatively condoned, the evaluations of the Native American job applicant supposedly made by the ostensible participants were all below 3.5 (2.5, 3.2, 2.4, 3.3). In the no-explicit-normative-information condition, no scores ever appeared in the boxes in the chat room; as the participants answered the questions about the job applicant, each of the other participants' boxes remained empty.

Participants were led to believe that as soon as all participants' scores were posted, a chat area would open up and the participants would chat about their evaluation on the computer and then move to a conference room for an in-person discussion. However, following their completion of the job candidate evaluations, all participants were probed for suspicion. As in Study 2, participants believed that the ostensible group members were real participants and that the ostensible interaction would indeed take place. Participants were thoroughly debriefed and entered into the raffle; the fourth task (group discussion) and fifth task (participant evaluations of one another) did not occur.

Measures

Participants used 9-point Likert-type scales with endpoints of 1 (*not at all*) and 9 (*extremely*) to evaluate the Native American candidate; the items were the same as those used in Study 2 to assess competence ($\alpha = .96$). The questions appeared one at a time on the computer screen underneath the boxes dedicated to each participant and his or her summary scores.

Results

Given the focused nature of our hypotheses, we explored separately the no-explicit-normative-information condition and the two conditions in which the normative information was explicit. Evaluating the no-explicit-normative-information condition in isolation is useful because it mimics the critical condition of Study 2, in which participants evaluated the Native American candidate publicly; the two normative information conditions enable a test of the hypotheses specific to this study.

No explicit normative information provided. Replicating Study 2's public condition, evaluations of the Native American target in the no-explicit-normative-information condition yielded a significant Participant Race \times Participant Gender interaction, $F(1, 140) = 5.28, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .04$ (see Figure 7); no significant main effects emerged ($ps > .30$). Consistent with the hypotheses that Black men would publicly diminish their evaluations of a minority target in order to accommodate an assumed White norm of prejudice expression and that White men would enhance their evaluations of a minority target to accommodate an assumed White norm of public egalitarianism, Black men evaluated the Native

American candidate more negatively ($M = 6.24, SD = 0.50$) than did White men ($M = 6.96, SD = 0.66$), $F(1, 140) = 3.65, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .03$ (one-tailed). Consistent with the hypothesis that Black women would not share to the same extent the perception that White women favor discrimination, Black women responded more favorably to the Native American candidate ($M = 7.13, SD = 0.70$) than did the Black men, $F(1, 140) = 3.68, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .03$ (one-tailed). And consistent with the hypothesis that Black women would see a greater need to actively present themselves favorably to their White group members than would White women, and that Black women would endorse a general strategy of being nice, Black women tended to respond more favorably toward the Native American applicant than did White women ($M = 6.28, SD = 1.63$), $F(1, 140) = 2.59, p = .11, \eta_p^2 = .02$ (two-tailed). In all, these results replicate Study 2's findings and further corroborate conclusions drawn from that study.

Normative information explicitly provided. The two conditions in which norms were explicitly presented provide the focal findings. Within these two conditions, there was only a strong main effect of normative information, $F(1, 103) = 51.93, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .34$; there were no other main effects or interactions (all $F_s < 1$), nor did any of the tests of simple effects within the norm conditions approach significance. Simply put, regardless of race or gender, participants in the condition in which norms condemned prejudice expression responded more positively toward the Native American job applicant than did participants in the condition in which norms condoned prejudice expression (see Figure 8).

Discussion

Study 3 directly manipulated the variable hypothesized to be responsible for the outcome of Study 2: perceived White norms regarding prejudice expression. As anticipated, when local norms were explicit, all participants, regardless of race and gender, publicly conformed to them. This supports our contention that the effects observed in Study 2 indeed emerged because participants in the public condition adapted their evaluations of the Native American candidate to fit with what they believed the prejudice-expression norms of their White group members to be.

We further note that the public Black male responses in Study 2 are most similar to Black male responses in the Study 3 condition in which norms condoned prejudice expression, whereas all other participants' public responses in Study 2 parallel responses made in the Study 3 condition in which norms condemned the expression of prejudice. This pattern is consistent with our hypotheses regarding the mechanisms putatively underlying the findings of Study 2—that the public evaluations of the Native American candidate made by Black men would be strongly influenced by their perception that Whites normatively favor the (ostensibly justifiable) public expression of negative prejudice, whereas the public evaluations of the Native American candidate made by White men, White women, and Black women would be influenced by their perception that Whites normatively favor more egalitarian public expressions.

