The Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender in Higher Education: Implications for
Discrimination and Policy

by

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When I decided to apply for graduate school in psychology, I had just finished reading *The Autobiography of Assata Shakur*. This book immediately sparked my love for and now obsession with revolutionary memoirs. While the technical definition of a revolutionary is "a person who either participates in or advocates revolution," my

conception of a revolutionary is: someone who respects the past enough to change the present and to redefine the future; someone who can use enough force to demonstrate compassion; someone who can critically assess problems (with the sugar coating left to conventionalists) yet instill the hope that people need to combat those problems; someone who leads while listening; someone who inspires with humility; someone who empowers by example; someone who sees the creativity in artistic strategy; and someone who recognizes and accepts responsibility without assuming that one can control the uncontrollable. And over the past five years, the more and more I thought about being a revolutionary, the more and more I realized that I would use the same exact definition to denote a mentor. And the more and more I realized that I can make this connection between being a revolutionary and being a mentor because my committee members have showed me by example. Thank you does not express my gratitude, but I will say it anyway. Thank you. Thank you, thank you, thank you for being first hand illustrators of the type of mentor, advisor, innovator, and education I aspire to one day be.

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Abstract

This dissertation examined how discrimination perpetration, operationalized as systematic biases against low power targets in affirmative action endorsement, influenced access to higher education within and between groups. The dissertation provided a description and review of discrimination perpetration. In this review, discrimination perpetration was distinguished from the experience of discrimination; the psychological components of institutional discrimination, the role of intersectionality, and the importance of considering context were also discussed. The review served as a foundation for two subsequent empirical studies. The first empirical study examined gender-based affirmative action endorsements for targets when their race and gender were simultaneously made salient. This study found that White female participants endorsed gender-based affirmative action equally for all targets. White male participants were more likely to endorse gender-based affirmative action for White female and Black male targets, than for Black female targets. The final study investigated social class-based affirmative action when targets' race, class, and gender were simultaneously salient, and when ambiguity was manipulated via the targets' preparedness. There were no differences in the likelihood that White female participants endorsed affirmative action for White and Black female targets from low or high social class backgrounds or for White and Black male targets from low social class backgrounds. There was a higher likelihood that female participants endorsed affirmative action for White male targets from higher social class backgrounds than for Black male targets from higher social class

backgrounds. There was no difference in the likelihood that White male participants endorsed affirmative action for Black and White highly prepared targets from low or high social class backgrounds, or to Black and White targets from low social class backgrounds who were moderately prepared. Yet, there was a higher likelihood that White male participants endorsed affirmative action for moderately prepared White targets from high social class backgrounds, than for moderately prepared Black targets from high social class backgrounds. Together, the results suggest that policy endorsements vary according to targets' multiple group memberships simultaneously. The results have implications for policies designed to bolster equal access to higher education and for the psychological study of discrimination perpetration in higher education.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Persistent disparities in access to higher education have been exacerbated by recent policy initiatives that have abolished the legality of race and gender-based affirmative action (e.g., Leonhardt, 2007), the only policy in the United States that preemptively attempts to address discrimination perpetration (Karger & Stoesz, 1990; Hall, 2004; Harris, 2009). Analyses of affirmative action opposition patterns raise the possibility of the very types of discrimination affirmative action was originally designed to prevent. Specifically, when individuals believe that affirmative action targets students from low social class backgrounds, or the elderly, or the handicapped, individuals endorse the policy more than when affirmative action targets ethnic/racial minorities (Crosby, Iyer, & Sincharoen, 2006; James, Brief, Dietz, & Cohen, 2001; Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006; Murrell, Dietz-Uhler, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 1994; Sidanuis, Singh, Hetts, & Federico, 2000). Previous research has treated the selective opposition to affirmative action as an indication of racial prejudice and racism (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1994; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986). This dissertation argues that racial biases in affirmative action endorsement may also represent instances of discrimination, in addition to holding prejudiced beliefs and endorsing negative stereotypes about ethnic and racial minorities. Because selectively endorsing policies such as affirmative action for particular subsets of low power groups targets represents a behavior demonstrated by individuals with decision making power, and discrimination is

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defined as the behavioral demonstration of social-category-induced bias, systematic

biases against certain subsets of low power groups, such as Blacks and other ethnic

minorities can be conceived of as instances of discriminatory bias.

Discrimination, unlike the related concepts of stereotyping and prejudice,

represents behavioral demonstrations of social category-induced bias. Discrimination is

multidimensional and multifaceted, ranging from interpersonal unfair treatment, such as

insults to institutional and systemic bias such as Apartheid or the differential sentence

laws for crack versus powder cocaine (Braddock & McPartland, 1987; Fernandez,

Castilla, & Moore, 2000; Lewis-Trotter & Jones, 2004; Loury, 2001; Mouw, 2002;

Royster, 2003; Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004). Less interpersonal and more

distal forms of discrimination, such as institutional discrimination, have been deemed the

most detrimental forms of discrimination given their ability to negatively influence large

numbers of low power targets at once and given the absence of one identifiable

perpetrator (Henkel, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2006; Jones, 2000; Lewis-Trotter & Jones,

2004; Sidanius et al., 2004). Given that policy endorsement and other forms of resource

allocations represent decision making behaviors, systematic biases in policy

endorsements and resource allocations that disproportionately negatively affect low

power groups represent one type of discriminatory bias (Augenblick et al., 1997; Biernat

et al., 2009; Orfield & Lee, 2005; Massey & Denton, 1993; Pratto, Tatar, & Conway-

Lanz, 1999; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1985; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991). This dissertation

examined how discrimination perpetration, operationalized as systematic biases against

low power targets in affirmative action endorsement, influenced access to higher

education for low power students within and between social groups.

The Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework used in this dissertation was created by integrating social psychological theories and methodologies with approaches from sociology, economics, education, and women's studies. Social psychology has asserted that contemporary discrimination is often subtle and perpetrated by self-reported political Liberals, making the empirical investigation of discrimination extremely difficult (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). Psychologists and other social scientists have used lab and field based experiments to empirically study contemporary discrimination perpetration. The current research builds from these previous studies and employs experimental methods that attempt to account for subtle, discrimination behaviors, among individuals who may conceive of themselves as fair and unbiased.

Social psychological and other research has also shown that discrimination inherently requires social power (e.g., French & Raven, 1959; Griffin et al., 2009; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989; Yoder & Kahn, 1992). In the current research, where the goal was to ascertain how discrimination perpetration stifles educational access and opportunities, discrimination perpetration was operationalized as systematic biases against low power groups in the allocation of educational policy endorsements. Systematic biases in the decisions to endorse policies represent one mechanism by which discrimination may be perpetrated in higher education. Such biased decisions may subsequently influence the creation and re-creation of the systematically biased policies, procedures, and norms that comprise institutional discrimination. Conceptualizing discrimination as the systematic bias against low power targets in educational policy endorsements thus allows for the

investigation of how psychological schemas around decisions to grant aid in access to higher education can contribute to institutional discrimination.

Finally, the conceptual framework in this dissertation incorporated intersectionality frameworks (Crenshaw, 1994; Cole, 2009; Cole & Stewart, 2001; Stewart & McDermott, 2004) as a means to assessing discriminatory bias within and between social groups. As mentioned, affirmative action research has shown that Americans endorse the policy more for some low power groups, in comparison to other low power groups. This body of research has not investigated, however how individuals differentially endorse the policy when targets' multiple group memberships are simultaneously made salient. The analyses in this dissertation can thus help inform how individuals make decisions about whether to grant affirmative action-type aid when they are faced with a decision that primes multiple group membership. This type of decision making situation provides a context that more closely mimics how powerholders often have to make educational decisions in real life contexts. The analyses also have the potential to provide an empirical investigation of one of the most basic assumptions in intersectionality research—that powerholders exhibit differential sets of out-group bias depending on targets' multiple group memberships. In sum, the conceptual framework in this dissertation synthesized affirmative action, discrimination perpetration, and intersectionality research to investigate how biases in affirmative action endorsement can influence students' access to higher educational contexts.

The Three Papers

Discrimination is generally defined as the systematic behavioral manifestation of social category-based bias targeted against group members with low levels of social

power (Allport, 1954; Fiske, 1998; Larwood, Gutek, & Gattiker, 1984; Pincus, 1996; Sidanius et al., 2004). Despite this relatively straightforward definition, there is often confusion about what discrimination is and what it is not. *Paper one* reviews relevant literature on discrimination perpetration, especially as it relates to higher educational contexts. The second and third papers are reports on experiments that investigate how discrimination perpetration, in the form of biased affirmative action endorsements, depends on targets' multiple group memberships simultaneously. *Paper two* investigates biases in the endorsement of gender-based affirmative action. *Paper three* investigates social class-based affirmative action endorsements, when targets' race, gender, and social class group memberships are simultaneously salient. Together the three papers situate systematic biases in policy allocations within discrimination perpetration frameworks that speak to recent debates about how to create more equity in higher education. The dissertation studies also suggest that interventionists and policy makers may want to consider designing and implementing policies that take into account targets' multiple group memberships simultaneously, in addition to their social group memberships in isolation of each other.

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Chapter 2

Applying Discrimination Perpetration to the Study of Educational Disparities:

A Social Psychological (Yet Interdisciplinary) Approach

Scientists and laypersons alike tend to personify structural entities such as markets, countries, and institutions, discussing structures as if they have agency in and of themselves. Instead, complex systems of human beliefs, perceptions, and behaviors combine with socially defined norms, policies, procedures, spaces, and traditions to influence how structural entities help shape social outcomes (Acker, 2006; Massey & Denton, 1993; Massey & Lundy, 2001; Mullahy & Wolfe, 2001; Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004; Stewart & McDermott, 2004; Williams, 2004; Yinger, 2001;). This implies that there is a very real psychological component to structural forces (Acker, 2006; Henkel, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2006; Shields, 2008; Sidanius, et al., 2004; Stewart & McDermott, 2004, Tajfel, 1982; Verloo, 2006), yet there is a dearth of psychological research that examines social disparities at the intersection of individual and structural levels (Sidanius et al., 2004; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Accordingly, the current review discusses how the psychological study of discrimination perpetration can create a discourse on the human behavioral dimensions of the structural processes that contribute to social disparities. Discrimination perpetration will be reviewed primarily from a psychological perspective. Yet, because the question of social disparities is inherently an interdisciplinary one, the review will also include research perspectives and findings from other fields including sociology, economics, education

and Women's Studies. The review will focus most heavily on how studying

discrimination perpetration can be informative in the realm of between and within group

educational disparities, but the discussion in this paper may also be applied to studying

other social disparities, such as health, income, and wealth disparities.

Discrimination Can Be Investigated Via Two Main Approaches

   Discrimination Experiences. Theoretically, there should be at least two major

ways that discrimination can negatively influence low power group members. First,

discrimination should lead to negative outcomes for low power group members when

they appraise treatment as unfair (Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999; Harrell,

1999; Harrell, 2000; Jones, 2000; King, 2005; Klonoff & Landrine, 1999; Lewis-Trotter

& Jones, 2004; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003) and when these appraisals are

connected to stress, and other negative affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses that

influence psychological, physical health, and social outcomes. The processes by which

discrimination experiences harm low power group members are largely independent of

the intentional or unintentional behaviors of powerholders (Smith, 2001; Schiller, 2004;

Schuman et al., 2001; Williams, et al., 2003). If someone deems a behavior as unfair or

biased and this appraisal elicits a response, the cycle of discrimination's influence has

been activated (see Figure 2.1). A good portion of the psychological research on

discrimination has focused on discrimination experiences. For instance, recent health

disparities research has found that acute and chronic, interpersonal and structural

discrimination creates stress that can act as a major mechanism by which racial and other

disparities are created (e.g., Clark et al., 1999; Fang & Myers, 2001; Krieger & Sidney,

1996; Williams et al., 2003). Research on discrimination experiences in education

specifically has also linked students' discrimination experiences to adverse academic and

mental health outcomes (e.g., Chavous, et al., 2008; Chavous et al., 2007).

   Discrimination Perpetration. Discrimination can also negatively affect low

power groups via the perpetration of unfair treatment independent of targets' appraisals

or responses (Darity & Mason, 1998; Munnell et al., 1996; Pager, 2003; Sidanius et al.,

2004). An employee does not need to interpret and respond to her or his resume being

overlooked because of their social group membership to be negatively affected by

discrimination. Similarly, a student does not need to perceive, appraise, or attribute the

unfair treatment of an admissions officer to be harmed by a discriminatory admissions

decision. Discrimination perpetration is important to understand given its ability to

directly influence low power targets' outcomes (see Figure 2.1).

   Psychology's heavy focus on discrimination experiences however, particularly in

the absence of research on discrimination perpetration, has created a gulf in

psychological literature that places an extraordinarily heavy burden on targets' responses

to discrimination as a way to ameliorate the negative effects of unfair treatment. Without

the same amount of attention placed on understanding the processes by which

powerholders' discriminate, interventions designed to minimize disparities will lack key

pieces of information (Sue, 2004; Warner, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Thus, the second

major pathway by which discrimination processes can create disparities, and the focus of

the current review, is by the perpetration of unfair treatment.

<center>*Discrimination Perpetration Revealed*</center>

   Discrimination perpetration can be defined as the social category-induced,

intentional or unintentional, behavioral demonstration of systematic bias targeted towards

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low power group members (Fiske, 1998; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991; Sidanius et al., 2004). Discrimination is linked to social categorization processes (Fiske, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Turner, 1975), social group hierarchy and prestige (Blumer, 1960; Henrich & Gil-White, 2001), exertions of social power (Acker, 2006; French & Raven, 1959; Kanter, 1977; Karenga, 1982; Ng, 1984; Pratto & Espinoza, 2001; Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and affords dominant individuals, groups, and institutions with sustained privilege that can reproduce itself over time (Acker, 2006; Pratto, Tatar, & Conway-Lanz, 1999; Sidanus, et al., 2004). Because discrimination is explicitly linked to power (Acker, 2006; Apfelbaum, 1979; Ng, 1984; Stewart & McDermott, 2004; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991; Sidanius et al., 2004), independent of a group's social status, discrimination is discussed in this review within the context of power asymmetries between social groups.

Discrimination is related to other psychological concepts such as prejudice and stereotyping (Biernat, Collins, Katzarska-Miller, & Thompson, 2009; Duckitt, 2003; Fiske, 1998; Henkel, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2006), but theoretically and empirically, discrimination should be kept independent from affect and cognition (Fiske, 1998). Although historically discrimination in the United States presented itself in explicitly hostile forms, contemporary discrimination often manifests more covertly and among individuals who self-report egalitarian values (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996, 1998, 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Myrdal, 1944; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997; Sears, Henry, & Kosterman, 2000)[1]. Notwithstanding the more recent subtly of

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[1] Discrimination overall may be more subtle than in previous eras, but it is not always subtle, and definitely may not continue to stay subtle. For example, the fight against gay marriage mirrors almost exactly the logic used at the turn of the last century to justify laws that forbade Blacks from getting married and that

contemporary discrimination, present-day discrimination is in many ways just as virulent

and detrimental to low power groups as more hostile forms of discrimination (Braddock

& McPartland, 1987; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Fernandez et al., 2000; Loury, 2001;

Mouw, 2002; Royster, 2003; Sidanius et al., 2004).

In light of the fact that discrimination can manifest on interpersonal, intergroup,

institutional, and cultural levels that may be interconnected (Acker, 2006; Allport, 1954;

Henkel et al., 2005; Pincus, 1994, 1996; Sidanius, et al., 2004), when theoretically

conceptualizing and empirically investigating discrimination, it is essential to make

explicit the specific level on which discrimination is being investigated. For inquiries

related to social disparities, considering intergroup discrimination and the relevance of

individuals' group memberships is particularly important. In a related vein, some

researchers have argued that better understanding institutional discrimination is of

extreme importance because it may be the most detrimental form of discrimination

(Braddock & McPartland, 1987; Fernandez et al., 2000; Henkel et al., 2006; Larwood,

Gutek, & Gattiker, 1984; Loury, 2001; Mouw, 2002; Royster, 2003; Sidanius, et al.,

2004).

Institutional discrimination can manifest as the differential access to goods,

services, and opportunities of society (Henkel et al., 2006; Jones, 2000; Larwood, et al,

1984; Pincus, 1996) and need not necessitate the identification of one perpetrator (Jones,

2000; Jones, 1997). Institutional discrimination can be perpetrated independent of malice

or intent (Jones, 1997; Lewis-Trotter & Jones, 2004); and manifests among practices,

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outlawed interracial marriages. Similarly, the rising instances of strategically placed nooses in close
proximity to scholars of color are a clear indication of hostile and overt discrimination. Hence, although
there has been a decrease in the frequency of hostile and overt discrimination, it is still prevalent in
contemporary times.

procedures, laws, policies and norms, in ways that restrict opportunities for socially

disadvantaged groups and that perpetuate advantages for dominant group members on a

far-reaching scale (Acker, 2006; Braddock & McPartland, 1987; Fernandez et al., 2000;

Loury, 2001; Jones, 2000; Jones, 1997; Larwood, et al, 1984; Mitchell & Sidanius, 1995;

Moskos & Butler, 1996; Mouw, 2002; Pager, 2003; Pincus, 1996; Royster, 2003;

Sidanius, Liu, Pratto, & Shaw, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; van Laar, Sidanius,

Rabinowitz, & Sinclair, 1999). Furthermore, because institutions can mobilize and

allocate larger amounts of resources than can individuals and can establish norms that

homogenize individual differences in ideologies and decision making behaviors,

institutional discrimination can negatively influence vast numbers of low power group

members at once (Acker, 2006; Augenblick et al., 1997; Henkel et al., 2005; Mitchell &

Sidanius, 1995; Orfield & Lee, 2005; Massey & Denton, 1993; Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin,

2006; Pratto, Stallworth, & Conway-Lanz, 1998; Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius, & Siers,

1997; Sidanius et al., 2004; Teahan, 1975).

For instance, if an employer is allowed to advertise positions via informal

networks only, discrimination perpetuated institutionally may be created in ways that

restrict opportunities among social groups that are not represented by these informal

social networks (Acker, 2006; Braddock & McPartland, 1987; Fernandez et al., 2000;

Loury, 2001; Mouw, 2002; Royster, 2003). Similarly, institutional discrimination may

manifest among the spatial distribution of resources, such as transportation (Fernandez &

Su, 2004; Kain, 1968; Wilson, 1987) and in the allocation of resources such as public

school funding (Augenblick et al., 1997; Orfield & Lee, 2005; Massey & Denton, 1993).

Such examples of institutional discrimination have been investigated by economists and sociologists, but represent cases for psychological inquiry as well, as human attitudes, cognitions, perceptions, beliefs and most importantly behaviors, can lead to the devising and implementation of the policies that perpetuate institutional discrimination. Psychological mechanisms, such as identity (Arriola & Cole, 2001), concern for the in-group (Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006), system justification (Jost & Banaji, 1994), aversive racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), pluralistic ignorance (van Boven, 2000), shifting standards (Biernat et al., 2009), entitlement (Hall, 2004; Harris, 1994), hierarchy legitimizing ideologies (Acker, 2006; APA, 2006; Pratto, Tatar, & Conway-Lanz, 1999), privilege (Acker, 2006; Sue, 2004), attention/motivation to think about subordinates (Fiske, 1993), and threat (Renfro, Stephan, Duran & Clason, 2006) can thus promote or inhibit institutional forms of discriminatory bias. The particular examples mentioned above highlight how systematic patterns in decision making around institutional policies, in particular, can create biases against low power social groups in ways that transcend individual or interpersonal instances of unfair treatment.

Discrimination at the Interface of Intergroup and Institutional Levels: The Role of Biased Decision Making.   As mentioned, to fully understand how psychological processes provide a mechanism for institutional discrimination, decision making behaviors around the creation and implementation of policies, procedures, and the allocation of resources can be investigated (Acker, 2006; Augenblick et al., 1997; Biernat et al., 2009; Hodson et al., 2002; Orfield & Lee, 2005; Massey & Denton, 1993). In isolation, one decision, the allocation of one resource, the endorsement of one procedure, or one policy vote may represent a single instance of bias or fairness. When decisions,

allocations, endorsements, or votes however represent a prevalent norm and a set of

behaviors exhibited across many individuals with social influence, the investigation of

individual human behavior may represent a pathway to better understanding institutional,

structural, and systemic influences on social disparity creation and maintenance.