Moreover, the present study helps disentangle alternative hypotheses for why Black women in Study 2, unlike the Black men, failed to differentially evaluate the White and Native American candidates: Because the Study 3 Black women publicly evaluated the candidate in line with the manipulated norms, it seems likely

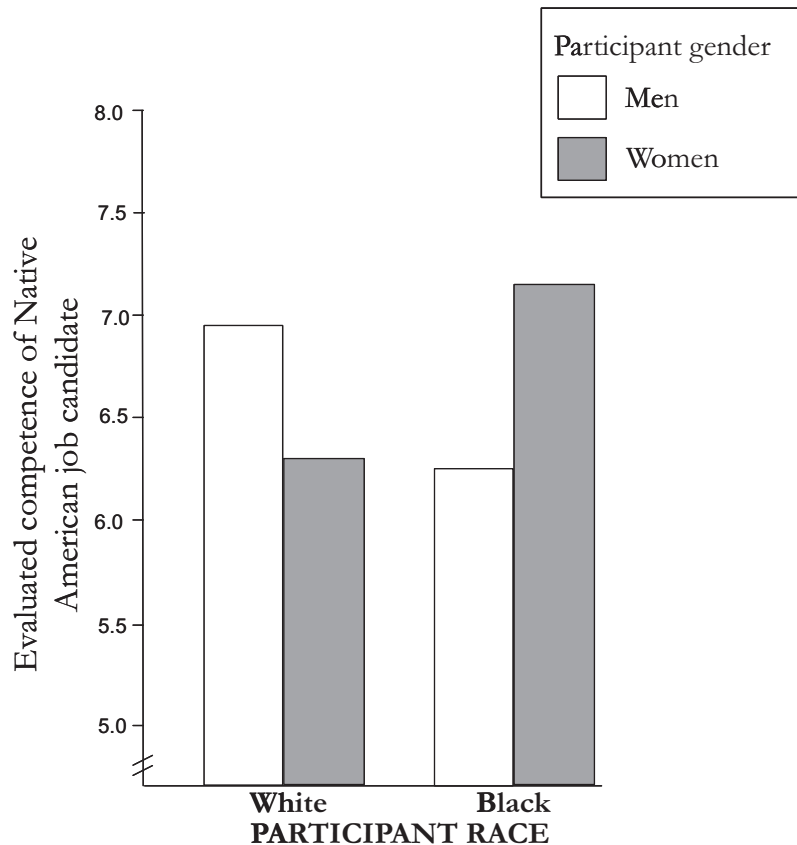


Figure 7. Public evaluations of a Native American job candidate in the no-explicit-normative-information condition (Study 3).

that the Black women in Study 2 were indeed following the norms regarding White female expressions of prejudice as they perceived them. Unlike the Black men in that study, however, the Black women likely perceived those norms to be more egalitarian.

Study 4

In Study 2, we hypothesized and found that Black men were especially likely to discriminate against a member of a different often-stigmatized group—Native Americans—but only when their evaluations of the Native American job candidate were to be made public to a White male audience. Findings from Studies 1 and 3 suggest that this discrimination is driven by (a) Black male perceptions that White men discriminate against minority individuals and (b) beliefs that adhering to these norms will be necessary to create a smoother interaction and to avoid being discriminated against.

Study 4 was designed to further examine the role of perceived norms in motivating Black men's responses in Study 2. If, as we argue, Black men discriminated against the Native American candidate because they perceived their White male audience to hold such discrimination to be normative, then confronting Black men with an audience seen as unlikely to possess such a norm should eliminate these effects. Thus, in Study 4, we held Black male participants accountable either to a group of White men (as in Studies 2 and 3) or to a group of Black men. We

reasoned that Black male participants would not view a Black male audience as being normatively prejudiced against Native Americans for several reasons. First, Black men in Study 2 exhibited no bias in private against the Native American candidate; if anything, they favored the Native American candidate over the White candidate. Considering that individuals use their own views as an anchor for assessing similar others' views (e.g., Robbins & Krueger, 2005), it seemed unlikely that the Black men in our population would view the Black male norm as being discriminatory. Second, our hypotheses about Black male inferences about the discriminatory behaviors of a group of White men were based both on the stereotype that White men are prejudiced and on Black men's personal experience as a target of that prejudice. In contrast to White men, Black men are not stereotyped as prejudiced, and their behaviors therefore tend not to be seen through this lens (Inman & Baron, 1996; Niemann et al., 1994). Moreover, Black men's personal experience of being a target of prejudice should be limited primarily to majority group members as perpetrators and not to other Black men. Therefore, it should not be the case that public prejudice expression and discriminatory behaviors are inferred by Black men as normative for other Black men.

Thus, we anticipated that when held accountable to an audience of Black men, Black male participants would exhibit a different

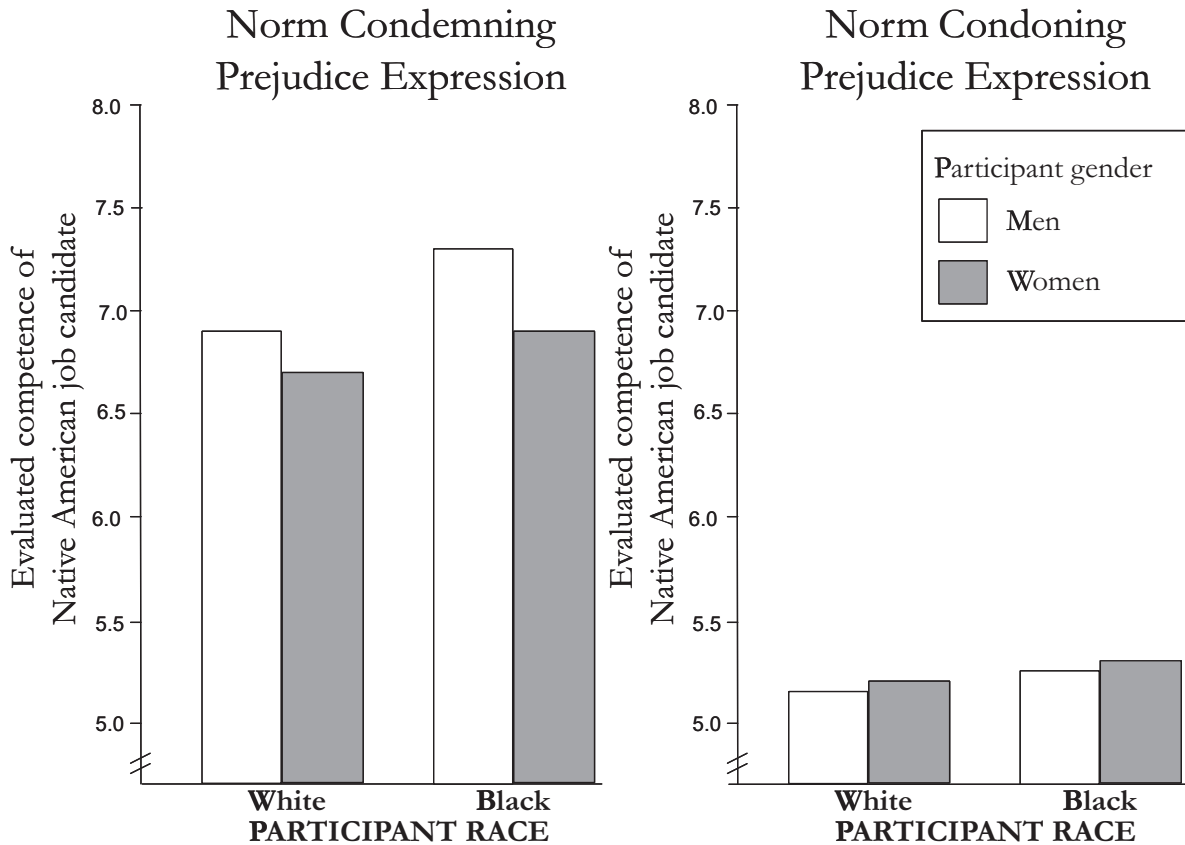


Figure 8. Public evaluations of a Native American job candidate in the two explicit normative information conditions (Study 3).

pattern of responses than when held accountable to a White male audience: They would no longer discriminate against the Native American candidate. Indeed, it seems plausible that Black men might even evaluatively boost the Native American candidate over the White candidate as they did in the private condition in Study 2.