Discrimination Perpetration Studies from Economics and Sociology

Researchers in other social science disciplines have focused on demonstrating

discriminatory behaviors at macro-levels, using the analysis of large scale datasets,

vignette methodologies and audit studies to investigate discrimination perpetration.

Analyses of large scale datasets engage in statistical investigations of inequality by

building large quantitative models that include every possible indicator that the

researcher deems relevant for creating disparities. The unexplained variance after

accounting for these indicators is attributed to discriminatory bias. For example, Munnell

and colleagues (1996), in a study of racial housing discrimination found that Black and

Latino mortgage clients were 82% more likely to be turned down for a housing loan in

Boston than were White applicants with equivalent characteristics. Statistical analyses of

large scale datasets are particularly useful at isolating the effects of discrimination and at

describing institutional sources of discrimination, but are criticized for the possibility that

that may overestimate discrimination, given that the inclusion of all relevant control

indicators cannot be ensured (see Ladd, 1998; Ross & Yinger, 2002).

In vignette studies (e.g., Farley, Bianchi, & Colasanto, 1979; Farley, Schuman,

Bianchi, Colasanto, & Hatchett, 1978), participants read scenarios and report how they

would behave in the situation presented within the text. The major assumption in

vignette studies is that individuals will behave in real life situations in the same ways that

they report they will behave in response to the vignette scenario (Pager & Quillian, 2005). This is not totally farfetched given the theory of reasoned action which states that intentions to act are strongly correlated with actual behaviors (Ajzen, 2001; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). It is likely however that vignette studies underestimate discriminatory bias given social desirability and self-presentation concerns (e.g., Pager & Quillian, 2005). One positive aspect of a vignette methodology however, is that it is relatively easily combined with experimental techniques (see Emerson, Yancey, & Chai, 2001; Pager & Quillian, 2005), potentially minimizing social desirability and self-presentation concerns.

Audit studies use field experiments to investigate discrimination perpetration, maximizing both internal and external validity. In a study on racial employment discrimination for instance, Bertrand & Mullainathan (2003) randomly assigned racially stereotypical names to fictitious resumes, and sent them in response to actual employment ads in Boston and Chicago. Researchers found that employers were 50% more likely to call back resumes with "White names" for interviews; that an institution labeling itself as an Equal Opportunity Employer did not diminish the prevalence of racial discrimination; and that Whites received better returns with higher quality resumes, in comparison to Black applicants. Other audit studies have linked discrimination perpetration to housing discrimination (HUD, 2002; Massey & Denton, 1993; Yinger, 1995), consumer discrimination (Ayres & Siegelman, 1995), and hailing taxis (Ridley, et al., 1997). One major asset of audit studies is their focus on actual behaviors in real life contexts (Pager, 2007). By matching confederates on all characteristics except the social category under investigation, and investigating the treatment of confederates over hundreds and thousands of trials, audit studies clearly demonstrate whether social group

members are treated fairly or whether they are discriminated against. One critique of

audit studies lies in the fact that audit studies are only as informative as the rigor used to

match confederates. In audit studies conducted with live confederates, this is more of a

concern than when non-live confederates are used, such as in the Bertrand &

Mullainathan (2003) study that used fictitious resumes. A critique of both traditional

vignette and audit studies, as well as of discrimination perpetration studies that analyze

large scale data sets is that it is difficult to ascertain the mechanisms and processes by

which discrimination is perpetrated. Psychologists who have tended to focus on

prejudice and stereotyping, not discrimination (Fiske, 1998), can thus apply these more

conventional approaches from sociology and economics to focus on behavioral outcomes,

over and above affect and cognitions. In contrast, sociologists and economists can apply

psychological approaches, in order to investigate the mechanisms and processes driving

discrimination perpetration.

How a Psychological Approach Can Be Especially Useful for Studying Discrimination

Perpetration in Institutional Contexts[2]

As mentioned, macro-level analyses of discriminatory bias have the ability to

clearly demonstrate the perpetration of unfair treat. Psychological approaches however

can be especially effective at demonstrating bias and elucidating the processes that drive

bias. This ability to highlight process can subsequently inform interventions for

discrimination bias. For example, Correll and colleagues (2002) required lab participants

to play a video game in which they had to shoot armed Black or White targets while

refraining from shooting unarmed figures. The results showed that individuals were

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[2] This review focuses on intergroup relations research that has explicitly examined behavioral outcomes.
A review of research on attitudinal and cognitive outcomes is beyond the scope of this review.

quicker to pull the trigger when armed targets were Black and were more likely to shoot

unarmed targets in error when the target was Black. This study indicates discriminatory

bias against Blacks unambiguously, in ways that are similar to audit studies in sociology

and economics. Because Correll and colleagues (2002) employed a psychological

approach however, the results additionally highlight some of the mechanisms related to

the behavioral outcome. The authors found that the bias was explained by cultural

negative stereotypes of Blacks and previous levels of intergroup contact with Blacks.

Other psychological factors such as negative affect did not explain discriminatory

behaviors. This research was thus able to capture both the behavioral demonstrations of

discrimination, as well as some indicators of the process by which these instances of

discrimination occurred. Two other major bodies of psychological research on

discrimination include minimal group studies and helping experiments.

Minimal Group Studies. Minimal group studies of discrimination in psychology

(e.g., Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992; Turner, 1975; Vaughn,

Tajfel, & Williams, 1981) operationalize discrimination as the systematic difference in

resource allocations to out-group members, relative to in-group members (Billig &

Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel et al., 1971). Minimal group studies are completed with groups that

have no social history and in situations where one's gain has no relation to the gain of

other in-group members, thus minimal group paradigms represent, in many ways, a

context that is fundamentally distinct from the ways that discrimination occurs in real life

contexts. Outside of the lab, discrimination is often perpetrated in situations

characterized by actual and perceived zero-sum distributions to in-and out-group

members. In these environments, the allocation of resources to one target can have implications for the self and for other in-group members.

Helping Studies. A different line of psychological research on discrimination perpetration has been conducted by researchers working under the aversive racism model[3]. These studies on racial bias in helping were designed to better understand contemporary, subtle forms of discrimination perpetration (e.g., Batson, 1998; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1981; Frey & Gaertner, 1986; Saucier, Miller, & Doucet, 2005). For instance, Gaertner (1973) conducted a field experiment that examined the likelihood that Liberal and Conservative New Yorkers would assist White and Black motorists ostensibly in need of help with a broken down car. Whereas Conservative subjects discriminated by helping Blacks less frequently than Whites (65% vs. 92%), Liberals helped Black and White targets more or less equally (75% vs. 85%), but were more likely to hang up the phone when they heard a Black voice (19%) than when they heard a White voice (3%). Frey and Gaertner (1986) found that White subjects who were paired with either a White or a Black partner in need of help with a difficult task did not discriminate in "assistance deserving conditions."   In "assistance undeserving conditions," where presumably the 'appropriateness' of helping was more ambiguous, White subjects demonstrated racial discrimination, helping Black partners less frequently than White partners (30% vs. 93% respectively). A third study showed that Whites relied more on surrounding bystanders

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[3] Other models discussing the subtly of contemporary discrimination include modern racism (McConahay, 1986) and symbolic racism (Sears, 1988). These models, similar to the aversive racism framework, posit that discrimination is more subtle than in times past, yet modern racism and symbolic racism discuss subtle forms of racism that are more characteristic of conservatives and linked to political and social ideologies. Aversive racism is linked to individuals who report holding politically Liberal beliefs and ideologies, and follows from a psychological conflict between negative feelings towards the outgroup and negative feelings related to prejudice. While a full review of the fine-grained distinctions between these models is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is worth mentioning that the aversive racism model is one of many models describing the complexity of contemporary discrimination.

when the victim in an emergency was Black (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977). Recently, a study showed that the racialized bystander effect was exacerbated in more severe emergencies (Kunstman & Plant, 2008). As the level of emergency increased, the speed and quality of help Whites offered to Black victims relative to White victims decreased. This effect was mediated by Whites' level of aversion: the more aversive they felt towards Blacks, the less severe they interpreted the situation, and the less responsible White participants felt to assist Black victims.

Helping studies have the potential to reveal how psychological approaches contribute to the understanding of how discrimination helps create disparities. First, like audit and vignette studies, helping studies focus on biased behaviors. The focus on behaviors thus removes from the discrimination discourse critiques on the "actual" versus "perceived" nature of bias. Secondly, and importantly, helping studies show the utility of psychological frameworks for illuminating process. For instance, studies show that discrimination often requires a context that will foster powerholders' misattribution of bias to seemingly non-racial (or non-gendered, etc.) features. In contrast, when it is clear that bias is linked to negative conceptions of lower power group members, powerholders, or at least self-reported Liberal powerholders will often refrain from discriminating. This is an important boundary condition that also illuminates a potential intervention point. Institutions can minimize discrimination perpetration by modifying structures and policies in ways that make it difficult (or impossible) for decision makers to misattribute bias to non-racial factors (Ulhmann & Cohen, 2005). This boundary condition also suggests that interventions designed to change negative affect or stereotypes (e.g., cultural competence interventions, diversity training programs) may be less effective at

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ameliorating behavioral forms of bias, particularly for self-reported egalitarian discriminators.

Discrimination Perpetration in Higher Education

Hodson, Dovidio, & Gaertner (2002) applied the aversive racism model used in helping and other discrimination perpetration studies specifically to the college admissions process in order to investigate discrimination perpetration in higher education. Results showed that study participants discriminated against Black college applicants, especially when applicants were moderately prepared for college, following previous research on the association between attributional ambiguity and contemporary forms of discrimination perpetration. In a different study on racial discrimination perpetration in higher education, Biernat and colleagues (2009) found that participants discriminated by reducing their hypothetical funding allocations to Black student organizations when they were able to shift standards in the judgment of Black and non-Black funding targets. Because a large proportion of decision making situations in higher education warrant decision makers' subjective interpretations and the use of subjective criteria[4] (e.g., service work, essay writing), the higher educational institutional structure may make the context especially ripe for contemporary forms of discrimination perpetration. This is because attributional flexibility related to admissions decisions and other forms of educational resource allocations may allow educational decision makers to shift the importance of particular attributes, depending on who the target is and to misattribute bias to seemingly non-racial factors, fostering systematic social group bias (Acker, 2006; Biernat, et al., 2009; Hodson, et al., 2002; Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997;

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[4] Even supposed objective criteria are often not social category neutral (e.g., Acker, 2006; Eberhardt & Fiske, 1994).

Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat, Manis & Nelson, 1991; Biernat et al., 2009; Phelan, Moss-Rascusin, & Rudman, 2008; Norton, Vandello, & Darley, 2004; Uhlmann & Cohen, 2005).

An additional example of educational discrimination perpetration in the domain of higher education can be ascertained from systematic biases in affirmative action policy endorsement. Individuals endorse affirmative action more when the policy targets women, the disabled, and the elderly than when the policy targets ethnic/racial minorities (Crosby et al., 2006; James, Brief, Dietz, & Cohen, 2001; Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006; Murrell et al., 1994; Sidanuis, Singh, Hetts, & Federico, 2000). These findings counter theories that suggest that decisions are made independent of students' social categories (Sniderman, Brody, & Kuklinski, 1984; Sniderman & Carmines, 1997; Sniderman, Crosby, & Howell, 2000), and support the role of discrimination as a factor influencing ethnic/racial minority students' educational access opportunities, independent of individual student level factors, such as prior achievement, SES, and motivation. That is, discriminatory behavior is manifested through systematic biases in the differential endorsements of affirmative action, depending on the social group membership of the target. If decision makers were not exhibiting discriminatory behaviors via systematically biased policy endorsements, there would be no difference in affirmative action support for different groups of low power targets (Bobo, 2000; Crosby et al., 2006; Federico & Sidanius, 2002; James, Brief, Dietz, & Cohen, 2001; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996; Williams, Jackson, Brown, Torres, Forman, & Brown, 1999). Instead, the research suggests that such biases reduce

educational opportunities for ethnic/racial minority students even before they matriculate in college.

Intersectionality and Discrimination

The previous examples of discrimination perpetration against racial/ethnic minority college students follow the prevalent trend in psychology to study one group membership (e.g., race), in isolation of other group memberships (e.g., gender, social class). Because individuals perceive others in terms of their multiple group memberships and treat others in ways that reflect beliefs about their multiple group memberships (Fine & Weis, 1998; Gay & Tate, 1998; Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008; Hurtado, 1996; Ito & Urland, 2003; King, 1988; Mahalingam, 2008; Press & Cole, 1999; Shields, 2008; Shih et al., 1999; Warner, 2008; Waters, 1996), psychologists should theoretically and empirically implement approaches that allow for the investigation of how discrimination is perpetuated considering targets' multiple group memberships. For instance, to know that individuals support affirmative action more for women than for ethnic/racial minorities does not allow for predictions related to affirmative action support for ethnic/racial minority women, who are members of both groups.

Intersectional approaches (Crenshaw, 1994; for a review, see Cole, 2009) allow researchers to consider social identities, such as race, gender, social class, sexual orientation, and age simultaneously. Intersectionality assumes that individuals' multiple group memberships create a 'unique space' or 'unique outcome' that cannot be explained or predicted from knowledge of individuals' group memberships in isolation of each other. This assumption is reflected in the three major tenets of intersectionality: 1) social groups are heterogeneous, 2) social structures imply power and subsequently people must

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be located in terms of these power structures, and 3) there are unique, non-additive

effects of being a member of multiple social groups (Stewart & McDermott, 2004).

Because intersectional approaches minimize invidious comparisons (Cole & Stewart,

2001) and more accurately reflect the complexity of human behavior (Cole, 2009;

Warner, 2008), researchers should seek to understand people's experiences in light of the

power afforded by their multiple group memberships (Apfelbaum, 1979/1999; Hurtado,

1996; Kane, 1992; Ostrove, 2007; Verloo, 2006; Warner, 2008).

Intersectionality and Discrimination Perpetration

Intersectionality is important to consider in the study of discrimination

perpetration because bias is not perpetrated uniformly across target groups (Feagin, 1991;

Fischer & Massey, 2004; Pager, 2003). Pager's (2003) study of racial discrimination in

employment decisions, for example, examines the intersection of race and being an ex-

convict. Racial discrimination and re-entry into the workforce after being convicted of a

crime are often cited as barriers to Black male employment (Pager, 2003). Given the

overrepresentation of Black males in the criminal justice system, the difficulty associated

with re-entry may be exacerbated by race, or stated differently, racial discrimination

against Black male applicants may be exacerbated by ex-convict status.

To investigate this question, Pager used audit study methods and sent Black and

White matched male confederates to employers to apply for entry level jobs. In half of

the conditions, the confederates were ostensibly ex-convicts. According to Pager's

findings, the intersection between race and ex-convict status can make it virtually

impossible for Black male ex-convicts to re-enter the workforce. Call-backs were

received by 34% of Whites with no criminal record, 17% of Whites with criminal

records, 14% of Blacks without criminal records, and 5% of Blacks with criminal records (Pager, 2003). That is, White applicants with a criminal record were more likely to receive call-backs than were Black applicants who did not have criminal records. By examining the intersection of race and ex-convict status, Pager elucidated how targets' multiple group memberships complicate discrimination perpetration both between and within groups. Further, Pager's study shows how discrimination can negatively influence a target's outcomes, completely independent of any appraisal, affective, cognitive, or behavioral processes on behalf of the target. The study also shows how psychology can inform the study of discrimination perpetration. Although it is clear that employers discriminate again Black males generally, and Black male ex-convicts specifically, the mechanisms by which this discrimination perpetration occurs remain unknown from these findings, making discrimination perpetration difficult to combat. Thus, whereas the sociological approach alone is quite effective at revealing when there is bias in real world contexts with socially relevant group members, a sociological approach in conjunction with a psychological approach has the ability to reveal bias and processes contributing to bias, potentially leading to interventions that address discrimination perpetration.

Why Intersectional Investigations of Discrimination Should Not Be Reduced to Interaction Effects

Intersectionality as a Tool. Reducing intersectionality to interaction effects, without thinking about individuals' multiple group memberships have power-induced meanings, can exacerbate the tendency to investigate social category-based processes using essentializing schemas, stereotypes about group members, or invidious comparisons (Cole, 2009; Shields, 2008; Warner, 2008). Instead, researchers should ask

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questions about social category memberships in ways that allow research to highlight the fact that social categories represent dynamic processes, not stagnant designations. Cole (2009) suggests guiding one's intersectional research with three major questions: a) who is included in the category?, b) what role does inequality play?, and c) where are there similarities? Asking these questions can reduce the likelihood that one's research is essentializing individuals or groups, or being conducted with sparse theorizing (Cole & Stewart, 2001).

For instance, some have argued that the hot button policy issue of immigration is rooted in discrimination processes (www.pewresearch.org/pubs/659/immigration-debate). First, the negative response that current immigration debates spark pertains most often to immigrants of color, and most notably to Mexican and other Latino immigrants. The question of "who is in this category?" thus specifies the boundaries of the issue and highlight potential psychological processes that may influence opposition to immigration, such as racism, ethnocentricism, relative deprivation, and perceived threat. Opposition to the immigration of all individuals, including those from affluent European countries for instance would reveal a different set of psychological mechanisms. Similar to biases in affirmative action endorsement, however the selectivity of the opposition suggests that non-social category-based principles alone cannot account for the hostility articulated in discussions about immigrants.

Asking 'what role does inequality play?' further sheds light on how intersectionality can be used as a tool to investigate discrimination perpetration. Entangled within the anti-immigrant movement are ideologies about and reactions to the fear of losing scarce resources in the United States, as well as to negative beliefs about

the poor (e.g., Lott, 2002). The economy (Freeman & Rodgers, 1999; Myers, 1989) and other indicators of inequality create a general context within which immigration policy issues can be understood. Finally, asking the question, 'where are there similarities?' discourages presumptions about inherent differences between members from different backgrounds, and prompts information about commonality. For instance, in higher education, all immigrant students—from Canadians to Kenyans, share certain experiences related to being an international student at an American university, such as restrictions on international travel, length of stay, and work hours per week. Recognizing the commonality, in addition to distinctions allows for the types of coalition building that can combat discrimination perpetration.

Researchers[5] who have explicitly attempted to use intersectionality as a tool have devised various models of how multiple group memberships simultaneously prompt differential treatment. Early double/multiple jeopardy models, for instance, presented effects as additive processes based on the summation of the power afforded by each individual group membership (Beale, 1970; Hughes & Dodge, 1997; Sanchez-Hucles, 1997). More recently, multiple jeopardy models have been developed that assess interlocking group memberships in multiplicative, or interactive ways that mimic statistical multilevel, hierarchical, and/or ecological effects (Reid & Comas-Dias, 1990; King, 2005; McCall, 2005; Moradi & Subich, 2003). Many multiple jeopardy theoretical and empirical analyses have focused on the intersection of race and gender among ethnic minority women (double jeopardy). Sanchez-Hucles (1997), for instance connects double jeopardy to the fact that Black women are stereotyped negatively for not

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[5] For a more comprehensive review of qualitative approaches, in addition to quantitative approaches see (Shields, 2008; Warner, 2008)

conforming to notions of femininity that are defined by White women. Lott (1987)

points out that although Black women are characterized as strong, independent, and

assertive, positive attributes generally, yet in comparison to White women who are not

stereotyped this way, Black women become an 'other.' This 'otherness' translates into

negative perceptions of Black women that justify negative treatment of Black women.

Reid & Comas-Diaz (1990) state that ethnic minority women experience an extremely

deleterious type of prejudice because their multiple low status/low power identities afford

them little privilege in society. Similarly, Kane (1992) argues that Black men rely more

strongly on male privilege as a source of status than do White men, who can rely on their

racial privilege as well, but that women of color do not have this option. In sum,

double/multiple jeopardy perspectives are based upon theories that describe how power

and privilege asymmetries within and between groups shape individuals' experiences in

light of their multiple group memberships.