Method

Participants

Thirty-five Black male students from Arizona State University were recruited to participate in exchange for either introductory psychology course credit or \$20.

Design

Participants were randomly assigned to a condition in which their group members were (a) White men (as in Studies 2 and 3) or (b) Black men. Hence, the overall experimental design was a 2 (audience race: White or Black) \times 2 (candidate race: Native American or White), both between-participant variables.

Procedure

Participants were run individually through a procedure that mirrored the public condition from Study 2. Given the small

percentage of Black male students on campus, an additional cover story was included to increase the believability that four other Black male students were coincidentally recruited into the same time slot as the participant. First, when participants were initially contacted by phone, the recruiter explained that the Psychology Department was trying to make research participation more convenient for students by attempting to schedule them into back-to-back research studies, thus requiring students to make only one trip to the Psychology Department.

Second, when the participant arrived to the waiting area, the research assistant conducting the study informed him that there were four other students who would be participating in the same session and that these ostensible students were all in a different, unrelated study. The research assistant then left to check on these other participants. The research assistant returned with four backpacks (purportedly belonging to the other participants) and informed the participant that the other research session was running late and that he or she would get the study set up so that everything would finish on time. The research assistant then brought the participant into a room with five desks arranged in a circle. The research assistant placed each backpack in a chair and explained that all five students (including the participant) would return to this room for a group interaction. The participant was given the option to leave his belongings in the room.

All participants chose to leave their belongings at the desk that remained open. The research assistant locked the door and then brought the participant into his own room for the first part of the study.

As in Studies 2 and 3, participants were seated in a cubicle designed to resemble an office. The general cover story was the same as in Studies 1–3. As in Study 2, participants learned that four (purported) same-gender students were participating at the same time and would join them for a set of group tasks. Because all participants were male, these group members were always described as male. However, in a departure from the previous studies, participants received pictures of either four White men or four Black men. Black male photos were matched to the White male photos on build and clothing. All of the information on the Coworker Information forms distributed with the photographs was kept the same for the Black men with the exception of “African or African/American” circled in the race/ethnicity portion of the form.

In addition, a section was added to all Coworker Information forms asking participants to report what studies they had participated in and when. Everyone’s information sheet had one study in common—the study that the students were supposedly participating in immediately before this study. For the White audience, it was a study on opinions and attitudes on social and political issues. For the Black audience, it was a study on African Americans’ opinions and attitudes on social and political issues. This provided the rationale for why there coincidentally could be four other Black students in this study. In addition, the research assistant asked the participant whether he knew the other four students and made a point to say that the other four students did not know each other and that there was no interaction in the previous study. This information was provided to allay any concerns that the other four participants were friendly or had already had a chance to get to know each other.

The remainder of the study was identical to the public conditions of Study 2. Because we increased the participant payment to \$20, we increased the raffle to \$100. An extensive suspicion probe and debriefing revealed that all participants believed the additional elements of the cover story.

Measures

Participants used 9-point Likert-type scales anchored by 1 (*not at all*) and 9 (*extremely*) to evaluate candidate competence; the items were the same as those used in Studies 2 and 3 ($\alpha = .92$).

Results

As anticipated, the Audience Race \times Target Race ANOVA on competence evaluations yielded a significant interaction, $F(1, 31) = 8.79, p = .006, \eta_p^2 = .22$ (see Figure 9). Replicating the findings from Study 2’s public condition, Black male participants evaluated the Native American candidate ($M = 6.21, SD = 1.30$) as less competent than the White candidate ($M = 7.41, SD = 0.29$) when accountable to a White audience, $F(1, 31) = 7.41, p = .005, \eta_p^2 = .19$ (one-tailed). However, also as anticipated, this discriminatory pattern disappeared when Black male participants were held accountable to an all Black male audience. Indeed, we found the reverse pattern, such that Black male participants evaluated the

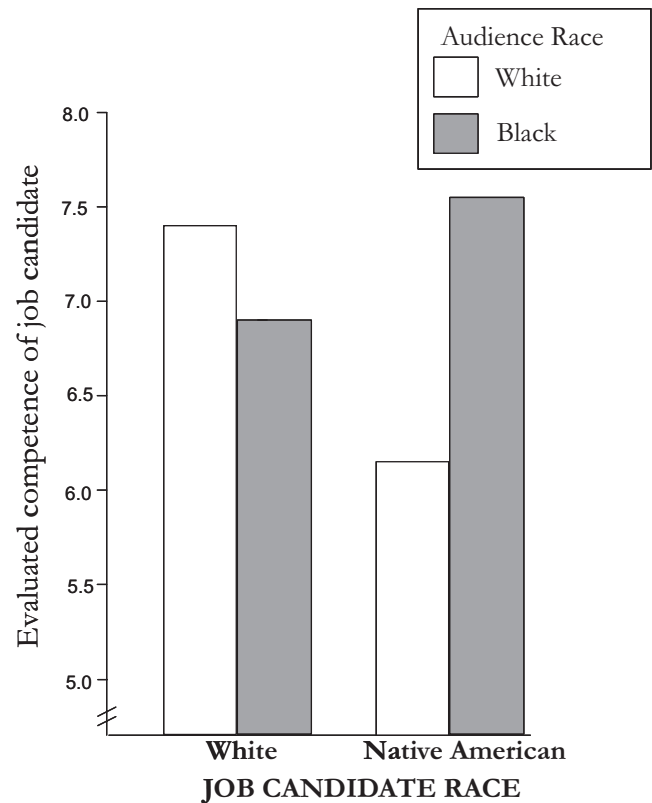


Figure 9. Black male public evaluations of the Native American and White job applicant when accountable to either a White or a Black male audience (Study 4).

Native American candidate ($M = 7.56, SD = 0.91$) as nonsignificantly more competent than the White applicant ($M = 6.89, SD = 0.85$) when the audience was composed of all Black men, $F(1, 31) = 2.28, p = .15, \eta_p^2 = .07$ (two-tailed). In addition, also consistent with predictions, the participants’ evaluations of the Native American target differed significantly as a function of the audience: Black men evaluated the Native American target as less competent when in the presence of a White, as compared with a Black, male audience, $F(1, 31) = 9.50, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .24$ (one-tailed).

Discussion

In Study 4, Black male participants were led to believe that their evaluations of a Native American or White job applicant would be public to an audience of either Black men or White men. As anticipated, when participants were held accountable to an audience perceived as not holding anti–Native American norms, the findings from Study 2 were no longer obtained: Black men did not derogate the Native American job applicant relative to the White applicant. This lends further support for our argument that the effects observed in Study 2 indeed emerged because Black male participants, in the public condition, inferred a norm of prejudice expression from the all White male audience.

General Discussion

Are stigmatized individuals especially likely to stigmatize others, or are they, because of their own victimization, especially likely to refrain when such opportunities present themselves? These studies begin to reconcile the dueling predictions made by Allport by exploring how perceptions of majority group norms regarding the expression of prejudice influence how often-stigmatized individuals judge members of other stigmatizable groups.

When participant evaluations of White and Native American job candidates in Study 2 were to be made public to a group of four White men, White men overrode their private preferences for the White candidate and instead benefited the Native American candidate, whereas Black men overrode their private preferences and denigrated the Native American candidate. In contrast, Black and White women evaluated the candidates similarly in public and in private, although the Black women raised their public evaluations of both candidates. These findings provided initial evidence that participants strategically conformed to what they assumed their audiences' evaluative inclinations would be. As hypothesized, only in public did Black men denigrate the Native American applicant and boost the White applicant. Furthermore, only in public did White men enhance the Native American applicant and lower evaluations of the White applicant. In contrast, when evaluations were to remain private, Black men exhibited no antiminority bias whereas White men exhibited no politically correct, minority-group-boosting responding. These public-private distinctions also provide compelling evidence that the observed pattern of findings did not reflect an internalization of White prejudice norms or a Black male inclination to discriminate against other minority group members. Instead, these differences seem to reflect a strategic, short-term goal aimed at accommodating the salient prejudice-relevant norms of an outcome-controlling (White) audience.