The subordinate male threat hypothesis (SMTH), yet another model used to make

predictions about how powerholders differentially treat group members in light of their

multiple group memberships simultaneously, situates discrimination largely as an intra-

male process, whereby the men of a given society bear the brunt of discriminatory

treatment (Sidanius et al., 2000; Sidanius & Kurzban, 2003; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999;

Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). Using evolutionary psychology (Cosmides, Tooby, &

Barkow, 1992; Dawkins, 1989) and social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) as a

foundation, the SMTH begins with the notion that social groups fall into three distinct

categories—age groups, sex groups, and arbitrary set groups, which are socially

constructed (i.e. race, ethnicity, caste, religion, etc.). These three types of groups are

distinguished from each other on five dimensions: a) the level of intergroup dependence, b) the nature of emotional/sexual attachment, c) the degree of intergroup violence, d) transhistorical and transsituational variance, and e) transcultural and transspecies generalizability (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). Differences in these five dimensions produce distinct types of social hierarchies that characterize age, sex, and arbitrary set groups. Differences also shape the unique forms of discrimination that are negotiated as these hierarchical distinctions translate into power asymmetries within each type of group. Contrasting sex and race (arbitrary set) groups, SMTH researchers assert that a) men and women are co-dependent, whereas racial groups are not; b) men and women are more connected emotionally/sexually than racial groups; c) there is less intergroup violence between men and women as compared to racial groups; d) gender groups are more transhistorically and transsituationally invariant than racial groups; and e) gender groups are characterized by more transcultural and transspecies generalizability than racial groups. These distinctions between sex and racial groups lead to the conclusion that sexual discrimination is the result of a milder form of control—paternalism (see also Jackman, 1994), whereas racial discrimination is the result of a more hostile form of control—aggression (Pratto & Walker, 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius et al., 2004; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). SMTH researchers also assume that aggression represents male-on-male hegemonic striving and consequently, that men of color will be the primary targets of racial discrimination. Put another way, the subordinate male threat hypothesis suggests that because a) men and women are highly dependent on each other and b) women are already controlled by paternalism, men of color will be the primary and most explicit target of racial discrimination.

In contrast to these models which were designed as tools for predictions about which group(s) experience the most/harshest oppression, McCall (2005) created a typology of intersectionality methodologies comprised of three types of measurement approaches characterized by their stance toward social categories. Researchers using the *anticategorical* approach contend that socially constructed categories can never truly capture an individual's experience. The notion of the 'social group' is rejected; studies are instead designed to reflect one individual's experience, without generalization. *Intracategorical* studies focus on groups at neglected points of intersection, examine one dimension of each category, and rely heavily on qualitative methods such as narratives and case studies, yet also include quantitative approaches such as survey methodologies and experiments (see Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999 for an example). *Intercategorical* studies use existing social categories to examine social outcomes and are particularly amenable to quantitative approaches such as experiments. This approach analyzes group memberships within and across categories creating a systematically comparative approach to simultaneously considering multiple group memberships.

The Role of Intersectionality among Discrimination Perpetrators

In addition to using intersectionality as a tool to better understand how targets' multiple group memberships influence the unfair treatment they receive, intersectionality can also help elucidate how discrimination is perpetrated in unique ways depending on the powerholders' multiple group memberships. For example, distributive justice is concerned with what people feel is a fair or just distribution of outcomes or resources for themselves or among individuals or groups (Asdigilian, Cohn, & Blum, 1994; Lerner,

1974; Leventhal, 1979; Major, Bylsma, & Cozzarelli, 1989). Prevalent gender

differences in how individuals make judgments regarding the allocation of resources have

been revealed (Asdigilian, et al., 1994; Jackson, Messe, & Hunter, 1985; Kahn, O'Leary,

Krulewitz, & Lamm, 1980; Major & Adams, 1983; Major et al., 1989). Whereas female

allocators tend to favor equality principles, allocating resources equally, male allocators

most often favor equity principles (Asdigilian et al., 1994; Broverman, Vogel,

Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkratz, 1972; Spence & Helmreich, 1978), allocating

resources in ways that are commensurate with perceived input (e.g., Adams, 1965; Reis,

1986). If perceived inputs are linked to systematic biases based upon targets' social

group memberships, the biases found in previous distributive justice research may be

exacerbated among males with social power (e.g., White males). Research has also

shown that the target's gender (Kahn, Nelson, & Gaeddert, 1980; Major & Adams, 1983;

Major & Deaux, 1982) and gender role of the target (Jackson, Messe, & Hunter, 1985)

interact with gender of the allocator in distributive justice contexts. In addition to gender,

it is also conceivable that other social group memberships and psychological factors such

as social dominance (Sidanius et al., 2004) or perceived threat (Renfro, Stephan, Duran,

& Clason, 2006) also influence patterns of resource allocations. In addition to

investigating how targets' multiple group memberships shape discriminatory behavior, it

may also be important to examine how powerholders' multiple group memberships

influence the perpetration of discriminatory bias.

Considering Context

Finally, psychologists also should take into account how ecology or context

influences unfair treatment (Ajzen, 1991; Allport, 1954; Blanchard & Crosby, 1989;

Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Cole & Stewart, 2001; Constantine & Sue, 2007; Fiske, 1998; Pager & Quillian, 2005; Reicher, 2004; Turner & Pratkanis, 1994; Wigbolus, Spears, & Semin, 1999). For example, Feagin (1991) found that racial discrimination against middle class Blacks, in the forms of rejection and deprivation were more likely in public versus private contexts, in comparison to verbal or physical forms of discrimination. Fischer & Massey (2004), in a study of housing discrimination, also noted the ecological nature of discrimination perpetration. They found that the farther away a housing unit was from a Black neighborhood, the greater the degree of discrimination against Black housing seekers. Pager (2007), in a review of audit studies, discovered that racial discrimination makes Blacks anywhere from 50% to 500% less likely to be considered equally to White employment applicants, depending on the US city in which discrimination perpetration was being investigated. And McCall (2000, 2001a, 2001b) found that wage discrimination depended in part on a city's relationships to industrialization (i.e. St. Louis [hi-tech/manufacturing], Miami [immigrant], Dallas [postindustrial], Detroit [industrial]).

Changes in context can also influence discrimination perpetration through increases or decreases in the salience of targets' social identities (Fine & Weis, 1998; Krieger & Sidney, 1996; McCall, 2005). Additionally, social dominance research states that person/environment fit correspondence makes it likely that discriminators will be drawn to those contexts that will permit hierarchy legitimizing ideologies and behaviors (Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius, & Siers, 1997; Sidanius, Liu et al., 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Other research has suggested that individuals may also be socialized by their contexts (Bobo & Licari, 1989; Sidanius, Pratto, Martin, & Stallworth, 1991; Sidanius et

al., 2004; Sinclair, Sidanius, & Levin, 1998), thus, if discrimination policies, practices, and procedures are the norm, it is likely that individuals in that context will acclimate to these norms. Considerations of context may also take the form of considering time or social milieu as context (Son Hing, Bobocel, & Zanna, 2002). For instance, research has already shown how discrimination has transformed over the past few decades from hostile, blatant displays of unfair treatment, into covert, yet malignant forms of more subtle bias. Thus, recent changes in our social milieu, such as the election of Barack Obama and the current economic situation (Freeman & Rodgers, 1999; Myers, 1989) should be considered, at the very least theoretically in discrimination perpetration studies.

Considering the Higher Education Context Specifically

There is also reason to believe that the higher education context, in particular may have unique implications for the perpetration of discrimination. Aversive racism literature, which connects contemporary discrimination to Liberal political positions would suggest that the higher educational context may have an especially high incidence of contemporary discrimination. This is because college and universities are more liberal than other institutions such as companies on Wall Street (Bobo & Licari, 1989; Grioux, 1983; Sinclair, Sidanius, & Levin, 1998) and are also characterized by relatively subjective decision making processes and criteria. Individuals' social group memberships may also take on unique meanings in the higher education context, in comparison to other contexts. For example, given that Black males are extremely numerically distinct in higher education, they may be heavily targeted by discriminators given their low levels of social power (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and their extreme distinctiveness (Kanter, 1977). On the other hand, because Black males are more

numerically distinct in college, they may be perceived as less of a threat to scarce resources than lower power group members who are very numerically represented. Still another possibility is that given the stereotype that Black male students are athletes, in certain educational contexts (e.g., social settings), Black male students may actually be afforded a more positive and potentially more powerful position, than Black females or Black males who are not college students. These different scenarios highlight the fact that researchers should consider context in and of itself (e.g., unique characteristics of the context), as well as how it may alter the meanings elicited by one's group memberships.

Summary and Conclusions

This review asserted that psychologists should be at the forefront of discrimination perpetration research, along with other social scientists such as sociologists and economists. Although related to cognitions and affect, psychological investigations of discrimination should be kept distinct from these concepts. Related, investigations of discrimination perpetration deserve as much attention as discrimination experiences, especially because discrimination perpetration can have direct effects on targets' negative outcomes. Discrimination perpetration investigations should pull from a variety of literatures in psychology, can directly benefit from interdisciplinarity, and should examine bias both within and between groups using intersectionality frameworks. Discrimination perpetration studies can be informative for many types of disparities in many different contexts, yet they may be especially useful for investigating disparities in higher education. Discrimination does not have to be intentional. Discrimination does not have to be interpersonal. Discrimination does not have to be appraised to activate processes that systematically create and sustain social group disparities. By

understanding the processes by which discrimination is perpetrated, psychologists can

better devise the strategies and interventions that can reduce social disparities.

Figure 2.1 Psychological Approaches to Studying Discrimination
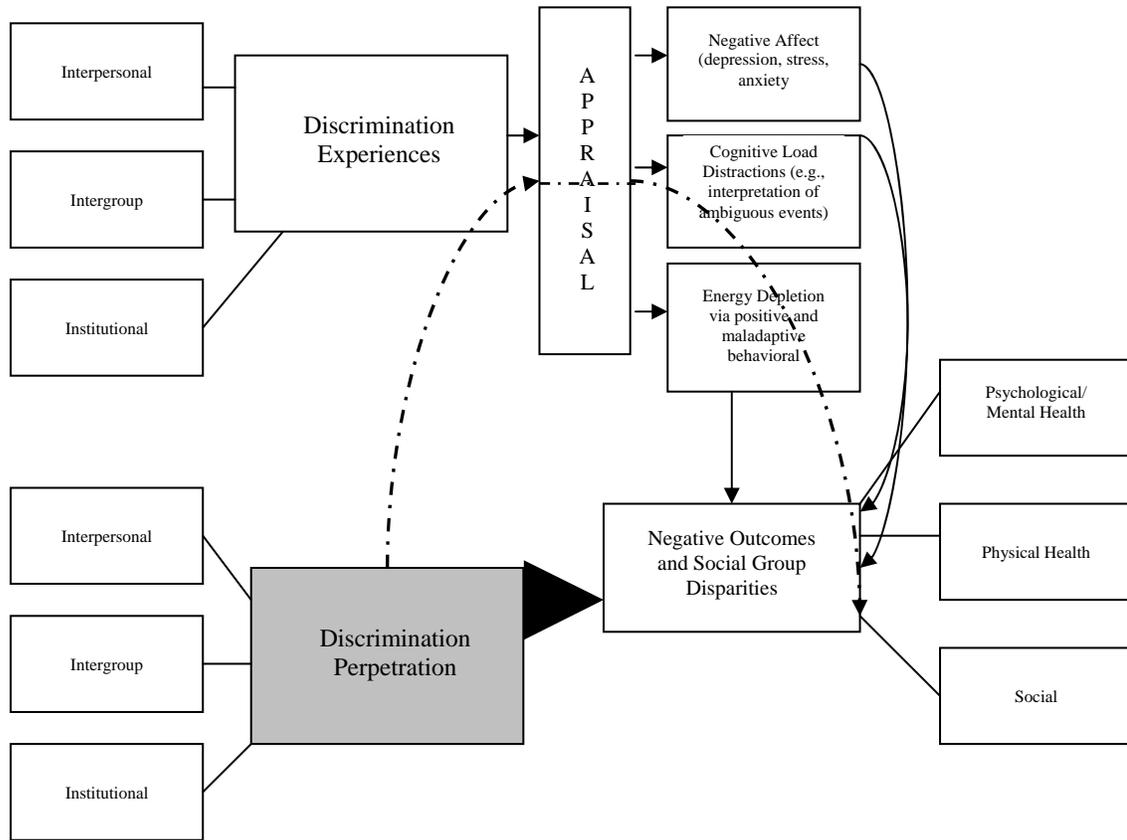
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Chapter 3

Women and Minorities

The phrase "[racial/ethnic] minorities and women" is often used to represent the targets for interventions and programs implemented to create institutional diversity (Verloo, 2006). This phrase however, treats the social categories of race/ethnicity and gender as mutually exclusive, when of course they are not. Related, research has found differential support for social policies depending on whether the policy targets racial/ethnic minorities or women. For instance, individuals support affirmative action more when it targets female students than when it targets ethnic/racial minority students (Crosby et al., 2006; James, Brief, Dietz, & Cohen, 2001; Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006; Murrell et al., 1994; Sidanuis, Singh, Hetts, & Federico, 2000). Again, this research treats race and gender as independent, making it unknown how individuals endorse social policies and allocate resources when both race and gender are salient. The current research speaks to this issue by examining affirmative action endorsement when targets' racial and gender group memberships are simultaneously salient. In this way, systematic biases in policy endorsement can be examined both within and between social categories, allowing the investigation of how bias differentially influences unique subsets of social group members.

Systematic Biases in Affirmative Action Policy Endorsement as Educational Discrimination Perpetration. Some research has suggested that individuals oppose affirmative action due to non-racialized factors (Bobocel, Son Hing, Davey, Stanley, &

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Zanna, 1998; Smith & Tyler, 1996; Sniderman, Brody, & Kuklinski, 1984; Sniderman & Carmines, 1997; Sniderman, Crosby, & Howell, 2000), yet other research has strongly linked affirmative action to racial prejudice, racism, stereotypes, social dominance orientation, and racial biases in the perceived deservingness of support (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1994; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986; Bobo, 2000; Crosby et al., 2006; Federico & Sidanius, 2002; James, Brief, Dietz, & Cohen, 2001; Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996; Williams, Jackson, Brown, Torres, Forman, & Brown, 1999). If non-racialized principles represented the mechanism for affirmative action opposition, however it would be unlikely that endorsement patterns would differ according to which low power group the target belonged to (e.g., Black vs. female). It is likely that race-based processes such as racial prejudice and the endorsement of negative racial stereotypes influence affirmative action endorsement patterns (e.g., Bobo, 2000; Federico & Sidanius, 2002). It may also be the case, however, that systematic biases against racial minority students in affirmative action endorsements also represents discrimination perpetration. Discrimination is defined as the behavioral manifestation of social category induced biased treatment, based on targets' low power group membership (e.g., Fiske, 1998), and decision making (including policy endorsements) is a behavioral domain of social power (Ng, 1984; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Thus, the current research connects racial biases in affirmative action endorsements to discrimination perpetration. While prejudice and stereotypes may act as a precursor to systematic biases in policy decisions, the actual endorsement or opposition of a policy represents a behavior that may be indicative of discrimination perpetration.

The Intersection of Race and Gender in Higher Education

Whereas previous research has examined race and gender separately, the current research synthesizes discrimination and intersectionality approaches to investigate how powerholders differentially endorse affirmative action when targets' race and gender group memberships are conjointly salient (e.g., endorsements for White men, Black men, Black women, and White women). Intersectional approaches (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1994; Stewart & McDermott, 2004), theoretical and empirical frameworks that allow researchers to examine individuals' social categories in conjunction with each other, have shown that individuals' multiple group memberships combine in unique ways to concurrently influence their outcomes. This is because individuals' multiple group memberships place individuals in distinct power positions, relative to others with different sets of intersecting identities (for a review see Cole, 2009; see also Sex Roles July 2008 special issue). Different models under the intersectionality umbrella lead to competing hypotheses about how powerholders will endorse affirmative action when race and gender are simultaneously salient.

Additive multiple jeopardy perspectives (Beale, 1970) suggest that Black women should receive the fewest affirmative action endorsements given their membership in two low status groups (e.g., Black, female), whereas White males should receive the most given their group membership in two high status groups (e.g., White, male). The subordinate male threat hypothesis (SMTH), based largely on evolutionary psychology and social dominance perspectives, states that discrimination is an intra-male act of aggression (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000) and would predict that Black males would receive the fewest endorsements, especially from White male allocators. Given the dearth of theoretical and empirical research in this area, it is

difficult to make specific predictions. The current research is generally guided by an intersectionality framework, but makes no specific hypotheses about how affirmative action will be endorsed.

Gender Differences in Resource Allocation. Intersectionality may also be applicable to the investigation of how powerholders differentially wield their power in terms of their multiple group memberships. Distributive justice research, for example, shows that in general, females are more likely to use equality principles and males are more likely to use equity principles when allocating resources to themselves and to others (Asdigilian, et al., 1994; Jackson, Messe, & Hunter, 1985; Kahn, O'Leary, Krulewitz, & Lamm, 1980; Major & Adams, 1983; Major & Deaux, 1982; Major et al., 1989). As such, one may expect females to endorse affirmative action equally for Black male, Black female, White female, and White male targets (see Figure 3.1). In contrast, males generally allocate more resources to themselves, in comparison to others, leading to the prediction that males would allocate the most resources to other White male targets, in comparison to non-White male targets (see Figure 3.2a). Other research has shown that when making allocations to female and feminine targets however, males demonstrate more egalitarian allocation behaviors (Jackson, Messe, & Hunter, 1985; Kahn, Nelson, & Gaeddert, 1980; Major & Adams, 1983; Major & Deaux, 1982), leading to the alternate prediction that males will allocate equal resources to White male targets and to female targets, and the fewest resource to Black male targets (see Figure 3.2b).

Synthesizing Intersectionality and Distributive Justice Research

Integrating distributive justice and intersectional research can facilitate predictions related to how powerholders will endorse affirmative action when race and

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gender are salient. First, distributive justice literature would predict that female

powerholders would endorse affirmative action equally for all participants. The SMTH

would not be applicable to female powerholders, as it discusses discrimination in the

context of male-based processes only; and although multiple jeopardy research notes

social power as a prerequisite of discrimination, it does not make clear distinctions about

how perpetrator characteristics, such as gender would influence discrimination processes.

Thus, distributive justice literature alone allows for predictions about female

powerholders, namely that they will not differentially endorse affirmative action for

distinct targets.

The SMTH, which describes discrimination as an intra-male process where

dominant males make few distinctions among in- and out-group women, would predict

that male powerholders would endorse a) affirmative action equally for White male

targets and for White and Black female targets and the least for Black male targets (see

Figure 3.3a) or b) affirmative action more for White male targets, equally for White and

Black females (but less than for White male targets), and the least for Black male targets

(see Figure 3.3b). Additive, multiple jeopardy models would predict that White male

allocators would endorse affirmative action the most for other White male targets,

equally for Whites females and Black males, and the least for Black female targets, as

Black females are members of two low power groups (Black and female), as opposed to

one low power group (Black or female) (see Figure 3.4). A multiplicative multiple

jeopardy model would make predictions based on the qualitatively distinct meanings of

each combination of the race and gender group memberships, considering how the

particular social context influences the meaning of intersecting group memberships (e.g.,

Reid & Comas-Dias, 1990). The predictions invoked by multiple jeopardy models are many and exhausted only when the researcher has fully fleshed out the possible meanings of the group memberships in context and all possible responses to those meanings (Hancock, 2007).   The results of the current research can help corroborate one set of hypotheses over another.

Summary and Study Aims

The current research investigates systematic biases against low power groups in affirmative action endorsement as a measure of discrimination perpetration in higher education. Previous discrimination perpetration has revealed biases against Black targets, and previous affirmative action research has shown that individuals endorse affirmative action less for ethnic/racial minorities than for other groups of students. The current research synthesizes discrimination, affirmative action, intersectionality, and distributive justice frameworks to investigate how individuals endorse affirmative action considering targets' race and gender group memberships concurrently.

<div align="center">Method</div>

Participants

One thousand and sixty-one (N=1061) undergraduate students were recruited for participation in this study. Because race and gender-based affirmative action was abolished in Michigan, where the primary data collection occurred during data collection, data were also collected in California, where affirmative action had been abolished ten years prior to data collection and in New England where affirmative action had not been abolished, to minimize potential context effects. To control for power afforded by the racial group membership of the decision maker, only data from the White participants

were analyzed. Although the sample presented a sizeable number of participants of color, this sub-sample was too heterogeneous and too small to analyze racial/ethnic subgroups separately. Excluding the participants of color left a final sample of 630 participants (70% female, N=438). Participants were recruited through the introductory psychology subject pool, through email solicitation to student organizations, through facebook.com, craigslist.org, and via in person recruitment at various campus locations (e.g., the Student Union, dining halls, etc.). The study used a 2 (race of target: Black, White) x 2 (gender of target: male, female) between subjects design.

Procedure

Students recruited through the subject pool completed the experiment on personal computers in a computer laboratory. Subjects were greeted by a White female experimenter who wrote a web address on a white board before the subjects arrived. This web address was a general location from which subjects were randomly assigned to study conditions. Participants then read a vignette ostensibly written by an applicant to graduate school. In actuality, the vignette was written by the experimenter. The methodology builds on previous vignette studies of discrimination perpetration (e.g., Farley et al., 1978), and on literature indicating the strong association between intentions and behavior (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Following the methodology of previous discrimination audit studies (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2003), race and gender of the ostensible vignette author were manipulated by changing the first name of the author across study conditions (Tynishia, Jamaal, Brett, and Molly). After reading the vignette and answering three true/false memory questions that reinforced the race/gender manipulation (e.g., Molly is from Ann Arbor), subjects answered affirmative action

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endorsement questions and identity, attitude, and demographic measures, were fully

debriefed, and were compensated with course credit.

The procedure was the same for participants recruited with email solicitation and

through online advertisements, except for a few differences. First, emails were sent to

student organizations advertising the study. Interested individuals then clicked on a link

that randomly assigned them to one of the study conditions. The procedure was similar

for participants recruited through online advertisements. Participants recruited in-person

were approached by research assistants at various campus locations and were asked to

volunteer. Participants recruited in person and via online methods were not compensated.

Dependent Measures: Affirmative Action Endorsement Questions.

Participants were asked three questions (presentation order was counterbalanced)

about whether the ostensible target in the vignette should be considered for gender-based

affirmative action for a general, nursing, and an engineering graduate program (e.g.,

"Should Molly be considered for gender-based affirmative action for an engineering

program?"). This dependent variable allowed for the investigation of racial biases in

endorsements that were supposed to be based solely on gender. If there are no biases,

results should reveal equal allocations to all targets. Significant differences in the

likelihood to endorse affirmative action for some low power targets versus other low

power targets (e.g., White females vs. Black females) would be an indication of

discriminatory bias.

Manipulation Checks

Pre-test of Names as Racial Primes. Previous studies (e.g. Fryer & Levitt, 2004;

Bertrand & Mullianathan, 2003) and anecdotal evidence (e.g.

http://slate.com/id/2116449/sidebar/2116453/;

http://www.slate.com/id/2116449/sidebar/2116469/) have shown that names can prime

racial group memberships. This evidence was a foundation for the use of Jamaal and

Tynishia as stereotypically Black names and Molly and Brett as stereotypically White

names for ostensible vignette authors. Despite previous research and anecdotal evidence,

the four names were pretested in two small pilot studies.

In the first pre-test, respondents (N=20) received a list of twenty names (Molly,

Tynishia, Jamaal, Brett, Imani, Ebony, Precious, Sarah, Katie, Emma, Asia, Jenna, Scott,

Connor, Darnell, Tyrone, Jacob, Andre, Malik, Garrett) and were asked to indicate the

top 3 'Blackest female names,' 'Blackest male names,' 'Whitest female names,' 'Whitest

male names.' Results from this first pre-test confirmed the selection of Tynishia, Jamaal,

Molly, and Brett as names to represent Black females, Black males, White females, and

White males, respectively. Ninety percent of respondents reported that Tynishia was one

of the three Blackest female names on the list, 80% of respondents reported that Jamaal

was the first or second Blackest male name on the list, 35% of respondents reported that

Molly was one of the Whitest female names on the list, and 85% of respondents reported

that Brett was one of the Whitest male names (see Table 3.1).

In the second pre-test (see Table 3.2), respondents (N=44) were asked to rank

how 'Black' or 'White' each of the twenty names were, on a scale from 1 (very White) to

5 (very Black). Molly was ranked the Whitest female name on the list (M=1.43,

SD=.76), Tynishia was ranked the Blackest female name on the list (M=4.61, SD=.62),

Brett was ranked the Whitest male name on the list (M=1.66, SD=.81), and Jamaal and

Tyrone were tied as the Blackest male names (M=4.52, SD=.63, M=4.57, SD=.62,

respectively). The pilot studies thus provided evidence that the names chosen would prime the intended race and gender categories.

Results

Male and female participants endorsed affirmative action at least once 23% of the time, revealing a floor effect for affirmative action endorsements. Accordingly, a dichotomous dependent variable was created by comparing the endorsement of at least one form of gender-based affirmative action (general, nursing, engineering) to endorsing no forms of gender-based affirmative action. Based upon previous research indicating systematic gender differences in the allocation of resources (e.g., Kahn et al., 1980; Major & Deaux, 1982) and in affirmative action endorsement (e.g., Kravitz & Platania, 1993), analyses were run separately for female and male participants. All analyses controlled for context (California, New England, Michigan), the method in which the data were collected (in person, online), and which affirmative action question the participant saw first (nursing, engineering, general).

Endorsement of at Least One Program Type among Female Participants

Female participants endorsed at least one form of affirmative action 23% (N=89) of the time (see Table 3.3). Females endorsed affirmative action for White targets 21% of the time and gave Whites 52% of the endorsements (N=46), and endorsed affirmative action for Black targets 25% of the time and gave Blacks 48% of the endorsements (N=43), independent of gender. Females endorsed affirmative action for male targets 25% of the time and gave male targets 47% of the endorsements (N=42), and endorsed affirmative action for female targets 22% of the time, and gave females 53% of the endorsements (N=47), independent of race. Females endorsed affirmative action for

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Black female targets 24% of the time and gave 26% of the endorsements to Black female

targets (N=23), for White female targets 20% of the time and gave White females 27% of

the endorsements (N=24), for Black males 26% of the time and gave Black males 23% of

the endorsements (N=20), and for White males 23% of the time and gave White males

25% of the endorsements (N=22). Logistic regression analyses provided a more stringent

test (see Table 3.4-3.5), yet the main effects for targets' race, targets' gender, and the

interaction between targets' race and gender were not significant, Fs<1.

Patterns for the Endorsement of at Least One Program Type among Male Participants

Male participants endorsed at least one form of affirmative action 23% (N=36)

percent of the time (see Table 3.3). Males endorsed affirmative action for White targets

27% of the time and gave Whites 58% of the endorsements (N=21) and endorsed

affirmative action for Black targets 20% of the time and gave Blacks 42% of the

endorsements (N=15), independent of gender. Males endorsed affirmative action for

male targets 25% of the time and gave male targets 44% of the endorsements (N=16) and

endorsed affirmative action for female targets 22% of the time, and gave females 56% of

the endorsements (N=20), independent of race. Logistic regression analyses did not

reveal significant main effects for targets' race or gender (see Table 3.4).

Males endorsed affirmative action for Black female targets 11% of the time and

gave 14% of the endorsements to Black female targets (N=5), for White female targets

32% of the time and gave White females 42% of the endorsements (N=15), for Black

males 31% of the time and gave Black males 28% of the endorsements (N=10), and for

White males 19% of the time and gave White males 17% of the endorsements (N=6).

The logistic regression model (see Table 3.5) showed that the odds that male participants

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endorsed affirmative action for the Black female target were 28% the odds that male participants endorsed affirmative action for the White female target (β=-1.28, *SE*=.58, *p*=.03, Exp (β)=.28). The odds that male participants endorsed affirmative action for the Black female target were 29% the odds that male participants endorsed affirmative action for the Black male target (β=-1.23, *SE*=.64, *p*=.05, Exp (β)=.29). Together, these two results indicate that Black females have less of a chance of being endorsed for gender-based affirmative action than White females or Black males among White male decision makers, partially supporting the multiple jeopardy perspective.

Discussion

This study used an experiment based on previous vignette and audit studies to investigate biases in the endorsement of gender-based affirmative action as a measure of discrimination perpetration within the context of higher education. Despite the general floor effect in gender-based affirmative action endorsements, important patterns did emerge.

Gender Differences in Distributive Justice Behaviors and the Intersection of Targets'
Race and Gender

Previous research has shown that men and women use different strategies when distributing resources (Kahn et al., 1980; Kravitz & Platania, 1993; Major & Deaux, 1982). Specifically, women tend to give equal resources to all targets, invoking equality principles. This led to the prediction that females would endorse gender-based affirmative action equally for all targets. Results confirmed this hypothesis revealing that White female allocators endorsed gender-based affirmative action equally for Black female, White female, Black male, and White male targets.

In contrast, males tend to use equity principles that prompt them to allocate more resources to themselves than to others. When males are allocating resources in mixed-

sex dyads however, they tend to exhibit more egalitarian distributive justice behaviors.

Distinct perspectives within intersectionality research led to competing hypotheses about affirmative action endorsements when a targets' race and gender are both salient. Results showed that males endorsed gender-based affirmative action more for female targets than for male targets, but this effect was qualified by the race of the female target, with White female targets being favored over Black female targets. While the effects for male participants should be qualified by a small sample size and the previously mentioned floor effect, the bias against Black females is worth note, especially in light of research on gender differences in racial discrimination experiences (e.g., Chavous et al., 2008) and racial differences in gendered experiences (e.g., Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Collins, 2004; Cortina, 2001).

Some Notes on Process

   Implications for the SMTH. The fact that male allocators endorsed gender-based affirmative action less for Black females than for White females contradicts two major tenets of the SMTH. First, the SMTH states that arbitrary set discrimination (e.g., racial) is an intra-male process whereby subordinate males have to endure more instances of and more severe discrimination. In contrast, Black female targets, not Black male targets, were discriminated against the most in this study. Second, the results contradicted the SMTH assumption that dominant men treat in-and out-group females in similar ways. Instead, White male allocators favored White female targets over Black female targets. This finding may suggest that the cultural norm of benevolent treatment to women (Major & Deaux, 1982) may only apply to White, or dominant females, and may not extend to Black women specifically.

Are Black Women Seen as Women? Additionally, White male allocators may have interpreted giving resources to White female targets as indirectly benefiting other White male powerholders. This interpretation is supported by evolutionary perspectives that state the uniqueness of gender relationships given the relative interdependence of males and females (Pratto & Walker, 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000).   If White male allocators do not view Black women as women, as some research suggests (e.g., Goff et al., 2008; hooks, 1981; Hull et al., 1982; Reid, 1988; Shorter-Gooden & Washington, 1996; White, 1985), they may not feel as interdependent with Black women, perhaps prompting fewer allocations to Black female targets. While it is the case that in some instances White men definitely see Black women as women (e.g., rape), the better question may actually be, do White men see Black women in the same way that they see White women? The interdependence argument pertains to males' treatment of women only insofar as men truly feel that women from different racial backgrounds are equally needed for reproductive and other forms of success. If however White men view some subsets of women (e.g., Black women) in terms of only sexual interdependence, and not in terms of more holistic interdependence, the presumed universality of gender interdependence may be contextualized by race, or to borrow the term from social dominance theories, arbitrary set in- and out-group membership.

Related to this point is research that shows how allocators exhibit unique behaviors depending on whether the interaction is perceived as communal or as an exchange relationship (Clark & Mills, 1979; Mills & Clark, 1982). When males perceive the allocation of resources as a communal relationship, they allocate more resources to out-group members than when relationships are perceived as an exchange relationship

(Clark & Mills, 1979; Mills & Clark, 1982). If White males feel more interdependent with White females than Black females, they may also perceive allocations to White females as communal and allocations to Black females as an exchange; thus facilitating bias against Black females targets.

Intersectional Invisibility: Are Black Women Seen at All? Finally, because Black women may not be considered prototypically female or prototypically Black (Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008; Hull, et al., 1982; White, 1985), they may be more invisible to White male allocators (Myers, 1989; Reid, 1988) in ways that prompt exclusion-based, rather than aggression-based discrimination. Research on intersectionality invisibility, states that when individuals are members of two or more groups where they are not the prototypical member of these groups, they may have to negotiate a special type of discrimination characterized most heavily by exclusion (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). So, whereas the intramale forms of aggression-based discrimination described in SMTH discussions may highlight one way by which unfair treatment manifests, discrimination may also manifest in exclusionary forms.

More traditional psychological mechanisms may have also influenced the ways males endorsed affirmative action, such as implicit prejudice, negative affect, and perceived deservingness. Previous research has shown that individuals perceive Black females as doubly benefiting from their racial and gender group memberships (Lykes, 1983). If this perception translates into resentment, lower levels of perceived deservingness, and/or higher levels of perceived inequality (where Whites/White men are perceived as disadvantaged), it would not be surprising that Black females would receive fewer allocations than other groups. Additionally, White males may consider White

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females and Black males to be in-group members, based upon their racial and gender group memberships, and may exclude Black females from in-group membership, based upon social categorization-based processes.

Limitations and Caveats

The author cautions against interpreting the current results as a declaration that Black females face more discrimination than Black males. This study operationalized a very specific type of discrimination with a very specific population. Discrimination was operationalized as systematic biases against low power groups in the endorsement of gender-based affirmative action. Discrimination however, can manifest in many ways and at many, often interconnected levels. Thus, the patterns found in the current research may not extend to other types of discrimination or to other contexts. Moreover, the study was conducted with undergraduates who may have exhibited behaviors that are unique to the population[6]. It should be noted however that making decisions about the allocation of educational resources is relevant and meaningful for undergraduate students, indicating a positive aspect of the sample choice. Further, undergraduates represent decision makers with voting rights and other forms of social influence. Future research should however investigate discrimination processes among different populations.

Conclusion and Implications

The current research examined how the intersection of targets' race and gender group memberships influenced gender-based affirmative action policy endorsements. Results showed that female allocators endorsed affirmative action equally for all targets. In situations where some groups enjoy privileges over other groups however, equality

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[6] However, Flores & Rodrigues (2006) also found systematic biases in affirmative action among a sample of college faculty

principles may perpetuate the status quo of disparities. In contrast, White male allocators endorsed affirmative action more for White females than for Black females. The finding that White male allocators favored White women over Black women also has important implications for educational resource and interventions. How individuals think about gender and race concurrently could perpetuate not only gender biases, but systematic within gender biases by racial group membership as well. In sum, this study advocates for the use of intersectional thinking in public policy and has important implications for how we discuss diversity policies, interventions and how resources are allocated, particularly in higher education contexts.

Table 3.1 Names Pre-Test Version A (Percentages): The Top Three Whitest and Blackest Names

1st Blackest Female Name		1st Blackest Male Name		1st Whitest Female Name		1st Whitest Male Name	
Name	*Percent*	*Name*	*Percent*	*Name*	*Percent*	*Name*	*Percent*
Imani	20	Jamaal	30	Katie	55	Andre	5
Precious	5	Andre	5	Molly	25	Brett	25
Asia	5	Tyrone	35	Sarah	15	Connor	10
Tynishia	60	Malik	15	Emma	5	Scott	15
Ebony	10	Darnell	15			Jacob	5
						Garrett	40

2nd Blackest Female Name		2nd Blackest Male Name		2nd Whitest Female Name		2nd Whitest Male Name	
Name	*Percent*	*Name*	*Percent*	*Name*	*Percent*	*Name*	*Percent*
Imani	10	Jamaal	50	Katie	15	Brett	25
Precious	40	Tyrone	30	Asia	10	Connor	25
Asia	5	Malik	10	Molly	5	Scott	15
Tynishia	20	Darnell	10	Sarah	35	Jacob	20
Ebony	25			Jenna	10	Garrett	15
				Emma	25		

3rd Blackest Female Name		3rd Blackest Male Name		3rd Whitest Female Name		3rd Whitest Male Name	
Name	*Percent*	*Name*	*Percent*	*Name*	*Percent*	*Name*	*Percent*
Imani	5	Jamaal	10	Katie	15	Brett	35
Precious	6	Andre	5	Molly	5	Connor	5
Asia	20	Tyrone	30	Sarah	25	Scott	35
Tynishia	10	Malik	20	Jenna	25	Jacob	10
Ebony	35	Darnell	35	Emma	30	Garrett	15

Table 3.2 Names Pre-Test Version B (Means): Ranking the Top Whitest and Blackest Names

Black Names		White Names	
Female			
Name	M(SD)	Name	M(SD)
Imani	4.05(.78)	Molly	1.43(.76)
Ebony	4.20(.95)	Sarah	1.75(.78)
Precious	3.89(1.06)	Katie	1.82(.79)
Tynishia	4.61(.62)	Emma	1.77(.89)
Asia	3.75(.87)	Jenna	2.00(.75)
Black Names		White Names	
Male			
Name	M(SD)	Name	M(SD)
Jamaal	4.52(.63)	Brett	1.66(.81)
Darnell	4.11(.89)	Scott	1.80(.82)
Tyrone	4.57(.62)	Connor	1.95(.96)
Andre	3.27(.90)	Jacob	1.98(.73)
Malik	4.18(.90)	Garrett	2.45(.79)

Table 3.3 Endorsement Rates of at Least One Gender-Based Affirmative Action Program Type by Gender

Condition	(Females) Proportion of Endorsements %	(Males) Proportion of Endorsements %
Race x Gender		
White Female	24% (N=24)	32% (N=15)
White Male	20% (N=22)	19% (N=6)
Black Female	26% (N=23)	11% (N=5)
Black Male	23% (N=20)	32% (N=10)
Race		
Black	25% (N=43)	20% (N=15)
White	21% (N=46)	27% (N=21)
Gender		
Female	22% (N=47)	22% (N=20)
Male	25% (N=42)	25% (N=16)
Total		
	23% (N=89)	23% (N=36)

Table 3.4 Logistic Regression Analyses for Endorsements of at Least One Gender-Based Affirmative Action Type: Main Effects for Race and Gender, Interaction Effects for Race x Gender

Variable	Female			Male		
	B	SE	Exp(B)	B	SE	Exp(B)
Race Condition						
White	-0.21	0.25	0.81	0.39	0.41	1.47
Black (ref)	--	--	--	--	--	--
Gender Condition						
Male	0.04	0.25	1.04	0.08	0.4	1.08
Female (ref)	--	--	--	--	--	--
Context						
Michigan	0.15	0.38	1.16	-0.08	0.54	0.93
California	0.87+	0.46	2.4	0.2	0.87	1.22
New England (ref)	--	--	--	--	--	--
Method	.64*	0.27	1.9	0.89*	0.42	2.44
First						
Nursing	0.01	0.3	1.01	-0.14	0.54	0.87
Engineering	-0.37	0.31	0.69	0.59	0.46	1.8
General (ref)	--	--	--	--	--	--

Note. $+ p<.10$ $* p < .05$ $** p < .01$ $*** p < .001$.

Table 3.5 Logistic Regression Analyses for Endorsements of at Least One Gender-Based Affirmative Action Type: Condition Effects

Variable	Female			Male		
	B	SE	Exp(B)	B	SE	Exp(B)
Condition						
Black Male	0.25	0.36	1.28	-0.05	0.53	0.95
White Male	0.04	0.34	1.04	-0.83	0.56	0.44
Black Female	0.21	0.34	1.23	-1.28*	0.58	0.28
White Female(ref)	--	--	--	--	--	--
Context						
Michigan	-.73*	0.36	0.48	-0.54	0.78	0.59
California	-.87+	0.46	0.42	-0.44	0.9	0.64
New England(ref)	--	--	--	--	--	--
Method	.64*	0.28	1.9	.98*	0.43	2.65
First						
Nursing	0.38	0.32	1.46	-0.7	0.57	0.5
Engineering	0.37	0.31	1.44	-0.64	0.47	0.53
General(ref)	--	--	--	--	--	--

Note. $+ p < .10$ $* p < .05$ $** p < .01$ $*** p < .001$.