Studies 1, 3, and 4 provide additional evidence that perceived norms drive the Study 2 findings and serve to rule out potential alternative hypotheses. Study 1 demonstrated that Black and White individuals—particularly men—inferred very different prejudice-expression norms among Whites of their gender. Whereas White men tended to infer norms of prejudice suppression, Black men tended to infer a norm of prejudice expression. In contrast, White and Black women perceived little pro-White normative bias.

In Study 3 we explicitly manipulated prejudice-expression norms. As expected, in the no-explicit-normative-information condition (replicating the Study 2 public accountability condition), Black men were again more likely than White men to publicly derogate a Native American target. Moreover, and also as predicted, the availability of explicit normative information (functionally condoning vs. condemning anti-Native American discrimination) revealed that regardless of race or gender, the participants publicly conformed to the manipulated norms. It is useful to note two comparisons across Studies 2 and 3. First, Black male public evaluations of the Native American target in Study 2 were most similar to the condition in Study 3 in which norms condoned prejudice expression (suggesting that the Black men in Study 2 operated under the assumption that White men normatively express their negative prejudices). However, the evaluations made by White men, White women, and Black women in the public con-

dition of Study 2 look most similar to the condition in Study 3 in which norms condemn prejudice expression (suggesting that the White men, White women, and Black women in Study 2 operated under the assumption that Whites normatively tend not to publicly express negative prejudices).

In Study 4, we also manipulated perceived prejudice-expression norms but did so in a more subtle manner that required participants to infer audience norms (as they needed to do in Study 2). The Black male participants in Study 4 were led to believe that they were accountable to either a White or a Black male audience. Again replicating the findings from Study 2, when accountable to a group of White men, Black male participants evaluated the Native American candidate as less competent than the White candidate. In contrast, however, when accountable to an audience of Black men, this pattern disappeared. Indeed, Black male participants even evaluated the Native American candidate as somewhat more competent than the White candidate. In all, the data across all four studies present a compelling case for how inferences about White norms of prejudice expression can lead Black men, when accountable to White men, to discriminate against other minority group members.

Coping With the Possibility of Discrimination

Blacks view White women as holding and expressing less prejudice than White men, and Black women report experiencing less discrimination than do Black men (e.g., Broman et al., 2000; Crocker et al., 1999; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Nonetheless, it is clear that Black men and women alike are concerned that they will be negatively stereotyped and discriminated against by White members of their own gender (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Pinel, 1999; Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Walton & Cohen, 2007). Indeed, in the present research, both Black men and women (and White men and women) follow the perceived prejudice-expression norms of their all-White groups. However, when accountable to White women, in addition to following the norms perceived to govern the situation, Black women also responded more favorably to both the White and Native American applicant (Study 2). These behavioral data are consistent with the self-report data from Study 1 in which Black women reported that acting nicer than usual is a useful strategy for garnering a favorable evaluation from a White female audience. Black men, in contrast, adjusted their public evaluations of the Native American job applicant downward. Why did Black men and women adjust their responses in different ways?

White women are perceived as less likely to discriminate against minority targets than are White men. Black women may thus be somewhat less concerned about being treated unfavorably by White women than Black men are by White men. In addition, Black women were more likely to anticipate egalitarianism and positive responses from White women toward the Native American candidate than Black men were from White men. These positive expectations may allow Black women to use somewhat more subtle strategies to compensate for the possibility that they may be discriminated against. By responding more favorably to both the White and Native American candidates, Black women in Study 2 presented themselves as being nice while at the same time following the anticipated White female norm.