Figure 3.1 Schematic Representation of Distributive Justice-Based Predictions for Female Powerholders

Figure 3.2a Schematic Representation of Distributive Justice-Based Predictions for Male
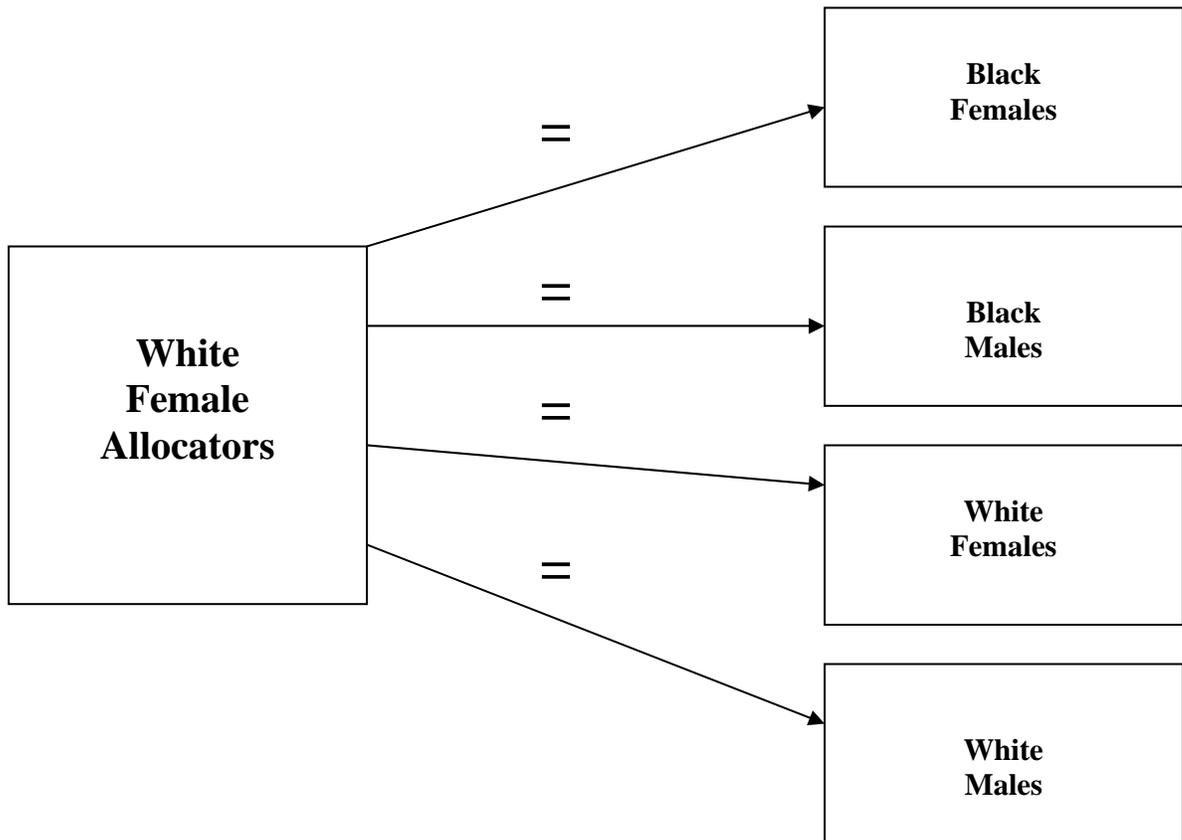Powerholders
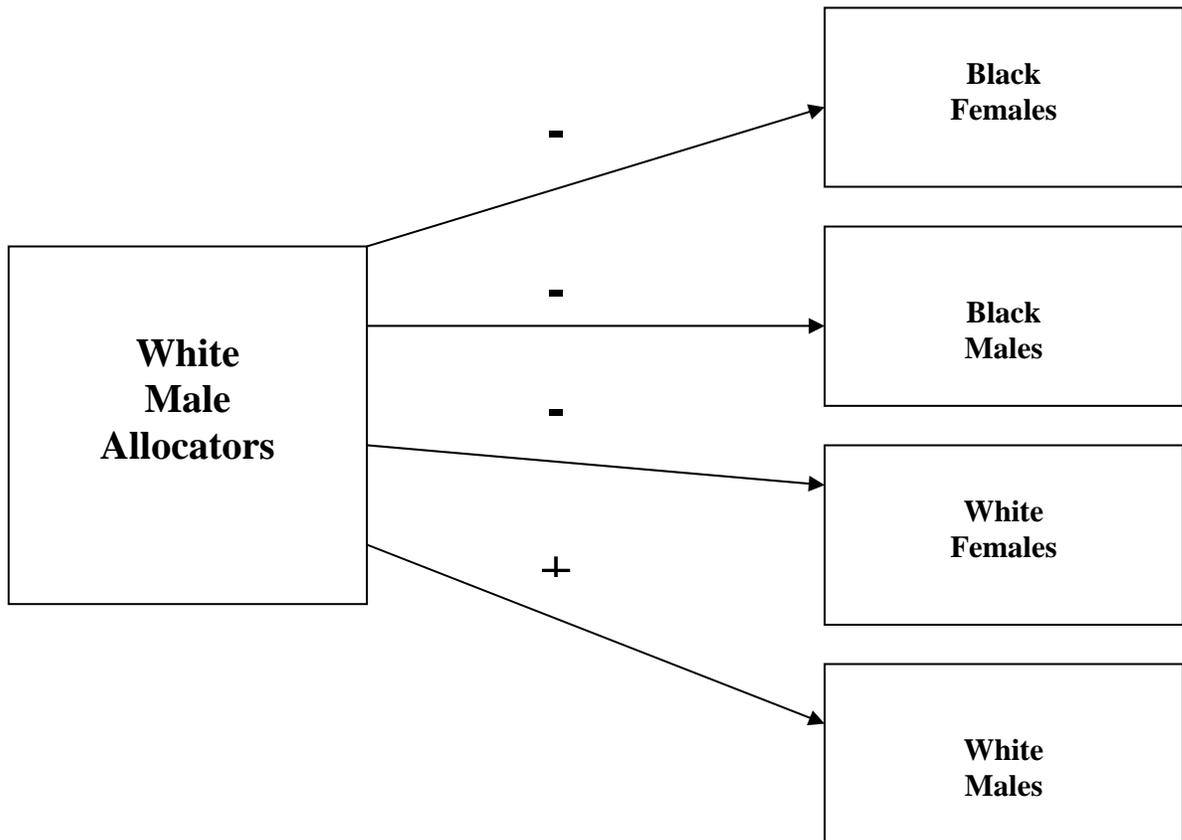
Figure 3.2b Schematic Representation of Distributive Justice-Based Predictions for Male Powerholders

Figure 3.3a Schematic Representation of Predictions for Male Powerholders Based on the Subordinate Male Threat Hypothesis
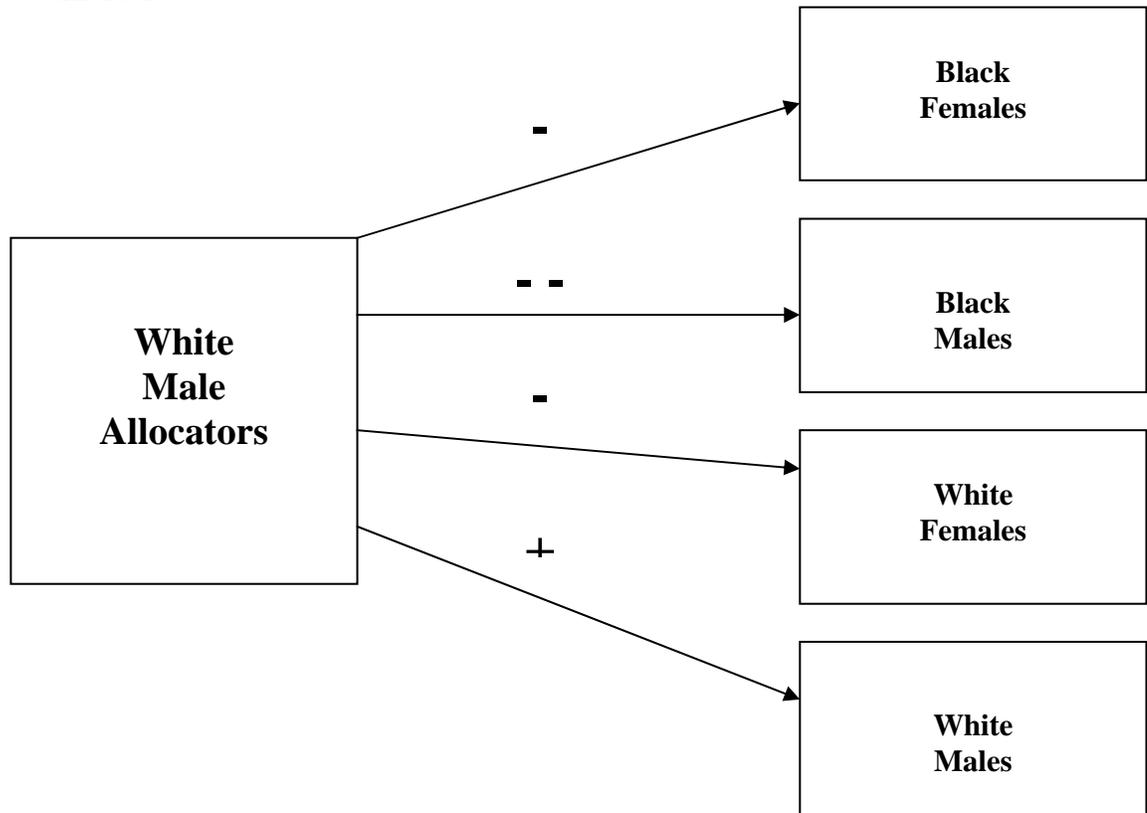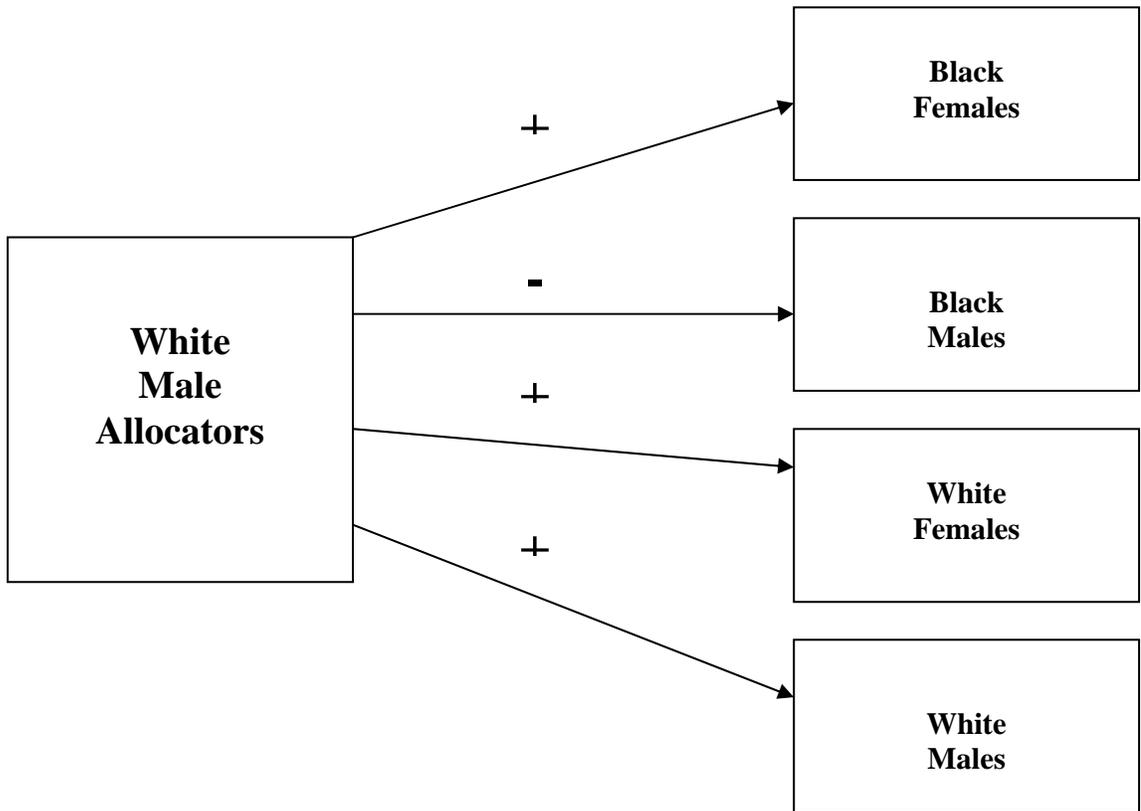
Figure 3.3b Schematic Representation of Predictions for Male Powerholders Based on the Subordinate Male Threat Hypothesis
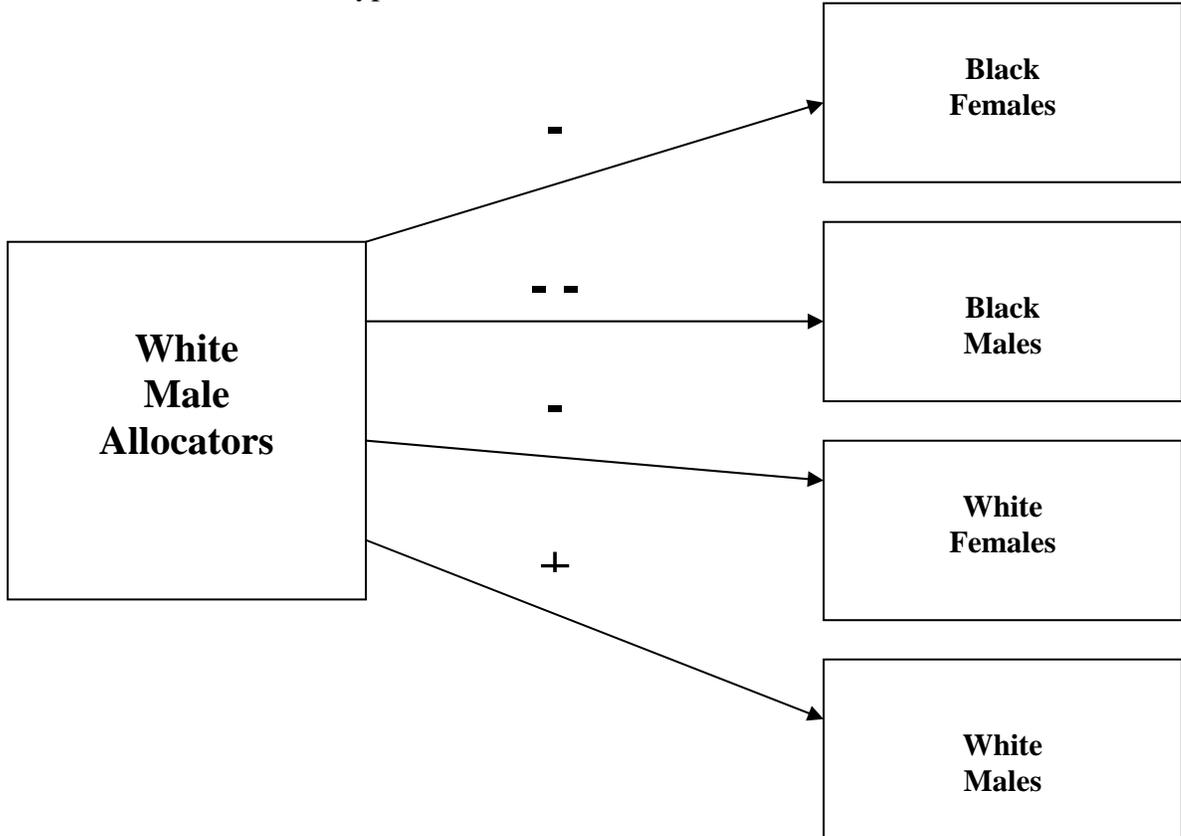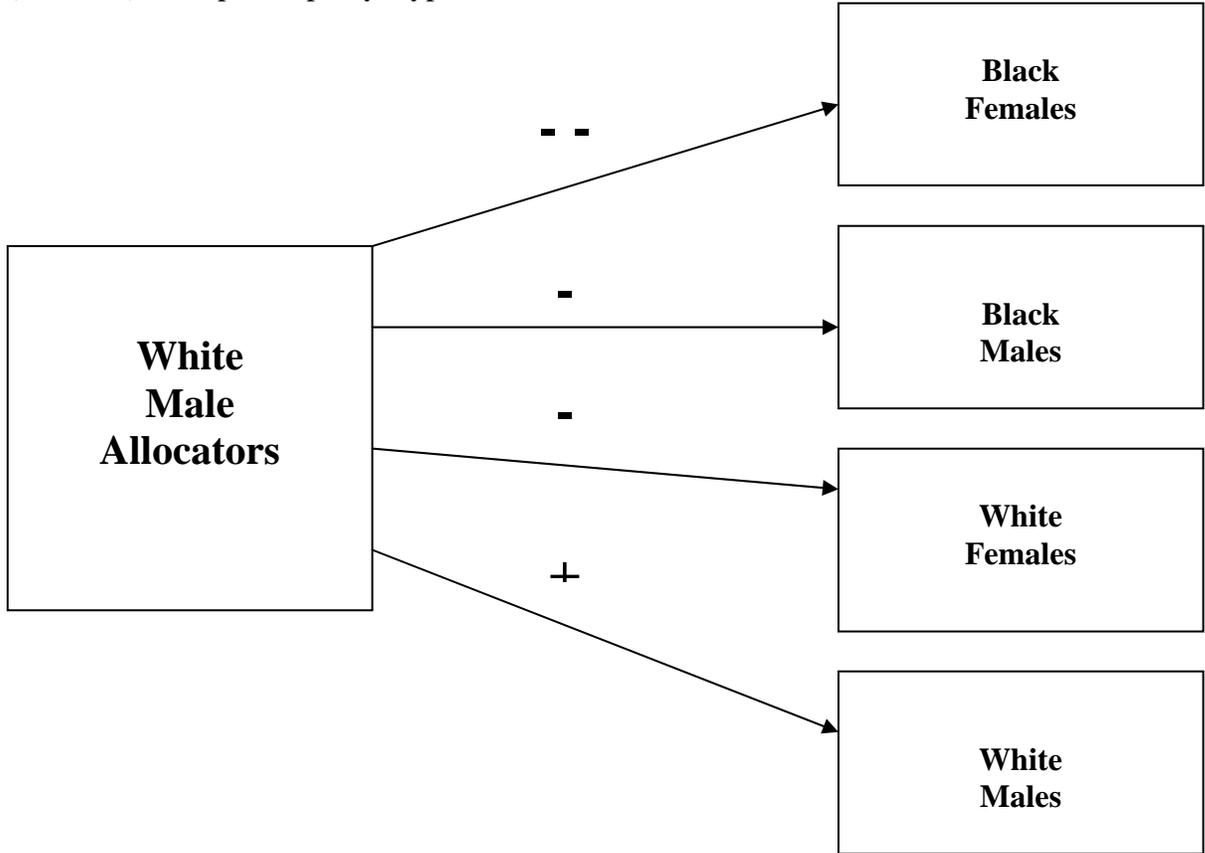
Figure 3.4 Schematic Representation of Predictions for Male Powerholders Based on (Additive) Multiple Jeopardy Hypotheses

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Chapter 4

Race or Class?

Initially designed as a policy to assist non-unionized White men who sought redress for discrimination by employers in the industrialist era (Green, 1936; Hall, 2004), affirmative action has faced increasing opposition as it has been linked more and more to the growing perception that Blacks are the primary beneficiary of the policy. Some researchers have argued that affirmative action opposition actually has little to do with race and more to do with non-racialized justice concerns and principles (Bobocel, Son Hing, Davey, Stanley, & Zanna, 1998; Smith & Tyler, 1996; Sniderman, Brody, & Kuglinski, 1984; Sniderman & Carmines, 1997; Sniderman, Crosby, & Howell, 2000), yet the consistent finding that affirmative action support waxes and wanes with what particular low power group voters think the policy targets, suggests otherwise (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1986; Crosby et al., 2006; James, Brief, Dietz, & Cohen, 2001; Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006; Murrell et al., 1994; Sidanuis, Singh, Hetts, & Federico, 2000).

Many recent affirmative action discussions have called for the use of social class, in lieu of race or gender in higher education admissions. Every low income student who has a social class background, however also has a gender and a racial group membership that may factor into how their social class group membership is considered. Accordingly, the current research investigated affirmative action endorsement decisions when targets' social class, race, and gender are made salient. The current research situated systematic

biases in policy endorsement within a discrimination perpetration framework, as policy

endorsements represent social power in the form of decision making behaviors. The

current research synthesized affirmative action, discrimination perpetration, along with

intersectionality and distributive justice research in an attempt to build theory on the

treatment of others based upon their multiple group memberships simultaneously, and to

inform the current discourse on equal access to higher education.

Discrimination

Discrimination can be defined as biased behaviors that disproportiately negatively

influence lower power group members (Allport, 1954; Fiske, 1998; Larwood, Gutek, &

Gattiker, 1984; Pincus, 1996; Sidanius et al., 2004; Fiske, 1998; Sachdev & Bourhis,

1991; Sidanius et al., 2004). Because policy endorsements represent decision making

behaviors, systematic biases against low power groups in policy endorsement decisions

and allocations (e.g., Augenblick et al., 1997; Biernat et al., 2009; Hodson et al., 2002;

Orfield & Lee, 2005; Massey & Denton, 1993) represent one dimension of discrimination

perpetration. Research has shown that often the most Liberal and well-meaning of

individuals demonstrate biases that disadvantage Blacks and other low power group

members. The situations that often prompt discrimination are those contexts

characterized by enough ambiguity to allow for biased behavior to be attributed to non-

racial factors (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). For instance, in a study of racial

discrimination in higher education, researchers found that when college applicants were

moderately prepared for college, individuals' shifted the relative weights of different

admissions criteria, and admitted White college applicants at higher rates than Black

applicants (Hodson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2002). Biernat and colleagues (2009) found

that individuals discriminated against Black college student organizations when there was

enough flexibility for powerholders to shift the meaning of the criteria depending on the

race of the target. As such, situational ambiguity and ambiguity with respect to the

decision making criteria (e.g., the ability to shift the relative weights of different criteria

dimensions) bolsters discriminatory bias, especially among self-reported Liberals. It is

thus likely that biases in affirmative action will be exacerbated in situations that allow for

the misattribution of bias.

The Uniqueness of Social Class

　　　　How discrimination is perpetrated when students' social class background

specifically is salient is complicated by the uniqueness of the responses that social class

background elicits. Psychologists have generally left the issue of social class to other

social scientists, such as sociologists (APA, 2006), partly because social class is

inherently relative, multidimensional, and less easily identified than other social group

memberships such as race or gender (Acker, 2006; Bourdieu, 1993). The ambiguity

around social class may also be exacerbated in higher education where social class cues

are more subtle than in other contexts (Langhout, Roselli, & Feinstein, 2006). Much of

the growing body of research on the influence of social class on academic outcomes has

focused on attributes that are related to students from low social class backgrounds

themselves, showing that students from lower social class backgrounds often fare worse

than their counterparts from higher social class backgrounds (Hochschild, 2003; McLoyd,

1998; Ostrove, 2003; Ostrove & Long, 2007; Croizet & Claire, 1998; Sekequaptewa,

Griffin, & Mowbray, 2009; Langhout, Rosselli, & Feinstein, 2006; Saldana, 1994;

Wentworth & Peterson, 2001).

Stereotypes about and the treatment of individuals from low social class backgrounds (Croziet & Claire, 1998; Lott, 2002), generally confirm the basic assumption that lower power group members, such as individuals from low social class backgrounds, must negotiate negative perceptions by dominant outgroup members (Tajfel, 1982; Turner, 1975). The treatment of *college students* from lower social class backgrounds may however, in some instances, contradict this conventional wisdom as social context (e.g., educational institution) can influence how individuals conceptualize people from low social class backgrounds (Henry, Reyna, & Weiner, 2004). This is suggested by affirmative action policy endorsement research that shows that individuals support the policy more for students from low social class backgrounds, than for ethnic minorities (Crosby et al., 2006; James, Brief, Dietz, & Cohen, 2001; Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006; Murrell et al., 1994; Sidanuis, Singh, Hetts, & Federico, 2000). Research has shown that this differential support is explained by differences in the degree to which people believe targets from low social class backgrounds versus Black targets deserve assistance (Reyna, Henry, Korfmacher, & Tucker, 2005). Individuals deem students from low social class backgrounds more worthy of policy support that ethnic minority students (despite the fact that these categories are not mutually exclusive), suggesting that social class in higher education may operate in ways that are unique from other social class group memberships.

But…Can We (and Should We) Really Separate Social Class from Race (and Gender)?

It is unclear however that social class can be (or should be) disentangled from other group memberships such as race and gender (Cole & Omari, 2003; Weeks & Lupfer, 2004). Census data on income distribution, educational achievement, and

occupational status, for instance, are complicated by race and gender (US Census Bureau, 2005). Psychological research corroborates Census findings. One study showed that Whites' high levels of preferred social distance from Blacks was exacerbated for Black targets who were from lower social class backgrounds (Westie & Westie, 1957). In a helping study, Piliavin, Rodin, & Piliavin (1969) found that Whites helped ostensible Black victims of a heart attack only when the victim did not appear to be from a lower social class background. More recent social categorization research showed that lower class Black targets were categorized by race and middle-class Black targets were categorized by social class (Weeks & Lupfer, 2004). Other research has shown that the effects of social class also depends on gender. In a study on social class-based solo status, Sekaquaptewa, Griffin, & Mowbray (2009) found that male and female students respond to social class solo status in unique ways that are explained partly by gender differences in the valence attached to numerical distinctiveness (Sekaquaptewa, Griffin, & Mowbray, 2009). And finally, class-based discrimination research has shown the interconnectedness of race, class, and gender, as female students of color experience more classism than other students from low social class backgrounds (Langhout et al., 2006). Together, these findings suggest that the ways in which individuals experience social class and are treated in terms of social class depend on their race and gender group memberships. As such, the current research uses intersectionality frameworks as a tool to investigate how students are treated when their race, class, and gender are salient.

   Intersectionality as a Theoretical and Methodological Tool. Intersectionality approaches provide a framework for investigating how students' social group memberships may work together to shape how they are differentially treated by

powerholders (Crenshaw, 1994; for a review, see Cole, 2009). For instance, additive

multiple jeopardy models (e.g., Beale, 1970), which examine individuals' multiple group

memberships in summative ways, would predict that females of color from low social

class backgrounds would be discriminated the most, given their group membership in

three low power groups (racial, gender, and class). Multiplicative models (Reid &

Comas-Dias, 1990) create a complex set of predictions based upon the qualitative

meanings of the unique combinations of group memberships, also taking into account the

social context. For example, while being a Black male from a low social class

background may prime the 'dangerous convict stereotype' in non-academic contexts, in

higher education, being a Black male, from a low social class background may elicit the

'athlete stereotype,' perhaps prompting less negative affect or even positive affect,

among peers and fans, yet negative beliefs about competence among teachers. In early

stages of a line of research however, using multiplicative multiple jeopardy models

makes devising an exhaustive set of predictions difficult, as the number of potential

predictions is limited only by one's beliefs about how social group memberships can

imply different experiences. Finally, the subordinate male threat hypothesis (SMTH;

Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000) would argue that men from low

social class backgrounds and men of color should be discriminated more than females

from low social class backgrounds and women of color, as discrimination is an

aggression-based intramale process. In sum, intersectionality provides a framework for

thinking about affirmative action endorsement when a student's social class, race, and

gender are salient, yet more specific perspectives within intersectionality frameworks

suggest competing hypotheses about the specific ways powerholders will behave.

Synthesizing discrimination, social class, and intersectionality research findings would suggest that ambiguity around preparedness may interact with racial and gender background of the student in predicting bias, but not social class background, given the hypothesis that powerholders will be generous in policy endorsements to students from low social class backgrounds. It is possible that powerholders may make concessions for low social class students who are moderately prepared, that Black and female students may not be afforded. The prediction may also be made that race and social class, and perhaps race, social class, and preparedness would interact to disadvantage Black students from low and high social class backgrounds, in ways that are exacerbated by them being moderately prepared.

More Complexities: The Relevance of the Decision Makers' Gender

Even more complex predictions arise when one considers the social characteristics of the powerholders in decision making situations. Distributive justice research, for instance, has shown consistent gender differences in the ways that females and males allocate resources (Asdigilian, et al., 1994; Jackson, Messe, & Hunter, 1985; Kahn, O'Leary, Krulewitz, & Lamm, 1980; Major & Adams, 1983; Major & Deaux, 1982; Major et al., 1989), with females allocating resources equally. In contrast, males tend to allocate more resources to themselves than to others, except when allocating resources to female and feminine targets, which then elicits more egalitarian allocations (Jackson, Messe, & Hunter, 1985; Kahn, Nelson, & Gaeddert, 1980; Major & Adams, 1983; Major & Deaux, 1982). These findings would suggest that female targets would endorse affirmative action equally for all groups of students. Predictions outlined in the previous section may accordingly only apply to male powerholders. Thus, although

distributive justice research does not specifically shed light on how targets' race, gender, and social class group memberships will be considered in affirmative action policy decisions, findings do allow for predictions based upon the allocators' gender.

Discrimination Perpetration in the Current Study: Summary and Hypotheses

Systematic biases in policy endorsements not only represent the prevalence of racism and negative stereotypes, but also represent behaviors. Accordingly, discrimination is operationalized in this study as systematic biases in affirmative action endorsements. Affirmative action endorsement research has shown that individuals endorse affirmative action more for students from low social class backgrounds, than for Black students, yet this research has not investigated how individuals endorse the policy when targets' multiple group memberships are made salient. As such, the current research investigates affirmative action policy endorsements when targets' social class, race, and gender are simultaneously salient. Additionally, the current research varies targets' preparedness levels, to manipulate attributional ambiguity, a factor shown in previous aversive racism work to moderate discrimination perpetration. Together, previous research on social class in higher education, discrimination perpetration, aversive racism, affirmative action endorsement, intersectionality, and distributive justice led to the following predictions.

H1: Students from low social class backgrounds will face little or no discrimination, independent of students' other social group memberships.

H2: Additive multiple jeopardy models, multiplicative multiple jeopardy models, and the subordinate male threat hypothesis lead to competing hypotheses related to how

targets' race, gender, and social class backgrounds will interact to prompt differential treatment. The current research can lend corroboration to one perspective over another.

H3: According to aversive racism literatures, allocators should demonstrate the most gender and racial bias when the target is moderately prepared for college. The interaction with preparedness should be less prevalent among low social class students who are White and/or female, yet will still characterize endorsement biases among low social class Black students.

H4: Finally, hypotheses 1-3 will be qualified by the allocators' gender, such that male allocators should demonstrate the aforementioned biases, whereas female powerholders should allocate resources equally to all targets, consistent with the results of the study in Chapter Three.

Method

Participants and Procedure

One thousand four hundred and sixty-three (N=1463) undergraduate students were recruited from the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, University at California Los Angeles, University of California at Berkeley, University of Massachusetts, and University of Connecticut. Participants were recruited from student organizations, facebook.com, and in person. To control for power afforded by the racial group membership of the decision maker, only data from the White participants were analyzed, leaving a final sample of 1049 participants (61% female, N=639). The study used a 2 (race of target: Black, White) x 2 (gender of target: male, female) x 2 (social class: high, low) x 2 (preparedness: moderately prepared, highly prepared) between subjects design.

Data were collected over six weeks. Each week, emails to student organizations and online advertisements were blasted encouraging students to participate. The recruitment message stated that the first thirty people to complete the study would be compensated with a $10 iTunes gift certificate. A portion of the participants recruited online were compensated. Participants who volunteered via in-person data collection were not compensated. After informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to one of the study conditions, read the study vignette ostensibly written by an applicant to graduate school, and answered questions related to the allocation of educational resources, affirmative action endorsement, and demographics. Race and gender were manipulated with the name of the target; social class and preparedness were manipulated with vignette details. Social class was manipulated with details including the ostensible targets' work experience, parental occupations, and activities; preparedness was manipulated with details about grade attainment and academic performance. The present study builds on previous vignette (e.g., Farley, et al., 1979) and audit (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2003) studies that investigate discrimination perpetration in similar ways. At the end of the study, participants were fully debriefed.

Dependent Measures: Affirmative Action Endorsement Questions

Participants were asked three questions about whether the particular, ostensible target in the vignette should be considered for social class-based, race-based, and gender-based affirmative action. The wording of the dependent variable more approximately measured the participants' intentions and potential behaviors (e.g., Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) dichotomous measure of endorsement or not), than into general attitudes about affirmative action (e.g., continuous attitudinal measure of preferences or opinions such

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as, "how much do you support affirmative action?"). Systematically different

endorsements between subsets of low power students, in favor of high power groups

would be indicative of discrimination perpetration. Presentation order of the three

questions was kept constant, with the social class question being presented first. In this

study, only the social class affirmative action dependent measure was analyzed, as the

primary objective was to assess potential biases in endorsement when affirmative action

was based only on a student's social class group membership.

Results

This study examined biases in affirmative action endorsement when targets' race,

gender, and social class were simultaneously made salient. Patterns only for social class-

based affirmative action are presented[1]. Based upon previous research (e.g., Major &

Deaux, 1982), analyses were run separately for female and male participants. All

analyses controlled for context (California, New England, Michigan) and the method in

which the data were collected (in person, online).

Social Class Based Affirmative Action among Female Participants

Female participants endorsed social class-based affirmative action 49% of the

time (N=310). Females endorsed affirmative action for White targets 46% of the time

and gave Whites 47% of the endorsements (N=146), and endorsed social class-based

affirmative action for Black targets 53% of the time and gave Blacks 53% of the

endorsements (N=164), independent of gender, social class, or preparedness. Females

endorsed social class-based affirmative action for male targets 48% of the time and gave

[1] Results replicated when examining a dichotomous dependent variable that measured the affirmative action endorsement of at least one form of affirmative action. Since there was a floor effect for endorsements of race and gender based affirmative action and the main focus of this study is biases in social class based affirmative action, only analyses for the social class dependent variable are presented.

male targets 51% of the endorsements (N=157), and endorsed social class-based affirmative action for female targets 51% of the time, and gave females 49% of the endorsements (N=153), independent of race, social class, or preparedness. Females endorsed social class-based affirmative action for targets from low social class backgrounds 69% of the time and gave targets from low social class backgrounds 74% of the endorsements (N=229), and endorsed affirmative action for targets from high social class backgrounds 27% of the time, and gave targets from low social class backgrounds 26% of the endorsements (N=81), independent of race, gender, or preparedness. Females endorsed social class-based affirmative action for moderately prepared targets 51% of the time and gave moderately prepared 52% of the endorsements (N=161), and endorsed social class-based affirmative action for highly prepared targets 48% of the time, and gave highly prepared targets 48% of the endorsements (N=149), independent of race, gender, or social class (see Table 4.1 for patterns by condition).

Logistic regression analyses provided a more stringent test of the endorsement patterns (see Table 4.2). Analyses revealed a main effect for social class, β=1.92, *SE*=.54, *p*=.00, Exp (β)=6.81. This main effect was qualified by a three-way interaction between race, gender, and social class, β=2.08, *SE*=1.01, *p*=.04, Exp (β)=7.98. The results show that there was no difference in the likelihoods of endorsing social class based affirmative action to Black and White female targets from low social class backgrounds (*p*=.93) or to Black and White male targets from low social class backgrounds (*p*=.09) (see Figure 4.1). Similarly, there were no differences in the likelihoods of endorsing social class based affirmative action to Black and White female targets from high social class backgrounds (*p*=.29). In contrast, there was a higher likelihood of endorsing social class based

affirmative action to White male targets from high social class backgrounds than to Black male targets from high social class backgrounds (p=.004) (see Figure 4.2).

Social Class Based Affirmative Action among Male Participants

Male participants endorsed social class-based affirmative action 45% of the time (N=184). Males endorsed social class-based affirmative action for White targets 45% of the time and gave Whites 54% of the endorsements (N=99), and endorsed social class-based affirmative action for Black targets 46% of the time and gave Blacks 46% of the endorsements (N=85), independent of gender, social class, or preparedness. Males endorsed social class-based affirmative action for male targets 44% of the time and gave male targets 44% of the endorsements (N=80), and endorsed social class-based affirmative action for female targets 47% of the time, and gave females 57% of the endorsements (N=104), independent of race, social class, or preparedness. Males endorsed social class-based affirmative action for targets from low social class backgrounds 65% of the time and gave targets from low social class backgrounds 70% of the endorsements (N=129), and endorsed social class-based affirmative action for targets from high social class backgrounds 27% of the time, and gave targets from low social class backgrounds 30% of the endorsements (N=55), independent of race, gender, or preparedness. Males endorsed social class-based affirmative action for moderately prepared targets 42% of the time and gave moderately prepared 45% of the endorsements (N=82), and endorsed social class-based affirmative action for highly prepared targets 49% of the time, and gave highly prepared targets 55% of the endorsements (N=102), independent of race, gender, or social class (see Table 4.1 for endorsement patterns by condition).

Logistic regression analyses provided a more stringent test of the endorsement patterns (see Table 4.2). Analyses revealed a three way interaction between race, social class, and preparedness, β=2.98, *SE*=1.21, *p*=.01, Exp (β)=19.74. There were no differences in social class based affirmative action endorsements to Black and White targets from low social class backgrounds who were moderately prepared (*p*=.18) or to Black and White targets from low social class backgrounds who were highly prepared (*p*=.73) (see Figure 4.3). There also was no difference in social class based affirmative action endorsements to Black and White targets from high social class backgrounds who were highly prepared (*p*=.73). There was a higher likelihood that White targets from high social class backgrounds who were moderately prepared were endorsed for social class based affirmative action, in comparison to Black targets from high social class backgrounds who were moderately prepared (*p*=.01) (see Figure 4.4).

Discussion

The current research investigated systematic biases in social class-based affirmative action endorsement when targets' race, gender, and social class were salient. Previous research has shown that affirmative action endorsement depends on the targets' race, gender, and social class, but previous research has not examined how affirmative action decisions depend on these group memberships simultaneously. Integrating discrimination, affirmative action, intersectionality, and distributive justice literatures allowed for the generation of predictions regarding affirmative action endorsement that varied by the targets' race, gender, and social class group memberships simultaneously.

Social Class-Induced (Behavioral) Benevolence

Both male and female participants endorsed affirmative action more for targets from low social class backgrounds. This finding may illuminate a boundary condition for the relatively consistent finding that women use equality principles when allocating resources. The finding also complicates traditional notions about social identity and social categorization theories which state that low power groups, such as students from low social class backgrounds, are treated negatively by group members with power. To the contrary, the current results suggest that this assumption may depend on qualitatively distinct characteristics of the group to which individuals belong. It may be the case that some low power groups invoke pity, sympathy, empathy, or other reactions that prompt behavioral benevolence or generosity, not unfair or negative treatment.

Caution should be taken however, that the behavioral benevolence demonstrated via affirmative action endorsements is not extrapolated to other behaviors (e.g., working on group projects, socializing) or to affective or cognitive benevolence. It could very well be the case that powerholders feel negative affect, such as disgust towards targets from low social class backgrounds, and have negative stereotypes (e.g., lazy, unprepared, unrefined) about students from low social class backgrounds (Lott, 2002). Whereas these types of feelings and thoughts may elicit negative treatment for some groups (e.g., Blacks), such thoughts and feelings may not elicit this particular form of negative treatment for students from low social class backgrounds specifically. Additional research is thus needed on the psychology of social class generally, and particularly on how individuals respond to students from various social class group memberships.