In contrast, White men are viewed—especially by Black men—as less authentically egalitarian and as more likely to pub-

likely discriminate. Moreover, for men especially, adjusting their evaluations in the group discussion or visibly conforming under public pressure may carry with it great self-presentational costs (e.g., Griskevicius et al., 2006; Nail, MacDonald, & Levy, 2000). For these reasons, the strategy adopted by the Black women—which readily allowed for an adjustment of evaluations within the anticipated group discussion—would seem to be less tenable for Black men if they desire some degree of status within the otherwise all-male, all-White group. Instead, Black men may perceive a greater need to anticipate the likely opinions of their group-mates, and to conform preemptively. Given their perception that White men publicly discriminate against minority group members, a reasonable strategy would thus be to behave in a way to assure their White male group members that they do not favor the minority target. Consistent with this, Black male evaluations of the Native American candidate in Study 2 revealed an acute sensitivity to the public–private manipulation: Despite their private tendency to favor the Native American candidate, they nonetheless powerfully derogated him when they believed their evaluations would be made public to the other White male group members. In contrast, when the audience was all Black and male, in Study 4, Black male participant responses no longer conformed to this norm of prejudice expression: The Native American target was no longer derogated but, in fact, was somewhat boosted.

Strategic norm adherence could emerge for a number of different reasons. In the current case, a Black man facing an outcome-controlling group of White men might denigrate a member of another minority group to demonstrate that he does not identify himself in terms of minority status and thus does not want to be categorized as such; that he is not an “activist” who sticks together with other ethnic minority group members (which majority group members would perhaps view unfavorably); that Blacks are higher on the status hierarchy than Native Americans; and so forth. What such reasons have in common is a sensitivity to the local norms regarding prejudices and their expression and the generation of self-presentational strategies consistent with them. That is, each of these examples similarly implies that the Black men in our studies (a) perceived that White men normatively favor Whites and hold negative prejudices against minority groups, (b) wanted to be seen favorably by the White outcome-controlling audience, and (c) believed that conforming to the presumed White norm of public prejudice expression—by publicly denigrating the Native American candidate and publicly boosting the White candidate—would be one means of being viewed favorably.

The different compensation strategies used by the Black male and female participants make salient a critical gap in the stigma literature: Although a growing body of research suggests that a wide range of compensation strategies are used by stigmatizable individuals (e.g., Major & O’Brien, 2005; Miller & Kaiser, 2001; Miller & Myers, 1998), very few empirical studies provide a systematic assessment of the conditions under which particular (or multiple) strategies will be used or even of whether the use of these strategies is a deliberate, conscious exercise (see Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005, for a similar observation; for an exception, see Barreto, Spears, Ellemers, & Shahinper, 2003). The findings from the present research support the notion that compensatory strategies may sometimes be geared toward a particular goal or audience and point to the likely possibility that person

characteristics, situation characteristics, and trade-offs moderate the decision of which strategy to use.

Normative Influence in Intergroup Interaction

Research to date provides a great deal of evidence that individuals follow the salient positive or negative prejudice norms of a given situation (e.g., Crandall, Eshleman, & O’Brien, 2002). That is, public behavior is often guided not by stable attitudes or even an internalization of the situational norms but by a short-term pragmatic strategy of matching the perceived norms of the social context to achieve immediate tangible goals. Thus, although we chose to test our hypotheses in the context of Black–White interactions and in the context of a Native American target, we believe the same foundational norm-sensitive psychology would apply if the audience were composed of same-gender Native Americans or another group and if the target were a member of a different group: Participants’ evaluations of the minority candidate would depend on their perceptions of the social norms about prejudice toward the target group. Thus, if the outcome-controlling audience had been Native American, we would expect that our participants would have attuned themselves to likely Native American normative public responses toward in-group or out-group targets and would have (a) assessed their need to engage in special efforts to be viewed favorably and (b) selected an impression management tactic to accomplish this goal. Thus, we are not suggesting that Black men have a cross-situational inclination to denigrate minority group members, or that Black women have a cross-situational inclination to evaluate others positively. Rather, we suggest that Black men and women, like White individuals and members from other groups, attune themselves to intergroup prejudices and their group’s standing in the minds of outcome-controlling others, and strategically engage in actions to enhance the likelihood they will not be the target of prejudice in these interactions and that they will benefit from their interactions.