The Role of Allocators' Gender and Targets' Multiple Group Memberships

Of particular interest was whether powerholders would simultaneously consider targets' race, gender, and social class group memberships when making decisions about affirmative action endorsement. One basic tenet of intersectionality research is that individuals are differentially treated according to the unique position that their multiple group memberships afford them. Intersectionality research, along with distributive justice, aversive racism, and discrimination research led to the hypothesis that female participants would allocate resources to all targets equally. In contrast, it was predicted that male allocators would demonstrate bias, especially when the situation was ambiguous. Competing perspectives in the intersectionality literature did not allow for more specific predictions of male powerholders' behaviors, but the general prediction was made that race would play a prominent role in the emergent patterns of bias.

Patterns among Female Participants

Contrary to the original hypothesis, White female participants did not endorse social class-based affirmative action equally for all targets. The main effect for social class mentioned earlier was qualified by a three way interaction between race, class, and gender. There were no differences in the likelihood that White female participants endorsed affirmative action for Black and White females from low or high social class backgrounds, or for Black and White male targets from low social class backgrounds. Interestingly, there was a higher likelihood that White female participants endorsed social class-based affirmative action for White male targets from higher social class backgrounds than for Black males from higher social class backgrounds, independent of preparedness. This unexpected finding contradicts previous distributive justice research and actually shows that female participants endorsed affirmative action the most for the

group that would be conceived of as having the most social power. Perhaps the interdependence that characterizes gender groups (Pratto & Walker, 2004; Sidanius et al., 2004) led female participants to perceive self-benefits for allocations to White male targets from higher social class backgrounds. Additionally, perhaps endorsing affirmative action for male targets represents a relatively ambiguous situation for female powerholders, allowing for misattribution of bias. The fact that females did not make distinctions between female targets from different racial backgrounds is also worth note. This finding is consistent with the SMTH which states that discrimination affects society's men the most, yet inconsistent with the SMTH in that the theory states that discrimination following this type of pattern should be articulated by male powerholders. The SMTH does not make predictions about the unfair treatment perpetrated by women with authority, which suggests that future research may want to examine discrimination perpetrated by female, in addition to male powerholders.

Results for Male Participants

An interaction between race, social class, and preparedness emerged when examining the likelihood of endorsing social class-based affirmative action among male powerholders. There were no differences in the likelihood of endorsing for Black and White targets from low or high social class backgrounds who were highly prepared, or for Black and White targets from low social class backgrounds who were moderately prepared. In contrast, there was a higher likelihood that White male participants endorsed social class-based affirmative action for White targets from high social class backgrounds who were moderately prepared than for Black targets from high social class backgrounds who were highly prepared, independent of targets' gender.

Aversive Racism and Implications for Middle to Upper Class Black Students

Aversive racism theories state that powerholders will discriminate against low power groups, such as Blacks when a situation is characterized by enough ambiguity to permit misattribution of one's bias (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Hodson et al., 2002; Biernat et al., 2009). The fact that male powerholders demonstrate bias for targets in the moderately prepared, high social class condition supports this notion. Aversive racism theories however may have also predicted that even in the low social class conditions, bias against Black targets would have emerged, as unfair treatment could have been misattributed to preparedness in this case as well. Yet, because there is a tendency to conflate race and class as Blacks are overrepresented in poor and working classes (APA, 2006), and because the stereotypical Black image conjures up low social class backgrounds (Smedley & Bayton, 1978), perhaps endorsing affirmative action for the moderately prepared low social class Black target created a context for male allocators that did not actually allowed for misattribution. Specifically, discriminating against the stereotypic target may have been more easily connected to bias, even when preparedness may have provided an alternative explanation.

In contrast, the high social class conditions may have represented a safer space to misattribute bias to lack of preparedness because Blacks from higher social class backgrounds are not the stereotype. In fact, Blacks from higher social class backgrounds represent a group that Whites may be especially hostile against when it comes to social policy support, given the misperception that Blacks from higher social class backgrounds are insulated from discriminatory bias (Feagin, 1991). For instance, one prevalent argument among those who oppose affirmative action is that the Black students who

often benefit from affirmative action policies are middle to upper class Black students, not the Black students who 'need the help' (Harris, 2009). Research on discrimination experiences however indicates that middle to upper class Blacks often experience more, not less of particular types of discrimination in comparison to their lower status counterparts, partially as a function of more frequent and stressful intergroup contact with Whites (Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Kessler et al., 1990). Thus, whereas research has shown that Blacks from all social class group memberships experience high levels of discrimination, the perception by Whites, and in particular White males, may not match Blacks' experiences. This reasoning is partially supported by a meta-analysis on aversive racism that found that when norms were ambiguous, African American targets receive worse treatment than White targets (e.g., high social class, moderately prepared condiiton) (Aberson & Ettlin, 2004). The ambiguity created by endorsing affirmative action for a non-stereotypic target may be further support this meta-analysis.

Although targets' preparedness only influenced male participants' endorsement bias against Blacks from higher social class backgrounds, the bias that manifested among female participants was also against Black targets from higher social class backgrounds. In the latter case however, class and race were moderated by gender, not preparedness. The bias against Black male targets demonstrated by female powerholders is especially concerning given the already low numerical representations of Black male students from any social class background in higher education.

Limitations

Although the research is novel in its attempt to isolate discriminatory behaviors when multiple group memberships are simultaneously salient, the research is not without

limitations. One limitation of the current study is that it does not fully elucidate the

processes that are driving the behavioral outcomes. The design (2 (race of target) x 2

(gender of target) x 2 (social class of target) x 2 (preparedness), analyzed separately by

gender of powerholder) however required an extremely large sample and the data

collection techniques required a short study (5-10 minutes), making it difficult to gather

additional data on process. Future research should be designed to more clearly highlight

the mechanisms for discriminatory bias. An additional limitation was that participants

made endorsements in isolation, rather than in a group, which often characterizes the

process by which decisions are made. Future studies should consider how group

dynamics factors such as social influence, conformity, and group think moderate this type

of discrimination perpetration in higher education. Finally, this study used variation in

preparedness as a manipulation of the type of situational ambiguity that may have

influenced participants' likelihood to discriminate against low power targets. An

alternative interpretation is that the intended manipulation for ambiguity actually

manipulated participants' perceived deservingness of the receipt of affirmative action-

based assistance. This alternative could influence the interpretation of the results, yet

because the current research did not account for deservingness, the alternative

interpretation cannot be disentangled from the current interpretation. Future research

should investigate the possibility that preparedness prompts differential perceptions about

targets' deservingness, depending on the social characteristics of the target.

Conclusions and Implications for Students from Lower Social Class Backgrounds

 Theoretical Implications. Notwithstanding the previously mentioned limitations,

the current research makes contributions to affirmative action, distributive justice,

intersectionality and discrimination literatures. Researchers have examined unfair

treatment and basic patterns in how individuals allocate resources, but examinations of

how discrimination and distributive justice depend on multiple group memberships

simultaneously has lagged behind the study of social groups in isolation of each other.

The current research speaks to this issue. Additionally, a basic assumption in

intersectionality research is that individuals are treated differently because of the unique

combinations of their multiple group memberships. A large proportion of research has

substantiated this claim with research on discrimination experiences, which has created a

discourse contrasting "actual" and "perceived" discrimination. The current research

dispels the myth that discrimination is only in targets' heads, and shows that

powerholders distinguish between outgroup members based upon their multiple group

membership conjointly.

    Practical Implications. The current research also has practical implications for

higher education. Since the UCLA Law School started using class-based affirmative

action programs, it has reduced its racial diversity by half (Sander, 1997; Harris, 2009).

Other projections show that switching to a pure income system would boost the numbers

of lower income applicants in college, but drastically reduce the enrollment of minorities

because there are many low income Whites who would take their places (Holzer &

Neumark, 2006). The findings for low income targets support these projections and also

suggest that social class-based affirmative action may also have implications for students

from high social class backgrounds. The current findings also suggest that policies based

on social class should explicitly consider targets' race, gender, and perhaps other group

memberships as well. Failing to consider other social categories, in the context of social

class-based policies may in turn create new biases, in attempts to ameliorate previous

disparities.

Table 4.1 Endorsement Rates of Social Class-Based Affirmative Action by Gender

Condition	(Females) Proportion of Endorsements %	(Males) Proportion of Endorsements %
Race		
Black	46%(N=146)	46% (N=85)
White	53% (N=164)	45% (N=99)
Gender		
Male	48% (N=157)	44% (N=80)
Female	51% (N=153)	47% (N=104)
Social Class		
High	27% (N=81)	27% (N=55)
Low	69% (N=229)	65% (N=129)
Preparation		
Moderately	51% (N=161)	42%(82)
High	48% (N=149)	49% (N=102)
Condition Interactions		
White, Male, LowSC, Hi Prep	76% (N=34)	75% (N=15)
White, Male, LowSC, Mod Prep	64% (N=27)	65% (N=15)
White, Male, Hi SC, Hi Prep	21% (N=9)	24% (N=6)
White, Male, Hi SC, Mod Prep	12% (N=4)	14% (N=3)
White, Female, Low SC, Hi Prep	65% (N=24)	67% (N=20)
White, Female, Low SC, Mod Prep	71% (N=30)	77% (N=23)
White, Female, Hi SC, Hi Prep	27% (N=11)	36% (N=11)
White, Female, Hi SC, Mod Prep	19% (N=7)	16% (N=6)
Black, Male, LowSC, Hi Prep	53% (N=18)	68% (N=68)
Black, Male, LowSC, Mod Prep	71% (N=31)	60% (N=12)
Black, Male, Hi SC, Hi Prep	36% (N=16)	17% (N=4)
Black, Male, Hi SC, Mod Prep	43% (N=18)	33% (N=8)
Black, Female, LowSC, Hi Prep	72% (N=28)	67% (N=67)
Black, Female, LowSC, Mod Prep	74% (N=37)	33% (N=7)
Black, Female, Hi SC, Hi Prep	28% (N=9)	38% (N=9)
Black, Female, Hi SC, Mod Prep	29% (N=7)	42% (N=8)
Total		
	49% (N=310)	45% (N=184)

Table 4.2 Logistic Regression Analyses for Endorsements of Social Class-Based Affirmative Action

Variable	Female			Male		
	B	SE	Exp(B)	B	SE	Exp(B)
Method						
Online	0.1	0.21	1.11	-0.5	0.37	0.61
Paper (ref)						
Context						
Michigan	-0.46*	0.23	0.63	0.1	0.31	1.11
California	0.16	0.26	1.18	0.03	0.29	1.03
New England (ref)						
Race Condition						
Black	-0.0002	0.53	0.998	-0.19	0.58	0.83
White (ref)						
Gender Condition						
Male	0.37	0.51	1.45	-1.21+	0.71	0.3
Female (ref)						
Social Class						
Low	1.92***	0.54	6.81	1.02+	0.58	2.78
High (ref)						
Preparation						
Moderately	-0.22	0.65	0.8	0.05	0.64	1.05
High (ref)						
Interactions						
Black Male	-0.74	0.73	0.48	0.61	0.93	1.84
Black Low Income	-0.28+	0.73	0.75	0.2	0.8	1.22
Black Mod Prep	-0.19	0.85	0.83	-1.19	0.87	0.3
Male Low Income	-1.22	0.71	0.3	1.25	0.91	3.5
Male Mod Prep	0.51	0.79	1.66	0.81	0.95	2.25
Low Income Mod Prep	0.3	0.81	1.35	-1.38	0.88	0.25
Black Male Low Income	2.08*	1.01	7.98	-0.45	1.29	0.64
Black Male Mod Prep	-0.68	1.16	0.51	-0.15	1.37	0.86
Black Low Income Mod Prep	0.29	1.1	1.33	2.98+	1.21	19.74
Male Low Income Mod Prep	0.2	1.05	1.23	0.3	1.29	1.35
Black Male Low Income Mod Prep	-0.71	1.51	0.49	-1.69	1.87	0.19

Note. $+ p<.10$ $* p < .05$ $** p < .01$ $*** p < .001.$

Figure 4.1 Female Endorsement Patterns of Social Class Based Affirmative Action For Targets from Low Social Class Backgrounds
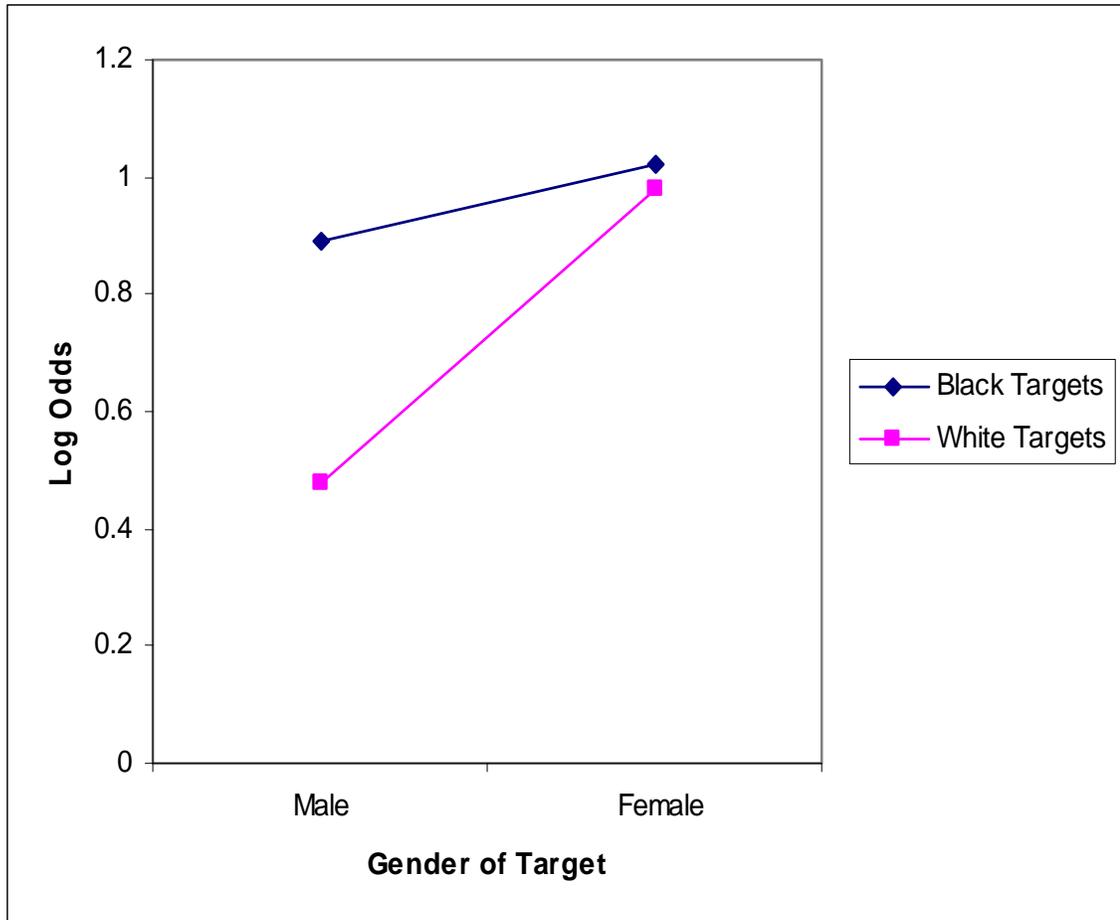
Figure 4.2 Female Endorsement Patterns of Social Class Based Affirmative Action For Targets from High Social Class Backgrounds
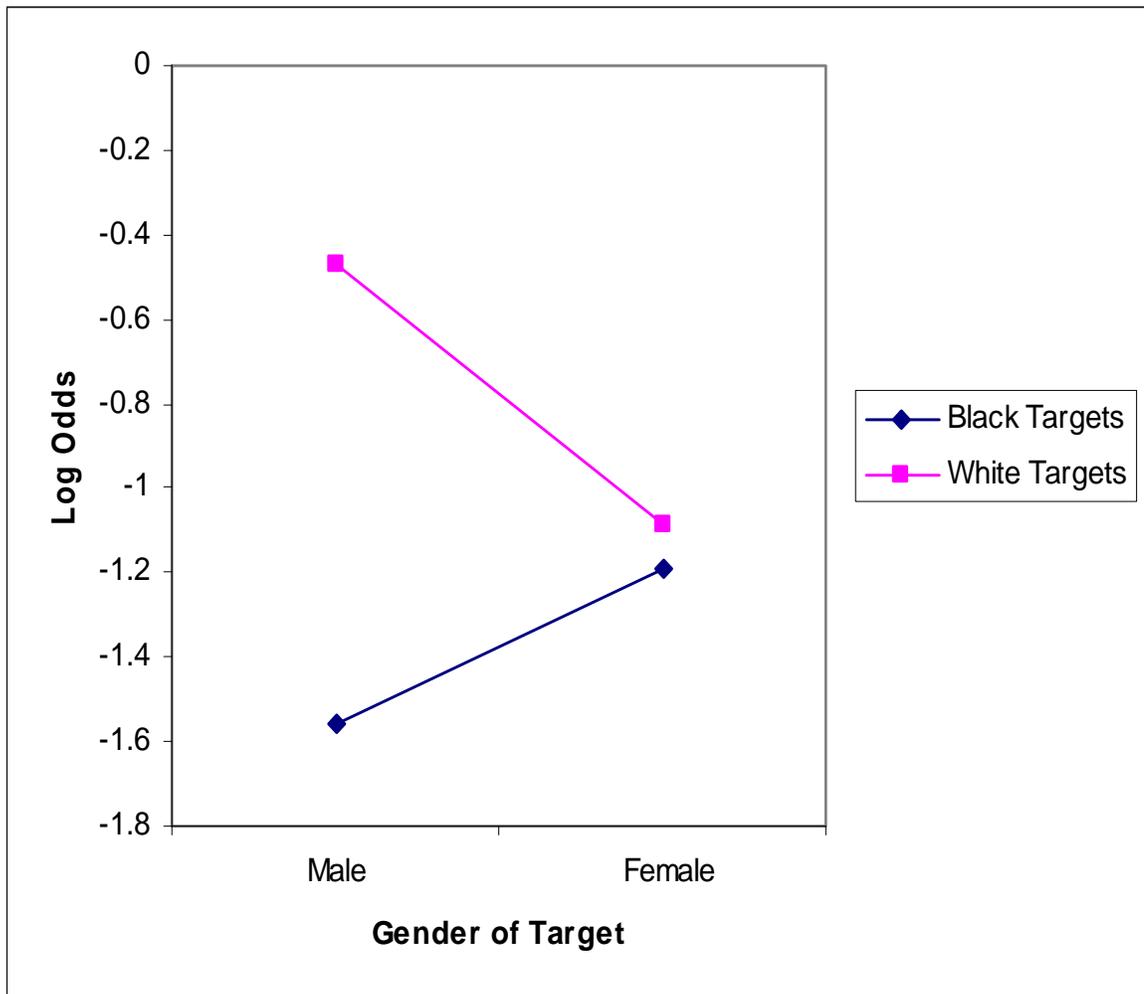
Figure 4.3 Male Endorsement Patterns of Social Class Based Affirmative Action For Targets from Low Social Class Backgrounds
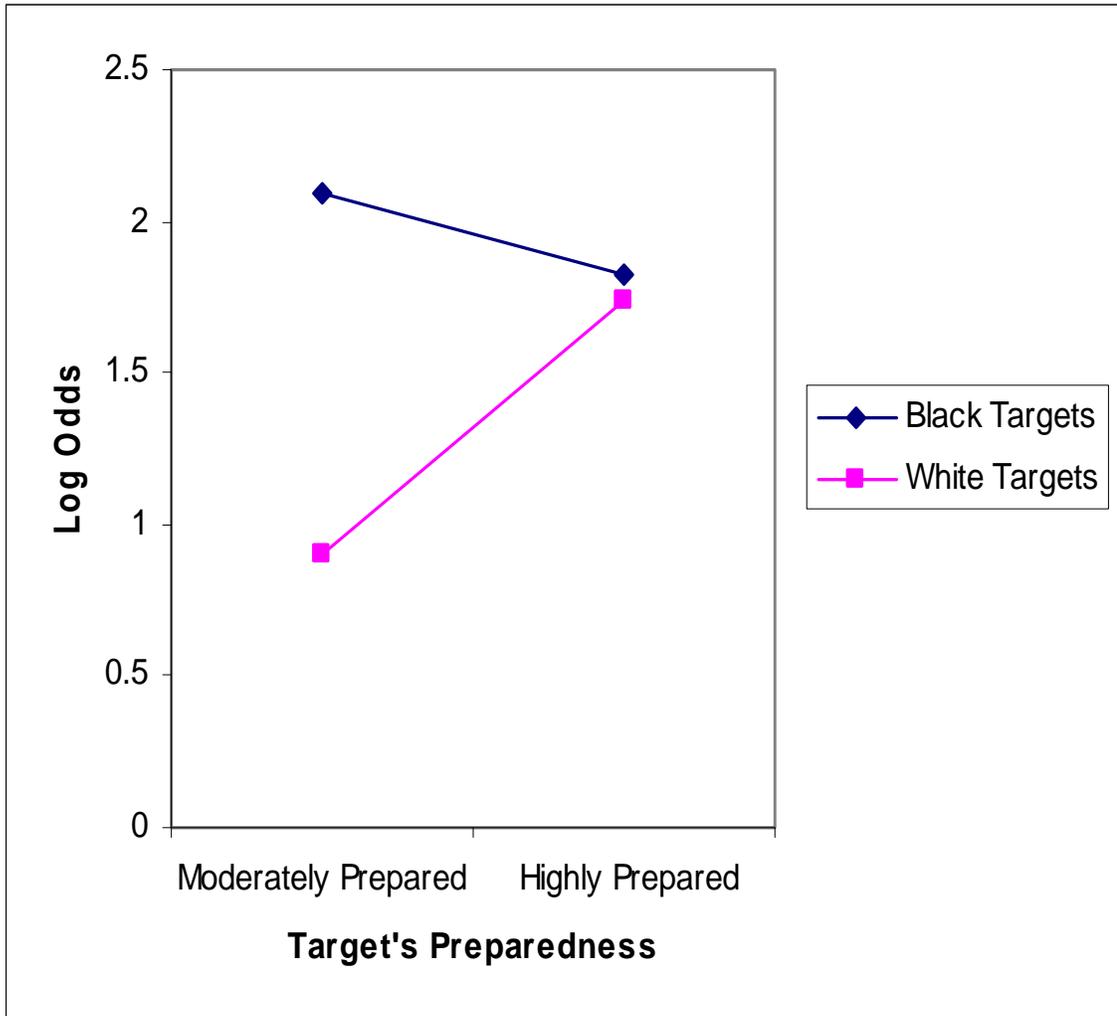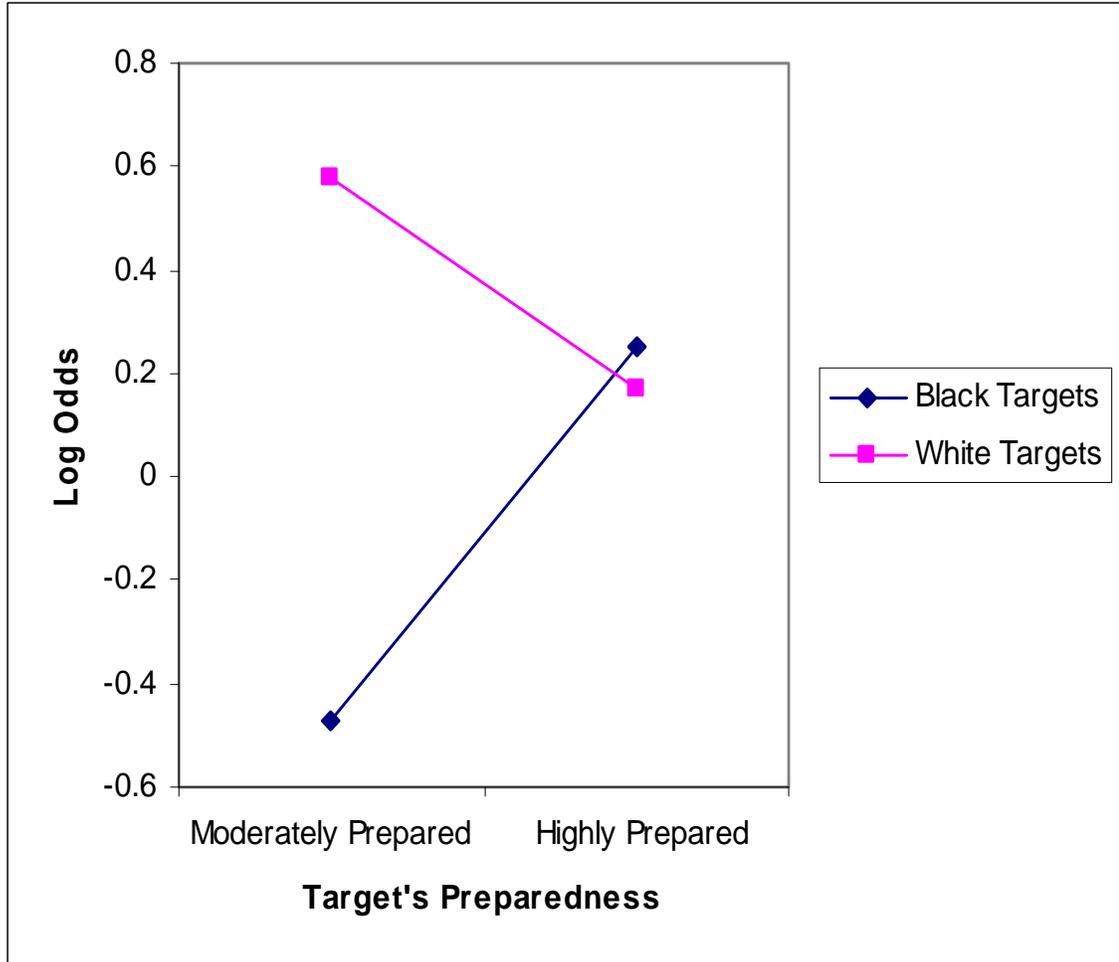
Figure 4.4 Male Endorsement Patterns of Social Class Based Affirmative Action For
Targets from Low Social Class Backgrounds

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Chapter 5

Conclusion

Summary of Major Findings

This dissertation contained three papers that addressed the linkage between discrimination perpetration and access to higher education. Paper one discussed theoretical and methodological issues around the psychological study of discrimination perpetration in general and in higher education specifically. Paper one provided a working definition of discrimination; discussed how discrimination can be investigated via experiential or perpetration processes; and reviewed previous research on discrimination perpetration, in psychology and in related social science disciplines. Paper one also discussed the need for intersectional thinking when investigating discrimination perpetration as the perception and treatment of individuals depends on the cumulative effects of their multiple group memberships. Finally, paper one urged for psychological inquiries of institutional discrimination perpetration specifically, as the argument was made that there is a human component to structural causes of social disparities.

Papers two and three applied some of the theoretical and methodological suggestions from paper one to two empirical studies of discrimination perpetration in higher education. In both studies, discrimination perpetration was operationalized as the systematic biases in affirmative action endorsement against particular subsets of low power groups. The hope was to capture a form of discrimination that was more distal

than the forms of discrimination that are traditionally investigated in psychology (e.g.,

insults, being ignored, etc.). Accordingly, while the research does not represent the

examination of institutional discrimination per se (e.g., actual procedures, norms, spatial

distributions, etc.), the research does capture one element of the human dimension of

institutional discrimination, in this case, decision making processes. In both studies,

there was an additional major objective to illuminate the complexity of discrimination

when a target's multiple group memberships are salient. Together, these goals led to the

global finding that powerholders take into account targets' multiple group memberships

when endorsing policies, and the way in which this occurs additionally depends on the

powerholders' gender.

Ambiguity as a Concept Dependent on Powerholders' Social Characteristics

In the second paper, biases in gender-based affirmative action endorsement were

examined. Results showed that females endorsed affirmative action equally for all

targets, supporting previous distributive justice research. Male participants endorsed

gender-based affirmative action more for White female and Black male targets than for

Black female targets. While ambiguity was not explicitly examined in this study,

potential mechanisms for these findings were discussed, including differences in the

degree to which White men deem Black women feminine or as exemplars of the category

"women," the degree to which White men feel interdependent with Black women, and

the potential invisibility that may be produced by Black women being non-prototypical

members of both their racial and their gender groups. Paper two stresses the importance

of intersectional thinking when discussing policy and intervention issues, and maintains

that using phrases such as "women and minorities" may exclude minority women, who are at the intersection of both categories.

Paper three examined affirmative action endorsement patterns when targets' race, gender, and social class group memberships were salient, and in this study ambiguity was explicitly manipulated with the ostensible targets' preparedness level (e.g., moderately prepared versus high preparedness). Results showed that both male and female participants endorsed class-based affirmative action more for targets from low social class backgrounds, sparking a discussion about how social class in education particularly, may be unique from other social group memberships, such as race, and from social class in non-academic contexts. Results for female participants revealed an interaction between targets' race, class, and gender. Specifically, there was a higher likelihood that female participants endorsed social class-based affirmative action for White male targets from higher social class backgrounds, than for Black male from higher social class backgrounds, independent of preparedness. The study also included a brief discussion of how ambiguity may depend on the powerholders' characteristics in addition to the targets' social group memberships. For example, endorsing affirmative action for male targets may have facilitated situational ambiguity for female powerholders, suggesting one possible direction for future research. This set of findings contextualizes previous distributive justice research, and study one, which would have both predicted that female participants allocated resources equally to all targets.

Results for male participants in paper three revealed a significant interaction between targets' race, class, and preparedness level. Specifically, there were no differences in endorsements to highly prepared White and Black targets who were from

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low or high social class backgrounds, or to moderately prepared White and Black targets from low social class backgrounds. Yet, among moderately prepared targets form high social class backgrounds, White targets were favored over Black targets, independent of gender. This finding supports previous aversive racism work that shows that discrimination will occur when the situation presents the ability to misattribute one's bias to non-racial factors (e.g., preparedness). The fact that this bias interacted with social class was especially interesting, both theoretically and practically.

Being from a lower social class background stereotypically characterizes members of the Black racial group. In the case of male allocators, the stereotypic conception may have represented a situation that did not create the sufficient ambiguity needed to misattribute bias—hence equal allocations to White and Black targets in the low social class, moderately prepared condition, and unequal endorsements for White and Black targets in the high social class, moderately prepared condition. In theory, this may be interpreted positively. Study three provided little evidence of racial discrimination among targets from low social class backgrounds, yet in reality the findings are not so simple. First, the fact that there are many more Whites from low social class backgrounds than Blacks from low social class backgrounds means that social class based policies may perpetuate racial disparities among students from low social class backgrounds. But given the racial bias in favor of White targets from high social class backgrounds, the perpetuation of racial biases among students from higher social class backgrounds is also evident. This may be especially likely in light of recent discussions conflating the post-Obama era with a post-racial era. Together, the results from Chapters 3 and 4 support the theoretical assertions made in Chapter 2 that stressed the need to

examine discriminatory biases and to devise interventions, policies, and procedures intersectionally.

<center>*Methodological Challenges and Limitations*</center>

Was the Dependent Variable in Papers 2 and 3 Really Behavioral?

One major limitation of the empirical work in the dissertation was that the dependent variables do not fully capture the behavioral aspect of discrimination. Audit studies and helping experiments examine explicit behaviors, making it is very clear to ascertain bias. In an ideal world for instance, the present study would have sent ostensible application packets to graduate schools across the country and measured acceptance rates by targets' social categories. The feasibility of such an endeavor however made this type of audit study virtually impossible. As such, systematic biases in affirmative action endorsement was operationalized as one dimension of discrimination perpetration. Whereas the decision to allocate affirmative action for a particular target is more behavioral than a dependent measure asking how much people like the policy or agree with the policy, future research should be conducted with more behavioral dependent variables, such as a mock admissions group decision making task, an allocation situation where fellowship monies are distributed, or a helping study (e.g., tutoring) where multiple group memberships are salient. It should be noted however that the measure, while not totally optimal may have actually underestimated, not overestimated bias (see Pager & Quillian, 2005) given factors such as social desirability. Although a between subjects design was chosen deliberately to minimize social desirability and self-presentation effects, these factors can never fully be eliminated.

Intersectionality Measurement

An additional limitation of the current research pertains to the method in which intersectionality was incorporated into the empirical analyses. Inherent to intersectionality approaches is often the motivation to conduct analyses that most accurately reflect individuals' lived realities. In the current research, logistic regression was the primary statistical tool, where one prerequisite is the independence of predictor variables (e.g., race, gender, class). The basic tenet of intersectionality however, is that categories are not independent. One way around this seeming inconsistency was to use analytic strategies that treated each combination of factors as a separate level of the same indicator, as in study 2. Additionally, analyzing the interaction effects as in studies two and three allowed for the investigation of multiple group memberships simultaneously. Two other statistical methods that may be helpful for incorporating intersectional approaches in studies of discrimination perpetration are mediated moderation and moderated mediation. In the first instance, a researcher finds a moderation (interaction) effect, such as the higher likelihood that powerholders endorse affirmative action for White females than for Black females. Then, a researcher finds a mediation pathway for the moderated effect, for instance differences in the degree to which White males deem Black and White females interdependent or feminine. In this way, the processes by which intersectional findings emerge are revealed. In the second instance, one starts with a mediation effect. For example, the finding that an appraisal of the severity of an emergency situation mediates the relationship between the number of bystanders in an emergency situation and the aid given to victims. Then, a researcher investigates how the process indicator is moderated by some other characteristic, such as gender of the powerholder. This strategy encourages the identification of process initially and allows

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the researcher to investigate how different mechanisms may influence behaviors distinctly. In sum, these statistical approaches may represent potential ways to lessen the likelihood of invidious comparisons and to initiate more strongly the act of theorizing about intersectional differences in unfair treatment.

Future Directions

Immediate Investigations With These Data

In both studies, attitudes, affirmative action issue framings and demographic measures were assessed in addition to endorsement patterns. It was beyond the scope of the dissertation to analyze how these factors further complicate discrimination perpetration, yet immediate next steps include investigating how these indicators are potentially associated with biases in affirmative action endorsements. Additionally, in paper three, indicators measuring the allocation of other educational resources including tutoring services and fellowships monies were assessed. It will be interesting to examine how targets' group memberships simultaneously influence the allocation of non-affirmative action based resources. Finally, additional data were collected as a part of study two assessing more affective constructs, which could be conceived of as potential mediators or as dependent variables themselves, including whether participants would want to work with the targets on a group project, hang out with the targets, etc. These questions will allow for the examination of some of the possible mechanisms discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

More Distal Investigations

The discussion sections in Chapters 3 and 4 illuminate additional next steps that will require future data collections. These include investigations that have the potential

to establish some basic knowledge about how multiple categories are conceived. For example, previous research has shown that when individuals think of Americans, they think of White Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005). This research can be applied to examinations of whether individuals think of White women when they think of women, and whether individuals think of students from low social class backgrounds when they think of Black students, for instance.

<div align="center">Implications</div>

Not surprisingly, this dissertation raised more questions than it answered. Notwithstanding this fact, the findings that emerged highlighted some ways in which psychology can inform the study of discrimination. More importantly, results have real implications for real disparities in education. In the remainder of this dissertation, a few of these issues will be briefly discussed.

The Multidimensionality of Power and Discrimination Processes among Women

The results from the current research bring up theoretical and practical implications about the ways that we conceptualize both discrimination and power. Discrimination is linked to power, particularly social power, or power that characterizes the group to which one belongs. Similarly, gender is inherently connected to power (e.g., Apfelbaum, 1979/1999). These two facts have traditionally invoked the thought of male powerholders and of male discriminators. As societies change however, the idea that women, as a social group, perpetrate discrimination as well should be considered, especially in contexts in which they are numerically represented and have particular forms of power, such as decision making influence. Thus, women may not have as much power as men, and some subsets of women may not have as much power as other subsets

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of women, especially in certain contexts. Yet some women, for instance White women, may have more power than other groups, such as Black men or women, especially in particular contexts, such as academic settings or social contexts. This raises the possibility that the very way some psychologists have conventionally defined discrimination, as an aggression-based process (e.g., Sidanius et al., 2004) may be inherently gendered. Thus, in addition to investigating women as powerholders, research should also consider the unique ways that women may discriminate versus the ways that men may typically discriminate, and how this may depend on the social characteristics of the target.

The potential processes by which White women specifically exert their influence is further complicated by the differential power that is afforded by their racial versus their gender group memberships. For instance, White females may relate to and favor White males in some instances, due to shared racial group membership. In contexts that prime scarce resources or the belief that racial outgroup members are unfairly benefiting from a policy, White women may allocate resources in favor of groups they share an alliance with, such as White men. In contrast, in contexts that prime White females' gender group membership, White women may allocate resources in favor of other socially disadvantaged groups. The fact that the intersection of one's multiple group memberships can simultaneously imply privilege and subordination (Shields, 2008; Warner, 2008) complicates how and when individuals may discriminate.

Ameliorating Discrimination Via Structural Change

The results in this dissertation additionally have implications for the devising and implementation of strategies to ameliorate discrimination. As alluded to Chapter 2, if

researchers, policy makers and interventionists want to combat discrimination, it may be best to employ structural and institutional interventions, rather than relying solely on interventions that are designed to create more positive affect or stereotypes. Because there is often a disconnect between powerholders' self-concepts and their behaviors, and because research has shown that a personal sense of objectivity when thinking about one's one beliefs and introspections heightens discrimination perpetration (Uhlmann & Cohen, 2007), interventions should create structures that make it difficult for individuals to misattribute or use other strategies to explain away their discriminatory behaviors. This represents one major benefit of a psychological level of analysis. By understanding the psychological schemas that represent the rationalization processes behind discriminatory decision making, interventions can be designed to attenuate such bias.

In a study of employment discrimination, for example, managers exhibited pre-interview racial biases, giving more positive hiring recommendations to White versus Black applicants even though the resumes were exactly the same. However, when managers felt accountable to others for their evaluations, they suppressed racial bias by evaluating African Americans credentials more positively (Ford, Gambino, Lee, Mayo & Ferguson, 2004). Managers may have still retained their implicitly or explicitly negative attitudes about Black applicants, yet the structure change (e.g., change in accountability structure) shifted the behavioral manifestation of biased feelings. Similarly, Uhlmann & Cohen (2005) found that a commitment to hiring criteria (structural change) prior to the disclosure of the applicant's gender eliminated gender discrimination via criteria shifting/constructing. Because the definitions and implementations of criteria and decisions are intimately connected to power (e.g., Eberhardt & Fiske, 1994; Verloo,

2006), changing structural elements may represent a way to reduce disparities even when attitudes and feelings remain the same. Clear, unambiguous, stable, and unbiased criteria, definitions, and decision making procedures can thus create the institutional accountability that can attenuate biases.

Conclusion: Why Study Systematic Biases in Affirmative Action Endorsement as a

Measure of Discrimination Perpetration?

Weber and Parrah-Medina (2003) called for the use of "upstream" techniques, or strategies that capture the processes that define systems of social inequality such as laws, institutional processes, and public policies (see also Cole, 2009). This dissertation examined how inequality may be created via discrimination perpetration, in an attempt to use such an upstream strategy. The human species is hardwired for social categorization processes that make prestige and power asymmetries seem almost as necessary to our survival as food and water. Because we know that opportunity does not come by osmosis, policy initiatives such as affirmative action, which have afforded opportunities to low power group members (Acker, 2006; Bowen & Bok, 1998; HUD, 2002) need to be protected. This is why examining biases in policies and laws represents such an important dimension of discrimination perpetration to be investigated psychologically. Better understanding how such structural influences may be perpetuated via psychological processes thus has the potential to shape outcomes and to minimize social disparities.

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