We have focused here on the ability of norms to elicit behavioral conformity. Research suggests, in addition, that norms sometimes also motivate attitudinal conformity, resulting in the internalization of these norms. Research on affiliative social tuning (Sinclair, Huntsinger, Skorinko, & Hardin, 2005; Sinclair, Lowery, Hardin, & Colangelo, 2005) suggests that the desire to affiliate with an individual or get along with another individual motivates the desire to achieve a shared reality with that person (or group of people). One way in which an individual can achieve this shared reality is to adjust or “tune” one’s own attitudes or beliefs so that they are in line with the target’s attitudes or beliefs. Thus, in the context of racial attitudes, Sinclair and colleagues (2005) have found that automatic race-related attitudes (measured in one experiment using the Implicit Association Test and in another experiment using a subliminal sequential priming task) moved closer to those attitudes held by a likable, egalitarian experimenter. We observed no evidence of such affiliative tuning or internalization of presumed norms here, however: Evaluations of the Native American candidate shifted toward the presumed norms only when these evaluations were to be made public to an outcome-controlling White audience; there were no such shifts when the evaluations were to remain private. This suggests that participants’ public responses were motivated by strategic short-term self-presentation purposes and not by the actual internalization of these norms. Although we

observed no evidence of such internalization here, it is possible that such internalization requires a context in which individuals' affiliative motives are active and they are seeking authentic (or long-term) acceptance by desirable others.

Crandall and colleagues (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002) have demonstrated a developmental component to social norms and prejudice expression: External motivations to conform to the norms of a desirable group may motivate behaviors for the initial exposure to this group, but as individuals begin to identify with this group, these norms become internalized. Another body of research that speaks on the internalization of majority group norms is *system-justification theory* (e.g., Jost & Banaji, 1994), which argues that members of low-status groups validate and reinforce existing social structures by internalizing the norms of the higher status group and favoring the higher status group, even at the expense of the in-group (e.g., Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002). This suggests an interesting implication of the present research: To the extent that frequently stigmatized individuals (e.g., Black men) see prejudice expression as the dominant norm among the majority group and are in situations for extended periods of time where the majority group holds positions of power (e.g., the workplace), repeated accommodation of these norms for self-presentation purposes could lead to an internalization of or tuning of one's own beliefs to these prejudiced attitudes.

Implications for Understanding and Reducing Negative Prejudice

When trying to understand the manifestation, expression, and consequences of prejudice, it is common practice to study the behaviors of the dominant group aimed at a minority group; in North America and Europe, where the bulk of prejudice research is performed, this means treating Whites as active perceivers and minority groups as passive targets (Shelton, 2000; Shelton & Richeson, 2006). Researchers have begun to criticize this asymmetry, lamenting the dearth of research examining how minority racial attitudes manifest and the consequences of these (expressed or unexpressed) attitudes (Hebl & Dovidio, 2005; Major & Vick, 2005; Shelton, 2000; Shelton & Richeson, 2006). The current studies are among the first to examine processes of prejudice expression in individuals who have chronically experienced prejudice, and our findings support two, more general points:

First, to the extent that processes differ between or produce different outcomes for those who frequently have and have not experienced prejudice—as was the case here—an understanding of prejudice will be necessarily restricted if researchers limit their study to the prejudices directed from those holding power to those holding less power. Second, to the extent that current interventions aimed at prejudice reduction are based on research on majority group member behavior, they may prove to be of questionable utility for reducing the ubiquity of specific prejudices within the broader, multigroup social network.

Conclusions

Despite researchers' calls for greater minority group inclusion in prejudice research, this area remains remarkably unexplored. One consequence, demonstrated in research that includes targets as active perceivers in intergroup interaction research, is that the

findings, processes, and interpretations from White participants often do not generalize to minority group members (e.g., Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Shelton & Richeson, 2006), leaving the field with an underdeveloped understanding of prejudice. In response to the dearth of research examining prejudice from the perspective of those who frequently experience it, the present research examined the different perceptions of prejudice-expression norms by minority and majority group individuals to identify circumstances under which frequently and rarely stigmatized perceivers will diverge in their expressions of prejudice.

Thus, the findings of the current study provide leverage for thinking about stigma and prejudice in ways that go beyond the usual, and oversimplified, characterizations of pure "perpetrators" and "victims"—to consider instead the possibility that stigma and prejudice exist within dynamic social systems in which there are few fixed or exclusive perpetrator and victim roles. Through its appreciation for the dynamic nature of social interaction, this research hopes to facilitate a more complete understanding of prejudice, help direct the development of unique and more successful prejudice-reducing interventions, and suggest new directions for future research.

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